

OFFICIAL REPORT  
OF THE  
DEBATES  
OF THE  
HOUSE OF COMMONS  
OF THE  
DOMINION OF CANADA

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FOURTH SESSION—THIRTEENTH PARLIAMENT

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REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE GENERAL LAND OFFICE

## CANADA

# House of Commons Debates

### OFFICIAL REPORT

Wednesday, June 23, 1920.

The House met at Two o'clock.

#### CLASSIFICATION OF THE INSIDE SERVICE.

Hon. NEWTON W. ROWELL (President of the Privy Council): I beg to lay upon the Table a statement of the application of the classification of the inside service, that is the details of the application that would be included in Civil Government Estimates of the various departments. In connection with the matter I desire to add a word of explanation which will make clear to the members of the House one or two matters which, but for that explanation, would not be clear in the document presented. In the past a portion of the work of the Archives Branch—that is the outside branches of the service—has not been included under the head of Civil Government. Under the reclassification they are all brought under the head of Civil Government; therefore the details of this item show a total substantially in excess of the amount appearing under Civil Government in the printed Estimates. That is the explanation. The full details will be given when these Estimates come before the House.

Mr. ROBB: Will there be a corresponding reduction in the Estimates for the outside service?

Mr. ROWELL: There will be a corresponding reduction in the Estimates for the outside service. In connection with the Department of Militia and Defence a somewhat similar condition exists. They have brought in under the head of Civil Government certain branches of the service that were organized during the war, which have been paid out of the demobilization appropriation prior to this date, but which must be continued now that the war is over. Therefore they are brought in under the head of Civil Government, and consequently the total amount now shown is substantially in excess of the

amount of the Civil Government estimate brought down in the main Estimates. I should also add with reference to the Militia Department items that I understand the application of the classification as given, is the application as proposed by the Department of Militia and Defence. It has not been approved by the Civil Service Commission, and therefore it is merely the tentative proposal of the Department. Then there is one or two Departments in which the classification is not yet complete and by reason of that fact they are not included in the statement which I beg to lay upon the Table.

#### QUESTIONS.

(Questions answered orally are indicated by an asterisk.)

RIVIERE St. PIERRE.

\*Mr. LEDUC:

1. Has the work in connection with repairing Syphons Culvert De St. Pierre River in Westmount-St. Henry Division been carried on and what is the present condition of the work?
2. Is the work temporary or will it be of a permanent nature?
3. Is it the intention of the Government to pay the damages caused by the flood of last spring, due to the accident of the said culvert?

Hon. Mr. REID:

1. Work has been carried on in connection with repairing Syphons Culvert, De St. Pierre River.
2. The present work is temporary but it will be made permanent during the present year through the construction of a permanent head lock, and control gate.
3. The matter of damages caused by the spring flood is under investigation. The Crown does not admit any liability.

#### MOTIONS FOR PRODUCTION OF PAPERS.

Mr. McMASTER:

For a copy of all correspondence, letters, telegrams and reports touching the issuing of permits for the export of sugar, whether with refineries or those acting for them or with purchasers or those acting for them.

Mr. CHISHOLM:

For a copy of letters, telegrams, petitions and documents of all kinds which passed between the Department of Public Works and any person during the years 1918, 1919, 1920, in any way referring to improvements made on Grand Etang Harbour, N.E.

#### UNAUTHORIZED WEARING OF RETURNED SOLDIERS' BUTTONS.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. R. C. COOPER (Vancouver S.): I would like to ask the Minister of Militia what steps have been taken to prevent the unauthorized wearing of returned soldiers' buttons? It is a question of great interest to all returned soldiers in Canada in view of the finding of Magistrate Saunders in Calgary lately.

Hon. HUGH GUTHRIE (Minister of Militia): The unauthorized use of military buttons was prohibited by an Order in Council passed by the Government in April 1919, and penalties of \$500 fine, and imprisonment for six months, were provided with respect to any person who, without proper authority, made use of these buttons. The penal clause of that Order in Council lapsed with a number of other Orders in Council which were passed under authority of the War Measures Act, some time last January, so that from January up to the present time there has been no penalty upon those who, without lawful authority, have been wearing these buttons. In the Act which this House passed a few days ago, however, it will be noted that in Section 10 severe penalties are provided, and as soon as the Bill in question, No. 137, has been assented to these penalties will be enforced throughout Canada.

#### ALLEGED SUNDAY WORK AT THE PRINTING BUREAU.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. JOSEPH ARCHAMBAULT (Chambly-Vercheres): I would like to inquire from the President of the Privy Council whether it is true that last Sunday employees of the Printing Bureau were forced to work by orders of the President of the Privy Council? I hope for the sake of my hon. friend's reputation that my information is incorrect.

Hon. Mr. ROWELL: Inasmuch as the information which my hon. friend undertakes to impart to the House is frequently incorrect I may say that this is as incorrect as usual. There is no foundation for the statement.

[Mr. McMaster.]

#### MAPLE PRODUCTS ACT—CONCURRENCE IN SENATE AMENDMENT.

Hon. Mr. Rowell moved the second reading of and concurrence in an amendment by the Senate to Bill No. 28 respecting maple products.

Mr. FIELDING: What is the nature of the amendment?

Mr. ROWELL: The amendment proposed by the Senate is to add another section to the Bill as Section 5. The new section is as follows:

Section 17 of the Food and Drug Act, 1920, will apply to any prosecution under subsection 1 of Section 2 of this Act.

Subsection 1 of section 2 provides a penalty for manufacturing, selling, keeping for sale, or exposing for sale, any article of food resembling or being an imitation of maple syrup or maple sugar which is not pure maple syrup or pure maple sugar. The effect of the amendment of the Senate is to provide that the clause in the Food and Drug Act which permits a man charged with violating the Act to prove that he bought the goods in the condition in which he sold them, that he believed them to be of the character and description of which he sold them, to set that up as a defence. In other words, it permits a man who has acted bona fide, where the violation of the law is purely technical, to set up that defence, and it enables the magistrate to acquit him. I see no objection to the amendment.

Amendment concurred in.

#### MILITIA PENSION ACT AMENDMENT.

On the motion of Hon. Hugh Guthrie (Minister of Militia) Bill No. 197 to amend the Militia Pension Act was read the second time, and the House went into committee thereon.—Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 1—subsection forbidding duplication of pensions repealed:

Mr. GUTHRIE: This Bill is brought in in accordance with the recommendation of the Pensions Committee which has recently been dealing with the matter. Last session, without giving very great consideration to the proposal, Parliament passed an Act to repeal section 25 of the Pensions Act, which section provided that:

The pension to a widow shall be as follows:—the widow of a colonel, five hundred dollars; of a lieutenant-colonel, four hundred and fifty dollars; of a major, three hundred and fifty dollars; of a captain, two hundred and fifty

dollars; of a Neutenant or second lieutenant, two hundred dollars; of a warrant officer, one hundred dollars.

By subsection 2 of section 25 of the Act passed last session it was enacted:

That if a person is entitled to a pension, gratuity or allowance under this Act, and is also entitled to a pension, gratuity or allowance under any other Act passed by the Parliament of Canada, such person, or in the case of a child, the parent, or guardian or tutor of such child, shall elect which pension, gratuity or allowance he desires to accept, but no person shall receive two pensions, gratuities or allowances.

The Pensions Committee which has recently devoted a great deal of time and attention to the whole question of pensions has recommended that the amendment passed last session be repealed. The effect of that will be to restore section 25 of the Militia Pension Act, which I have just read.

Bill reported without amendment, read the third time and passed.

#### ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE ACT AMENDMENT.

On motion of Hon. Newton W. Rowell (President of the Privy Council) Bill No. 196 to amend the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Act was read the second time, and the House went into committee thereon.—Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 1—proviso forbidding duplication of pensions repealed:

Mr. ROWELL: The object of this Bill is to carry out the report of the Committee on Pensions and Re-establishment, and it is to the same effect as the Bill already approved by way of amendment to the Militia Pension Act. Under the Act passed last session we required that in case of two pensions being paid that the pensioner should elect which pension would be taken. The proviso in the Act is contained in section 8 and is as follows:

Provided, however, that the amount of any pension, gratuity or allowance which any member of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police receives or is entitled to receive or apply for, in respect of any injury received by him while serving in the military, naval or air forces aforesaid shall be deducted from any pension, gratuity or allowance to which such member would be entitled under the said Act, other than a pension for years of service, irrespective of any infirmity of mind or body or bodily injury; and no widow or child of any such member who received, or is entitled to receive or apply for, any pension, annuity, gratuity or allowance in consequence of the death, incapacity or injury of any such member while serving in the forces aforesaid shall be entitled to any pension, annuity or allowance under the said Act.

That section carried out the recommendation of the Committee on Pensions last year, but the committee has now recommended a change, and we are but giving expression to its recommendation in striking out that proviso.

Sir SAM HUGHES: In the case of a man dying in the interval, would the family become entitled to the pension under the old Act and be obliged to submit to its provisions, or would this amendment apply?

Mr. ROWELL: In view of the recommendation of the Pensions Committee such a case would be reconsidered in the light of this amendment.

Bill reported without amendment, read the third time and passed.

#### INDIAN ACT AMENDMENT.

House again in committee on Bill No. 14 to amend the Indian Act (as amended by special committee)—Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On Section 1—

Mr. F. B. STACEY (Fraser Valley): I desire, Sir, to make a few observations on the general principle and purpose of this Bill, but in order to do so at this juncture—

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Stacey had risen just before the Speaker left the Chair, but was not noticed, and the House went into committee. I feel sure that the unanimous consent of the committee will be given him to speak on the general principle of the Bill.

The committee gave unanimous consent.

Mr. STACEY: I would not detain the House at this time to discuss this matter were it not for the fact that this Bill brings to the front certain phases of the Indian question which are very vital at the present time in British Columbia; and because certain ex parte presentations of the case have been made to many people in Eastern Canada. Therefore I feel constrained to give some facts relative to the general situation in the province of British Columbia.

As was pointed out when the Bill received its first reading it contains two main features, first, the clause dealing with compulsory education, and second, the clause providing for the enfranchisement of certain Indians who are now wards of the Government. The passage of this Bill will make a very decided advance in the policy of Canada in respect to our Indian popula-

tion. I have heard it stated, Mr. Chairman, that Canada has no clearly defined Indian policy. In other words, that while the Government in co-operation with the churches of the country has sought to improve the moral and social status of the Indian youth, she has not made any adequate provision for their full and subsequent citizenship. This Bill is an honest and carefully wrought out measure to promote, with reasonable celerity, the social and civic welfare of the descendants of the original inhabitants of this country.

The native has been and is in many ways under-rated and misjudged, possibly because he differs in many important respects from the white man, but those differences are mainly the results of generations of training, environment, and natural or race characteristics. When we consider his history and understand his character, we find many strong mental and moral qualities that promise well for his future development and citizenship. At the same time there are certain obvious defects in his mentality which demand from us as his guardians kindness and consideration, to enable him to reach the largest measure of self-adjustment and independence.

The Indian is by nature very strongly domestic in his habits. He is a faithful friend and possesses in a high degree the artistic temperament, as evidenced by the dexterity of the women and by the style of public address used by the Indian orator. But he is slow to move, has little initiative, and is almost devoid of the economic instinct. Therefore it may be regarded as incumbent upon us, by reason of these existing conditions, to do our utmost to help him realize and enjoy what we conceive to be the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship.

There are about 100,000 Indians in Canada; approximately one-quarter of these are in British Columbia. It is of those and those only, Mr. Chairman, and of their relation to this Bill that I propose now to speak. These Indians represent all grades and conditions of civilization and progress, from the aboriginal state to comparative social and financial comfort. I understand that one Indian of British Columbia bought \$25,000 worth of Victory Bonds last fall. It is estimated that probably less than one-half of these Indians have ever had an opportunity to secure even a rudimentary education, and of those who have had the opportunity a very considerable number have refused to attend the school provided.

[Mr. Stacey.]

There are seven or eight linguistic stocks in the province, each of which has several distinct dialects. These stocks vary in intellectual capacity, as they do in other respects. Some, indeed, are of very high order, mentally alert, analytical, vigorous, and capable of great development under favourable conditions. But it is worthy of note that while there are many natives who are financially easy and many more who are intellectually qualified to a very high degree, not a single Indian from British Columbia has up to the present time made application for enfranchisement. When it is noted that 300 Indians in the Dominion at the present time have applied for enfranchisement the question naturally arises: why are none from British Columbia included in that number? One reason that may be assigned—I do not say the only one—is that an unfortunate state of affairs exists in British Columbia between certain Indian tribes on the one hand and the province of British Columbia and the Dominion of Canada on the other. Bill No. 13 which has been before this House is an attempt to remove the difficulties existing on the former account, whereas Bill No. 14 proposes or aims to promote the social and civic welfare of the individual Indian. In all fairness it must be said that a number of Indians from British Columbia appeared before your committee to oppose the passage of this Bill. But with equal candour it must be stated that it was soon discovered, upon their own admission, that their opposition was not really against the provisions of the Bill; for more than one of them stated that they did not know anything about those provisions. Their attitude was based, rather, upon the twofold objection as set forth by their counsel, Mr. O'Meara: first, that they formed a kind of protectorate under the British Crown and therefore this Parliament had no authority to pass this Bill—or, inferentially, any other Bill—affecting the allied tribes of British Columbia; second, upon the ground that they claimed tribal ownership under aboriginal title and Royal Proclamation of 1763 and were entitled to an interest in all the lands of the province. I propose now, Mr. Chairman, to state to the committee as clearly as I am able, not in the learned language of the lawyer but in the simpler speech of the layman, the condition of affairs in British Columbia in so far as they relate to the two points presented to your committee, as mentioned a moment ago.

It is necessary for us to review very briefly the history of the settlement and de-

velopment of the Coast province. With reference to the entire Pacific coast, the first explorers came from Spain and Russia. Those from Spain explored the coast line of Mexico and the Pacific States and sailed as far north as the Aleutian islands, where there are still to be found certain geographical names of Spanish origin. The Russians, on the other hand, explored the Alaskan coast and sailed as far south as California. About the same time, or a little later, Captain Cook, Mears and others from England explored the coast line from the mouth of the Columbia river northward, including parts which are now British Columbia, for example, the Queen Charlotte islands, and all explorers including those from England, claimed the territory discovered by simply landing and formally taking possession in the name of their sovereign, just as D'Arcy McGee described Jacques Cartier:

In the forests of the North, while his townsmen mourned his loss,  
He was rearing on Mount Royal the fleur-de-lis and Cross.

After the American Revolution, England's activities were greatly lessened on this continent by reason of the French Revolution, which continued to occupy her time and strength down to and including the earlier years of the last century. In the meantime the fur traders of the world had been looking with longing eyes to the wealth of the Pacific coast. The charter of the Hudson Bay Company did not permit them to extend their operations west of the Rockies, but the old Northwest Company had secured a lease on what is now the mainland of British Columbia. About one hundred years ago the Hudson Bay Company and the Northwest Company joined forces, which gave the former a footing on the Coast. In 1843 Vancouver island was leased to the Hudson Bay Company, and soon they established a post on the present site of the city of Victoria, and in 1849, Vancouver island was made a Crown colony.

What was then called British Columbia, namely, the mainland and Queen Charlotte islands, was made a Crown colony in 1858, and in 1866 the two colonies were united and five years later British Columbia entered Confederation.

Now, it is impossible for us to understand the British Columbia Indian question without some idea of its development through the successive periods I have just outlined. First, let us bear in mind that when the discoverers claimed the territory and formally took possession, the natives were

recognized, not as owners of the land, but as inhabitants of the country. They had absolutely no conception of ownership, as we understand the term. Then, a little later, when the territory came under the sway of the Hudson Bay Company, the same attitude and relation was recognized and maintained.

It must further be borne in mind that if we consider the relation of the Indian tribes to the Dominion, there is no fixed date which may be regarded as the time at which the whole question was definitely decided or settled. As a matter of fact, their present status is the result of long and gradual growth, just as the English constitution is the development of centuries and our own present national status is the outcome of natural growth subsequent to Confederation. So, in a similar manner, it can be stated that the present relation of the Indian tribes to this country has been the result of a century or more of mutual understandings and arrangements through, first, the Imperial Government, then, the Colonial Government and finally, the Dominion or Provincial Government and, indeed, with many tribes treaties are made. They, each in turn, dealt generously with the natives who were always regarded as the country's wards.

The allied tribes of British Columbia, as set forth in a petition presented to the House of Commons, claim tribal ownership of the land under aboriginal title, and this claim appears to be based upon the proclamation of King George III in 1763. This proclamation was issued after the conquest of Canada to establish His Majesty's Government in the newly conquered territory. The proclamation states that it is issued for the purpose of establishing a Government in the extensive and valuable acquisitions in America secured by the Treaty of Paris.

It is, perhaps, needless to point out that the French made no claim to what is now the province of British Columbia. Thirty years afterward, or in 1793, Captain Vancouver landed on the island that now bears his name, and in the following year McKenzie made his overland journey to the coast.

Regarding the proclamation itself, it was repealed by subsequent Acts of the Imperial Parliament, courts were set up, and a system of government was gradually developed. It is a well-known fact that the Hudson Bay Company always treated the Indians generously. It was in their interests,

of course, to do so. In the earlier years when the fur trade constituted their chief business, it was not desirable to have any extensive white settlement, and it was in their interests to keep on the most friendly terms possible with the natives. Notwithstanding this, the Hudson Bay Company always regarded the natives and treated them as inhabitants of the country, but not as owners of the soil or as having any title whatever to the same.

This policy was in harmony with the policy of the Motherland in all her explorations, as noted a few moments ago. We stated that the two Crown colonies were united in 1866; three years later Sir Anthony Musgrave, himself a Hudson Bay official, was appointed Governor of the colony, with the express purpose in view of conciliating the different factions in the colony and promoting its best interests, and immediately after his appointment, Earl Granville, then Secretary of State for the colonies, addressed to him a despatch in which he touched upon the Indian question as follows:

It will not escape you that in acquainting you with the general views of the Government, I have avoided all matters of detail, on which the wishes of people and the legislature will of course be declared in due time. I think it necessary however to observe that the Constitution of British Columbia will oblige the Governor to enter personally upon many questions, as the condition of the Indian tribes and the future position of the Government servants with which, in the case of a negotiation between two responsible Governments, he would not be bound to concern himself.

The 146th section of the British North America Act provided for the inclusion in the union of other colonies and mention was made of British Columbia. Preliminaries of union were actively taken up by both the colonies and the Dominion, and in 1870 we find Governor Musgrave writing to the Governor General of Canada as follows:

In Lord Granville's despatch, No. 84, of the 14th August, which was communicated to Your Excellency, he mentioned the condition of the Indian tribes as among some questions upon which the Constitution of British Columbia will oblige the Governor to enter personally. I have, purposely, omitted any reference to this subject in the terms proposed to the Legislative Council. Any arrangement which may be regarded as proper by Her Majesty's Government can, I think, best be settled by the Secretary of State, or by me, under his direction, with the Government of Canada. But Indians and lands reserved for Indians form the twenty-fourth of the classes of subjects named in the 71st section of the Union, which are expressly reserved to the legislative authority of the Parliament of the Dominion.

[Mr. Stacey.]

Yet, Sir, in face of all this, we have the astounding claim made that these Indians are not under the authority of the Dominion, but under a sort of protectorate of the British Crown.

I give one instance which occurred some years earlier to illustrate the attitude of Sir James Douglas, who was Governor of the Hudson Bay Company and administered affairs, under charter, on Vancouver Island. His policy was to take surrenders from the Indians, and a portion of the lower part of Vancouver Island was ceded to the company. In 1861 he endeavoured to obtain from the Home authorities a loan of £3,000, wherewith to obtain a cession of the Indian title to the whole of the island, but his application was refused. But on the mainland that policy was not at any time recognized. No aboriginal title was ever acknowledged there, and after the two colonies were united in 1866 the policy of the mainland prevailed.

Now, let us ask what the policy of the Crown Colony of British Columbia prior to 1871 actually was, in order that we may clearly understand what was involved and set forth in the 13th article of the terms of the Union. The 13th article reads as follows:

The charge of the Indians and the trusteeship and management of the lands reserved for their use and benefit shall be assumed by the Dominion Government and a policy as liberal as that hitherto pursued by the British Columbia Government shall be continued by the Dominion Government after the Union. To carry out such a policy, tracts of land of such extent as it has hitherto been the practice of the British Columbia Government to appropriate for that purpose shall from time to time be conveyed by the local Government to the Dominion Government in trust for the use and benefit of the Indians on application of the Dominion Government and in case of disagreement between the two Governments, respecting the quantity of such tracts of land to be so granted, the matter shall be referred for the decision of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Now then, let us examine the nature of such colonial policy. The policy of the Dominion Government in other parts of Canada aimed at the concentration of Indians upon reserves but that of the Crown Colony, while granting reserves in cases where the Indians preferred them, courted rather the opposite result. The colonial policy was first inaugurated under the auspices of the Imperial Government in 1858, the date of the foundation of the Crown Colony. Under this policy, the natives were invited and encouraged to mingle with and live amongst the white population with a view to weaning them by

degrees from savage life and gradually leading them by example and precept to adopt habits of peace, honesty and industry. While it was recognized that this step would probably be attended with some well-known evils, it was, however, believed that these defects would in time be largely removed by the application of proper remedies.

The system of presenting gifts to the native tribes was not a prominent feature of the colonial policy. It was followed more in obedience to Indian conditions than from any convictions of accomplishing good. The practice was countenanced rather than encouraged, as it was opposed to the main principles of assimilation of the native and civilized races and of the consequent treatment of the Indian as a fellow subject. Habits of self-reliance were inculcated, and the advantages of well-directed labour were impressed upon them. In those early days, labour was scarce and in great demand. The Indians became workers and were employed in almost every branch of industrial and domestic life.

In the administration of criminal law, the Indian and the white man were treated alike.

This in very brief outline is a sketch of the Colonial Indian Policy from 1858 to 1871. It was based on the broad and experimental principle of treating the Indian as a fellow-subject. The principle was at least a lofty one and worthy of an enlightened humanity. It had its trials but it also had its rewards, for, through its influence, the colony was enabled on the date of Confederation, to hand over to the trusteeship of the Dominion a community of 40,000 Indians, many of whom were savages, but all were loyal, peaceable, and contented, and in many cases honest and industrious.

Now, a word respecting the land policy that obtained during those 13 years, for a consideration of this question is absolutely essential at the present moment. I quote now, as before, from a memorandum written by the Hon. J. W. Trutch, first Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia, in which he says, shortly after his appointment, speaking of the Indians:

The Indians have in fact been held to be the special wards of the Crown and in the execution of this guardianship, the Government has in all cases where it has been desirable for the interests of the Indians, set apart such portions of the Crown lands as were deemed proportionate to and amply sufficient for the requirements of each tribe, and those Indian reserves are held by the Government in trust for the extensive use and benefit of the Indians residing thereon, but the title of the Indians in the fee

of the public lands or of any portion thereof, has never been acknowledged by the Government but on the contrary is distinctly denied. In no case has any special agreement been made with any of the tribes on the mainland for the extinction of their claims of possession, but these claims have been held to have been fully satisfied by securing to each tribe as the progress of the settlement of the country seemed to require, the use of sufficient tracts of land for their wants for agricultural and pastoral purposes.

Then speaking of what took place in the former colony of Vancouver Island, he said:

In 1850 and 1851, shortly after the first settlement in Victoria by the Hudson Bay Company, at that time grantees from the Crown of the whole of Vancouver Island with full powers of government, their agent, Governor Douglas, made agreements with the various families of Indians then occupying the South East portion of the Island, for the relinquishment of their claims in the district of country around Fort Victoria, in consideration of certain blankets and other goods presented to them but these presents were, as I understand, made for the purpose of securing friendly relations between those Indians and the settlement of Victoria, then in its infancy, and certainly not in acknowledgement of any general title of the Indians to the lands they occupied.

And this view of the Lieutenant-Governor appears to have been confirmed by the Imperial authorities, for a little later when Governor Douglas approached the British Government for a loan of £3,000, in order to secure a similar surrender for the whole of the Island, his application was refused, evidently because the Imperial authorities did not wish to recognize any aboriginal title to the land in question.

I wish to draw your attention particularly to the consideration which was given the Indian question in the 13th clause of the Terms of Union, which I have already read. This clause was considered by the Dominion and also by British Columbia, a satisfactory settlement of the Indian question, and the Imperial Government acquiesced. The terms of the union were approved by Her Majesty in Council and in the same year, 1871, British Columbia entered Confederation. Now it will be noted that all parties to the union agreed on clause 13 of the Terms of Union, and this clause recognized the well-established policy of the government of the colonies with reference to Indians.

To further show that there was no possibility of mistaking either the custom or the purpose of British Columbia in regard to Indian control, I quote an extract from a memorandum sent by Governor Musgrave to Earl Granville, Secretary of State for the Colonies, written a few months prior to the settlement of the Terms of Union, as follows:

The Indians have, in fact, been held to be the special wards of the Crown, and in the exercise of this guardianship government has, in all cases where it has been desirable for the interests of the Indians, set apart such portions of the Crown lands as were deemed proportionate to, and amply sufficient for, the requirements of each tribe; and these Indian Reserves are held by Government, in trust, for the exclusive use and benefit of the Indians resident thereon.

And further, and even more emphatic:

But the title of the Indians in the fee of the public lands, or of any portion thereof, has never been acknowledged by government, but on the contrary, is distinctly denied. In no case has any special agreement been made with any of the tribes of the mainland for the extinction of their claims of possession; but these claims have been held to have been fully satisfied by securing to each tribe, as the progress of the settlement of the country seemed to require, the use of sufficient tracts of land for their wants for agricultural and pastoral purposes.

The first Lieutenant-Governor of the province of British Columbia was the Honourable J. W. Trutch, and in a letter addressed to Sir John Macdonald in October of 1872, he wrote as follows:

Then as to Indian policy I am fully satisfied that for the present the wisest course would be to continue the system which has prevailed hitherto only providing increased means for educating the Indians and generally improving their condition, moral and physical. The Canadian system—

—that is, the Eastern system—

—as I understand it will hardly work here. We have never bought out any Indian claims for lands, nor do they expect we should, but we reserve for their use and benefit from time to time tracts of sufficient extent to fulfil all their reasonable requirements for cultivation or grazing. If you now commence to buy out Indian title to the lands of British Columbia you would go back of all that has been done here for thirty years past and would be equitably bound to compensate the tribes who inhabited the districts now settled, formed by white people equally with those in the more remote and uncultivated portions. Our Indians are sufficiently satisfied and had better be left alone as far as a new system towards them is concerned. Only give us the means of educating them by teachers employed directly by the Government as well as by aiding the efforts of the missionaries now working among them.

Some time after British Columbia entered Confederation, what is known as the "Land Question" became a vital issue in the province. The Dominion Government had granted to the Indians east of the Rockies reserves amounting to a grant per family of some 80 acres, while on the western slope of the Rockies, where reserves had been granted, it had amounted to some 20 acres per family.

While this may appear on the face of it to suggest larger generosity on the part of

[Mr. Stacey.]

the Dominion than obtained in the province, a knowledge of local hunting conditions and the comparative value of the land concerned would remove such a criticism. However, leaving that aside, the Indians complained that they had not received as much land as had been granted to other tribes across the Rockies, and many of them and others who were supporting their claims pressed very strongly for a recognition of an Indian title and for treatment similar to that which the Indians to the east of the Rocky mountains received.

As great dissatisfaction existed over the allotment of reserves, the Provincial and Dominion Governments made an agreement in 1875, which led to the appointment of Reserve Commissions, whose duty it was to set aside reserves under agreement, one of the provisions of which reads as follows:

That each reserve shall be held in trust for the use and benefit of the nation of Indians to which it has been allotted and in the event of any material increase or decrease hereafter of the members of a nation occupying a reserve, such reserve shall be enlarged or diminished, as the case may be, so that it shall bear a fair proportion to the members of the nation occupying it. The extra land required for any reserve shall be allotted from Crown lands and any land taken off a reserve shall revert to the province.

This provision gave rise to what is known as the reversionary interest of British Columbia in Indian reserves.

As time passed, the claim of the Indians and their friends that they had title to the provincial lands was constantly pressed and in more recent years has been advocated by counsel in the employ of certain Indians and their friends.

Shortly after the appointment of the present Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, the question of the Indian title in British Columbia became urgent by reason of strong representations made to the Government by certain influential persons and interested organizations. Recommendations were, in consequence, made to the Government, which were adopted by an Order in Council dated June, 1914, and which still stand as the proposition of the Government to the Indians, and the conditions of the Order in Council are as follows:

1. The Indians of British Columbia shall, by their chiefs or representatives, in a binding way, agree, if the court, or, on appeal, the Privy Council, decides that they have a title to lands of the province, to surrender such title, receiving from the Dominion benefits to be granted for extinguishment of title in accordance with past usage of the Crown in satisfying the Indian claim to unsurrendered territories, and to accept the finding of the Royal

Commission on Indian Affairs in British Columbia as approved by the Government of the Dominion and the province as a full allotment of reserve lands to be administered for their benefit as part of the compensation.

2. That the province of British Columbia by granting the said reserves as approved shall be held to have satisfied all claims of the Indians against the province.

That the remaining considerations shall be provided and the cost thereof borne by the Government of the Dominion of Canada.

3. That the Government of British Columbia shall be represented by counsel, that the Indians shall be represented by counsel nominated and paid by the Dominion.

4. That, in the event of the court or Privy Council deciding that the Indians have no title in the lands of the province of British Columbia, the policy of the Dominion towards the Indians shall be governed by consideration of their interests and future developments.

So that in any case the Indian stood to win.

It will be remembered that one provision of the 13th clause of the Union negotiations provided that the Dominion should carry out such a policy in the interest of the Indians that would be at least equal to that which had been pursued by the Crown colony prior to 1871. The fact should be emphasized that while the British Columbia Indians are not in possession of a documented treaty, they have always enjoyed the substance of a treaty. Provision has been made for their education; they have been protected on their reserves; irrigation and dyking have received attention and they have been encouraged in agriculture and fruit-growing and in general, the progressive policy, which has governed the Crown in its relation to the natives of other parts of the country, has been extended to the Indians of British Columbia in no unstinted degree.

Further, ever since the province entered the Union, yearly appropriations have been made by Parliament to carry out the policy of the Government with reference to the Indians of British Columbia.

During the last 20 years, \$4,632,288.14 have been expended for Indian purposes in British Columbia, so that as a matter of fact, a policy much more generous than that adopted by the Crown colony has been in operation during the days of Confederation.

A consideration of the foregoing facts has fully satisfied me that the objection to this advanced programme as presented by their counsel before your committee and widely promulgated throughout the country, is groundless, and that the present policy and programme of the Government in its effort to bring them into the rights and privi-

leges of full Canadian citizenship is the policy which will commend itself, not only to the best thinking and most progressive Indians but to their true and real friends throughout the country.

I was strongly impressed with a remark made by Mr. Scott, whether personal or official, I am not prepared to say, but in my opinion it presented the ideal and correct solution of the whole Indian problem, when he stated that he hoped, in time, not in his day, not perhaps for 100 years hence, but some day, in Canada, there would be no Indian problem. The Indians would all be absorbed into the nation and take their place in the social, economic and civic life of the community, and of the state, on a par with all other citizens.

And now, coming to consider the two main provisions of the Bill, let us look at the actual conditions. The Deputy Superintendent General advised your committee that the Reserve Day Schools in the West were practically a failure. The children were kept at home for the slightest reason or excuse. Irregularity in attendance, the bane of all teachers, prevailed everywhere. In fact, teachers were mildly buying the attendance of the children, a ruinous policy, and worse principle. The Deputy Superintendent General further stated that the Indian school system is somewhat peculiar in that the churches co-operate with the department in the work of education and he added:

"I have always been in favour of that, because of the success which has attended the work and which is due in a great measure to the co-operation of the churches."

He further added that in 1910, when Mr. Oliver was minister, he called all the heads of the denominations concerned—the Anglicans, Roman Catholics, Methodists and Presbyterians—to Ottawa and they had a conference, and there has been a decided improvement as a result. The churches are conducting boarding schools under a contract system, the Government then consenting to an increase in the per capita grant, which is not now sufficient to meet the cost of living, but the churches have loyally made up the deficiency out of their own resources.

At that time, Mr. Oliver agreed to spend a certain amount every year in the erection of new buildings and this policy was continued by the Borden Government and Parliament was very generous in its appropriations until the war broke out.

With regard to the Industrial and Boarding Schools as carried on by co-operation

with the churches operating in the province, there are 3 Anglican, 2 Presbyterian, 3 Methodist and 8 Roman Catholic. The buildings required for the carrying on of this work have been very largely provided by the churches concerned. The Government has contributed \$160,000 towards the erection of buildings for the Roman Catholic church and \$44,000 for the construction of those operated by the Presbyterian church, while up to the present, the Anglican and Methodist bodies have built their own residential schools.

Roughly speaking, one-third of the total cost involved in carrying on these residential schools has been and is supplied by the churches themselves and although the cost of maintenance during the last 4 or 5 years, has been greatly increased, such extra outlay has been borne entirely by the churches and the Government has maintained the same per capita grant that obtained prior to the war.

I mention these facts mainly for the purpose of pointing out the importance of the fact that the disinterested and patriotic educators of the Indian population of the West are practically a unit in strongly urging the Government to adopt a compulsory educational system, in so far as it affects the attendance of the children of the native population.

It cannot perhaps be expected for obvious reasons that they would take a similar position or indeed any pronounced attitude upon the question of the enfranchisement of these Indians. However, we do know that many who have been a long while engaged in the work of Indian education and understand their character and habits thoroughly, are strongly of the opinion that some such advanced legislation as is provided for in the Bill, should be enacted. Their ground for this opinion is well taken and, the one reason is as follows:

The Indian boy or girl when leaving the school, say at the age of 16 or 18, naturally returns to his or her home among the tribe, and having no civic or individual goal to reach as a citizen in the community, there is necessarily more or less deterioration. In fairness, however, to the work of the schools of the country, it should be said that the best type of Indian home life follows the union of young men and women who have both had their training in these industrial schools.

Now, it is not believed by the committee or the department, or indeed by any one, that any wholesale process of enfranchise-

[Mr. Stacey.]

ment will follow the passage of this Bill, or that any arbitrary method of compelling certain Indians to at once assume the duties of citizenship will follow, but it is believed, and very strongly believed, that it is necessary for this department to have and exercise the power of initiative, so that when these people are in a position to assume their proper place in the life of the country, the machinery of the Government shall enable them to do so, and in this connection let me say it was a matter of very great satisfaction to your committee to learn that almost every Indian who spoke declared his unbounded confidence in the Deputy Superintendent General in fact, one British Columbia Indian stated in a very unique and emphatic manner that if he could only be assured that Mr. Scott would live forever, he did not care what kind or amount of legislation was passed by the Parliament, that he knew it would be all right; so long as Mr. Scott was there, they would be well treated.

Mr. Chairman, I have reached the conclusion that the real friend of the British Columbia Indians is not the man who encourages them in the mistaken idea that they are independent of the Canadian Parliament, and that they have some legal claim on the lands of the province, and who takes their money and the money of other well-intentioned friends of the Indian in order that he may continue this agitation and develop a case, which already the Imperial Privy Council has declined to consider.

I repeat, Sir, that the real friend of the British Columbia native is not the man who pursues such a policy. He may be actuated by philanthropic and disinterested motives but I do not know a man in British Columbia who understands the situation that believes it.

The real friends of the Indians are their teachers and missionaries, many of whom have given a lifetime of unrewarded labour to promote their welfare at great personal and domestic sacrifice and whose splendid service the country is beginning to recognize. Their real friends are those white men who seek to help them and to encourage them when and where possible and who discourage all agitation and agitators and, may I further add, that in my opinion, the Indians of British Columbia, or indeed of any and every part of Canada, have no more disinterested and sympathetic advocate, no truer friend anywhere than the

Deputy Superintendent General, Mr. D. C. Scott.

Mr. Speaker, having listened carefully to the case as presented by Mr. O'Meara, on behalf of the allied tribes of British Columbia and having given the whole subject and his argument such study and consideration as I am capable of doing, and having in mind the fact that the land question was their main reason why this Bill should not pass, (they not having presented or urged any objection against the provisions of the Bill itself), I am fully convinced that his objections are groundless and in the main hypothetical, and believing that it is highly desirable in the interests both of the Indian and of the white population of British Columbia, that this Bill should pass, I support it with full confidence that its administration will be marked by kindness, consideration and firmness.

The CHAIRMAN: Shall clause 1 carry?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What was the nature of the amendments made by the committee?

Mr. MEIGHEN: Where compulsory education is provided the amendment suggested by the committee states that the children shall only be compelled to attend such school as shall be the nearest available school of the kind required.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Will the minister state generally the nature of the amendments?

Mr. MEIGHEN: I think it will be better to state them as each clause is dealt with.

Section 1 agreed to.

On section 3—Enfranchisement of Indians.

On subsection (1)—Enquiry and report as to fitness of Indians to be enfranchised.

Mr. BOYS: Mr. Chairman, with regard to the amendment in clause 1 that has been referred to, and which is to be found on page 2 of the Bill, it provides that in the case of compulsory attendance the child shall be sent to the nearest available school of the kind required. In other words, it was thought that the child might be taken, for instance, from one province to another, and the amendment was made to guard against that.

Are we to take up section 3, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN: We are on section 3. Sections 1 and 2 were carried.

Mr. BOYS: There is a more or less important amendment in section 107. As it read before it was as follows:

The Superintendent General may appoint an officer or person to make inquiry and report as to the fitness of any Indian or Indians to be enfranchised.

The amendment suggested by the committee is to strike out the words "an officer or person" in the second line and insert the following words—I will read the clause in its amended form:

The Superintendent General may appoint a board to consist of two officers of the Department of Indian Affairs and a member of the band to which the Indian or Indians belongs. The Indian member of the board shall be nominated in writing by the council of the band within thirty days after the date of notice having been given to the council and in default of such nomination the appointment shall be made by the Superintendent General.

It was thought that instead of leaving it entirely to the Superintendent General it would be better to have the board that the amendment provides for and on which the Indians will have representation. Then there is another amendment, merely in accord with that, in the last line of subsection 1, where the words "officer or person" are struck out and the word "board" inserted. Perhaps it would be better to deal with that before I make reference to the amendment which takes place in subsection 2.

The CHAIRMAN: Shall subclause 1 carry?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Were the amendments unanimously carried in committee?

Mr. BOYS: That amendment was unanimously carried. It might be proper to state here that we had a division of opinion regarding compulsory enfranchisement. But I think I am correct in saying that every member of the committee agreed that if we are to have compulsory enfranchisement the method proposed therefor is a desirable one for accomplishing that purpose.

Mr. ROBB: Was any particular desire expressed on the part of the Indians generally throughout the various provinces to become enfranchised, or were they opposed to it?

Mr. BOYS: The majority of the Indians who appeared before the committee were not in favour of compulsory enfranchisement, but so far as this particular method is concerned, I think I can say they were not opposed to it. We have to make that

distinction all the way through. I have already stated what the views were on the question itself, and if I am to confine myself to this section, I have nothing further to add; but, on the other hand, if we are to discuss the general question of enfranchisement that opens up, a wider field.

Mr. ROBB: On what grounds did the Indians object to enfranchisement?

Mr. BOYS: They want to please themselves. What moved the committee to adopt this amendment was the experience of the department. A matter perhaps worth referring to is that, Under the Indian Act, after fifty-three years of operation, only 65 Indians were enfranchised. Under the amendment made by chapter 26 of the Statutes of 1918, where there was a wider opportunity for enfranchisement, no less than 258 Indians took advantage of those provisions in less than two years, and it is felt that many more will do so under the provisions of the amended Act. Personally I see no reason why Indians who leave the reserve and work in the shops of Montreal, Brantford or other cities should have the protection to which an Indian is entitled under the Act, because these Indians are in receipt of large sums of money; many of them are professional men, doctors and lawyers, and should not be treated as wards. There is no thought on the part of the department, so far as we can gather from its past practice or from what the Deputy Superintendent stated before the committee, to bring about the enfranchisement of Indians in any wholesale way. If hon. members will read the provisions of the Bill and see the protection that surrounds the Indian in that regard, and if they will take the trouble also to read the proceedings before the committee and find out what the practice of the department has been, they will come to the conclusion that there is no thought on the part of the department of enfranchising any Indian who is not fit to be enfranchised. It is no wonder that the Indians did not take advantage of enfranchisement under the old method. Section 108 of the Indian Act, 1914, provides that whenever any male Indian or unmarried Indian woman of the full age of twenty-one years makes application to the Superintendent General for enfranchisement, the Superintendent General shall instruct the agent of the band of which the applicant is a member to call upon the latter to furnish a certificate. That is the first thing that has to be done; and that certificate

[Mr. Boys.]

has to be furnished under oath taken before a judge, justice of the peace, stipendiary magistrate, etc. It has to be shown that for at least five years previously the Indian has been of good moral character, temperate in his habits, intelligent, and so on. Then under section 109, upon receipt of that certificate thirty days have to lapse, during which time affidavits may be handed in with regard to the fitness or the character of the Indian in question. In the event of there being no such affidavits the Superintendent General under section 110, after examining the evidence may, if he decides in favour of the applicant, grant him a location ticket for land occupied by him. Then, under section 112 three years are to elapse before the Indian is entitled to enfranchisement. Now, these proceedings seem to be slow and cumbersome. The amendments proposed by the committee provide that after the report is made under subsection 2 by the board referred to, the next step is as follows:

On the report of the Superintendent General that any Indian, male or female, over the age of twenty-one years is fit for enfranchisement, the Governor in Council may by order direct that such Indian shall be and become enfranchised at the expiration of two years from the date of such order, or on the date of such order if requested by such Indian, and from the date of such enfranchisement the provisions of the Indian Act and of any other Act or law making any distinction between the legal rights, privileges, disabilities and liabilities of Indians and those of His Majesty's other subjects, shall cease to apply to such Indian or to his or her minor unmarried children, or, in the case of a married male Indian, to the wife of such Indian, and every such Indian and child and wife shall thereafter have possess and enjoy all the legal powers, rights and privileges of His Majesty's other subjects, and shall no longer be deemed to be Indians within the meaning of any laws relating to Indians.

Briefly summarized, this provision simply means that in the case of an Indian who is fit for enfranchisement the board investigates the case and, the report being favourable, the Superintendent General issues the order and at the end of two years the Indian becomes enfranchised. But if he himself wishes, he may become enfranchised at any time before the expiration of the two years. If, of course, this provision was going to lead to the wholesale enfranchisement of Indians against their wishes, a great deal might be said against it; but there is no such intention. Under another section the desire of the Indian himself in regard to enfranchisement is to be a factor in determining his fitness. So that we start off with the report; that report shows

whether or not the Indian himself wants enfranchisement. It shows whether he is fit, in the opinion of the board to become enfranchised. If he is and does not himself desire to be enfranchised immediately, the order has no effect for a period of two years, during which time the Indian may make such representations to the department as he thinks proper. Our report recommended that the Government consider the advisability of amending the rules of the House so as to provide for a standing Committee on Indian Affairs. If that recommendation is approved and such a committee is established, the complaint of any Indian could go to that committee; and even if the rules are not so amended the matter can certainly be dealt with in a proper and fitting manner. So that it is safe to say that no Indian will be enfranchised against his wishes unless he is clearly fit for enfranchisement. And as I have said, why should Indians who work in the snops of Montreal, Brantford and other such places and who are in receipt of an income of from \$6 to \$9 a day, have all the protection surrounding wards of the country? These people are taking their places with the other residents of Canada; they are in just the same position as white men. Every Indian who came before the committee expressed a desire to take his place with the white man as fast as possible; no good argument was advanced against the compulsory enfranchisement of Indians who are in the position that I have indicated. Unless it can be shown from the record of the department or from something that was brought before the committee that it is the intention of the department to enfranchise, against their wishes, Indians who are unfit for enfranchisement, I cannot see what objection there can be to this proposal.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I desire to move that the words "or on the date of such order" in the portion sought to be added by the subcommittee be changed to "or earlier." As it reads, I am afraid that enfranchisement could take place either at the end of two years from the date of the order, or at the actual date of the order, and at no other time. That was not the intention, and, of course, it would not be common-sense. The intention is not to compel enfranchisement for two years, but if the Indian desires it earlier, at any time between the date of the order and the end of the year period, he can have it.

Mr. BOYS: I think the minister is mistaken as to the meaning of the clause. The

order which enfranchises the Indian is made immediately after the report is made. The order is not dated two years hence; it is dated as of that date. The wording we have is: "or on the date of such order if requested by such Indian." Now, suppose the order is made providing for enfranchisement two years hence. The Indian himself, before the two years are up, makes a request to be enfranchised, and if he does that, his enfranchisement takes place as of the date of the order, which would be a day gone by and not a day in the future. If there is to be a change, the only change that should be made is in the date of his application or request.

Mr. MEIGHEN: My point is this. I did not have time to discuss the matter with the hon. member who was chairman of the committee, but I discussed it with the Deputy Superintendent General and with another member of the committee. If the clause is left as it is, then the order that the Governor in Council passes after a report of the Board, could provide for one of two things: one, that the enfranchisement of the Indian would take effect in two years from the date of the order; or two, that the enfranchisement of the Indian would take effect at once upon the date of the order, the second, only in the event of the Indian requesting it. If the Indian can request it to take place, there is no reason why he should not be allowed to request it at any time within the two years.

Mr. BOYS: That is the intention.

Mr. MEIGHEN: That is what I thought. That is what I rose to say and what I said before. There is no use making it take effect within the two years and then to have the enfranchisement date back. That would retroactively make the Indian liable on obligations for which he was not liable before and which took place in the period between that date and the date of enfranchisement. That is why I make this suggested change which I was sure was the intention of the committee.

Mr. McCOIG: In what way does the enfranchisement of an Indian affect him as regards his Government grant?

Mr. MEIGHEN: On enfranchisement he gets commutation of all his rights. He gets such lands or such cash as his share amounts to, and then he makes his way in the world. He gets no more grants; he gets no more protection from his civil liabilities, and he gets the

vote. In a word, he becomes no longer an Indian, but a citizen in full status.

Mr. ROBB: My understanding of the matter is this. Subclause (2) of section 107 reads:

On the report of the Superintendent General that any Indian, male or female, over the age of twenty-one years is fit for enfranchisement, the Governor in Council may by order enfranchise such Indian, and from the date of such order the provisions of the Indian Act and of any other Act or law making any distinction between the legal rights, privileges, disabilities and liabilities of Indians and those of His Majesty's other subjects, shall cease to apply to such Indian or to his or her minor unmarried children, or in the case of a married male Indian, to the wife of such Indian, and every such Indian and child and wife shall thereafter have, possess and enjoy all the legal powers, rights and privileges of His Majesty's other subjects, and shall no longer be deemed to be Indians within the meaning of any laws relating to Indians.

As I understand this, it gives the Government of the day power to compel an Indian to become enfranchised.

Mr. MEIGHEN: The hon. gentleman read the clause as it was originally drafted and submitted to the subcommittee, but the subcommittee has materially amended that clause.

Mr. ROBB: But the minister just a few moments ago answering the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Mackenzie King) said that no amendments were made in committee.

Mr. MEIGHEN: The hon. member must have misunderstood me, because I did not say that. I said that there was no amendment to clause 1, and then I corrected myself as to that, because there is a slight amendment to clause 1. But there is a very substantial amendment to this clause providing safeguards in the matter of enfranchisement. I will send a copy to the hon. member.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Is it not a fact that all the rights of Indians as respects property, enfranchisement and other such matters are secured under treaty obligations, and if so, have the Government considered the possibility of these treaty rights being superior to any Act of Parliament and any Order in Council?

Mr. MEIGHEN: That has been fully considered. There are no treaty rights affecting the question of enfranchisement. The treaty rights affect property, but no clause of any treaty is interfered with in any degree by these clauses. Indeed, if it were, all the clauses would be similarly against the Treaty. This is mainly another

[Mr. Meighen.]

method of enfranchisement, and there is nothing in any treaty that affects this at all.

Mr. ROBB: According to this amended clause which the minister has kindly sent over, in the first place the department decide that they are going to have these Indians enfranchised, then they notify the council to make a nomination, and within thirty days after notice having been given to the council, in default of the council having appointed a board, the Superintendent General himself may appoint this board. Therefore, the matter is all within the power of the department if they wish to go about it, if the Indians say: We are not going to bother with that.

Mr. MEIGHEN: That refers to the appointment of the Indian member of the board.

Mr. ROBB: But, listening as I did at some of the sessions of the committee and knowing as I think I know the feeling of one band, that is the band in the county which I have the honour to represent, the St. Regis band, the Indian is absolutely opposed to this measure with the exception of the educational features of it. He is opposed to enfranchisement. He remembers when he did have a right to vote in the past, and he says: If you give us this, it allows the white man to come in at times and debauch the tribe. The Indian has nothing to gain by this and he does not want it. He says: We have treaties with the white men and we expect the white man to live up to those treaties. I am afraid we are to-day introducing a measure that will enable a Government, perhaps not to-day, but some day, to break faith with the Indian and to adopt measures that will not only take away from him his status as an Indian, but enable speculators to come in and take away his land. I imagine that is what the Indian is more afraid of than the question of enfranchisement.

Mr. BOYS: This would affect only the enfranchised Indians, it would not affect any other Indians of the band. Does my hon. friend think, in the case he mentions, where these very Indians cross the St. Lawrence river and work in the shops of Montreal—

Mr. ROBB: The Indians to whom I refer are near Cornwall.

Mr. BOYS: Well, I was thinking of the Indians of Caughnawaga. Is it proper for

an Indian to do what I have mentioned and make his seven or eight dollars a day and then go back to the tribe and do anything he likes and not be liable for his debts? I do not think for one moment this is a question of voting at all. A white man may be mentally weak, perhaps not half as strong mentally or physically as the Indian of whom I have spoken, but the moment he becomes twenty-one years of age, he is liable for his debts. Yet under the law of to-day, that Indian goes about with all sorts of protection around him, and at the same time he is competing with the white man and enjoying the benefits to which I have referred. It is not the intention of the department, it has not been in the past, and it will not be in the future, to enfranchise any Indian who is not fit; and if he is fit, if he can take care of himself, if he can do what I have mentioned, why should he not be enfranchised and become a full-fledged citizen? He need not vote unless he likes. Speaking as a member of that committee, I may say that the voting feature had not the slightest influence upon me. The policy of the department is not favourable to keeping an Indian a ward of the Crown; it is to try to develop his condition along educational and other lines in order that the day may come when he will become a full-fledged citizen of the country, taking with the white man the very part that he himself desires to take. If we do not move along these lines, how can that end be attained?

Mr. ROBB: The hon. member has mentioned the Caughnawaga Indians. Did their representative approve of this legislation?

Mr. BOYS: I have said frankly that I do not think more than one or two of all who addressed the committee or were examined by them were in favour of this legislation. The stand they took was that if they wanted enfranchisement they could apply for it. The difficulty is that some of those who should be enfranchised and perhaps be made liable to the laws of the land are the very ones who will not apply for enfranchisement. Why should they be protected?

Mr. BURNHAM: I should like to say a word on this matter as I have Indians in my constituency. An Indian who desires to become enfranchised should certainly have that privilege. This legislation does not in any way compel the enfranchisement of the band or any of its individuals who do not wish to become enfranchised, nor does it affect in any way the prosperity of

the reserve. Neither, of course, will it affect the money which they got under the treaty with the Government for the various properties which they have in times past sold to the Government, and for which they receive a stated annual amount. The Indians in the band in the county of West Peterborough are very intelligent, very progressive, and have a great deal of property. They want to have the vote. It is no good for my hon. friend (Mr. Robb) shaking his head, because they have told me they want the vote and their squaws want the vote. This tribe of Indians I speak of sent a very large number to the war, several of whom were killed and many decorated. Man for man they were more distinguished and more capable than the whites.

Mr. McKENZIE: Not at all.

Mr. BURNHAM: And to say that these men shall not under any circumstances have the right to the franchise, which, as I understand this legislation, is not in any way to be forced upon them, is to my mind a great ingratitude and an impropriety that requires a whole lot of explaining.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Before the amendment carries I think it is only proper that the views of the Indians who object to this legislation should be placed before the committee and be placed on record in Hansard. I have had handed to me a statement by some gentlemen who are representing the Indians, setting out the objections they have to this legislation, and with the permission of the committee I should like to read it, as I think it is important that we should not proceed with the legislation without having before us the objections to it from the point of view of the Indians. They are the parties that are concerned, and certainly if there is any obligation upon Parliament it is that we should safeguard the rights of a class of people who are particularly under the protection of the Government of the country. The memorandum that I have had given to me reads as follows:

As the Special Committee considering Bill 14 has now reported to the House of Commons, we think it well that all members of Parliament should know our reasons for objecting to this Bill. For this purpose we set out the following parts of our statement placed before the Special Committee.

"To the Special Committee of the House of Commons.

Considering Bill 14.

"We delegates of the Allied Tribes of British Columbia protest against the proposed com-

pulsory enfranchisement of Indians as set out in Bill 14 on the following grounds:—

"1. We claim this proposed legislation is ultra vires of the Parliament of Canada.

"The Parliament of Canada obtained power only to regulate the dealings of the Crown with Indian tribes and not to break up the tribes, and destroy their status and rights, which are recognized by Imperial enactment made before the Parliament of Canada came into existence.

"2. Judging the Bill from the actual effects it would have, we see in it a most serious attack against the position of all Tribes in Canada and especially those of British Columbia for the purpose of

"(1) Breaking up the Tribes.

"(2) Destroying their status.

"(3) Preventing their obtaining recognition of the tribal rights guaranteed them by Imperial enactment.

"(4) Preventing the Nishga Tribe from proceeding with its Petition now before the Privy Council.

"(5) Breaking up the reserves so these lands may rapidly become possessed by whites.

"(6) The making of a large number of Indians vagabonds.

"3. We consider the following features of the Bill are unjust, undemocratic, and detrimental to our best interests.

"(1) The feature of Compulsion.

"(2) The unlimited and autocratic power which it is proposed to confer on the Superintendent General.

"(3) In exercise of that power the Superintendent General may at any time destroy the very existence of a Tribe by enfranchising all its members.

"(4) He may at any time on recommendation of Indian agents or others forcibly separate from the Tribe by enfranchisement any Indian who takes an independent stand or is active against the autocratic decrees of the Indian Department or its agents.

"(5) He may at any time divorce from the Tribe its best and most capable men by enfranchising them.

"(6) The Bill sets out no definite standard to be attained by individuals preparatory to enfranchisement. Not over 5 per cent of the Indians of British Columbia are educated and some Tribes have been in contact with whites only since about 1875.

"(7) The Bill does not contemplate treating with the Indian Tribes, nor does it in the slightest degree provide for the obtaining of their consent or views.

"(8) The Bill throughout ignores the rights of the Tribe and assumes that reserves and other properties belong to bands.

"(9) The Bill proposes the breaking up of the reserves without the consent of the Indians who thus have no voice in the disposal of their property.

"However advantageous any one may think Bill 14 to be, we consider it fundamentally unjust to lay violent hands on the Indian Tribe, break its status, and divide up its lands by compulsory methods. If it can be demonstrated the Bill will be advantageous to us, the only just way is to treat with us and make us parties to any arrangement.

"Bill 14 was brought before the House of Commons to be passed and made law without our views being considered and without our even being notified.

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

"We strongly protest against this hasty, unreasonable and autocratic method of making laws for us without consulting us and without ascertaining whether these laws will really benefit us.

"We have a better knowledge of our own mind, our own conditions and our own requirements than the officials of the Indian Department have or can have. We are neither slaves nor children.

"We ask that in future we have the opportunity of examining and expressing our views upon all proposed laws effecting our status, our rights and our well being.

"We also ask that all proposed laws and all regulations proposed by the Indian Department affecting us be submitted to the Chief Officials of the Canadian Anthropological Division so their advice thereon may be obtained.

"In our opinion it is impossible to arrive at any satisfactory dealing with education, enfranchisement, appointment and powers of chiefs, and other matters of local self-government of Tribes without fuller enquiry and conference with the various tribes. In our late statement to the British Columbia Government, we recognize that these matters should be dealt with.

"From what we know of the Bill as now amended and before Parliament it is quite as unjust and dangerous as ever. Enfranchisement is still compulsory and therefore the effects the Bill would have remain the same. Also the autocratic power is merely shifted from a single official appointed by the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs to an Indian Department majority in a board of three.

"We ask why should the Indians of Canada of all peoples known to us in the British Empire be singled out for compulsory enfranchisement, and the breaking up of their lands without their consent? Is it because we are generally speaking uneducated and helpless? What is the need of this compulsion? There are no White communities in Canada coerced in this way.

"If the Government desires to confer enfranchisement as a benefit, then why cannot Indians upon attaining some definite standard of education and advancement become enfranchised, if they so desire, without losing their status as members of their tribes and having their lands broken up? We feel that if our tribes are broken up and we can no longer act with our kin, we will lose our stability and will deteriorate. We desire that our tribes be built up and not torn down, and that we be wisely assisted to manage our own affairs within the Canadian Nation. We object most strenuously to the Government introducing Bill 14 or any other Bill affecting our welfare without first consulting us or obtaining our views as to the effects of same upon us. We should be parties to all laws affecting us—then there will be fewer mistakes on the part of the Government, and laws enacted will be much more easily carried into effect. We desire to be satisfied, happy, and progressive peoples. Let the Government help and not hinder our development."

I do not think there is anything that I need add to this statement which comes from the Indians themselves. The hon. member for Simcoe South (Mr. Boys) has intimated to us that the Indians were not consulted in this matter; and that they are known to be opposed to compulsory enfranchisement; and the committee them-

selves were divided on the question of the wisdom of compulsory enfranchisement of the Indians.

Mr. BOYS: I did not say that the Indians were all against it. I said that nearly all those who appeared before us were opposed, and that is a very different thing.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I apologize to my hon. friend if I misconstrued his remarks, but his statement now speaks for itself, that nearly all the Indians that appeared before the committee were opposed to the legislation. If the Government were anxious to get this legislation through there is not a shadow of doubt that they must have made an effort to have some Indians present who would like to see the legislation passed; and if most of those that appeared proved to be against it, that fact would, prima facie, at least, seem to indicate that the Indians generally were opposed to it. If that is the case I think that this Parliament ought also to be opposed to this legislation; because Parliament is certainly the guardian of the Indian's welfare.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I will leave some one else to reply to my hon. friend, but I desire to say that the Government did not make any attempt to bring Indians down who were in favour of this legislation. Certain ones volunteered to come and they were helped to come, but we never made any attempt to bring down Indians who were in favour of it. Naturally those that came down would be those who were against the legislation; the rest of them trust the department.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I should have thought that the Government, before legislating in a matter that affects the fundamental rights of the Indians, would have made an effort to have a thoroughly representative group of Indians present and have them heard before taking any action. If the Government has made no effort to have representative Indians heard in the matter this legislation ought to stand until the Government can obtain their views.

Mr. MEIGHEN: The department, through a long series of five decades, has known the views of the Indians, and it is in touch with them from day to day. If one were to deal with wards in the same way as he would deal with citizens, he would not be dealing with wards at all. You could not put the two classes in that relationship if you dealt with them from the same stand-

point. I shall not deal generally with the document which the hon. member has read; I think there are other members of the committee who are better acquainted with its contents and its author than I am.

Mr. HAROLD: I desire to make a few remarks in reference to the statements contained in the paper just submitted by the leader of the Opposition. Those objections were carefully considered by the committee, and the gentleman who wrote the document was given many hours to debate his case. A considerable body of Indians from British Columbia accompanied him and we gave them every opportunity to lay before the committee all the ideas they entertained in connection with this legislation or anything else that appertains to Indian affairs. I might say that at the outset of this inquiry I felt opposed to the principles underlying the compulsory enfranchisement as outlined in the Bill, and it was only after having heard all sides of the case that I became firmly convinced that it was absolutely necessary in the best interests of the Indians themselves that Parliament should take this opportunity to initiate the final step in the solution of the

Indian problem. We must bear 4 p.m. in mind that there are three steps which are indispensable in connection with this problem. First, in his aboriginal state, the Indian needs protection; the next step is education and training; and the final step must be his absorption into the citizenship of the country. For some time past it has been felt to be in the interests of both the Indians and the country generally that legislation should be put on the Statute Book making this last desideratum an accomplished fact. A great deal of evidence was laid before the committee showing that the Indians themselves were suffering by reason of the fact that the laws of the country did not give the department the initiative to prepare the way for individual Indians as well as many bands being incorporated into the citizenship of the country. It was the apprehension on the part of the Indians that the department, if they had the power, would use arbitrary measures to take away from them certain rights that caused this opposition, and I am convinced that when the Indians themselves see this enactment in force they will be the ones who will most heartily approve of it and will be averse to its repeal. There were a number of Indians from various reserves who came before the committee all of their own accord and gave

very strong evidence to show the necessity that exists for some kind of legislation that would make enfranchisement under certain conditions compulsory. Furthermore, we had evidence of cases where bands had applied for enfranchisement, but owing to the delays which were inevitable, it was a considerable time before the consent of every one belonging to the band could be secured and the necessary regulations complied with. A report in connection with the Lorette reserve, made a short time ago by Mr. C. M. Barbeau, shows that that band of Indians are suffering considerably because they are not enfranchised. I will not read the whole of that report, which is a very lengthy one and enters into the full details, but I should like to read one clause:

Although in most respects the Lorette half-breeds have been Europeanized, the fact that they do not enjoy the rights and duties of citizenship in many cases dwarfs their moral sense and feeling of responsibility. An undue prolongation of such tutelage leads to mendacity and other vices. Many of the best Lorette people, besides, chafe under the restrictions and humiliation resulting from their being officially treated as "savages."

Those gifted with initiative, who want to start in business, find themselves hampered by their legal status. As long as a Huron lives exclusively on the reserve he has no existence in the eyes of banking and business concerns; for he is exactly in the position of persons under age. The bank manager, Notaire Cyrille Renaud, said to us: "Although they may be reliable and have money or property, they are nonexistent when they live on the reserve."

According to many statements, real property on the reserve is reduced to about one-third of less of its normal value, if compared with property situated in the immediate vicinity. As, on the reserve, the owner may sell only to another member of the band, and as there is very little demand for more property, the price of purchase is very low.

I may point out that there are 1,625 reserves in Canada, and they embrace all degrees of civilization, from those Indians in the aboriginal state to those of the highest intelligence, and we must have a law that will give us power to deal with those Indians with whom it is desirable that we should deal, with those who are making demands now that something should be done in order that they may be relieved from present hampering conditions. I should like to read part of a very able address delivered before the committee by Chief Tobias of Moravian Town, a band of Delaware Indians:

I want to tell you, gentlemen, that our people of Moraviantown are composed of 360 people, that the only men out of 85 male population composed of old men, young men and boys, out of that number 50 responded to the call of our country and our king, a record that you cannot

[Mr. Harold.]

find its equal in more than one or two other places.

Now, Sir, our people fought in the trenches side by side with the white men, and why shouldn't we stand side by side with the white men in the polling booth in conducting the affairs of this country. When war and trouble came the Indian was good enough and was capable of taking his place side by side with the white soldier, and when it comes to taking his place in civil life he comes under a law which is holding him down as a ward of the Government. Now, we do not want the continuance of that sort of thing. There are some who say they do not want the enfranchisement, but the great majority of those whom I represent at Moraviantown are in hearty accord with the idea of the enfranchisement of the Indians. And, Sir, in the name of the great work that the Indian has done across the water in fighting and bringing a glorious victory to Old England and her colonies and to Canada, in the name of that service I say, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, that I trust you will hasten this matter and set us at liberty.

Now it seems to me that the issue is this: The Indians believe that their ultimate destiny is to be incorporated in the citizenship of the country and there is no way we can bring this about excepting by a law which will give the department very wide powers; but we have to trust the department to apply the safeguards, and it is for Parliament to see that that power is not abused. It was in that frame of mind that the committee came to the conclusion that it would be a very serious thing not to endorse this legislation at this time, and I wish to take this opportunity of congratulating the minister (Mr. Meighen) and the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs (Mr. Scott), upon having taken a courageous stand in regard to this matter. A policy of inertia and drift would be fatal to the Indians, and I feel that we are paying them a real tribute, after the conclusion of the great war, when we take this proper and progressive step with regard to the Indian problem. Many objections could be brought up in this House, as were brought before the committee, in opposition to this legislation, and which were based upon fear of things happening that will never come to pass. In the county which I represent the largest body of Indians in Canada reside. They have been opposed to this legislation mostly I believe because they do not understand it. A few days ago I sent them particulars of the Bill as amended, and while I received back a letter in which they say they are opposed to compulsory enfranchisement I believe they will not be opposed to it if it is carried out in the spirit in which the Government enacts this legislation. It is not the intention to go on the Six Nations

Reserve and compel men to become enfranchised and separated from their bands. Notwithstanding all the desirable features of this legislation, if such were the intention I would feel it my duty to oppose it because I believe—and the department expressed the same opinion to me—that it is necessary to retain the Indians under the reserve system until such time as practically the great majority of them are desirous of entering into the citizenship of the country. Even when those ready are merged into that citizenship it will still be the duty of the department to protect all who are not in a position to assume the full responsibility of citizenship.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Question.

Mr. McCOIG: I wish to say that the statement which has been read by the leader of the Opposition to a very large extent accurately reflects the feeling of the Indians in the county which I have the honour to represent. The hon. member (Mr. Harold) who has just taken his seat, says that the enfranchisement of the Indians will not be compulsory, that the Government do not propose taking any such step. Very well, why not have the Bill worded to that effect? The hon. member, when he took it upon himself to read the statement of Chief Tobias, might have gone further and said that Chief Tobias was the only member of the band from Walpole island who favoured the Bill. Furthermore, notwithstanding the minister's statement, that no influence was brought to bear upon the Indians, I affirm that Indian agents were out canvassing the Indians at different points, and induced quite a number of them to volunteer to come down to support the Bill. However, when they did come down and got in touch with their associates and found out the real nature of the Bill they all reversed their attitude. They changed their views notwithstanding the fact that agents of the department had been in the vicinity for some days persuading them that the proposed Bill was all right. I therefore think the hon. member for Brant would have done better had he read the views of other Indians who made statements before the committee. That would have made the committee better acquainted with the nature of the legislation and enabled them to vote more intelligently upon it.

Mr. STACEY: What names are attached to the document read by the leader of the Opposition?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: There were no names attached to it. Mr. Teit, I think, was

one of the gentlemen who left the document; I do not know who the others were. It was given to me, as leader of the Opposition, as a statement to present to the House on behalf of the Indians.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I recognize the style.

Mr. STACEY: I deem it my duty to inform the hon. member that the Indians from British Columbia had gone home, and I fear the document he read was prepared by their counsel who remained. I fear that is the reason it is in the hands of the leader of the Opposition. The men who came from British Columbia were not brought here for the purpose of giving any evidence either for or against the Bill as such, as I tried to show a few moments ago. They were brought by the gentleman to whom I referred for a distinct and separate purpose by which he sought to undermine the whole principle of the Bill and the action of Parliament with reference to it. So I fear the effect of the petition which the leader of the Opposition read is very largely, if not entirely, nullified when it is borne in mind that the Indians themselves had gone home.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Let me say that I have not the slightest doubt that the statement was prepared by the counsel of the Indians. My purpose in reading it was to let the facts speak for themselves. The petition speaks for itself, and if there is nothing in the argument that is raised, of course it falls to the ground. I thought it was only proper to present what the counsel of the Indians objecting to this legislation wished to have said on their behalf.

Mr. STACEY: The committee had all that presented to them in detail, and elaborated by the counsel, but not by the Indians.

Mr. McKENZIE: Surely the hon. member does not think the Indians have had the training and qualifications to prepare a statement like that. Is it not a proper thing for them to engage counsel to prepare a statement for them?

Mr. STACEY: Let me tell the hon. member that there was an Indian youth in the committee who could take his place as counsel with any man who was there.

Mr. ROBB: Hear, hear, and he was opposed to the legislation.

Mr. STACEY: No, sir, but he had not been retained by the gentlemen concerned. He was an ordinary youth and I, as a citizen of British Columbia, wish he could have the opportunity to secure a legal

training. If he had, I do not hesitate to say, he would put a far better case for the Indians than the man they did engage.

Mr. McKENZIE: He was not all Indian, I venture to say.

Mr. PECK: I wish to support what my hon. friend from Fraser Valley (Mr. Stacey) has said. I have no criticism whatever to offer of the leader of the Opposition for trying to obtain the widest information, but what I claim is that the representations that have been made do not express the true feeling of the Indians of British Columbia. People who come here and make that claim should have some sort of genuine credentials. I am prepared, as a member who represents over 6,000 Indians, to say that the few who make such a claim do not represent the Indians generally—those in my part of the country at least. I have every sympathy with the purpose of the Bill, and I congratulate the minister and the deputy superintendent general on their efforts. This is the first time in the history of the British Empire that people have struggled against enfranchisement—against obtaining liberty. We white men know what a long hard struggle preceded the granting of the franchise in this country to ourselves and no man ever made a nobler fight for liberty in this very Canada of ours than did the ancestor of my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition. It is extraordinary for these people to say that they do not want liberty, and it seems to me that they do not represent the real Indian feeling of the country.

Mr. CAHILL: What is the real Indian feeling?

Mr. PECK: I think they are in favour of enfranchisement.

Mr. CAHILL: You think so? The Indians do not say so.

Mr. PECK: I do not give credence to Mr. O'Meara's statement that the Indians are opposed to enfranchisement. He is an agitator who goes up and down the country specially among the Nishgas, bleeding the Indians of their money so that he may come down here and make "representations" on their behalf. I say that he does not represent the feeling of the great tribes of British Columbia.

Mr. CAHILL: What do the great tribes themselves say?

Mr. PECK: I say we have not got a true expression of their feeling. I deny that this petition represents the true feel-

[Mr. Stacey.]

ing of the Indians in my constituency, among whom are some of the most enlightened and most advanced Indians in the Dominion. We wish to give them a chance to obtain the same full measure of liberty that we ourselves enjoy. By a peculiar coincidence, before leaving for Ottawa I had an interview with the Anglican Archbishop of Caledonia and the northern part of British Columbia, and with the Roman Catholic Bishop of Prince Rupert and the Yukon, and also with a number of other celebrated missionaries, and there was not one of them that did not wish to see the Indians have the franchise provided they could pass satisfactory tests,—that they understood our system of government and our institutions.

Personally I think the Bill is a good one and does great credit to the minister and those associated with him. If you want to refuse the franchise to a people, of course, you can do so, but it will be the most unique spectacle in the history of the world, for we are trying to enfranchise a people who, it is said, do not want to be enfranchised.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I would not like my attitude or that of other hon. members on this side of the House to be misunderstood. We are not objecting in the least to permitting Indians to be enfranchised, if they wish to be enfranchised. The broader you can make the bounds of freedom for mankind the better in every way. What we are objecting to is a policy of coercion—compelling men to be enfranchised against their will. And in all these matters of human relations I hope that we on this side of the House will always object to coercion or autocratic action on the part of government. So far as making it permissive for men to become free in the larger sense, the Government cannot go too far; but they must leave it to the individual to say whether he will have this liberty. Do not compel him to take a course that he does not wish to take.

Mr. MEIGHEN: There is not a day passes that the hon. gentleman does not speak and vote to compel people to do what they do not want to do.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: No.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Under our law we compel people to pay their debts; but debtors do not ask for that law. There are Indians practising law, and no man can make them pay their obligations; and yet the hon. gentleman says that it is against the great principles of human liberty to com-

pel those men to pay their obligations unless they apply for such legislation. There is a judge of the Superior Court of the province of Quebec who is exempt from all the laws binding the rest of us in regard to our civil rights and duties. But the hon. gentleman says, "That is all right. I would never touch him unless he wants to be bound, because to do so would be to interfere with the sacred cause of human liberty." Does he not see that he is off the tract altogether? There are Indians in scores—I know them myself for they have been down here—and if the hon. gentleman had been before the committee he would realize that they demonstrated to the full that they were citizens of Canada, and should be made so in law. He would acknowledge that by their status, their education and their activities they were in a position where they could not possibly claim any special immunities, because they were at the same time enjoying all the advantages of citizenship. No matter what the circumstances may be, no matter how educated the Indian may be, no matter what he may be worth, no matter what rank he may hold in society nor what position he may occupy in business, apparently it is perfectly proper that he enjoy all those advantages and at the same time be absolved from paying his debts; and yet my hon. friend exclaims that it is interference with the great principle of human liberty to remove from the Indian that exemption when he enjoys those liberties and those advantages.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: If the hon. gentleman wishes to deal with the subject of debt, he ought to bring in a Bill for that specific purpose, and I will support him.

Mr. MEIGHEN: This is the only way. We can only make an Indian liable for debt by enfranchising him. So the hon. member had better support this Bill.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Is that the whole purpose of the Bill?

Mr. CAHILL: Which of the hon. gentlemen opposite are we to follow,—the member looking after this Bill who wants to make the Indian pay his debts, or the member for Skeena who wants to put the Indian on the higher plane of citizenship?

Mr. MEIGHEN: Both.

Mr. CAHILL: Which of the angels are we to follow, the angel of good or the angel of evil?

Mr. PECK: All the "higher" citizens pay their debts.

Mr. CAHILL: The hon. member for Skeena (Mr. Peck) states that the Archbishop of the Anglican Church and the Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church in his constituency advocate the principle of this Bill. That is all right, but neither of them is an Indian. What does the Indian say about it? The Indian has a solemn treaty with this country, and we propose to break that treaty by force. The Indians do not ask us for enfranchisement; but we say they must have it. One hon. member says, "We are endorsing this Bill because we want to give the Indian liberty." The minister who is in charge of the Bill says, "We want to get after the Indians and make them pay their debts, we want to coerce them, we want to put them off their Indian reserves and take their land."

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I quoted a few minutes ago a document but I find I have one or two other communications that have been sent to me, among them being a letter from an Indian who is enfranchised. He writes:

445 Parliament Street,  
Sault Ste. Marie, Ont.,  
April 20, 1920.

HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING,  
House of Commons,  
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear, Sir,—I beg leave to draw your attention in regards to the proposed amendment of the Indian Enfranchisement Act as contained in Bill No. 14, sections 107 to 111, inclusive, now before the Legislature of Ottawa. No doubt you are aware that the nature of the Bill is compulsion and that the majority of the Indians are against it. But there are a lot of Indians who know nothing about this. However, they seemed to be satisfied with the present enfranchisement Act and why should they be disturbed by new one. But who wants this compulsory law? Surely it is not the Indians that are clamouring for it. I am enfranchisement Indian and quite agree with the stand taken by Indians. I think it is most unreasonable and unjust to pass such a law without the consent of the Indians themselves. It is simply taking away by mere force their rights and privileges which were given to them by the British Crown, and I do not think the Canadian Parliament has any right to deprive of any Indian or Indians, his of their hereditary rights, etc., without the consent of the Imperial authorities. Kindly consider these points I have raised and kindly let me know what you think. If you can support my views I should be very glad. I am sure the Indians need every ounce of pressure from their white brothers. No doubt there are some broad-minded men still left. I should appreciate an early reply. The Bill will soon have its third reading I presume.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) MICHAEL LACELLE.

P.S. Enclosed find copy of resolution which is self-explanatory. L.

Then there is a resolution which is dated from Garden River, Ontario. It is in this form:

GARDEN RIVER, Ont.,  
March 29, 1920.

To His Excellency,  
The Duke of Devonshire,  
Governor General of Canada,  
Ottawa, Canada.

Sir, We beg leave to lay before Your Excellency the following resolution which was passed by the Ojibway tribe of Indians residing at Garden River, Ontario, convened at their council house, March 27, 1920:

Resolved, that this band of Ojibway tribe of Indians residing at Garden River Indian reservation, Ontario, do hereby place themselves on record as opposed to the enactment of the Indian Enfranchisement Act as contained in Bill No. 14, section one hundred and seven to one hundred and eleven, both inclusive, now before the present session of the House of Commons, because we firmly believe that it will not be conducive to the best interests of the Indians of Canada to have such a law at the present time, and condemn the action of the Government in placing this very important question, which concerns the very life of the Indian reserves, races, rights and privileges, before Parliament without the consent of the Indians in general.

We most earnestly appeal to your humanity, honour and duty to carefully consider our position at this time, and we hope and pray that Your Excellency will not fail to maintain the principles mentioned above.

There is another communication also from Sault Ste. Marie, but I need not trouble the committee with it at the moment.

Amendment agreed to.

Section as amended agreed to.

On section 5—powers of Council to make by-laws:

Mr. McKENZIE: I have not read this Bill, but I understand that the Special Committee sat during nearly the whole of the session, and no doubt they heard a great volume of evidence. I understand that the Indian while he lives on the reserve has certain rights in certain properties. I would like to understand from the minister what happens to those property rights when he comes under the influence and operation of this legislation.

Mr. MEIGHEN: If he has had a location he gets his own land and his share of the common fund. Then, if there is any residue of the common land of the band he gets his proper proportion of that. It is merely a matter of taking the fraction; no one has more rights than another in the common land. So he gets his share of that; nothing is taken from him. In a word, the very same principle of the apportionment of land and moneys applies as applied in the

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

case of enfranchisements under the very dilatory clauses that were in the Act before. The principle of taking his share is just the same as before. I should say before I sit down that this committee and the House are certainly under a debt of gratitude to the Special Committee. I had no anticipation when the Special Committee was moved that the work would be so heavy. They had some seventeen sittings, many of them very lengthy, and the questions involved became more complex and difficult than I had expected. No praise can be too high of the earnestness and devotion with which the members of the committee applied themselves to their work.

Mr. McKENZIE: I do not know who are the members of the committee, but I do know the chairman, and I know enough of him and of his work to be confident that everything was exhaustively inquired into. But he is in the position of the man who comes after the feast. Yesterday we had a feast of praise of the chairman of another committee for his excellent work, and I suppose that is why we have been rather inclined to-day to forget to say something about the splendid work of the member for South Simcoe (Mr. Boys). If I have sufficient confidence in the Bill to allow it to pass, it is because it went through the hon. gentleman's hands. I do not want to say anything about Indians. All I would say about an Indian in Nova Scotia is that he is an Indian. I hope that they have better Indians in the West.

Mr. PECK: In the event of an Indian leaving the reserve and becoming enfranchised, does he participate in any future benefits accruing to the reserve? For instance, in my county there is a reserve which is worth hundreds of thousands of dollars. The question of the Indian's participation in whatever residue there might be is a very important one, because it may influence his desire for enfranchisement. The point is especially important in respect to British Columbia, where the Indian reserves are of great value.

Mr. MEIGHEN: If they are of great value, of course the Indian gets at the time of his enfranchisement his share of the common value. If on account of the discovery of a mine or something of that sort the property later turns out to be of much greater value, I would not think the Indian would be entitled to a share. On the other hand, if there is a reaction in values and

the value of the property should go down, he would not suffer. He takes his chance on the value of the property going down or up. I really do not see how we could give him the benefit on the one hand when we have no means of making a subtraction on the other.

Section agreed to.

Bill reported with amendment.

Mr. SPEAKER: When shall the Bill be read the third time?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Ordinarily I would not object to the third reading at the present time, but the hon. member for Quebec East (Mr. Lapointe) has been very much interested in this legislation and may wish to speak on the third reading.

Mr. SPEAKER: Next sitting of the House.

#### PENSION ACT AMENDMENT.

On motion of Hon. Arthur Meighen (Minister of the Interior) Bill No. 198, to amend the Pension Act, was read the second time, and the House went into committee thereon, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 1—"appearance of the injury or disease":

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Am I correct in understanding that this Bill is based entirely upon the recommendations of the committee?

Mr. CALDER: I was not present at many meetings of the committee when the matter of pensions was under consideration, but I understand this Bill went before the Pension Committee, every clause was very carefully considered and the whole Bill is approved by the committee.

Section agreed to.

On section 9—section 22 of the said Act is repealed.

Mr. POWER: This is the clause that has been amended in the Militia Act?

Mr. CRONYN: This is the same clause that has already been amended to-day in the Militia Act and the Mounted Police Act allowing a long service pension and a pension for disability to be paid.

Section agreed to.

On clause 10—no pension to children over age limit.

Mr. POWER: At the last meeting at which I was present, I was under the im-

pression that in certain of these clauses—I am not sure whether section 23 under clause 10 was one of them—the wording had to be changed, because it did not convey the exact meaning that the committee intended it to convey. Perhaps we are going through these clauses too rapidly.

Mr. CRONYN: I should like, of course, to have specific cases brought to my attention, but my understanding is that in every case the wording was changed to comply with the decisions of the committee.

Section agreed to.

On section 23—increase not exceeding \$180 annually between dependent parents of deceased member.

Mr. POWER: Subclauses (5), (6), (7) and (8) of subsection 4 of section 34 under this clause should be discussed together. This is the old question of the widowed mother which has been frequently brought up and which I have brought up in this House every year that pensions have been discussed.

Subclause (5) "widowed mother or dependent parents," makes these cases subject to review. That is to say, if a widowed mother is obtaining a pension at any time, the Board of Pension Commissioners may send a visitor, a representative of the board, to visit this widowed mother with regard to her income and the number of children she has who can contribute to her support, and this visitor can go into her financial and domestic affairs generally. A large number of complaints have, on different occasions, been brought before the House with regard to this.

Subclause (6) states that if a widowed mother has an unmarried son living with her, this unmarried son will be deemed, in the discretion of the Board of Pension Commissioners, to contribute to her support ten dollars per month, this ten dollars to be deducted from the amount of pension which would otherwise be allowed her. There are serious objections to this, the particular one being in regard to leaving to the discretion of the commission what amount earned by this son is considered sufficient by the commission. The other serious objection to which I will refer later is that I do not think the mother should be taxed in any way whatever on account of the fact that she has an unmarried son.

Subclause (7) states:

The pension to a widowed mother shall not be reduced on account of her earnings from personal employment or on account of her hav-

ing free lodgings or so long as she resides in Canada on account of her having an income from other sources which does not exceed \$240 per annum.

My objection is to the \$240 per annum. I contend that she should have no deduction made from her pension on account of any income which she has from any source whatsoever. The ordinary widow of a soldier who is killed receives a pension irrespective of whether or not he left an estate. Her husband, when he was killed, might have left an estate worth \$1,000,000, but his widow would still obtain a pension. The soldier's widowed mother should have absolutely the same right as the wife. It has been pointed out time and time again in this House and in committees that in no other province than Quebec can the widowed mother or the destitute parent claim, under the law, an allowance from the child. I am sorry for the other provinces if they have not that law because I think that is the natural law. After all, a man has a mother before he has a wife, and you can get rid of a wife—we have seen them got rid of time after time in this House in two minutes—but you cannot get rid of a mother. A man's first duty is to his mother, and if the State wishes to do anything along the lines of placing the parents and dependents of the soldier in the position in which they would have been had the soldier returned safe and sound, the mother of the soldier should be looked after just as much as his widow. That is my contention. I have contended for that during the three years in which I have been a member of this House, and shall continue to do so until I am no longer a member. The next clause provides that:

The pension to a parent or person in place of a parent shall not be reduced on account of the payment to such parent or person of municipal insurance on the life of a deceased member of the forces.

A large number of cities throughout the Dominion early in the war decided to insure the lives of soldiers from the city up to a certain amount, varying from \$500 to \$1,500. A special provision has been made in this Bill not to deduct from the widowed mother anything she may receive from municipal insurance on her dead son. I would suggest that no insurance of any kind, municipal or otherwise, should affect the amount of pension. After all, the insurance which she received on account of her son was something that he worked and paid for. Surely you are not going to deduct from the pension, meagre enough as it

[Mr. Power.]

is, that a widowed mother receives on account of the death of her son any amount she may receive from insurance. I therefore beg to move that subparagraph (5) which provides that the pensions of parents shall be always subject to review shall be stricken out. It is the clause providing for the visits of these inspectors and visitors whom so many members of the House have found so obnoxious.

Mr. NICHOLSON (East Algoma) I wish to support the position taken by the hon. member (Mr. Power) on this question of reviewing pensions granted to mothers or dependent parents, and on the whole question of interfering with the pension they may receive by reason of having some small additional income from some other source. When this subject was up before, I mentioned three specific cases that had come to my knowledge, and I am going to give them again now. One mother who lost her only two sons in the war has three daughters working out as domestics, and because it was found by some inspector sent out by the Pension Board that these daughters might perhaps contribute to their mother's support \$5 or \$6 or \$10 a month, the mother's pension was reduced. In another case a dependent parent, a father 76 years of age, went out to work in the summer months to augment the small income he derived from the pension, and his pension was therefore entirely wiped out. In another case a friend found that a widowed mother was paying a fairly high rental for the house she was living in, and a gentleman out of the goodness of his heart decided he would give the widow a free house to live in. When this was found out by the Pension Board, her pension was proportionately reduced. Surely the dependent parents and widowed mothers have suffered enough in the loss of their sons without having their income constantly reviewed with a view to reduction of the pension. I do not believe this country is small enough to want to do that, and I hope that before this Bill passes the minister in charge will accept the amendment of my hon. friend (Mr. Power) to strike out these provisions altogether. I can think of nothing more nauseating to the widowed mother of a fallen soldier than to have these inspectors coming around to see whether the small amount of pension on which they can barely live is being augmented in any way. Let us give them the pension and say nothing more with regard to it.

Mr. TURGEON: I have much pleasure in supporting the amendment of my hon.

friend (Mr. Power) on behalf of the widowed mothers of our fallen soldiers. I have already expressed myself on this question before, and I had hoped the committee would bring in recommendations accordingly. I hope the minister will strike out subparagraph (5).

Mr. CRONYN: I find myself in a somewhat peculiar position because on former occasions in this House I have advocated a change in the law respecting widowed mothers. The law as it existed up to to-day did to my mind, discriminate against this particular class of pensioner. The question was very fully discussed and considered by the committee, and the hon. member (Mr. Power) put forward his arguments in his usual forcible way, but in the end the committee decided that the provisions which appear in this Bill went as far as they felt they should go. We must remember that there is a very great difference drawn in the pension law between the case of a widow and a parent. A widow gets a pension absolutely regardless of any means she may have. Her position in life has nothing to do with what she may receive. The law takes it that she is entitled, first, to the support of her husband when he was alive, and that by reason of his death she should not have any deduction in her income. But in the case of parents there is the distinction made that the parent first of all must be shown to have been dependent on the soldier. True it is that by a subsequent clause the cases of prospective dependency are provided for, but leaving that aside for the moment, the first provision of the law is that the parent must be shown to have been dependent on the soldier. Next, it must be shown that the parent is in need, is not independent. If the parent be independent no pension is due, but if the parent be dependent the pension is payable. Under the law as it stands, it was necessary in order to award pensions to ascertain whether the parent was or was not dependent and, as has been stated, various accretions to income or the possession of a home, for instance, were treated as independent income and the amount was deducted from the pension. Under this Bill no deduction is made from a widowed mother's pension by reason of the fact that she owns a home, or on account of her earnings, and provided she resides in Canada that her income from other sources does not exceed \$20 a month. That was the decision of the committee. It goes far

to ameliorate the situation that exists at the present time, and I think should be accepted.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Antigonish and Guysborough): I am inclined to favour the views of my hon. friend (Mr. Power). I do not think the pension of the widowed mother should be in as precarious a state as it appears to be. Many cases have occurred in my own experience where the inspector was, I considered, somewhat too harsh in his report. Of course, a great deal depends on the administration of the Act as well as the phraseology of it, but there are cases, I have no doubt, where the report of the inspector upon a visit has been too severe. I know of widowed mothers and fathers having been deprived of their small pension because the inspector took into consideration circumstances which really should have been ignored. I have had occasion to bring one or two cases of this kind to the attention of the commission, and when the facts were explained the pension was restored. The question is largely one of administration, and I think that a meddling inspector who wants to make himself important and show that he is doing his duty thoroughly may sometimes go to extremes. I knew of one instance in which an inspector visited a country house where two old people were living. The old man was almost blind. This couple had lost their two sons at the war, and the old lady was endeavouring with her husband to make a living as best she could. They had a small farm in a very isolated and poor district, away from neighbours. The inspector discovered that they had a few hens in the barn, a cow, and a dozen or so of apple trees, and these assets he calculated to represent a certain amount of support to these old people. He reported accordingly, and the pension, which was only a small one, he recommended to be reduced because they had this farm. In reality, what they possessed was merely a shelter over their heads. These people could not raise anything on the farm at all for the obvious reason that they had no labour; and to hire labour in that part of the country and make anything out of that meagre property was an impossibility. So that the inspector ought to have ignored the circumstances and let this case alone. When the matter was brought to the notice of the board they rectified it. I am inclined to agree with my hon. friend from Quebec that some change ought to be made in the regulations.

The CHAIRMAN: Shall the amendment carry?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Yes.

Some hon. MEMBERS: No.

The CHAIRMAN: In my opinion the nays have it. I declare the amendment lost.

Mr. FIELDING: I want to state a case which I think is covered by subsection 7. To make assurances doubly sure I want to put the position before the minister. A widow lost a son who had been living at home. She had other sons who were living far away and who had their own affairs to look after, so that although they were earning something she could not look to them for support. She was living with a relative and the pension which she would otherwise have received was reduced on the ground that she did not have rent to pay because this relative had kindly taken her in. I know that the commissioners did the best they could, but it was wrong to reduce the pension. I understand that such cases as this are covered by the amendment in subsection (7). Am I right?

Mr. CRONYN: Yes.

Mr. McKENZIE: Subsection (7) provides that the pension to a widowed mother shall not be reduced on account of her earnings from personal employment or on account of her having free lodgings, or so long as she resides in Canada. Let me put this case before the minister. A woman residing in Halifax lost her son in the war—perhaps two sons—and has a daughter who is married in Boston. The daughter invites her to go and live with her in Boston. Why should the pension of that widow be subject to some reduction because the woman happens to go to live with her own daughter in the United States instead of living alone?

Mr. POWER: I have an amendment to subsection (6). I would move, seconded by the hon. member for Gloucester (Mr. Turgeon)—

The CHAIRMAN: Just a moment, Mr. Cronyn desires to reply to the hon. member.

Mr. CRONYN: The committee have treated pensioners residing in Canada on a somewhat different basis from those residing in the United States or elsewhere. There is no doubt that in the case put by the hon. member (Mr. McKenzie), if the widowed mother moved to the United States and were in receipt of an independent in-

Mr. Sinclair. 1

come that income would be deducted from the pension which she would otherwise be entitled to. So long as she stays in Canada, and has an income not beyond \$20 a month no deduction is made. When she crosses the border there is a deduction. That distinction is made between those who reside in Canada and those in the United States, and one of the reasons is that in the United States—I think I am right in saying this—the widowed mother gets no more than \$30 a month. That is the limit of the allowance in that country, and it would be unfair to have Canadians going over there and receiving perhaps very much larger amounts, having independent incomes as well.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): I do not think the United States has made any discrimination of that kind in regard to American pensioners living in Canada. I know of a great many people receiving pensions from service in the American war who have moved to Canada and are receiving their pensions just the same. If we are to reduce the pension of a widowed mother who goes to live with a relative in the United States, the United States might probably say, "We will do the same." Has that phase of the matter been considered?

Mr. McKENZIE: I do not think that residence in the United States should interfere with the little pension we give. I should not say "little" it is rather a respectable pension as pensions go that we are now granting. But that pension is earned. The death of the son and the Act of Parliament together secure to the woman the pension and it is her property. It is guaranteed to her, and it belongs to her while she lives. Why should we make a condition that she cannot go across the border and live comfortably with relatives? Why should that interfere with the money she gets? Why not let her go to the United States or wherever she wants to go and enjoy the full benefit of the pension under whatever circumstances may appeal to her? I do not see why we should be following this woman to see whether she goes to the United States, or whether she goes to Newfoundland or anywhere else. There are in this country a lot of women belonging to Newfoundland whose sons died in the war. Such a woman, in her old age, may go to Newfoundland, which is beyond the borders of Canada, and then under this section suffer some impairment of her pension. I do not think it is really worth while to make such a fine distinction as that.

Mr. CALDER: I understand one of the reasons why the committee thought it desirable to put in this provision was on account of the disparity between the pensions that we pay to widowed mothers and the pensions which are paid in the United States and Great Britain.

Mr. McKENZIE: Do we pay more?

Mr. CALDER: We pay considerably more.

Mr. McKENZIE: Well, that is an advertisement for us.

Mr. CALDER: The result is that if we widen the breach, so to speak, between our pensions and the pensions paid by these countries we are making very considerable difficulty for them. That is particularly so in Great Britain because I understand that our pension scale for this class of persons is very much higher than it is there, and I think the committee has in mind the object of trying to avoid comparisons of that nature. I am told that there are about 4,000 widowed mothers altogether living either in the United States or Great Britain; I would think that the larger number, over 3,000, live in the latter country. I merely mention this because I understand it was one of the main reasons why the committee acted as it did.

Mr. McKENZIE: I do not want to have a widowed mother restricted to living in this country, and to have her gloomily looking out of the window over the sea, and anxious to go back to the Old Land and live and die with her relatives there. At present she cannot go there because there is a restriction on her pension; if she goes she loses the money. That woman has had enough troubles in the death of her son, and other difficulties, without adding to her suffering. When you adopt such a restriction as this and say that she cannot go and spend the balance of her days wherever she pleases I think it is a pretty small affair. I think such a woman ought to be at perfect liberty to go where she likes and enjoy her pension.

Mr. McMASTER: Does she lose her pension in that case? Well, what really serious ground is there for such conduct on the part of the Government? Surely the minister is not serious when he tells us that such a course is to be followed after we have, in our wisdom, decided that the widowed mother should receive a certain pension, for the sake of saving the feelings of other nations whose financial obligations

or whose sentiments are not such as ours are, and who have not granted such a good pension to these widowed mothers; I cannot imagine that that is a serious argument. We have made up our minds that a widowed mother should receive a certain pension by reason of the loss of her son. Let us take this case, because I am sure it is one that will occur very often: A mother has come over to this country with, say, a couple of boys with whom she was residing before the war. One of these boys went to the front and was killed. She has married daughters in Scotland with whom she wants to go back to live. Is it seriously told me that because of the transference of her domicile from Canada to Scotland that this woman's pension is to be cut down, if there is a striking difference between what the Canadian Government pays to this unfortunate woman and what the British Government is able to pay to her unfortunate sister? That woman is receiving her compensation for tearing up the roots of her life in the Old Land and coming out to a country where economic conditions are better, and where the people are, or think they are, able to afford larger pensions. I cannot conceive the argument to be a serious one. I trust I would be the last man in this House to urge greater expenditure, but I cannot think that the difference involved would amount to anything serious and I do not like the principle of this thing.

Mr. NESBITT: A great many of the widows who were in the Old Country did not come out, as my hon. friend says, to this country and then go back to the Old Land. A great many of the sons of such people had come to this country and had assigned pay to their mothers in the Old Country. That was the case with respect to a great many of these widows over there. The main reason for not giving the same amount is that living in England and Scotland is so much cheaper than it is in Canada. The pension paid to widowed mothers is therefore equalized by this clause as nearly as it can be equalized. It is all right to talk about being generous but I think we have been very generous in the matters of pensions in this country from first to last, and we are very generous as far as the recommendations of the committee are concerned. This question was argued at great length before the committee and the decision was almost unanimous that the recommendation should take its present form.

Mr. FIELDING: I hesitate to express any dissent from the report of the committee when I know they have given long and patient consideration to each matter dealt with therein. Still I am sure the Chairman and members of the committee will accept any suggestions that are offered in the right spirit. In Nova Scotia and New Brunswick—in fact in the Maritime Provinces generally, and I suppose it is true of other provinces—there are a very large number of people who have relatives in the United States. At one time, many years ago—when means of communication between this section of Canada and the lower provinces practically did not exist—all travel went from the lower provinces to the United States, and there are a large percentage of our population to-day who have relatives there. I have heard it said—I am not sure that it is not actually the case—that there are more Nova Scotians in the city of Boston than there are in the city of Halifax. Now if occasionally some widow who is receiving a pension under this generous arrangement—and it is in the main a generous arrangement; I agree with my hon. friend from North Oxford (Mr. Nesbitt)—but if some widow finds it desirable for family reasons to go and live with her relative in the United States—she is not going to do that for any reason other than some good domestic reason, some reason that is going to minister to her comfort and happiness—if in such a case she sees fit to cross the border to live with her relative in the United States, upon my word I can see no reason why she should be penalized for doing so.

Mr. CALDER: It is not the case of a few odd individuals. As I have pointed out, there are somewhere in the neighbourhood of between three and five thousand widowed mothers now in the United States or Great Britain. There are more in the United States and Great Britain than in Canada; there are more outside of Canada than in Canada. Now I understand from the officers that the changes already made in our pension law represent an annual expenditure of \$2,400,000. That is the increase provided for by the changes now made in this section of the law.

Mr. NESBITT: For widowed mothers?

Mr. CALDER: Yes. Now, in the case of the widowed mother residing out of Canada, if she is not in receipt of an income it is not proposed to decrease her pension; she

[Mr. Nesbitt]

gets the full pension provided for. It is only in case she receives an income that is ascertainable that there is a deduction made under the provision of this section, providing she is living outside of Canada. Well now, I am told that if this section is altered and we strike out the phrase, "resides in Canada" it will mean a further addition to our expenditure of something in the neighbourhood of \$720,000 a year. These are figures that must be considered by the committee when they come to decide as to what should be done. I do not say that we should by any means take into account the question of dollars and cents. We should endeavour to do what is the right thing, and that was the attitude of the committee throughout the whole inquiry. They kept the question of dollars and cents completely to one side and they came to the conclusion to do the right and proper thing to all parties concerned in the case of these pensions.

Mr. McMASTER: Like my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding), I feel that it is an ungracious thing to differ from the committee who spent so much time and devoted so much thought and attention to this matter. But is there not a middle way in connection with these pensions to widowed mothers? If they have never lived in this country, I think a good deal might be said that when the scale of living in their own country is less costly than here a lesser pension might with equity be given; and that if they are living and have always lived in another country, let us say the United States, then we would not feel the same obligation towards them as we would towards those who are living among us. Would it be possible to find a middle way and so amend the law that widowed mothers who had previously to the enlistment of their sons resided in Canada should not have their pensions cut down, but if they had never lived in Canada that what is contemplated by the legislation as at present before the House might be continued?

Mr. POWER: Another point of view is that in 1916, 1917 and 1918 the Dominion spent enormous sums of money recruiting British-born soldiers in the United States. We went to the United States to get these men, and if their widowed mothers are living in that country, surely they should be placed on the same footing as widowed mothers in this country. At the time the Military Service Act was being put into

force we were sending to the United States to obtain recruits. Those men might have remained at home, for the provisions of the proposed treaty between the United States and Canada I do not think were ever put into force; but if they had been those men certainly would not have been affected until such time as the United States entered the war, and they might not have been killed at the front. It strikes me that having promised to place those men on the same basis as our Canadian soldiers, it is our duty to see that their widowed mothers are treated in like manner.

Mr. EDWARDS: In case that widowed mother's son had not come from the United States and enlisted in the Canadian forces, but had enlisted in the United States Army and was killed, how would her pension from the American Government compare with the pension that we give her?

Mr. NESBITT: About half.

Mr. POWER: I am not sure.

Mr. EDWARDS: How does the pension that we give her compare with the pension that would be received by a widowed mother in England? My recollection is that our pension is nearly double that given to a widowed mother in England, and that it is about 25 or 30 per cent higher than the pension given in the United States. All that we are proposing in this clause is that if the widowed mothers have no other means they get the full pension, no matter whether they live in England, Scotland or in the United States; but if they have other means then a certain reduction is made, which I think will still leave the pensions they receive higher than those paid in the United States or in England.

Mr. POWER: I am willing to agree with the hon. gentleman from Frontenac that the United States pensions for widowed mothers are lower than ours, and I know the English pensions are much lower. But, after all, that boy was a Canadian soldier; we went to the United States and asked him to join our army; and his mother having allowed him to go, is entitled to absolutely the same treatment as widowed mothers residing in this country. Because we can say, "Well, in the United States widowed mothers are not obtaining so much as they would in Canada," I do not think it is fair to deprive the widowed mother of a Canadian soldier of what is due to her. We have not got to follow the American example, nor the English. I think it is our duty to give these widowed mothers

absolutely the same pensions as we give to widowed mothers in Canada.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Perhaps the section might stand for a little further consideration. I should hesitate to depart from the report of a committee which has given such very careful attention to all that could be said on this subject, and which has made this report with, as I understand, practical unanimity. On the other hand, there is something to be said for the point of view advanced by my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding). I do not think that the suggestion put forward by the hon. member for Brome (Mr. McMaster) would be practicable, because we would have this condition of affairs: that widowed mothers going from Canada to live in Great Britain would be side by side with other widowed mothers receiving a less pension, and merely for the reason that they have never lived in this country. It is perfectly true, as my hon. friend from Quebec South (Mr. Power) has said, that we did invite recruitment in the United States. I think the recruiting took place among young Englishmen who had been living in the United States for a number of years, and many of whom desired to join the Canadian forces, and also among Canadians who had lived in that country for some years. My hon. friend is mistaken in supposing that the treaty between Canada and the United States did not go into effect. It was not made until after the United States entered the war, but it did become operative and was acted on in both countries. However, in view of the expressions of opinion which have been put forward, and which are deserving of consideration, it might be well to let this section stand for the moment.

The CHAIRMAN: Sir Robert Borden moves that section 23 be allowed to stand for further consideration.

Mr. McKENZIE: As far as following the recommendations of the committee is concerned, we reached page 6 of the Bill before any stop occurred, and I think that such excellent progress is a great compliment to the committee.

Mr. NICHOLSON (Algoma): I wish to say a word on clause 23—

The CHAIRMAN: A motion for a clause to stand is not debatable.

Section stands.

On clause 26—additional pension to dependents, etc.:

Mr. POWER: I want to point out another peculiar anomaly in the Act, which has never struck me before. We make up the difference in pensions to people living in our country who served in the military forces of Great Britain or of the Allied countries; for instance, the widow of an Allied soldier who obtains a smaller pension than we give has her pension made up to our own scale, and yet when our widowed mothers live in another country we reduce their pensions. This discriminatory treatment seems to me most absurd. During the three years that I have been on the Pensions Committee this clause has been discussed time and again, but only at this moment has the point which I now emphasize come to my attention.

Mr. McMASTER: A domiciled Canadian citizen who had lived here for some fourteen years before the war broke out was summoned to the French colours in August, 1914. He went overseas, joined the French army, was awarded the Croix de Guerre for gallantry, and returned after the war was over. If he had gone into the English army and the English pension granted him—for he lost part of both hands—was smaller than the Canadian pension, our Government would have made up the deficiency to him. Now, does this amendment cover such a case as that? Is the pension of such a man to be brought up to what it would have been had he enlisted in the Canadian army?

Mr. CALDER: I understand that this question was up last year; in fact, I think the member for Brome (Mr. McMaster) brought the same instance to the attention of the House. I am told that the report of the Pensions Committee has made no change in the law so far as cases of that kind are concerned.

Mr. McMASTER: If that man had been a British reservist and had been called to the British colours, he would have received the same pension as if he had enlisted in the Canadian army. But he joined the French colours, and he fought just as bravely as he would have fought if he had been in the British army; he suffered and bled for our cause the same as he would have done in the British army. I think it is very unfair that he should receive a smaller pension than his brother British reservist who joined the British colours.

Mr. McGIBBON (Muskoka): Was he a Canadian citizen?

[The Chairman.]

Mr. McMASTER: Yes, and had been for some years prior to the war. He left a wife and six children on this side when he went overseas.

Mr. NESBITT: If he had been a Canadian citizen and had joined the Imperial army he would have been entitled to equalization of pension. This clause is to provide for equalization of pension for the dependent, not for the man himself.

Section agreed to.

On section 30—commencement of Act:

Mr. COPP: As the chairman of the committee will remember, I reserved the right when the report of the committee was being prepared to bring certain matters before this committee and to place myself on record with regard thereto. During the sittings of the committee I attended as frequently as I could. While the advisability of adopting a number of things was a matter of argument, the committee generally came to unanimous decision as to what we could do in the interests of the soldiers, having in mind the financial situation and the different matters that were presented to the committee for consideration. There are two or three things I would have liked to have seen in the report and in the Bill. One was discussed yesterday,—a proposal to grant loans to fishermen. Another provision I would like to have seen in the Bill is one which would increase from eighteen years to twenty-one years the age limit in respect of assistance in the matter of education. I think that any young man who enlisted before attaining the age of twenty years or should be given this aid with regard to his education as is general to those who enlisted prior to eighteen years of age. Of course, twenty-one years is an arbitrary age to determine upon, but it has been adopted by this country as the age at which manhood is attained, so that up to that age the soldier should be considered as a boy. The majority of the committee were not with me in that regard.

Mr. NESBITT: This is a matter which comes under re-establishment, and will be dealt with later.

Mr. COPP: Well, I have put myself on record, anyway. I was also of the opinion that pensioners now residing in the United States should be paid in New York funds. The amount involved would not be a very large one for the Dominion of Canada to assume. As the member for Quebec South (Mr. Power) has said, a large number of

Canadians, British-born and Canadian-born, came from the United States to enlist in the Canadian forces. They had never taken the oath of allegiance to the United States; they remained Canadian citizens. They went overseas with the Canadian forces; ultimately they returned, and instead of throwing themselves upon the country as they might have done they went back to the United States and resumed their ordinary occupations.

Mr. EDWARDS: Would my hon. friend pay soldiers who happened to be in England, Italy and France in the currency of those respective countries instead of in Canadian currency?

Mr. COPP: I am coming to that. Because of our currency being at a discount in the United States, pensioners who live in the United States and who receive their payments in Canadian money stand to lose to the extent of the discount. In the United Kingdom our currency is at a premium, so that if the matter was adjusted along these lines, Canada would not be paying any more, generally speaking, than she is paying now. The pensioner residing in the United States would get the same amount as the pensioner residing in Great Britain. The argument might be made that a pensioner residing in Great Britain is not in a foreign country. But the pensioner who resides in the United Kingdom is of no more benefit to Canada than the one who resides in the United States, and the premium on our currency in the one case would very largely offset the deficiency in the other. I did feel that the Pensions Committee should have given that advantage to the pensioner residing in the United States. I have had quite a number of telegrams and letters with regard to the matter. I feel that is something that the committee should have done, but the majority were of the other opinion. I think the Chairman will agree with me that I reserved the right to place my views before this committee, and I have done so in regard to the two or three items which I should like to have seen incorporated in the Bill.

Mr. EDWARDS: If my hon. friend's suggestion were carried out, great difficulties might present themselves. Supposing a pensioner started on a pleasure trip around the world. Would my hon. friend have the pension follow him to Havana, Japan and every other country he saw fit to visit?

Mr. POWER: He could not get around the world on his pension.

Mr. COPP: My hon. friend is asking me a question which seems to me too unreasonable to take up any more time of the committee in attempting to answer it. This matter was brought to the attention of the committee and a conclusion was reached, after many compromises had been made. I may be wrong in regard to the matter, but I am only exercising my right, and I said in the committee that I would reserve the right to place my views before this committee. I have done so, and I feel it would have been the proper thing to have incorporated these provisions in the Bill. The majority of the committee, however, were opposed to this scheme, and I am prepared to bow to their decision.

Mr. EDWARDS: I hope my hon. friend will not think for a moment that I am trying to imply that he had no right to present his views in this House. I certainly had no such thought. Arguments may be advanced in support of the view of my hon. friend in regard to this matter, and I was merely endeavouring to point out some of the difficulties in the way of carrying it out. It is not sufficient to argue that a pension should be paid in the United States in American currency, taking that one country alone, because if you accept that principle, you must follow the pensioner no matter to what country he goes. That is logical, and that presents a difficulty which seems to point very clearly to the fact that the committee came to a wise decision when they decided to pay the pensioner in Canadian money no matter to what country he might go.

Mr. COPP: I did not argue that there were no difficulties in the way. I stated, as calmly and as considerately as I could, my views in regard to the matter. I have never, in connection with pensions or other benefits to returned men, argued that no difficulties presented themselves. As regards this scheme, I did not think the difficulties were insurmountable or I would not have brought it up. But difficulties have arisen and the majority of the committee have felt that they could not adopt this scheme. I have taken this opportunity of putting myself on record as otherwise it might have looked as if the committee had been unanimous on this point.

Mr. CALDWELL: At the outset I took the same view as that of my hon. friend (Mr. Copp); but when the committee came to consider the matter and the fact that

the rate of exchange is not stationary, that it fluctuates from week to week and from month to month, I came to the conclusion that it would be almost impossible to work out this scheme. Had the rate of exchange been permanent, it might have been possible to work out this scheme; but the rate of exchange not being permanent, it would be practically impossible for the Board of Pension Commissioners to follow the rate of exchange.

Mr. CALDER: The schedules have been very carefully checked but two slight amendments are necessary. I move to amend schedule A by correcting the first figures in the fourth line of the first schedule to make them read \$637.50 instead of \$637, and the last figures in the same line to make them read \$31.88 instead of \$21.88.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. POWER: In case these things are not carefully checked, what effect will there be on the pensions? For instance, in schedule A under class 1, the first child gets \$180, and the second child, \$144 per annum; but when you come to class 13, both of them get the same, namely, \$72 per annum.

Mr. CRONYN: They get the same from there on.

Mr. POWER: Yes. Is there any special reason for that?

Mr. CRONYN: The explanation is that this follows the arrangement made under the present Act where, from an administrative point of view, so as to cut out fractions of dollars in making money payments, the deduction was not absolutely by strict percentage, but it was worked out so as to bring it to even money payments as far as possible.

Mr. POWER: That is, I understand, by regulation of the Board of Pension Commissioners?

Mr. CRONYN: It was done at the request, no doubt, of the Board of Pension Commissioners in the last Act to enable the administration to work in that way, but it is, of course, fixed by the schedule.

Schedule A agreed to.

On motion of Mr. Calder, the committee reverted to the consideration of clause 23— increase not exceeding \$180 annually between dependent parents of deceased member.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: As I said before, I was somewhat impressed by the observa-  
[Mr. Caldwell.]

tions which have been made by the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's, the hon. member for Brome, and the hon. member for Quebec South. On the other hand, I have since had the opportunity of discussing the matter with some members of the committee, and I find that this subject received careful attention from every possible standpoint, and that there are some considerations in connection with the matter on which it is not necessary for me to dwell at the moment, and which perhaps influenced the decision of the committee to some extent. If we should attempt to depart from the report and the resolution based upon it, it would be necessary for us to ask the consent of His Excellency the Governor General to bring down another resolution. I have reached the conclusion that under the circumstances I should ask the committee to let the Bill pass in its present form. Between now and the opening of another session we shall have an opportunity of considering the question still further, and of ascertaining whether any sense of injustice is created by the report and by the Bill in the form now proposed. If it should transpire that such is the case, it will be open to Parliament immediately after the opening of the next session to reconsider the matter, and, if it should be deemed necessary, to make any new provision retroactive, so as to place the mothers in question upon the same basis as those who live in this country. I could add something to this, but I hope under the circumstances the committee will be content to accept this conclusion, subject to the understanding which I have just mentioned.

Mr. FIELDING: I appreciate the difficulty which my right hon. friend has referred to in opening up the matter in a form which will call for the introduction of a new resolution with the consequent delay. I am quite content to accept the intimation the right hon. gentleman has given that if, as a result of our experience, cases of this kind arise, as I am pretty sure they will, Parliament will take a generous view of the matter at the next session and, if need be, make the provision retroactive. I am quite content that we should proceed to-day on the lines my right hon. friend suggests, and I think there will be no difficulty at the next session in making the desired amendment.

Mr. POWER: So far as I am concerned, I have no objection to accepting what has

been asked by the Prime Minister, but my objection to the section was not based mainly on that question. I would move that subsection (6) be stricken from the Bill. It provides that if an unmarried son is living with a parent or person in the place of a parent and is in the opinion of the commission earning a sufficient amount to permit him to contribute to the support of such parent, he shall be deemed to be contributing not less than \$10 a month. I think it is most unfair to take \$10 off the pension of a widowed mother just because she has an unmarried son living at home. I know of a case, which I called to the attention of the Pension Board, of a widowed mother with three sons, all of whom enlisted, and two of whom were killed at the Front. One son returned and was earning a pretty good salary, and under the former regulations a large amount was deducted on account of this son. Now it is proposed to deduct \$10 from his mother's pension. I do not think there is any justice or fairness in it. She should not be penalized because she has had a son able to go to the Front and who has been fortunate enough to return. She has done her duty by the country when, in the first place, she brought this son into the world, and in the second place, when she sent him overseas with his two brothers. It is unfair that she should be penalized because he returned. I therefore move that this subsection be stricken from the Bill.

Amendment negatived.

Mr. POWER: I said I intended to fight this and I am going to, if I have to move to amend every subsection. Early this session I moved the following resolution in the House:

That, in the opinion of this House, it is expedient to amend the Act to provide pensions to or in respect of members of the Canadian Naval and Military Air Forces, 1919, so as to provide that the pension of a widowed mother of a member of the forces who has died on active service shall not be reduced on account of her income and further that pension shall be granted her of right whether or not there are other living children.

This resolution was debated in the House and there was not one dissenting voice. Hon. gentlemen opposite who are so keen to say nay when my amendment is put were the very first to support the resolution when I moved it in the House at that time. The hon. member for London, who is in charge of this Bill, was the most enthusiastic supporter of the resolution. The hon. member for Calgary, who I am

sorry is not in his seat, was another enthusiastic supporter of it. So was the hon. member for Skeena, the hon. member for Brantford, the hon. member for Gloucester, the hon. member for Westmorland, the hon. member for Victoria, the hon. member for South Vancouver, and so on.

Mr. COOPER: I was not present.

Mr. POWER: My hon. friend would have been in favour of it if he had been present I am sure. Now, simply because this matter was discussed by a special committee—and the committee was by no means unanimous on this question—are we to go back on a decision which was given three or four months ago in this House without a dissenting voice? Every man in the House then said it was a good thing, and that it should be adopted. The very words of the resolution are "that the pension shall not be reduced on account of her income." That is plain enough. But we are reducing it by subsection (7) if her income exceeds \$240 per annum. The resolution goes on, that the person "shall be granted her of right." There was no question whatever about her earnings or income. The pension was to be granted her of right "whether or not there are other living children." Every hon. member who was so ready to say aye, when the question shall this subsection carry was put, was just as willing to shout aye to this resolution when I moved it in the House. Is it because this is a Government Bill that they have changed their minds? Are they frightened, or I am sorry to say was a very gallant member yesterday by a threat of the Prime Minister that perhaps the whole Bill would not pass if we opposed one little clause? I am not afraid. I know that neither the Prime Minister or anybody else would dare go to the country and say that we are obstructing the passing of this Bill because we are fighting for the widowed mothers. I defy any hon. member or any minister to say that because we are asking for a little amendment to prevent the widowed mothers' pensions from being reduced that we are obstructing the whole Bill. I am insisting on this amendment. I had the unanimous assent of the House to my resolution at the beginning of the session, and now just because we are in the closing days of the session, am I to be refused that assent? I am tired of being told that the Bill must go through in a hurry. As long as I am able to continue the debate, I am going to do so.

Mr. NESBITT: My hon. friend will pardon my stupidity, but what resolution does he refer to?

Mr. POWER: The resolution moved on March 15, by Mr. Charles Gavin Power, to be found at page 444 of Hansard.

Mr. NESBITT: What clause of the Bill are you trying to amend?

Mr. POWER: Subsection (7) of section 23.

Mr. NESBITT: What is the amendment?

Mr. POWER: I move that all the words after "sources" in line 5 of page 6 of the Bill be stricken out.

Mr. NICHOLSON (Algoma): I wish to say a word in support of the hon. member for Quebec South.

Mr. POWER: Good man.

Mr. NICHOLSON (Algoma): I do not believe it is in harmony with the spirit of the country that we should reduce the pension of a widowed mother for any of the reasons given. I do not say this in criticism of the committee, for whom I have the highest respect. Nevertheless, I do not believe that it is in harmony with the spirit of the majority of the members, at least so far as they have expressed themselves, that because a woman may take in washing to the extent of \$20 a month—

Some hon. MEMBERS: No.

Mr. NESBITT: No private earnings are counted.

Mr. NICHOLSON (Algoma): The clause says that the pension to a widowed mother shall not be reduced on account of her earnings, etc., or on account of her having an income which does not exceed \$240 per annum.

Mr. NESBITT: That is, income.

Mr. NICHOLSON (Algoma): Then the clause is badly worded. But in any event, I say that if we grant a pension to a widowed mother we ought to leave her alone. The thing I object to above all is the constant harrying of the widowed mother by inspectors who go around to find out what she is getting in the shape of an income. I know what are the feelings of the woman who has lost her boy, and the question as to whether or not she is getting an income to live on should be settled in some other way than by having inspectors going to her home to investigate conditions and to ascertain whether she may have secured something in the way of an income from

Mr. Power.]

some source, perhaps from a daughter who is earning a little, or from a son who is gracious enough to give to his mother a part of his earnings.

Mr. NESBITT: Nothing is deducted on account of the daughter's earnings.

Mr. NICHOLSON (Algoma): What she receives from her daughter is part of her income "from other sources," I take it.

Mr. POWER: If the daughter gives her a certain amount of money, that would be regarded as income.

Mr. NICHOLSON (Algoma): I would earnestly suggest that, once having given the widowed mother a pension, we should leave her alone without constant and irritating interference.

The CHAIRMAN: I cannot place before the committee the amendment submitted by the hon. member for Quebec South (Mr. Power) because it is not in order. By striking out the words "240 per annum" the committee would be increasing the charges upon the public treasury, and that cannot be done unless preceded by resolution. The amendment is therefore not in order at this stage.

Mr. POWER: Last year when this matter was discussed the same question was brought up by the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell), but I do not think he asked the mover of the resolution, the hon. member for London (Mr. Cronyn), to withdraw his amendment on that account. I think the matter was allowed to be discussed.

The CHAIRMAN: The matter can undoubtedly be discussed, because it is relevant to the clause which is before the committee. It can be discussed as a suggestion to the Government, but it cannot be moved in the form of an amendment.

Mr. COOPER: What I would direct attention to is schedule A—"Bonus outside Canada" and "Bonus in Canada." It seems to me that, under this head, we are making a provision that deliberately disregards the promises made to the men that came from the United States to join our forces. These men were unquestionably notified on enlisting that they and their dependents would without doubt participate in the full benefits given members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. They were told that their dependents would benefit to the same extent as dependents of men in the C.E.F. living in Canada.

Under the provisions made here there is no such benefit, and it seems to me to be absolutely unfair, especially with reference to the United States, because there were special inducements to men in the United States to join the Canadian Expeditionary Force. With reference to dependents in the Old Country, or South Africa, or Australia, I do not so strongly emphasize this point. But I do not think that the committee should pass this schedule as it now stands, at least so far as pensioners who are now residing in the United States are concerned. The cost of living to them is as high as it is to us, and furthermore, we pay them in the Canadian dollar and do not compensate them for the loss in exchange. As regards the Old Country or any other part of the Empire where our own currency is at a premium the pensioner benefits, but in the United States she does not, and I think that this question of bonus should be carefully considered before being put into force.

Mr. POWER: I do not know whether I would be in order or not, but I will bring the matter to the attention of the Government and ask them at least to be charitable to the widowed mother. Subsection 8 provides that the pension to a parent or person in place of a parent shall not be reduced on account of the payment to such parent or person of municipal insurance on life of a deceased member of the forces, and I would ask the Prime Minister to exempt life insurance also. It would be unfair, in my opinion, to say that if a widowed mother received a certain amount of insurance on the life of her son her pension should be diminished on that account. If the Chairman thought I was in order, I would move to amend this section to read "municipal or any other insurance." I presume, however, that the same ruling would apply in this as in the other instance. If the widowed mother receives municipal insurance nothing is deducted from her pension on that account, and I would ask the Prime Minister to consider seriously whether life insurance should not be included in this provision. I do not think it would cost the country a great deal of money if we allowed a widowed mother to enjoy her pension irrespective of a few thousand dollars that she might have received on the death of her son.

Mr. McGIBBON (Muskoka): This difficulty might be overcome by raising the amount of income in subsection 7 from \$20 to \$30 or \$40 a month. A year ago I sug-

gested that it be placed at \$500 a year. Of course, the principle is absolutely sound that you should have some limit. In my opinion it would not be fair to give a pension to any one with an income of \$2,000 or \$3,000 a year. You must draw the line somewhere. At the same time, I think that we might increase this amount from \$20 to \$30 or \$40 a month; probably \$30 would be reasonable. I agree with the hon. member for Algoma (Mr. Nicholson) that it is very irritating to widowed mothers to have visitors prying into their private affairs, and this is a matter that has caused a great deal of quiet resentment among the widowed mothers of soldiers in this country. I think that in fixing this amount we should put a reasonable figure so as to do away with a great deal of the irritation that has been caused in the past. Twenty dollars is rather too low. I do not know that it would cause any harm to leave it as it is, but undoubtedly, if it were increased, there would be less cause for complaint.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I shall certainly take into consideration what has been said on this subject by the hon. gentlemen who have spoken. I see some force in the observation as to the feeling of irritation which might be created by too close or too frequent inquiries into the private affairs of persons who have lost near relatives in the war. But my hon. friends will observe that it will be impossible to change this provision without bringing down another resolution. I hope therefore they will be willing to accept my assurance that what they have said in the matter will not be overlooked.

Section agreed to and Bill reported.

On the motion of Hon. Mr. Calder that the Bill be read a third time:

Mr. McKENZIE: May I ask the minister in charge of this Bill if it is the intention to consolidate the Pension Act of last year and the measure we have just passed?

Mr. CALDER: I should think there would be a consolidation made for the convenience of everybody.

Mr. McKENZIE: And the consolidated Bill distributed as speedily as possible?

Mr. CALDER: Yes.

Motion agreed to and Bill read third time.

At Six o'clock the House took recess.

### After Recess.

The House resumed at Eight o'clock.

#### STATE INSURANCE FOR RETURNED SOLDIERS.

On motion of Hon. J. A. Calder (Minister of Immigration and Colonization), Bill No. 195 to provide for the insurance of returned soldiers by the Dominion of Canada was read the second time, and the House went into committee thereon—Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 2—Definitions.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Is this Bill like the other measures dealing with pensions, based on the recommendations of the Special Committee?

Mr. CALDER: Yes. The Special Committee went very carefully over this Bill, and, as I understand it, unanimously agreed to it.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: It was drafted by the committee.

Mr. CALDER: With the assistance of the Superintendent of Insurance.

Section agreed to.

On section 3—Insurance and limits thereof, etc.

Mr. McKENZIE: Perhaps the most expeditious way to explain this Bill is to tell us if there is any difference between this method of insurance and the ordinary life insurance.

Mr. NESBITT: The Bill is founded entirely on the ordinary life insurance given by practically all insurance companies doing business in Canada. The Government bear the total expense of management. The rates are slightly below the non-participating rates of our ordinary life companies; but otherwise the Bill contains the same provisions, practically speaking, as all first-class life policies.

Section agreed to.

On section 15—Medical examinations.

Mr. NESBITT: Perhaps I should explain that under this section no medical examination is required; that is where this contract differs very materially from the ordinary insurance contract.

Mr. CAHILL: Will the premium be the same?

Mr. NESBITT: The premium is slightly less than the non-participating rates of the [Mr. Calder.]

ordinary insurance contract, those rates varying, of course, with the age of the insured.

Mr. McMASTER: As no medical examination is required, is no one charged with the duty of seeing that the insured is not on the point of death?

Mr. CRONYN: The Bill would be of no avail to the disabled returned soldier if there were to be a medical examination. It must cover, as the hon. member has just said, the man on the point of death as well as the normal man. The only protection to the country in the case of a man who is so disabled that his life is short arises from the fact that under the provisions of section 10, if the insured's death is due to war service, and his dependents are pensionable, they do not draw any benefit from the insurance policy, but they are entitled to a return of the premiums with interest. If, however, his death is due to natural causes his dependents get the benefit of the policy.

Mr. CAHILL: I presume this is entirely for soldiers?

Mr. CRONYN: Entirely.

Mr. CAHILL: Is there no time limit within which a soldier must take advantage of this insurance?

Mr. CRONYN: One of the last sections provides that a soldier—that expression including a sailor, a nurse, and the widow of soldier killed in action—can take advantage of this insurance any time within two years of the passing of the Act.

Section agreed to.

On section 19—Statement to be made for minister, etc.

Mr. CALDER: I move to amend clause 19 by inserting after the word "The" in the first line of subsection (2) the following words: "Superintendent of Insurance, or such other officer as may be appointed for that purpose by the Governor in Council." Amendment agreed to.

Section as amended agreed to.

On section 20—No insurance after 1st July, 1922.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The marginal note needs correction.

Mr. CRONYN: The main body of the Bill was amended by the committee, but the marginal note was overlooked.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The marginal note should be changed to 1st September, 1922?

Mr. CRONYN: Yes.

Mr. McKENZIE: Would it not be better to have that section read: "No application for insurance shall be received after the 1st day of September, nineteen hundred and twenty-two"? There may be some applications on hand that it will be impossible to get out at that date.

Mr. CALDER: I think the suggestion is a good one. I therefore move to amend the section by substituting for the words "contract of insurance shall be issued" in the first line thereof the following words, "application for insurance shall be received." The section will then read:

No application for insurance shall be received under this Act after the first day of September, nineteen hundred and twenty-two.

Clause as amended agreed to.

On section 21—Commencement of Act.

Mr. CALDER: There is one feature of the Bill that I think should be clearly explained to the House,—the provision whereby the widows of soldiers may be insured without examination. I am not personally familiar with the details, but no doubt the chairman of the committee, who thoroughly understands the measure, will explain to the House that feature, because so far as I am concerned I would not like the Bill to go through unless the committee understands that that provision is embodied.

Mr. CRONYN: The Bill as originally drawn did not contain a provision for the insurance of widows of deceased soldiers, but on consideration by the committee that class of persons was added as insurable. It was argued—and I think with a good deal of force—that widows as a class would form a good insurable risk, and that so far as the country was concerned there was no added liability, the premiums being based on a recognized table of mortality. She is allowed to insure for the benefit of the restricted class of beneficiaries set out in section 4 of the Act,—wife, husband, child, grandchild, parent, brother or sister. But it is necessary for her to show at the time of the application for insurance that the beneficiary under her policy is dependent on her. In the case of children, that would be easy; if the beneficiary were some one else in the class named she would have to satisfy the department in charge of the carrying out of the Act that the beneficiary is dependent. She could not take

advantage of the Act unless she had dependents, within the limited class, who may be named as beneficiaries.

Mr. CAHILL: Will the department in charge of the administration of this legislation notify all returned soldiers and dependents who may come under its provisions, in order that they may avail themselves of it if they wish to do so?

Mr. NESBITT: Yes, the department will immediately notify them all.

Mr. ROBB: I suppose it is not the intention of the Government to create too much new machinery throughout Canada to take care of this business? I suggest that it might be economically administered through the Post Office Department or the Customs Department, which have branches in many cities and towns throughout Canada.

Mr. CALDER: There is no desire to create any machinery that is not absolutely necessary for the carrying out of the law. No final decision has yet been reached as to what machinery shall be used, but as the Board of Pension Commissioners have an organization spread over the whole country and are in touch with the persons who may be affected by this law, they probably would be the best organization to look after its administration.

Mr. CALDWELL: Would it be asking too much to request that ministers who are in charge of Bills and members of the Opposition who are replying speak in a tone other than that employed in a secret conference? Early in the session the suggestion was made that members of the Cabinet and hon. gentlemen on the front Opposition benches move down toward the centre of the Chamber, and I believe that there was an understanding to the effect that that would be done. Since it has not been done, I think we have a right to request that hon. gentlemen who speak, at least do so in a tone that may be heard by the Third party in this House, so that we may know something about what is going on. On several occasions I have been surprised upon reading in Hansard some of the things that were said the previous day and which I had not heard. Certainly if I had heard some of the things that were said I should have had some remarks to make with regard to them. Unfortunately, we of the Third party are not privileged to move up to seats nearer to hon. members who are speaking, as members of the Government

and Opposition are. I feel very strongly on this matter.

An hon. MEMBER: Come along this way.

An hon. MEMBER: The pews are all free.

Mr. CALDWELL: I do not feel at home in them.

Section agreed to.

Bill reported, and read the third time, and passed.

#### CANADA SHIPPING ACT—SICK AND DISTRESSED MARINERS.

Hon. N. W. ROWELL (Minister of Public Health) moved that the amendment made by the Senate to Bill No. 127, to amend the Canada Shipping Act (Sick and Distressed Mariners) be read the second time and concurred in.

Mr. CANNON: What is the nature of the amendment?

Mr. ROWELL: The Bill as passed by this House provided for an increased duty or charge on all vessels entering Canadian ports. The present duty is one and one half cents per ton, and under the Bill it is increased to two cents per ton, the increase to go into effect on the first of January next. The Senate has introduced an amendment providing that the date on which this increased duty shall go into effect may be deferred beyond the first of January next by proclamation of the Governor in Council. Hon. members will recall that when the matter was before the House it was alleged that the effect of the imposition of the present duty was to cause the American Government to impose upon Canadian ships entering American ports a very much higher charge. I intimated to the committee that the Department of Justice was looking into the matter. The Department advise us that they do not think there is any justification under the law for that increased charge being imposed on Canadian vessels entering American ports, and the matter will be taken up with the proper authorities. It may be desirable not to impose the increased duty until that question can be further considered; therefore the Senate amendment may, I think, safely be concurred in.

Motion agreed to.

[Mr. Caldwell.]

#### CIVIL SERVICE ACT AMENDMENT.

##### CONSIDERATION OF AMENDMENTS BY SENATE TO BILL 53.

The House proceeded to the consideration of the amendments made by the Senate to Bill No. 53, to amend the Civil Service Act, 1918, and the Civil Service Amendment Act, 1919.

Hon. N. W. ROWELL (President of the Privy Council): I beg to move:

(1) That the second amendment made by the Senate to Bill No. 53. "An Act to amend the Civil Service Act 1918, and the Civil Service Act, 1919", be concurred in.

(2) That the first amendment made by the Senate be not concurred in, for the following reason namely:

That such amendment is inconsistent with the principles of the Civil Service legislation embodied in the Civil Service Acts of 1908, 1918 and 1919 and is subversive of the policy of Civil Service reform which has been repeatedly approved by the Parliament of Canada and by the electorate.

The Senate has made two amendments to the Bill. The first, in respect of which I have moved non-concurrence, and which follows section 2 of the Bill as it passed this House, provides that all appointments to the staff of the Senate shall be withdrawn from the provisions of the Civil Service Act; that all the privileges and immunities and powers of the Senate with respect to these appointments which existed prior to the passing of the Civil Service Act of 1908 and of the Acts which have since passed shall be deemed to exist unimpaired, and further, that all privileges, including increase of salary due to re-classification and all other privileges which have accrued to employees of the Senate under the various Civil Service Acts, shall be continued to them, notwithstanding that by the amendment they are withdrawn from the operation of the Act. The position as regards employees of the Senate is this. At the present time the temporary employees, who constitute the majority of the employees of the Senate, are under the control of the Speaker of the Senate, just as the temporary employees who constitute the majority of the employees of this House, are under the control of the Speaker of this House. The Civil Service Act, therefore, applies only to the permanent employees. Under the legislation of 1918 and 1919, there is no change as regards the Senate employees, except a change which is a benefit to the employees through the re-classification and the improved salaries. They were brought under the Civil Service Act by the original Act of 1908, and the action of the Sen-

ate is to take them out from under the Act of 1908. That is the reason why I submit that this is subversive of the policy of Civil Service reform, as repeatedly approved by this House and by the electorate. The Act of 1908 which placed the Inside Civil Service under the Civil Service Commission was an Act accepted by this House, which has not been challenged by either party nor has it been challenged in any of the elections since that date. To accept the amendment would be to go back on the whole principle of Civil Service reform as applied to the public service, and I submit the House cannot properly accept this amendment without abandoning the principle which both parties in this House have agreed upon with reference to the Inside Civil Service. If there has been any difference, it has been in regard to the Outside Service.

The second amendment relates to the holidays which may be enjoyed in the public service. It comes in the form of an addition to the Bill as section 6 and it sets out the holidays that shall be observed in and by the Civil Service:

- (1) Sundays;
- (2) New Year's Day;
- (3) Good Friday;
- (4) Easter Monday;
- (5) Victoria Day;
- (6) The birthday of the reigning Sovereign, or the day fixed by proclamation by the Governor in Council for the celebration thereof;
- (7) Dominion Day;
- (8) Labour Day;
- (9) Christmas Day;
- (10) Any day appointed by proclamation by the Governor in Council to be observed as a general fast or thanksgiving or as a holiday.

The Senate add another clause as clause (7), these two additions being covered by the second amendment which I moved should be concurred in. Under the Civil Service Act of last session, provision is made that appointments in respect of the Government railways and His Majesty's ships shall not come within the jurisdiction of the Civil Service Commission. I understand some question has been raised as to the proper interpretation of the words "His Majesty's ships." Recently, the question came up and the Department of Justice advised the commission that they thought it desirable that the words "His Majesty's ships" should be more clearly defined so that there would be no question what came within the jurisdiction of the commission and what did not. The Senate has, therefore, added clause (7) as follows:

In this section the expression "ship of His Majesty" includes every description of vessel,

however propelled, which is used in navigation or in the improvement of navigation, and which is the property of or chartered or employed by His Majesty, or the cost of which, or any portion of the cost of which, has been defrayed out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada.

This is an interpretative clause which, I am informed, carries out the intention of the section as enacted last session. I understand the first amendment, the one in which I have moved non-concurrence, was the occasion of discussion in the other chamber and a pretty nearly equal division of opinion. The second amendment, embracing the two changes to which I have referred, was, I believe, adopted by the Senate with practical unanimity. The Bill is one of great public importance affecting the whole Civil Service; it is very important that it should pass into law this session, and while one recognizes the right of the other chamber to pass upon these matters, I think we are going a fair way to meet their view and, I trust, to preserve the Bill unimpaired in its essential features if we concur in those amendments in respect of which the Senate was practically unanimous and if we dissent from the other amendment which we cannot accept without impairing the whole principle of the Bill.

Mr. TRAHAN: If I understand the minister aright, he wishes the House to accept the amendment covering the new clauses 6 and 7 and to refuse concurrence in the other amendment. Is that right?

Mr ROWELL: That is correct.

Mr. TRAHAN: I believe the new clause 6 which has been added by the Senate will have the effect of diminishing the number of holidays for the Civil Service and of putting civil servants who belong to the Catholic religion in a false position. I notice that some holidays which are observed by Catholics are not mentioned in the new clause 6, so that Catholic civil servants will be in this position: Under the law of their religion, they cannot work on Holy days of obligation, and under the proposed amendment they will be obliged to work. It would be a good principle to be followed by the House to respect the religious convictions of all civil servants, and for that reason we should not concur in the amendment embodying the proposed new clause 6 of the Bill.

Mr. CANNON: As the minister has remarked these amendments are very important. Unfortunately, we have not these

amendments before us and we cannot very intelligently discuss their nature and effect. The minister has them, but we have not.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. member will find the amendments set forth in the Votes and Proceedings of the 19th June.

Mr. ROWELL: I have consulted the Parliamentary Counsel and I am advised that the usual form is to move concurrence in such amendment as the Government thinks should be concurred in, and non-concurrence in the other. I have had the resolution drawn by the Parliamentary Counsel in order that it might be in the proper form.

Mr. LUCIEN CANNON (Dorchester): As my hon. friend (Mr. Trahan) has remarked, the Senate amendment regarding legal holidays will have the effect of placing civil servants of the Catholic religion in a very difficult position. Since Confederation, and even before that, a certain number of days have been observed in Canada as general holidays. The Senate by its amendment proposes that henceforth certain days which are days of observance for the members of the Catholic Church shall no longer be holidays in the Civil Service. Civil servants of the Catholic faith will be in this position if this amendment is concurred in: According to the rules of the Church they will not be able to work on that day because it is a day of what we call religious obligation, which is considered practically as a Sunday, and on Sundays Catholics cannot work. On the other hand, being civil servants they will have to obey the regulations governing civil servants and will have to work on these days. I do not think it is fair for any government or for the Civil Service Commission to place them in such an awkward position. Their religious principles and religious convictions are to be respected, and I have no doubt it will be sufficient to call the attention of the minister to this fact to have him amend his resolution and move non-concurrence in the Senate amendment respecting holidays.

As to the other amendment, taking away from the Civil Service Commission jurisdiction over the Senate employees, I have very little to say. The minister says that the electorate of Canada have on several occasions approved of the policy of the present Government on Civil Service reform. I do not think that question was very much discussed at the last election, and as to the previous election of 1911, I do not think the party to which the minister now belongs

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upheld very much the Civil Service Commission. I have heard very strong supporters of the Government on the other side of the House attack the policy of this Government on Civil Service reform. I have heard the hon. member for Ottawa (Mr. Fripp), for instance, say that the commission has given very little satisfaction. Would it be a good thing for the Civil Service to be removed from the jurisdiction of the Commission? Certainly there is not as much satisfaction among civil servants as there might be. Is it because they are under the Civil Service Commission? I do not know. Would the lot of the Senate officials be bettered if they came directly under the jurisdiction of the Senate? It is an experiment that might be worth while trying. But I am not so much interested in this amendment as in the other one regarding legal holidays. I think that amendment is absolutely unfair and absolutely unjust to the civil servants who belong to the Catholic church, and I trust that the House will not concur in it.

Mr. H. A. MACKIE (East Edmonton): So far as the Roman Catholic Church is concerned, it is quite possible for a Roman Catholic on the days of obligation to attend divine service in the early morning, and perform his regular duties afterwards. That practice has often been urged in the Catholic Church. But I would draw this point to the attention of the House and particularly of the Government. While it is possible on these feasts of obligation for Roman Catholics to attend to their religious duties in the early morning, it seems to me that at a time like this, when there is a great deal of dissatisfaction all over the country, we should not do anything to create more dissatisfaction in a whole province of this Dominion by taking action that will lead the people of that province to believe that this Government is particularly anxious to deprive them of their religious liberty. I regret very much that this matter has come up in that form. I do not think the Senate amendment regarding legal holidays in the Civil Service should be concurred in, not because the members of the Roman Catholic Church cannot practise their religion on these feasts of obligation, but because of the general opinion it would create that the Government was infringing on their rights. I trust that the Government will refrain from any such action that will make for the unity of Canada rather than the disruption of our national life.

Mr. J. W. EDWARDS (Frontenac): The Senate, I understand, has proposed two amendments and the minister in charge of the Bill has moved concurrence in one and non-concurrence in the other. I find myself in the position of disagreeing with the minister in his attitude on both these amendments. In so far as the Senate proposes to take the appointment of certain officials out of the hands of the Civil Service Commission and in so far as that action on their part is a step in the direction towards sanity, so far as the outside service is concerned, I would feel inclined to approve of the Senate's action. I am consistent in taking that stand because from the beginning I have never favoured placing the outside civil service under the Civil Service Commission.

As to the other Senate amendment, which the minister moved concurrence in, I think that the statements made by the hon. member for Nicolet (Mr. Trahan) and the hon. member for Dorchester (Mr. Cannon) should receive the sympathetic and serious consideration of this House. If it is true, as the hon. member for Edmonton (Mr. Mackie) has stated, that Roman Catholics can perform their religious duties in the early morning on these religious holidays, perhaps no great hardship will be done, but I did not get that impression from the statements of the hon. member for Nicolet (Mr. Trahan) and the hon. member for Dorchester (Mr. Cannon). I have no hesitation whatever in saying that it is most unfair, most unreasonable, and most unjust to expect civil servants to attend to their duties as civil servants in violation of the principles of their religion, whether I agree with those principles or not. I must therefore express my dissent from concurrence in the one amendment, while my sympathy goes out to the amendment proposed by the Senate in so far as it seeks to relieve its staff from the ministrations and control of the Civil Service Commission.

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I merely want to ask a question of the minister. If hon. members desire to concur in part of the amendment but cannot see their way to agree to the other part, will it be possible for them, by means of a vote, to express their views on this question? I fancy that there may be a good many hon. members who will find themselves in a position to concur in one amendment moved by the Senate while they may disapprove of the other, and they would desire to register their views accordingly.

Mr. ROWELL: If his Honour the Speaker thinks that under the practice the resolution can be properly divided, I see not the least objection to a division of it. It was prepared by Parliamentary Counsel, but I would ask that it be divided.

Mr. SPEAKER: With all deference to the Parliamentary Counsel, whose opinion I hold in high regard, I think the better procedure would be to take up each amendment separately. That would enable hon. members, if they so desire, to vote for one and against the other: If the hon. minister will withdraw his motion I will submit it in two parts. Is it the pleasure of the House that the hon. minister have leave to withdraw his motion?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

Motion withdrawn.

Mr. MACKIE (Edmonton): What is the position of the Government on this question? I did not hear what the minister said.

Mr. SPEAKER: The minister has withdrawn his motion and it is now his intention to submit the amendments seriatim.

Mr. ROWELL: I move, Mr. Speaker, that the first amendment made by the Senate to section 2 be not concurred in, for the following reasons:

That such amendment is inconsistent with the principles of the Civil Service legislation embodied in the Civil Service Acts of 1908, 1918 and 1919, and is subversive of the policy of Civil Service reform which has been repeatedly approved by the Parliament of Canada and by the electorate.

Mr. PETER McGIBBON (Muskoka): I concur in the sentiments expressed by the hon. member for Frontenac. I am absolutely opposed, as I have frequently stated in this House, to the Civil Service Commission controlling all the patronage in this country. It is not getting rid of patronage but simply diverting it from responsible members of Parliament to three men who are responsible to nobody. I think the principle is all wrong. It relieves members of Parliament of their responsibility to their constituencies and is therefore opposed to the best interests of the country. The people do not want it, and I venture to say that the majority of hon. members in this House do not want it. I think that the principle of handing over the control of the entire Civil Service to the commission is wrong; I have opposed it consistently and will oppose it to the end. There

is no better way of making a member of Parliament responsible to his people than to make him responsible for the appointments in his constituency. That principle has been a time-honoured one in this country, and I think it was a mistake ever to depart from it; and the day is coming when we shall once more make those who are actually responsible bear the responsibility that belongs to their position.

Mr. E. W. NESBITT (North Oxford): As I understand the amendment, it is that the servants of the Senate be exempted from the provisions of the Civil Service Act. If I am wrong I desire to be corrected. If there is any dissatisfaction with the Act and we are going to amend it, I think it would be a mistake to amend it piecemeal. It is just as right to bring the servants of the Senate under the Civil Service Act as to bring the servants of the Commons under that Act, and it would be the greatest mistake in the world to amend the Act in any piecemeal fashion. So far as I am concerned, therefore, I will support the motion of the minister.

Mr. JOHN BEST (Dufferin): I heartily agree with the Senate in trying to abolish if possible the Civil Service Commission so far as the outside service is concerned. I honestly believe that very much of the unrest we are experiencing in Canada to-day is indirectly due to the fact that the Civil Service is under the control of a commission. We hear it stated from one end of Canada to the other to-day that there is no such thing as a Parliament or a Government, but only the Civil Service Commission. When ministers of the Crown have not the power to select men to suit themselves, they must take those whom the Civil Service Commission gives them. I have been opposed to this matter from the first and am still opposed to it. I think the action of the Senate was in the right direction and I believe it is high time for the Government to step in and see that the Civil Service Commission have nothing to do with the outside service. I could never understand how three men sitting in Ottawa could know who would be fit for appointment in the county I represent, or in any other county. I honestly am of opinion that putting the service under the control of the Civil Service Commission is not abolishing patronage but only transferring it from the people's representatives, who are responsible to the public, to an irresponsible body. When appointments are to be made the

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commission must inquire in every county in Canada as to who should be appointed, and if they are not going to make inquiry of the people's representatives, to whom will they go for information as to those whom it is desirable to appoint? I repeat, therefore, that it is only transferring patronage from responsible to irresponsible persons. Having travelled up and down the country and heard people discuss the subject, I believe that a lot of the unrest in Canada is caused by the Civil Service Commission. Every few days we get a list a yard long in regard to positions vacant, and the Government is appointing a committee to re-organize the Civil Service with a view to reducing the number of employees if possible. I was handed a list the other day about a yard long and I thought that if they went on appointing civil servants they would in a very short time double the number instead of reducing it. I hope the Government will see its way to abolish the Civil Service Commission so far as the outside service is concerned, for I believe that this would be the means of allaying a great deal of the unrest that prevails in Canada to-day.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must point out to the House that the question of abolishing the Civil Service Commission, and the broader question regarding its functions, cannot properly be discussed under this motion, which has purely to do with the question as to whether the Senate staff shall be exempted from the provisions of an Act already on the statute book. Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

Motion for non-concurrence in first amendment made by the Senate to section 2, agreed to.

Mr. ROWELL: I move that the second amendment made by the Senate, adding sections 6 and 7 to Bill 53, an Act to amend the Civil Service Act, 1918 and the Civil Service Amendment Act, 1919, be concurred in.

Mr. TRAHAN: Mr. Speaker—

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. gentleman, perhaps technically, has exhausted his right to speak because he has already spoken on this resolution; but if he has any fresh observations to make, in view of the fact that the previous motion was withdrawn, I am quite content to ask the unanimous consent of the House for him to speak.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Carried.

Unanimous consent granted.

Hon. H. S. BELAND (Beauce): The House has had the agreeable spectacle of the hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) agreeing on this question with the hon. member for Nicolet (Mr. Trahan). This is rather an edifying example which should be followed in this House; but now the question at stake is more serious than would appear at first sight. The Senate has adopted an amendment, the purport of which means that civil servants will not be relieved from their work on certain days which are specified in this amendment. Reading over the different days that are mentioned in the new section, at first sight I find that one or two days are not mentioned upon which it is a conscientious obligation for the civil servants who belong to the Catholic faith to attend church before twelve o'clock. If this amendment should be concurred in by the House it will become the law of the country and then you would—as was very well pointed out by the hon. member for Nicolet—force civil servants belonging to the Catholic church to disobey their church; to either ignore the dictates of their conscience or to disobey the law of the country. This is a very serious predicament in which to place men belonging to a religious faith. I would therefore urge the minister not to press the concurrence of the House in this amendment, and I would also ask all hon. members to vote against concurrence in the amendment. I am sure the minister will see the force of the reasons and the arguments that are advanced by hon. members on both sides.

Mr. TRAHAN: I do not know whether I am in order, but I would like to move an amendment to the motion made by the minister to the following effect:

That all the words after "that" be struck out and replaced by the following:

"That this House do not concur in the amendment embodied in the new clause 6 in this Bill relating to holidays because this amendment has the effect of encroaching upon the religious rights and privileges of many civil servants."

Let me say a few words in explanation. It was understood at the beginning of this debate that the amendments made by the Senate would be divided. If I understand the position well there were three amendments: One amendment relating to the Senate staff, a second embodying the new clause 6 referring to holidays, and a third embodying the new clause 7. If we had

followed the course agreed upon we would have dealt with each clause separately. Not having done that I deem it necessary to move the amendment which I have read.

Mr. SPEAKER: In my judgment this amendment is not in order because, in effect, it is negative of the motion now before the House, and the same result would be obtained if that motion is voted against. For that reason in my judgment the amendment is not in order. I therefore so rule.

Mr. F. S. CAHILL (Pontiac): I see the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) in his seat. I would like to ask him, before pressing this motion, that he ask to have this particular amendment reconsidered by the Senate, and that the Catholic members of the House be consulted to see if it is not possible to have the holidays restored that were previously in the Act. I find that the Senate by their amendment are cutting out All Saints' Day, Epiphany, Ascension Day and Ash Wednesday; and they are leaving untouched Victoria Day, the birthday of the reigning sovereign, Dominion Day, Labour Day and Christmas Day. Now this is a very serious question to many Catholics; it is perhaps more serious than many hon. members realize. It means that you are asking civil servants of the Catholic faith practically to work on Sundays which they would have serious objection to doing. I think the Prime Minister would be well advised if he were to reconsider this motion.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister): I am sure that no member of the Government would desire to take any course which would interfere with the conscientious scruples of any person in this country; and hon. members will bear in mind that the Bill, as prepared by the Government and presented to and passed by this House did not contain the provision in question. I think that hon. gentlemen who have spoken on the question have taken a somewhat exaggerated view of its effects. It does not follow at all, even if we should concur in the Senate amendment, that any person in this country to whom it was a matter of conscientious obligations to attend church on a particular day should be denied that right. I am not familiar with the extent of the obligation alluded to, and I do not know whether it would interfere with the obligation of any officer to discharge his

official duties after he had attended to the religious duties to which reference has been made. I was rather under the impression that after attending church and attending to any other religious duties that might be incumbent upon him, attendance in his office afterwards would not violate any conscientious obligation on his part.

Mr. VIEN: Would the Prime Minister allow me to correct him upon that point? The rule as to these feasts of obligation is absolutely the same as for the observance of the Sunday.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Well, I speak under correction. The hon. gentleman, of course, is much more familiar with these matters than I am. But I do desire to point out to hon. gentlemen that in some of the provinces these days are not statutory holidays, and the officers of the Government in those provinces are not relieved, by statute at least, from the obligation to attend to their ordinary duties; but I have not heard that any difficulty has arisen, the reason being, I imagine, that those charged with the responsibility of government in those provinces have due and reasonable regard to the conscientious scruples of the civil servants under their control. I would think that even if this amendment were concurred in the same result might confidently be anticipated so far as those engaged in the service of the Dominion are concerned. I regret that the Senate have seen fit to make this amendment, and I would greatly have preferred that they had left the Bill in the form in which it passed this House; but hon. gentlemen will realize that the Government would be assuming a serious responsibility if it took such a stand upon the amendment as would result in the Bill failing to become law.

Mr. TRAHAN: We did not concur in the other amendment.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I know, but that other amendment directly involved a principle adopted by Parliament. This amendment seems to me to be of a somewhat different character for the reason that I do not think persons charged with the responsibilities of government in this country would seek to impose upon any civil servant such duties as would be contrary to the obligations placed upon him by his conscience; and as matters of this kind have been worked out without friction and difficulty in the provinces where these days are not

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public holidays, so, I think, they might be worked out without difficulty in the offices of this Dominion.

I am content to let the matter stand for the present to see whether there is any probability that the Bill can become law if we decline to concur in the other proposed by the Senate. While I have not read the Senate debate, I understand that this amendment did pass there with very little discussion and with no serious objection. I am also informed that the Senate are not likely to withdraw from the position which they have taken in this respect. Under these circumstances, hon. gentlemen will see that the Government would have a considerable responsibility imposed upon it if this Bill, upon which so much depends for thousands of civil servants throughout the country, should fail to become law. For the present, however, if hon. gentlemen will consent that this motion stand, I shall be glad to give the matter further consideration.

Mr. VIEN: Before—

Mr. SPEAKER: Perhaps the right hon. gentleman (Sir Robert Borden) will move the adjournment of the debate.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Unless the hon. gentleman wishes to speak first.

Mr. VIEN: Before the matter stands—

Mr. SPEAKER: I cannot see any object in discussing the amendment if the motion is going to stand.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Then I move the adjournment of the debate. My hon. friend (Mr. Vien) will have an opportunity later to continue the discussion.

Motion agreed to and debate adjourned.

#### RETIREMENT OF MEMBERS OF PUBLIC SERVICE.

House again in committee on Bill No. 120, to provide for the Retirement of Certain Members of the Public Service—Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 1—Definitions.

Mr. CALDER: I move to amend section 1 by striking out the word "and" in the eleventh line of the said section and by adding thereto the following words: "and the Commissioner of Patents during the continuance of office of the present holder of that office." I understand that the present Commissioner of Patents is classed

as a deputy minister, but that when he retires it is not proposed to appoint another deputy minister to that office.

Amendment agreed to.

Section as amended agreed to.

On section 2—report by Civil Service Commission upon character of service of all officers of sixty-five and over:

Mr. CANNON: Is it the intention to have this work done by the Civil Service Commission, or will it be referred to foreign experts, as the classification was?

Mr. CALDER: The clause provides that it shall be done by the Civil Service Commission; no action can be taken without a report from them. I suggest that in the second line of subsection 1 the words "from time to time when requested by the Governor in Council shall" be inserted after the word "Act".

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: One feature that suggests it self in connection with the amendment just proposed is the authority vested in the Governor in Council to be constantly setting this machinery in motion for the purpose—I will not say of intimidating civil servants, but at least of making them feel that their positions are more or less jeopardized unless they act always in accord with the wishes of the ministry. There is much to be said in favour of creating among members of the service a feeling of permanency in their positions. Men very often give up a great deal in order to enter the Service—that is, those who take the higher and more professional positions; and it seems to me that if this amendment is adopted, having the effect of enabling the Governor in Council at any time to instruct some court or other body to examine into the behaviour, so to speak, of individual members of the Service, the service will be weakened; men will think three times instead of twice before entering the Service. I think the clause is open to that possible objection and ought to be considered from that point of view.

Mr. CALDER: I am inclined to think that the criticism made is justifiable. My own view is that at the next session of Parliament a proper superannuation and pension Bill should be brought down, and that if anything is to be done under this Bill it should be done between now and the bringing down of such legislation. It is perhaps better to leave the Bill as it

originally stood; I therefore ask for leave to withdraw the amendment.

Amendment withdrawn.

Mr. CROTHERS: Subsection 2 provides that the Civil Service Commission "shall, when requested by the Governor in Council," do so and so. In other words, they may do it five years from now or ten years from now. The Bill applies to all civil servants in Canada and is effective for all time, or until repealed or amended. It does not require any contribution on the part of civil servants in respect of the allowances provided. I do not think it is the will of hon. members that this legislation should be made permanent, providing as it does for the superannuation of civil servants of all classes without their contributing anything to the fund out of which the superannuation allowances shall be paid. The minister says it is not the intention that the measure shall be continued for all time. Well, something to that effect should be put in the Bill. Somebody else may be minister in ten, fifteen or twenty years, and unless this legislation is amended or repealed in the meantime the new ministers might say: "We find legislation on the statute book which enables us to superannuate civil servants under certain conditions without their contributing anything to the superannuation fund." I do not think that this Bill should be allowed to stand as it is without any limitation as to the time during which it shall be effective.

Mr. CALDER: I am inclined to think that the point is well taken. I am strongly in favour of a proper superannuation scheme in respect of which civil servants should make contributions. But as I pointed out on the second reading of the Bill, there are a number of civil servants who should be retired and who have not made any such contributions; we are merely endeavouring to provide some plan under which they can be retired. I certainly agree that the provisions of this Bill should not be continued indefinitely; therefore I will prepare an appropriate clause to add at the end of the Bill limiting the time during which it shall operate.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Why should not the minister make subsection 2 correspond with subsection 1 by making it read "the Civil Service Commission shall, immediately after the passing of this Act" instead of "the Civil Service Commission shall, when requested by the Governor in Council"? Would that not cover the point?

Mr. CALDER: Subsection 1 covers a comparatively limited class, respecting which the necessary information can be obtained in a very short time, but subsection 2 covers practically the entire Civil Service. It would be impossible to make that examination and report immediately after the Bill passes. I dare say the commission would arrange to take up one department after another; the work would extend, I am quite sure, over a comparatively long period of time. So that if we simply provide that the Bill shall continue in operation only for a certain period, I think that will meet the objection raised by my hon. friend (Mr. Crothers).

Mr. CANNON: Subsection 1 covers the case of civil servants who are sixty-five years of age or over; subsection 2 those who are under sixty-five. Subsection 2 is very wide; it gives the Civil Service Commission power to remove any employee for any reason. There is an enumeration of causes which reads:

By reason of advancing age, failing health, physical disability, lack of experience or ability or other cause.

What might the "other cause" be?

Mr. CASGRAIN: Patronage.

Mr. CALDER: Any cause.

Mr. CANNON: There is no restriction at all, and I think the wording is far too wide and indefinite. The wording of the clause is wide enough to allow a deputy head of a department to take advantage of this clause and remove an employee for no other reason than personal dislike. If the words "or other cause" were removed, Civil Service employees would have some safeguard and protection. The enumeration covers all reasonable causes, and I do not think there is any justification for the words "or other cause."

Mr. CALDER: My intention was to make the clause even wider in order that there should be no misunderstanding at all. I was intending to suggest that there be inserted after the word "ability" in the second last line the words "lack of employment." The hon. gentleman, I am sure, understands the situation. Every member of the House knows that in some departments of Government there is an overmanning, an over-staffing, and what we desire to do is to arrange for cutting down all unnecessary staffs. In addition to that, I think it is only fair to point this out, that without this Bill, the Governor in Council has power at any time to retire any civil

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servant. All civil servants, as I understand the matter, are appointed at the pleasure of the Crown; but we do not wish to retire men who have been in the service for a considerable time without making some provision for them, and the chief principle of the Bill is to provide something for such men. I think the clause is weak, because it does not intimate quite clearly that we should have power to retire men simply because there is no work for them to do.

Mr. CANNON: I wish the minister to understand me aright. I have no objection to a civil servant being removed if there is no occasion for his employment or if he does not fulfil his duties properly. Let the minister insert in the clause specific reasons and I will raise no objection, but I say that the words "or other cause" are so wide that a good civil servant might be removed for no good reason.

Mr. CALDER: I quite appreciate the viewpoint of the hon. gentleman and I agree with him in a very large measure. For the purpose of endeavouring to safeguard the service and in order that Parliament might know exactly what was done and why it was done, there was added to the Bill clause 7 which provides:

An annual report shall be made to Parliament by the Civil Service Commission giving the name, age, and salary, and length, nature and place of service, and reasons for retirement of every person who is retired under the provisions of this Act, and the amounts paid or to be paid to such person hereunder.

That is, if action is to be taken under this Bill, we feel that it is only right that, in the first place, that action should be founded upon the joint report of the Civil Service Commission and the deputy head of the department, and that after action is taken, there should be annually submitted to Parliament full details as to every civil servant who is retired, giving his length of service, age, salary, the amount that he receives under this Bill and the reasons for his retirement. The Government, in the preparation of this Bill, has attempted at any rate to safeguard the point which the hon. member has in mind. I do not anticipate that there is any desire to play politics with this measure. What we are anxious for is to have some provision made whereby we can take the necessary steps to help straighten out the service. As a result of what has gone on for some twenty or thirty years, we all feel and civil servants themselves feel, that there is not in the Service the efficiency that there should

be, simply because the Civil Service knows that this overmanning exists in many departments and that there are in the service many who should be retired, for various reasons. I hope the hon. gentleman will understand that as regards this Bill we have endeavoured to protect as far as we can the matter which he has in mind.

Mr. CANNON: I appreciate the minister's remarks, but I do not think clause 7 gives proper protection to civil servants. It is always very easy to find a reason to dismiss a civil employee, and there is a historical example which is famous and known to every member of this committee. About thirty or forty years ago there was a Lieutenant Governor of Quebec who thought fit to dismiss his premier. The Lieutenant Governor was a Liberal and the Prime Minister was a Tory. At that time Sir John A. Macdonald was Prime Minister of Canada, and some of his supporters introduced into the House a resolution to the effect that the Lieutenant Governor of Quebec should be removed. The motion was carried; but the Governor General of Canada at that time, the Marquis of Lorne, thought the Lieutenant Governor should not be dismissed, and before following the advice of the ministers of the day he consulted the Imperial authorities. The Imperial authorities reported to the Governor General that he should follow the advice of his ministers. This was a purely political case where a Tory Government wanted to get rid of a Liberal Lieutenant Governor of Quebec, and the reason given was that his usefulness had ceased. It will be very easy for the Civil Service Commission to say, in the report mentioned in clause 7, that an employee has been removed because his usefulness has ceased, but the indefiniteness of the term does not remove the injustice. I should like civil servants, if they are not useful, to be removed; but on the other hand, I should like civil servants to be protected so as not to be altogether in the hands of an arbitrary head of a department who can throw them out of employment if he wishes to. Let the Government bring down legislation saying that for such specific causes a civil servant may be dismissed, and I will say: Well and good. But the clause ought to be less general in its terms. The minister says: We do not want to play party politics with this Bill. I accept the minister's word, and I am sure he would be the last to play politics, because he is not

used to that. But we have a very recent example that has come to my experience. There is in Ottawa a head of a department who has been asked to resign. This gentleman gave perfect satisfaction to the public and he was a most efficient employee. I can say who he is—he is the French Librarian. There was no reason at all to remove him; but on the other hand a place was wanted for a political friend and this gentleman was told by a most responsible party that he should resign. He has resigned; he has left the Service; but for some reason or another, the gentleman was to be given the position did not get it. If that can be done to a deputy minister and a man of such prominence as the Librarian of Parliament, what can be done with an ordinary clerk? I think the Government ought to be more cautious in this clause.

Mr. VIEN: Could not the minister withdraw entirely the words 'or other cause'?

Mr. CALDER: It would not hurt if that were done. In reply to the hon. member for Dorchester, (Mr. Cannon) it seems to me that except for these words "or other cause", the clause is very specific. It says:

The names of all officers who, being under sixty-five years of age, and, by reason of advancing age, failing health, physical disability, lack of experience or ability.

I would be quite prepared to drop the phrase "or other cause" and substitute for it "or lack of employment", because I think the words "or other cause" leave a certain amount of latitude that probably should not be in the Bill. I therefore move accordingly.

Mr. JACOBS: I notice that subsection 2 provides that removal may take place when the party is under sixty-five years of age, one of the reasons for removal being advancing age. It seems to me that advancing age is not of itself a cause of disability. If advancing age produces failing health or physical disability, it would be good reason for removing an official, but taken by itself it is no ground for removal, because we are all suffering from advancing age every day. While I am on my feet might I also refer to subsection (1) of section 2, which provides that the Civil Service Commission may deal with officers of the age of sixty-five years and over who are not rendering good and efficient service for the remuneration that is being paid them. Why should we put an age limit under which a person cannot be removed who is not rendering

good and efficient service for the remuneration that is being paid? I believe that a man of half sixty-five years of age who is not rendering proper service ought to be removed. Age ought not to weigh with the Civil Service Commission.

Sir SAM HUGHES: What is meant by "lack of employment", and who is to determine the lack of employment?

Mr. CALDER: It would be determined by the Civil Service Commission and the deputy head of the department.

Sir SAM HUGHES: Suppose the head of a department wished to get rid of a clerk, it might be an easy matter for the deputy head to put this clerk in some office where the work was falling off.

Mr. CALDER: There is provision under the Civil Service Act for the transfer of clerks from one department to the other. The Civil Service Commission keep these possible transfers before them all the time, and a good many transfers are being made from time to time. If any person should be retired under this Bill who was able to fill a vacancy in another department, I am quite sure an effort would be made to find employment for him in that other department. I am inclined to think the point raised by my hon. friend from George Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs) is well taken. Instead of saying "advancing age" I think it would be better to say "advanced age."

Mr. VIEN: Does not the Civil Service Act provide that on reaching a certain age a civil servant can be superannuated?

Mr. CALDER: That applies only to those who come under the Superannuation Act. When they reach a certain age, sixty, I believe, they can be superannuated, but a large number of civil servants are not under that Act at all, and we are here endeavouring to provide for that class.

Mr. JACOBS: I scarcely think that changing the word "advancing" to "advanced" would meet the exigencies of the case. If we fix sixty-five years as the age at which the commission can lay hands on an official, what does the minister consider as "advanced age" before sixty-five? A man may be of advanced age at the age of fifty-five, and again a man of eighty-five may be able to earn his remuneration. I think it would be well to strike out that phrase entirely.

Mr. CALDER: I think the purpose might be met by leaving that out entirely.

[Mr. Jacobs.]

Mr. CROTHERS: I think it would be better if we said, lack of experience or ability or lack of suitable work. I would like to see subsection (2) of section 2 so amended that the retirement should receive the approval of the deputy head. This is not required by the Bill. All that is required is that the deputy head must be consulted. He is not required to give his assent to the removal of an officer. There is another thing. I dislike the idea of placing in the hands of any one the power to retire a man without giving him a chance to be heard. I do not know whether it would be impracticable to provide for his being heard, but it does not seem to me right that a man who has been in the service eight, or nine or ten years should be dismissed without a hearing at all. He may have been in a department so long that he is perhaps unable to take any other position. I would not like to be retired myself without having the opportunity of saying something about it. This should be guarded as a matter of principle, and unless it is considered impracticable by the committee I think provision should be made that the man shall have an opportunity of being heard before dismissal. His removal should also receive the approval of the deputy head.

The CHAIRMAN: There is an amendment before the committee. It is to substitute the words "or lack of employment" for the words "or other cause" in subsection (2) of section 2. Is it the pleasure of the committee to adopt the amendment?

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Antigonish and Guysborough): Does this section refer to temporary as well as permanent employees?

Mr. CALDER: No, by the definition of the word "officer" temporary employees are excluded.

Mr. JACOBS: I think subsection (1) of section 2 would be improved by striking out in lines 20 and 21 the words "of the age of sixty-five and over, and all such officers." It would then read that a report should be made upon "all officers who are not reported to be rendering good and efficient service for the remuneration that is being paid them" and that they shall be retired from the public service. What has age to do with it? If a man is not rendering good service he should be dismissed forthwith. I do not think age is of any consideration in a matter of this kind.

Mr. MOWAT: The only thing is that it is advisable in these matters to have an arbitrary rule. The age at which judges may retire on superannuation is fixed in the statute and this is a provision which as a rule is found to work well. I should not be disposed to differ from what my hon. friend from West Elgin (Mr. Crothers) says as to giving notice, but it is a very painful thing to have an officer who is growing old come up and protest that he is young. There is a great tendency on the part of a man when he gets to an advanced age to think that he is as good as he ever was or better, but I think we must assume that the Civil Service Commission will act with ordinary human charity, and will use common sense as well, in judging this matter. I am very strongly of opinion that it is important that the deputy heads should be made more responsible for the men under them. If you have that system and do not have any interference with the deputy head, then you will have a man who will be jealous of his department and zealous to see that it carries out its work well. If you interfere with or check him, or if he knows that he is to be, as it were, called to walk the carpet for any action he has taken with regard to one of the officers in his department, then he is apt to become supine in the discharge of his duties. If we can get a system under which the deputy heads have the right to decide as to their employees you will have a much more efficient service than if the matter were left either to the Civil Service Commission or to members of the Cabinet. This is the practice now in all departmental stores and large concerns,—the head of the department is looked to for efficiency, and in order to get efficiency he must not be interfered with except in extraordinary cases. I had hoped that the minister would leave the words "other cause" in the Bill; the same remarks I have used in regard to the Civil Service will apply there. It is a pity to restrict the reasons which may actuate the Civil Service, in consultation with deputy ministers, in coming to a conclusion that a person appointed is not doing his work well and would be better out of the service. However, as the minister has decided to leave that out I will say nothing more about it.

As regards the question of advancing age which has been called in question, it must be remembered that the words "failing health" do not apply in many cases. A man may be in perfect health and yet may be suffering from one of those diseases that

make men old before their time. We all know what these are, and we know that some men at forty-five are really like men of seventy-five; it is old age which is coming on prematurely. To all appearances they are perfectly well, but they have become old men too soon, and there are such men in the Civil Service, as we were told in evidence given before a committee of this House last year. There are some men who are young in years but are old as regards the amount of work they can do. We were told that there were men who were inefficient, and it was said that some were not doing anything, that they need not come to the office at all; but no one liked to take the responsibility of turning them out on the world. I think therefore that it would do no harm to leave in the words "advancing age" as well as the words "failing health" in order to make the Act efficient and to provide for all cases which may come for adjudication before the commission in consultation with the deputy heads. In regard to the question of turning men out into the world, I think I may have something to say when we come to a succeeding clause, because the provision that is made does not seem to me at all adequate. Some poor chap perhaps was taken on without examination, having entered the service under the system which is pleaded for to-night by my hon. friend from Muskoka (Mr. McGibbon) and my hon. friend from Dufferin (Mr. Best). The man was never efficient and never could become efficient and now it is found that he is unable to do the work assigned him, and has not the ability, the brains, or the initiative. Yet it is an awfully harsh thing to turn such a man out over sixty years of age without adequate means of support when he has a family dependent on him.

Sir SAM HUGHES (Victoria): I remember years ago in the militia service inspectors and senior officers making reports had the privilege of reporting adversely in regard to their subordinates without showing a copy of the report to the officers whom they criticised. It was found that in very many instances superior officers took advantage of this privilege to the injury of their subordinates. It was my privilege to bring this matter before the attention of the Minister of Militia and Defence long years ago and to have it rectified, so that for a good many years the law has been that no adverse report can possibly be made against an officer without a copy of the report being submitted to him. I would

point out that it would be a great advantage to the Civil Service in the matter of responsibility if every adverse report made with regard to a civil servant were communicated to that servant so that he might take steps to obtain redress and prove the falsity of the charge—if the charge were untrue—before the deputy minister or the proper authority, whoever he might be. In other words, the first principle of British justice should be observed, namely, that accused and accuser shall stand face to face. Under this Act I do not see that civil servants adversely reported upon have any chance of being heard at all. The commission may be all right in their place, but it is not well to do things in too great a hurry. I understand that there are several hundred young fellows and girls working around this commission at the present time; and just as in the case of the Purchasing Commission we know that the clerks did most of the buying, so in this case the clerks will do most of the examining, criticising, and appointing, and fixing things up. I am sorry that I have not as much faith in the operation of the Civil Service Commission as I should have, but I take the liberty of suggesting to the minister the advisability of seeing that absolute fair play shall be given to all servants upon whom reports are made. First, I would have every adverse report communicated to the civil servant the moment it was made; and, secondly, I would provide that in case a clerk or civil servant was to be removed he should have an opportunity of obtaining some appeal and an investigation before the deputy head or some other competent authority before his removal.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I find myself in entire accord with what has been said by the hon. member for Victoria and the hon. member for West Elgin. I certainly think that it is only fair, if an officer who has been in the service, whether for a short or for a long time, is about to be turned out, that he should be given a copy of the report made against him and be allowed to present his side of the case. I think also it is very much to the interest of the service that the deputy heads should approve of any dismissals that are about to be made. The deputy heads are not anxious to keep in their departments useless material. I think they are only too anxious to get rid of superfluous and inefficient clerks; and to take away the approval of the deputy head and leave the whole question of dismissal

[Sir Sam Hughes.]

in the hands of the Governor in Council is simply to give the latter a whip that it can use over the heads of the deputies as well as over the heads of other members of the Civil Service. I should hope that any change made would rather be in the direction of strengthening the position of the deputy heads in the matter of securing in their positions clerks that are efficient and faithful and are doing their work well, and removing further and further the possibility of the Governor in Council taking any action in the matter of dismissals.

Mr. CALDER: Under the Bill the Governor in Council can only act upon the report of the Civil Service Commission in the matter of removing civil servants.

As regards the other point I am inclined to think we should make a provision in the Bill whereby any civil servant who is to be retired shall know the reason therefor and should have the opportunity of making representations to the commission before their report finally reaches the Governor in Council. I think it is only right and proper that he should have that opportunity.

Now as regards the other point mentioned, and that is that the deputy head should approve before any action is taken. I have had some fifteen, sixteen or eighteen years experience in connection with government work, both provincially and federally, and I think I am quite safe in stating this: That taking deputy heads of departments as a class, they are the last people in the world who want to remove any of their officials, because there is necessarily a relationship that grows up between the deputy head and his staff and he does not like to do what may be necessary to be done. Now that is my experience; and I think it is far better that the Civil Service Commission, where a relationship of that kind is not established, should have the final say, after full consultation with the deputy heads of departments, as to what should be done in this regard. I was a deputy minister for five years provincially. I know what the relationship is that springs up between a deputy and his officers—from the heads of branches down to even the lowest clerk—and I say again that he is the last man to depend upon to interfere with that relationship, because it is one that spreads over a period of years and there is a friendship formed there that is very difficult to break or to interfere with. Consequently we have thought it advisable to simply include in this Bill that the Civil

Service Commission should consult with the deputy heads before they come to a conclusion as to what should be done, and personally I think that is the principle that should be embodied in this clause.

I understand it was intended to go ahead with the railway Estimates to-night. Consequently as it is a little after ten o'clock and there are a good many members who wish to discuss railway matters, I think I had better move that the committee report progress and ask leave to sit again.

Sir SAM HUGHES: One point before the motion is put, if I may.

The CHAIRMAN: The motion is undebatable. The minister might perhaps withdraw it.

Sir SAM HUGHES: All right, I will talk to him privately on the matter.

Motion agreed to and progress reported.

#### MEMBERS' INDEMNITY.

##### PROPOSED INCREASE DISCUSSED ON MOTION FOR SUPPLY.

On the motion that the House go again into Committee of Supply:

Mr. J. H. BURNHAM (West Peterborough): There have been at various times a number of very embarrassing circumstances which have occurred with regard to the business of the members themselves. A subject that we have heard a great deal about is the increase in the sessional indemnity. I am told there have been a great many deputations to see the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden), the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Mackenzie King) and the leader of the Farmers' Party (Mr. Crerar). I have not had the honour of being invited to join any of these deputations so I cannot speak directly of what was accomplished, but I know that there have been many such deputations and that their visits have been frequent. I know that there is arising in this House a feeling that an indemnity which is only worth \$1,200 a session is of no use to the bulk of the members, and is not a fair return for what is expected of them. And when their life is considered—that is to say when it is borne in mind that they have to live in two places and practically speaking keep up two establishments, and that they are exiles from their own family circle for at least six months of the year, can it be wondered at that they find an indemnity which has the purchasing power of only \$1,200 a year so inadequate as to make it quite impossible

for many members to continue? I do not deny that some members have business, or positions, outside the House which would enable them to live comfortably even if they were in actual retirement, and the sessional indemnity does not offer any great inducement to them either one way or the other. These men are largely—and I say it of course in no invidious way—connected with the greater commercial life of Canada. They come here because the greater commercial life of Canada is intimately and seriously affected by the laws which are passed here. They come here to watch those laws, and if possible to create and to mould legislation—which of course is their right. But the great bulk of the people of Canada must depend upon what is called the average member. The average member is not a man of wealth; he depends perhaps upon some private business. He has to employ, when he is away from his private business, some one to look after that private business in his room and stead. As a consequence the indemnity is worth very little to him, and when its purchasing power is cut down, as it has been cut, it is almost worth nothing at all. As a consequence the mass of the people of this country cannot expect to be well served with the indemnity at its present figure.

If it be said that in bringing this matter up I should have waited until there was a larger attendance I reply that the attendance is very fair. There appear to me to be about eighty or ninety members present; but we have carried through measures to-day involving vastly greater pecuniary expenses than the one I am discussing, we have carried through other very important measures, with half the attendance there is now. It cannot be disguised that there is a certain amount of apathy, if not despair, on the part of a great many members who do not understand how they are going to make ends meet; and I say again that if the people—the mass of the people—wish their business to be attended to, they have got to pay their public servants, as they pay their private servants, in a way that will sustain them in common decency. From one end of this country to the other, wages, salaries, every kind of remuneration have been increased. But here there has been no increase. We found in the newspapers a loyal support of the endeavour of the members of this assembly to have their salaries increased. All the leading newspapers endorsed the proposal and spoke most heartily in favour of it until the leaders got mixed up in their views on it.

And when the leaders refused to go on with it, what would the leading newspapers do but get back in their tracks as quickly as possible? So they made apologies for their former views, expressed some doubt, and gave voice to the opinion of many people in this country that this was a common "graft." Now, if my constituents think that my advocacy of an increased indemnity from \$1,200 to \$2,500 is "graft," they are welcome to ask for my retirement. I do not propose to go with any such niggardly salary.

I found that my private business conflicted with my public business, and I found that I could not give an honourable adherence to my public duties and to all the things that arose in and concerning them, so I gave up my private business. There are many things that I have spoken on in this House somewhat frankly, somewhat boldly, and somewhat fearlessly. Why? Because I have given myself a free hand. I have had no clients who said to me, "Burnham, you talk too much about insurance. We will withdraw the business we gave you as an insurance company." I have had no people possessed of utilities which might become public utilities, come to me and say, "You have been talking too much about the acquirement of public utilities at a rock-bottom price. You are no good to us. Therefore we will take our business away from you." I have not had people of that description saying those things to me, because if they had I would have had to make my choice between being loyal to the public interest and helpful to my own private clients; and I am very much afraid that the public business of Canada would have suffered. I can only say that if there are many others in the same predicament as myself, I can well understand that the public business of Canada will suffer and must suffer. Therefore the people must pay their public representatives decently or they cannot expect decent service.

The strangest thing in the world is that it is conceded by the people of Canada that a member of Parliament is at liberty to go home as frequently as he likes; he is at liberty to look after his private business in every way—and give the residue of his time to public business. That, of course, is a perfect farce, and until the people of this country learn that the business of this Parliament is of the utmost value to them economically, politically, historically, socially, morally, and even religiously—until they have grasped that simple pro-

[Mr. Burnham.]

position there will be unrest in the country, there will be groaning in the country, there will be aspersions cast upon the members of this House, and there will be dissatisfaction all round.

Now, I can say that 95 per cent of the members of this House demand an increase of this indemnity.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. BURNHAM: Are we going to suppose that the member for North Cape Breton (Mr. McKenzie) that the member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux), that the member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding), that the member for Beauce (Mr. Bédard), that the member for Quebec East (Mr. Lapointe), that the member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark), are not worth any more than \$1,200 a year to this country? I wish to say that the member for Maisonneuve has spoken to me in the strongest possible way in favour of an increased indemnity, and he told me that if he were in the House when the question came up he would speak strongly in support of it. I cannot say about the member for Shelburne and Queen's because I have never had a word with him on the subject. But the member for Quebec East—who is unfortunately away just now—told me that he would speak in favour of an increased indemnity, that it was absolutely necessary; and he seemed to be very much stirred about it. The hon. gentleman who has just come in, the member for Four Rivers—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. BURNHAM: Pardon me, the member for Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau) is strongly in favour of an increased indemnity,—and he is a man who is not afraid to say what he thinks. He has a great deal of business to attend to. He knows what he is talking about, and he knows that \$1,200 a year, the annual value of our indemnity, is an insult and not a remuneration. The member for Red Deer has spoken to me on the subject with very considerable heat, and he has told me that he would at the first possible occasion speak in favour of an increased indemnity to the best of his ability. He thinks that the remuneration as it is now is an impossibility. I know a great many other members on this side who no doubt will voice their own opinions.

But, as somebody said, there has been a nigger in the fence. Why is it that the leaders have not been able to get together and decide this question? One day the rumour going around this House would be

that the Prime Minister was "all right"—originally he was against it; that the leader of the Opposition had been persuaded to look leniently upon this, in view of the fact that he himself gets a very respectable salary,—and I am very glad he does. Many members of the Farmers' party have spoken to me strongly in favour of this proposition, and I understand that not less than seventy-five per cent of them are strongly in favour of the increase of this indemnity. I am sure, as I said before, that ninety-five per cent of the members of this House, from explanations that are being made, are in favour of the suggested increase.

I am making this introduction of the matter to-night because I feel that there has rested upon the members of this House an odium which should be removed by an explanation to the public of the cause; and it cannot be removed by such an explanation because it is founded upon an absolute necessity. None of us are beggars. We do not want to beg, nor do we want to grab, but we have reached this stage that, as I say, we cannot keep up that little station in life which a public servant is required to keep up, for he has got to be decent in his little subscriptions and things of that sort, and he has got to live in two or three places at once—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. BURNHAM: Well, he has got to take various journeys on the public business, and he has got to pay for those journeys out of his own pocket, except in so far as transportation is concerned. To my disgust and annoyance I have seen it stated in the papers that members have franking privileges. So they have on public business. And in Heaven's name, do you suppose we pay postage on the public business? We carry our own postal matter. It is on the public business that we have the franking privilege, and it is natural to suppose that the public business would be franked. But if we are not to give ourselves that privilege, if the public will not accord to us that privilege, and we have got to pay our own postage, then I can only say that there will be a great decrease in the number of letters sent. The public will not get the satisfaction, the instantaneous response, that they get now. Loads of letters come here which are franked by the people who send them; for at the present time any one who writes to a member of Parliament may send the letter without a stamp. Let the newspapers and the public not forget, when they are

casting aspersions upon us in connection with our having the franking privilege, that the whole public have the right to frank letters which they send to members of the Senate and the House of Commons or to public officers and departments. During the session is the only time that members of Parliament have the franking privilege, though they have a great deal of public business to do when they are at home; they are expected to answer all sorts of little queries and to give the utmost satisfaction to their constituents and to any other people who choose to consult them.

Now, let me recur to this fact: it is up to the three leaders to say whether or not they are in favour of an increase of indemnity; to say "No, we will not," or "Yes, we will,"—in any event, to stop this running to and fro and the circulation of rumours one way or the other, which, in my opinion—and I know that a great many other people feel the same way—is entirely beneath the dignity of common, ordinary men, let alone members of Parliament or any other people engaged in public business. I am strongly in favour, therefore, of the increasing of the indemnity up to that point where it was when we accepted it, namely, \$2,500. It is now only \$1,200, so that \$1,300 would be the difference. Wherever I have gone in the country I have heard all sensible men say that they wondered how we continued at the very small salary that we got. It is different with the ministers. They have large pay, and large responsibilities from which they can shrink; we have small pay, and large responsibilities from which we cannot shrink. We have to eat just as much nourishing food; we have to wear just as decent clothes, as the ministers; consequently we must really be considered to be on a level with those people who receive large salaries. For example, I am credibly informed that the leader of the Farmers' Party is in receipt of no less a salary, outside this House, than \$15,000 a year. Many men in this House are highly paid, for doing what? Doing nothing? Certainly not. They are dividing their time between the business of this House and their private interests. Now, that is all very well; it is allowed by the constitution; it is allowed by the law; it is allowed by the public. But the fundamental position which we ought to take in this regard must be understood, namely, that men who devote their energies to the interests of the public should be perfectly free to have laws brought up, discussed, passed and put upon the statute book in an untrammelled

way in the best interests of the public. If they have to depend upon something else in order to eke out their livelihood, how can this possibly be done? Once more, therefore, I appeal to the various leaders,—to the Prime Minister; to the leader of the Opposition; to the leader of the farmers' Party—to say whether they are going to leave us in the predicament that we are in just now, where we are the envy of neither the gods nor man, or whether they are going to do the fair thing by us under the circumstances. Everybody else has received an increase; surely the poor member of Parliament should receive the same.

Mr. ALPHONSE VERVILLE (St. Denis): Mr. Speaker this question of increased indemnity came before the House some years ago; it was brought up, I believe by the member for Bonaventure (Mr. Marcell). I supported his contention at that time, and I have since had no reason to change my mind. There are many reasons why the indemnity of members of Parliament should be increased. The depreciation in the value of money and its effect upon the indemnity we are now receiving has been ably put forth by my hon. friend from Peterborough (Mr. Burnham). When this question came up previously I was in a different position from that in which I find myself to-day. My only income then was my indemnity as a member of Parliament, and I knew just what it meant to make both ends meet each year on that indemnity. Since then I have been more fortunate. It may be said that for that reason I should not speak in favour of an increased indemnity, but on the contrary that is really the reason why I do speak in favour of it. When I hear members around the corridors say that they are afraid they will not be re-elected if they vote for an increase in indemnity, I cannot help feeling that these hon. gentlemen ought not to be in the House if that is the view they take.

It has been pointed out that many mechanics are earning more than members of Parliament. A bricklayer or other mechanic who is at all lucky in his activities throughout the year earns more than a member of the House. Moreover, he is at home every day, and he does not have to keep up two residences. But there is another point. Mention has been made of farmers and business men in the House, but there is another class that should be considered. All hon. members will agree that the labour element should be represented in Parliament, but it is impossible for a labour man

[Mr. Burnham.]

to come here and live honestly on \$2,500 a year. Accordingly, we are debarring from representation in this House a certain class of the population whose right to be represented here is fully recognized. They can earn more at their trade than they can by coming here; they have to keep up their families, and knowing that, they say: "Well, if I am elected to Parliament I cannot return to my work when the session is over; I must assume the obligations attaching to the office of a member of Parliament; I must meet demands which are made for contributions to various causes, and so on. "Where is he to get the money to do that? If, then, we agree that all classes in the community should be represented for the benefit of the country at large, we must make the representation of these classes possible. I am not going to speak for the business men; there are many business men in this House and they can speak for themselves,—though I suppose there are many business men here who will not speak because they are afraid their electors will not be satisfied. But I do not believe that the sensible people in any electoral division will begrudge an increase in indemnity to members of the House. The farmers surely will not do it; why should they? When they sell their goods in the market those goods demand a certain price, and we have to pay it or do without the goods. I do not begrudge the farmers the high prices they are getting for their products. If it is urged that the cost of production is greater, it is also true that the cost of living to the member of Parliament has largely increased. As I say, I was strongly in favour of an increase in indemnity some years ago when I was more in need of it than I am to-day,—though my position a year or two from now may be the same as it was. But if there are hon. members, as I feel sure there are, who do not really need an increase in indemnity, they should not do anything to withhold it from those who find an increase absolutely necessary in order that they may maintain their families and at the same time be of some service to the country. That is the reason why I am supporting this proposal, and I hope it will be supported by all members who are anxious to accept the money. The other day I saw the statement that some member in this House—I believe it was the hon. member for Prescott (Mr. Proulx)—poses as a patriot.

Mr. BURNHAM: He is away on private business.

Mr. VERVILLE: All that those who are such patriots have to do is to let the money lie and not draw it. Patriots! I should like to see the hon. member who, if he were granted this increased indemnity, would not take it. Let us be frank about the matter. Every member of this House is anxious to have it, but some are perhaps afraid to stand up and speak in favour of the increase. I am not; I am willing to face the music and face the people. I know the people whom I represent are going to say, as they have always said in the past: 'We want to give a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. And when the indemnity of a member has come down lower than the wage of some mechanics, the very mechanics themselves say: "You are a lot of cheap guys." There is all the more reason why we should be granted this increased indemnity when the labour members in the Provincial Legislature of Ontario were in favour of it. Do you suppose they are going to be afraid to face their electors at the next election? Not by any means. These are some of my reasons—and there are many others which I do not need to occupy the time of the House in stating—why I am strongly in favour of an increased indemnity. If the Government bring in a measure of this kind, I will hold up both hands for it.

Mr. JACQUES BUREAU (Three Rivers): Mr. Speaker, last Saturday while we were discussing the increase of salaries of judges, the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) was in his seat and I made an appeal to him, stating that he should increase the indemnities of members of Parliament. The last words of my remarks were these:

To make my point clear beyond the possibility of doubt and in order not to leave any ambiguity—because people have been afraid to talk about it—I for one declare that in my opinion the indemnity paid to the members of this Parliament should be increased.

I repeat the same thing, and as has been said by the hon. member for St. Denis (Mr. Verville), I am willing to face the music and face the people. I would rather stand up on the platform and say that I had voted, and asked for, and counselled, an increased indemnity than say the contrary. Conditions have changed in this country, and as the hon. member for Peterborough West (Mr. Burnham) so well said just now, we have here two homes. We have double obligations. During the session we belong to Ottawa, and there is not a week—and I may say this happens sometimes two

or three times a week—but we are besieged in the corridors, in our offices, in all parts of the building, to subscribe to very worthy objects, to charitable objects and we often cannot very well afford to decline. Not only during sessions, but outside of sessions in your home also, you have to contribute to various demands of this kind that are made upon you. An indemnity of \$2,500 is very poor remuneration for the kind of work we are called upon to do here. It has been stated that ordinary bricklayers—I think that is the example that was used—could earn that much. Certainly, they can, and far more. Bricklayers in the town in which I live and which I have the honour to represent in Parliament are paid \$1 an hour, and that is far more than members of Parliament are paid here. To use the same argument as that used by the hon. member for Peterborough West, I do not think there is any disparagement in stating that in the position we occupy we believe we are worth more to the country than \$2,500 a year. Speaking for myself, I consider I am worth more than that to Parliament.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. BUREAU: I do not say that as a boast. The same thing applies to all my hon. friends around me and opposite me who abandon their business and devote their time for about half a year in Ottawa, for what? After all, we may have our differences of opinion, but we have one common aim. Whether we sit at your right, or at your left, Mr. Speaker, we want this country to go ahead and be prosperous, and if we come here and devote our time as we do, our aim is to try to help the country go ahead and be worthy of its future.

If an expression of opinion coming from the hon. member for Quebec East (Mr. Lapointe) would have any weight to convince hon. members, and especially those who face me, who do not seem to be anxious to express their views, I may say for and on his behalf that the entirely shares my views, and if he were here, he would not hesitate for one minute to stand up and supplement what I am saying by stating that he also takes the same position. There is no use arguing—the question is: Do the members of the House of Commons of Canada want an increase of indemnity or do they not? I do not care what comments may be made in regard to what I say. I am sincere when I ask for this increased indemnity and if I were not

I would not ask for it. If it is given, I do not care what comments are made on either side, I am going to keep it and to use it. I do not think I can add anything further to make my position clearer in the matter. I ask the Government to increase the indemnities of members of Parliament, and I shall take my share of the responsibility. This is not a political question; this is an individual question. This is not a party question, and there is not an hon. member who is not willing to say: If the increase in the indemnity is granted, because it is a demand made by a majority of the members, I shall not use the fact that another has pleaded or that I have abstained, to try to beat him or to try to have the people vote against him. I, for my part, will never do that, because I do not consider that this is a question of Liberals, Unionists, Tories or Farmers; it is a question that affects every member of this House. We have enough people knocking us; if we do not look out for ourselves, believe me, other people will not look out for us.

Mr. HENRY ARTHUR MACKIE (Edmonton East): Mr. Speaker, if any one suggests that if the cap fits me, I should wear it, that is the time when I am prepared to wear it. Not very long ago I stood up in this House complaining about absences on the part of members from Ontario and Quebec, and probably I was unduly severe in that regard. But I had in view this factor, that were I living at the door of my home, as the members from Quebec and Ontario do, I would avail myself of the same privilege as that which they avail themselves of. I found, however, it was possible to go some distance and make a little money and following the example of members from Ontario and Quebec, I went to Winnipeg and attended to private business. I found it practically necessary to do so if one is going to live in Ottawa for practically five or six months attending to public business. Members of Parliament some time ago called to the attention of the ministry the fact that they were not getting proper consideration in the discussion of matters which properly come up on private members' day. As a result, the Government made it possible for all members to have greater scope this year than they had before in that respect, with the result that the public business which should have been brought down by the Government has been

[Mr. Bureau.]

delayed and we find ourselves sitting here late in the evening and on Saturdays with a view to trying to get through the business of the country before the very warm days come upon us. There is no reason why private members of this House should not have full opportunity of expressing themselves on matters affecting their particular localities as well as on public matters, but we refrain from doing so because we know the expense here is so great that we should not be able to make both ends meet if we are to give all these various matters the attention they deserve.

Apart from the other points which have been touched upon by other hon. members, I should like to call the attention of the House to this fact: When we go back to our constituencies after the session we are bound to accept invitations from various parts of the constituency to picnics and public meetings. In my constituency I have no railways traversing the riding except for about 190 miles, and I have to use automobiles and pay for them. It is a duty incumbent upon me to visit different parts of my constituency and render an account of what has taken place in this Parliament. Anybody who has to pay for the use of an automobile knows how much it would cost to get around a constituency by such means. These are expenditures which we have to incur, and which have to be reckoned with in considering this indemnity question. Then in my constituency there are from ten to fifteen fairs held every year, which I cannot refrain from attending. That involves, of course, a further expenditure. I shall not enumerate further, and I am merely mentioning these things to give an idea of the expense we are put to.

There is another thing. You can count on the fingers of your hands the members who bring their wife and family to the city of Ottawa. Many of us do not do so because we feel we cannot afford to incur the expense. A few members can rent houses around the city and have their families here, but it is out of the question for the majority unless we receive a greater amount than we are receiving at the present time. Taking everything into consideration, and without re-hashing the arguments that have been made, I am heartily in support of giving fair remuneration for services rendered, so that all members can devote all the time that is necessary to public business, and to bring before the House as private members matters which should receive consideration by the ministers of the Crown.

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (leader of the Opposition): I have been waiting until my right hon. friend the Prime Minister was in his seat before participating in this debate, as I did not wish to say what I now desire to without saying it to him in the presence of hon. members of the House. I am obliged to my hon. friend from West Peterborough (Mr. Burnham) for having brought up this subject of the indemnity, if for no other reason than that it gives me an opportunity to refer to a report which I see in the Montreal Gazette of to-day, and which purports to be the report of a caucus which was held yesterday by members of the party opposite. Hon. gentlemen opposite will know whether or not the report is correct, and my right hon. friend the Prime Minister will know whether or not he has been correctly reported. The report is headed "Belief Grows that Premier will Remain—Right to Leadership will not be Challenged—Another Caucus Called—Final Decision on National Policy will then be Made." The report contains a paragraph with reference to the indemnity, headed "No Indemnity Increase." It reads as follows:

Sir Robert informed the caucus that he had been in conference with Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Hon. T. A. Crerar on the question of increased salaries for judges, Cabinet Ministers and parliamentary representatives. They had agreed on raising the salaries of the first two, but neither of the Opposition leaders would agree to support in Parliament the third proposal. Hon. Mr. King admitted that many of his supporters favoured an increase in the indemnity, but he reserved the right to take any position he desired if the question came up in Parliament. Hon. T. A. Crerar said that he and his party would oppose an increase. Sir Robert then stated to the caucus that he would not be a party to giving Hon. Mr. King and his supporters both political glory and financial reward on such an issue. His position was endorsed by the caucus.

I am prepared to leave to hon. gentlemen opposite and to my right hon. friend to say whether that report is a correct statement of what took place yesterday. If it is a correct statement, I have only this to say: It would disclose that my right hon. friend the Prime Minister had spoken to me on the subject of this indemnity. If I am at liberty to say that he did so, I should like to say that he did, but in speaking to me my right hon. friend said he wished to speak in the utmost confidence, and I regarded the conversation that I had with him as a confidential conversation. I think my right hon. friend had every reason to believe that it was such. If it was a confidential conversation, I will leave it

to hon. gentlemen opposite to say whether or not in their opinion what purported to be the substance of that conversation should have been disclosed to a party caucus, when I myself was necessarily not present to hear the particular representations made with reference to what I had said.

Further, I would say that, according to this report, the Prime Minister gave to his supporters in the House and to this Parliament and to the country what purports to be the position of myself, as leader of the Opposition, and of the hon. member for Marquette, (Mr. Crerar) on this question. Did my right hon. friend tell the caucus what his own position was? Did he tell the caucus what he said to me was his position on this matter? My lips are sealed in this respect, because I regarded, and still regard, the conversation as confidential, and I intend to hold to what I regard as the obligations of a confidential conversation.

Apart altogether from any conversation that we had let me say that what the Prime Minister is reported to have said as to what I said is quite correct. I did intimate to my right hon. friend that I thought ninety per cent at least of hon. gentlemen on this side of the House felt that the question of the indemnity was an important one from a public point of view, not from a personal, private point of view, but from a public point of view, and were in favour of an increase, but that I did not feel at liberty to be a party to any secret agreement on this matter, and that I reserved my right to make such statement as I thought proper on the floor of Parliament, where I thought it should be discussed. I said to my right hon. friend that I had spoken with some hon. members on this side of the House and that they agreed with me that the matter should be discussed freely and openly on the floor of Parliament where every member could express his opinion before his fellow-members, and that the question should not be regarded as one of secret arrangement or secret negotiation one way or the other. In view of what I now see reported in the press I think I have no reason to doubt that I was wise in taking the stand I did in the conversation that took place. At any rate it is my view of what is the right and proper way to deal with this matter. Why should this question any more than any other be made a matter of bargain between party leaders? This is a matter of public interest, of public concern to every member and to the people of the country generally, and

like every other public matter, should be discussed here openly and frankly on its merits, and on its merits alone. That is the ground on which I think this question should be discussed and decided. I do not see why in a matter of this kind the Government should not have a policy just as much as in any other matter if it is possible for the Government to have a policy in regard to anything.

Let me say further that several hon. members on this side of the House have spoken to me of my attitude on this question. From the very start I have said to each one of them, and I think they will bear me out, that I did not regard the question as a party matter at all, and I hoped that each member would feel free to speak his mind openly and frankly and give his opinion in an unreserved way. I do not regard the question as a party question, and I do not think it should be made a party issue. More than that, I should like to say that when, some few days ago, we were discussing in this House the question of the duration of the session and it was suggested that we should have morning sittings in order to rush through the business of the House, I took strong exception to that method of procedure and contended that the first duty of every representative of the people in Parliament was to give his time and thought and attention to public business; I expressed the view that members did not come to Parliament for the purpose of getting through business in a haphazard manner, or that it should be neglected in order to get home as expeditiously as possible. I stated on that occasion that it was the duty of hon. members to give intelligent attention to all matters that came before them for consideration, and that due care should be exercised in dealing with all public questions in a manner befitting the importance of those questions. In this connection I took occasion to point out what seemed to me to be the point of view from which this question of indemnity should be approached, and if hon. members desire to see what I said on that occasion they will find my remarks recorded in Hansard of May 27, 1920. If the matter comes up in the form of a discussion in this House in which the merits have to be argued one way or the other, I am quite prepared to give my views along with other hon. members. I am prepared to discuss the question on its merits, and I am not afraid to take full responsibility in regard to whatever I may have to say. But I do refuse—to use a

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

popular expression—to be made the goat in a matter of this kind through entering into any secret agreement whereby, if it should suit the Government to say that this thing cannot be done because the leader of the Opposition is opposed to it, I shall be held responsible for the fact that the Government has no policy; or, on the other hand, should it please the Government to say that the leader of the Opposition having favoured it, they are granting the proposal, I shall be held accountable for their action in the matter. Let me say, Mr. Speaker, I am ready to take responsibility for a Government policy if hon. gentlemen opposite are not; but so long as they are members of the Government it is their duty to take that responsibility and my duty to assume the responsibility which devolves upon me on this side of the House.

Rt. Hon. Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister): I should be very sorry to have my hon. friend think that I had violated any confidence which he had reposed in me, but I am not going to affirm or deny any rumour in the press as to what took place in caucus. My hon. friend regarded my conversation with him as confidential. I think it is pretty well understood among hon. members in this House—at least, it ought to be understood—that discussion in caucus is also confidential. My hon. friend seems to imagine that I desired to enter into some secret agreement with him. I did not so desire; I do not desire to enter into any secret agreement with him. But every one familiar with what has been the practice in this House in the past is aware that in matters of this kind, which are matters rather for Parliament itself than for the Government, it has been customary for the leaders on one side and on the other to confer with each other. I had an experience of something like ten and a half years in Opposition, and during that time, on one occasion at least—I am not sure whether on more than one occasion, but certainly on one occasion—there was an increase in the indemnity; and I perfectly well remember that on that particular occasion the then leader of the Government invited an expression of my views before the measure was introduced into the House. More than that, I did not follow the example of my hon. friend; I told the then Prime Minister what my views were, and I carried out those views when the measure came up in Parliament. Now, if my hon. friend thinks that he is deserving of any sympathy or of any

congratulation in respect of the difference between the one case and the other, why, so far as I am concerned, he is entirely welcome to it. The hon. gentleman has not yet given the House his opinion on the subject. He has reserved to himself the right to tell us what his views are at some future date. Well, I am disposed, notwithstanding his unwillingness in that regard, to tell the House something about my own views. I shall proceed to do so. My hon. friend refers to the necessity of a policy on the part of the Government in this matter and to the lack of any such necessity on his part. May I observe that he as well as myself occupies in this House an official position which is recognized by Statute.

So far as I am concerned, the subject has been mentioned to me by members of Parliament, and considerations have been placed before me—I do not know whether they have been alluded to in the debate this evening—setting forth the amount of indemnity which under the law of the United States is accorded to members of Congress. Representations have been made with regard to the recent increase of indemnity in the Commonwealth of Australia, and reference has been made to recent increases of indemnity in some of the provinces of Canada. Unfortunately, I was detained by other matters in the earlier stage of this debate, and I do not know whether or not these matters have been brought to the attention of the House.

Some hon. MEMBERS: No.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Well, I did not anticipate that this debate would be precipitated and I have not at hand the facts in regard to those matters. However, I understand that in the United States members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives receive an indemnity of \$7,500, and in addition to that they have an allowance of \$1,500 a year as a provision for a secretary.

An hon. MEMBER: The allowance is \$2,500.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: An hon. member informs me that it is \$2,500; I thought that the secretarial allowance was \$1,500. In the Commonwealth of Australia I understand the indemnity has lately been increased to £1,000. Is that correct?

Some hon. MEMBERS: That is right.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: In the province of Saskatchewan the indemnity has recently been raised from \$1,500 to \$1,800; in the

province of Alberta it has been raised from \$1,500 to \$2,000; and in the province of Quebec there has been an increase this year from \$1,500 to \$2,000. In 1905 the indemnity of members of this House was increased from \$1,500 to \$2,500, and upon that occasion the then leader of the Government invited my opinion before the measure was introduced into Parliament. We believed then that we were fixing the indemnity at so liberal an amount that there would be no occasion in the lifetime of any of us to suggest an increase. But conditions have changed very much since that time. Every hon. gentleman in the House is conscious of that; and I am perfectly well aware that the duty of representing a constituency in this Parliament involves a very considerable financial sacrifice upon many hon. members. I will not say upon all, because there are some who, fortunately, are living so near Ottawa that the ordinary pursuit of their business avocations is not interrupted to nearly the same extent as is the case with members from the western provinces, and members from distant parts of Ontario, and from the Maritime Provinces. It would be impossible in respect to a matter so complicated, to attempt to do exact and complete justice in every instance. One hon. member of this House recently told me that when he came to this Parliament he was obliged to engage a professional man for the purpose of attending to his business and to pay him a salary of \$5,000 a year. He further said that within the past two years he has been obliged to increase that salary to \$7,000. Other illustrations of a like character have been brought to my attention. Now I say at once and unreservedly, to my hon. friend who leads the Opposition that I think the indemnity of members in this House is too low under present conditions.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: My hon. friend has not given his opinion upon that subject as yet. Let me, however, submit this further consideration as to which I expressed an opinion to hon. gentlemen who spoke to me some time ago on this subject; and I have not varied from that view, I think, on any occasion in speaking to any member of this House: I pointed out to them that in my opinion there was a very grave question indeed as to whether it would be expedient, at this juncture in the history of our country, to increase the indemnity, and for reasons which seemed to

me very obvious. Public opinion in this country at the present time is somewhat unsettled. Conditions are not quite normal and there is some unrest. We, as a Government and as a Parliament, are inviting economy and practising it as far as we can to the extent that the public necessities will permit. We have had demands of a very extraordinary character made upon us by what I believe is a small minority of the soldiers who have returned from the Front. We have declined to entertain those claims, and we have cut down the public appropriations in many parts of the country to the very lowest limits that could be devised. It is our duty to reflect and to consider whether, under those circumstances, Parliament and the members of Parliament would be doing justice to the situation and would be doing justice to themselves if they proceeded at this session to pledge the public exchequer to the very considerable sums that would be involved in an increase of the indemnity to the amount suggested. The amount suggested to me was an increase to the sum of \$4,000 or, as urged by some, to \$5,000.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

An hon. MEMBER: That is what it should be.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Now I am perfectly willing to have my views known in this regard. They may be summed up in these words: First, that I think in justice to a majority of the members of this House the indemnity ought to be increased, and that it is too low at the present time. But on the other hand there is according to my mind—and I commend this consideration to hon. members on both sides—a very grave and serious doubt whether it would be in the public interest, whether it would be in the interest of parliamentary institutions, whether it would be in the interest of hon. members themselves, to press for such an indemnity at this session of Parliament.

Mr. BURNHAM: May I ask the Prime Minister if he thinks that should apply to all wage-earners and others throughout the country who have been seeking an increase in stipend?

An hon. MEMBER: Even to civil servants?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: We have endeavoured, Mr. Speaker, to deal with the claims of the civil servants along just lines, perhaps even generous lines; but I might

[Sir Robert Borden.]

tell my hon. friend that no later than the day before yesterday I had a very strong delegation from a portion of the Civil Service and yesterday another delegation from another portion of the Civil Service, who placed before me most urgent representations as to the hardship and suffering which will be endured by certain employees in those particular departments under existing conditions even with the addition of the bonus which has been mentioned. After all, we who have this power in our hands must be more careful in its exercise, so far as our own interests are concerned, than we would be in respect of the claims of those who have no such power as that which has been confided to us.

Hon. W. S. FIELDING (Shelburne and Queen's): Several weeks ago I was approached by a brother member of Parliament who desired an expression of my views on this question of indemnity which had then been referred to on several occasions in the public press. I told my friend that there was one point upon which I had a very strong opinion, and that was that this indemnity should not be increased by any arrangement that might be made—as rumor said it was to be made—by the leaders of the several parties. I said if the question was worthy of consideration at all it should be brought up for open discussion in the frankest way on the floor of Parliament, and I said if it was brought up in that way I should not hesitate to express my opinion. And so, in fulfilment of what I told my friend, I will say a few words now.

There are strong, logical grounds upon which a case could be made out in favour of an increase in the indemnity. The statements made by the right hon. Prime Minister with regard to the payments in other places with which we might reasonably make a comparison are, as far as I know, substantially correct. They indicate that this question is being dealt with elsewhere, and that if we should increase the indemnity here we should not be pursuing a course different from that which has been pursued in other countries. When we consider that the purchasing power of a dollar, for almost any purpose, is today only fifty cents, there is force in the argument advanced by an hon. member that practically speaking the indemnity paid as compared with former times only amounts to \$1,250, and you can make out a strong case logically for the increase of the indemnity. But we cannot always afford to be logical. This is a question, unfortunately, as to which

public opinion will be very sensitive, perhaps unreasonably sensitive, and the members of Parliament of Canada will be expected to set a particularly good example in these days when there is so much talk of economy and thrift. Probably many people—especially those who have not given the subject much thought—will be strongly disposed to think that the indemnity is large enough and that we ought not increase it. I told my hon. friend with whom I was discussing the question that if it was deemed expedient to raise the indemnity, and if it was the general feeling of the House that the indemnity ought to be increased, my suggestion would be—although I thought the wiser course was to let the thing alone; and that I say now—and it was the general feeling of the House that the indemnity ought to be increased, that an increase be provided for, but that it should not take effect until the new Parliament assembled.

Some hon. MEMBERS: No, no.

Mr. FIELDING: I am not surprised to hear some hon. members say "no, no," because my suggestion would afford no relief to them in this session, and I understand their desire that if there is to be an increase it should be made at once. Frankly, although I admit that a logical case can be made out in favour of an increased indemnity, I think we will all avoid unpleasant criticism in the country if we leave the matter alone. If there be members who doubtless feel strongly on the point—and I do not differentiate, because whatever conclusion is reached I am perfectly willing to concur in—but if there be a strong feeling that special recognition should be given for the burdens of the present session, I think that some midway increase in the neighbourhood of \$500 should be given for the present session, and the remainder should be made to apply in the next Parliament.

There is nothing very logical in all that; you can make out a strong case in favour of an increased indemnity, but I am afraid that it is a case in which a great many of our fellow-countrymen would be unreasonable; and I think, take it all in all, that the wisest policy would be to let it alone. But if it be deemed wise to make some increase, I would be prepared to take the responsibility of increasing the indemnity by \$500 for the present session, and the \$4,000 to take effect when the next Parliament meets.

The indemnity question, I should say, never arises alone, it is always I find, as now and in times past, associated with other questions. It is usually associated, for example, with the question of the judges' salaries, and I believe that the proposed increase to the judges has something to do with the present movement. I desire to say in that respect that I do not think that the salaries of our judges everywhere should be increased, but in regard to the higher courts of the country I would be prepared to support an increase to the judges of a moderate amount. Another proviso—I have said it half a dozen times, and I say it again—that irrespective of whatever may be done for the judges or for members of Parliament, I think the ministers of the Crown are entitled to higher salaries, and I would cordially support an increase to them.

Sir SAM HUGHES (Victoria): Mr. Speaker, the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) has referred to the agitation that might go on in the country in case this proposition were carried to increase the indemnity of members of Parliament. So far as I am concerned, Sir,—and I have been before the public for a considerable time—I have always favoured these agitations, because I like to have everything fought out on the platform. Many years ago when there was an agitation to reduce expenditure—I refer to the time when the Patrons of Industry, a somewhat kindred organization to our Farmer friends of the present day, the United Farmers of Ontario—that agitation in favour of economy proposed a reduction of the indemnity from \$1,000, at which it then stood, to \$500. I took the ground that our members of Parliament were as worthy of consideration as the American Congressmen, and I said that as the latter received a \$5,000 indemnity and \$2,500 for clerical assistance, I was ready to support any party in Parliament which would increase our sessional indemnity to \$5,000 with \$2,500 for clerical assistance. My colleague on my own side in the adjoining county of Ontario could not agree with me, and he wanted to reduce the indemnity to \$800,—I refer to Colonel John A. McGillivray. Well, my majority was considerably increased, but his majority was cut down. I found it was the easiest thing in the world to convince an audience of the reasonableness of an increased indemnity. As a matter of fact, I never heard the question of reducing the indemnity

raised again in my county. After all, my experience of the public is that they are not the cheeseparer, unfair type of mortals that we all seem to think they are. On the contrary, although you will find one or two cranks here and there in the community who indulge in an awful lot of soap-box oratory,—they are of no account,—all the solid thinking people want to see their public representatives well paid. They come after their representatives for subscriptions for fairs, for baseball clubs, and for many other purposes, and they look upon their member as a source of supply for any description of public entertainment that comes along, and they are very glad to see him in a position to respond to their demands by giving him this increased indemnity.

So far as I am concerned, Mr. Speaker, I trust that if there is any little points of etiquette between the leader of the Government and the leader of the Opposition, they will sink those petty little differences and to-morrow, after taking this matter into their serious consideration, decide to increase the indemnity to the sum of \$5,000—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I hope that the leader of the Opposition—and I am sure the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) will not object—will join hands with the Prime Minister and second the resolution to increase the indemnity to \$5,000. I venture to say that you won't be able to find a Grain Growers' lodge,—and certainly you will not be able to find a single Orange lodge—that will raise any objection to the increase.

Mr. L. CANNON (Dorchester): Mr. Speaker, First of all, I believe that this is no party question, but a question to be dealt with by hon. members not as members of one party or another, but as members of the House of Commons, and I do not think that the majority of the members on either side of the House wish to consider the question as being of a party nature. Secondly, Mr. Speaker, this is a question that ought to be discussed openly and publicly. There is no reason whatsoever why the leaders of the three parties in this House should meet and decide the question. This is not a question to be decided by the leaders; it is a question to be decided by the members of the House of Commons. Naturally there is always the constitutional aspect, that no private member has a right

[Sir Sam Hughes.]

to propose a resolution or a Bill involving the expenditure of public money; the Government only has a right to do so. But I am quite sure that if the Government does introduce a measure to increase the indemnity it will be considered on its merits solely and not from a partisan viewpoint.

The Prime Minister has said that there is an agitation in the country, and that the moment might not be opportune for the introduction of such of Bill. I have a great respect for the right hon. gentleman, he has had by far more experience than I have, but I do say that there are so many important matters before the public at present that very few people will worry whether our indemnity is increased or not. The people who have discussed this matter with me were all of the one opinion, that the members of Parliament were underpaid, and that you cannot have good representatives of the people unless those representatives receive a fair indemnity.

It is easy for hon. members to turn the pages of history and see what has happened. As long as the Parliament in England was in the hands of a small class no indemnity was paid to the members of the House of Commons, but the moment the House of Commons was put on a democratic basis, when the suffrage was extended so that every class of the population had a right to be represented, then naturally as a logical sequence, an indemnity was given. The result has been that in the British Parliament to-day every class of the community is represented, not merely the rich classes; and that is what every democratic country wants. We want to have every class of Canadian citizens represented here. We do not want to have only rich representatives of the manufacturing and business classes; we want to have also representatives of the farming and labour classes. But you cannot expect the poor farmer, the poor labour man or the lawyer of moderate means, to spend five or six months each year at Ottawa unless he gets an adequate salary or indemnity. If the indemnity remains what it is, many good men who at present sit in Parliament will not come back, because besides their public obligations and responsibilities they have to look after their families, and it is impossible for a man to do that to-day on \$2,500.

Now, Mr. Speaker, is this the proper time for increasing the indemnity? I do not see why we should hesitate to do here what has been done all round. In the legislature of the province of Quebec, where sessions

last only about six weeks, the members are paid \$2,000—more than double, comparatively speaking, what we receive. The same thing has been done in the western provinces; the same thing has been done, as the Prime Minister pointed out, in Australia. But take the example of France. France came out of the war with an enormous financial burden; the people of France have to pay a tremendous amount of taxation. Nevertheless, when the members of the French Chamber of Deputies met after the last election they doubled their indemnity; they realize that the cost of living has increased to them just as it has increased to every one else. It has increased also to members of this Parliament,—who, if they are to do good work, must be decently paid. Either we are to have in this House practically nothing but millionaires, who will represent first and foremost their own interests, or we are to have representatives of every class; and if we want to have a real democratic Parliament we must have a fair indemnity. If we wish to have nothing but special interests represented in this House, let us lower the indemnity; the result will be a repetition of what took place in England at one stage in her history,—when the members of Parliament were recruited from among the rich classes exclusively.

Mr. E. W. NESBITT (Oxford North): Mr. Speaker, I rise simply to urge that no matter whether or not the indemnity to members of Parliament is increased, the remuneration to ministers certainly should be increased. For years I have thought that the remuneration to ministers is simply absurd, having regard to the position that they must maintain and the expenses to which they are subjected. Moreover, as I said the other evening, the salaries of judges of the Supreme Court should be increased this session. I doubt whether you could get proper men to take the positions if any members of the Supreme Court were to resign or to die.

As to the indemnity to members of Parliament, so far as I am concerned I am not pressing for an increase, and have not done so. I am perfectly willing to abide by the decision of the majority in the House in the matter of indemnity. It is true that the indemnity does not pay any member, without regard to what he can earn when he is at home—that is, if he has any earning power at all. I doubt whether many members here are ahead financially at the end of the session when they come to

balance their expenses against their indemnity. I doubt whether many members are ever very much ahead in an ordinary session; when it comes to long sessions, undoubtedly they are out of pocket. You have to consider these men are here giving their time to the public business, and that many of them could earn a great deal more if they were home. But as the Prime Minister has pointed out, while expenses of members have increased materially during the last few years we are refusing to make grants to a great many other people in the country who probably need the increase as much as we do.

Now, as to our serving for patriotic purposes and all that sort of thing, in my opinion much of the talk in reference to that is hot air; I take not stock whatever in it. I believe that members are entitled to an increase in indemnity, but I suggest that instead of asking for an increase of \$1,500 at once they take it more by steps; that, in accordance with the suggestion of the member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) they ask for \$500 this year, and that for the next session—an hon. member says "for the next Parliament," but I say for the next session—the indemnity be increased to the extent of the amount now asked for by the bulk of the members of the House.

Mr. BURNHAM: Let us hear from the Farmers' party.

Mr. THOMAS MacNUTT (Saltcoats): Mr. Speaker, many reasons have been given why the indemnity to members of Parliament should be increased. The action taken in this respect by other legislatures in this country has been cited. I myself was a member of a local legislature when we received \$500 a year. The amount was increased at one jump to \$1,500, and lately, I believe, the same legislature has increased the indemnity of its members to the extent of another \$300. The people have accepted the situation, expressing the view that the increase was justified—and I do not know of any session I ever attended that lasted as long as two months. Moreover, the sessions were always held in the middle of winter, when the time could well be spared.

I think that the country could well afford to do justice to members of Parliament by materially increasing their indemnity. I am sure that no man in this House is making any money through being a representative of the people in Parliament. The

time that a member gives to the service of the public is not confined to the session; his attention is taken away from his personal and private business between sessions. If he does his duty to his constituents, he must devote a great deal of time during the recess to keeping in touch with his electors, and in that connection there are a great many expenses. The member has his family to maintain; when he is here he cannot attend to his business, whatever it may be. I am a farmer. Although I am not young enough to do a great deal of physical work on the farm, yet I know very well that if I were at home now or had been at home earlier, many things would have gone a good deal better than they have gone. Every one of us is out of pocket to a certain extent on account of being here. Some may say: What are you doing in Ottawa? Why do you take the job? I do not know that there is very much of an argument in that. We have been given the honour of being selected by a majority of our constituents to represent them, and we have considered that fact more than the financial side of the question. At the same time, on account of financial obligations that we all have, and more especially on account of the great increase in the cost of living which affects a member of Parliament just as much as any of his constituents, I think the indemnity should be increased. We did not anticipate at the time such an increase in the cost of living or many might have hesitated, although at the last election of 1917, I for one would have been willing to come down here and to give my time for nothing if necessary on that particular occasion if I could have in any way assisted along the line of putting every ounce of energy that Canada possessed towards the winning of that war. But the condition is somewhat different now, and I think, taking all circumstances into consideration, the indemnity should be increased. I am prepared to support an increase in the indemnity, and also I am perfectly willing to defend it in my constituency.

Mr. MATTHEW ROBERT BLAKE (Winnipeg North): Mr. Speaker, the matter of increased indemnity is a vital one and it is very necessary that it should be taken up in this House and discussed fully and freely. I know of no other class which is to-day working on pre-war wages than the members of this Parliament, and the indemnity that is paid in the various provincial legislatures has been increased. It

[Mr. MacNutt.]

is an old saying, "The world takes one on one's own valuation," and if we value our services as worth only \$2,500, the world will be justified in saying that we are worth only that sum. The average member of Parliament, especially if he comes from the West, is suffering financial loss in being in Ottawa, and the indemnity should be increased to compensate him for that loss. I have heard many people say: Oh, the matter does not affect you; you have already increased your indemnity. There has been so much talk about the matter, and more probably this year than before, that the feeling is abroad that we have already increased our indemnity, and there has not been any unfavourable comment upon that fact. I am satisfied there would be very little unfavourable comment upon it and, with the hon. member for Dorchester (Mr. Cannon), I am sure that an increased indemnity is in the best interest of a democratic country because, members being paid a sum commensurate with the services they are rendering, representatives of all classes of the community would be enabled to sit as members of Parliament. The function of Parliament is to represent the views of all the people, and the people would be better represented if the indemnity were increased, and it would not be so much of a rich man's game as it is going to be if the indemnity is not increased.

I have heard some hon. members say that they will not come back to Parliament again unless the indemnity is increased, because, as the hon. member for Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau) has stated, members of Parliament have so frequently to contribute money to various worthy and charitable objects, much more than they would have to do if they had not been elected to this position, and the indemnity should be increased to make allowances for drains of that description. People who have not had the experience of members of Parliament do not know the expense to which those contributions touch the pockets of members. Probably the statement will be made that we have to remain in Ottawa only for four, or four and a half, or five months in the year. But the time of the session is not the only drain on the members' time; he must devote a great deal of his time to the work of his constituency, especially in these critical times and times of great unrest.

This is a matter in regard to which members should be unanimous. If any member is so small that he thinks he will gain any advantage in his constituency by oppos-

ing this when other members have voted in favour of it and have taken the criticism, if such should arise in this regard, and if that member who has opposed it quietly pockets it and goes home and gets on the stump, he should be disgraced and should consider himself unfit to mingle with men of the class of members of Parliament. If any member is opposed to this increased indemnity, he should stand up and give the reasons for his position. We have broken the ice, we have started the ball rolling, so that this is an opportune time for such a member to give his reasons, and then we would know where we are at.

Mr. ARCHIBALD BLAKE McCOIG (Kent, Ontario): Mr. Speaker, I agree to a large extent with the statement of the hon. member for Winnipeg North (Mr. Blake) that if a member is in favour of or opposed to this increased indemnity, he should state his reasons why. Personally, I believe a number of members from the western provinces put up with a great deal more hardship in attending to their duties in Parliament than do some of us members from Ontario or Quebec. I am fortunate enough to be able to get home quite frequently to attend to my business while Parliament is in session. When I first heard talk of an increase in sessional indemnity, I felt it was not a fit and proper time to advocate or to accept any such increase, for different reasons. One reason was that the Government had been contending, when they had been cutting out Estimates for public works, that money was too scarce. We have just recently had the Budget brought down by the Minister of Finance (Sir Henry Drayton), by which all necessities of life are going to be taxed, and we are going to raise money from the plain people of this country in a way that money has never been raised before. Under the circumstances, if we were to sit still in our seats and say to the Government by our silence that we are going to support them if they bring in an increased indemnity, that would be unfair to the Government and to our constituents, and we would be dishonest with ourselves to a large extent. I, therefore, wish to say that I am not in favour of an increased indemnity at this time, not because I feel that members of Parliament do not deserve more money for the services they render, but because I believe the country is not in a financial condition to afford it, and I believe public opinion will not stand for it. If the Prime Minister has an idea

that we should economize and retrench, we should encourage him. I believe every hon. member who is of the same opinion, should allow the Government to know just the position he takes and not have the Government deceived in any way, shape or form.

Mr. ROBERT H. HALBERT (Ontario North): Mr. Speaker, I had not intended to speak to-night on this subject; but to make my remarks when the Bill was introduced, but owing to the remarks of the hon. member for North Winnipeg (Mr. Blake), I made up my mind to say a few words. As a new member, I do not know what the expenses may be, I am not in a very good position to judge how the indemnity pays a member for what he has to do. However, I agree with the Prime Minister that this is not an opportune time to raise the indemnity, owing to the financial position of the country and to the fact that we have refused grants that have been requested by the returned soldiers. There is this point, however. Last night there was put through a measure for the guaranteeing of money which was opposed very strongly but the Bill was carried, and if the majority of the House thinks this should be done on this question they have that same privilege. As to making any election capital out of this question I do not think there is any to be made. I think hon. members who have sat in this House know exactly what it costs them to stay in Ottawa and how they should be indemnified before the last election. It has been said that the western members are more out of pocket than the Ontario members. That is true. They are farther away from home and they cannot keep an eye over their affairs. As this question has come up I just wish to express my opinion on it. I repeat, I do not think this is an opportune time to increase the indemnity.

Mr. J. W. EDWARDS (Frontenac): I was first honoured with a seat in this House in 1908. At that time the indemnity was \$2,500. I use the word "indemnity" advisedly in applying it to the amount of remuneration paid to the members at that time. I have a right to assume that the people of the constituency I have the honour to represent consider that I have given them good value for the money paid to me, because in 1911 they again returned me to this House with double the majority I had on the former occasion. The indemnity paid to the members of this House in 1911 was the same as before, and again I use

the word "indemnity" advisedly. It was then an indemnity. We continued to receive an indemnity of \$2,500 for some years after 1911. But now, for some years past, we have not received an indemnity of \$2,500. We have not received an indemnity at all; we have received a salary. What is the meaning of the word "indemnity"? What does the word imply? When I entered into the contract with the people of my constituency to come down here and do business for them I was to receive an amount of money that would recompense me for the losses I sustained—loss of time, and so forth. I had to use the money I received for my services to pay for my food and lodging and clothes, and so on. I have a right to assume that if the people of my constituency considered my services were worth \$2,500 then—what \$2,500 would purchase for me then—they consider that my services to-day are worth just as much in purchasing power. Now it is an undoubted fact that the remuneration or salary received at present is not on the basis of what we received in years gone by, because it will not purchase that amount. It will not recompense me to the extent of more than 50 per cent of what it did formerly.

It has been argued by some that we, as members of this House, should not take any step towards increasing the amount which is paid to us. Logically, I think we would be playing fair with our constituents if we said to them: You agreed to give us a certain amount of money when the cost of living was at a certain figure. I do not think the people could find much fault with us if we asked them to keep faith with us and give us an amount of money which would meet the conditions that obtain at the present time. We have to play fair with the people. Some of us come to this House and do play fair with the people. Some of us come to this House day after day, and week after week, and session after session. We are in our places attending to the business of the country. We are playing fair with the people and we have a right to ask the people to play fair with us. But there are members whose names are on the roll as members of this House who are never seen here from one week's end to another, who do not come within the walls of this Chamber from one month's end to another. We who do come here are doing, not only the business of our own constituents but the business which these members ought to be doing. Why are they not present? Look over the list and see who are persistently absent

[Mr. Edwards.]

from their places in this House. Who are they? Not the men in the humbler walks of life. Not men, like myself, of limited means. We are attending to our duties in this House and sacrificing dollars every day by doing it. You will find that for years back the men who have been absenting themselves from this House day after day are men of great wealth, who have found it more to their interest to stay at home and attend to their own business, because it puts \$100 in their pockets for every dollar they get here of so-called indemnity. That is why they are absent from this House. I feel very strongly on this question. The press of this country—and there never was a time when we had less respect from the press of Canada than we have to-day—have repeatedly called attention to the small attendance of members in this House. How many times has the press of this country called attention to those who were absent, to the wealthy men who are absenting themselves from this House day after day and week after week and month after month? I have not seen any mention of them by the press of this country. The press has too great an interest with these big moneyed men to say anything against them, or to hurt their feelings. They are never mentioned in the press. The press calls attention to the members who are here regularly, who sit here, as we did this morning until three o'clock attending not only to our own duties but to the duties of these wealthy gentlemen who find it to their interest to remain at home attending to their private affairs rather than to the business of the country. I say that we who have attended to our duties in this House have played fair with the people, and I would have no hesitation in going to the people and asking them to play fair with me.

There is a great deal to be said for the position taken by the Prime Minister. After all, as the Prime Minister of this country, he is the man who would be held responsible, and not the leader of the Opposition or the leader of the Third party group across the way. There is no doubt in anybody's mind that the cost of living has increased for us as it has for everybody else. We as members of this House, have recognized the increased cost of living by a bonus to the members of the Civil Service. We recognized it last year in dealing with the soldier problem by giving a bonus of 20 per cent on the basic amount granted to them earlier. This year we recognized it again, and the House has just

approved legislation increasing that bonus from 20 to 50 per cent. Why have we done this? Because we recognize that the cost of living has increased to these people and that we have to make provision accordingly. We know that the figure we originally set as a fair amount to pay is equivalent only to a fraction of that amount today, because the dollar does not get them one hundred cents worth of value. We have recognized this with regard to everybody but ourselves, why should we hesitate to ask the public to recognize it in our case? So far as I am concerned, if the indemnity is increased, and if later on conditions come back to normal, I am willing to go back to the old basis. We have acted on this principle in other matters; we have been guided by it in dealing with the civil servants. We have given them a bonus. What for? Why did we not give them instead of a bonus an addition of twenty per cent or ten per cent to their salaries? The reason is that if conditions in the country got back to normal then the bonus would be dispensed with. We can surely be consistent and apply that principle to ourselves, and I do not see why we should have anything to apologize for or why we should fear to meet our constituents if we adopted the same system so far as we ourselves are concerned. If the Government did not see fit to fix an increased indemnity this session, I can see nothing wrong in their carrying out the principle we have adopted in regard to others and making a special grant in recognition of the higher cost of living to us for this session. I see no objection to that proposal, and I am prepared to back it up before my constituents or in any other part of the country.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I realize the fact that there are men in this House who may have conscientious scruples against an increased indemnity. There may be those who think that this is an inopportune time and all that sort of thing, and that, as one hon. gentleman says, we cannot go on with public works in this country because of the scarcity of money. Well, Sir, I did not understand when I came to Ottawa that it was part of my duty or privilege to have the Government take money out of my pocket to build public works in the country. I never regarded that as being part of the duties of a member of Parliament. I understood as a medical man after having entered into politics that it was part of my political duties to attend the surrounding public free of charge. That, of course, went into the

political game; but I did not know that I had to go down into my pocket, or that the Government had a right to expect that I should do so, in order to help build public works in the Dominion. Speaking for myself I must frankly confess that I do not subscribe to any such doctrine. There is another phase of the matter upon which I desire to touch while I am on my feet. There are certain things which we have a right to take into consideration as members of this House. The cost of living has increased for us as it has for everybody else, but in addition to that we have other expenses, some of which have been alluded to. There are the expenses of running elections

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. EDWARDS: I have a reason for referring to that, and I shall make that reason plain before I get through. That is part of the expenses connected with our position here. There has always been one thing which has come up in connection with any question of increased indemnity, and that is, that whatever increase is granted to members of the House of Commons must of necessity be granted to senators. I want to say as one member of the House who has the utmost respect for the Senate, for their ability and all that sort of thing, that in my humble judgment it would not be a fair proposition at all, if the Government saw fit to increase the indemnity of the House of Commons, to make it apply equally to the Senate and I trust that if there are any senators within the sound of my voice, they will, when they come to discuss this matter, show a disposition to fair play. I need not advance reasons which are patent to every hon. gentleman as to why the indemnity of a senator should not be the same as that of a member of the House of Commons. There are many reasons which I could advance but they are so palpable to every one—and they will be apparent to any senators who may be sitting in the gallery—that it would be unnecessary for me to allude to them. If I were fixing the amount myself I would make a comparison like this: If the Government saw fit to increase the indemnity of the House of Commons to say \$4,000 I would suggest an increase for the Senate to \$3,000.

Mr. FINLEY: Too much.

Mr. EDWARDS: Well, so far as that is concerned I will say nothing. I do not think I have ever been afraid to

express my views on the floor of the House. Whether I have expressed them plainly or not I will not say, but I do not think that any one will charge me with having been afraid to state my mind, and I am not going to refrain from saying on the floor of the House what I would be willing to say to my electors. That is the position I take. I know that since I entered this House I have endeavoured honestly and conscientiously to do my duty by the people who sent me to Parliament. I believe that this is true of most hon. gentlemen in this House. There are some members of Parliament who have not discharged their duties with this degree of fidelity but who have found it to their interest financially to absent themselves from the House and attend to their own private business, for no other reason under the canopy of Heaven than there was more money in their being absent from the House. I want to say that against that I protest as strongly as I can. I have played the game fairly with my people. I believe I have given the people of my constituency fair service and have discharged the duties which belong to the honour that they have conferred upon me. So long as I remain a member of the House I shall continue to do so as conscientiously and as ably as I can, and I would have no hesitation in going to the people of my constituency and asking them to play the game fairly with me. And I know what their answer would be if I did that. That is all I have to say in this matter. I said a moment ago, Mr. Speaker, and with your permission I repeat now, that if the Government does not see its way clear at this time, for certain reasons which will occur to many, why a definite and fixed increase in the indemnity should be made, we can at least advance very strong, and reasonable, and just grounds to support the contention that some consideration should be given to members for this session in view of the increased cost of living.

Mr. O. TURGEON (Gloucester): As I am one of the members who have been very assiduous in their attendance in this House, as the hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) well knows, I am sure that he does not place me in the category of those who have been derelict in their duty and who have sacrificed the public welfare to their private interests. I think I am fairly well qualified to express an opinion on this question, because I know pretty well what is the

[Mr. Edwards.]

feeling of the public, in my part of the country at any rate, in regard to the proposal we are now considering; and I may inform my hon. friend and the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) that so far as I can gather, the public mind to-day is well prepared for the suggestion that there should be an increased indemnity to members of Parliament. The public are prepared to concede that members of Parliament should receive a larger indemnity than they have been drawing for the last fifteen years, because conditions to-day are not to be compared to those that existed when the indemnity was last increased. Now, we are a democratic country. We recently fought for democracy, and it has been well said by an hon. member who preceded me that if we do not give to the representatives of the people a sufficient means to allow them to meet the necessary expenses to which they are put we shall find that the representation of the people will fall to the lot of those people who possess the wealth of the country, as happened at a certain period in Great Britain. We do not want such a condition to prevail in Canada in the future, and therefore I have no hesitation in saying that I am willing to take the responsibility of supporting an increase in the indemnity. Speaking personally I am sure my constituents will not object to such a course on my part. If repeated expressions of confidence during five or six elections—when I was returned by immense majorities and on the last occasion had the honour of election by acclamation—indicate the extent of popular approval of my course I think they can be regarded as showing that my constituents believe that the member for Gloucester has devoted his attention not only to the interests of his own county but to the interests of the country at large in every possible way. Of course some of us are not endowed with the same ability as others. All of us are not of the same calibre as the Prime Minister, the leader of the Opposition or the members for Gaspe, (Mr. Lemieux) Bonaventure, (Mr. Marcil) East Quebec (Mr. Lapointe) or my hon. friend from Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau), who is looking at me with an interrogative glance at the present time. But in the matter of indemnity the people would have no hesitation in declaring that all should be treated alike. And the people themselves would be the gainers to this extent: That if some of the popular representatives have not at all times exercised their utmost ability in the public interest they will feel

impelled to do so from this time forward. The addition to the public expenditure which will result from an increase in the indemnity will not be deemed of very much importance when we recollect that we are talking in terms of millions these days. Moreover, the public do not measure the expenditure of the country from what is paid to members in the shape of indemnity. Rather do they lay stress upon the abolition of unnecessary expenditures. Therefore I for one believe that an increase of the indemnity will be regarded by the people at large as entirely justifiable. Only two months ago in the New Brunswick legislature the indemnity of members which had stood for the last twenty years at \$500, was doubled and no word of criticism has been heard from the press on either side of politics with respect to it. As we have been told to-night the indemnity to members in every other legislature has been increased in the last year or two and in no province has any criticism been made with respect to that increase. I believe we should try to establish an indemnity that would be in accordance with the importance of the nation itself. The United States pays its popular representatives in accordance with their high status and their important duties. The same thing is done in France. What inducement is there to any young student, or any young man of promise, to enter the public life of this country? What opportunity is there for him to honestly and deservedly earn a reputation for himself by devoting his service and his ability to the public weal, if an adequate living is not guaranteed to him? As to the amount of indemnity that should be fixed I know that the conditions of the country are not favourable to an undue increase. Notwithstanding the present situation, however, we have been increasing the salaries of the employees in the public service, and large business corporations have done likewise in the case of the men in their employ. I do not think we should tinker with this question and say we will take a few dollars this year and a few dollars next year. Let us settle the matter on a basis that will be honourable and just. If \$5,000 is out of the question let an amount be adopted which will not be looked upon as the mere grabbing of a few dollars to compensate members merely for the work of the session. We may expect hereafter that the sessions will be of longer duration. Problems are arising which will demand careful thought and which it will not be possible to settle

in any easy or expeditious fashion. Those members who come from far distant points have practically to abandon their business or profession altogether in order to devote themselves to the interests of their constituents. They have to remain here each year for five or six months and even then they are not at the end of their public duties. When they return home they still have to occupy themselves with public affairs, they have to give up their time to their constituents and study the problems of the country, and also prepare themselves for the work of the following session. In fact the interests of a member's constituents follow him wherever he goes, during the recess as well as when he is attending the parliamentary sessions in Ottawa. Expenses also are much heavier than they were. Twenty years ago I could travel along the coast in my constituency for fifty or sixty dollars. To-day I could not even go to the next district for that amount. Automobiles are very nice and handy and very swift, but they are an expensive accommodation. The public understand all these considerations, and so in treating this matter let us not tinker with it. If the Prime Minister can see his way clear to bring in a measure providing for an increase in indemnity I will, perhaps for the first time, vote in favour of the Government.

Mr. C. G. POWER (Quebec South): I have followed the debate with considerable attention and interest throughout its course and from what I can gather, generally speaking, it is admitted on all sides, even by the Prime Minister himself, that the present indemnity is too low. As my hon. friend from Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) has said, it is no longer an indemnity, it must be regarded as a salary. I also understood from the Prime Minister that he was of opinion that members should express their views as to whether or not the time was opportune for an increase in the indemnity, and as to whether we should increase it at the present moment when there is considerable unrest in the country, at a time when we have been obliged—as the Prime Minister very justly said—to refuse some very extraordinary demands on the part of the returned soldier. With regard to the unrest prevailing in the country the Prime Minister, of course, is more closely in touch with different sections of the Dominion than I am, and he would probably know more about the subject than myself. Nevertheless I do not know of any unrest through-

out the country owing to public bodies having increased salaries or indemnities. Indeed in every municipality wherever we look there have been increases accorded either to the councillors, or to the magistrates, or to the Boards of Control, or to the sheriffs—in fact, to every public man that I know of. We have been told to-night that the Alberta Legislature has increased the indemnity to their members, but we have not heard from any hon. member representing an Alberta constituency—and he would be thoroughly familiar with local conditions—that unrest has increased in that province as a consequence. The member from New Brunswick (Mr. Turgeon) told us that their provincial indemnity had been doubled, but he has not heard a word of any increased unrest on that account. And speaking as a member from the province of Quebec, I can assure hon. gentlemen that I am quite satisfied that ninety per cent of the people of that province do not know that the provincial indemnity was increased, and they do not care.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: When was the increase made in the Province of Quebec?

Mr. POWER: In the last session of the legislature increased the indemnity from \$1,500 to \$2,000, and the people of the province are so satisfied with the Government that they do not object to the increase,—in fact, they do not care. If the Prime Minister of the Dominion would take a leaf from the book of the Premier of the province of Quebec, and feel that the country is so satisfied with his Administration that they will not object to increasing the salaries of hon. members, I think we will all be satisfied.

The Prime Minister has also told us that there was a great unrest owing to the fact that we have been obliged to refuse certain demands of the soldiers. Well, for the past two days I have been on my feet to a very considerable extent on behalf of the soldiers. I have fought as hard as I could for their cause, and I think since I have been in the House I have been identified to a large extent with the returned soldier movement. And I am quite willing, Mr. Speaker, to take my chances with the soldiers; I am willing to go before any soldier audience and plead the case for an increased indemnity, I do not care where the audience is, whether in Toronto, in Calgary, or anywhere else in the Dominion. I think the ordinary returned soldier is a sensible enough man to know that we cannot come

[Mr. Power.]

here and spend six months of our time for \$2,500.

I have listened with considerable attention to my hon. friend from Frontenac (Mr. Edwards). He argued very sagely that we had increased pensions, we had increased the salaries of civil servants because we were under the impression that the present times were abnormal. We are passing through a crisis which is prevalent all over the world, and in dealing with pensions and with civil service questions we have considered that the time would arrive when the cost of living would not be so high. So we reached the conclusion that our civil servants and our soldiers who were pensioned should, in order to be able to meet the high cost of living, obtain something additional to their salaries, and that something additional we have decided to call a bonus. I think if the Prime Minister were to take our present situation into serious consideration, he would see that we also are feeling the crisis in the same way as the soldiers and the civil servants, and that our indemnity of \$2,500, which the Prime Minister said would in 1905 have been considered quite a good indemnity, is as he himself admits at the present moment too low. Therefore, why not supplement our indemnity during the period of crisis by some such system of bonus as we are giving to our civil servants and our soldiers?

I would suggest that if the Prime Minister considered the request for a bonus of \$1,500 is too much, let him give us \$1,000; but I would not for one moment agree to \$500, because that would be almost useless. I would think that a bonus of \$1,000 for this session might very well be granted, and, if next session it is considered the right thing to do, another bonus can be given. By next year members of Parliament will have had time to hear from their constituents and those members who feel that their constituents are not favourable to this bonus or increase would next session be able to tell the Prime Minister, "I am afraid my people will not want it; therefore I cannot vote for the bonus." So many are convinced at the present moment that the people in their constituencies are in favour of this increase that I do not see why the Government should not grant it. If it is granted for one session only, at the end of next session the Government will see public opinion reflected through the representatives of public opinion in this House, and if that public opinion is opposed to the bonus, the Government will know it. If it is in favour of a bonus the Government will know it.

But I cannot believe that the Government to-day is not aware that public opinion is in favour of an increased indemnity after the opinions that have been expressed in this House to-night.

Mr. H. H. STEVENS (Centre Vancouver): I feel, Mr. Speaker, that it is my duty to express myself very briefly on this subject. The question seems to me to narrow itself down to the simple proposition: Is this thing right and fair? If it is, the House should have no hesitancy in granting an increased indemnity. I do not think that any reasonable person will question the necessity or the desirability of increasing the indemnity of hon. members. I do not wish to say that this applies particularly to those of us who come from a great distance, but I can assure the House that attendance here is a very hard and severe burden upon those of us whose homes are far removed from the capital. It does not lessen the fairness of the increase for a great many hon. gentlemen who have expressed their views to-night; but if their views are reasonable—and I certainly think they are—then the argument for the increase applies with double force to those hon. members who come from a greater distance and spend all their time either sitting in the House or waiting over the tedious and exceedingly lonesome week-ends in this city for the business of the House to go on.

Another point I wish to emphasize is that the business of Canada has increased, and is still increasing at a very rapid rate, and that the importance of the office of Member of Parliament is increasing in equal ratio, and that therefore the indemnity should be increased accordingly. This question should not be looked at from the angle of the least deserving member. There may be a few hon. members who do not pay very close attention to the business of the House; but the merit of this case for an increased indemnity should not be measured by the attendance that these members give to the public business; it should be measured by the average devotion to duty of the members of the House as a whole. And on that ground I contend that the increase should be given.

The objection is urged that we are going to grant this increase to ourselves, and that it is not quite fitting and proper for us to take this course. Mr. Speaker, I submit this answer to that objection: Who is going to grant this increase to us

if we do not grant it to ourselves? It is our duty to formulate the rules of the House; to determine how the business of the House shall be transacted, how long we shall sit and all the rest of it; and it is our duty to decide what compensation members shall receive. So, speaking for myself I have no scruples whatever in granting to myself an increased indemnity. I have no hesitation in saying, either to this House or to the country at large, that I consider my services here worth at least the sum suggested, namely, \$4,000 a year. From my experience of eleven sessions here I know that my duties are not finished when the House prorogues. When I go back to my city I have to keep my office open at least three parts of the time for the purpose of attending to public business, and my house, as is the case with every other member, is besieged by persons claiming attention, largely in connection with public business. So that the end of the session does not see the end of our duties.

Now, another question is whether the time is opportune; in fact, that is the crux of the whole question, especially in the eyes of the right hon. Prime Minister. Sir, I do not know of a more opportune time to deal with this question than now. We could with equity have dealt with the matter two or three years ago, though I grant you that the time was then, perhaps, not opportune. But the difficulty which prevailed then is largely removed, and the time certainly is opportune to deal with this question. It is before the House; it has been discussed with a great deal of freedom. Many hon. members, Sir, have frankly expressed their opinion, though there has been one notable exception. Two or three members have expressed themselves as against the proposal; all others are strongly in favour of it. As I say, there has been one outstanding exception; the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Mackenzie King), still refuses to give the House the benefit of his views. I repeat, Sir, that the time is opportune; that the equity of the case is demonstrated. To me the question simply is this: Is it right and fair that the indemnity should be increased? If it is right and fair, it will bear all the scrutiny that the public may care to give it. If the Government will introduce a measure, as I believe it is their duty to do, I will give it my unqualified support and take my full share of the responsibility in regard thereto.

Mr. R. H. BUTTS (Cape Breton South and Richmond): Under the rules of the

House, Mr. Speaker, has the Senate power, if a Bill providing for increased indemnity is passed, to throw that Bill out? If they have it would be futile for us to go any further.

Mr. JOHN A. MAHARG (Maple Creek): Mr. Speaker, I would like very briefly to state my position on this question, and I think I can express the feeling of a very large majority of the people in the western provinces. Personally, this matter is not new to me. The different farmers' organizations in Western Canada have an official organ which is published in Winnipeg, as you all know. The editorial columns of that organ have for years contended that the indemnity to members of the federal House was entirely inadequate, having regard to the position that they hold and to the effect that the performance of their public duties has on their other occupations, whatever they may be. This organ has no hesitation in stating that the indemnity should be increased; and if I remember rightly, they did not stop at \$4,000; the amount which they suggested was \$5,000—and that was some years ago, when the high cost of living had not commenced to be so pronounced as it is now. We in Western Canada, I think, do not look at these matters as they are looked at by some people in other parts of the country; at any rate, that is true in some cases. We have different large organizations there, and on the occasion of an annual meeting of the shareholders of any of these large organizations the criticisms of the salaries paid to the managers is not that they are too high but that they have been too low; the contention made is that the salaries paid to these officials should be as large as those paid to persons carrying on similar work in other like organizations.

I may say that this question of increased indemnity arose at a mixed meeting which I attended. The meeting was held in a fairly large town and the hall was packed. There are always some in such an audience who think they can strike a popular chord; there happened to be such a character in the audience on this occasion. I do not know whether or not he was trying to trip me up, but he asked me what my opinion was in the matter of the indemnity that was being paid to members of Parliament. I took it for granted that he was referring to members of the Federal Parliament, as I believe he was. I immediately took up the challenge and stated my position very clearly. I said that in my opinion the

[Mr. Butts.]

members of the Federal House were very much underpaid; that they should be receiving \$4,000 instead of \$2,500. That was taken up from one end of the hall to the other and the suggestion was received with enthusiasm—as great enthusiasm as any ordinary question could be received; so much so that the gentleman who sprung the question got up and said that he was referring to the Provincial House, not to the Federal House. Now, I believe that is the feeling generally throughout Western Canada. We believe, and the people believe, that the "labourer is worthy of his hire." So far as criticism is concerned, I have nothing to fear; I am quite prepared to defend my action anywhere in my own constituency or in my own province.

Mr. T. M. M. TWEEDIE (Calgary West): Mr. Speaker, I think that almost every argument has been presented to-night in favour of an increase in the sessional indemnity to members of Parliament. The suggestion that members should give expression to their views so that their constituents and the public at large may know their position in the matter was a perfectly sound one, and I purpose giving expression to mine. I am absolutely in favour of an increase of the indemnity to at least \$4,000, and I believe that the majority of the people, as the member for Maple Creek (Mr. Maharg) has said, will support this position so far as it is taken by Western members.

But while we are suggesting an increase in indemnity to members of Parliament, I wish to direct the attention of the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) to another class of public servants in this country whose salaries should be increased. I refer to the judges of the Superior Courts. The salaries of these judges should be increased and put on a uniform basis; at present there is a discrimination against the judges of the Supreme Court of Prince Edward Island, who are paid less than judges of the Superior Courts in other parts of Canada. The salaries of men who possess sufficient professional attainments to enable them to qualify for judgeships should be such as to induce them to abandon their private practice and devote their services to the business of the country. The remuneration which has been received in private legal practice has trebled, in some cases quadrupled, during the last five years. If there is any class who should be men of integrity, intelligence, ability and attainment, it is certainly the class of men who are charged

with the administration of justice throughout the Dominion.

The question of salaries of Cabinet ministers has been referred to to-night, and I very heartily concur in the statements which have been made on their behalf. It is absurd that we should require men to administer the affairs of the Dominion of Canada, which is one of the greatest corporations in this country, at the merely nominal salaries which they are paid. If we want men of good executive ability, men of integrity, men of industry, men who are willing to make sacrifices for their country, we must offer them some reward which will be commensurate with the services they render, even though that reward may not be the reward which they could command if they were engaged in private business on their own behalf. I am strongly in favour of increasing the sessional indemnity, the salaries paid to the judiciary of this country, and the salaries paid to members of the Cabinet.

Mr. EMMANUEL B. DEVLIN (Wright): Mr. Speaker, I do not want to estimate what I consider I may be worth, that is a matter of appreciation which I would much prefer to leave to others. But I have sat in this House long enough to know that the duties of a member of Parliament are becoming more and more arduous every day. The distances members have to come, with the necessity often of keeping up two homes, make an increased indemnity necessary. It is unnecessary to repeat the arguments that have been very well advanced by hon. members on both sides in reference to conditions that exist in the House of Commons at London, in certain of our provincial legislatures, in the House of Representatives in the United States and in similar legislatures in other countries. Whilst the Prime Minister has said that those who live near home may not suffer quite so much, no man, whatever be his profession or the occupation through which he earns his livelihood, can devote full time and attention to Parliament and also devote time and attention to a law practice, or medicine, or whatever his particular business may be. I know also that there are certain members who are not at all identified with the province of Ontario who have a residence here in order to be very convenient to the House of Commons and whose homes may be in other localities. I do not speak for myself entirely; I am quite willing to assume, because I am within easy reach of the House, that I

might not require as much as other members; but, not being blessed with very much of this world's goods I feel nevertheless that, whilst the indemnity, as it exists to-day, having been increased, I believe, the first session I came into this House or immediately before, was adequate at that time and was supposed, as the Prime Minister said, to be sufficient for all time to come, conditions have so changed in this country, the cost of living has got so high and the country has become so democratic, that an increase is necessary to-day. The necessity for that increase is recognized by all bodies of men, whether corporations, banks, or municipal or parliamentary institutions,—and perhaps I should not make a distinction between municipal and parliamentary institutions. It has been recognized in the Civil Service, the members of which have clamoured for an increased salary on account of the increased cost of living. The Government have not in their judgment been able to give that increased salary, but they have met the difficulty by giving an increased bonus. Acting on my personal responsibility, I would suggest to my right hon. friend that in view of conditions as they exist to-day when so much money is demanded of the treasury, and in view also of the increased cost of living, a bonus of at least, say, \$1,000—make it more if you like—should be granted. This bonus will not be a fixture, and when we come back to normal times, as we all hope we shall come back to them, when the cost of living will decrease, we may then decrease the bonus or eliminate it. I would have much pleasure in seconding any effort of the Government towards the granting of an increased indemnity or a bonus.

I would also view with the greatest favour possible an increase in salary to the judges of this country who are engaged in the Superior Courts. I know of instances where judges cannot possibly make both ends meet on the salaries they are receiving. For instance, judges with \$5,000 a year find it very hard to live in cities. On that salary who can live to-day in a city and occupy any kind of a position in the community other than that perhaps which \$3, \$4 or \$5 a day would give him? On a salary of \$5,000, of course, some men of an economical turn of mind can possibly live, but it is difficult, and it means entailing untold sacrifices to one's family. I hope the Government in granting increases will not forget the judges. They cannot come and speak for themselves; they are accustomed to others pleading their cause, which is

just and it is only right that some of us this evening should plead for them.

Mr. D. A. LAFORTUNE (Jacques-Cartier) (Translation).—Mr. Speaker, I beg you to accord me a few minutes in which I may express my opinion on this question of the increase of indemnity of members and of the salaries of judges. As the hon. member who has just resumed his seat says, 'the judges certainly need an increase in their salaries. I know several judges who have been obliged to resign because of their insufficient remuneration. They were right. Several have resigned in order to accept other more lucrative positions. I know judges at Montreal who died leaving their families poor and whose widows were obliged to keep boarding houses in order to live and to continue the education of the children. The judges complain, rightly, that they do not receive the salaries that they are entitled to. Even the ministers of the Crown do not do themselves justice. They should have much higher remuneration. Some bank officials are paid much higher salaries than the judges are receiving. This is unfair. The men who direct the destinies of the country, who are at the head of a government such as that of Canada should have a reasonable salary, and reasonable indemnities, in order to be able to consecrate all their time to the business of the country and to do justice to their families and themselves. The senators, as well as the members, should have an increase in their indemnity.'

To be a member of Parliament is very nice, very fine, but I assure you that one is often called upon to subscribe to all kinds of things. At the time I had the honour to be the member for the county of Montcalm I was fairly well off; I was at a little distance from the county where almost no schools, convents or churches were built for a long time, but when I was elected for the county of Jacques Cartier things changed. Those who represented this county before me had been rich men, powerful men, and they had been forced to make considerable sacrifices. The late lamented Mr. Laflamme ruined himself for that county, where he spent hundreds of thousands of dollars; the late Désiré Girouard, afterwards judge of the Supreme Court, also spent considerable sums there; the Hon F. Guimond spent exorbitant amounts; the Hon. Mr. Boyer was obliged to make great sacrifices. He is now a senator, and I can swear that he was obliged to

[Mr. Devlin.]

pay dearly in order to represent this county worthily. Your humble servant, who is neither rich nor poor, has, since he has had the honour of representing the county of Jacques Cartier, been forced to subscribe to all kinds of things. He must aid the ploughing competitions, and at the next competition, which will take place at Macdonald College, your humble servant, as a member, has been invited to take part, but as a subscription has been requested I shall have to fork it out.

If a member of Parliament is not ready to give he is considered mean, a miser, and sometimes even worse than that. At county fairs Mr. Member must come forward with his subscription. At college closings Mr. Member is invited to present a medal—and the medals must be provided for closing exercises of convents, the member is requested to be good enough to send a medal, and the medal must be sent. Unless you have been present at the ceremonies of the academies and schools and send them a little gift you may be certain that at the next political contest you will be reproached with your remissness.

A MEMBER: And the euchre parties?

Mr. LAFORTUNE: Ah, the euchre parties, they come very often. One must help lacrosse clubs, musical clubs; a present must be the acknowledgment of the wedding announcements sent to the member, and a wreath in answer to the death notices; he must go to the funerals of the old maids and old bachelors. The first communion of the little girls and boys costs the member something, there is no way out of it. If he does not give, it is laid up against him. If a poor man loses a horse or meets with an accident, the member must pay; when there is a fire and no insurance, as happens often enough, the member must subscribe something. When statues are unveiled—lately two Sacred Heart statues were erected—the member must pay; and he must be present at the tombolas and stand the consequences.

A MEMBER: And the christenings of bells?

Mr. LAFORTUNE: I am not forgetting them. The member must chip in at the euchre parties. He must aid the poor, the unfortunate and the sick; he must go as a god-father to the christenings of bells; if the crops appear threatened, it is up to the member to have high masses sung; appeal for aid is made to the prominent people first, and it is always the member

who receives the first visit; "Mr. Member, we have come to you first, as we did not wish to appear to lack in politeness towards you." To all the varieties of guards the member must give something; to the churches that are being built, there has to be presented the Stations of the Cross, or one of them, or anything else, for the church or the presbytery, and once more the member has to give.

Mr. Speaker, I should never get through, were I to go into every detail. It may be thought a very grand thing to be a member, but the member rather feels like the poor lamb whose fleece is not his own. Now we remain here four or five months in the year; and the session is barely wound up when this public servant must tour from village to village through each parish and give an account of his doings. Yet it's fine, one enjoys it, and one is proud. When one is defeated, one is very sorry. But we should have a larger indemnity, so we can give more generously. The electors don't care much what we do, but they care very much what we give them.

I can assure you that not one elector will rise in a public meeting to protest against his representative having voted to increase the indemnity. Those who are timorous, and slaves to fear are never very successful. I tremble for them at the next contest if they have not dared to ask for what was just and legitimate. I ask the hon. leader of the Opposition to be firm, to be courageous, not to fear to support our request. I say to him, you should respect the wish of those who made you their leader, and it was the province of Quebec, in a large measure, that did it. I ask you to screw up your courage, to be firm. All that your followers ask is that you will not be afraid to express your opinion and we shall stand by you, we shall not fear to back your policy; but stick to us, support the request that we make; be just to us. I am convinced that the Rt. Hon. Prime Minister is certainly going to accede to the desire of his supporters. He will not be afraid to express his opinion, for he realizes what is the wish, the ardent desire, of his companions in arms. Once more I ask you, hon. leader of the Opposition, not to fear to back our request, since it is the unanimous wish of the members who support you.

I shall vote in favour of the increasing of the indemnity. I should like to see it increased to at least \$5,000, but if one cannot have \$5,000, one must be satisfied with

\$4,000. I am not more in need of this increase of indemnity than the other hon. gentlemen; for I have saved some money and put by something for a rainy day, but I am brave enough to voice my opinion in the support of the proposal, because it is but just, and justice must prevail.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON (Algoma East): I wish to say a word on this subject lest silence be misconstrued. I confess at the outset that I have had some difficulty in reaching a conclusion on the question of an increased indemnity at the present time, but when I heard the Prime Minister say here to-night that in his judgment the present indemnity was insufficient and it was right that it should be increased, I reached the conclusion that it is always right to do right. If that is the fact, and I believe it is in the main, then the Government should bring in a resolution, or an Estimate, or a Bill if necessary, to provide for an increase in the indemnity, either a direct increase or by way of bonus. It might be more in keeping with the feeling throughout the country if the increase was given in the form of a bonus. There is one thought I wish particularly to refer to, and it is that there may be, there undoubtedly are members of this House who may be in such a financial position that they can come here without any great personal sacrifice. If because they are in that position they would oppose an increase, knowing that there are other members not so favourably situated as themselves, their action in that regard could in my judgment only be characterized as in the highest degree selfish. There is a way by which any hon. member—and I would commend this to the hon. member for Kent (Mr. McCoig) if he were here—can square his conscience in this matter. It is not absolutely necessary that we should accept the increase if it is granted. If a man feels that he can get along without the increase, he need not draw it. In that way he would not be preventing the man who is not in a position to serve his country at the remuneration that is now given, from getting an increase.

I would like to commend what was said by my friend from one of the Montreal divisions. If the present scale of remuneration is maintained, Parliament is going to resolve itself into one of two things—either a rich man's club, or a place to which a type of men will come who cannot adequately represent a constituency in this country unless they find some means of

getting money that a representative of the people should not get.

Reference has been made to the judges of the different courts to-night, and I fully agree that if we are going to get the right type of man we must pay the right remuneration. The whole public service of this country suffers as the result of the public not being willing to pay men what they would receive in the service of a private corporation. When we say that a minister of the Crown who is administering one of the departments of State is worth no more than a departmental manager of a department store, I think the mere statement is sufficient to show the ridiculousness of the present situation. There are plenty of men managing a small business in this country who are getting more remuneration than the Prime Minister of Canada is getting from the people of Canada. There are men in every walk of life drawing not what would be termed a salary, but mere wages, who are getting more than members of the Government who are administering departments and working, not eight, but often eighteen hours a day at a tremendous sacrifice. The first move to be made is to give reasonable remuneration to members of the Cabinet. I have no hesitation in commending to the Government an increase in the remuneration paid to members of this House. I am ready to justify the position before my constituents, because I know that if I have any qualms of conscience I have the remedy in my own hands, as every member has. No man can bring his family to Ottawa and live here as he should during the session and get away and break even, not to speak of the business he has to do for his constituency during the rest of the year. And on the other hand a man from the far West or the far East cannot afford to leave his family behind and maintain two homes during the session. I think the country should be willing to give reasonable remuneration to the man who is willing to give reasonable service.

Mr. W. D. COWAN (Regina): Lest I be accused of cowardice I wish to express approval of the suggestion that the indemnity of members of Parliament be increased. However, let me say at once that, like most hon. gentlemen, whether the indemnity be increased or not I propose to give the best service I possibly can while I am here. There is no attempt, as has been suggested in some quarters, at strike on the part of any one if the indemnity is not increased.

[Mr. Nicholson.]

But it seems to me that we shall be all in a position to give much better service to the country if the indemnity is increased. At least, if hon. members are all like me they certainly will be in a better position to serve the country well. I know that when I go home after attending this session, having been here every day since the 26th of February, and take my wife and family back with me, I shall not have a dollar left, and it will simply mean that I shall have to get down to my business and devote every spare moment of my time between now and the next session if I am to keep my family at all. I do not think that that is a position any member of Parliament should find himself in. The Prime Minister to-night took a perfectly proper stand when he said—I am not giving his exact words but what I say is the purport of his remarks—that we must pay some heed to the state of the public mind and not do anything that would aggravate the present irritated feelings of the people. That is absolutely right. The public mind is no doubt irritated to-day. But why? It is irritated because certain factions in the country have been deliberately misrepresenting every public man whether he be a Government supporter a Liberal or a Farmers' representative. Every man who holds any public office to-day is misrepresented before the people. In view of this fact who can or will better allay the feeling which has been aroused as a result of that misrepresentation than members of Parliament? It is our duty when we go home to tell the people the God-given truth not only about our friends but about our enemies on the other side and if I give the people the God-given truth as I say, I am going to tell them there are on the other side some pretty decent fellows, even if they are always wrong. I will tell them that from what I have seen in my experience, the members in this House are absolutely straight, notwithstanding the allegations of all the Hicks and Speers that go around the country bringing charges of dishonesty against people. I have never seen any dishonesty in Parliament, and I have been in this House three years; and I think it is about time that I was in a position to go and tell my constituents what I know about the situation. I believe that if we are in that position where we can tell the people the truth we shall more quickly allay the feeling of irritation about which

the Prime Minister spoke to-night than would be possible in any other way. As to the method to be adopted, I do not care very much what is done. I think that probably there is a good deal in the suggestion that this increase should be made by way of a bonus instead of a fixed increase in the indemnity. We have to meet the conditions of the day, whatever they are, and we should meet those conditions in the best possible way. Therefore, if a bonus is more agreeable to the Government it is perfectly satisfactory to me, and then next session Parliament of that day can deal with the situation as it then finds it; and if it is desired—and probably it is—that the people should be consulted before a permanent increase is made, well and good. We shall have met conditions and placed members in a position where they can deal with the questions of the day and take the people into their confidence, explaining to them the whole situation. In that way the problem might be partly solved.

Mr. DONALD SUTHERLAND (South Oxford): I have refrained from expressing my opinion with regard to this question either outside the House or here to-night so far. I may say that I have had several reasons for being non-committal, not because I did not think that the members of this House were being underpaid but because I was in a different position from a good many other hon. members. I have found it possible at every week end to visit my home and keep in touch with my business, and I can appreciate the difficulties which those who are not so fortunately situated have had to contend with. Were I not so able so to attend to my business I do not believe it would be possible for me to continue in public life. I quite agree with the remarks made by the hon. member for Algoma (Mr. Nicholson), that under present conditions, if the indemnity of hon. members remains as it is, Parliament may become a rich man's club; and I would add to that the fear that it might also become a club for those who have no family ties. There are demands upon the public man of to-day that were not made in the past. It may be said by some that we are nearing the end of the time for which we received our mandate from the people and that it might not be advisable to make this increase at the present time. Possibly there is some ground for a contention of that kind. So far as I am personally concerned,

I believe it is a laudable ambition in any man to have a desire to represent in Parliament the people among whom he lives. I appreciate the difficulties which the Prime Minister sees in present conditions, with the feeling of unrest that undoubtedly prevails, with the need for economy in every branch of the public service, and the necessity for bringing about that economy; and there may be a feeling that it is not judicious on our part to ask for an increase at this time. Reference has been made to the necessity of increasing the salaries of judges and ministers. I would point out in that respect that ministers and judges are not differently situated from many members of the House, whose business is absolutely lost during the time which they devote to Parliament. Many of them make as great sacrifices as members of the judiciary or of the Government, and for that reason I do not think there should be any distinction. I am not going to urge very strongly that any step should be taken at this session, but I certainly will not stand in the way of anything being done, because I realize that many members come vast distances, bringing their families, and when they remain here six months or so it means an enormous sacrifice to them. I therefore do not believe it is in the interests of good government or in the interests of the country that a condition of that kind should exist. If you do not desire to have only very wealthy people represent the public in Parliament, or people with some motives that are not in the interests of the country at large, some step will have to be taken in the direction suggested. But a continuance of the present condition is likely to bring about such a result.

Motion agreed to and the House went into Committee of Supply, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

Labour—Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, \$35,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I think we have put in a hard day's work and the minister might report progress.

Mr. DOHERTY: I think that it might be desirable to report progress.

Progress reported.

On motion of Rt. Hon. Mr. Doherty the House adjourned at 1.05 a.m. (Thursday).

Thursday, June 24, 1920.

The House met at Two o'clock.

PRIVATE BILL.

On motion of Mr. Steele, Bill No. 200 (from the Senate) for the relief of Muriel Curren Gilmour, was read the first and second time and referred to the Committee on Miscellaneous Private Bills.

QUESTIONS.

(Questions answered orally are indicated by an asterisk.)

THE SOUTHAM PRESS, LTD.

Mr. STEELE:

1. Who are the officers and directors of The Southam Press, Ltd.?
2. What amount has been paid by the Government to this company each year for the last five years for printing?

Rt. Hon. A. L. SIFTON:

1. Wm. Southam, Richard Southam, F. N. Southam, W. W. Southam, Adam L. Lewis, W. J. Southam.

2. Department of Public Printing and Stationery:

	Montreal.	Toronto.
1916 .. .. .	\$ 749 09	\$ 3,410.49
1917 .. .. .	5,213 26	12,626 93
1918 .. .. .	7,289 50	10,780 20
1919 .. .. .	1,839 95	8,602 99
1920 .. .. .	5,738 75	3,623 33
	<u>\$20,830 55</u>	<u>\$39,043 94</u>

Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment:

Year 1919-20, \$113.30.

FRAUDULENT NATURALIZATION PAPERS.

Mr. CLEMENTS:

1. Is the Government aware of frauds being perpetrated in the past as well as the present in connection with naturalization papers issued in the past prior to the Act being amended requiring the photograph of the applicant?
2. Is it the intention of the Government to require all old naturalization papers on which photographs are omitted to be returned, and new naturalization papers issued with the original photographs attached? The above pertains especially to British Columbia.

Rt. Hon. A. L. SIFTON:

1. The Government is aware of frauds perpetrated in connection with naturalization certificates issued under the Naturalization Act, chapter 77 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, and steps are being taken under the provisions of the Naturalization Act, 1919, to cancel such certificates. There

[Mr. Doherty.]

is, however, no provision in any Naturalization Act requiring photographs of the applicants.

2. Photographs on naturalization certificates have never been provided for by naturalization legislation.

LOBSTER HATCHERIES' EMPLOYEES.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Antigonish and Guysborough):

1. How many of the former employees of the closed lobster hatcheries in the Maritime Provinces were employed by the Department of Naval Affairs during the open seasons of 1918 and 1919, respectively, collecting berried lobsters?

2. If any such were employed, what were their names and post office addresses?

3. How many bays or coves on the Atlantic coast have been set aside and maintained as lobster breeding ground since 1917?

4. If any such have been set aside what are the names?

Hon. C. C. BALLANTYNE:

1 and 2. None.

3 and 4. None.

INSPECTOR OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Mr. SAVARD:

1. Is there any vacancy in the position of Inspector of Weights and Measures on the north coast of the St. Lawrence?

2. If so, have any applications been filed in relation thereto, and what are the names of the applicants?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER:

1. No.

2. Answered by No. 1.

QUESTION PASSED AS ORDER FOR RETURN.

Mr. CALDWELL:

1. What is to be the total cost of the new Parliamentary restaurant when completed?

2. What is the estimated cost of upkeep per year of said restaurant?

3. What is the estimated cost of furnishing, including silverware and equipment, for said restaurant?

4. What has been the cost of operating said restaurant in the present temporary quarters since the beginning of the present session?

5. Does the item of \$3,000 set forth in the Estimates for restaurant contingencies cover cost of operation for the current fiscal year, or is this intended to cover the year's deficit?

6. Are persons employed in said restaurant directly in the employ of Parliament or the Government, and are they the persons referred to in the Civil Service classification as "waitresses"?

7. If so, what is the total amount required to provide salaries for such persons during the current fiscal year?

## PRIVILEGE—MR. L. J. GAUTHIER.

APPOINTMENT OF TRUSTEES UNDER  
BANKRUPTCY ACT.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. L. J. GAUTHIER: (St. Hyacinthe-Rouville): Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of privilege, and I will be as brief as possible in putting the facts before the House.

In the course of last week, having received a request from some of my constituents for information in respect to appointments of trustees under the Bankruptcy Act, I went to my hon. friend the Solicitor General (Mr. Guthrie). He informed me that he had been in charge of the Bill last session and of the amendments to the Act this session, but that the matter rested with the Department of the Secretary of State, and that the Under-Secretary of State had the custody of the list of people who had made application to be appointed trustees under the Act, which list would be shown to me. This morning I went to the Under-Secretary of State. I do not want to relate, nor do I want to characterize, the manner in which I was received. Suffice it to say that I was unable to secure cognizance of that list, and I consider that my prerogative as a representative of the people was denied to me, and that my privilege as a member of this House was infringed upon by that official.

I would only add this: that civil servants should at least be civil in their dealings with the public.

Mr. ETHIER: They are Americans now.

Mr. GAUTHIER: During the nine years that I have been a member of this House I have had dealings with the officials of all the various departments, and they have always treated me with the greatest courtesy. This morning, through lack of courtesy on the part of an official of the department of the Secretary of State, I was denied information which I required on behalf of some of my constituents, and I am laying the facts before the House in order that my people may know the reason of my failure to get them the information they desired.

I will conclude by asking the Government two questions: (1) If a list has been prepared of the names of all persons who have made application to be appointed trustees under the Bankruptcy Act; if so, is it a secret document or a public document; and if it is a public document, is it not right that hon. members should have access to it? (2) Does the Government in-

tend in its appointment of trustees under the Bankruptcy Act to centralize those appointments in the hands of the great trust companies of Canada; or to appoint trustees in every electoral district for the benefit of creditors and debtors under the Act?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Mr. Speaker, I should greatly regret if any officer of the Government was discourteous to my hon. friend or to any other member of the House. As to the character of the incident to which he has alluded, I have no personal knowledge. With respect to the list—there is no list at present, as I understand it, although it is true that a number of applications have been filed with the Under-Secretary of State. As to who will be appointed from that list, my hon. friend will realize that information could not be given in respect to that matter because it is a subject upon which advice will have to be tendered to His Excellency the Governor General. It is impossible, I understand, to take action until the Act comes into force. As soon as it does come into force action will be taken without any delay in order that there may be no public inconvenience. My hon. friend asked about centralization. I do not think that the question of personnel has been formally considered, but my hon. friend may be assured that in framing the list every possible consideration will be given to having such number of persons appointed as will obviate any possible inconvenience, and that no attempt will be made at centralization.

Mr. J. A. C. ETHIER (Laval-Two Mountains): Is it the intention of the Government, instead of carrying out the policy of centralization mentioned by my hon. friend (Mr. Gauthier), to appoint trustees in each of the different judicial districts throughout the provinces? May I ask further whether the name of Vincent Lamarre, accountant, of Montreal, is among the applicants for the district of Terrebonne?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I really could not give my hon. friend any information as to who is or is not an applicant. So far as his inquiry relates to appointments in different judicial districts, I could say nothing without consultation with those of my colleagues who have more particularly given their attention to the matter. But the suggestion which I understand my hon. friend to make in that regard will be noted by the ministers and will be most carefully considered when we come to make the appointments.

## CANADIAN WHEAT BOARD.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Minister of Trade and Commerce) moved that the House go into committee to consider a proposed resolution respecting the Canadian Wheat Board. He said:

Before we go into committee, Mr. Speaker, on this resolution, it may facilitate matters if I explain what is proposed and why. I may say in the first place that this resolution is not meant as the substratum of a Bill which, when passed and assented to, is to go into force at once and establish a board for the ensuing year. The measure is simply to put it into force, to provide that if during the progress of the season it becomes necessary that the measure be brought into effect, that may be done by proclamation of the Governor in Council. So that the Bill differs from one which is to come into force immediately. It may not go into force at all; I hope it will not be necessary to put it into force, and in that respect I think I express the general opinion of the Government. That much, then, to take away from the misapprehension which may naturally have arisen because of the fact that in the resolution itself the statement is not made that the legislation is to go into effect only upon proclamation of the Governor in Council.

The reason for this legislation arises out of the condition of the wheat markets not only in Canada but in Europe and in the United States. Last year, as the House knows, the Canada Wheat Board was formed because conditions then existing made it necessary, as subsequent events abundantly proved, that there should be an agency for the marketing of wheat and its products in Canada,—an agency which should be able to take up with other agencies in Europe and in the United States the work of purchasing and selling. In Europe the buying last year was done entirely by the Governments. Normal methods of buying did not prevail. The agencies, the credits, the transport facilities which are essential to the transfer of the wheat from producer to ultimate consumer, were not available. Last year concentrated Government buying was the rule, and as there was but one purchaser it became necessary that there should be one seller to meet that purchaser and transact the business with a fair chance of its successful despatch. France, Great Britain and Italy particularly were closely united in their purchases. In the main, one purchaser purchased for all, so that there was not

[Sir Robert Borden.]

even competition between the three great Government buyers. I shall not give the reasons why this policy was determined upon and carried out by the Government. I think they have been canvassed for the few months that the season has now progressed, and that members of the House as well as business men outside are quite well aware of the reasons that influenced the Government. One very strong factor in the case, and one which must be borne in mind in connection with the marketing of Canada's grain, is that we have not uninterrupted access by water to the seaboard for all seasons and all months of the year; that it is essential that as large a proportion as possible of the wheat produced in the West shall find its way to the Great Lakes, at least before the termination of the season of lake and river navigation, and that as much of that as possible shall be passed on towards the seaboard, and, if possible, across the water into the hands of the consumer. When that period of the year is reached which closes river and lake navigation, the wheat has to be mainly kept in store in the West, of course, under all the charges of interest and carrying charges generally which have to accrue for four or five or six or even seven months. That has its influence upon price, and upon the amount which will ultimately be received by the producer of the grain.

Last year, at that particular period of the year, we were faced with this, that there was in the European market no buyer who was prepared to say what he would buy, when he would buy, or what price he would give. When that situation confronted us, we were met by this, that as there was no buyer in a position to buy, no grain could be sold, and consequently it had to remain in the hands of the farmer or stored by him by his immediate successor who might become possessor of a certain portion of the farmer's grain. Finances, therefore, had to be arranged for, so that the farmer's grain, in default of the possible buyer in the market from the European country, might yet find a purchaser, and that the farmer himself might get at least a fair proportion of the ultimate price that would accrue to him. Therefore, the policy that was adopted worked out in this way, that the Wheat Board was appointed to become the purchaser and seller of wheat and wheat products. That is, the board received the grain from farmers whenever it was deliverable, and an advance payment of what might be the ultimate price was arranged to be paid by the banks on the security of

the Government, so that there was no stoppage of the flow, there was no interregnum, so to speak, in the gradual and ready passage of the wheat from the farmer's possession to head of the lakes or the seaboard. The farmer disposed of his grain; the Canada Wheat Board bought it; a payment of \$2.15 per bushel based on No. 1 Northern at Fort William was paid to the farmer, and therefore, the market proceeded readily, steadily and uniformly. The Canada Wheat Board thus stood to purchase and market the wheat for the whole crop season, and after expenses of administration were borne, what remained of the ultimate price received, having gone into the fund in the meantime, was afterwards distributed pro rata amongst the original producers of the grain. A participation ticket or certificate was arranged for, and when the farmer made his delivery of the grain and received the cash price that was paid as an advance payment, he received also a participation ticket entitling him to his proportion of the ultimate surplus over and above the advance payment. That explains the mechanism of the work carried on by the Canada Wheat Board. It has been functioning from that time to the present, and while I am not prepared to say exactly what proportion of the wheat has already been sold, I think, with the general information at hand, I can say that a very large proportion of the wheat product of last season has already been disposed of in the form of wheat or flour; that the proceeds have come into the general fund; that out of those proceeds, the first advance to the farmer has been recouped to the banks, and that the surplus accumulating in the banks will ultimately be distributable some time between now and the end of the season. I think the participants have a right, under the time limit that was set, to have their participation tickets in by the month of December. As soon as that period comes then the total distribution will be made and the farmer will know exactly what he has received for his grain. I think it is possible that, between this time and that, if we consider what has already been sold and what has been received therefor, a dividend, so to speak, or a portion of that surplus may be placed at the disposal of the holders of the participation tickets. Therefore, a part of the pool or surplus may be distributed amongst them within the next month or so.

It might not be uninteresting to the House to have these facts placed before them. On

the inception of this plan of purchase and distribution, the participation ticket was not thought very highly of by the opponents of the scheme, and I think many assertions were made, some of them in this House and more of them outside, which led to the impression: "Participation ticket! It is not worth that! It is not worth the paper upon which it is printed. You have all you will get when you have the initial primary payment. The rest, well, it is in the Government's hands, and they will make mighty certain that it does not get into your hands." That had its influence and it has had its reflex as well. That impression was spread abroad and men acted upon it, with the result that thousands—I am not prepared to say how many thousands—of these participation tickets were disposed of by their owners who were misled by statements as to their utter worthlessness. Men were quite willing to buy them for five cents and upwards. Some of these tickets have even been given away in the access of a generous impulse which was founded upon the depreciatory statements that were made. The fortunate or unfortunate holder would say in some cases: "You can have my tickets; they are no good to me." It has been stated by the chairman of the board that the farmer may be certain of receiving at least forty cents a bushel from that surplus fund. I think that is probably not an over-estimate, but, if anything, an under-estimate. So the men who have been robbed of these participation tickets under the impression that they were no good, will wake up to find that if they had kept them, instead of getting five or ten cents they would have got at least forty cents for them, which would have been a very respectable addition to the price per bushel to the farmer. It is interesting to know that the project, and the established agency for carrying it out, has worked successfully at least in that respect, and that the farmer will get a very respectable addition to the primary payment made when the pool is finally distributed. I thought it well to make these remarks because it gives the House an idea of what was done, and is a foundation for our deliberations as to what action we shall take for the future in connection with this resolution and the Bill to be founded upon it.

What are the circumstances and conditions that differentiate the position this year from the position last year? In some respects there is a marked difference; in

other respects, there is not very much difference from last year. So far as we can tell now, France and Britain and Italy have not de-controlled the wheat and flour trade. The Governments still have the buying under their control. As to whether these countries will buy through one agency or each buy separately, it can easily be seen that if it is to the advantage of the three Powers to buy through one agency instead of having three competitors in the world's market for the wheat and the flour they want, if it seems economical and beneficial to them to do that, they will do it this year the same as they did last year. As far as these three countries are concerned, and they are the three principal ones, we have at the present time government combination and government control in buying of wheat for their future needs. As to the neutral countries some of them have government control, practically all of them, I believe. The position is not very much different with them. If certain circumstances arise, they may also pool their buying agencies with a view to economy and so as not to compete with each other. No matter what may be said or argued, Europe is the great recipient for the surplus wheat and wheat products of Canada. It is to that market we have looked to dispose of our surplus, and it is to that market we must look this year most certainly, because the conditions point to that as inevitable. Australia this year will have no surplus to market. The probabilities are that she will have to buy for the consumptive needs of her people. As far as the European countries are concerned, from what knowledge one can get from the very confused information coming to us from those countries, the general idea may be said to be that there will be a deficit of crops for the sustenance of the peoples of Europe, owing either to lack of production, or to the almost absolute confusion of transport which exists. Such confusion exists in Russia, for example, and it will be impossible to relieve the transport situation there not only for this season but probably for many seasons to come. So that even if there are wheat supplies here and there in the widely distributed region of Russia, the question of transport, outside of all other considerations, makes it very difficult for that wheat to contribute in any substantial way to meeting the food scarcity in other parts of Europe. Another thing that confronts European countries is lack of money and lack of credit. If those

[Sir George Foster.]

countries have to go into the world market, as they will, for supplies, they are limited to a large extent by their lack of ready money and lack of credit, and they can satisfy their desires to anything more than a limited extent only by getting credits from certain countries. If they can get those credits, for instance, from the United States of America, one of the conditions that would certainly be imposed by the United States would be that the country to whom she extends credit should buy wheat and wheat products from the United States and not from any other country. That is briefly the position on the European side. It is possible that during the coming crop season we may be faced by a condition in Europe just as urgent and just as necessitous as was the condition last year, and if our policy was right based on such conditions last year, then to meet the same conditions this year some such policy would be necessary to win out.

In the United States there has been a change. Wheat control has been given up. The trade has been de-controlled. The United States is unhampered at the present time, so far as control is concerned. The United States is taking measures to have its exchanges opened. At what time, and on what conditions, they have not yet decided, but the supposition at the present time is that they may be opened for trading anywhere after the 15th of July, but for trading in December options only. Members of the House will know what that means in relation to trading in Canada. In the United States, however, there is a power which if it becomes necessary can bring back control at any time the United States Government desires to do so. While it is not, I hope, a certainty and not, I would think, a probability, it is still possible that if matters take a certain turn control would be again established in the United States. Taking these two things into account the Government has come to the conclusion that it is wise that we should have power granted to us by this Parliament, so that if conditions do so converge as to make the necessity of last year a necessity again this year we shall not be without authority to cope with the situation and be able to protect the Canadian interests as we protected them last year.

This Bill will not go into operation when it has passed through this House and has been assented to. It will be a reserve power in the hands of the Government to be put into operation if it becomes necessary to do so under circumstances which

may assume the proportions and the aspect which I have just briefly stated to the House. Therefore, I think, speaking from the general principle, that the House, seized of the reasons which influenced the Government to take that precautionary step and to ask Parliament to put that power into our hands, will realize the wisdom of what has been done. The resolution that has been placed before the House is founded on exactly the powers that were given to the Canadian Wheat Board. Now, I am ready to admit that even if all the circumstances to which I have alluded should occur, we are in a somewhat different condition from that which confronted us last year, and possibly some of the very stringent and comprehensive powers that were granted to the Wheat Board last year may not be absolutely necessary this year. As we go on through the different clauses of the resolution I will point out some in which I think a lightening up could be had, which would not at all militate against the effectiveness of the board but would act less restrictively upon the other agencies and businesses in connection with the marketing of wheat and grains, which necessarily have been under certain restrictions during the past season.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I ask the minister whether any report has been submitted to the Government by the Canada Wheat Board?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: No. The board has not submitted any report to the Government. I may state my own policy and the policy of the Government with reference to the board, because it may answer some questions that would otherwise be asked. When we came to the conclusion to establish a board and place in its hands the marketing of wheat, and placed upon that board capable men representing all the interests involved, men of practical experience as well as acknowledge ability, my view, which was the view of the Government, was that if we placed these interests in the hands of a competent and responsible body of men, those men must be left to conduct their operations according to their own best judgment and in keeping with the powers that had been granted to them. And I, as the minister to whom they are to a certain extent responsible so far as affiliation with the Government is concerned, have never sought to impose upon them my own views in any degree whatsoever, much less to dictate to the board how they

should carry on their business or to suggest what they should do in this or the other circumstance. I think I shall have the assent of the House to the proposition that either the Government should do the work or that it should be done by the body which they had appointed and which was composed of capable and responsible men. If there had been a continual communication between that board and individual members of the Government and the Government itself, if there had been an incessant series of appeals and protests, the work of the board would have been impossible. And I may state my own conviction that under a state of things like that no thoroughly responsible men would have undertaken the work or, had they done so, would have carried it out for any length of time. I think therefore that it is just as well to state what has been the position of the Government. Members of Parliament have come to me, while others have written; and altogether there has been an overwhelming volume of correspondence. But I have never deemed it my duty to do more than put these representations before the Canada Wheat Board and ask them to give the matters submitted their consideration. Further than that I have refrained from going; I have not interfered with their operations. My hon. friend (Mr. Mackenzie King) asks if there has been a report. There has not been any report. There seems to be no reason why there should be a report from time to time unless the Government undertook to regulate, to fashion, and to direct the work of the board consequent upon reports that they might receive from them. But as I have just stated, that was not a part of the Government's business. The board are managing the work. They have their powers, and when they get through with their business they will make their complete report. Their financial transactions will be thoroughly audited, first, by their own auditor, and afterwards by the auditor appointed by the Government, who is at present at work in his preliminary audit of the operations of the board. Neither am I quite able to say—and there are reasons why—just what quantities of wheat and flour have been marketed by this board. Why? Because, the moment you make that information public, the public then knows pretty well, or at least it makes a shrewd guess, as to what is the remaining portion of the grain; and it is quite easy to hamper the residue of the board's transactions by a publicity which would to a certain extent

give their position away to the public. For this reason I have not insisted on any report of quantities sold, but I have the general impression, which I stated to the House a moment ago, that a very large proportion of the product has been sold, only a comparatively small proportion remaining.

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (leader of the Opposition): I do not wish to criticise the resolution in any way at this stage, but there are one or two considerations of which I think some account ought to be taken; and I should like to place certain views before the House which possibly the minister will be prepared to refer to when the Bill is in committee. In the first place I would draw attention to the circumstance that this legislation, which is very important, comes down at the very last moment, when there is little opportunity for members of the House to get expressions of opinion from different parts of the country in regard to the wisdom of it. It is not as though what the Government is proposing were wholly new. As the minister has stated, we have had a wheat board in existence for some time. During the period of the war a policy of control was in vogue, and if it was the Government's intention to perpetuate Government control in this matter this House should have been informed accordingly at an early stage in the session, so that this very important and far-reaching question could have been fully considered and discussed on its merits. May I point out to the House that we on this side have throughout this session, from the very first day of it to this hour, asked the Government to place before Parliament at the earliest possible moment any important legislation that it might have to bring down. In the debate on the Address, on March 1, I drew particular attention to what had apparently been the practice of the Government in the past of waiting until the last week or two of the session and then bringing down important legislation and large Supplementary Estimates. I pointed out then that if such a course were adopted this session it would certainly not go unchallenged, that we would protest against any action of that kind and do our utmost to see that legislation because of these delays was not prejudiced from want of having full consideration. That was on the first of March. On the 29th April, when my right hon. friend (Sir George Foster) was leading the House, I asked this question:

[Sir George Foster.]

May I ask the leader of the Government if it is possible for him to give to the House a statement as to what further legislation the Government purposes to bring down at this session?

To which my right hon. friend replied:

I think I can give my hon. friend a rough idea, which will not be far short of accuracy, as to what is yet to come down in the way of legislation.

My right hon. friend then outlined certain measures which were to be brought down. This measure is one which the Government must have had under consideration at that time. If they had intended to bring it down we should have had some announcement in reference to this particular piece of legislation being on the bill of fare for the present session when this statement was made by the Acting Prime Minister. That was in April. In May, when my right hon. friend the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) had returned, I asked much the same question as to whether the Government had in contemplation any further legislation. That was on the 27th May when we were discussing the question of morning and Saturday sittings. The Prime Minister said:

I have not yet had an opportunity of making to my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition (Hon. Mr. Mackenzie King) the statement with regard to further business which I promised a day or two ago, but I am entirely in the hope that it will not be necessary for the Government to bring down any further measures of a controversial character.

This measure cannot be said to be one which is not of a controversial character; it is certainly of a debatable character. I think opinion on both sides of this House is very much divided in regard to the merits of this legislation and if the Government had contemplated such

3 p.m. legislation it should have been mentioned by the right hon. gentleman at that time. That was in the month of May. Coming on then to this month, as late as the 17th June, I again asked the Prime Minister when we were discussing the question of sitting on Saturdays, whether there was any further legislation to be brought down and the Prime Minister said:

We are all very anxious to expedite business, and the legislative programme of the Government, has in the mean time been quite fully placed before the House.

That was on June 17. It is true that in the subsequent sentence, when I asked the Prime Minister if he could give us a definite assurance that nothing further would be brought down, my right hon. friend

hinted the Government were considering this matter of wheat control. So in March, April, May and June, the Government were asked from this side of the House what legislation was contemplated and were requested to place it before Parliament so that the members would have an opportunity of discussing the whole situation fully and carefully when it was brought to their attention. Now we come to what many of us trust is the end of the session and this matter, along with several others that I might mention, is placed before Parliament. I submit this is not treating Parliament with the deference owing to Parliament and that it is unfair to the people of the country, as it is unfair to the members of this House.

In regard to the particular suggestion that the Canada Wheat Board should be continued, because that is really what this resolution means, I asked my right hon. friend (Sir George Foster) if any report had been received from the board and he replied that no report had been received. I do not wish to go into the merits of the point that is raised as to the relations between the Government and the board. I can quite appreciate the difficulty that would arise if the Government, having given powers to the board to carry out certain matters, should be continually exacting reports from that board and prying into the manner in which it was managing its affairs. But I do submit that apart from the Government something is owing to Parliament for its consideration. If the Government had in contemplation the renewal of the powers of the board for another year, it would have been helpful to hon. members to have had some report from the Wheat Board on the nature of its work and the manner in which it had been carried out. I submit that at this stage some report of that kind to the members of the House would have been very helpful in enabling us to determine whether it was wise, or not wise, to perpetuate these powers for another year.

I would like to ask my right hon. friend whether he has taken into account the possible exception that may be taken to this board or to its operations on the ground of jurisdiction. I mention this because it may have an important bearing. The Prime Minister, a day or two ago, told us that as far as the Board of Commerce was concerned, its operations were being held up at the moment by a question of the board's powers that had been brought into the arena of legal controversy, and it has been intimated to me that possibly somewhat similar

grounds to those raised respecting the Board of Commerce may be raised by interested parties in regard to the powers of this Wheat Board. Possibly that is incorrect, but I think it would be well for the Government to give some statement on the point, that there may be no shadow of doubt concerning it.

Another consideration that I think it is proper to take into account is suggested by the remark of my hon. friend that this is simply an enabling measure. There may be great merit in allowing the Government to use its discretionary powers and not perpetuating the board at the moment. On the other hand, it is true that the uncertainty as to whether or not the Government intends to exercise any power under this enabling legislation is one which may seriously affect the relations between the grain merchants and the farmers at this time. It would seem as if the Government, if it has a policy on this matter, should make its policy known at the earliest possible moment. The existence of doubt as to the relations between the merchants and the farmers, or between the board and the farmers, will result in leaving matters in such a shape that some interest must be seriously prejudiced. With respect to the uncertainty that is attached to this measure and the dangers of it, I would direct my right hon. friend's attention to the last section of the resolution which reads:

That the proposed Act shall continue in force until the day immediately succeeding the day of prorogation of the next session of Parliament.

That is very indefinite. No one is able to say what may happen between now and the day succeeding the day of prorogation of the next session of Parliament. We all know that so far as the Government is concerned there is a good deal of uncertainty about its tenure of office at the present time. It looks as if the Government would get through this session but whether or not, once the session is over, it will not go to pieces, no one within the sound of my voice can say definitely one way or the other. But assuming that the Government should survive the shoals that it is certain to drift on once this session is over, what guarantee is there that as soon as Parliament meets the Government may not find itself in a position where it is unable to carry on, and therefore obliged to dissolve somewhat summarily? I suggest that as a possibility. Assuming that Parliament had to dissolve unexpectedly, either

late this year or early next year, then under this measure as drafted the powers of this Wheat Board would end at once, and the situation might become somewhat embarrassing to parties that had had dealings with the board and were looking to it for the consummation of transactions entered into.

These are suggestions that I think are worth while bringing to the attention of the Government, and I hope that they will be taken account of when the minister speaks further on the measure.

Mr. H. H. STEVENS (Centre Vancouver): Mr. Speaker, I quite appreciate that at this late day of the session hon. members are not anxious to listen to any more speeches than are absolutely necessary. However, at the risk of incurring their displeasure I feel it my duty to express once again my opinion on this question. I have placed myself on record at least on two previous occasions with regard to the question generally. What I desire to do this afternoon is, first of all, to enter a most emphatic protest against this House confirming the general principle involved in this measure, and also involved in another measure before the House, Bill No. 182. The two Bills are almost similar so far as principle is concerned.

It will not be possible for me this afternoon to go into this matter at any great length, but I wish again to state that the principle of these two Bills is the principle of paternalism,—I will go further and say that it approaches the principle of the socialization of industrial control; it is the initial step towards that end. In making that assertion I am not stating that the Government are so declaring, but I do say that the acceptance of these two measures, and particularly of the one immediately under consideration, will open the way for the introduction at some future time of more radical and more extreme measures.

The right hon. gentleman who has introduced the measure says that this is simply an enabling Bill. I desire to briefly call the attention of the House to this phase of the subject. If this is simply a measure to enable the Government to face some possible and remote contingency—and, mark you, Mr. Speaker, they so assert—why not take some simple power by amendment to the Grain Act—a Bill to amend which Act is now before the House—clothing the Government with power to deal with an emergency? I submit that in the Grain Act in its revised form we have a statute which

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

deals with almost every phase of the grain business of Canada, with the exception of the marketing of grain, and I submit therefore that that Act should have been used as a medium for the purpose sought to be accomplished by this measure, and not by the introduction of a measure enunciating, as I submit, an entirely new principle in dealing with the commerce and industry of the country.

If the object of this Bill is to achieve de-control, why is not the Bill so framed, why is it not a de-control measure? On the contrary, this is a positive measure, it is a measure of control. It is not a measure which assists this country in shaking off the shackles of war-time control, but introduces under peace conditions a new and positive principle of control. I refer to clause 13 of the Bill, which reads:

That there shall not be provided on any grain exchange or elsewhere facilities for trading in wheat futures during the time the Act based upon these resolutions is in force, except by permission in writing of the Board.

In other words, instead of being a measure of de-control, it retains control as at the present time.

Now, I wish to make another point. The right hon. minister referred to government buying overseas, and this is the basis upon which the Government appealed to the House for support of this measure. In broad and general terms it is asserted that there is government buying in Europe; therefore it is necessary to have government selling in Canada. I read a statement by the Hon. Mr. Langley of Saskatchewan—who, I understand, heartily supports this measure—and he uses those exact terms. He says that so long as there is government buying there must be government selling. Let us consider that for a moment. During the war period which made necessary the appointment of the Grain Supervisor, and later of the Wheat Board, Great Britain bought virtually for the whole of Europe, for neutral as well as Allied countries. What is the condition to-day? All the neutral countries are buying for themselves, all the Allied countries are buying for themselves. Not only is that the case, but in many of the neutral countries private buyers are buying for the wheat needs of their own people under normal and ordinary conditions. And in all those countries, Allied and neutral, including Great Britain, de-control has been brought about to almost vanishing point. In Great Britain the only control is that a permit must be obtained from the department having control for all purchases made.

Private buyers from Great Britain, from Sweden, and from other countries, are in Canada to-day seeking to negotiate for the 1920 crop. As I say, in Great Britain all they have to do is to secure a permit. Indeed, the minister in charge there—whose name for the moment escapes my memory—said only about a month ago that in his opinion complete de-control would have to be brought about in the near future.

Let us look at the matter from another point in connection with the European buyers. The right hon. the Minister of Trade and Commerce a few minutes ago drew a rather blue picture of the world condition for wheat. He said there were indications that there would be an undoubted scarcity and a strong demand for Canadian wheat. He has argued that there is a danger of a combination of European buyers being formed against Canadian sellers, and the impossibility of private marketing in Canada to cope with such a combination. Is not that, Sir, an utterly illogical position? The very assertion of the minister that there is a scarcity of wheat in the world is almost a guarantee that the European market will have to buy our wheat. But, Sir, that is not the only flaw in that phase of the argument. There is this further point, that Canada is practically the only country to-day—the Russian wheat market being virtually closed—which can supply the European market with the hard wheat which they must have to mix with their soft wheat, and there is every indication that Canadian hard wheat will be in very strong demand during this fall; indeed, there is very little evidence that there will be any difficulty in the marketing of Canadian wheat through ordinary channels.

But I beg to submit another point in regard to that phase of the matter which I believe will appeal to the House. I have to repeat my argument for the purpose of making this other point. It is stated that there may be a combination against Canada; therefore we would have to have the Wheat Board control the market. Supposing this European combination were brought about—mark you, it is almost unbelievable that such a thing could be—but grant the extreme, that it would be brought about, could not they desist from buying from the Canadian Wheat Board just as easily as from private sellers?

It would not be a combination against any one firm; it would be a combination against the Canadian Wheat Board, according to

the argument advanced. Now, Sir, suppose such a condition did obtain, the only thing that could be done would be this: the Canadian Government, through the State Department, would make representations to these Governments protesting against such a combination. That is all they could do, but it would be their duty to do just as much for the Canadian private seller as for this Canadian Wheat Board. The function of the Wheat Board is not to make State representations against any such a combination; it is to market the wheat.

There is another point, however, that is important in connection with this matter; the minister has mentioned it. He says that it may be necessary to raise some credits for European powers. That has nothing to do with the marketing of wheat on this side; that is not related to the functions of the Wheat Board—a board which we are clothing with powers beyond anything ever given to a board before, as I shall show. That is a question of finance, a question which we dealt with through special measures last session. It is a question for the Minister of Finance and the Government with regard to advancing credit; it has no relation to this question of the socialized marketing of wheat in Canada.

It is argued that the United States market may be controlled. Again I submit to the minister that he is raising up a straw man to knock him down. The United States have abandoned control. The President has issued his proclamation to that end. Mr. Barnes, head of the wheat movement in the United States since the control was inaugurated, has severed his connection with those activities, and is again doing business as a private operator. In other words, complete decontrol has been brought about in the United States.

My right hon. friend argues, and others who follow me may argue, that possibly under the Lever Act—which would be moribund had the United States not failed to ratify the Peace Treaty—the Attorney General of the United States may at any time revive control or interfere with the private marketing of wheat. Technically that is true. What is the argument based upon that circumstance? It is that Canadians would be prevented from hedging their purchases and their sales on the American market. But I am informed upon the highest authority that as a matter of practice Canadian dealers do not hedge on the American market. I will give one or two facts to dissipate any idea of that kind. Up to a few months ago the United States either

had a duty of several cents a bushel upon our wheat, or an absolute embargo against it. How could you hedge on the American market with a duty of several cents a bushel against you? It is not done; it has not been done as a matter of practice; therefore it has no material effect upon the marketing of Canadian wheat. The argument, therefore, is not tenable; it is not a reasonable argument in support of this measure.

The Canada Wheat Board as it has existed during the past year has made no report to the Government or to this House. Therein lies the seriousness of this whole business; therein lies the most objectionable feature of it. The Canada Wheat Board has the unlimited credit of the Government of Canada. It has authority to borrow money from the banks and has the backing of the Government for its overdrafts and its notes. What does that mean? It means that with a normal crop on the prairies this year, leaving out of consideration the other parts of Canada, the business of an industry involving \$500,000,000 will be handled by three men, with the unlimited credit of Canada behind them. I have little fear that these men will mishandle the business or make any serious loss, provided they handle it, as they did last year, on a constantly rising market. But suppose there should come about a sudden release of wheat from Russia. Suppose India had a large crop, and suppose during the next year there should come a slump in the wheat market; for there are just as many authorities predicting a lower wheat market as there are predicting a higher one. The thing is in the lap of the gods; nobody knows what will happen. Well, if it does happen that there is a falling market, we will have three men, clothed with absolute authority and power to incur unlimited expense, and backed up by the unlimited credit of Canada—three men dealing with a \$500,000,000 proposition. I am not prepared as a member of this House to support any policy in time of peace which will subject the country to such a risk as that. I am not prepared to place in the hands of three men a power that has never been placed in the hands even of His Majesty's Executive Council in this country. They have submitted to no supervision or audit; they have had no inspection; they have made no report; they have assumed no responsibility to the country up to this time except a personal responsibility. I do believe that these men will make a report which, having regard to the rising market, will at least show no discre-

[Mr. Stevens.]

pancies. But is the House going to adopt this new policy of industrialism, a new policy of nationalization of industries, which may later be extended to other lines?

It has been claimed that this policy is in the interests of the farmers; that it is necessary to do this in order to get for the farmer the highest possible amount for his wheat. I have no objection to the farmer getting all he can for his wheat. I do not believe in the fixation of prices; I believe that the farmer is entitled to get for his wheat all that the world market will give him for it. But I do not believe that it is the duty of this Parliament to surround the industry of farming with so many safeguards that there shall be no possibility of risk. It is my view that the consumers of this country have some right to be considered; that we have a duty to the consumers just as we have a duty to the farmers. I do not say that by way of disparagement of the farmers; I repeat that they are entitled to all that the world market will give them. But I will not for a moment support, nor have I ever done so, any fixing of prices in wheat in order to keep them down on behalf of the consumer. On the other hand, I am not prepared to subscribe to any doctrine based, as this is in part, upon the claim that it is designed for the purpose of getting a larger price for the farmer.

Now, I wish to direct the attention of the House—and I will hasten—to some of the objectionable features of this Bill and to some of the clauses which furnish me with reasons for my objection to it.

Clause 2 of the resolution provides that the Governor in Council may appoint a board consisting of not more than twelve members, and clause 12 provides that the board may appoint an executive committee of not less than three of its members, and may assign to such executive committee any duties or powers within the competence of the board. This is unlimited, unrestricted and absolute. In other words, it constitutes a board of three members. Clause 4 gives the board certain duties of making inquiries and investigations to ascertain the condition of wheat throughout the country and so forth. All of these powers, with the exception of those referring to marketing, are a duplication of the powers of the present Grain Commission created under the Canada Grain Act. By this legislation we are brushing aside the Grain Commission and superseding it with a new authority. It is true this power has been in operation during the past year under an Order in Council passed under the War Measures

Act, but I do not consider that it is a peace proposal. We are now dealing with a new proposal.

Under paragraph (b) of clause 5, the board shall have power to fix the price of wheat, and this is one of the main features of the legislation to which I object. It has also all power in regard to participation certificates, to say what amount they shall be, how they shall be distributed; in fact, the board has unlimited and unreserved powers in stating what these participation certificates shall be. In regard to this, I should like to state a principle which, I think, merits respect. I admit that you can argue these things away; that as a Parliament we have power to brush them aside; but there is a great danger in Parliament departing from well recognized principles, unless, indeed, we come to this House and say that it is our intention to depart from those principles and to introduce new principles. Supposing the Board buys a bushel of wheat from A at a fixed price of \$2 a bushel. Wheat goes up and reaches, let us say, \$3 a bushel, and B holds his wheat over that period, figuring that the market will rise, and he sells it two months later when the market price is \$3. The Wheat Board buys it at \$3 as it has already bought A's wheat at \$2. I submit that there is a grave constitutional question whether or not the Wheat Board or the Canadian Parliament has a right to take from B a portion of his money and give it to A so as to equalize their prices at \$2.50 a bushel. That is a point in dispute and it is the very point which will shortly be coming before the Privy Council in regard to the Board of Commerce, whether or not that board has a right to step in and fix a price. Whether or not this Parliament has that power, it is a distinct violation of well recognized principles of doing business in this or any other democratic country. What are you doing in regard to this matter of participation certificates? You are acknowledging the Karl Marxian principle of equalizing and levelling everything. You are not giving to a man the liberty of selling his product and getting the best price he can with his intelligence and ability to market. You are depriving him of that. It does not matter if the market went to \$5 a bushel, B is taxed a certain portion of his price, and it is given to A who sells early in the fall. You may reverse the argument. Wheat may be at a given figure when A sells and at a lower figure when B sells. In that event you take from A and give to B. The principle that we are proposing

to pass into law is a vicious principle and one that I am not at the present time prepared to subscribe to. I quite recognize that that my very learned and exceedingly clever friend the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) may later on reply to all this and brush it aside, and with his inimitable skill argue the House out of any respect for my weak argument. But I have sufficient confidence in the old-established principles of economy, at least, to stubbornly stand by those principles myself.

Under paragraph (c) of clause 5 the board may sell to the millers at a fixed price as it sees fit. The board has thus unlimited and unqualified powers to fix the price to the millers. Some may say: "That is all right;" but I am opposed to any governmental machinery being set up under conditions of peace to fix the price of any commodity in Canada. We must first carefully discuss in this Parliament whether or not we are willing to depart from well recognized principles which have governed trade in the past.

Under paragraph (g) of clause 5 the board may fix the margins of profit of millers and the standards of flour. If you please, this board is to be clothed with the power of fixing standards of flour! This is another departure from the power of the Canada Grain Act. It is true that the Grain Commission have not that power. Why does the Government not give to the Grain Commission established under the Canada Grain Act any additional powers which may be necessary to control properly this kind of business?

By clause 9 we set aside two of the main and most important statutes of Canada, the Canada Grain Act and the Railway Act. These are superseded by the powers of these three men who have not reported to the Government and, indeed, the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) says that he will not ask them to report until their duties are completed. That is a fine departure from principles which have directed the affairs of this House and of this Parliament for so many years.

Another very important feature of this legislation is the ample power given to take possession of wheat in transit or wheat which may have been sold or contracted for. This again is putting absolute, unrestricted power into the hands of these three men. The Government, through the Minister of Trade and Commerce, have stated to this House that they do not intend to exercise this power. What does this clause mean? It means that on Aug-

ust 31, when the powers of the present Wheat Board expire, the market shall be opened as it was last year. Traders are invited to trade; they are invited to buy and sell. Any one who knows anything about the wheat business, knows that when a man is dealing in large quantities of grain, he deals in futures; he handles contracts for three, four or five months ahead, as the case may be; he does not deal in a single contract day to day. By this legislation we are proposing to depart from that principle of trade. What has this board power to do? You ask the markets to be opened. Then, under the proclamation provision which the minister states he is going to insert in the Bill, you clothe three men with power to step in and take this wheat which had been contracted for, and they have power to order delivery, how, when and where they like. I submit this to the Government as a matter of experience. During the past year the Wheat Board, which operated under a power similar to this, did, as a matter of practice, take cars away from men who had them ready for loading with coarse grains. That is a distinct violation of the Canada Grain Act which provides one of the best systems of distribution of cars that it is possible to devise. Perhaps the most intricate question in handling the grain crop of Canada is the distribution of cars, and I am sure my hon. friends directly opposite me will concur in that. The distribution of cars is an exceedingly complex and difficult problem; but in the experience of fifteen or sixteen years there has been worked up in the little stations throughout the Prairie Provinces a system which,—while not giving entire satisfaction, because when the peak load comes, it is impossible for the railways to handle all the business,—is looked upon as fair and equitable. What is the result? Here is a man ready to ship four or six or a dozen cars. He has booked his cars, and when his turn arrives to ship his oats or flax or barley, the Wheat Board steps in and without notice takes his cars away, and the shipper is unable to deliver his grain. On the other hand, the buyer is left without his supply coming along. That was practised right along by the Wheat Board. It was a practice which was declared to be necessary in the handling of the crop. I would point out to the House what a very flagrant violation of well-known principles of trade this was. All business of this character is carried on under certain well-known principles. If I contract to deliver a dozen carloads of oats

[Mr. Stevens.]

or wheat in November or February or March, or at any given time, it is my duty to see that the cars for the carrying of that grain are at the point of shipment in proper time to enable me to carry out my contract. The grain may be shipped by boat from the head of the Lakes. How is that done? It is done by charter, and any one who has had anything to do with the chartering of vessels knows that it is one of the most complicated businesses in the country. On the Pacific coast—I just interject this—the Charter Committee of San Francisco has control of the chartering of vessels on the Pacific coast by means of their finely worked out system. We have time and again tried to break into it, but have found it very difficult to do so. I mention that just to illustrate the intricacy of this business of chartering vessels. But the Wheat Board does not need to bother its head about that. It makes a contract for a certain quantity of grain at the seaboard, and disregarding the Railway Act and the Railway Commission entirely, it takes any cars it wants despite the rights of any other person. That is a vicious principle, and one that we should not in any degree approve of. It may be that the minister when we are in committee, will modify the legislation, but as it stands now, the Wheat Board has that power. It is there in the resolution in very positive shape, and this power was exercised by the Wheat Board in the past year.

Another thing that I object to very strongly is an unlimited expense account. By this legislation the Wheat Board have the power to appoint agents where they like, in Europe and other countries, and as many agents as they like in Canada, together with all the clerks and inspectors they may choose to employ. At Fort William to-day they superimpose on the inspection system of the Canada Grain Act an inspector of their own. I mention that to illustrate that there is a great duplication of service on the part of men employed by the Wheat Board and by the Grain Commission. Again I assert, it would be infinitely better, if power must be taken against some unknown emergency, that it should be taken under the Canada Grain Act. I shall not go into all the different features of this legislation because we can deal with them in committee. I have drawn attention to some to illustrate why I am against the principle of this legislation.

To sum up, by this legislation we are providing for the continuance of a board

which will have the handling of \$500,000,000 worth of business. Under the Act as it is to-day, the board may start when it likes and stop when it likes, at the will of the Governor in Council, presumably on the advice of these experts. The board can give what it likes for the wheat. It has unlimited and unrestricted power to fix the price. It may divide up the price, as far these participation certificates are concerned, in any way it chooses, and the terms of the certificates are at the board's dictation. The board may spend what they like in doing it. No restrictions are placed upon its expense account. The board has a right to go to the bank and use the credit of Canada to the limit in connection with the handling of this business. The board itself under this legislation will be the interpreters of what is meant by delivery, and has the right to say where, when, and how, delivery shall be made. It has the right to interfere with transport, and take cars or boats for its own purposes. It has a right to commandeer wheat in transit, even if it is for delivery under contract. These are some of the powers with which this board is to be clothed, and I wish to protest again most earnestly against this principle being crystallized into a statute.

In conclusion, if it is necessary for the Government to provide against some mythical possibility, the evidence of the existence of which is very, very slight, I repeat that this power should be taken under the Canada Grain Act, and not under a new Act, giving birth to a new principle which hitherto has not been exercised in Canada except under the exigencies of war.

Before I sit down, I wish to place on Hansard a report in the Gazette of June 23, only yesterday, supporting my views on the European markets. It is a special despatch by John MacCormac, headed "Several Bidders for Surplus Crop—France, Belgium, Greece and Rumania want Canadian Wheat," and reads as follows:

London, June 22.—Whether Canadian grain is to be sold collectively or not this year there will be no trouble in disposing of the exportable surplus in Europe. Though deliveries under contract for last year's crop are by no means yet completed there are already a number of inquiries for 1920 wheat. France, Belgium, Greece and Rumania which were all buyers last year, are again in the market. The action of Argentina in putting an export tax and temporary embargo on its grain has made the purchase of Canadian wheat inevitable no matter what the price, and even Britain, which refused to buy much of it when its price went over three dollars, will probably take a considerable quantity. The only question is whether Canada will require all sales to be for cash

as she did last year. If she insists, there is no doubt she will have her way, as there is practically no probability of Russian grain affecting this year's market.

Your correspondent has just returned from a trip to Germany where he found the grain crop fair. It has been affected somewhat by spring frosts.

This writer, apparently seized of the situation over there, says that even if Canada demands a cash price, and does not assist in any financing, there is such a demand for Canadian wheat that there will be no difficulty in marketing it. In view of this and the other points I have raised in connection with this legislation, I regret very much I cannot support the Government in this particular legislation, in its present form at all events.

Mr. A. B. McCOIG (Kent, O.): I wish to join with the hon. member (Mr. Stevens) who has just sat down, in protesting against this legislation. The people I have the honour to represent are very much opposed to this resolution, which proposes to give to the Wheat Board control over the next crop. I have received telegrams from consumers, farmers and millers, all protesting against the continuance of the Wheat Board's operations in 1920, and they have asked me to oppose this legislation in the House. I feel perfectly justified in doing so because I know what a disadvantage the operations of the board have been to my people in the county of Kent in the past year. One of the objections which we have is that the cost of operating the Wheat Board is paid out of the crop, and eventually is paid by the consumer. This is the only board or commission, I believe, that the Government has appointed that is paid in that way. All other boards or commissions are paid out of the general revenues of the country, which means that all the citizens have to contribute to the cost of operation. We figure that if the consumers of this country are going to pay for the expenses of the Wheat Board, and the farmers, according to the minister's statement, are going to receive 40 cents per bushel for the participation certificates, The consumers will pay on the basis of five bushels to a barrel of flour; in other words, for every barrel of flour they will pay \$2 more than they should if they got the flour on the basis of the price the farmer is selling his wheat to the millers for. So that from the consumer's standpoint this is unfair, and it is also unfair from the standpoint of the people of Ontario who have a limited amount of wheat to sell. In Ontario our prosperity depends not only upon the

wheat crop which we have to dispose of but also upon the stock industry. That industry is being reduced to-day to a very large extent owing to the present operations of the Wheat Board. Wheat has been sold and sent to European and other markets and we have been deprived of the offal from the wheat which otherwise we would have to devote to the stock industry. If the wheat were ground in Canadian mills we would have the advantage of the extra feed at reasonable cost. So far as the stock industry is concerned, you need only consult the reports of the markets of Toronto or those of any other province. Thirty thousand calves more have been disposed of in 1920 than in 1919 on Toronto market because the farmers could not get the kind of feed necessary to raise them to maturity. What does that mean to the consumers of the country who are now complaining of the high cost of dairy products not only in Ontario but in other parts of the country? It simply means that in the next year or two the consumers will be unable to buy butter and cheese and other dairy products which heretofore they have enjoyed at reasonable prices. But notwithstanding that fact, and in face of the general cry throughout the country against the present burden of the high cost of living, we find the Government going ahead to-day, waving aside all objections, and purposing to re-establish the Wheat Board to handle the wheat crop for another year. It is true the minister says that it is doubtful whether this legislation will be put into operation, but this very statement will leave a doubt in the minds of people as to the advisability or otherwise of growing wheat, because they will not know what action the Government may decide to take to interfere with their business. If the arguments advanced by the minister are sound, then why does he not undertake to control the price of oats and barley as well? Why does he not say that the agricultural implement industry of the country should be controlled and that the price of agricultural implements be regulated? Why should the Government not regulate the prices of tools that are necessary to produce the wheat crop? I ask this question of the minister in all seriousness, notwithstanding the fact that my hon. friend from Brantford (Mr. Cockshutt) sees fit to smile. These things should be regulated if the argument is sound that the wheat crop should be controlled by the board.

As has been stated by the hon. member for Vancouver, this board has made no

[Mr. McCoig.]

report to Parliament; practically speaking, it has informed nobody as to what it has accomplished. If the Government are going to continue such a body in existence, a body that is not responsible to Parliament or to the people of the country, and are going to empower this board to say what the prices shall be and how the wheat is to be disposed of, then I say emphatically that the Government are taking an unwise step, and I am satisfied that my constituents are fully justified in warning me to oppose the measure which is now before Parliament. The minister said that possibly there would be forty cents coming on the participation certificates, but he forgets the fact that 40 cents is already eaten up, and he is trying to hold up this participation certificate to the public to justify the action of the Government. Think of the fact, Sir, that it will cost the people 40 cents to sell one bushel of wheat.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: What is the hon. gentleman's statement?

Mr. McCOIG: The statement is perfectly clear, and I hardly think it needs repetition. In the first place the Wheat Board retained from the farmers 15 cents a bushel, then wheat advanced 25 cents, and that made 40 cents, and then it again advanced 40 cents making 80 cents in all. But the first 40 cents was practically eaten up owing to the expenses of the operation of the board. Is not that right?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: My hon. friend had better not make his statement too determinedly because it is absolutely wrong.

Mr. McCOIG: The minister will not deny the fact that 15 cents was retained from the producer in the first place; then wheat advanced 25 cents; that is 40 cents, then it advanced 40 cents more making 80 cents. Now it is said that 40 cents will be due on the participation certificate, but that 40 cents has already been eaten up by expenses, so that taking the 80 cents I have referred to there is still a discrepancy of 40 cents which has to be accounted for.

Let me say that the people of Ontario are interested not only in the production of wheat but also in the live stock industry. To the west of the Great Lakes possibly 90 per cent of the wheat crop has grown but there is a very small percentage of stock raising in that part of the country; and if the Government persists in its purpose to re-establish the Wheat Board it will simply mean that the live stock raising industry of Ontario will be ruined. The ac-

tion of the board may possibly build up the wheat industry for a short time, but it only means that they will crop their land with wheat in the West and ship it out of the country, and we who are trying not only to grow wheat but to raise stock shall find ourselves unable to carry on our industry. A statement has been issued which is supposed to come from the Dominion Millers Association, and copies of it were in all our boxes this morning. Now, it is a significant fact that this circular should be distributed on the day the minister brings up this resolution. This circular says on the outside:

Do not sacrifice Canada's agricultural and consumers' interests to enrich ten or fifteen firms.—Short facts re wheat control. Important.

It is significant, I say, that this statement, which has been sent to all members and which is signed at the bottom by the Dominion Millers Association, should appear on the morning of the day the minister introduces this resolution into the House. However, let me say that the Dominion Millers Association need not worry very much at this particular time about the farmers and the consumers. That is not the question, and I do not believe that they are serious in this article, which does not give to members of the House the proper information on the subject. I only hope that before the minister goes further he will give other millers who are interested a chance to reply to this message that has been sent to the different members to-day. I sincerely trust that the minister will not press this legislation. After all, it seems ridiculous to say that it will be put into operation only if the Government see fit. Thirty days from to-day in the province of Ontario we shall be threshing wheat; but the millers do not know what action the Government are likely to take. They do not know whether the Government will say "yes" or "no"; they cannot hazard any opinion as to whether the Government will take a notion to put this legislation into operation. The millers have no confidence in the Government and cannot come to any safe conclusion as to whether they should buy the farmer's wheat and what the consequences of this legislation will be; and we may find, as happened a year ago, that the farmers will have wheat in their bins waiting on the millers, who will be in a state of suspense and inaction, not knowing what steps the Government may take. I would urge upon the minister the importance of giving this matter some further

consideration, and take into account the interests of the consumers and producers of the province of Ontario as well as those of some of the large grain growers of the West.

Mr. R. J. MANION (Fort William and Rainy River): I may say that, representing as I do a constituency in which there is a large grain exchange, naturally the people of that part of the country are interested in the question of wheat control. I have received in the last few weeks resolutions from that grain exchange—the Port Arthur and Fort William Exchange—and from the city council of Fort William opposing anything in the shape of control; and while I do not pretend to be the special representative of the Board of Trade or the City Council or the Grain Exchange, unless I thought their resolutions worthy of consideration I should not feel it incumbent upon me to support them. I, at this time, feel, that the war being over, the Government may be wise in considering as far as they can the de-control of everything which we have been controlling in this country. I listened to the speech of my right hon. friend (Sir George Foster) very carefully and if I understood it correctly he said that this was enabling legislation. It is legislation for the purpose of giving the Government power, if they so choose, in some emergency, to put it into force. I should like to say before the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) speaks that I would be glad to have him strengthen that statement by saying that it is the intention of the Government that this legislation shall not in any circumstances be put into force unless some urgent emergency arises affecting the vast majority of the people of this country.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: My hon. friend can take it as such.

Mr. MANION: I thank my right hon. friend; that is really the assurance that I wished to have. I place my views on record in the hope that the Government will use great discretion in putting this legislation into force unless there is a very great emergency.

Hon. A. K. MACLEAN (Halifax): Mr. Speaker, I do not wish to occupy the time of the committee in discussing the resolution at the present moment but if I did I would traverse the ground covered in the very excellent speech of the hon. member for Centre Vancouver (Mr. Stevens). I agree absolutely in the contentions which he has

urged upon this House against this proposition. I cannot conceive of a single reason in justification of this proposed resolution. I am against committing to the Government the power sought for in the terms of this resolution and I venture to prophesy that the Government itself will regret very much that it has upon the statute books the particular legislation that it is now seeking.

Mr. O. R. GOULD (Assiniboia): I have listened with much interest to the remarks of hon. gentlemen in this House who do not grow wheat. I think that it would not be inappropriate that there should be a few remarks on this resolution from an individual who grows wheat and has grown considerable quantities of it at different times and for a long number of years on the western plains. I do not wish my remarks to be interpreted as indicating that I am diametrically opposed to this legislation or entirely in sympathy with it, but nevertheless I propose to attempt to lay before the House the views of one from the prairies who speaks as a layman. I was much interested in the address of the hon. member for Centre Vancouver (Mr. Stevens) and his remarks caused me to wonder why his interest in the question was so great. I am prepared to give the hon. gentleman credit for disapproving

4 p.m. of the principle of socialization, as he termed it, although he did not give us an interpretation of the word. He objected to this proposal because he objected to socialization. My mind reverted to the date of May 31 when I spoke on the Budget and I wondered if some of the things I said that night were not really the guiding principles which caused him to rise in his place and say what he did today.

Mr. STEVENS: I can assure my hon. friend that I never remembered his speech for one moment and that it had nothing whatever to do with it.

Mr. GOULD: It was not my intention to suggest that he remembered it. What I said was that I was reminded of it by some of the things which the hon. gentleman said. However that may be I would like to refer to what the hon. gentleman from Kent said about the consumer paying all the expense. To go back to the prairies let me tell the House what happened in my own personal experience. I have wondered why the Wheat Board should have set an initial price of \$2.26 a bushel when, on taking my No. 1 Northern wheat to the market I re-

[Mr. Maclean.]

ceived only \$1.96 a bushel. If that credit was allowed it was allowed grudgingly. How the hon. member for Kent can assume that the consumer has been paying all the expense when there was that disparity between the price I received and the price set by the Wheat Board is something that I cannot understand. When the assertion is made that the consumer alone is paying the expense I am not prepared to admit that such is the case. I know whereof I speak because I have in my possession the participation certificate showing that my statement is absolutely correct. The hon. member for Centre Vancouver spoke of the credit which had been extended to members of the Wheat Board and said that they had been given unlimited credit by the Dominion of Canada to enable them to finance this business. He pictured the woeeful situation that would result from Russian wheat being shipped into the European markets. He said that this was going to depress the price of wheat and that consequently the credit which had been given to the Wheat Board by the Government was going to work very much against us. In the latter part of his address, while he was speaking about individual countries, such as Belgium, Greece, France and others, being in the market to purchase our wheat, he contended there would be no competition on account of Russian wheat coming in. Possibly I misinterpreted his remarks but I never listened to an argument that had less to support it. I only point that out as something for the committee to consider.

I remember that last fall I travelled somewhat through the state of North Dakota. I travelled from elevator to elevator and got the prices of wheat paid there. I knew as a positive fact that \$1.96 a bushel was the maximum that I had received for my wheat when I watched the same grade of wheat sold at Sherwood, North Dakota, for \$3.05. I watched the seller take his money. I brought samples home with me samples of the wheat which I had seen sold by that individual at the elevator. That man received \$3.05 for his wheat and he put an extra \$1.11 into his pocket. He had the use of the money all summer. I see all around the country advertisements depicting the glories of these participation certificates and showing the Dominion of Canada is going to receive \$40,000,000 or \$50,000,000 as a result of the sale of the wheat crop. But no word of explanation has been uttered why \$40,000,000 or \$50,000,000 has been taken from the agricultural community and

retained during the whole year. The forty cents a bushel that we are promised is not any great cause for rejoicing, especially when a man within a few miles of me across an imaginary line is receiving \$1, \$1.05 and \$1.11 more for the same grade of wheat than I am. I was reminded when the hon. gentleman addressed a few remarks to the hon. member for Brantford (Mr. Cockshutt) of what the manufacturing industries would say if this Parliament entered their institutions, dictated to them and declared that they should receive a certain price during the whole year for their implements and other products and that the balance should be retained until some indefinite time when they would have the money given to them. I wondered what a storm of protest would be raised. Yet that is what the Government did do with the agricultural classes. We protested not. The interest of the consumer in this country depends on the stabilizing of the price between producer and consumer.

We of the West examined this thing closely in our conventions and in our associations, and I know that a strong sentiment was expressed there in favour of the consumer. If further proof were needed I would ask you to go back to only a few years ago during the war when our province of Saskatchewan gave a trainload of flour to the Imperial authorities. I do not cite that to advertise ourselves as patriots but as proof that sometimes these patriotic sentiments do enter into the minds of the people who gather in the little country associations of the West to discuss these matters.

I do not wish to go into this question any further. I might suggest, perhaps, that the Wheat Board should contain a stronger element of farmers, for I believe that the men who have devoted their whole lives to the raising of wheat are in just as good and even a better position to know what the conditions are from the producers' and consumers' standpoints than the men who are usually appointed to the Wheat Board. I would recommend that if the board is to be reconstituted a larger percentage of wheat producers be appointed.

I would say a word or two in favour of the resolution. I have lived too many years on the western plains not to know that there are two sides to every question. I have many times had my wheat stored all over the town nearest to my farm waiting for cars, the elevators being full. During that time the markets fluctuated—and they always go down when there is a stock on hand such as that—and my price has been

depressed time and again because, first, the railway companies could not supply the cars; and, secondly, because of the evils of the car order book which was manipulated to our disadvantage for some time; however, we overcame that abuse. But I am glad to say the Wheat Board has given us an equitable price. The under-dog, or the man with a haul of fifteen or twenty miles, is no longer discriminated against in favour of the man who lives close in; on the contrary, he has an equal chance with his more favourably situated competitor, and that is one very good feature of the work of the Wheat Board.

In conclusion, let me state that I propose to vote for the re-establishment of the Wheat Board this year. I pledge myself only for this year.

Mr. H. C. HOCKEN (West Toronto): Mr. Speaker, I admire the extraordinary impartiality of the member for Assiniboia (Mr. Gould). He speaks on both sides of the question—

Mr. GOULD: Hear, hear.

Mr. HOCKEN:—and I am at a loss to understand whether he favours the revival of the Wheat Board or not.

Mr. GOULD: Well, I told you at last.

Mr. HOCKEN: But I do not know whether the hon. member said at the last what he meant, or whether he said so at the outset of his remarks. I am not a farmer, but I have heard this matter explained very fully, and it seems to me that there can be no argument whatever against the re-establishment of the Wheat Board, if conditions require it. I am one of those who would go further than that—I would have the Wheat Board made a permanent institution, and I would make it impossible, if it can be made impossible by legislation, for any man or any set of men to speculate in the food of this country. I think that would be in the interest of the farmer and in the interest of the consumer. If the plan has worked in the past year so successfully—call it socialism if you like—and if it can be worked as successfully in the future, it ought to be put into effect. Why should this House provide facilities for gambling in the necessaries of life? And yet that is exactly the situation that has existed in this country almost from the beginning of things right down to the present time; but a stop was put to it during the war because it was absolutely necessary that it should be stopped.

I am not quite sure if I understand the member for Assiniboia, but I think he said that on the whole, taking it by and large, while some wheat growers might get a higher price for their wheat in isolated places, the Wheat Board was a good thing for the farmer. I would like to know if I understand the hon. gentleman correctly.

Mr. GOULD: I made that positive statement only in regard to the equalization of the marketing conditions during the period of our winter—one farmer living far away from town being put on a footing of equality with the farmer living closer in.

Mr. HOCKEN: Having regard to all the conditions that surround the marketing of wheat, that is, the possibility of capitalistic influences tying up transportation by ordering cars for this, that and the other purpose, and thereby creating a car shortage, it seems to me that the wise course is to continue the operations of this Wheat Board, which gives to every wheat producer the full price that can be obtained by this wholesale marketing of the wheat crop of the country.

While I think the Government is indisposed to go into this socializing scheme, I hope that this matter will be discussed in this House next session, and that we will then extend the scheme. As far as I am concerned, I am satisfied to see this method of marketing wheat extended to the marketing of anything else if by so doing we can eliminate a whole lot of inequitable conditions and thus make it the permanent policy of this country.

Mr. D. D. McKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): The hon. member for Vancouver (Mr. Stevens) has gone very fully into this question, and I do not propose to take up the time of the House in re-asserting what he has said. The principle is simply this, I think, in the judgment of every ordinary Canadian, that every man should be able to look after his own business, and that when a man enters upon any line of activity he should make up his mind that he is going to conduct his business himself and be prepared to meet whatever competition may arise without any governmental interference. We admit that governmental control was necessary during the war when extraordinary effort had to be put forward to carry on the business of the country in order to meet the exigencies of that most abnormal occasion. But now that we are back to the conditions that existed before the war, it is surely to be hoped that every man and

[Mr. Hocken.]

every woman in this country will settle down to normal and try to do business in the proper sensible old-fashioned way. If it is proper that the man who produces grain in the West should be put in such a position that he need not concern himself about the selling of his wheat in the markets of the world, why should the coal miner or the producer of steel in Eastern Canada be obliged to concern himself about the marketing of the product of his mine or of his steel works? If it is the duty of the Government to find a market for wheat, is it not their duty also to find a market for steel, for coal, for lumber and for everything else that is produced in this country? On the other hand, if it is proper to say to the coal producer, the steel maker and the fish companies in Nova Scotia: "You are in this business; it is your affair; look out for the market and look after your own business,"—if it is proper to say that to capitalists in Nova Scotia and elsewhere throughout Canada who are engaged in business, is it not equally proper to say it to producers of wheat in the West? That is the only fair and sensible way to do business; otherwise we interfere with the natural courses of trade and bring about a stilted and artificial condition of things. It is true that we had to do these things during the war, but happily the war is now over and it is only right that every man within his own sphere should look after his own business. It may be said that prices will go up; that there will be corners in wheat and that sort of thing, if something of this kind is not done. But these things must be permitted to cure themselves. No minister of this Government can deal with cases of that kind. There may be difficulties and there may be hardships, but corners cannot last; they must break and trade must get down to the usual lines. The man who tries to get along by creating corners in wheat will soon find his own level; things will have to come back to the ordinary course of trade. As I understand the situation, we went wrong from the start in trying to keep up artificial prices. The price of flour in this country is abnormally and extraordinarily high. There is something wrong when notwithstanding the fact that the wheat supply is abundant, the people of Canada have to pay \$14 and \$15 a barrel for flour produced in this country. We produce, I suppose, one hundred per cent more wheat than the Canadian people require for domestic use. By what process of reasoning can we justify the sale of Canadian flour in Canada at a higher price than that which

the same flour brings when sold in London or in other parts of the world? Canada is a great wheat-producing country; why should the price of flour not be such as to invite people to come to this country? Why should it not be lower than it is in other parts of the world? To use a vulgar expression, there is no use in pussyfooting about this sort of thing. There is no use in trying to please everybody who is in any particular line of business. I have no sympathy with the coal owner who is trying to sell his product at too high a price, or with the steel maker who does the same with his product. Let him take his chances in the markets of the world. In like manner, I say to the farmer who is producing wheat in the West that the duty devolves upon him of producing in the ordinary course of trade that commodity which is so necessary to the life of the people. He has no right to expect the Government to put the prices up to please him, to the detriment of the poor man who must get flour for his family.

I rose simply to endorse what has been so well said by the member for Vancouver (Mr. Stevens) and my hon. friend from Kent (Mr. McCoig) and others who have spoken along the same line. I have not, perhaps, contributed anything new to the discussion, but I think it is proper that those who take the attitude that I take should give expression to their view that there should be fair competition in all lines of business; that no obstruction should be placed in the way of anybody; that every one should simply have a fair chance to carry on his business. It was for the purpose of expressing that view that I have taken up these few moments of the time of the House.

Hon. ARTHUR MEIGHEN (Minister of the Interior): Mr. Speaker, a considerable part of the discussion on this resolution has revolved around the general question of the principle of governmental interference with the laws and operation of trade. For myself, the longer I am in public life and associated with public affairs the less I feel tied, not only to any custom but to any particular principle as being applicable in determining what the course of government should be in relation to the laws of trade. Macaulay said ninety years ago in the British House of Commons that he distrusted all general theories of government; that he did not believe there was any general theory of government that might not in some country and under particular circumstances be the best for that country at

that time. The same is true to-day. Generally speaking, and aside from special considerations, it may be well to let trade take its course. The hon. member who has just resumed his seat (Mr. McKenzie) says that trade should take its course in steel, in coal, in iron, in wheat. But we all know that there is no country in the world to-day where trade in steel unmolested by government does take its course; and the same is true of trade in coal and iron and of almost every other industry. Coal take its course! Does the hon. member know what is being done with coal in free trade England to-day? Is the Government doing nothing there in relation to the price of coal? Why, the Government controls the whole trade of England in coal. The Government says to every coal dealer in Great Britain: You may sell your coal in the outside world for whatever you can get for it, but if you sell it at home—and you must do so when it is asked for—you must get \$10 to \$12 a ton. With what consequence? That British coal brings in the outside world for export about \$30 a ton, and for home consumption about \$10 a ton. That is the way free trade England deals with the matter in relation to her coal supplies. With what result? Those who sell for export have an advantage over those who sell for home consumption. But the Government steps in again and establishes a system of differentials, a system of distribution between all the dealers, with the ultimate result that the man who sells abroad comes out just the same as the man who sells at home. My hon. friend also asks: How is it that we have flour made from Canadian wheat selling more cheaply in England than in Canada? I do not know that we have; but if that be the case, I do know why we have that condition of things. It is because in free trade England the Government leaves trade to itself to the extent of fixing the price of flour and of making up the loss to the miller and to the baker. It fixes the price of both bread and flour.

I have led up to the reason that actuates me in supporting the principles of this resolution, because there are special circumstances in Canada in relation to wheat and the wheat trade of this Dominion, just as there are special circumstances in England in relation to flour and to flour supplies, and in relation as well to coal and coal supplies. What are those special circumstances that apply and have direct relation to wheat as distinguished from the circumstances that have relation to coal, steel

and iron cited by the hon. member? The great circumstance is this. As regards our wheat, we consume at home about one-quarter or about one-fifth; we sell abroad in the European market about three-quarters or four-fifths, the proportions depending on the extent of our crop. What is the condition of that European market? Is it the same condition that prevailed before the war? Is it a free trade condition? Is trade taking its course? Is every one in England permitted to say by deciding when to buy just what he will pay for wheat? Is he permitted to he will pay for wheat? Is he permitted to buy now and say: "I will pay so much now," and is he permitted to say: "I will take my time and wait for six months and I will get the wheat at less?" He is not permitted to do anything of the kind. The very same thing that we are assailed for doing in relation to wheat selling here, England is doing in relation to wheat buying over there. France, Italy, every purchasing country, at all events, every purchasing country that buys to any great extent, is doing the same thing in relation to wheat buying over there. Therefore, whatever may be the breach of tradition or theory we may be committing, we find it committed by all those purchasing countries, and that is why we are placed in the position in which we are. Great Britain does not allow her wheat importers to come here and dicker among our wheat exporters for the sale of our wheat. Great Britain dictates what those importations will be, and, in a word, controls the wheat importer by finance. France and Italy do the same thing. Under the circumstances, are we doing our full duty in relation to the great wheat export trade of this country if we disarm ourselves of all powers to do likewise for the wheat exporters and wheat producers of Canada? Supposing this may take place—and it has taken place; it is something that is not merely supposition or theory—supposing we should find this condition when we come to the point when we must sell our wheat. We cannot be at a loss to know when that point is. We have to sell our wheat when the wheat is ready. We have to have our wheat moved. We cannot sit still at Ottawa and see the wheat of Western Canada stacked back on the western farms. There is a limited time within which, a large proportion of our wheat, some fifty to seventy million bushels, must be moved out of that country and on its way to market. Supposing it results as it has resulted that

[Mr. Meighen.]

those countries, buying through one single agency, operate as one and are represented in this Dominion and in this great wheat selling area, possibly in the United States as well, by one buyer alone? Do you think that is a very comfortable or desirable position to put the wheat producer and the wheat exporter of this country in? Who is there who knows the wheat market, who knows the limitations of transport, the limited time within which the transportation must be made, who would say that the exporter or producer in this country would have any fair show in the world if the importing countries were represented by one man with the full monopolistic power that the governments of Europe could place behind him? They operated so during the war. I know they had difficulty in doing so; but they managed to do it, perhaps not with perfect success, but with great success. And if they attempt to do so again and if as a consequence—and it is an inevitable consequence—by their might they bring down the price of wheat, does any one imagine the United States is going to sit idly by and see the Lever Act a dead letter and permit the price of wheat that they may have for export to be dictated by Great Britain and other European buying countries? I do not imagine so. They may do it; they may not; but should they do it, then with the circumstance of united buying overseas and controlled wheat in the United States, is it the part of wisdom that the Government of Canada should meet such an eventuality with its hands tied behind its back?

Mr. ROBB: Will the minister explain the Lever Act?

Mr. MEIGHEN: The Lever Act is a war measure of the United States which contains very wide powers, powers, I believe, analagous to those of our War Measures Act, but powers undoubtedly wide enough to enable them to do, in relation to wheat, what we propose to do in this country if we exercise the powers vested in us by this legislation. It is an Act which goes out of effect, I understand, when the United States are at peace, but I am not able to prognosticate when the United States will technically be at peace. I do not want the House to get the impression that the invocation of the Lever Act by the United States is a necessary prerequisite, a necessary ingredient of the conditions that might compel this Government to operate the powers that would be vested in us if this legislation passes. It would neces-

sarily be a very important factor. Whether it would be an indispensable factor or not, I would not care to say. That would depend upon the effect of concentrated buying by the great purchasing governments who now control the purchasing end of the wheat market.

I have heard the argument advanced that the operations of the Wheat Board last year resulted in placing on the consumer in this country an undue burden. I understood the hon. member for Kent (Mr. McCoig) to say, and to challenge correction if he were wrong, that the Wheat Board's operation cost the consumer or producer, I do not know which, at the rate of forty cents a bushel. He really was so far, so marathonly far, if I may coin a word from the facts, that it was impossible to correct such an assertion as that. I do not know what the cost of the operations of the Wheat Board, all told, may be, but I have read the statement of one closely associated with the board; I think it was Mr. Riddell; if it was not Mr. Riddell, it was Mr. Langley, Minister of Agriculture of Saskatchewan, who stated that in his belief the total operations of the board would cost not more than one-quarter of one cent a bushel. That is some distance from forty cents.

Mr. ROBB: Does that include the elevation?

Mr. MEIGHEN: No, the operations of the board, that is to say, the expenses incurred by the board in the purchase or sale of wheat, not the railway or elevator charges. I am not an authority for the estimate. I had not time to check my authority, but it was either Mr. Riddell who is manager of the Saskatchewan Co-Operative Grain Company, and also a member of the Wheat Board, or Mr. Langley, who has given the closest attention to the operations of the board from the very beginning, and I apprehend were it either of these men he is not very far out in his estimate. As to that cost, whatever it may be, falling on the consumer, the argument is very hard to comprehend, and unless I comprehend it, I cannot answer it very well. The board buys the wheat. It takes the wheat as an agent does, pays a payment on account, sells it in the world's market for what it is able to get for it, and then such excess as may be in its coffers after payment of expenses it distributes among the producers of the wheat. It seems clear to me that under that system the producer of the wheat pays, as he ought to pay, whatever cost there may be entailed in the purchase

and sale of his commodity, but that cost per bushel amounts to only a small sum. It is certainly utterly beyond argument to assert that the cost falls upon the consumer of Canada.

Is the consumer unfairly treated by this system or not? The consumer would be unfairly treated if artificial means were exerted to raise the price of wheat beyond its proper level, having regard to demand and supply in the world's market. I cannot see how any artificial means have raised that price. It is true that the united strength of the Wheat Board is better able to avoid artificial bearing on the wheat market than would be the scattered strengths of various wheat producers, but I do not think that is undue assistance. I do not think it resulted last year in any cost to the consumer. On the contrary, I think it resulted in a lessening of the cost to the consumer. The board have a system whereby they pay for wheat \$2.15 a bushel, being first assured that in that initial payment there was no chance of loss to the Canadian people. They assured themselves of that first, and I have not the slightest doubt the assurance was absolutely iron-clad. They knew what they were doing when they made that initial payment. They sold the wheat, and they sold it to millers at such price as they felt was fair to the producer, that is, at approximately what they expected to get in the world's market. They controlled the product which the miller made out of it, and the price at which the flour sold, and then they said in relation to export flour that some extra charge must be made, because the price at which wheat was selling in the world's market later on was at a level that justified them in demanding that flour made from our wheat should bring, I think, \$2 a barrel excess. The result was that there was advantage to the Canadian consumer, and it is all reflected in the comparative levels of prices, because there was not a month during the operations of the board when the level of flour prices in this country was not lower than the level in the United States. I think I may say it was lower than in any country where the level was not artificially depressed by the power of government, as it was in England. It is undeniably true that the consumers of this country last year got their flour between \$1 and \$2 a barrel cheaper, at any rate, between 50 cents and \$2 a barrel cheaper, than the prevailing price in the United States, and at the same time the producer of the wheat, as stated by Mr. Wood, the

President of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, got for his wheat a larger average price than the producer of wheat in the United States. Again I do not vouch for that statement. I do not know whether it is correct or not, but it has been made authoritatively by Mr. Wood, who is a member of the Wheat Board, and also President of the Canadian Council of Agriculture. And that brings me to a reflection.

The Government has brought in this enabling resolution, not that the Government seeks new responsibility, because every responsibility brings criticism, and particularly a responsibility exercised throughout Western Canada, where farmer political organizations are only too anxious to level everything at the door of the Government that they can, but we have brought in this legislation in an effort to see that we do not later meet a situation where we are unable to see that justice is done to the western wheat grower. Having done so, what reception do we meet in this House? Have we met from the peculiar representatives of western opinion, at all events from those who claim to be peculiarly representative of western opinion, the support we might have expected? What have we heard from hon. gentlemen diagonally across the floor? We have received from farmers' organizations—the Grain Growers of Alberta, the Grain Growers of Saskatchewan, the Grain Growers of Manitoba, and the Canadian Council of Agriculture—resolutions the meaning of which no one could misinterpret. They ask that we arm ourselves with power to do what we did last year in relation to wheat. They warn us that if we do not do that, we may meet a situation where great injustice will be done to the producer of wheat in this country. That is the position we are in. They do not say: Enforce it under all circumstances. I have seen no resolution to that effect from any Dominion or provincial organization, but they say: Put yourselves in a position where later on, if eventualities are such and conditions so converge that you must interfere or see injustice done, you can act with effect. Having done that, we come to Parliament and after two and a half hours of debate all the encouragement and assistance that we get from hon. gentlemen diagonally opposite is a dubious, wavering, hesitating, misty criticism from the hon. member from Assiniboia (Mr. Gould), arguing against the operations of the board, and seeking to lay on the backs of the Government, and of the Wheat Board which the Government created, responsibility

[Mr. Meighen.]

because the Americans put an embargo on wheat, and because, as a consequence, there was a higher level for a time in Dakota than where he produced his wheat. He sought by his speech to place upon this Government responsibility for that state of affairs, which he knew we were no more responsible for than the Government of China. It was a critical speech from beginning to end, but knowing that the farmer associations and that his president had asked for this legislation he did us the tardy justice of sitting down with the assertion that with all its faults and with all its blame he was going to support the continuance of the Wheat Board but only for one year. What have we heard from the leader of the Farmers' party, after two and a half hours of debate?

Mr. CALDWELL Are we to understand that the minister is closing the debate?

Mr. MEIGHEN: I did not say I was closing the debate. I earnestly hope I have prodded these hon. gentlemen opposite to speak their minds. I was very much afraid that the debate was going to close without a word from them. The leader of the Farmers' party is their recognized leader in this House and one would expect him to be the spokesman, the ardent, first, and leading advocate in this House of what they were seeking by legislation. The debate has proceeded for two and a half hours, and perhaps a dozen have spoken, many in critical vein, from both sides of the House, but not one word have we heard from him. I did not think that, like the colonels of Germany, he was going to lead his forces from behind. I would have expected him to be the first to stand in his place and champion this legislation, because it is only enabling legislation, and it is precisely the enabling legislation which the organizations which he peculiarly represents and sponsors have asked for from this Government.

Let me close by expressing the hope, not that we will be compelled to put this into force, for I hope circumstances so compelling will not be present, but that what I have said will lead hon. gentlemen opposite who wish to be fair in regard to this matter, and of hon. gentlemen who are opposite me in the Agrarian party, to lend assistance and encouragement to the Government when it seeks to meet them and seeks to be in a position to do what is right on behalf of those they claim to represent. Let them not be so tardy in coming forward and lending encouragement to the Government.

Hon. T. A. CRERAR (Marquette): Lest the very sensitive spirit of the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) be unduly exercised in regard to our attitude in this debate, I hasten to take some part in the discussion of the subject before the House. I do not wish to disturb the hon. gentleman's equanimity further as he already seems to be somewhat perturbed; and I am very sorry indeed that he deemed it necessary to take up about half an hour of the time of the House in dealing with matters which he could very well have spoken of in about five minutes. This question is after all a simple one in its outlook, and yet it involves far-reaching possibilities. When the Government a year ago assumed the power of exercising a measure of control over the marketing of wheat in this country I entirely supported them in that action. The conditions that existed in Europe at that time, in respect of the buying of wheat particularly, made it necessary then, in my judgment, that the Government should have the power which was granted them. I will go further. I think it was necessary, under the conditions that existed a year ago, to create the Canada Wheat Board, and I am bound to say that under the disorganized conditions of world trade in grain resulting of necessity from the war, the operation of the board has entirely justified its existence, and its work. We come now to the question that the Government have submitted in the resolution before the House, and that is, that they be enabled to continue the operations of the Wheat Board should this, in their judgment, be necessary for another year. I have been hoping to hear some more detailed and complete arguments from the Government in support of this legislation than have so far been advanced. I think the Minister of the Interior furnished the only argument that constitutes a real reason why the board should be continued for another year, and that is, the possibility of unified buying again in Europe. At the present time that is not the case. While during the years of the war the Royal Commission on wheat supplies in London had the practical control of the buying of wheat, and other cereals for that matter, since the Armistice has been signed the various countries in Europe have each organized its own government buying agency. At least, this is very largely the case; some of the neutral countries are getting back to old conditions of trade. Every one who knows anything of the European situation must realize that conditions there are very un-

stable, and in these circumstances I think, perhaps, there is justification for the Government assuming the power which they are asking for under this legislation. I should like to know, however, and I trust the Minister of Trade and Commerce, who, I take it, will close the debate, will inform the House, whether or not this is a settled policy of the Government. There have been whisperings and misgivings that my hon. friend the Minister of the Interior, who, as well as being an able debater, is also a skilful politician, had in mind the possibility of the permanent continuance of this board in order that he might hold out to the farmers of Western Canada—who, I can assure him and the House, are not in a very friendly mood to the hon. gentleman—some counter-attraction to the requests that have repeatedly been made to governments in this country for reductions in the tariff. I do not know what the minister's intentions are, but his speech to-day rather leaves the suspicion in my mind that he is harbouring such an idea. If he is, I think that the House and the people of the country are entitled to know what the policy of the Government is. Are they going to extend this principle and establish a permanent policy? That, I submit, is something we are entitled to have some information upon. It is one thing to interfere with trade because of the exigencies and conditions resultant from war. It is another thing to have that control woven into the fabric of our laws as a permanent policy of the country; and in that respect we are entitled to some information from the Government.

Just a word or two of criticism in respect of the Bill, and what I have to say I shall offer in a friendly spirit and with a desire to assist in working out this measure in the best possible way. I notice that the Bill provides that it shall remain in operation until one day after the close of the next session of Parliament. Now, my hon. friend the Minister of the Interior knows quite well, and I think my hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) is also aware of the fact that if this Wheat Board is to be continued for another year its operations must be made to terminate at the end of the grain year, which is the 31st of August. That has been the settled practice in the trade in this country, and I am just a little bit curious to know why this legislation is made to terminate a day after the expiration of the next session of Parliament. I will tell my hon. friends now that if this

legislation goes through in its present form, and if they are still occupying the treasury benches at the next session of Parliament—which, according to all indications, is somewhat doubtful; but let us assume for the sake of argument that they will occupy those benches then—it will be necessary for them to bring down another measure to extend the operations of the Wheat Board for another period. Either that or they must change the existing Bill so that the operations of the Board shall terminate a year from the 31st of August next, should the control be continued. That is a point which perhaps, in the hurry that has prevailed, I have no doubt, in the inner circles of the Government in bringing so much legislation before Parliament at the close of the session, may have escaped the observation of my hon. friend. I am of the opinion that no very great harm can be done through this measure. Rather, let me state it this way; it may be a provision against conditions arising of which we have no inkling now, to leave this power in the hands of the Government for another year. Personally I am opposed entirely to any permanent policy that means the control of the marketing of grain in this country. I agree with my hon. friend from Vancouver Centre (Mr. Stevens). With him occasionally I have differed in the past; but I am at one with him in this respect, that this measure, if adopted as a permanent policy, will be a long step forward in the direction of the socialization of industry in this country. If my hon. friend the Minister of the Interior and other members of the Government contemplate embarking on the theories of Marxian socialism in this country, well and good; but any permanent control of wheat marketing in this country means that and nothing else, and for that reason I do not think it is wise as a permanent policy, either in the interests of the consumers or in the interests of the producers, and I desire to so state my position in that regard in relation to this Bill. I do not think it is necessary to take up further time discussing the matter. There may be other hon. gentlemen who desire to speak on the subject; but I have briefly and, I hope, clearly presented to the House my views on this legislation; and, in closing, I may express the hope that I have satisfied the tender susceptibilities of my hon. friend the Minister of the Interior.

Mr. J. A. ROBB (Chateauguay-Huntingdon): I desire to offer briefly a few observations on the merits of this legislation

[Mr. Crerar.]

and on the working of the Wheat Board during the past year. The hon. the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) in presenting the Bill was apparently doubtful as to whether it would be required or not. He left the House in doubt as to whether it was the policy of the Government to extend the operations of this Wheat Board for another year. But no person listening to the speech of the Minister of the Interior could be in any doubt as to what was the policy of the Government in so far as he is concerned. I gathered from the Minister of the Interior that at least he was convinced that the operations of the Wheat Board should be continued for another year.

Mr. MEIGHEN: From what sentence did the hon. gentleman get that opinion? Did he get it from the sentence in which I said that I hoped circumstances would be such that it would not be continued?

Mr. ROBB: I do not propose to be cross-examined by the Minister of the Interior. That is the meaning I took from his speech and other hon. gentlemen can take whatever meaning they like. I am simply telling the minister the impression he left on my mind. There is the same uncertainty in the country regarding the operations of the Wheat Board to-day as there was last year. It will be remembered that early in the month of July last year the Government intimated to the grain trade of the country that wheat trading was to be opened and wheat trading was opened. On the 7th July they intimated that wheat trading was to be opened; wheat trading was opened and for a few days there was open trading on the market. In those few days the market price advanced some forty cents a bushel, but strange to say, by an order from Ottawa wheat trading on the Grain Exchange at Winnipeg was closed, the market settled down and the country has often wondered what led to the overnight change of heart on the part of the Government. We have an explanation in the speech that was delivered before the members of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange last year by Dr. Magill. I submitted this to the House last year but I will take the opportunity of again putting on Hansard the record of what took place, and I do so in order to give to members of the Government who are present an opportunity to deny, if they wish to do so, the assertion made in Winnipeg by Dr. Magill. I have in my hand a copy of a speech delivered by Dr. Magill explaining to the members of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange

the results of his mission to London, England, from which I quote:

I took the opportunity of calling at Mr. Harris' office.

That is Mr. Lloyd Harris.

He told me that he had been at the conference in Ottawa, that he knew all that had gone on, and had talked with grain men, and that he came back to London believing that it was his duty to sell Canadian wheat to England and to neutral countries. Mark you, after the market had been opened, Mr. Harris, Chairman of the War Trade Mission, believed it was his duty to sell Canadian wheat to England and to neutral countries. He also told me—

That is Mr. Harris told Mr. Magill—

—that a cablegram had been sent by Sir Robert Borden to Mr. Arthur Sifton, telling him among other things to sell fifty to seventy-five million bushels of our wheat.

Now, did Mr. Arthur Sifton, acting on the instructions of the Prime Minister sell 50,000,000 or 75,000,000 bushels of the Canadian crop before it was ripe or before it was ready to go on the market? That is the statement that was made publicly to the Winnipeg Grain Exchange and it has not been denied. Open trading was going on in the Winnipeg Grain Exchange, wheat had gone up forty cents a bushel on the market but the moment open trading was suppressed wheat went down to the fixed price. We have the statement to-day made by the hon. member for Assiniboia (Mr. Gould) that on the market in the United States wheat was selling at \$1.10 a bushel over the Canadian price.

It was pointed out to the right hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) last September in this Parliament when he was presenting the Bill to confirm the operations of this wheat board, that wheat was selling in the markets of the United States at from fifty to sixty cents a bushel over the Canadian price. The minister was asked what would happen to Canadian buyers if they took their wheat across the line. The minister's reply was that they would be up against the customs authorities. This Government were boasting of the price they had secured for the western wheat crop but the right hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce is on record as saying that if Canadians attempted to take advantage of the higher market in the United States they would be up against the Canadian customs.

But I did not rise to follow up this feature of the question particularly. What I wish to point out is that if it is good business on the part of Canada to have Government control and Government marketing

of the wheat crop why should it not be equally good business to control the oat crop because the oat crop is double that of the wheat crop; we grow double the number of bushels of oats that we do of wheat. Why would it not be good business to control oats?

Mr. MEIGHEN: Because the oat purchasing end is not controlled abroad.

Mr. ROBB: Why would it not be a good thing to control the product of the dairy? Will my hon. friend say that the product of the dairy is not controlled in England? As has already been pointed out, if the whisperings we hear about the corridors are correct there is something in the minds of certain members of the Government that does not appear in this Bill because we hear of the nationalization not only of the handling of the wheat crop but of the elevators of the West, and then it will only be a step to the nationalization of the bake shops. We will be rapidly approaching a condition of socialism in this country. The handling of the grain crop last year by the Wheat Board, as has been pointed out by previous speakers, has been satisfactory neither to the western farmer, the grower of the crop, nor to the eastern stock raiser. I can quite understand why some interests in Western Canada are in favour of continuing the operations of the Wheat Board. There are certain interests in Western Canada that have not suffered from the handling of the Canadian wheat crop. I have in my hand the statement of the Manitoba grain elevators under Government operation. The Manitoba grain elevators, under Government operation, for the years 1910, 1911 and 1912 made a total loss on operation of \$177,203.89. This is the official statement of the auditor of revenues of the province of Manitoba. By authority given by an Order in Council dated August, 1919, regulation No. 5 of the Wheat Board fixed the price to the producer. Regulation No. 8 fixes the elevator charges. The interior elevators of Western Canada were allowed by the Grain Board to collect from the producers of the grain 5 and 6 cents a bushel on No. 1, No. 2 and No. 3 Northern wheat. On wheat below those grades the interior elevators collected 8 cents a bushel. So we find that the poorer the wheat and the less the producer received from it the more the elevator took out of it.

What will that mean on the total crop of the three Prairie Provinces? We will say,

for the sake of argument, that the wheat all graded No. 1 and No. 2 Northern, and we will allow 5½ cents a bushel on the crop. The total crop of the three Prairie Provinces last year according to the official records was 165,544,300 bushels. At 5½ cents a bushel we find that last year these interior elevators collected from the producers of wheat in Western Canada no less a sum than \$9,104,936.50.

Now, what are the operating costs of these interior elevators? As a rule their 30,000 bushel elevators—and most of them were built many years ago—can be built to-day for less than \$10,000, allowing for the increased cost of material and labour. It is fair to assume that these elevators cost on an average about \$6,000. To put the grain through those elevators, the operators are allowed to tax the producer 5 to 8 cents a bushel, or at 5½ cents a bushel they are allowed to tax him on the basis of what it takes to make a barrel of flour—4½ bushels—25 cents a barrel.

This Grain Board which this Government placed in control of the western grain trade with the right to fix prices, determine the profits of millers, regulate the importation and exportation of wheat,—this Grain Board allowed these cheap interior elevators the equivalent of 25 cents on a barrel of flour on every 4½ bushels of wheat they put through their elevators. How much did the Grain Board allow the flour mills, with their expensive machinery, their high priced labour, and their immense capital necessary to carry on their business—the flour mills that have built up in the foreign markets a reputation for Canadian flour? Hon. gentlemen must remember that flour is a commodity, and that once you establish its reputation housewives and bakers in every country where that flour is marketed will ask for that particular brand. But wheat is an article that can be sold by anybody, and will be bought by the importing countries in the cheapest market. So you cannot establish any standard for wheat. If it suits the importer to buy in the Canadian market, he will buy there; but if it suits him to buy in the Argentine market, he will buy there. It is not so with flour. If you establish a reputation for Canadian flour, then every housewife and every baker in the importing countries is an advertisement for the commodity that comes from Canada. What price did this Grain Board allow the flour mills? Remember, that over and above the 5½ cents allowed to the interior elevators the Grain Board paid all the carrying charges—the

[Mr. Robb.]

insurance, interest, and so on—while the wheat was in the interior elevator. Well, the Grain Board said to the flour mills: "If you take a profit of more than 25 cents a barrel we will cancel your license." That was the treatment meted out to the flour mills by those western grain growers.

What has been the result? The board reserves to itself the right not only to purchase and sell wheat, but the right also to purchase and sell flour for exportation. My hon. friend the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) has very fairly stated that the Wheat Board collected a tax of from 50 cents to \$2 a barrel on all flour that was exported. Of course, they did; that was the policy of this free-trade Wheat Board.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I did not say that. The hon. gentleman must be thinking of exports of wheat. I said that our flour ranged from 50 cents to \$2 a barrel below the American price.

Mr. ROBB: Then perhaps the minister would like me to put on record the orders made whereby the Grain Board imposed upon Canadian millers exporting flour a tax running from \$2 down to 50 cents a barrel. Perhaps the minister admits that?

Mr. MEIGHEN: I know an extra amount was collected. What I stated was in regard to export; the hon. gentleman stated it was in regard to import. That collection went to swell the participation certificates.

Mr. ROBB: Yes, it was on exports. Now, the result of this policy of the Grain Board was the complete loss to the Canadian millers of the flour trade that had been built up in the West India Islands. The Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) had obtained for Canadian millers specially favourable concessions in the West India Islands; we had a preference in that market. Canada had practically captured the West Indian market for flour, but the action of this Board ruined that market for Canadian millers and turned it over to the southern millers of the United States, and we shall have to again exert ourselves to recover that market.

Will any hon. member deny that statement? The Grain Board did more than that. Their action in taxing the Canadian miller from \$2 to 50 cents a barrel on all the flour exported killed the export business, and the big flour mills of this country were practically shut down during the winter months. Flour was piled up at the seaboard. But the Grain Board would not

allow our millers to export or acquire a market for that flour; they simply held the flour up. That did not mean there was no market for flour outside. There was an export market, because I have under my hand evidence that flour bought by the Wheat Board for \$10.65 on export ports was held by them at \$13.40 United States currency, equal to \$15 Canadian currency, or a profit of \$4.35 a barrel. Now, the Wheat Board had an offer for this flour that would have returned them at that time—and my information is from a reliable man who was closely associated with the board—a profit of about \$3.75 a barrel. They refused that offer because they wanted the money in United States currency. The result was that the mills were shut down and dairy feed was unobtainable throughout this country. Then they will answer you by saying: We prohibited the export of bran and shorts; we fixed the price of bran and shorts so that the dairymen of Canada could get these commodities at a reasonable price. Yes, they did fix the price, and not only last year; under the board of control appointed by this Government the price was fixed in the fall of 1917, and it has been fixed ever since. Export was prohibited; you were informed that you could not export a pound of bran or shorts; it was all required for the Canadian dairymen. That statement was made in the House by responsible ministers of the Crown. Well, Sir, I have under my hand an official return from the External Trade Division of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Department of Trade and Commerce. I find that in the year ending 31st March, 1917—remember, that was the year when export of bran and shorts was prohibited; when all our bran and shorts were said to be required for Canadian dairymen—I find that in that year bran and shorts to the value of \$5,167,257 were exported.

**Mr. McMASTER:** Under special license?

**Mr. ROBB:** I will come to that later. In 1918 bran and shorts were exported to the value of \$1,457,424. In the year ending 31st December, 1919, only last year, bran and shorts to the value of \$4,377,341 were exported. A representative who has been lobbying here for control told me only this week that not one pound of bran and shorts had been exported since November of last year. Well, if that is true the statement submitted by the Department of Trade and Commerce is not correct, because I have here the statements of exports for the last

months of 1919: October, 3,479 tons; November, 8,848 tons; December, 2,036 tons; January, 1920, 1,075 tons; February, 559 tons—that was the month when very few of the mills were running, the operation of the others having been stopped by the export policy of the Grain Board—March, 821 tons. The question naturally presents itself: who is the pet miller in Canada who goes quietly to the representatives of the Government and obtains an export license enabling him to sell bran in the United States? Why was that bran sent to the United States market or to some other market? Because it was worth in that other market \$10 to \$15 a ton more than it was worth in Canada. The price was fixed in Canada. The authorities said to the miller: If you sell bran and shorts at more than a certain price we will take away your license; but they gave him permission to ship bran and shorts out of Canada, where prices ten or fifteen dollars a ton higher could be obtained—and there was no question of doing away with the license; the miller was allowed to go on and do business. There is some particular pet in this case; it is always so in connection with legislation that gives special privileges to special classes.

Now, the impression may be gained from the debate that this tax of \$2, \$1.50 and 50 cents to some countries which was exacted on the exportation of flour goes into the national treasury. It does not do anything of the kind; it goes into the pocket of the Wheat Board in the form of the surplus that the Minister of trade and Commerce boasts of to-day, and such portion of it as does not go to expenses will be distributed amongst those who hold participation certificates. So that this Wheat Board not only attempt to control the purchase and sale of wheat; they control for their own benefit the flour mills throughout Canada, and I suppose to-morrow they will attempt to control the bakeshops throughout Canada.

**Sir SAM HUGHES:** May I put a question to my hon. friend?

**Mr. ROBB:** Yes.

**Sir SAM HUGHES:** I understood from his remarks that in connection with the order for sale of wheat in England to which he refers there was a loss, having regard to the price which subsequently had to be paid in Canada for that grain. Who bore that loss and how was it made up?

**Mr. ROBB:** I did not say there was a loss. I quoted a statement made publicly in the Winnipeg Grain Exchange that Mr.

Lloyd Harris had said that the right hon. Prime Minister had cabled the Rt. Hon. Arthur Sifton to sell fifty or seventy-five million bushels of Canadian wheat, and the impression left upon the members of the Grain Exchange was that because Mr. Lloyd Harris or Rt. Hon. Arthur Sifton or whoever was acting for them had carried out these instructions and had sold this wheat, it became necessary to close the Winnipeg Grain Exchange and fix the price of wheat so that the wheat could be secured and delivered without too great a loss to Canada. I am waiting for some person to clear that up.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: If my hon. friend will allow me for a moment, I will clear it up in a single sentence. There is not a shadow of foundation for a statement of that kind or any such inference from a statement of that kind as my hon. friend has made on several occasions in this House, leading to the impression that the Government sold short in Great Britain and then, to cover themselves, stopped the exchange operations when wheat went up. If any one says that he makes a base, unfounded assertion which has not on iota of truth in it. Further, it is not very\* first-handed work for a member of Parliament to try to give currency to an impression of that kind.

Mr. ROBB: Well, Mr. Speaker, the minister must remember that I am simply quoting from a speech delivered before the Winnipeg Grain Exchange.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Quoting is sometimes very bad work.

Mr. ROBB: Well, I will pass it over to my hon. friend. I have the speech here; it has been published and circulated and is obtainable by any body. It was not hidden under a bushel.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Will my hon. friend tell us exactly what the statement was? Does he mean to say that he is referring to the statement that he read from Dr. Magill's speech? Is that it?

Mr. ROBB: Yes.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Did Dr. Magill say that the Government had telegraphed Mr. Sifton to sell 75,000,000 bushels of wheat short that this wheat had been sold short and that therefore the exchange had to be stopped when wheat was going up in order that the Government might cover? He will not find any statement like that made by Dr. Magill.

[Mr. Robb.]

Mr. ROBB: The minister is going further than I did. Does the minister wish me to put on Hansard once more this statement made by Dr. Magill? Well, I will put it on. This is the report of what Dr. Magill said:

On recovering I went to Mr. Harris' office. He told me he had been at the conference in Ottawa, that he knew all that had gone on, and had talked with grain men, and that he came back to London believing that it was his duty to sell Canadian wheat to England and to neutral countries. Mark you, after the market had been opened, Mr. Harris, Chairman of the War Trade Mission, believed it was his duty to sell Canadian wheat to England and to neutral countries. He also told me that a cablegram had been sent by Sir Robert Borden to Mr. Arthur Sifton, telling him among other things to sell fifty to seventy-five million bushels of our wheat.

That was in the month of July. Were there fifty to seventy-five million bushels of wheat in Canada to sell them? Was not the wheat in the fields growing green, looking good? But all at once the hot winds came along and the wheat crop began to shrink. Then, the market was closed. The people of the country will draw their own inference. The statement is made that Mr. Arthur Sifton did sell the wheat, and no one denies that to-day.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The statement is not made that Mr. Sifton sold 75,000,000 bushels of wheat. I take issue with my hon. friend. He has not read any statement to that effect.

Mr. ROBB: The minister to-day denies that statement that the wheat was sold.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Nobody made the statement except yourself.

Mr. ROBB: Do not be so sure about that.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Who did?

Mr. ROBB: My hon. friend is very good at cross-examining witnesses in the box, but I do not propose to have him cross-examine me.

Mr. MEIGHEN: That is a wise decision.

Mr. ROBB: I am now going to discuss another feature of this wheat question, one that is, perhaps, more interesting to the western man than the question of control as we have had it in the past year. We have been told in Canada for some years that we have at last obtained reciprocity in wheat and that Canada to-day enjoys all the privileges of reciprocity. I make the statement here, and I accept the responsibility for it, that we have never had in Canada real reciprocity of wheat. It is true

that reciprocity was given to us in May, 1917. After the wheat crop had been marketed by the western farmer, after it was in the hands of dealers, an Order in Council was passed which practically gave us reciprocity in wheat, that Order in Council being based upon legislation of the United States Government. But seven and a half months later, in the month of December of the same year, another Order in Council was passed which practically nullified the Order in Council of the previous May, and from that day to this one measure of control after another has prevented us from enjoying the privileges of reciprocity in wheat. We would have if there were no boards standing in the way, we would enjoy reciprocity under the Tariff Act of the United States of October 3, 1919, clause 644 of that Tariff placing on the free list:

Wheat, wheat flour, semolina, and other wheat products, not specially provided for in this section: Provided that wheat shall be subject to a duty of ten cents per bushel, that wheat flour shall be subject to a duty of 45 cents per barrel of 196 pounds, and semolina and other products of wheat, not specially provided for in this section, 10 per centum ad valorem, when imported directly or indirectly from a country, dependency, or other subdivision of Government which imposes a duty on wheat or wheat flour or semolina imported from the United States.

What difference is there between imposing a duty on the products of the United States and keeping them out altogether? If we are going to extend for another year the operations of the Wheat Board, now that the United States have de-controlled their crop and will start, as they have announced, open trading on the 15th July, does anybody believe that the people of the United States will look with a friendly eye on Canada if, by legislation, we prevent free interchange of wheat and wheat products? I submit to hon. members from the West, who in former years appealed to this country for lower tariffs, larger and wider markets for their wheat and other products, that they will be accepting a great responsibility if they vote to continue the operation of a board that will not only hinder, but, in my opinion, jeopardize any reciprocity which we now enjoy in wheat and flour. For that reason, I am not disposed to accept the resolution as presented by the Minister of Trade and Commerce. In the first place, there is uncertainty. As the hon. member for Kent (Mr. McCoig) has pointed out, the wheat crop will be moved in a few weeks, and there is no definite statement who is going to take care of it. Indeed, I have reason to believe it has been pointed out to the minister that at least a limited quantity

of the western crop should be marketed within a few weeks, perhaps within a few days. The cablegram which the Prime Minister sent to Mr. Arthur Sifton—and let us remember that my right hon. friend (Sir George Foster) has not denied that that cablegram was sent—

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Maybe my hon. friend will take my denial now; I give it to him.

An hon. MEMBER: Better late than never.

Mr. ROBB: It is a good thing at last to clear this matter up. That destroys the whole speech that was delivered before the Winnipeg Grain Exchange.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Unfortunately for my hon. friend, this having been cleared up, the material for many future speeches of my hon. friend has been taken away.

Mr. ROBB: I do not know about that. I am quoting a man whom the minister had great confidence in once, because he took him away from a university and placed him at the head of the Grain Board of Canada. That is the gentleman I am quoting.

I cannot support the resolution because of its uncertainty, because the minister has really not yet stated what he is going to do in regard to the handling of this great crop. This is the same wobbling policy we have had going on in other forms, and I submit to the Minister of Trade and Commerce that what the country wants more than anything else to-day is stability. If the Government are going to handle the crop, let them say so definitely. If they are not going to do so, let them make that clear to those men who have in past years handled the crop to the advantage of Canada, so that they may be prepared to handle this year's crop when it comes on to the market.

Mr. DONALD SUTHERLAND (Oxford South): Mr. Speaker, I should like to make a few remarks in regard to the resolution before we adopt the general principles contained therein. I appreciate the fact that this is only enabling legislation; that the Government are asking for it in the event of certain things developing during the present year, and that it may not be necessary, and it is hoped by many that it will not be necessary to take any action under it. This is a safeguard that the Government are endeavouring to have in the event of certain conditions arising.

I have watched with a great deal of interest the operations of the Wheat Board

during the past year, and I regret very much that we have no information, no reports, as to how they have operated or as to what the final results of their administration will be during the year in which they have been carrying on. It may be wise in that respect that the Government are not asking Parliament to enact direct legislation, but that they be guided in their future action to a certain extent by the success or failure of the board. As the hon. member for Vancouver Centre (Mr. Stevens) has pointed out, it is undoubtedly true that with a rising market, it would be practically impossible for the board to fail to make a success of their operations during the past year, but that with different conditions prevailing under a falling market disaster might have resulted.

I am afraid that many hon. members overlook the fact that wheat growing is not our only agricultural industry. Any one reading over this resolution might well imagine that wheat raising was the sole industry of Canada, and the disposal of wheat the matter of greatest concern and importance to our people. Wheat, of course, is a very important commodity. The prosperity and general conditions throughout the world are influenced to a large degree by the quantity of wheat there is available for food. We have a number of commissions operating in this country. We have what is known as the Grain Commission, appointed by this Government, and upon which great powers were conferred by Act of Parliament. Then a year ago we appointed the Wheat Board. We have also appointed a Board of Commerce. You would naturally expect a Board of Commerce to be concerned with the disposal of our wheat crop, if wheat raising is the most important industry we have in Canada. There is a direct connection between these three bodies. There is at times an overlapping. If there is not direct co-operation between them, the results at some point must be unfortunate, but instead of having co-operation between these three bodies I believe we have had a direct conflict during the past year, and the result has not been to the general advantage of the people of Canada. I have listened with interest to the remarks that have been made by those who have spoken on this resolution this afternoon. Some hon. members seem to be most concerned about the effect it will have upon a certain class of people. I do not wish to discuss the resolution from that angle at all. I wish to discuss it from

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the standpoint of the direct influence it will have on the whole people of Canada. I have possibly observed it as closely from one angle from the fact that I myself have felt its influence to a considerable extent, and I have seen many other people of the province from which I come also suffering as a result of the negligence of those in whom control has been vested. The boards referred to, to safeguard their interests, it will be conceded that a people that exports its raw materials rather than converting them into the finished product is bound to be a poor people, and that under such a policy they do not obtain the best results from the natural resources of their country. The manufactured article through the application of skill and labour is very much enhanced in value over the raw material, but strange to say, notwithstanding the hundreds of millions of dollars we have expended on railway facilities, steamship lines, and ocean transports, we are working in this matter on an absolute reversal of the old policy that manufacturing the raw material into the finished product is of benefit to the people where the operation is performed.

What condition of affairs do we find as regards the transportation rates on wheat when it is manufactured into the finished product in Canada? I know it will be pointed out that this is a matter over which the Wheat Board have absolutely no control. We have not followed the policy that has been in vogue in Australia, where flour has been given a preference over wheat in railway rates. In Canada the ocean transportation rates on wheat and flour to Great Britain has been increased fourfold since 1914. Whereas at that time there was an excess of about 7 cents per 100 pounds in the rate on flour over wheat, to-day there is an excess of 25 cents per 100 pounds, or about 15 cents per bushel. Consequently, I can understand the difficulties that many millers have been up against. The claim has been advanced that to compel the millers to pay \$2 a barrel before they can get a license to export flour is an interference with the old natural conditions under which we have been working for so many years. War conditions are entirely different from peace conditions. We all hoped when the war was over that we would gradually get away from war conditions, and as the years pass very substantial arguments are necessary to justify Government legislation controlling the operations of the people. In lines of commerce I have always believed that it does not come within the province of a Government to do for the people what the

people are quite competent to do for themselves. I do not think it is wise or in the interests of the people themselves to have nursing legislation under normal conditions. I think the sooner the people are thrown upon their own resources in such matters in every respect the better it will be for all concerned.

I want to point out that one of the effects of the operation of the Wheat Board during the past year, so far as the province of Ontario is concerned, is that the live stock industry of that province by reason of the regulations of this board and of the other two I have mentioned, have received a setback that it will not overcome for many years, and to-day the outlook is anything but promising in that province. In the early fall of last year we found this unusual condition: The markets of the province were congested and crowded with live stock that ought to have been kept for breeding purposes, but which was put on the market because the farmers were discouraged and resented very much indeed interference with their legitimate business. I say here and now that there was no one thing that occupied the attention of the farmers at the last provincial election in Ontario and helped to unite them to such an extent as the operations of some of these boards, and you see what the result was. The by-products of wheat are the basic articles upon which the live stock and dairying industries of this country must depend more than upon anything else. I do not wish it to be inferred that it is necessary for us to enact legislation that will debar the farmer in the West, for instance, from getting the highest possible price he can for his wheat; far from it. I believe that if we remove these hampering restrictions we shall find the millers will be able to take care of their business in such a way that there will be much less wheat exported in the future but more flour. With the numerous elevators that have been built, and the transportation facilities we have, and the care that can be exercised to carry over the crop for months, and a year, if necessary, the old condition of affairs in this country has entirely changed and we are now able to regulate the market by reason of the fact that we have control of this elevator system. So far as Ontario is concerned, I may say that there is considerable wheat grown in that province. There will be more wheat grown there this year than has been grown for a great many years owing to the changed conditions to which I have

referred, the dairying industry having received a setback by reason of the operations of the several boards referred to. What did you find during the war years? The price of by-products of wheat had been fixed by the Food Controller at a sum nearly one-half less than that fixed by this Wheat Board. There was a spread of five dollars between the prices of the two products, shorts and bran, whereas this board has fixed a spread of \$10 between the two, with the result that people have not been able to buy the by-product of wheat which was formerly used in the feeding of pigs. I may say, in passing, that shorts to-day is simply bran ground fine but is put upon the market as shorts and sold at the higher price. There is another phase of this situation which I shall briefly touch upon. The Government of Canada own and operate terminal elevators at the head of the Great Lakes and in other parts of the country, and at one of these elevators, over and above the cost of operating, there was a profit of nearly \$1,500,000 during the past four years. The by-product in recleaning after the shipment of the grain, remains in these elevators. The dirt is cleaned out of it but it is utilized and sent broadcast all over this country, and I have been unable to find from the audit, which it is admitted has been made, but which is not available, how this stuff has been disposed of. I do know, however, and I have so stated on a number of occasions, that the mill feed that has been disposed of to the farmers during the past three years and particularly during the past year—yes, and more particularly during the past winter since the legislation of last session was enacted—has been bad, and the Government have made no effort to enforce the legislation referred to—It has remained a dead letter on the Statutes of Canada, and the millers have continued to adulterate the by-products of wheat and have continued to send this poison broadcast through the country, as they have been doing for many years. The price of bran, we were informed was to be \$45 a ton and shorts \$55 a ton, a spread of \$10 between the two. Now, what have the farmers of Ontario been paying for their bran during the past two months? Seventy dollars a ton has been paid for it, and only a limited supply available; and what they do get is an adulterated article with a large weed seed content that poisons the stock they have to feed. Is there any wonder that there is resentment on the part of the people who are subjected to treatment

of that kind? We are told that the price paid by the board for this wheat has been \$2.10; that has not been the case in Ontario, where the price paid was \$1.95. It is true that participation certificates were issued. The millers in many instances have been and are endeavouring to make the farmers believe that they are not likely to receive much for these certificates and have been buying up that script at a very low rate and holding it because they know about what will happen. Is it fair that any one should be taken advantage of in that respect because legislation of this kind has been deemed necessary and been put into effect? We are told that it is to protect the farmers. I do not believe that it will protect the farmers of the country; on the contrary, in my opinion, it will result in a great injury to them, and I hope the Government will be wise enough, no matter what condition may develop, to determine, even if this Bill becomes law, not to put it into effect. What is the situation in the old land, in free trade England? You have heard a great deal about the free trade policy which obtains in that country. How does it work out in relation to Canada? We have given Britain a preference in the Canadian market for many years, and you have heard no one complaining very much in that regard. But what treatment has Canada received in the British market? What is the policy of Great Britain with regard to Canada to-day, so far as our agricultural products are concerned? It has been pointed out that Britain has controlled the price of wheat and wheat products and bread in that country and that they supplement the price at which the bread is sold to the consumers in order to make up the difference in respect of what they have to pay in this country for the grain. Britain had control of shipping during the war and made it absolutely impossible for any one else to compete with her. Our markets are in Great Britain, and as regards wheat and, as the hon. member for Chateauguay-Huntingdon (Mr. Robb) pointed out, dairy products, they purchased the dairy products of New Zealand at a very low price and then came over here; and, as they were the only market available to us, we had to sell at the price which they fixed. What was the result? The cheese-making industry in the Dominion of Canada received a setback from which it will not recover for many years. The control was removed, and you find an immediate advance of about seven to eight cents a pound in the price of this

[Mr. Sutherland.]

commodity, and to-day this industry is working on the old basis and some of the old factories are being reopened and are endeavouring to get back to normal conditions again. I was dealing with wheat, and I was about to say that the preference of 25 cents per hundred pounds, or a difference of about 15 cents per bushel on wheat over flour, enables the Old Country farmer to obtain his mill feeds to advantage. They are bound to have these feeds because they intend to develop their agricultural industry and it is necessary that they should have these by-products. At the same time, by a stroke of policy, they placed an embargo on Canadian cattle going into that country. So that their farmers are protected along both lines, by the embargo which they placed on our cattle and the preference which is given to wheat over flour, making it absolutely impossible for the miller in this country to compete with the miller in Great Britain. And this is free trade England! If you can show me any country that is further from free trade in its policy than England I should like to know where it is. Free trade England! Well, if ever there was a protective country on the face of the earth it is what is termed free trade England, and I have given you two illustrations in support of this statement. Britain is competent to take care of herself and has demonstrated this fact in the past. They will still be able to continue to do so after having defeated their enemies on the battlefields. I believe they will succeed along commercial lines as well as they have along other lines. For that reason I say it is necessary for us to look after our own interests and to look after them as carefully as possible. I must protest against placing any further power in the hands of these irresponsible bodies which do for us business that our people are able to do for themselves. I think I cannot make myself any clearer than I have already done in regard to my views upon this question. I appreciate the fact that this is simply enabling legislation and that it may never go into effect. There may be something beneath the surface in connection with the work of last year that I have not been able to size up which may have justified the Government in doing what they propose and I may be better satisfied when I see the report of the operations of the Wheat Board for the year. But in so far as I have observed their operations I must say that I protest as strenuously as I can against going it blind any longer. I want

to know what has been done by the Board and where we stand with them.

At Six o'clock the House took recess.

### After Recess.

The House resumed at Eight o'clock.

Mr. P. F. CASGRAIN (Charlevoix-Montmorency): Mr. Speaker, judging from the remarks that were offered by the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) in support of this resolution, he is very much concerned in regard to the marketing of our wheat, and suggests that because the European countries are pooling their interests for buying purposes we on this side of the ocean must do likewise and appoint a board to do business wholesale. But this is but one more example of the policy of this Government against which we have protested on many occasions, and especially at the beginning of this session, when we found in the Speech from the Throne that the Government intended putting before this House measures which more nearly concern European affairs than our own domestic affairs.

It is strange that this resolution is brought down in the dying days of the session. It is also strange that it does not seem to meet with the same approval of the followers of the Government as did other measures which have been brought down during this session. If I am well informed, certain of the Government supporters are absolutely opposed to this resolution going through, and I am advised that even the Government itself is divided on the matter. Recently when in Montreal over the week end a gentleman, very friendly to the Government, asked me to see if it would not be possible to defeat this resolution. But not only are friends of the Government opposed to this measure—even Government officials charged with looking after our trade with foreign countries have expressed themselves against the continuation of the Wheat Board, and as an example of the opinions expressed I need only quote some remarks made at Hamilton last month by Mr. Lloyd Harris:

Mr. Harris alluded to the Board of Commerce being appointed to check profiteering, and stated that while it was at this duty, the Wheat Board was profiteering to "beat the band." If he were allowed to control the entire steel output of Canada he could make all kinds of money, and the situation regarding wheat was like this. The board made wheat prices that were a crime.

When we see men like Mr. Lloyd Harris, who was closely associated with the Gov-

ernment in looking after our trade interests in England and in the United States, expressing himself in this vigorous fashion, how can either the followers of the Government or members on this side of the House approve of the resolution?

It is significant that within the last two days two resolutions of a similar nature have been submitted for our approval. A few days ago the Government submitted a scheme to assist shipbuilding—a scheme which in my opinion is simply a form of class legislation—and, as was to be expected, we on this side of the House opposed it. During war time and immediately thereafter no doubt this Wheat Board served a necessary and useful purpose, but now that we are reverting to peace conditions I submit that it is merely class legislation which we should oppose to the best of our ability.

It is provided in this resolution that power be given to the Governor in Council—that is to say, to members of the Government—to themselves decide when they should use the powers proposed to be given by this measure. This is once more putting into the hands of the Government power to make Orders in Council rules such as those to which we have so unwillingly submitted during the last six years. It will be remembered that in 1914, at the outbreak of war, we gave to the Government of the day an unlimited power to transact any kind of business by means of Orders in Council; and every one knows that that power has been abused. Even after the war was over the Government saw fit to continue the administration of our national affairs by Order in Council, instead of by proper constitutional methods—that is to say, by proper parliamentary procedure. The time has come when those war-time methods should cease, and there is no reason why this resolution should be adopted by this House. But there is a further reason why this resolution should not be concurred in. As hon. members have stated in the course of this debate, the Grain Act contains ample power to do the very things which are sought to be accomplished by this resolution. And certainly it is not a wise policy to have duplicate legislation to accomplish the same purpose.

I want to draw the attention of this House to what has transpired during this debate—I refer to the statement made by the hon. member for Chateauguay-Huntingdon (Mr. Robb). When speaking this afternoon the hon. member said that a member of the Wheat Board had declared in

a public speech that certain members of the Government had put through some transactions which were not absolutely proper. The hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster), who should know something about the matter, gave a positive denial of the statement,—and I may say that it is the first time that any such denial has been given to the House and to the country. I have great respect for the Minister of Trade and Commerce, but I submit that hon. members, although they accept his explanation, will not be satisfied unless before the end of this debate he gives us a full account of the transactions referred to. It seems to me that when an hon. member raises a question in this House in connection with such an important matter, it is not sufficient for a minister of the Crown to simply say, "Well, there is no truth in it." The Canadian people want more than that; they want to know the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.

I am afraid that if this resolution goes through it will bring about just the very condition we do not want in this country,—a continuation of the high cost of living. The people are sick and tired of war-time control, and Orders in Council, and legislation that no other people in any civilized country would submit to. The feeling is general throughout the country that we should revert to peace conditions. Therefore I intend to vote against this resolution.

Mr. W. H. WHITE (Victoria, Alta.): I rise, Mr. Speaker, simply to call the attention of the minister to certain local conditions that arose in the western provinces last year during the control of the Wheat Board. I think I can safely say that never perhaps in the history of the West were marketing conditions so unsatisfactory as during last year. I would not say that those conditions were entirely due to the action of the Wheat Board, but certainly the conditions were worse for those who had grain to market than they had ever been before. It was passing strange that although the Government pretended to control wheat only, that oats were marketable at all seasons of the year, both while the grain was being harvested and during the winter, although there was no market for wheat. Grain dealers did not seem to be very anxious to handle the wheat. I suppose perhaps because the price was fixed, or for some other reason.

One thing I want particularly to point out is the unsatisfactory manner in which

Mr. Casgrain.

the operations of the board resulted to some wheat producers. Those who were fortunate enough to sell their grain early in the year and get their money shared to the same extent in the benefits as did those growers who had to carry their grain over and bear the loss of wastage and shrinkage and interest on moneys borrowed to meet their obligations;—in effect those who were unable to find an early market for their grain had to help pay for the storage of the wheat of the other more fortunate growers. That was a hardship to a great many, and I may say that in the province of Alberta, particularly in the northern part, a very small proportion of the wheat crop was sold last season; even up to the time I left in February there appeared to be no market for wheat. The local elevators claimed that it was on account of the wheat control; others blamed it on lack of railway transportation. However, it was noticeable that while the market was free for oats, none of the dealers were buying wheat during the winter months. The man who was fortunate enough to dispose of his wheat got his money and was able to use it, while the man who was carrying his wheat over had to borrow money and pay interest upon it as well as pay storage charges. To my mind there is only one good reason why the Government should interfere at all in the grain business. I do not believe in the control of anything. The Liberal platform stands for free trade in foodstuffs; this is one of the most essential foodstuffs and it should be free; the market should be open,—unless, as was pointed out by an hon. member today, the financial institutions of the country are not prepared to assist in moving the grain: of course, if that is the case the Government is justified in giving assistance by way of fixing a price to ensure that the moneyed men of the country will help to move the grain out.

With regard to the participation coupons that were issued, the minister is right in saying that many producers did not have much confidence in them and perhaps incurred some losses by disposing of them too soon. But is worthy of note that throughout last year the prices on the other side of the international line were a great deal higher than the prices received by producers in our western provinces. I have a clipping which I took to-day from a local paper containing the latest report that I could find on grain. I find that No. 1 Northern was quoted in Minneapolis at from \$2.90 to \$3 and in Edmonton on the

same day at \$1.91, or about one dollar less than the Minneapolis price. The producers in that district believe that the difference between the Minneapolis price and the price which they are receiving is largely accounted for by the expense of keeping up this control and paying for storages in connection with carrying the grain over. The following resolution, adopted at the annual convention of the Alberta United Farmers, expresses fairly well the opinion held by the grain growers of Alberta last year, and I do not think they have since changed their opinion:

Whereas the fixing of the price of wheat was a war measure for the steadying of the market and the keeping down of the High Cost of Living.

Whereas, while we view with a large measure of concern the restoration of an open market that will make speculating possible in the handling of our chief food product, yet we realize that the continuation of a fixed price on wheat might unduly bear on the consumer, and

Whereas we, as producers, are willing that the prices of our products be governed by the law of supply and demand, but protest against scalpers and speculators taking toll which frequently amounts to more than the profits of the producer,

Therefore be it resolved that we, the U. F. A., in convention assembled, demand that legislation be passed confining the dealing in all grains whether on Grain Exchanges or elsewhere, to cash grain and sales for actual future delivery of grain and grain products.

That convention was a representative gathering of the grain growers of Alberta; and here they express the view that this commodity should be dealt with in the open market and be ruled by the law of supply and demand. I do not think that this control makes the wheat any cheaper to the consumer; if it did, there would be some argument in favour of it. Prices are high; but it is evidently the opinion of the Alberta farmers that they do not want to look to the Government for the fixing of a high price at the expense of the consuming population. As I say, there is only one circumstance which could justify the Government in taking action of this kind and in interfering in any way with the price or marketing of wheat, and that is if the financial institutions of the country will not furnish the money to move the crop.

Mr. JOHN A. MAHARG (Maple Creek): The member for Vancouver Centre (Mr. Stevens) laid great stress on the assertion that this undertaking, involving such tremendous financial responsibilities, was being placed in the hands of three men. Had the hon. member wished to be absolutely fair he would have quoted the paragraph

of the resolution upon which he based this assertion. But while the echo of his voice could still be heard he suggested that if any action of this kind was taken the matter should be placed in the hands of the Board of Grain Commissioners,—which in itself is composed of three men. But his assertion that the matter was to be placed in the hands of three men is absolutely incorrect. The clause reads thus:

That the Board may from time to time appoint an executive committee of not less than three of its members.

Now, this is a board of twelve men. If they see fit they may conduct the business as a body of twelve men or they may delegate it to a body of not less than three. In other words, the business may be carried on by three, five, six, eight or ten members of the board, or by the full board if that is deemed advisable. Yet the hon. member states that he would rather have the matter placed in the hands of a board composed only of three men,—a board whose personnel is not capable of being augmented in any way.

This argument is not new; it was presented in a particular section of the western press long ago. As I stated in this House some time ago, there is a section of the press that is controlled by a certain firm doing a grain business in Western Canada, which firm has been asking that this matter be placed in the hands of the Board of Grain Commissioners. So far as I know, that is the only firm, including some of its subsidiary companies, doing business of any consequence on the Grain Exchange that has asked for this. If you ask the grain exchanges as a body whether they wish to be placed in the hands of the Board of Grain Commissioners or in the hands of the Canada Wheat Board, if they are going to be placed in the hands of either one, I am sure they would have no hesitation whatever in saying that they would have it placed in the hands of the latter, and the farmers' organizations would fully agree with them. We are perfectly satisfied, and we have been satisfied—although the hon. member for Chateauguay-Huntingdon (Mr. Robb) stated that the farmers of Western Canada were not satisfied—with the method that had been adopted in handling the grain. I should have been pleased had the hon. gentleman furnished some proof in support of his statement. If it is not satisfactory to them, why are they, as a body, from one end of the country to the other, asking that his enabling power be given to

the Government at this time? At their convention they went further; they asked not only enabling legislation, but that the Government continue the Wheat Board for another year. The Canadian Council of Agriculture passed a similar resolution, and recently, through their executive they have again stated that as long as there is governmental control of buying in European markets, we must have governmental control in Canada in regard to disposing of our wheat.

Great emphasis was laid on the fact that most neutral countries were now buying individually, and that in some cases individuals were doing the business within those countries. That may be quite true, but the quantity of wheat that neutrals buy from us is very small. A year ago Great Britain took delivery of 91 per cent of the exportable wheat and 60 per cent of the quantity of flour we exported to the European market. That shows that Great Britain is still, as she always has been, one of our largest buyers of wheat; and, just so long as Great Britain is controlling the purchase of wheat by buying through governmental agencies, we must have Government control in Canada as regards selling our wheat, in order to protect, not only the producer, but, as I have stated in this House before, the consumer. As I think I can show the House a little later on, the consumer is just as vitally interested as the producer in this wheat business being controlled in a proper manner. Great Britain, of course, may change her method of buying, but this legislation, though we pass it, does not necessarily come into force. While I am on that point, I should like to tell the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) that I hope, if he is going to carry out this legislation at all—and I think he should do so—he should make the announcement at no distant date, so that we may all know, and may not get into the same position as we were in last year. Hon. members will remember that when I was asked on the floor of the House in the first session of 1919, whether I was in favour of the Government fixing the price of wheat, I, without any hesitation whatever, answered in the affirmative. I said that to protect the consumer as well as the producer, it would be necessary for the Government to do that. Although the Government were, as we know, strongly urged by individuals, by delegations, by deputations of members of the House, to take charge of the wheat, they absolutely refused; they made it possible for the Grain Exchange to open, and what

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was the result? The result was that inside a very few days wheat had advanced around 40 cents a bushel although there was practically no wheat with which to do business. And notwithstanding this lack of wheat the advance in price had its effect on the price of flour and the consumer had to pay. The Government were advised as forcibly and strongly as we possibly could as to what they might expect, but there were at Ottawa other interests, as there are here to-day and have been here for the better part of two months trying to bring their influence to bear upon the Government to make it possible for the Grain Exchange to do a wide-open business again. If the Government have the welfare of the consumer and producer at heart, they will continue the Wheat Board; otherwise, they will have a duplication of what happened last year on account of the few days the Grain Exchange was thrown open.

The hon. member for Vancouver Centre (Mr. Stevens) intimated that even should there be a European combination, individual dealers could handle it just as well as the Government. That is a most ridiculous argument. I have been doing business in grain for a number of years, and I know, and anyone who knows anything about the grain business knows, that you have to do business and get your money through the banks. No firm in the grain business has sufficient capital to carry it on, because the large amount of money involved is required for only a few short months. When you are doing business through the banks and you get to the limit of your line of credit, where are you at, supposing you cannot get a market for your stuff? To use a popular expression, you are up against it, and you may suffer serious losses. There is no comparison between a group of individuals doing business separately and a board that has the backing of the country behind it, especially when its operation is not costing, and is not likely to cost, the country one cent. An argument was made here to-day that it would be liable to cost consumers up to about forty cents a bushel. No one producing grain wants the consumer to take one cent of risk. We are asking only that the business stand absolutely on its own bottom, so to speak; let it take care of the charges, and if there be any charges to be paid, there is on hand to the credit of the Wheat Board quite sufficient to take care of all those charges and a great deal more. We do not need to worry at all about the finances of the country or the exchequer;

the charges will most certainly be taken care of. So long as European conditions continue as they are to-day, the Government must take a hand in the business.

We have been told that this is paternalism. In what way is it paternalism? We have been told that we are asking for protection. I have stated in this House more than once that we never asked for protection; never asked for a fixed price to the producers. We never asked for that at all; all that we are asking for now is: Since you have forced it on us; since you have disorganized conditions and since the price was fixed for one purpose or two purposes at the utmost, you must continue this so long as conditions remain as they are in European countries. I have been told by the very best authority from whom it was possible to get the information that the above two reasons were why the Government took control and fixed the prices. I was told this when I was in the Old Country a year ago last January by one of the members of the Wheat Executive of England. I asked him the question straight if this was not done for the purpose of keeping the price down and to control distribution, and he unhesitatingly answered it was. When that question was asked, the conversation went a little further.

A well-known Canadian grain man who happened to be there at that time made the statement that if the Government had not taken control the price of wheat would have gone to \$7 or \$8 a bushel. The gentleman who said that control was taken for these two purposes said he did not think it would have gone that high, but he was convinced it would have gone to at least \$5 a bushel. Does that look as though the producer was being benefited at the expense of the consumer, as has been stated here to-day? The Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) answered that argument very fully and he did not have to go to the Old Country to do so. His statements are absolutely right, although some hon. gentlemen who are interested in having open markets are trying to make it appear otherwise. So far as we are concerned we have the interests of the consumer in mind just as much as the interests of the producer. An hon. member for one of the Torontos said this evening he would even go further and have nationalization for all time to come. I am not prepared to say I would go that far, but I would go so far as to say that gambling in food stuffs must be stopped. If there is only one way in which it can be stopped, and if that is by the

nationalization and control of food products, I am prepared right here to say that under such necessity I would go that far. One of the big curses of this country is the gambling in food products, and if nationalization is necessary to stop the practice the Government would be fully justified in taking that course in the interests of the people. Gambling in food stuffs has to be stopped, and the producers themselves may have to take a hand in the work of stopping it. As far as wheat products are concerned, if the disposition that has been shown here to-day against what the Government has been doing and proposes to do continues, it is only a matter of time until the producers of wheat will take a hand and say whether gambling shall be permitted in these products or not. If this ever-increasing army of those who do absolutely nothing but gamble in food products is going to keep up, drastic measures may have to be taken, and if others than the producers will not take the necessary measures, the producers themselves may step in and take a hand in the business.

Another argument that was used was that the farmer was being safeguarded in such a way that he was taking absolutely no risk. I would like to know in what respect the farmer is being saved from taking any risks. He is in the same position that he has always been in, he is at the mercy of the world's market. And that is all he asks for; all he wants is the price that the world's market says it is prepared to pay for his product. He asks for no protection whatever, in any shape or form.

Another matter to which this Government must give serious consideration is transportation facilities. At the present time the prospects in Western Canada are as rosy as possible for them to be, and if the crops should turn out only seventy-five per cent as good as they now promise, the transportation facilities of this country will be entirely inadequate to cope with the situation. With the present facilities we shall not be able to get out more than a fraction of the wheat before navigation closes. If you are going to allow our transportation facilities to be manipulated, there is going to be trouble, and the consumer is going to pay for it, while the producer will gain nothing by it. We have had less than fifty-per-cent crops in the last two or three years, and even with those crops there are still thousands and thousands of bushels in the granaries that have not yet been taken out. I had a telegram and a letter only a day or two ago deploring the conditions in

one particular district where they were not able to get out their wheat for lack of transportation facilities. What would conditions be like if we had seventy-five or eighty-per-cent crops all over the western country? The Government must give consideration, and very earnest consideration, to this question of transportation.

Another argument that has been used is that the United States have opened their markets. True, they have to a certain extent, but they have still the power, as was stated here to-day, to alter that condition, and they are taking very good care to hold on to that power. One hon. gentleman on this side of the House—I believe it was the hon. member for Kent (Mr. McCoig)—complained to-day that the western farmers were getting such a price for their grain that they were practically mining their farms. That is an old argument that we have heard over and over again for years and years. The hon. gentleman need not worry about the western farmers mining their land. I think the results this year will show that the land is very far from being mined, and some of the longest-farmed land will produce just as big a crop this year as it ever did. So the hon. gentleman need not have any worry on that score.

I believe it was my hon. friend from Huntingdon (Mr. Robb) who spoke of the tremendous amount of profits and the enormous charges that the board had permitted the elevators to make. Is it not a most significant thing that if these elevator companies are making such huge profits as the hon. gentleman represents, they should have had their representatives here for the last six weeks or two months in an endeavour to get de-control? It was a most absurd statement for the hon. member to make. He was absolutely wide of the mark also in his figures with regard to the cost of the construction of elevators. I do not know whether he is an elevator operator or owner, but certainly he knows nothing whatever about the cost of elevators either to-day or years ago. He stated that the average elevator was worth about \$6,000, and that you could build elevators to-day for \$10,000. I want to say—and I know whereof I speak, because we have been building elevators—that if the hon. gentleman will undertake to build a modern, up-to-date elevator for \$10,000 or \$12,000 or even \$15,000, he can get contracts for all the elevators he can build in Western Canada in the next six months. You cannot build a 30,000-bushel modern up-to-date elevator for less than \$16,000, let alone

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\$10,000. We have been building elevators since 1911; we have built 86 in one season, and we have yet to get our average cost below \$8,000 per elevator even when material was at its very lowest cost. I think it is very unfair for the hon. gentleman to try and bolster up his argument with a statement of that kind.

Mr. ROBB: Did the hon. gentleman say an elevator with a capacity of 30,000 bushels?

Mr. MAHARG: Yes.

Mr. ROBB: That is what I said, that they would run from \$6,000 to \$10,000. My hon. friend has said \$8,000.

Mr. MAHARG: I say that you cannot build one of those elevators to-day for \$10,000 or \$15,000; you cannot do it for less than \$16,000. We are building elevators to-day and we know exactly what they cost to build. My hon. friend gave these figures, I have no doubt, to bolster up his argument that the amount allowed to elevators was exorbitant. He did not tell the House what has to be taken care of for the 5½ cents a bushel that the elevators are getting. It was only a few years ago that the Board of Grain Commissioners asked all the elevator companies in the West to submit to them the average cost of putting the grain through their houses at initial points. These figures were submitted, and I want to inform the hon. gentleman that they showed that the cost in some instances of putting the grain through was about 4 cents a bushel.

They run all the way from a cent and three quarters to four cents a bushel varying largely according to the amount of their turn-over. That is not the only charge that has to be taken care of. There is the commission charge, which is one cent a bushel. The hon. gentleman stated that all carrying charges and insurance were paid by the board. True, the carrying charges are paid by the board to a certain extent, but in the first place the elevator operator has to provide fifteen days free storage, and he has to insure the grain and take care of it; and when you come to consider the actual direct charges, apart from the indirect charges which he has to face, the five and a half cents a bushel which the hon. gentleman mentioned practically disappears.

Mr. ROBB: The hon. member, if I understand him, says that the elevator, for the five and a half cents, or six cents, or whatever it is, is compelled to insure the grain. Is it not a fact that, by regulation, the

Wheat Board pays all the carrying charges and insurance?

Mr. MAHARG: I was only speaking of the fifteen days that the elevator company has to provide storage, apart from the handling expenses, in regard to which I do not believe the hon. member heard the figures I gave. I made the statement to the House a moment or two ago, but his attention was directed elsewhere. The Board of Grain Commissioners ask the elevator companies to submit to them the amount it cost them to put grain through the elevators. In some cases it has run to about four cents a bushel. This is something the elevator companies have to do. They have to take care of the grain, and the five cents that is mentioned is by no means a profit to them. So far as they are concerned a very small fraction of it is profit. I know whereof I speak, because our company, handling the largest volume of business of any company in the West, are in a position to know exactly what it costs; and when it costs our concern a cent and a half to do business, handling the amount of grain we handle, it is going to cost some of the other concerns two and a half and three cents a bushel. Now, the farmers are not complaining by any means, although there are individuals who would like us to believe that they are. If they were they would not ask that the board be established again.

I want to say a word or two in reference to the argument that has been advanced that in this matter the Government is laying down a principle. I have no hesitation in saying that there is absolutely no such thought in the mind of any one. We have not asked that this institution be made permanent. We may at some future time, but not now; and what we may do in the future will entirely depend on conditions. We are not prone to go by precedent or anything of that nature; we deal with conditions as they arise; and you may not be surprised if at some future time there are suggestions that this business should be nationalized, providing speculation is not controlled in some other form.

I have a lot of other material here, but the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) covered the ground very fully this afternoon. He was somewhat wide of the mark, however, when he undertook to censure us rather severely because of the fact that we had not so far participated in the debate. Personally, I was holding back for the time being, but I had all the material on my desk at the time. But the minister covered

the ground so fully that a great deal of the matter which I intended to submit to the House can be dispensed with, it is not necessary that I should lay it before the House. But I must say that the castigation which the minister gave us was very uncalled for. We are not pikers by any means, and we were not sitting back here in the hope that somebody would knife the Government. That is not our business, and I think the hon. gentleman must admit that we have given this Government support in this House during this very session when some matters arose on which we could have taken a different stand; but as opposition to the Government was based on certain lines which we did not think we could fall in with we gave the Government the benefit of the doubt. I want to say now, so far as I am concerned, that any time this Government brings down any legislation, in connection with either this or anything else which I consider to be in the interests of the country, they will have my hearty support so long as I am here. I do not think the hon. gentleman had any need to criticise my hon. friend from Assiniboia (Mr. Gould) because that hon. gentleman happened to get his metaphors slightly mixed. He was not criticising the Government; he was simply drawing their attention to certain things. I will now state precisely the point he was making. This is the time of year in Western Canada when, so far as the agriculturist is concerned, money is at the very lowest ebb. We are not like the farmers of Eastern Canada, because to a very large extent our eggs are all in one basket. We have not a flow of revenue coming in daily as most of the eastern farmers have. Our big receipts are in the fall from our crop, and I am of the opinion that the Government might wisely consider making some arrangement so that these men could secure at least a portion of the 40 cents a bushel which we are assured will be distributed later on. It is a long time from now till the 31st of August. By that time the crop is assured, and any man of moral standing can go to the bank and get tided over. But right now everything is in the balance and it might be good business for the Government—yes, it might be good political sagacity, a quality which one hon. member was kind enough to attribute to us over here—for them to consider if it would not be possible for them at least to give to the producers a portion of that 40 cents a bushel at this particular time. To a man who has shipped 800 or 1,000 or 1,500 bushels it would mean a lot to have \$400 or \$500

available at the present moment; it would make things easier for him. That is the point the hon. member was trying to emphasize; he was trying to show that while his neighbour across the line went off with his money in his pocket, he himself had to wait for six or eight months to get his own. I commend this point to the consideration of the Government.

Mr. MEIGHEN: The board has power now to do what the hon. member advocates. The only difficulty I know of is in the way of machinery and security to the board. I am certain that the Government would have no objection at all.

Mr. MAHARG: I am glad to hear my hon. friend give that explanation, and I will undertake to see what the board has to say. I appreciate the fact that there is some difficulty, but I honestly believe that the game is worth the candle, and it should not be a very difficult matter for the Government to go a little further. They have at present given the banks to understand, I presume, that they will not suffer financial loss at all, and I think it might be possible for them to make an arrangement with the banks so that the individual who has his participation certificate could deal through the bank and get a further advance on it. This would be a tremendous relief to the people of the West.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, let me say that so far as we are concerned we do not look for anything in the nature of paternalism—absolutely not. We do not want the Government or the country to take one particle of risk in the handling of this grain. We are prepared to pay our way, whatever it may cost; and if the Government can see their way clear to continue these operations next grain season, if conditions are such that they think it is necessary—and I think they are—they will be well advised to place this matter in the hands of a board similar to that which has been handling the business during the past year. We have a board of men representing all interests, and I may say that the millers are equally represented on the board and so are the transportation and other interests. They are all there, and they can get together and talk the whole thing over. It is an excellently well balanced board and I think the Government would be wise to continue a similar, if not the same, board that we have at the present time.

Motion agreed to, and the House went into committee on the resolution, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

[Mr. Maharg.]

Resolution reported, read the second time and concurred in.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Minister of Trade and Commerce) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 206 respecting the Canadian Wheat Board.

Motion agreed to and Bill read the first time.

#### THE DOMINION FRANCHISE.

##### REMUNERATION OF CHIEF ELECTORAL OFFICER.

Mr. GUTHRIE: With the unanimous consent of the House, may I be permitted to move that the resolution standing in my name in the Votes and Proceedings to-day be placed on the Order Paper in order that it may be advanced to another stage. This resolution only deals with two sections of the Franchise Act fixing salaries and remuneration of officers. It would save considerable delay to proceed with it now.

Motion agreed to and House went into committee on the following resolution, Mr. Boivin in the Chair:

Resolved, That it is expedient to provide in the proposed Act respecting the election of Members of the House of Commons and the Electoral Franchise (Bill 12) now before the House that the Chief Electoral Officer shall be paid for his services the sum of Two Thousand dollars per annum in addition to any salary or emolument which he receives as Parliamentary Counsel; that he shall also be paid his reasonable travelling and living expenses while absent from Ottawa on the business of his office; that such sums and expenses shall be paid by cheque of the Auditor General out of any unappropriated moneys forming part of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada; that the fees, allowances and disbursements of election officers according as the same shall be fixed by a tariff to be made by the Governor General in Council upon the recommendation of the Chief Electoral Officer shall be paid by Warrant of the Governor General and shall be distributed by such person or persons as the Governor General in Council may direct to the several officers and persons entitled thereto under the provisions of the said proposed Act, which distribution the person or persons so distributing shall report to the Governor General through the Secretary of State.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The first part of this resolution, I take it, refers to section 19 of the Act and the second part to some amendments which were moved in the committee the other day?

Mr. GUTHRIE: The second part refers to section 79, which I propose to amend. I think the discussion can take place when we are considering the sections in the committee.

Mr. FIELDING: Is the procedure respecting payments of this kind unusual? I would like to know if it is in keeping with some other Act, or if it is something original, and, if original, why?

Mr. GUTHRIE: I do not know that there is anything unusual about it. The resolution itself was drafted by the Parliamentary Counsel and I assume it is in proper form. However, both these sections, 19 and 79, will, I assume, be discussed in full when the sections are dealt with in the committee. All I ask at present is to expedite matters and to get the resolution through its preliminary stage in order that the House may deal with it more fully.

Mr. FIELDING: I would be very glad to agree to that with the hope, however, that my hon. friend is not going to try to rush it through the various stages, but that we shall have time to review the matter at every stage.

Resolution reported, read the first time and concurred in.

#### DEMOBILIZATION APPROPRIATION ACT, 1919.

##### AUTHORITY TO RAISE FURTHER SUMS BY LOANS.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON (Minister of Finance), with the unanimous consent of the House, moved that the resolution standing in his name on page one of the Appendix to Votes and Proceedings No. 79, and providing that the raising by loans of any sums which may have been raised in excess of the amount authorized by the Demobilization Appropriation Act, 1919, shall be deemed to have been truly authorized thereby, be placed upon the Order Paper for the consideration of the House.

Motion agreed to.

On motion of Sir Henry Drayton, who stated that the assent of His Excellency the Governor General had been obtained, it was resolved that the House go into committee to-morrow on the above resolution.

#### INDIAN ACT AMENDMENT.

On the motion of Hon. Mr. Meighen for the third reading of Bill No. 14 to amend the Indian Act:

Mr. LAPOINTE: I was unavoidably absent last evening when this Bill was considered. I was a member of the committee appointed to consider it and hear the evidence. I am opposed to the Bill. I regret very much that that Bill was discussed

and carried into committee while I was away. I want to read the debate which took place yesterday. I was really the member on this side of the House who 9 p.m. had been charged to study the Bill and represent the Opposition in the committee, and I ask that the third reading be postponed until to-morrow so that I may read the debate.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I am quite prepared to withdraw my motion particularly as I believe that when the hon. member reads the debate his opposition will cease.

Motion withdrawn.

Hon. Mr. LEMIEUX (Maisonneuve): As I shall be away to-morrow, and I was not in the House yesterday, I wish to state, on behalf of the Indians of the Abenakis reserve, that I am opposed to the Bill. The Indians of that reserve, through their missionary and the bishop of the diocese, have sent letters and petitions, and the latter are signed by the vast majority, if not all, of the Indians in that very large reserve. They fear that if the Bill becomes law they will lose whatever privileges they enjoy. I have discussed the matter with Mr. Scott, the very able Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, and although he has reassured me as regards the future of that reserve, still I feel that I must voice the sentiments expressed by the bishop of the diocese, the missionary of the reserve, and the chief and his followers. They are well satisfied to remain as they are, being prosperous under the present state of affairs.

Mr. LAPOINTE moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to and debate adjourned.

#### GOVERNMENT AID TO SHIPBUILDING.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON (Minister of Finance) moved that Bill No. 199 to assist shipbuilding be read the second time:

Mr. D. D. MCKENZIE (Cape Breton North and Victoria): I was hoping, Mr. Speaker, that the Minister of Finance would give us some explanation about this Bill before moving its second reading. A couple of nights ago we had a rather protracted debate upon the resolution preceding this Bill, and we received very little enlightenment on the question at issue. I am sorry that the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) is not in the House so that I might have an opportunity of specifically calling

his attention to the fact that we are entering upon fresh expenditure which was not forecasted in the Speech from the Throne, nor was it mentioned at any stage during the session when inquiry was made as to the legislation to be brought down.

The extraordinary condition is that this Parliament is called upon to assume liability to the extent of some \$30,000,000, without at this stage being informed for whom we are assuming that obligation. There have been occasions in our history when the Government undertook to help industries. We undertook to help the steel industry at the Soo in Ontario, and the steel and iron industry in Nova Scotia. But then we were dealing with substantial institutions located in this country, and particularly so far as the Nova Scotia Steel Company and the Dominion Steel Company were concerned, they being corporations with millions of capital invested in the Dominion, we were dealing with something that naturally was in the best interests of the Dominion. To-day we are called upon to spend money, not by way of a certain payment for every ton of steel or iron produced, nor for every ton of shipping launched—nothing of the kind. That would be something substantial, something that we could understand and to some extent handle. But what is presented to us to-day is a proposition that some man whom we do not know may come along and make a contract with somebody else whom we do not know, and that after that is done we are to pledge the country's credit to the extent of some \$30,000,000 in order to help the first unknown man in his contract with the second unknown man. We have not a farthing's worth of security for our money.

We were informed by the Minister of Finance in the early stages of the discussion that he was to obtain security upon the ships to be built. Well, it is only at certain stages of its growth that any reasonable security can be taken upon a ship. At the commencement she is only a heap of iron, steel and wood—the material assembled for her construction, which material is certainly not a very valid security for such a large sum of money as we are being called upon to give by this Bill. We are told that the parties who may negotiate with the Government are not natives of this country, nor are they British subjects; consequently they are incapable of holding this class of property. Now, how can a foreigner give security in property which he cannot own? I was hoping that we would be

[Mr. McKenzie.]

informed that some other kind of security would be given. I would imagine that the Minister of Finance, if he has any respect for the judgment of hon. members, would tell us that he had some kind of security before he would ask this House to pledge the credit of the country to the extent of \$30,000,000.

We are told by hon. ministers, when the question of money comes up, that we have to forego public works and extensions of our railway lines—extensions which are absolutely necessary to look after the carrying trade of the country and its proper development—that there is no money available, and thereupon we stop agitating. But the Minister of Finance comes before Parliament to-day and says that he has \$30,000,000 to develop a foreign country. The Government have thirty millions of money, with which to build ships for foreign countries. This is a most extraordinary condition of things; surely such a proposal was never put before any Parliament. The returned soldiers are looking for a bounty; they are looking for assistance in re-establishment, but the Government say: We have no money; the strain upon the country is too great; we cannot add one feather's weight to it. We say to the Government that we will stand by them. And after we have done so we are told in the dying days of the session that we have \$30,000,000 with which to develop the shipping trade of some foreign country. Members of the Government may be able to offer a satisfactory explanation of this legislation to their own consciences and to their own supporters, but they certainly have not offered any satisfactory explanation to this House. As a private member of the House and as representative of a certain class of the people I protest against this transaction. It is absolutely unbusiness-like; it stands without precedent in any Government that ever existed in this country, either provincial or Dominion. I call upon hon. members of good common sense who realize that they are here as the guardians and trustees of the interests and rights of the people to find out why we are asked to give \$30,000,000 to somebody, we know not whom. Why should we say to anybody, whether he is a foreigner or not: "If you will get a contract with some one who is willing to build a ship in this country we will give you the money; we will exact no security of any kind; you will own the ship and take it away; we will give you five years to pay for it. At the end of that five years the Lord knows where the ship

will be, but go your way rejoicing and sin no more, lest worse may happen." I do not see how a worse business transaction could be foisted on the country. Where did the Minister of Finance get this fantastic motion? As chairman of the Railway Commission he must have had to deal with hard-headed business men; he must have had to arrive at businesslike decisions. I would not expect his training there to give him any ideas of this kind.

The Bill is prepared with a great deal of ingenuity. The ordinary man who reads it would think that we get a cash payment of fifty per cent of the price of the ship; at all events he would think that we were getting a twenty-five per cent cash payment before the work was started. But the only cash payment mentioned is ten per cent. Then there is another ten per cent in some kind of security, so that the payment is brought up to twenty per cent, half of it in cash. We have a right to assume that the ten per cent in respect of which cash is not mentioned will be paid in some kind of security, and not in cash, but it is not stated what that security is to be. Then, the other twenty-five per cent which must be paid within nine months of the date of the contract is to be arranged—not paid—to the satisfaction of the man who is going to build the ship. After all this is arranged we have the humiliating spectacle of a foreigner coming into this country and having his note endorsed by The King of Great Britain and Ireland. With that endorsement he goes into the bank and gets the money. Never in any part of the Empire so far as I know has power of this kind been given to endorse notes in the name of The King; it is being done here for the first time. I protest against all this. The Government have no business to spend these enormous sums of money without any security or without any knowledge of what is really involved.

If any one in France, England, Belgium or elsewhere wants to build a ship, the Old Land is full of shipyards. If, on the other hand, he wants to come to this side of the water for his ship, there are shipyards along the St. Lawrence that will be glad to build it. In the port of Halifax there is a new shipbuilding concern which is building large ships, the same class of ships that are contemplated here. If a good business man wants to have a ship built, why does he not go to one of these concerns who are carrying on operations along business lines? Why should we be called upon to take the step that is now proposed?

Why, we have sixty-three or sixty-four ships of our own,—ships that were built at a cost of \$75,000,000 or \$80,000,000. If we have any business sense or business acumen we will try to get business for those ships. Are we sane when we are starting out to lend money without interest, without security, without profit or gain of any kind, to other men or to a series of concerns who are going to build ships and put them into trade against ourselves and cut down our profit on ships in which we have invested \$75,000,000 or \$80,000,000? That is the proposition simply put by myself who can put it only in a very poor, blunt way; but I think I can be understood. And if, as I hope, some business man in the House will put this proposition before Parliament in its true light, I shall have a right to be assured that business principles will govern the Government before they will give their final assent to this wildcat expenditure of money which we can ill afford to throw away, as it threatens to be thrown away.

Mr. THOMAS VIEN (Lothbinière): Mr. Speaker, I only regret I was unavoidably absent the other night when the resolution on which this Bill is founded came before the House for the first time, because I should have liked at that time to give to the House at least my views on this subject. There is a misunderstanding or a failure to understand the real features of this proposition on the part of some hon. members, because otherwise the same criticism would surely not have been offered, or at least it would not have been offered in the same way.

In the first place, hon. gentlemen should fully realize that the Canadian shipbuilding industry is extremely important in regard to the development of this country, and that unless we assist it in some way or another at the present time, it is in great danger of disappearing. The Canadian shipbuilding industry was practically created during the war. Before the war we had hardly more than a couple of shipyards which were turning out steel ships. The war has given to the shipbuilding industry in Canada a new impetus; and while it is very seldom since I have been a member of this House that I have had occasion to congratulate the Government, I must be frank on this question, and I think the Canadian Government should certainly be congratulated on the assistance they have given to the shipbuilding industry of Canada. This industry is not a mushroom industry in Can-

ada. We have in this country everything to uphold such an industry in normal conditions. We have the iron, the coal; we have now the shipyards, the experience, the skilled labour; and there is no reason why we should not be able to establish the Canadian shipbuilding industry on a sound and stable footing for the general benefit of Canada in the future.

But what are the conditions that prevail now? The Canadian Government have come to the end of their shipbuilding programme. They are now operating some sixty-odd ships, and they think they cannot place any further orders with Canadian shipyards. The Canadian Government being now withdrawn as a purchaser of ships built in Canadian shipyards, we have to turn our eyes to some foreign country to place orders with Canadian shipyards. What is the situation with which we are met? We are met with this situation, that notwithstanding the great need of foreign countries for steel ships, on account of financial conditions in the markets of the world, and particularly on account of the state of the exchange, they cannot possibly pay in cash for ships that they would be willing to order to be built in our Canadian shipyards. The fact is not that they are insolvent; it is not that they have not the assets to guarantee fully the builders or the Canadian Government against any possible loss; but it is that on account of the present state of exchange they would suffer a very heavy loss if they were to pay in actual cash. As a matter of fact, France, for instance, could not at present pay in Canadian dollars except by giving for every dollar 12 francs instead of 5 francs. I know whereof I speak when I say that the proposition before the House is a good and sound one. I am just back from Europe; I was in Paris during the months of February, March and April, and there I met directors of various shipping companies who told me that they were willing to place orders for as much as 500,000 tons of steel shipping in Canadian shipyards, provided that we could arrange a credit for a certain period so as to permit the exchange to re-establish itself. I am free to say who these gentlemen are. They are directors of La Compagnie des messageries maritimes. They told me they had already in commission five ships that they were willing to mortgage in addition to the five ships that they were willing to order from Canadian shipyards. They told me that in addition to that, if the Canadian

[Mr. Vien.]

Government were not satisfied with the guarantee of one ton of shipping already in commission in addition to each ton of ship which was to be built, they were ready to place in trust as additional security bonds of the French treasury. They told me that they had immovables, real estate, in the city of Paris to an amount of over 10,000,000 francs, and they were willing to mortgage that under a trust deed as collateral security. But one thing they could not do was to pay in dollars, or to sell such securities on the market at present on account of the loss which that would entail to them. Therefore, at present, the situation is this as regards the shipbuilding industry in Canada. It is a question of either letting the shipbuilding industry go by the board or assisting it in some way or another. Three plans have been proposed for the assistance of the Canadian shipbuilding industry. One was to assist them by a bonus of \$15 or \$20 on every ton of shipping for which orders were placed with Canadian shipyards. The Government flatly refused to entertain such a proposition. They considered that the Canadian exchequer was not in a position at present to be able to give that assistance by way of bonus or subsidy. Another plan suggested was to finance completely the orders placed by foreign purchasers with Canadian shipyards. Again, the Government flatly refused to accept such a proposition; they would not hear of it. Then came delegation after delegation, and my hon. friend from Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau) and myself have a personal knowledge of the delegations that came and of the proposals that were laid before the Government. If I have any criticism to offer of the Government's present proposal it is that in my opinion it does not go far enough. That feature of the Bill which provides that 25 per cent of the purchase price must be paid in cash is to my mind a bad feature, but the Government insisted that they would not do anything better. It will simply mean that the French purchaser will have to pay 50 per cent of the cost of the ship and will lose 25 per cent. For instance, let us suppose the ship is going to cost \$1,000,000. 25 per cent of that will be \$250,000. The purchaser has to pay that in cash. What is the state of the French currency at present? It is such that the French purchaser will have to give 12 francs to every dollar instead of 5 francs to the dollar under normal conditions. So that in French currency what the French pur-

chaser will have to pay will be 50 per cent of the cost of the ship. This extra 25 per cent will be lost to the purchaser through the difference of exchange.

I wish to draw the attention of the House for a moment to the great advantage that has accrued in the past to Canada by the creation of the Canadian shipbuilding industry. There are at present at least from 23,000 to 25,000 men working in Canadian shipyards. There is a shipyard very near the place where I live—the Davie Shipbuilding Company, at Lauzon. Though I have not a cent of interest, I am glad to say, in any shipyard in Canada, it seems to me that I would be unpatriotic if, knowing the conditions as I do, I failed to give the House the full information I have in my possession. The Davie Shipbuilding Company, which during the war built a number of ships for the British government and also on foreign account, has paid in wages alone over a period of over eighteen months between \$60,000 and \$70,000 a week; and this is not the biggest shipyard. The Halifax shipyard and the Vickers yard at Montreal have done much more. What will these workmen do if on account of the shortage of Canadian orders, or the impossibility of accepting orders on foreign account, the shipyards in Canada are forced to close down? These men will be thrown out of work, and moreover, the \$50,000,000 invested in Canadian shipyards will be practically lost, or at all events it will be idle for a number of years until the exchange is re-established.

I have read with careful attention the criticism which has been offered of the Government's proposal by hon. gentlemen on this side of the House who oppose it, and I have failed to find any serious objection to the legislation which has been introduced, but I have discovered, just as I discovered this evening in listening to the hon. member for North Cape Breton and Victoria (Mr. McKenzie), for whom I have the greatest respect, that there is some misapprehension on this question. For instance, did I not hear the hon. gentleman say that under this legislation the Government would throw away money without any guarantees at all? I think that the hon. gentleman misunderstood altogether the legislation which is now under consideration. There is nothing in the Bill to the effect that the Government is not going to take full guarantees so as to protect itself against any eventuality. First of all, the purchaser, the foreign company placing

orders with a Canadian shipyard, will have to put down 25 per cent of the amount. Secondly, the Government takes a mortgage to the amount of 50 per cent of the value of the ship. Thirdly, the Canadian shipbuilder will have to arrange otherwise for the other 25 per cent between the purchaser and himself. The hon. gentleman said: During the course of construction of the ship you have not a full guarantee for your money. That argument might apply if the Government were to pay to the shipbuilder 50 per cent of the amount in bulk before the keel was laid. But the Government surely—and this is one of the provisions of the Bill—are going to see to it that the money is well expended. The Bill provides that the Government will have their own inspectors, and will not pay the various progress estimates unless they are fully satisfied that the work is progressing to their satisfaction. The hon. gentleman also said that this proposal was for the development of a foreign country. I say that that is an unsound argument. Are we developing a foreign country or our own Canadian industries? With the assistance of the Government's endorsement of these notes, which will probably be negotiated on the American market, much money will be brought into Canada, and it will remain and be used in Canada for the development of our Canadian industries and for the benefit of Canada at large. We have now rolling mills in the constituency of my hon. friend from Cape Breton North and Victoria. These rolling mills will turn the steel plates which will be used in those ships. The Canadian steel industry will provide not only the steel plates but the farmework, the forgings and the castings, and our other industries will provide the paint, the furniture, the woodwork, and everything else that goes into the construction of the ship.

I do not think that any of that money will go out of the country. It will all remain here, and will enable the Canadian shipbuilding industry to get on its feet during this abnormal financial period, and it will enable the industry when normal conditions are restored to fight its way and compete with the rest of the world. This is not only my opinion. I would refer hon. gentlemen to an article which was published in an American review. I refer to the *Marine Review* of July, 1920. The July number of this journal is now out and it contains a complete review of shipbuilding enterprise in Canada. It says:

The entrance of the government as a factor in the building of ships has been largely instrumental in developing the shipyards. Indeed, had such action not been taken, the dominion probably would not have anything like the building or shipping record it has to its credit. Soon after the outbreak of hostilities in 1914, the Canadian yards began to experience the benefits resulting from an increased demand for tonnage, but even though the marine department exerted its utmost influence to secure orders for Canadian yards, still the results were disappointing. It was not until the imperial munitions board, acting as the agent of the British government and sustained by ample credits from the dominion government, began to place orders for ships that the industry got on its feet. The value of the orders placed by the board aggregated \$70,000,000. The industry received another strong impetus through the action of the Dominion Government in launching its shipbuilding program, which has resulted in the creation of a federally owned Canadian mercantile marine. To date, 60 cargo vessels, with a tonnage of approximately 360,000 deadweight, have been contracted for, involving another expenditure of approximately \$70,000,000.

The fact that several steel shipbuilding yards had come into existence before the war is good evidence that the men behind them believed that there was a future for the industry. The comprehensive scale on which the Halifax yards have been planned and are being laid out at this date by some of the prominent Canadian industrial leaders, is further proof of this. On the Atlantic coast the prospects for the industry look brightest, it being nearest the center of the world's shipping activities. The cost of production in that district is most likely to permit of competition with British yards. The future of the St. Lawrence yards as a factor in the shipbuilding industry would seem to be reasonably assured. In the matter of prices, the British Columbia yards have done as well as any in the Dominion, having bid as low as \$167.50 per ton on several vessels for the mercantile marine. Before the signing of the armistice, the average price paid on these contracts was \$199.63 per ton. Since that time the average price has been \$173.17.

Some hon. gentlemen have also criticised this policy as being opposed to their free trade views. May I refer the House to what has been done in free-trade England in connection with the development of the shipbuilding industry? I would quote from the Marine Journal of June 19, a New York paper, which has the following reference to British shipping:

Greatest of British shipping organizations, the Cunard Company is operating scores of passenger and cargo steamers between New York and the ports of the United Kingdom and the Continent—competing with unsubsidized American steamers. The Cunard Company has since 1840 enjoyed a liberal subsidy from the British Treasury. Some years ago the Government loaned the Cunard Company \$13,000,000 to build the Mauretania and Lusitania, and gave the company a new subsidy of \$1,100,000 a year for twenty years, by which the loan could be repaid; and the rate of interest charged was the nominal one of 2½ per cent.

[Mr. Vien.]

So that free-trade England has built up her marine and her shipbuilding industry by direct government assistance, and it seems to me that if we want to develop in Canada a big industry we cannot do better than imitate what has been done across the water. If we consider the proposition which is before the House, it will be seen that every precaution has been taken not only in regard to the financial standing of the purchasers—and I can assure the House that the financial status of the companies who want ships now is more than satisfactory—but also as regards the ability of the Canadian shipbuilder to execute his contract and also as regards his financial ability to discharge completely his responsibilities. Everything is safeguarded. The Government are not obliged to advance money but are simply empowered to do so; and if any criticism is to be offered it is that they did not see their way clear to go further, because I am afraid that this 25 per cent cash payment will not secure foreign orders. Be that as it may, I think that in the present instance we should only congratulate the Government for their forward and progressive policy, because they are assuring the life of the Canadian shipbuilding industry without spending a cent. They do not incur a cent of liability, because they have 200 per cent of guarantee for every cent that they will endorse but will not disburse. For these reasons I shall be in favour of the proposition, and I trust that my hon. friends on this side of the House will see it in the same light and also favour it:

Mr. F. H. KEEFER (Port Arthur and Kenora): Mr. Speaker, allow me to take the first opportunity to commend the hon. member for Lotbinière (Mr. Vien) for the information he has given to the House as to what has been done on the other side of the water. We on this side ought to know something of what is taking place here. Let me speak from experience in regard to this shipbuilding question from the Canadian point of view. We have been told that our seventeen yards in Canada employ 25,000 men, a large proportion of whom are returned soldiers, and that a large amount of capital is invested. What happened in the middle of last winter in one of those yards I desire to tell the House. In December, at Christmas time, I went home to spend the Christmas vacation and the moment I got there I was approached by employees of the shipyard, by the returned soldiers, the council and

every one, who wanted to know if something could not be done to keep that yard working during the winter. The difficulty was considerable. The policy of the Government had been declared: No more ships. The appropriation that was made was practically exhausted. Immediately on my return to Ottawa I interviewed the Minister of Marine (Mr. Ballantyne) who at first was like adamant. Not another ship would he build. It was pointed out to him, however, that the situation was critical and that it would be serious to throw out of work men living a thousand miles away from centres of employment. He was shown that these men were struggling to keep up their homes, and so forth; how the cessation in shipbuilding would affect the merchants of that town, as well as other places throughout Canada, and the general result that would ensue. As a business man he saw the proposition in its proper light and gave me one more ship to carry through the winter. This summer that yard is out of employment unless something like this is done. We have heard the hon. member for Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau) explain quite correctly why it is that we can get no foreign orders. When one realizes that the franc to-day is worth a quarter of what it was worth in normal times—as the hon. member for Three Rivers pointed out, it takes twenty-two francs—

Mr. DUFF: Twelve.

Mr. KEEFER:—well, twelve—to buy what heretofore could be bought with five, you can readily understand how it is that foreign orders will not come to this country unless this can be avoided. I think that if by granting one dollar we can get another dollar in addition to that to spend in this country and get security it is very good and sound business.

The objection is offered that the ships may be thrown back on our hands; that they may not be paid for, that freights will fall, that the value of the ships will decrease, and that these ships will be left on the hands of the Government. Well, I wish they were. We have not enough ships to-day in the Canadian Merchant Marine and it would be a very good investment for Canada to get these ships at half cost. To-day we have built and contracted for sixty-three ships; that is not enough to do the business of this Dominion on the Pacific and on the Atlantic coasts. Canada stands in a most remarkable position so far as shipping is concerned. On the East and on the West she reaches out with both arms to the two oceans. Of all

countries, her eastern coast is nearest her western coast on a trip around the world. We have not enough ships to-day to do the business of Canada. We have a destiny ahead of us; we must become a maritime nation.

We have not only the salt water navigation to take care of; we must also look to the interior stretch of navigation on the Great Lakes, and the time is not very far distant when we shall have the seashore of Canada enlarged by many thousands of miles. Some twenty-four hundred miles from Belle Isle straits to the head of lake Superior will soon become accessible to navigation of salt-water ships; and when the canals, the Welland and St. Lawrence, are constructed, eighty per cent of the navigation of the seas will sail these inland lakes coming through these canals, and we shall not have enough ships to carry the produce of the country. What is the situation to-day in the United States? The interior states are suffering from their inability to get produce to the seaports. There is wheat to-day in Kansas grown last year, with this year's wheat also on top of it; and one of the factors of the high cost of living is this inability to get crops out to the seaports. We in Canada so far have not been troubled thus because of our transcontinental routes and the moderate amount of shipping on the Lakes. But the time is coming when, as we grow in population and put more land under cultivation, we shall be choked at the spout unless we have more ships to carry that material away. During the last year or two some of it had to be moved by rail, and even as it is now, transportation by water and breaking bulk at lake Erie ports, it represents six cents a bushel more. It means a great deal to the West if this saving be made and handed to the producers. It also means a great deal to the purchaser of products imported. Even if we had these ships thrown back on our hands for the half of their cost the Government would be much richer as a result of it.

We should have a line of steamers running from the Pacific coast through the Panama canal, stopping, trading and unloading in the West Indies, and going on then loaded to Halifax. We should have another line running from Halifax, doing the same thing, picking up cargoes and taking them through the Panama canal to British Columbia ports. Then we should have railway transportation east and west meeting halfway in connection with this steam-

ship service. We have not enough ships to do that to-day. We cannot trade with South Africa, with Australia, with New Zealand or with India although we need, consume, and are buying, products which they produce, let alone trading also with the foreign nations of the world.

10 p.m. For these reasons I would strongly urge this House to unanimously pass the second reading of this Bill.

It is a pleasure indeed to see hon. gentlemen stand up like the hon. member for Lotbinière (Mr. Vien) and the hon. member for Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau), lay aside their politics, lay aside all party considerations, and look at this question from a purely Canadian point of view.

Mr. W. D. EULER (North Waterloo): Unlike the hon. member for Lotbinière (Mr. Vien) I have no special knowledge of the shipbuilding industry. I would approach the question from one point of view. I am not prepared to go into the details of the proposition, but I would view it entirely from one standpoint, and it is this: If this country is prepared to adopt the principle that any private individual or any industry in particular can come to this Parliament for the purpose of having the Government of Canada endorse its notes and business proposals I see no reason why every other industry in Canada cannot do the same thing. The argument which has been made, and well made from his point of view, by the hon. member for Lotbinière might as well be made for any other industry in Canada. I see no distinction and the argument falls to the ground unless hon. gentlemen on the other side or those who, on this side, are in favour of the proposition, can show to me that the commercial life of Canada is vitally affected by this particular industry, or unless they are willing to accept and follow the principle which they have enunciated in the interest of one industry and apply it to all other industries. I think that is absolutely sound.

The argument has been advanced that assistance should be given to the shipbuilding industry in this way in order that some 20,000 or 23,000 men may be continued in their employment. The very same argument would apply to men employed in other industries. For example, we will say that in the city of Kitchener, which is a very busy industrial centre, the furniture industry finds it rather hard sledding. We have some eighteen or twenty factories and they find it difficult to keep their factories go-

[Mr. Keefer.]

ing and their men employed. A deputation representing these factories comes down here and asks the Government to assist them to develop an export business and for that purpose to extend to them the credit of the country. These men would never think of doing such a thing and this Parliament would never think of granting the request. But the shipbuilders come to this Parliament and ask for the credit of the Dominion in carrying on their private enterprise. If it is granted that the shipbuilders are entitled to this consideration then any other industry is entitled to come to Parliament and receive the same assistance. It has also been said that this is necessary in order to save the industry itself. Well, I do not believe in that argument, because the probabilities are that the industry will have to be saved over and over again. It will not be the last time probably that they will make a request to the Government for assistance; and once the Government has taken this step I do not see how it can logically refuse to take the second step, and the third step,—and follow it up by giving the same sort of assistance to anybody else who may choose to come here and ask for it.

We had the same argument advanced in regard to loans to foreign countries. We had one example in particular which impressed itself upon my mind at the time,—the guaranteeing of something like \$7,000,000 of contracts for the sale of meat to Italy. The argument had previously been put forward on behalf of the Government that those credits were extended in order that industry in this country might be assisted and working men be given employment. But that argument could not possibly apply in the case of the meat sold to Italy. As a matter of fact \$7,000,000 of the credit of the Dominion was given entirely on behalf of perhaps one man alone. The people of Canada did not gain; but they may lose in so far as the national credit is pledged. As to Roumania, we know today that by the credit given certain manufacturers, this country may lose all the money that has been advanced. At least, we know now, that not even the interest has ever been paid on the Roumanian loan.

The statement has been made that this course should be taken in order to assist in restoring the balance of exchange. Well, that argument holds good for any other industry you might choose to name. And I am on my feet to simply register my protest against the Government adopting the principle of assisting with its credit the

making of profits by private industry. If we are going to do it now, let us have it thoroughly understood that this is the settled policy of the Government, and let us fight it on that basis. I for one am not going to support the initial move which, if logically followed out, will lead to the backing of any and every private industry with the credit of Canada.

Mr. S. W. JACOBS (George Etienne Cartier): Mr. Speaker, I concur in every word that has fallen from the hon. member from North Waterloo (Mr. Euler). I think the Government is making a serious mistake in embarking upon this policy. Are we in a financial position to undertake commitments of this kind? It must be borne in mind that we are paying now about 6 per cent for money, and it seems to me that this is the very time when we ought to pull in our horns rather than embark on a policy of further credits.

If private enterprise wishes to engage in shipbuilding, well and good; but why should we, as a Government, undertake to bonus this particular industry at the expense of every other industry in the country? It has been said that unless we assist this industry we are going to have a large number of men thrown out of employment. But that contingency may arise in every line of industry. Take the clothing industry in the city of Montreal, which is one of the most important industries in the province of Quebec: we have sometimes thousands of men thrown out of work between seasons. Does the Government come to the assistance of the clothing manufacturers and bonus them in order that they may re-engage those men?

Mr. VIEN: Will my hon. friend permit a question? Did not the Government, with the assent of my hon. friend, facilitate the placing of a number of orders with the woollen and textile industries by way of credits to other countries?

Mr. JACOBS: All I can say to my hon. friend is that it certainly was not with my assistance or approval. Every time the question came up I opposed it as vigorously as I could. When the granting of credits to the Balkan States was before the House my stand upon the question will be found in Hansard. I opposed those credits as being a vicious principle. Now I find that that same principle is to be extended to the shipbuilding industry. I opposed even the shipbuilding programme of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, for I thought it was not good business, particu-

larly at the present juncture, to embark upon such an enterprise. Much more do I feel that this principle of bonusing private individuals is a vicious principle and should be frowned down by this House and by the country.

Last year when the then Minister of Finance, the member for Leeds (Sir Thomas White) was examined before a special committee appointed, I think, to study the problem of the cost of living, he stated emphatically that while he would not go so far as to say that the financial condition of the country was critical, it was serious. Has anything arisen in the meantime to cause us to change our view with regard to our financial condition? It seems to me that the Government in this particular case, as in other cases, is playing like a gambler who intends by a last desperate throw to redeem his fallen fortunes. There seems to be no enterprise put before them which they do not think ought to be supported. But I trust that the House will call a halt to this mad wild scheme of bonusing one particular industry to the detriment of every other industry in the country.

If it goes forth that industries are being bonused in order to keep people in employment—

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Will my hon. friend allow me a question? Did not the Liberal Administration bonus the steel and lead industries during their term of office?

Mr. JACOBS: A great deal of water has flowed under the bridge since that time. We cannot compare the condition of the country under the Liberal Administration—which had the support of my good friend, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Mr. Ballantyne)—with the present condition where we have a staggering debt of \$2,000,000,000 and an annual burden of \$400,000,000. Where are we going to get this inexhaustible supply of money which is being demanded from day to day by greedy friends of the Government? It seems to be only necessary for a person to come before the Government with any scheme, to receive favourable consideration, and to at once have it crystallized into the form of a resolution, followed by a Bill, and put through the House.

I regret that my good friends from Lotbinière (Mr. Vien) and Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau) should see fit to join forces with the Government in this new raid which it is contemplated to make upon the Treasury. Of course, in the case of my hon. friend from Three Rivers, I can understand the

reason, because he has in his division a large number of people who would be thrown out of employment, so that it is, as we would say in French, *une cause d'espèce*,—a particular case. And probably there is some good reason why my good friend from Lotbinière has found it necessary to ally himself with the Government on this matter.

If we are going to bonus various enterprises, why not bonus, for instance, lawyers?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: Hear, hear.

Mr. JACOBS: Many of us could do with a little bonusing just now.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. JACOBS: I am glad that that has met with some support all round. The same principle applies, Mr. Speaker. We were told yesterday that there is no money to pay members a decent indemnity. But we find plenty of money to pay out to foreign gentlemen, who in glowing terms depict to us what great good is going to come to the country if we only pledge our credit for them.

The business of the Government is to govern not to act as bankers or, as the member for Pontiac (Mr. Cahill) has said, as pawnbrokers. If we go into a system of that kind we do not know where we will land. To-day we have shipbuilding; to-morrow we may have banks; the next day we will have railroads—well, we have railroads, the railroads like the poor, we have always with us. In the light of our experience in the matter of railroads, does the House not think that we ought to go slow in the matter of the other form of transportation,—shipping? We have lost hundreds of millions of dollars through our railroads; we have almost bankrupted the country. What assurance have we that in the matter of shipbuilding we shall not find ourselves, metaphorically speaking, on the rocks? At least the railroads are in our own country. We can bring immigrants here and develop the country, and at some time in the future the railroads may be useful to us. But ships are here to-day and to-morrow God knows where they are. I think the Government is making a very serious mistake in embarking upon this policy. I trust that it is not too late for them to realize the undesirability, particularly at this juncture, of bringing in a Bill to pledge the credit of the country to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars. The Minister of Finance, I notice, expresses surprise; I can understand his being alarmed

[Mr. Jacobs.]

when we talk of hundreds of millions—I will say, tens of millions of dollars. Here we are at the end of the session, and the Government asks us to consider an important matter of this kind. It is usual for the Government to state in the Speech from the Throne what legislation of importance it intends to bring down so that members may study carefully the questions which will be brought before the House and obtain information from all sources with regard thereto. But in the last days of the session, when we are told that we are to remain here only three or four days longer, we are asked to pledge the credit of the country to the extent of vast sums of money. I say, Mr. Speaker, this is a mistake and I intend to record my vote against it.

Hon. C. C. BALLANTYNE (Minister of Marine and Fisheries): Mr. Speaker, I wish to reply to the point raised by the hon. member for North Waterloo (Mr. Euler), who stated that the furniture people of Waterloo and other large centres in that vicinity have just as much right as the shipbuilders have to ask for such guarantees as are now proposed. I am unable to follow my hon. friend in that argument. If the shipbuilders of Canada had the benefit of the same protective duty that the furniture manufacturers have; if this Government were willing to give to the shipbuilders the same amount of protection that is given to the furniture manufacturers, this Bill would not now be before the House. But absolutely no protection of any kind is given to the shipbuilders of this country. Having regard to the fact that Canada has shown her ability to build ships as efficiently as the United Kingdom is able to build them, and to the further fact that various Governments of Canada during the last fifty years have wisely assisted our diversified industries, some through a protective tariff and some through bonuses. I think it is fair that the shipbuilders from Halifax to Prince Rupert who have invested fifty millions in the shipbuilding business should ask the Government to afford them reasonable protection. The shipbuilders would be well satisfied if the Government could give them a protective tariff or a bonus.

Mr. JACOBS: How would it be possible for the shipbuilders to have a protective tariff?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: My hon. friend, being a lawyer, should understand that that would not be possible, but it is possible that they be given a bonus. I am not here to decry bonuses, but I understand that

they are not very popular at present, although in years gone by they were wisely granted by both Liberal and Conservative Administrations. As a result of the granting of such bonuses we have many large industries in this country that we otherwise would not have had. Now, during the past year several delegations of shipbuilders have asked the Government to give them a bonus. The Government have not seen their way clear to do that. The hon. member for George Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs) likes to refer to the present proposal as a bonus, but he knows full well that it is not a bonus. He understands legislation as well as any other hon. member, and he must know that this is simply a Government guarantee with ample security. The Government of Canada have, first of all, a note from a good, strong financial buyer; that is the first security that the Government have. The Government will have a say as to the yards in which the ships shall be built; they will see to it that the contracts are placed only with yards that are strong and in good condition financially. The second security that the Government have is the endorsement of the shipbuilder who gets the contracts. And on top of that the Government have a mortgage on the full amount of the ship, although they are putting up only half the value of the ship. It does not take much of a business man to understand at once that this arrangement is a most advantageous one from the standpoint of the Government. The people of Montreal will not be pleased with the attitude taken by my hon. friend (Mr. Jacobs) with regard to this legislation; neither will the people of Canada generally be pleased with his attitude respecting the Government's shipbuilding programme. But regardless of that the Government are going on their way. If the hon. member will take the trouble to look at this morning's Montreal Gazette—I am sure that there is no newspaper in Canada that he has more faith in—

Mr. JACOBS: Excuse me. Do not wish the Gazette on me.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: If the opinions of that paper do not carry weight with the hon. member, they do carry weight with the business men of Montreal and throughout the country. The Gazette, in an editorial, fully endorses the policy of the Government in this regard. The whole question comes down to this: Who would not guarantee notes if the security offered him was two to one?

Mr. EULER: If that is a sound attitude to take, why would it not apply to any industry? Are we in the money-lending business?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: I have explained to the hon. member that this industry has no protection whatever. I do not want to cover again the ground that has been so ably covered by the hon. member for Lotbinière (Mr. Vien), nor do I want to take up the time of hon. members by covering again the ground that I went over the other night. This is one of our great national industries—\$50,000,000 of capital is invested in this industry; 25,000 men are engaged in it; another 25,000 men are engaged in machine shops and boiler shops throughout this country making marine engines, boilers, pumps and so on. And in these times of stress and strain, it is the duty and obligation of the Government and of this House, when we get the ample security that we are getting under the provisions of this Bill, to keep this national industry of ours going and to keep those 50,000 men employed.

The notes that will be given are not long-term notes, and my opinion is that it will be only a very short time until the notes are redeemed and the mortgages will be lifted on those ships, and in the meantime we shall keep our seventeen shipyards throughout Canada fully employed for two or three years, or perhaps more. Therefore, I am sure that a majority of the members of this House are satisfied with the provisions of this Bill; that they are satisfied with regard to the security that is offered, and that they will be quite willing to support the Government when the time comes to vote upon this Bill.

Mr. JACOBS: The hon. gentleman is a director of a number of banks and trust companies in Montreal. Will he tell us whether the promoters of this scheme attempted to obtain money from the banks or trust companies before they came to the Government?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: That is a very easy question to answer. While the hon. member has done me the honour to say that I am a director of several banks and trust companies, I may say that I am a director of one bank and one trust company only.

Mr. JACOBS: Look at the trust company.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Very well. The bankers have been consulted in regard to this proposition for several months past. The

shipbuilders who are putting up 25 per cent of the money will have to go to the banks to get it; but such a large quantity of tonnage as this, if we get the orders we hope to get, will run into many millions of dollars. The shipbuilder is going to put up a quarter; the buyer is going to put up a quarter, and the Government is going to guarantee one-half from time to time as the ships are being constructed, with the admirable security which I have mentioned.

Mr. JACOBS: Is the bank not going to advance the money and the Government going to secure the Bank?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: No.

Mr. EULER: Is it not simply the intention of the Government to endorse notes?

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I must remind hon. members that the House is not in Committee. The Minister of Marine and Fisheries, (Mr. Ballantyne) has now resumed his seat.

Mr. WILLIAM DUFF (Lunenburg): Mr. Speaker, I had not intended speaking on the second reading of this Bill; but when I listened to the speeches of the hon. member for Lotbinière (Mr. Vien), the hon. member for Port Arthur and Kenora (Mr. Keefer) and specially my good friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Mr. Ballantyne), I could not very well remain silent. Two years ago the Minister of Marine and Fisheries asked us to pass an Estimate for \$30,000,000 to build ships in this country and thereby establish shipyards. I felt that was not a good policy at the time. By voting that amount we sowed the wind; to-night we are reaping the whirlwind. The situation which faces the Canadian people to-day on account of the introduction of this legislation is exactly what might be expected from such a policy as was introduced by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries and his associates who knew nothing about shipbuilding or shipbuilding conditions. That is why it is necessary for the Minister of Marine and Fisheries and the Minister of Finance (Sir Henry Drayton) to introduce this Bill to-night. What do we find? You cannot build up any business on false premises; a business to remain established must be built under proper conditions. If you, Sir, or any other man in this country, desires to establish a business, before he does so, he looks over his field of operations and he sees first if he has customers for his product. It is almost impossible for a man to tell exactly what is going to happen or how long a

[Mr. Ballantyne.]

business is going to continue; but before he invests his money or goes on the stock exchange and sells stock, he must have a prospect which will give sufficient inducement to himself or his friends or the public generally to invest money in that business. What did we find in the shipbuilding policy of the Government in which they put \$70,000,000 which I and other members of the House opposed at that time? It was this. The Government deliberately went into a business of which they knew nothing; they gave orders to shipbuilders in this country who had no plants. If we had had shipbuilding plants throughout the country there might have been some reason why, during the stress and strain of the war, as the minister has described it, orders might have been given for a few vessels in order to help the old Mother Country out. But the Government policy was such that shipyards sprung up like mushrooms on entirely an unsound basis.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: If the hon. member will take the time to-morrow to look up my first speech on shipbuilding in March or April of 1918, he will find that I then stated that there were fourteen steel shipbuilding yards in Canada.

Mr. DUFF: I do not want to question any statement which the minister makes. It is quite possible there might have been fourteen shipyards in Canada at that time; but whether there were or not, we have heard to-night that the reason why we should pass this Bill is to keep certain shipyards in this country in existence. We are told, if we do not vote for the principle of this Bill, 23,500 shipwrights and 25,000 other men will be thrown out of employment. If, as the minister says, there were fourteen shipyards in this country before he embarked upon this suicidal policy of building ships for this country, his argument falls to the ground, because if these shipyards were established, why should we do as the hon. member for Lotbinière (Mr. Vien) says and come to the rescue of shipyards with orders or credits at this time? The fact that the Canadian Government embarked upon this policy gave the shipyards encouragement to go ahead and spend money—which has been estimated by one hon. member at \$50,000,000—in plants. The Minister of Marine and Fisheries told us that those yards were established before we had these abnormal conditions. You can take one side or the other. If, as the minister says, the shipyards were established, then the argument falls to the ground that

by this Bill that we are asked to pass to-night, we are protecting \$50,000,000 invested by shipbuilders in this country. I want to take the other side—and I think I am right in taking it—and that is, by the policy which the Government adopted in 1918, they have taken from the farm, from the fisheries, from the lumber camps and from every other industry, men who have gone into the shipyards and built ships for which the Government have supplied the money. Had that not been done, had those industries been allowed to stand on their own bottoms, if the tonnage of the world turned out to be scarce, and people wanted tonnage, orders would have come without governmental assistance, and we would not be in the position in which we find ourselves to-night. Now we are told that if we do not come to the assistance of these shipyards they will have to close down, and the men employed will be thrown out of work. Well, that condition has occurred before. It appears to me a poor argument to say that because the Government find themselves unable to borrow sufficient money to allow the Minister of Marine and Fisheries to build more ships, we should assist these private shipyards or the men will be thrown out of employment. If they were thrown out of employment it might be the best thing that could happen if they cannot keep going on their own finances and credit, for they would go into other productive industries. Personally, I do not think it would happen, because I think the men who have money invested in these shipyards would go out and get orders themselves. If some men were thrown out of employment it might be the very best thing that could happen, because they would then go into other industries and produce the products which are so much required by the people of this country and of foreign lands.

Mr. MORPHY: The other evening I asked the hon. member if he would favour the Government's policy if it included assistance in the building of wooden ships. He said he would have to consider the matter. I repeat my question now that he has had time to consider it.

Mr. DUFF: I am very pleased indeed the hon. member asked me that question. I would answer it in this way: If it is good business for the Government to embark upon the policy set forth in this Bill, would it not also be right if to-morrow morning I took into the office of the Minister of Finance or the Minister of Marine a dele-

gation of shipbuilders of wooden ships from the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. I say that the Government policy should take into consideration every branch of the shipbuilding industry. The Government has no right in formulating their policy to pick out a special class of shipbuilder, and for that reason this policy should be voted against by my hon. friends in this House. It is not right or fair for the Government to bring down to this House a proposition picking out a certain industry in Kingston, Quebec, Montreal, or Halifax, and excluding the wooden shipbuilding industries on the Pacific and Atlantic coasts.

Mr. MORPHY: If the Government had included assistance to wooden shipbuilders would the hon. member support this policy?

Mr. LALOR: Come on, that is the second time.

Mr. DUFF: Pork and beans make a very good meal if there are no stones in them, as the hon. member for Haldimand (Mr. Lalor) should know.

Mr. LALOR: Come along.

The DEPUTY SPEAKER: I must ask hon. members to assist the Speaker in maintaining the dignity and decorum of the House.

Mr. DUFF: In answer to my hon. friend from North Perth I want to say that the shipbuilding business in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick has been in existence ever since those provinces were settled. The shipbuilders of these provinces have never asked the Government for any assistance. When the war started, and the cry for ships came from the Old Land and from the Allied countries, the people of the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick put their hands in their pockets, or they went to their bankers, and said: We are asked to build ships to help the Mother Country. Instead of going to the Government for assistance the shipbuilders of those two provinces established the industry there themselves, and built the ships that were so urgently required. I do not wish to decry any industry, but I may say to my hon. friend that the Nova Scotia shipbuilders are exactly in the same position to-day as the shipbuilders who are asking for this legislation which we are asked to pass to-night. Have we heard a cry from Macedonia, or from Nova Scotia, asking the Government to help the shipbuilders of that province? Has there been any cry from the

shipbuilders of New Brunswick? No, Sir. You will not see the men from Nova Scotia coming to this Parliament and asking for assistance. They believe in standing on their own feet and their own bottom, and that is what these other shipbuilders should do. If the shipbuilders at Quebec and Kingston and Montreal cannot build ships and sell them in competition with other builders, there is only one thing for them to do, and that is to close up shop, just as my hon. friend would have to do if he was in business and had no customers. It would be regrettable, of course, if such an amiable gentleman should have to close up any business he was interested in, but if he had not any customers, I am sure he would not come to the Government and say: For God's sake, help me out of this hole for two or three or six months or longer.

Mr. MORPHY: Do I understand my hon. friend to say that the builders of wooden ships do not require any assistance and would not accept it if it was included in this proposal?

Mr. LALOR: Come across.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I must remind hon. members that the hon. member for Lunenburg has the floor, and that it is absolutely contrary to the rules of the House for other hon. members to interrupt him.

Mr. DUFF: I am very pleased to answer the question. I might say, first to my hon. friend from Haldimand that beans are very palatable when they are properly put up, and if there are no stones in them.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The hon. member should not provoke interruptions, he should assist in maintaining the decorum of the House.

Mr. DUFF: The hon. member for North Perth asked me a question with respect to the building of wooden ships in Nova Scotia.

Mr. LALOR: You have enough wind; you do not need any beans.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: I must once more remind hon. members that the House is not in committee, and that putting arguments in the form of questions is absolutely contrary to the rules of the House.

Mr. DUFF: Although I cannot speak for the shipbuilders of the province of Nova Scotia, I feel they are far too independent to come to this Parliament and expect the

[Mr. Duff.]

people of this country to help them carry on their business. If they cannot carry it on themselves, I believe they would willingly close up their establishments, and the men would go into some other productive industry. The shipbuilders of Nova Scotia do not want any help from this Government either in the way of a cash advance, a bonus, or endorsement of their notes by the Government.

Coming back to the Bill, I think it will be admitted by everybody that an individual who endorses a note for another party always feels that he is not entering into a proper business transaction. There are sometimes circumstances where it is necessary for an individual to endorse somebody's note, but it is usually done under pressure, or because he is in politics or for some other reason. It certainly has never been considered good business in this country or any other for a private individual or a business firm to endorse the notes of other individuals or business firms. Consequently, it cannot be good business for this Government to endorse the notes of gentlemen who are resident in other countries, or even in this country. There is another matter to which I wish to refer in this connection. The other evening in discussing this question I said that I did not think that it was necessary for the Government to endorse these notes. I felt that if this business was a bona fide one, and if these men who want the ships built were responsible parties, it should not be necessary for the Government to endorse their notes. The business can be arranged through the banks as any other business has been arranged, and I expressed myself to that effect. To-night I heard the Minister of Marine say, in answer to a question asked by the hon. member for George Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs), that so far as the banking interests were concerned he did not think, from the information he had, that they would loan this money. The other evening when the resolution was before the House I asked that a certain time be given so that hon. members might make inquiries as to whether or not it was possible for the shipbuilders who were getting the contracts to arrange the financial end of the business. Of course, I cannot divulge private interviews or any conversation that occurred between me and certain persons; but I have no hesitation in making this affirmation, that to the best of my knowledge and belief, if the proper security were given by the man who wants ships in a foreign country and if the guarantee of the

French Government or a bank in France were given, there would be no trouble in this country in raising the amount of money required for the purpose of building ships. The only criticism I have heard in regard to the proposition that this Government should assist in the financing of the enterprise is that the financial interests of the country have no confidence in the Government. We find in this Bill that these ships are to be registered in a foreign country and that this Government will have a mortgage on them. Now, if I remember rightly, this is not the policy adopted by this Government a short time ago, and in order to support this statement I will quote words that fell from the lips of no less a personage than the Minister of Marine himself. It will be remembered that some time ago the British Government wanted this country to build ships, and the British Minister of Munitions was willing to place an order in this country provided the ships were transferred to British registry. The Minister of Marine (Mr. Ballantyne) considered—and rightly so, it seems to me—that the more ships we could register in this country the better it would be for us. I will give his exact words:

It should be remembered in this connection that the ships built by the Imperial Munitions Board (for the British Ministry of Shipping), while financed with Canadian credit, were for the British Government, for British registry, and for operation in whatever part of the world they might be needed.

The Minister of Marine at that time did not favour the building of ships to be placed under British instead of Canadian registry. At that time he was purely Canadian; to-day he is somewhat alien, not in blood but in sentiment. In addition to that statement having been made by the Minister of Marine just a few months ago, another gentleman, who is thought a good deal of in this country, made a similar statement. This gentleman is connected with the Marine Department, but yet I think his words will carry some weight. Mr. Alexander Johnston said:

The Minister of Marine, with the most hearty concurrence of the departmental officers, concluded that, if ships were to be built with moneys advanced by the Canadian Government, it would prove more beneficial ultimately to have them owned by Canada, registered in Canada, and subject to direction and allocation by the Canadian Government.

So we have no less a personage than the Minister of Marine and Fisheries and his estimable deputy saying that ships built with Canadian money or with Canadian

credit should fly no other flag than that of the Canadian nation. But we have another gentleman who also was opposed to the plan of financing ships for foreign countries. This gentleman came into this House and strongly recommended that something be done for the shipyards of this country. I refer to the hon. member for Centre Toronto (Mr. Bristol) who came to the Government's defence in regard to the proposed financing of Canadian shipbuilding. Among other things the hon. member said:

Canada was financing the British shipbuilding programme in Canada for the benefit of Great Britain and it was obviously better for Canada in her own interests to finance this programme for the benefit of Canada in view of her need of ships and of after-war conditions than it was to keep on building ships with her credit for the benefit of Great Britain.

If we want to be loyal to Great Britain and Canada why should we advance credit to foreign countries when we are not willing to do it for the Mother Country? If the Minister of Marine is sincere and consistent he cannot come to this House, having made that statement only eighteen months ago, and say that he is quite satisfied to advance money and credit to foreign countries for ships.

I must say that this is a wildcat scheme. If there is any security which is just a little worse than any other it is the security of a ship. Perhaps I may be allowed to make that statement because I have had something to do with ships. If I understand the Bill correctly it means that when the ships are launched and ready for sea they will be immediately transferred to French register.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: No.

Mr. DUFF: Do I understand the minister to say that they will not be registered in France?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Yes. They will have no other register except Canadian register until such time as the notes are paid and the mortgages are lifted.

Mr. DUFF: The minister corrects me by saying that these ships will be under Canadian register until the notes are paid. Admitting that to be the fact, let us go a little farther. Under Canadian register and under the present Shipping Act, the ships will have to be captained and officered by British subjects. I cannot understand that the French buyer of a ship will want it to be captained by a British or Canadian captain. It is quite evident that the Government has not looked into this matter properly. I fully believe that when

the French contractors who are willing to contract for these ships find that they must be officered by British officers and engineers they will refuse to take delivery of them. Supposing, for the sake of argument, that the French Government, or French ship owners, are willing to take delivery of ships captained by British officers, what happens then? A ship leaves this country, goes to France and then proceeds to South Africa. She is sent all over the world. How can the Government follow that ship? It is absolutely impossible for this Government to follow a ship to any part of

11 p.m. the world and it is foolish for them to try to do so. Let us suppose that this vessel goes to Natal, South Africa, and in coming out of the harbour of Natal runs into a ship worth \$5,000,000 and sinks her. Our Government has a mortgage on this ship which is supposed to be owned by people in France and the ship is worth, say \$1,000,000. She sinks a ship worth \$5,000,000. What is the good of our mortgage in that case? The owners of the \$5,000,000 ship will immediately libel the ship on which we have a mortgage, with the result that if the ship on which we have the mortgage is at fault, she will be taken and sold to pay part of the damages done to the \$5,000,000 ship. Is that the kind of a guarantee that we are going to have for the repayment of our notes? It is a suicidal scheme and no business man would embark upon it. It is in accordance with ordinary business principles that when the Government introduces a measure the party which it leads is supposed to follow it but here is a case where it is quite evident that the Government is embarking upon something about which it knows absolutely nothing and my own opinion—and I think the opinion of the majority of the people of this country—is that this Bill should not pass.

Mr. H. M. MOWAT (Parkdale): This is such an important question that I feel that anybody who has any definite ideas upon it will be excused at this late hour for briefly referring to it. This is a venture that Canada could not safely embark upon under ordinary circumstances but only under very exceptional circumstances, namely, that the shipyards of this country must go out of business unless something of this sort is done. Let us look at the history of this case in so far as we can gather it from the statements made by the ministers who have had charge of the negotiations.

[Mr. Duff.]

The building of ships to the order of Canadians has practically come to an end and shipbuilders have now received an offer from foreign countries to build ships. They ask: "Where is your money"? The negotiations result in showing that owing to the low rate of exchange the foreigners cannot make a bargain with our shipbuilding industries that is satisfactory to them. Here we have offers made to buy ships and the shipyards cannot build the ships on account of the unsatisfactory terms offered. It is perfectly natural that this position of affairs should be presented to the Government both by the shipbuilding industries and by the proposed purchasers. Unless the Government can contemplate the shipyards going out of business it seems to me the only thing they can do is to come before the House with a proposal of this sort. It is a courageous enterprise, a good business project, it has sound business reasons behind it, and therefore the Bill should be supported. It is a proposition that will commend itself to large business men and lawyers as being one in the public interest. One argument in opposition to it is that it is proposed to advance this credit on a promissory note. That may be a good argument from the debating standpoint but it does not touch the real point of this arrangement. While notes are given to secure the advance for a year and nine months and up to fifty-seven months yet the real basis of the bargain is the mortgage being placed upon a ship under Dominion of Canada. The hon. member for Lunenburg (Mr. Duff) spoke about this mortgage being placed upon a ship under the register of a foreign country. That is not so, it must be registered in Canada. During the war the rates were so high that a ship could pay for its entire cost in two voyages, and in many cases I am told the whole cost could be paid for by one voyage. Freight rates are still high and I am told that ships can pay for themselves in a very short time. If the notes are not paid as they become due the Dominion is entitled to sue upon them, foreclose the mortgage and take over the ship. The owners cannot look upon that possibility from a business standpoint for one moment and if they cannot finance these notes from the profits of the ship they must provide other means in order to keep to the tenor of the note.

For another reason I am very much impressed with the importance of this measure. For many years I have held consistently that Canada to be a successful country must

be a shipbuilding country. We have an enormous line of seacoast and we must take example by other countries, especially England and Scotland, which have succeeded from the fact that they are shipbuilding countries. If we are to look to our future with confidence we must take our share in the shipbuilding industry of the world. If these shipyards are to fall by reason of not being able to get Canadian orders and have to look for European customers, then a very large force goes out of the business of shipbuilding and it cannot be restored. The business will languish and the trade we now have will be at an end. I do not look at this matter from the viewpoint of many of the members of the House who have opposed this scheme on the ground that it is a proposal made by the shipyards themselves for their own protection and benefit. I look upon it from another standpoint altogether apart from their interest and from their success. Of course we are all interested in their success but only in a mild degree. I look upon this scheme as being one for the purpose of keeping the shipyards going till we see what can be done in the next few years. It is of grave national concern that these shipyards should be kept going. My hon. friend from North Waterloo (Mr. Euler) says that if this assistance is granted to the shipbuilding industry, any other industry can come to Parliament for similar assistance. That is true; they can come here for assistance; but they will not get it.

Mr. McMASTER: Hear, hear.

Mr. MOWAT: No other industry can come here and hope to get the country to back its notes unless, as in this case, the national interest is bound up with the industry. My hon. friend from Brome (Mr. McMaster), who exclaimed "Hear, hear", to what I said just now, spoke of a man in his constituency who might want to build a barn coming to the Government for financial assistance. That is, of course, reducing the matter to an absurdity, because of the fact that whether or not new barns are built in Brome is of no concern to this House or to the country,—although I am sure we would all be glad to see that riding prosper.

Mr. McMASTER: Thanks.

Mr. MOWAT: That argument it appears to me is met in this way: That we do not commit ourselves to help other industries in the future; every case must stand on its own bottom and must be considered on its merits; and I am sure that if any farmer

from Brome were to come here and ask us to finance his barn even the hon. member for that constituency would not advocate before this House the granting of such assistance.

I am surprised to see my friends directly opposite applauding points which they think are made against this proposition, because if there is any class in Canada that depends upon the shipping industry being developed to such a point that competition in rates can become effective, and where we can be sure that enough bottoms are ready to carry the grain of the country to foreign markets, it is the grain growers of the Northwest. And how they can oppose a scheme which will benefit their industry to that extent I fail to understand. If they could show that we would be called upon to pay this money—which is a large amount, no doubt—then it might well be said that it was too great a risk for the country to assume, but I have heard no argument from them, as business men, that the country is risking a single dollar; we are simply giving our credit in an exceptional case. I think that when my friends ponder this matter and realize that their whole existence depends upon the shipping industry of Canada so that bottoms will be available in ever increasing numbers to take the grain of the country to the markets of Europe,—I say that when they realize the importance of shipping to their very existence—they will see that they are ill-advised to oppose the passage of this Bill.

I have heard—of course, I do not know whether it is true or not, but I daresay that representations have been made to the Government—that if these prospective purchasers are not able to place their orders at the present time, these seventeen shipyards must shut down. If those shipyards have to dismiss their men they will lose a very competent lot of mechanics who will drift into other lines of work, and if we ever try to resuscitate the industry we shall be confronted with difficulties which it will be well-nigh impossible to overcome.

Mr. J. F. REID (Mackenzie): The hon. member for Parkdale (Mr. Mowat) has stated that the shipbuilding yards of Canada must shut down unless they are pap fed. Of course my hon. friend did not use these exact words, but he spoke to the same effect. It is the same old story, that the big interests are still coming back to the Government to be pap fed. I would not like to see our shipyards closed, but such a contingency does not seem probable, judging from the statement made some weeks ago

by Grant Morden of the Dominion Steel Corporation, to the effect that we could build ships in Canada as cheaply as in Great Britain, and that our steel industries were well equipped to compete with foreign rivals. If this be the case, rather than come to the Government to endorse notes for fifty per cent of the cost of any and every ship, the big interests should go to our financial institutions. But they follow the time-honoured custom of coming to the Government to be pap fed.

My good friend from Parkdale (Mr. Mowat) made reference to the high ocean rates prevailing to-day. I venture to say that by the time these ships are launched and carrying freight on the Atlantic the rates will be considerably reduced. It seems to me that this is another game similar to what has been played in the past when we were persuaded to guarantee the bonds of railway companies. Now we have those railways on our hands, and probably we may have a number of second-hand ships left with us. I notice that some of these notes may be drawn for as long as 57 months—almost 5 years. Now, it is quite possible that a number of these ships after that period of time will not be very much of an asset, but rather a liability, because ocean rates will certainly come down, and this Government, or whatever Government is then in control, will find itself with a number of second-hand ships on its hands as well as the 22,000 miles of railway which cost us altogether too much money.

The hon. member for North Waterloo (Mr. Euler) put the question: Are we to-day going into the money-lending business? It seems to me that we are making a start in that direction. But when we look into the Treasury we find that not only is it empty, but it is over \$2,000,000,000 in debt. The cost of construction of ships per ton in Canada is very much in excess of the cost in the Old Country, and surely there must be something else behind this proposal, because if our good friends really wish to purchase in the cheapest market they could purchase their ships in the Old Country at a much less price at any rate than our Government ships cost us.

We are asked to support this proposition because it will provide labour for our mechanics. But this Government does not need to go very far to find such labour. The Government of Saskatchewan is expending over \$1,000,000 in building good roads, but they cannot find men to do the work. Even this Government told us when

[Mr. J. F. Reid.]

that no labour is available to build the roadbed or to lay the steel. And yet we are told that it is necessary to provide this money to create labour in Eastern Canada. We asked for the extension of branch lines. It seems to me that these two statements are not consistent. I therefore urge hon. members not to take this plunge, and to vote down this Bill.

Mr. A. R. McMASTER (Brome): Mr. Speaker, before this Bill is read the second time I wish again to protest energetically but respectfully, and, I trust, strongly, against the adoption of a measure which is vicious in principle and which will be found to be absolutely unwise in practice. When I look at the members of this Government facing us to-night I am reminded of the saying of the Latin poet that "whom the gods destroy they first make mad," because this is one of the maddest proposals that was ever placed before the Canadian people.

My hon. friend the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Mr. Ballantyne) inferred that the member for George Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs) was going against the best views of the people of Montreal. I can tell the minister that with the exception of those who are particularly interested in the passage of this measure—and I have some knowledge of the business community in Montreal—the people in that city are utterly opposed to the placing upon this country of indirect liabilities running into tens of millions for the sake of keeping a certain industry going. I do not believe that these yards, if they are properly managed and soundly financed, will have to close down if they do not get this Government assistance. I say that we can lay down no more unsound principle in the administration of the affairs of this country than that any large interest that is in financial difficulties may come to the Government and be assisted. I am appalled, Mr. Speaker, at the functions which this Government are assuming. They are assuming to run the railroads of the country; they are assuming to run a substantial part of the shipping of the country, and now they are assuming to go into the business of lending money on bottomry and respondentia.

The statement has been made by the member for Parkdale (Mr. Mowat) that it would be absurd for the Government to pledge its credit for a farmer who wanted to put up a barn, but it is quite proper, he evidently thinks, for the Government to pledge its credit for the purchase of

ships. Well, I think both are absurd; I think that the farmer should stand on his own feet and that the ship should float on her own bottom. But if you ask me, as a man who is accustomed to advise people in their business dealings, which is the safer, to lend a farmer money on his barn or to lend a shipowner money on his ship, I say that I prefer the investment that is fixed; I prefer to lend money on something that you can see any time you want to look at it rather than on a ship that sails the high seas and is subject to all the vicissitudes and risks of navigation. Let me in a few words show what sort of security you are getting. There will be no personal liability in those who are entering into this transaction; the purchasers of these ships will be limited liability companies. The probabilities are that in the next five years—and the notes which are to be given in connection with this proposal are to run over almost five years—the cost of building ships will be reduced by half. The cost of building ships before the war was about one-quarter of what it is now, so that when conditions come back to normal I think it is fair to say that the cost of building a ship will be not more than one-half of what it is to-day. What does that mean? Under this plan the purchaser is going to pay only twenty-five per cent down. A mortgage of fifty per cent is to be given to the Canadian Government and a mortgage of twenty-five per cent to the shipbuilder. After five years the equity of the owner will have entirely disappeared. Every bit of the ship which the owner is operating will be mortgaged, and if the earnings are only sufficient to pay the interest on the mortgage the owner will be working the ship for nothing and will not have that interest in the ship which an owner with an equity possesses in his property. This is the security which we are told is excellent security upon which to extend the credit of Canada. If the equity of the owner of the ship disappears, it will behoove the mortgage creditor, even to a greater extent than it otherwise would, to watch that ship, to see that it is insured, to see that it is properly managed. I say that this Government are assuming responsibilities which are not the function of the Government. I appeal to them even at this late date not to force through this legislation. Of course, they have the majority to do it if they desire to do it.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the second time.

The House went into committee on the Bill, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 1—conditions under which assistance may be given.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: Before this clause is discussed by hon. gentlemen, following the debate, I think that perhaps we should have a preamble inserted which would make entirely clear what we are doing. Perhaps this is necessary in view of the suggestions that have been made in opposition to the Bill, and perhaps this preamble will make the situation clear to hon. gentlemen:

Whereas large numbers of men are employed in the shipbuilding industry in Canada; whereas at the present time there is no demand for the construction of ships by Canadian purchasers and the Government of Canada has ceased placing further orders; whereas inhabitants of European countries are desirous of placing orders for ships in Canadian yards but owing to the present rates of exchange and the depreciated value of foreign currencies, they are unable to finance such orders and whereas it is advisable to assist in financing the construction of ships in existing Canadian shipyards.

The CHAIRMAN: I cannot, without the unanimous consent of the committee, put a motion that this preamble be now inserted in the Bill. The clause will have to be adopted first, then the preamble may be considered.

Mr. FIELDING: That is satisfactory.

Mr. BUREAU: Unanimous consent is given.

The CHAIRMAN: Consideration of the proposed preamble is postponed. Shall clause one carry?

Mr. FIELDING: I notice in the earlier discussion the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Mr. Ballantyne) said that this project would give employment to Canadian shipyards for two and a half years.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: We hope so.

Mr. FIELDING: In no critical, adverse spirit, but for the purpose of inquiry, I should like to know what my hon. friend thinks is going to happen after the expiry of two and a half years, which is a very short period in the life of a nation or in industry. The hon. member for Waterloo North (Mr. Euler) made the remark that he was afraid that if we assisted these shipyards to-day, we would have to continue assisting them. In times past, I have met with conditions similar to this, and I have been disposed to assist enterprises when I felt that by giving them tem-

porary assistance they would be placed on their feet. What is to be the fate of these shipyards after the two and a half years are over?—because from all the representations made by my hon. friends opposite, they apparently feel this assistance is absolutely necessary to keep the shipyards going. Is the minister in a position to give an assurance that after the two and a half years are over, the shipyards will be in such a firmly established position that they will be able to do business, or are we going to be asked to renew these notes by passing another Bill?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: This is a feature to which I have been giving some attention. This is not a question, hon. gentlemen will see, of the position of shipyards. That has nothing to do with the present emergency, and the question does not involve them directly one way or another. They are pretty well financed, so far as I know; they are well equipped, and their staffs and supplies are all that one would hope for. The difficulty is not a shipbuilding difficulty; it is entirely a difficulty which grows out of the present exchange situation, and we hope those exchange difficulties are but temporary. This legislation is for the purpose not of assisting any industry as an industry directly, but of enabling business to be carried on in a very important native industry from the only source from which it is possible to get business. There is nothing novel in this; our good friends to the South are not backward in seeing that they can get orders; in the United States they have a very heavy shipbuilding programme which is coming to an end; but under the Jones' Act they have provided for a revolving credit of \$25,000,000 which, as I understand the matter, is not only open for the 50 per cent which we are proposing here, but a general, open, revolving credit for the purpose of enabling shipbuilding to be carried on, in view, of course, entirely of the present abnormal state of exchange. Therefore, we are not doing this to get orders for any shipping concern in the ordinary sense at all, and we do not think that our responsibility in connection with the shipbuilding industry goes to any greater extent than what we are now providing for, namely, to meet what we hope is an entirely temporary exchange situation.

Mr. FIELDING: I think I was correct when I stated that either the Minister of Finance or the Minister of Marine and Fisheries argued that this Bill was necessary

[Mr. Fielding.]

to give employment to 20,000 or 25,000 people. He certainly impressed that upon the House as a strong reason for passing the Bill, and it is a reason which has some weight. I am not now addressing myself to a general criticism of the Bill, but I want to look ahead to see what is going to happen. We are going to endorse a note, and we have a right to ask ourselves the question—What will be the condition of the shipyards which are getting the orders when the two and a half years expire? If the shipyards are then going to be so firmly established that they can then get orders without any governmental assistance, that is a fair position to take.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: We think that is the position to-day. My information is, that although we pay a considerably higher rate of wages in Canadian shipyards than is paid in British shipyards, in view of the much higher cost of coal and steel at the present time in the Mother Country, boats are being contracted for just as cheaply in Canada as in Great Britain. Therefore, as regards the industry, it is in a position to carry on. A shipbuilder in Great Britain is where the money is; he is where the debased coinage is to be found; his own coinage is at a considerably greater discount than ours, and he is not subject to the same disability as the Canadian shipbuilder is on the ground of exchange. Further, from the information which has been given to me and which I believe to be correct, the general price of shipbuilding in Canada is cheaper than the price in the United States.

Mr. EULER: It may not be in order here; but if it is, as the minister states, that the purpose of the loan is not to assist shipbuilding, I would suggest that the title of the Bill be changed so as to read that this is to assist shipbuilders and exchange.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): I hope the Minister of Finance (Sir Henry Drayton) will be able to clear up a point which we discussed the other night and which was not made very clear, that is as regards the security. We are told that a mortgage will be given to the Government for the 50 per cent that they purpose advancing. The difficulty is that the registry is to be in Canada. The owner is an alien. How then can provision be made to give us a good title? My hon. friend is aware, of course, that a ship to be registered in Canada must be owned by a British subject; that an alien cannot register and own a ship in Canada. When the ship is regis-

tered it has to be officered by British subjects. The captain has to be a British subject. The Customs would not clear a ship from a Canadian port with an alien as captain. Certain other officers have also to be British subjects. There has to be a sworn declaration on record showing all these facts. How does my hon. friend expect to get this mortgage under these circumstances? Will the foreign buyer have to have Canadian associates? Or how will it be done?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: If we do not get the mortgage the boat will not be built, unless other ample security is provided. The Department of Justice has to pass upon these mortgages. That is one of the reasons why we have brought the Department of Justice into this. I do not pretend in this Bill to cover the details of law, which, I humbly submit, would be entirely improper for us to try to do in the Bill. It is all subject to the approval of the Government's law officers. There are different ways, of course, in which a proper mortgage may be taken, and it will be for the Department of Justice to advise whether the manner proposed is a proper one; whether it should be handled by a trust company or by a company with Canadian or American associates, or whether it would be better to take no mortgage at all, but to take pledges of securities to be lodged with our bankers overseas covering the whole advance. These are mixed questions of law and finance, and I can assure the hon. gentleman that they will certainly receive every possible attention.

Mr. SINCLAIR: I have no doubt that has occurred to my hon. friend before, and that is why this latter clause has been embodied in the Bill providing that:

—if the vessel is being built for an alien, and the provisions of this Act with respect to mortgaging the vessel cannot conveniently be complied with, such security for the amount of the said promissory notes endorsed by the Minister of Finance shall be furnished by the purchaser as may be approved by the Governor in Council.

That really seems to be the clause under which this scheme is to work, because it is admitted by the minister that you cannot get a legal mortgage if the alien insists on being the owner. Then we come down to this clause which enables the Government to make some other financial arrangement which will satisfy the Governor in Council that there is sufficient security for endorsing the paper, so that he may dispense

with the idea of getting a legal mortgage for half the value of the ship.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: Of course, on the other hand, we may think it absolutely necessary to have the mortgage. There is only one person who can say "must" in the whole of this transaction, and that is the Government, and we must say we must have a mortgage unless we are amply protected.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: There will be no difficulty whatever in getting a mortgage on the ship. That has been already looked into. Certain legal things will have to be done, but I can assure my hon. friend that we will have no difficulty in getting a mortgage on these ships.

Mr. McKENZIE: As the Department of Justice seems to be at sea in this matter, perhaps the Minister of Marine, as the encyclopedia of all knowledge, would explain in a few words this new principle of law by which an alien can own a ship in this country and give a mortgage on it.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: If a ship was built in the province of Quebec, for instance, a company could be organized under the laws of that province, and that would enable the Government to take a mortgage on the ship. That is one way there are others.

Mr. McMASTER: Let us suppose that in one of the shipyards there is a boat in course of construction, and that certain sums have been paid by the purchaser who is having this boat built for him, and that a mortgage has been given by the builder to the purchaser to secure the purchaser against the sums of money which he has paid on account. How would that be worked out if the Government assists in the completion of the boat?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: The prior mortgage would have to be discharged before the Government would make any advance.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): If a builder failed to pay his men, the lien laws of the province would also apply. That obligation would have to be discharged before title could be got.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: In connection with the lien laws the hon. gentleman will observe that first of all we have our 25 per cent cash.

Mr. McKENZIE: There is only ten per cent cash.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: I beg to differ. When we say "payment" we think that is cash.

Mr. McKENZIE: It mentions cash in only one place.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: I think if my hon. friend reads it over, he will agree with me that there is to be an initial payment of ten per cent of the price. They can pay as much more as they like. The limitation is as to the minimum that is to be paid. At least ten per cent of the price must be paid in cash at the time the contract is entered into.

Mr. McKENZIE: That is the last time cash is mentioned.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON (reading):

—and, if such cash payment is less than twenty per centum of such price, the payment to the shipbuilder of a further sum which with the said cash payment will amount to not less than 20 per centum of such price,

I think that means cash.

Mr. McKENZIE: It does not say so.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: Giving a note is not payment.

Mr. McKENZIE: I know my hon. friend is a lawyer, but so am I, and I know that a note is payment.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: I never thought a note was paid until it was paid. It may be taken as a substitution or not. It entirely depends.

Mr. McKENZIE: You could not sue for the debt while the note was running.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: It entirely depends on whether it was taken as a substitution or not. However, I have not the slightest objection to repeating the word "cash" three times. Over and above that there is the twenty-five per cent which is to be arranged as between the purchaser and the builder.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): Why would not the minister say in plain language that twenty-five per cent must be paid by the purchaser before any money will be advanced by the Government? It is not clear to me when the Government begins to make the advances. Is it as soon as the ten per cent is paid?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: Oh, no.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): I understand then that the Government will not make any advance until the twenty-five per cent is paid. Why not put that in plain

[Mr. McKenzie.]

language? It would be easy to construct a sentence to provide that on the payment of twenty-five per cent by the purchaser and on the builder arranging for payment of another twenty-five per cent then the Government will make the advance. I notice that it is not intended that the second twenty-five per cent will be cash because it says that the price is arranged between the purchaser and the builder. That evidently contemplates something else besides cash. I understand from my hon. friend that that first twenty-five per cent is cash put in by the purchaser, and I should like the minister to put that in the Bill.

Mr. McKENZIE: I would suggest in all friendliness to the minister although I have no affection for the Bill, that he should let the matter stand and draft the form of agreement which he proposes to enter into with these parties and submit it to the House so that we might see exactly what we are going to do. Surely this business is big enough to demand that the minister should disclose the nature of the contract and the terms that it will contain. I am sure that it is little enough to ask that the minister, before he urges us to pass the Bill, should attach to it as a schedule the form of agreement, as is done in all such cases. We would then know exactly what requirements would have to be complied with before the money of the people was advanced in this wildcat scheme.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): If the minister really means what he has said, that the twenty-five per cent must be put up by the purchaser before any money is advanced by the Government, I think there are some lines that might be struck out of the clause. I would suggest that all the words after the word "into" in the eleventh line be struck out down to the end of the fifteenth line, and that in place of "ten per centum" in the ninth line there should be "twenty-five per centum", so that the clause would read:

In any case where a person (hereinafter called the "purchaser") has entered into a contract with a shipbuilder for the building in Canada of a vessel of not less than three thousand tons, and such contract is approved by the Ministers of Finance and Marine and Fisheries, and a sum not less than twenty-five per centum of the price of such vessel is paid by the purchaser to the shipbuilder in cash at the time the contract is entered into, and the payment of a further sum not later than nine months after of twenty-five per centum of the price is arranged between the purchaser and the shipbuilder, secured to the satisfaction of the Minister of Finance, the Governor in Council may authorize the Minister of Finance to

endorse on behalf of His Majesty promissory notes drawn by the purchaser in favour of the shipbuilder for fifty per cent of the price of such vessel.

If the clause were reconstructed in that way it would mean what the minister says it means, that the purchaser has to put up twenty-five per cent and the shipbuilder and purchaser must arrange for another twenty-five per cent before the Government will advance the other fifty per cent.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: If the hon. gentleman will look at the Bill he will see that there is a limitation in the last clause. The notes that may be endorsed on behalf of His Majesty shall not exceed \$20,000,000; and the following clause will meet the hon. gentleman's point:

And no note shall be endorsed until after twenty-five per centum of the contract price has been paid.

Mr. McMASTER: In cash?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: Yes, that covers the point raised by the hon. member.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): That will not change the meaning of the first section which also requires an arrangement to be made for the other twenty-five per cent?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: No; it will not change that at all.

Mr. McMASTER: I am not quite satisfied with the provision that the ships shall not be less than 3,000 tons. Of course, there is nothing in the Bill to indicate the material out of which the ships are to be built, but the Minister of Marine the other night said that they must be steel ships. There is nothing in the Bill to show that. Now, I am utterly opposed to the principle of the Bill, but since it has been adopted I think it should be as fair as possible, and I cannot see why a shipbuilder who makes steel ships of over 3,000 tons should have his customers assist him while a builder who makes wooden ships or steel ships of 2,000 tons or 1,000 tons should not have the same assistance. Once you place a limit on the amount that the Government can endorse in this way, so long as the value is there I cannot see that it makes any great difference whether the ships are of one size rather than another. If you are going to enter upon this scheme to assist the customers of shipyards and in this way indirectly assist the shipyards, it does seem to me that it is an elementary principle of justice that all the shipyards should have

the benefit of the legislation, whether they build small ships or large.

Mr. GRIESBACH: The purpose is to get ships that will engage in foreign trade. Any yard capable of building a 3,000-ton ship will participate, but the purpose of the legislation ought to be to increase the number of foreign trading ships.

Mr. DUFF: The hon. member for Edmonton (Mr. Griesbach) evidently does not realize that ships of less than 3,000 tons engage in foreign trade. We have the very best class of ships and seamen on the Nova Scotia coast. Those men, during the whole period of the war, when my hon. and gallant friend was nobly doing his duty in France, were just as nobly doing their duty on the high seas, facing the submarines in the Mediterranean, in the North Sea and in the English Channel. The ships which these men manned were not 3,000-ton ships, nor were they steel ships. They were wooden ships built by Nova Scotia and New Brunswick shipwrights and of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick timber; and although, like the hon. member for Brome (Mr. McMaster) I am absolutely opposed to the principle of the Bill, nevertheless as the Scotch mother said that there were no step-bairns in her family, I see no reason why there should be any political step-bairns in Canada. I think therefore that every shipbuilder in the country should be treated alike. If it is a good policy to loan money to foreign countries to build ships for foreign trade is it not wiser policy for the Government to say to the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding), the hon. member for Colchester (Mr. McCurdy) and the hon. member for Digby and Annapolis (Mr. Davidson): "You have shipyards in your counties and they are either about to close or have closed already because you have filled all the orders you were able to obtain. Let your shipwrights go and fell their timber in the woods, use that timber for the purpose of building ships and we will finance them and endorse their customers notes. That ship will not go out of the country, it will not be sold to Newfoundland, or to France or to any other country but it will be used in Canada. Take the money of Canada and use it to help to build up the shipbuilding industry and trade of Canada. A few days ago when the Minister of the Interior was considering his Estimates for the administration of the Land Settlement Act I asked him: "Why

not give the fisherman-soldier the same privileges as you give under the Land Settlement Act to the man who goes on a farm?" He said the Minister of Marine would take that matter up with him. If this is a good proposition, would it not be a better one for the Minister of Marine and the Minister of Finance to say to the fishermen soldiers in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick: "We will help you to build ships by endorsing notes for you so that not only will the ships be built but you will be able to go out on the high seas and catch codfish, hake, haddock, or mackerel, help to feed the people of Canada and the people of foreign lands, make money for this country and increase production." If this policy must be adopted by the Government there is not a member of this House who in my opinion can consistently vote for this clause which says that no ship of less than 3,000 tons can be considered as entitled to participate in the benefits of this arrangement.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: The object of this Bill is to enable Canadian shipbuilders to place orders that are offered for steel ships. The foreign buyers do not want a steel ship of less tonnage than our lake size of vessels are. Three thousand tons is the smallest. The foreign buyer does not want anything but a steel ship or anything less than 3,000 tons.

Mr. DUFF: The Minister has not answered what I said a moment ago. What I said is that if we are going to help shipbuilders to build ships of not less than 3,000 tons for foreign countries, what will we do for our own people? If members are going to support the Government in the policy of advancing money or endorsing notes for foreign buyers, it would be the better policy to help the shipbuilding and fishing industry of Canada on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. If it is a good policy

12 m. for the Government to endorse notes to help foreign buyers to buy ships it is better business for us to endorse notes to help shipbuilders to build wooden ships to prosecute the fishing and trading industries of this country. I think this Bill should be altered so that a shipbuilder who can give satisfactory evidence of his ability to make a contract to build a vessel of 1,000 or 10,000 tons may receive the same encouragement as that which it is proposed to extend to the foreign buyer.

Mr. McMASTER: Will the Minister accept that suggestion?

[Mr. Duff.]

THE CHAIRMAN: Sir Henry Drayton moves to amend clause one by adding at the end thereof the following words:

—"and no notes shall be endorsed as aforesaid until twenty-five per centum of the contract price shall have been paid in cash."

Mr. FIELDING: Twenty-five per cent is to be paid and the other 25 per cent is to be arranged? Are we going to endorse the notes when only 25 per cent is paid?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: As a matter of fact the whole thing stands as it is in the first section. I have only put that in to make it clearer to hon. gentlemen. The whole matter will be arranged before we endorse anything. Before we start out we will see that the Government is safe, that the whole matter is arranged, that such an arrangement shall be made between the buyer and the shipbuilder as will ensure that that 25 per cent and the lien are entirely out of the way. Our purpose is to see that 25 per cent cash is paid.

Mr. McKENZIE: We were told that we were going to have the security of the buyer's note. Will the Minister give us the name of some specific buyer he has in mind so that we may judge of the value of his note?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: I have no specific buyer in my mind.

Mr. MARCIL (Bonaventure): Are there any specific countries in mind? Are they all European countries and are they all on the same footing?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: The business we expect to get is from France. Some may come from Spain.

Mr. MARCIL (Bonaventure): Are all European countries on the same footing?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: There is no immediate prospect of doing anything except with France and Spain; at least I do not know of any. Proposals have only been received from France and Spain that I have any knowledge of.

Mr. McKENZIE: If the Minister is not playing with us, and if he is thinking of language that means anything at all, it is quite open to him to say that he will not endorse notes and at the same time advance the whole of the money. I think he should say that he will not endorse notes or advance cash until certain eventualities take place.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. DUFF: I move, seconded by Mr. Sinclair (Guysborough):

That the clause be amended by inserting the words "steel or wooden" after the word "a" in the sixth line; and also that that words "of not less than 3,000 tons" in the sixth and seventh lines be struck from the Bill.

This will make the clause read:

In any case where a person (hereinafter called the purchaser) has entered into a contract with a shipbuilder for the building in Canada of a steel or wooden vessel.

This would enable the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Marine and Fisheries to endorse these notes for Canadians who desire to build vessels for the Canadian fisheries or the Canadian freighting business, and, as I said a moment ago, every hon. gentleman on the other side of the House should accept this amendment, especially the hon. members whom I mentioned a minute ago and the hon. member for Yarmouth (Mr. Spinney), who is as much interested in the shipping business as I am.

Mr. McMASTER: Before this amendment is put, Mr. Chairman, let me say a word in support of it. I object to this measure as special legislation, but this amendment will make the legislation fair, because it will put all shipbuilders on an equal footing; and I would draw to the minister's attention that there is a saving clause left in the Bill to the effect that each contract must be approved by the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Marine and Fisheries. Those two gentlemen will still be arbiters of the fate of those who apply for assistance to their customers to build ships. I do impress upon the Minister of Finance, who as a lawyer must have a sense of justice—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: Hear, hear.

Mr. McMASTER:—I know of no class in the community with a stronger and keener sense of justice than the legal profession, and I do impress upon him that to give an advantage to companies that may build steel ships, and to withhold that advantage from those who may build wooden ships, is neither fair nor equitable. I trust the amendment will be accepted.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: I know my hon. friend (Mr. Duff) is absolutely sincere in his suggestion, but allow me to point out one thing to him: He is now suggesting that we should do something that he and those holding the same views have argued

for two days we should not do, because they have been objecting to helping any specific industry as such, they have been objecting to bonusing or anything of that kind as such. There is only one reason why this Bill is introduced. It is not done for the purpose of bonusing any industry, but for the purpose of endeavouring to help overcome the exchange situation, and that alone. There is no exchange differences between one province and another, or between the inhabitants of one town and another. That is the reason that this amendment cannot be accepted. We would be absolutely departing from the principles of this Bill if we accepted this amendment. Another thing, in connection with the size and class of boats, this is the only boat that these people want.

Mr. McMASTER: I am just as much opposed to bonusing as ever. I am opposed to bonusing shipbuilding, but I am still more opposed to bonusing a certain shipbuilding industry and not bonusing the other shipbuilding industries. If you accept the principle, you say it is for the sake of overcoming the exchange situation. But a minute ago the Minister of Marine and Fisheries told us that the purpose of this Bill was to keep employed some 25,000 people in the shipbuilding industry who otherwise might be thrown out of work.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: Which can only be done by overcoming the exchange situation.

Mr. McMASTER: Well, if a French company or an individual want to have a wooden ship built of 1,000 tons in a shipyard in Nova Scotia, I say that on every principle of justice, equity and fairness if you enter upon this policy of endorsing notes—which I think is a very unwise policy—you have no right to refuse to endorse notes for the people who are going to buy wooden ships in Nova Scotia and at the same time endorse notes for the person who is going to buy a larger ship made of steel in the province of Quebec. It is not fair, it is not equitable, it is not even-handed justice as between the two branches of the shipbuilding industry.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: There is no danger of France or any other country wanting to place orders for wooden ships in Canada.

Mr. MARCIL (Bonaventure): Then there should be no objection to it.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: England, France and the United States have so much wooden tonnage that they do not know what to do with it. This legislation is to enable our shipyards to take orders for steel ocean-going ships, and I am sorry that we cannot accept the amendment.

Mr. DUFF: The Minister of Marine has stated that there is no inquiry from France or any other country for wooden ships. I thought I made it perfectly clear the other night that not only was there inquiry, but we were building wooden ships for France.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: During the war.

Mr. DUFF: No, no. The war, thank God, is over. I told the two ministers the other night that in the constituency of the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) they are to-day building wooden ships for France, and in my own constituency we are building wooden ships for France. We have been building those ships without coming to this Government to endorse the notes of the prospective shipowner in France or of the shipbuilder in Nova Scotia. But let me say that we are building ships for France for which we have made contracts and arranged the finances, in spite of the exchange—and that is the principle argument the Minister of Finance has put up. Well, if the little shipbuilders in Nova Scotia with their small capital and their small credit can arrange with their bankers to build ships for French account, certainly the big shipbuilders engaged in the steel ship industry could also do the same thing.

But what I want to argue is that whilst we have been able to finance those ships for France which we are now building or which have been delivered, a different situation may arise. Let us suppose that this iniquitous legislation goes through. A month from now a gentleman from France comes to our Nova Scotia shipbuilders and he says, "I am satisfied with the ships which you have delivered to me during the last six months, they are admirably suited for our business, and I am willing to place orders with you for ten more ships of the same size." The shipbuilder will say, "We are glad to get the business. What terms are you prepared to make with us?" "Well," the French gentleman will reply, "here is an Act passed at the instance of your Minister of Marine, who is a business man, and your Minister of Finance, who is said to be a financial man. Apparently they are willing to endorse notes for certain gentlemen in France to enable them to pur-

[M. Marcil.]

chase vessels costing \$1,000,000; certainly you should be willing to give us the same privilege and get your Government to endorse our notes." But, Mr. Chairman, the shipbuilders can only tell him, "The Government is not willing to endorse the notes for the building of small ships." The French gentleman may well exclaim, "That is rather strange. If the Government of Canada is willing to help build up the interests of men in this country who are millionaires, surely they should be willing to help the small shipbuilders in Nova Scotia." If the Minister of Marine and Fisheries and the Minister of Finance consider this good business, I do not. But, as I said before, if they do consider it good business to advance money for building of 3,000 tons or over, they certainly should be willing to grant the same privilege to French customers who want wooden ships of 300, 400 or 500 tons. For the last fifty years or more we in the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have done an excellent business with our neighbour, the Dominion of Newfoundland, in the selling of ships. Every year Newfoundland merchants come to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick and buy ten, fifteen or twenty ships. They either buy ships that have been built and sailed for one or two years, or they place contracts in the different yards for new ships. The shipbuilding business in the countries of Shelburne and Queen's has practically been kept going during the last two or three years by the Newfoundland and Lunenburg buyers. Now, Sir, what is the position which faces us to-day? At present it is impossible for the shipyards in Shelburne, Queen's and Lunenburg to get orders from Newfoundland merchants owing to a financial depression which prevails in Newfoundland. If, as the Minister of Marine says, one of the purposes of this Bill is to keep employed 23,500 steel shipwrights and 25,000 men connected with the steel shipbuilding business, is it not just as necessary to keep the wooden shipwrights busy, as well as the men who cut timber, make sails and do the rigging of wooden ships in my part of the country? If we are going to endorse the notes of customers in France in connection with the purchase of steel ships of 3,000 tons or more, we should endorse the notes of Newfoundland customers who want to buy Nova Scotia-built ships.

Mr. BUTTS: Did my hon. friend ever hear tell of a wooden ship of 3,000 tons?

Mr. DUFF: Yes, I did. I know they have been built, and I am sure that my friends

from the Pacific coast would answer that question in the same way. But we are not talking of wooden ships of 3,000 tons. I am referring to vessels which are required either for French account or for Newfoundland account. No hon. member is more familiar with the Newfoundland business than my hon. friend (Mr. Butts), because part of the trade of his town and his county is kept up by Newfoundland business men who go there to purchase coal. But if it is good business to endorse the notes of French shipbuilders who require Canadian ships, would it not be even better business, would it not be even better business, would it not be fairer, for the Government to help the business men of the sister Dominion of Newfoundland to purchase ships in Canada built of native Nova Scotia wood and by Canadian shipwrights? It seems to me, Sir, that the argument is unanswerable and that every hon. member should support the amendment which I have proposed.

Mr. MORPHY: The hon. member (Mr. Duff) took a somewhat different position during the earlier part of the evening. But before I enter into that, I may remark that the hon. member seems to have a chip on his shoulder to-night.

Mr. DUFF: I always have one on each shoulder.

Mr. MORPHY: Very well put; and the hon. member can take both sides of a question equally well.

Mr. DUFF: Oh, no; my hon. friend does that.

Mr. MORPHY: Replying to my question whether or not he would approve of this Bill if its terms were extended to cover wooden ships, my hon. friend said that he was entirely opposed to the Bill because the business men of Nova Scotia were too independent to accept from this Government any assistance under such a proposal.

Mr. DUFF: Hear, hear.

Mr. MORPHY: The hon. member stated that in such unequivocal terms that there was no room for doubt as to what he meant. To my surprise, the hon. member has now taken that back.

Mr. DUFF: No.

Mr. MORPHY: He is now pleading for what he refused to accept in the earlier part of the evening,—that is, that the builders of wooden ships in Nova Scotia be brought under the terms of this Bill for

certain classes of ships. That is what the hon. gentleman repudiated; that is what he refused on their behalf to accept. I do not pretend to have any expert knowledge of shipbuilding, but my own idea was that if, in these days of steel and concrete and construction of more durable materials, wooden ships could be built under the provisions of this Bill which would carry out the purpose that the Bill has in view, it would be fair, from the broad national viewpoint, to give the Nova Scotia shipbuilders an opportunity of securing this assistance. But my hon. friend seeks to emasculate the Bill in all its essential principles. Leaving entirely out of consideration the fact stated by the minister, that no country wants wooden ships of the larger tonnage. I submit that when the hon. gentleman moves to strike out the 3,700 and 3,000 ton clause of the Bill he amasculates it, renders it abortive and absolutely useless. He speaks of having the shipyards of Nova Scotia, in this steel age, build wooden ships of 400, 500, 600, 700 and 1,000 tons. But that is not within the scope or purview of this measure. The vessels aimed at are seaworthy, well-constructed vessels, such as can be built in fifteen or seventeen yards throughout the country. In these yards skilled workmen are ready to undertake the work and to fill orders which are expected from France and Spain, two nations which to-day need the tonnage and are prepared to make the necessary arrangements. The hon. gentleman disclaimed any desire on the part of Nova Scotia to obtain any assistance of this kind, even in respect to wooden ships; now he comes forward with a proposal to build small fishing smacks, canoes, rafts, motor boats—anything at all. Such a policy has no national scope; I believe the hon. member was right when he said that the people of Nova Scotia would not ask for assistance in the carrying out of any such programme of small boat building. With regard to the amendment my hon. friend suggests, I was more or less inclined, subject to being shown, to the view that if the building of large wooden ships of, say 3,000 tons, could be profitably undertaken and if such shipbuilding would, in the opinion of experts, be reasonable in the present age, these wooden shipbuilders might well be encouraged and permitted, in respect of the large boats, to partake of the provisions of this Bill. I am a land man; I do not know; I am rather shaken in my opinion about that after hearing what the Minister of Finance has said as regards building

wooden ships of that large tonnage not being a business proposition to-day. I believe the hon. member for Lunenburg (Mr. Duff) himself is convinced that the building of large 3,700 ton wooden ships is not a commercial proposition. Feeling as he does, knowing that it is a bad proposition—I think I am diagnosing his mind correctly—and being more or less a shrewd business man, a man of large affairs and knowledge, he seeks to get out from under that by saying to the people of Nova Scotia: “You would laugh at me if I talk about 3,700 ton wooden ships, so I will get rid of that if possible, and go into the building of 400, 500 and 600 ton boats.” That is to my mind, off from the sea as I am, not a commendable proposition, and I do not think the hon. gentleman thinks it is a commendable proposition. But with the chip on one shoulder and the chip on the other, the hon. gentleman is out to antagonize, to oppose,—I would not say obstruct, although it is half past twelve o’clock now, and he has not convinced me at all by any argument that the proposition that he puts forward is made for a good purpose. Would I be wrong in saying that if this is a good, sound undertaking and worth while, as it appears to be, the hon. gentleman is not even in the position of taking the dog-in-the-manger policy, that he would agree to it if wooden ships were put in? Rather, I think, after denying that Nova Scotia would partake in such a policy, he got into rather a peculiar position and he is willing to take up the time of the committee by trying to get out of that position now at the expense of emasculating the whole Bill in its more salient feature, and to put himself square in the nasty position he got himself into this evening at an earlier stage of the debate.

Mr. DUFF: I am sure the committee has listened with a great deal of interest to the lecture the hon. member for France, or I should say, Perth North (Mr. Morphy) has just given me and the House. I do not see that I was inconsistent any time in my previous remarks. I stated as strongly as it was possible to state it, that I was absolutely opposed to the principle of this Bill, and it was on the principle of the Bill that I said, in answer to my hon. friend, that I did not think the builders of wooden ships in Nova Scotia would require this assistance from the Government. But it is impossible for me to look into the future, and I do not think that I, or any other hon. member representing a constituency in

[Mr. Morphy.]

which wooden ships are built, would be doing our duty if we did not endeavour to have inserted in the Bill a clause to cover wooden ships as well as steel ships. Nova Scotia shipbuilders are independent men, and I am very doubtful if they would come to this Government to endorse their notes unless it was absolutely necessary to do so. But it might be possible that conditions might arise whereby, if this Bill goes through and they see that this Government is endorsing notes for French account, they would feel that, as good Canadian citizens, they were entitled to the same treatment as foreign gentlemen from France or any other country. But to show the hon. gentleman the way we do business in Nova Scotia, would it surprise him if I told him that at the present time I know of certain gentlemen in Nova Scotia who have sold ships to other countries and who have accepted as payment for those ships 25 per cent in cash and notes at three, six and nine months for the balance of the purchase price, and they did not come—I was almost going to say, “we did not come”—to the Government to ask them to endorse notes. That shows the independence of Nova Scotians; and as long as the credit of Nova Scotia shipbuilders is good at the banks and they do not reach the limit of their credit, they would rather accept notes from foreign or other buyers of ships than come to this Government to have their notes endorsed. What I fear is this, that if wooden shipbuilders are not placed in the same position as steel shipbuilders are being placed in by this legislation, people in France who desire to build wooden ships will come out here and say to the wooden shipbuilders of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick: “We expect you and your Government to treat us in exactly the same way as you are treating people from France who want steel ships built.” In the light of the lecture which my hon. friend gave me a few minutes ago, I may say that he has not advanced any argument why the Government should not accept my amendment. There is no greater reason why the Government should endorse notes for people who want vessels of not less than 3,000 tons than they should endorse notes of people who want vessels of 10,000 tons. The Bill is, I hope, not drawn to help certain people out. If this policy is a good one, it should cover every shipyard in Canada. If this Bill is drawn to help certain people out, then this committee should not adopt the principle of the Bill or vote for this clause. Consequently, I appeal to hon. members to accept my amendment which

does not prevent the Minister of Marine and Fisheries and the Minister of Finance from saying to a shipbuilder in Nova Scotia or New Brunswick, if he comes with a proposition of a ship of 100 tons or 200 tons or 500 tons: "We cannot endorse your notes under this clause." Even if the clause is amended as I suggest, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries has power to refuse the notes of Nova Scotia builders of wooden ships. Therefore, the amendment I have moved will do no harm and will satisfy the builders of wooden ships, not only on the Atlantic coast, but on the Pacific coast.

Mr. FIELDING: It seems to be assumed in the discussion that in the Maritime provinces, only vessels of a small class can be built. I must point out that in Liverpool within my constituency, there was built to assist in the war a large ship for foreign service. I do not remember her tonnage, but I think I am right in saying that she was a vessel of about 2,500 tons, built in first class style, turned out in a manner which gave entire satisfaction and which reflected great credit on the builder and on the community which turned out such a fine type of ship.

Mr. PARENT: Under this legislation will it be possible for a Canadian citizen to have a ship built in Canadian yards?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Provided that it comes within the terms of this Bill.

Mr. PARENT: My reason for asking this is that the main reason given by the minister for the passing of this legislation is that it would help the condition of exchange to a certain extent. How will it help the exchange conditions if a Canadian citizen can have a ship built in a Canadian shipyard under this legislation?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: The object of the Bill is not to assist Canadians to buy ships. There is no mystery about this thing. There is no demand at the present time by Canadians for boats, and no orders for the yards from Canadian firms. There are orders from Overseas, but the yards cannot do anything with them until the exchange is regulated. The object here is to meet the difficulty caused by the exchange. There is nothing in the Bill tying down the purchaser to any one country.

Amendment negatived; yeas 18, nays 42.

Mr. DUFF: I would like to submit another amendment. The minister is not quite sure on this question of the mortgage.

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I am convinced that a mortgage cannot be properly drawn that would fully guarantee our money. In my opinion the better way would be for the Canadian Government to keep the vessel registered in the name of the King until such time as these notes are paid. That would avoid all trouble, and would be far more satisfactory than taking a mortgage or any other class of security. If the vessel is registered on the Canadian register in the name of His Majesty the King, the whole title will be vested in the name of the Canadian people. I therefore move to strike out on page 2 of the Bill all the words in lines 4, 5 and 6, all the words in lines 7 up to and including the word "and", all the words in line 9 after the word "amount", all the words in line 10 except "is", and all the words in lines 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20. It would then read as follows:

The said vessel shall be registered in Canada, and the register shall not be transferred until the amount advanced is fully satisfied and paid; the vessel shall be insured and kept in favour of His Majesty for such amount and against such risks and in such Insurance Companies as the Minister of Finance may determine.

I think that would be far more satisfactory to the Government and to everybody else concerned in these transactions. The vessel would remain the property of the Canadian Government until the notes endorsed by the Government were paid. I trust the amendment will be agreed to, as I think it would be in the best interests of the country.

Amendment negatived, on division.

Mr. FIELDING: Is the minister clear as to the point I suggested the other evening? It is quite clear that the intention is that the ships are to be insured, but I am not sure that it is clear who is to pay the insurance.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: The mortgagee, of course, does not pay the insurance. The mortgagor, who is the purchaser, must pay all the insurance and all the charges. We are not providing for any expenses in connection with this at all.

Mr. FIELDING: It may be contended by somebody that the Government should keep these vessels insured.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: There is no room for contention, because the whole of this Bill is purely permissive. No one can make any claim. The boats must be insured, and the mortgagor must insure them.

We shall have the usual covenants in the mortgage covering the insurance.

Mr. McKENZIE: If this Bill passes, as I presume it will, is it merely a standing offer or advertisement to the world, or are there any specific cases where applications have been made to any of the shipyards in Canada, of which I understand there are seventeen;—that is the number that has been paraded all the time. Has any application been made to any one of these seventeen yards? Are there any contracts made with any one of these yards? If so, with which ones, and who has made the contract?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Several Canadian shipyards have sent representatives over to France during the last five or six months. I cannot specifically name the yards at the moment, but they have sent over representatives to France, but they were not able to finance the orders.

Mr. McKENZIE: There is evidently no contract made with anybody, and no specific application from anybody.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: France has offered to several of our big shipbuilders orders for as much as 500,000 tons. France has placed a few small orders with some of the shipyard representatives, but the shipbuilders were not able to finance the big orders.

Mr. McKENZIE: We are told that the great obstacle is the exchange. Will the Minister of Finance please tell the committee where he proposes to get the money to help these people? I have been informed that the intention is to get this money from the United States. Is it a fact that we are going to borrow money from the United States? Shall we not be up against the exchange there? I understand it is now about 15 per cent.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: As money in the United States is at a premium, the ship owners would gain, instead of being penalized by getting money in the States and bringing it here. As to where these notes will be discounted, that will have to be determined when the individual transactions come up, having regard to the state of the money market at that time.

Mr. McKENZIE: Am I to understand that no person has asked for the application of this legislation to any specific case? Has no firm in France or elsewhere made application to any shipyard in Canada to build a ship for them? Has no application

[Sir Henry Drayton.]

been made directly to this Government? Is there no correspondence with this Government from any Government in Europe, or from any responsible business firm in Europe, asking for the carrying out of the terms of this legislation? As I understand it, it is entirely speculative, a general advertisement to the world at large to come to this fountainhead and be blessed by this Government with the money which they have not got for themselves.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): Most of the proposals made by this side have been rejected, but I have one which I think will be accepted by the Minister of Finance. The minister is familiar with the clause in the Audit Act that requires all accounts and expenditures to be placed before Parliament within so many days after Parliament assembles. I move that we add to this Bill as section 2 the following:

An account in detail of the endorsements made or liabilities incurred under the provisions of this Act shall be laid before Parliament within fifteen days if Parliament is then sitting, and if not sitting then within the first fifteen days of the session next ensuing.

I have copied this from the Audit Act and I do not think that there can be any objection to it.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: I have no objection whatever to the clause.

The CHAIRMAN: Before this amendment can be put to the committee I must point out that it constitutes a new clause, and the committee must therefore dispose of the clause at present under consideration. Shall clause 1 carry?

Mr. McMASTER: Before it carries I have a suggestion which I hope the minister will accept. These notes that are to be endorsed by the Government are to extend over a period of almost five years. The total amount of the notes that can be issued is \$20,000,000. It is to be hoped that some of these notes will be repaid long before the five-year period is up, and the amendment I propose is as follows:

At no time shall the endorsement given by His Majesty exceed the sum of \$10,000,000.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Lost.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

The CHAIRMAN: In my opinion the nays have it and I declare the amendment lost.

Mr. FIELDING: I suppose that these notes will not really be held by the Gov-

ernment. The Government will make conditions as to how and where and when they will be discounted, but they will be held by the builders, who will have to do the discounting subject to review by the minister. I take it for granted that these notes are not to be treated as Government notes discounted by the Government but will be private notes bearing their endorsement.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: Probably we may find it better to do the discounting ourselves, but if we do we shall only do it as acting for them.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): Can the minister inform the committee what rate of interest the notes will bear?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: We do not know what the interest will be.

Mr. DUFF: Will the minister tell the committee in whose names the vessels will be registered, and what amount of insurance the Government will hold on the ships?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: I cannot say in whose names they will be registered; I do not know the names of the people with whom we may do business. So far as the insurance is concerned, we shall have to have insurance to cover the whole of our insurable risk.

Mr. DUFF: The minister says that he does not know the people in whose names the ships will be registered. I take it that if these vessels are to be sold to French customers they will be registered in France; but the Minister of Marine says they will be registered in Canada. Now you cannot register a Canadian vessel in the name of a citizen of France or any other foreign country.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: We know that.

Mr. DUFF: The Minister of Marine knows it but the Minister of Finance does not, because the answer he has just given me implies that vessels may be registered in the name of the purchaser. The Minister of Finance says that vessels may be registered in France while the Minister of Marine says they will be registered in Canada. Which of the two hon. gentlemen is right? In whose name will the ships be registered? Will they remain on Canadian registry or will they be registered in France?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

Mr. DUFF: I think I am entitled to an answer. I do not think that the minister is

able to give me an answer. I should like to know what percentage of insurance will be carried.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: That question has been answered.

Section 1 agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. member for Guysborough (Mr. Sinclair) moves to add as clause 2 the following:

An account in detail of the endorsements made on liabilities incurred under the provisions of this Act shall be laid before Parliament within fifteen days if Parliament is then sitting, and if not sitting then within the first fifteen days of the session next ensuing.

Section agreed to.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: I move to add as a preamble the following:

Whereas large numbers of men are employed in the shipbuilding industry in Canada; Whereas at the present time there is no demand for the construction of ships by Canadian purchasers and the Government of Canada has ceased placing further orders; whereas inhabitants of European countries are desirous of placing orders for ships in Canadian yards but owing to the present rates of exchange and the depreciated value of foreign currencies, they are unable to finance such orders and whereas it is advisable to assist in financing the construction of ships in existing Canadian shipyards.

Mr. PARENT: The only objection I see to the preamble is the possibility that it may to a certain extent prevent Canadian citizens from building in Canadian yards. Would the minister have any objection to adding some provision to make it clear that this will not occur?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: I think that is perfectly clear:

Mr. DUFF: I have one objection to offer to the preamble. It says: "Whereas at the present time there is no demand for the construction of ships by Canadian purchasers." That is a broad statement, and it is not correct. There is certainly some demand for the construction of ships by Canadian purchasers and it is not fair to word the preamble in this manner. You might say "steel ships," but it is not right to say that there is no demand for the construction of ships by Canadian purchasers.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: "No sufficient demand" might meet the case.

Mr. PARENT: As it is, it is a bad advertisement.

Mr. DUFF: I would move to add the word "sufficient" after the word "no" and before the word "demand."

Mr. McKENZIE: Perhaps the minister will tell the committee what effect if any this merger has had upon the shipbuilding industry in Canada. Have any of the shipbuilding concerns entered that merger and, if so, which of them? Is it true that the Halifax shipbuilding plant has entered the merger?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: I have no intimate knowledge of the British Empire Steel Company. I only know from the press reports wherein they state that none of these shipyards is included in the merger.

Mr. EULER: What is the object of the preamble? It does not touch the essential facts and it is anything but a good advertisement. The object of the Bill would be served just as well if the preamble were omitted altogether.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: The preamble is necessitated very largely by the speeches of hon. members who have opposed the Bill. They have pointed out that they were greatly alarmed by the precedent created, that there was no reason why it should not apply to furniture factories and all kinds of other things. The preamble shows why it does not apply. It shows that something is necessary to be done for one reason and that is for the purpose of correcting exchange.

Mr. PARENT: I am sorry that this preamble is presented at this late hour. Generally, when a Bill is introduced, the preamble is the first thing that is put into it. We are not responsible if we have to delay the committee for a few minutes. The delay is due to those who presented the preamble so late. A few minutes ago I asked the minister whether under this law a Canadian citizen could build a ship in Canadian yards. I was answered in the affirmative. My contention is that if the law does not apply in that way the preamble will prevent this being done. The whole spirit of the law is presented in the preamble.

This preamble says that the purpose of the Bill is to assist foreigners who want to purchase ships constructed in Canadian yards. It does not say that a Canadian can construct ships in Canadian yards but we have to take the preamble as it is. The law is specially made for financing foreigners who buy ships built in Canadian yards but if a Canadian wants to avail himself of the benefit of this law why should he not be allowed to do so as well as the foreigner?

[Mr. Duff.]

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: It would be a novel thing to say that a section free of ambiguity could be in the operative part of the Bill limited by the preamble. Some judges look upon the preamble as of little more use than the Hansard notes which other judges decline to look at altogether. The question is what the section itself says. Further, while the reason is shown why the action is taken, hon. gentlemen will see that it is not limited in the preamble itself to assisting in financing foreign orders. The attention of Parliament is called to this question as a result of the exchange situation, and it is as a result of the exchange situation that Parliament determines to do something and in doing something it does not limit it in the words contained even in the preamble itself.

Preamble agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN: Shall the title carry?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: Some hon. gentleman—I think it was the hon. member for North Waterloo (Mr. Euler)—suggested that we should change the name of the Bill in view of the explanation given and the facts shown and I am quite content to change it. I therefore beg to move:

That the name of the Bill be changed from "An Act to assist shipbuilding" to "An Act respecting the Shipbuilding industry".

Mr. DUFF: I do not think that is wise, because it is not an Act respecting the shipbuilding industry. It is an Act for a specific purpose.

Amendment agreed to.

Bill reported.

#### BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT.

Rt. Hon. C. J. Doherty (Minister of Justice) moved the following proposed resolution:

Resolved, That a humble Address be presented to His Most Excellent Majesty the King in the following words:—

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty:

Most Gracious Sovereign:

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the Commons of Canada, in Parliament assembled, humbly approach Your Majesty praying that you may graciously be pleased to give your consent to submit a measure to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, to amend the British North America Act, 1867, in the manner following, or to the following effect:—

"An Act to amend the British North America Act, 1867.

Be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Com-

mons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same as follows:—

1. Section ninety-one of the British North America Act, 1867, in hereby amended by adding thereto the following subsection:—

"2. Any enactment of the Parliament of Canada otherwise within the legislative authority of the Parliament shall operate and be deemed to have operated extra-territorially according to its intention in the like manner and to the same extent as if enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom".

All of which we humbly pray Your Majesty to take into your favourable and gracious consideration.

He said: This resolution has been standing on the Order Paper practically throughout the session. I understand there is no objection to it being passed. I have had the opportunity of conferring with the leader of the Opposition and some other leading members on the other side

1 a.m. of the House with regard to it.

The entire purpose and effect of the legislation that we are asking to be enacted is to give an interpretation to the provisions of the British North America Act which will settle what is now a disputable or unsettled question. There is a jurisprudence and there are judgments which hold, or at all events are interpreted as holding, that there is something restricted in the effect of the legislation of the parliaments of the Dominions as compared with the effect of legislation enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom and the effect which attaches to legislation enacted by them. The interpretation that we ask for is that it should be enacted. That the legislation of this Parliament within the scope of its attributions—it is not suggested to extend them in any way—shall be deemed to operate extra territorially according to its intention in like manner and to the same effect as if enacted by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. We are not seeking to encroach on the jurisdiction of the United Kingdom. The sole purpose we seek to have made clear is that to legislation upon matters within our compass there shall attach, where Parliament attaches to it, the same extra territorial effect that would attach to the legislation of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

Now, that effect goes no further than that such law shall be law in Canada; we do not pretend that it can be enforced in foreign countries. But we wish to make certain that the law imposing obligations upon the citizens of Canada to be carried out outside the limits of our own country we will be entitled to enforce in our courts whenever our citizens may return within this jurisdiction. That is precisely the power

that attaches to the legislation of the Imperial Parliament. As I say, it is not at all a settled thing that it does not attach to our legislation. There are judgments which certainly justify the conclusion that it does; there are other judgments that justify the conclusion that it does not. In the absence of such settlement it would be necessary for us in each particular case to go to the United Kingdom to ask for jurisdiction.

The particular matter that has brought this to our attention is the legislation which we may be called upon to enact and the regulations which it may be necessary to impose to govern Canadian aerial navigation. Any such legislation would necessarily have to deal with Canadian aerial navigators and the management of Canadian aircraft, and I think it is obvious that if doubt be suggested as to whether we can enforce those laws with regard to the operation of any Canadian aircraft the moment it gets outside the actual limits of Canada, we would be put in a very difficult position. Now, it seemed to us better to settle the question once for all.

Mr. FIELDING: Would the hon. gentleman give us some concrete cases which would make it clearer to the wayfarer, even though he be a member of Parliament and not a lawyer? I think I have grasped the intention of my hon. friend, but he might give us an illustration of what he desires to control by this legislation.

Mr. DOHERTY: Take the particular instance I was mentioning—

Mr. FIELDING: That was very general.

Mr. DOHERTY: There are in process of preparation certain rules of aerial navigation, which it is expected, under conventions and treaties to be made, will govern the aircraft of all the different nations. Under those it will be our obligation to see that our aircraft and those managing it conform to the rules not only while they are actually within our country, but when they get in the air over the ocean or over some other country.

Mr. FIELDING: Up over Great Britain, for example?

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes. But this won't exclude the authority of any country in which our men may be. As I pointed out, there is no pretension that our law will prevail in any other country, but if our citizens comes under the operation of this law he will be bound in addition to conform to such obligations as we may impose

upon him as a Canadian citizen. That is one instance, and many others might be cited. The effect of this would be that if we did enact legislation imposing certain obligations upon our citizens while they were outside of this country, when those citizens returned we would be in a position to enforce those laws within Canada. The only effect will be to remove any doubt as to whether there is a difference between the effect of a Dominion law in that respect and the law of any other country.

Mr. FIELDING: I can readily understand that where a Canadian airman—if you take him as an illustration—goes outside the three-mile limit over the high seas he would be responsible as a Canadian citizen. But the question to my mind is, if a Canadian airman goes to England and commits some offence against these laws we lay down in England, is he to be punished when he returns to Canada?

Mr. DOHERTY: If he has violated our laws which we have prescribed as a rule of conduct while he is outside of this country then when he returns he will be liable to such consequences as our legislation imposes.

Mr. FIELDING: Even although he has already been punished in England?

Mr. DOHERTY: In that case I have no doubt that the rule against punishing a man twice for the same offence would apply. But what we have in mind is that if we are going to take responsibility for our aviators carrying on in accord with the general rules that may be agreed to by the different nations, we ought to have the power of enforcing the obligations that we impose upon them. It is not easy to define exactly how far the effect goes of this extra-territorial application of the laws of the country. But all that is asked by this legislation is that the effect attaching to the legislation of other countries extra-territorially shall attach to the legislation of this country; it simply puts us in the same position as other countries. My own impression would be that we are in that position, but it is a doubtful question and we would like to have it settled.

Mr. FIELDING: It can hardly be alleged that the House is taken by surprise in connection with this matter, as this motion has been standing on the Order Paper for nearly four months. But it has been so long on the Order Paper that most members have forgotten it, and those who have not forgotten it have supposed it was [Mr. Doherty.]

dead. However, I am assured that the matter has been one of conference between the Minister of Justice and some of the legal members on this side, and upon the assurance that it is acceptable to them, I, a poor layman, do not want to offer any objection.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. DOHERTY moved:

That the said address be engrossed.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. DOHERTY: I beg to move.

That a message be sent to the Senate to inform Their Honours that this House has passed an Address to His Most Excellent Majesty the King, praying that he will graciously be pleased to give his consent to submitting a measure to the Parliament of the United Kingdom to amend certain provisions of the British North America Act, 1867 in the manner set forth in the said Address hereto attached, and requesting that Their Honours will unite with this House in the said Address by filling up the blank therein with the words "Senate and".

Motion agreed to.

#### PRIVATE BILL.

##### FIRST AND SECOND READINGS.

On motion of Mr. McMaster, with the unanimous consent of the House, Bill No. 201 (Letter D-5 of the Senate), for the relief of Marie Jeanne Yvonne Albertine St. Amour Lallemand, was read the first and second times and referred to the committee on Miscellaneous Private Bills.

On motion of Rt. Hon. Mr. Doherty the House adjourned at 1.29 a.m. (Friday).

Friday, June 25, 1920.

The House met at Two o'clock.

#### PRIVATE BILLS.

##### FIRST AND SECOND READINGS.

Bill No. 202 (from the Senate), for the relief of Laurretta Estelle Cook.—Mr. Fripp.

Bill No. 203 (from the Senate), for the relief of Reginald Muir Barlow.—Mr. Fripp.

Bill No. 204 (from the Senate), for the relief of Alfred John Crawford.—Mr. Hocken.

Bill No. 205 (from the Senate), for the relief of Frederick Minskip.—Mr. Fripp.

#### THE BOARD OF COMMERCE—RESIGNATION OF MR. MURDOCK.

On the Orders of the Day:

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (leader of the Opposition): I suppose the House may assume that the statement made in the

press to-day by Mr. Murdock to the effect that he has sent to the Government his resignation as a member of the Board of Commerce, is correct, and that the letter which appears as addressed by Mr. Murdock to the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) is a copy of the letter actually sent to my right hon. friend. I would like to know if Mr. Murdock's letter is a correct copy of the communication which the Prime Minister has received, and, if so, whether my right hon. friend does not feel the matter of sufficient public importance to justify the bringing down immediately of all the correspondence that has passed between the Government and the members of this board, so that Parliament may have an opportunity before prorogation of discussing the status of the board and matters incidental thereto.

Rt. Hon. Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister): I have not verified the communication which has been published in the press, but I assume that it is the same as that which I have received. Indeed, I have not had an opportunity of reading it except as it appeared in the press. A communication reached me from Mr. Murdock this morning which, doubtless, corresponds to that which has been published in the press. I should like to say that so far as certain conversations which I have had with Mr. Murdock are concerned, he is under a misapprehension—though his statement was made, I have no doubt, in all sincerity—as to what I intended to convey to him. I did not intend to suggest to him that the Government would wait until after the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council before filling the vacancy on the board. On the contrary, I invited from him an expression of his view as to a suitable person to appoint when the resignation of Mr. O'Connor took effect. I did say to Mr. Murdock that the question of an appointment to the board was of so serious a character that I was afraid the Government would not until after prorogation be able to give it the attention which its importance undoubtedly deserved. Indeed, I went so far in conversation as to discuss the name of a gentleman whom Mr. Murdock suggested as suitable for appointment to the chairmanship. I stated my concurrence in his suggestion, but expressed doubts whether the gentleman in question would accept the chairmanship of the board. I have not had an opportunity of very carefully considering Mr. Murdock's letter or of replying to it. It is my intention to reply to it and to give to

my reply the same publicity that Mr. Murdock has given to his letter. Then, so far as the correspondence between the Board of Commerce and the Government is concerned, the greater part of it has already been laid upon the table of the House. The only thing that, to my knowledge, has so far been withheld is correspondence which Judge Robson insisted on regarding as absolutely private and which he thought ought not to be communicated to the public without his consent. My colleagues took that matter into consideration during my absence, and, for the time being, withheld the correspondence because of its alleged confidential character and because Judge Robson thought the correspondence might be misunderstood. Of course, he had his own version with regard to it. In view of the fact that Mr. Murdock has made public a portion of the correspondence in question, I am inclined to accept the view which has been put forward by my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Mackenzie King) that the whole of the correspondence ought to be brought down and laid upon the table of the House.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I ask my right hon. friend also whether he will consent to arrange a time for the discussion of this matter in the House? I think the whole question of the Board of Commerce and the correspondence that has taken place has assumed a public significance which would seem to warrant a further open discussion of the matter in Parliament before we prorogue.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I do not know that there is necessity for making any special arrangement. The House must be moved into Committee of Supply on many occasions before we prorogue. If my hon. friend will indicate any day on which he would like to discuss the subject, we will move the House into Committee of Supply for the purpose.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Any time after the correspondence is brought down—assuming that it will be brought down immediately—will be convenient.

#### MEMBERS' INDEMNITY.

#### CORRECTION OF NEWSPAPER REPORT BY HON. MR. FIELDING.

On the Orders of the Day:

Hon. W. S. FIELDING (Shelburne and Queen's): I desire to call the attention of the House to an error of the press. I do not

often bring such a matter before the House; indeed, I have no recollection of ever before having done so. In the present instance the matter is not one of much importance, but I think it is well that the facts should be correctly stated. The press report of the debate on the indemnity question, referring to the member for Peterborough West (Mr. Burnham) states:

He (Mr. Burnham) named several members, including the Hon. W. S. Fielding, Dr. Michael Clark and Mr. Ernest Lapointe who, he said, were strongly in favour of the increase and were prepared to speak in favour of it had they been present in the House to-night.

I was not present when the member for Peterborough West (Mr. Burnham) began his speech—with the Prime Minister and several other members I was in attendance at a very important committee meeting. If I had been in the House and if the hon. member in my hearing had used such language it would have been my duty at once to challenge the statement and to say, as I say now, that neither to the hon. member for Peterborough West, nor to any other person did I express any such views as are here ascribed to me. I came into the House later during the debate, when the hon. member was just about resuming his seat. I participated in the debate; what I said is of record and, of course, for that I am responsible. But I am not willing to be held responsible for the statement so ascribed to me. Reference to Hansard, however, goes to show that the member for Peterborough West did not make the statement; on the contrary he is reported there to have said distinctly that he did not know my views and had never exchanged any words with me on the subject—which was quite correct. Now, if the matter were reported only in the local press I would not mention it, because local knowledge and reference to Hansard would explain the facts.

But I find that this report has been telegraphed all over the Dominion, and thousands of people who will never see Hansard and never know the facts will read it. For that reason only, I have called attention to the matter. I am making no complaint, because I am quite sure that the error on the part of the reporter was accidental and was not meant to mislead anybody.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE (Quebec East): May I be allowed to say that so far as I am concerned, my hon. friend from Peterborough West fairly and correctly interpreted my feelings.

[Mr. Fielding.]

#### CLASSIFICATION OF THE INSIDE SERVICE.

On the Orders of the Day:

Hon. HENRI SEVERIN BELAND (Beauce): In the statement distributed amongst members of the House yesterday or the day before, showing the new classification of employees in several departments of the public service, I fail to see the classification of the official personnel of the House of Commons, although the classification of the personnel of the Senate is to be found therein. Was that an intentional omission, or are we to expect the list before the end of the session?

Hon. N. W. ROWELL (President of the Council): As I explained when I laid the statement on the table of the House—

Mr. BELAND: I was not present, I am sorry.

Mr. ROWELL:—there were certain branches of the public service in regard to which the application of the classification had not been completed, and therefore, they could not be properly included in that statement. While at the time I did not mention any particular branch of the service, I assumed that the House of Commons would be one of those; at least the Civil Service Commission had not received the classification of the House of Commons staff at the time the statement was sent to the printer. If it has since been completed or is now available, there is no reason in the world why it should not be printed and laid on the Table. I mentioned at the time that the application of the classification in two or three departments or branches of the service will not be completed before the House rises, and, therefore, the Civil Government Estimates for them, will have to be on the basis of the existing classification.

#### HYDRO-ELECTRIC AND ONTARIO RADIAL RAILWAYS.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. PIERRE FRANCOIS CASGRAIN (Charlevoix-Montmorency): I would call the attention of the Minister of Railways to a certain article which appeared yesterday in the Ottawa Journal under this heading: "Selling Ontario Radials to Hydro. Hon. J. D. Reid and Sir Adam Beck have conference." What was that conference, and is any new legislation to be brought

down following that conference regarding the sale of those railways?

Hon. J. D. REID (Minister of Railways): I would suggest, if the hon. member has any question to ask in connection with the railways, he should wait until a little later in the day when I shall be on my Estimates, and then I will be glad to give him any information.

#### GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. GEORGE PARENT (Quebec West): Is it true that the Grand Trunk is presently administered by the Board of Management of Canadian National railways, and if not, when may we expect this Board of Management to take charge of that railway?

Hon. J. D. REID (Minister of Railways): The Grand Trunk railway is being administered, as heretofore, by the Grand Trunk Railway Company. It will be administered by the Canadian National Railways after it is taken over finally, and that will be when the award has been made.

#### GOVERNMENT AID TO SHIPBUILDING.

On motion of Sir Henry Drayton (Minister of Finance), Bill No. 199, respecting the shipbuilding industry, was read the third time and passed.

#### INDIAN ACT AMENDMENT.

Consideration of the proposed motion of Hon. Arthur Meighen (Minister of the Interior) for the third reading of Bill No. 14 to amend the Indian Act, resumed from June 24.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE (Quebec East): Mr. Speaker, I am sorry I happened not to be in the House a few days ago when this Bill was being considered in Committee of the Whole. As this is a very important piece of legislation, I really feel that it has not been given the consideration and attention to which it is entitled. In my opinion, this Bill could very well have waited over until next session for the purpose of permitting public opinion to express itself upon this legislation and of giving to the Indians an opportunity to consider its provisions and to make themselves still more generally heard than they have had opportunity to.

In reading Hansard, I notice that it was stated that the committee charged with considering this Bill was practically unanimous

in its findings and that it was almost a love feast. Indeed, the proceedings in committee were very harmonious; but I may say that the most important provision of the Bill, that as to compulsory enfranchisement, carried in committee by a strictly political party majority, if I may say so; all the members on this side of the House voting against that compulsion and hon. members opposite voting in favour of it. As far as I am concerned, I am opposed to changing entirely and in a very arbitrary way the whole system which has been in force in the past as to the enfranchisement of the Indians. This system should be improved, but not in the way suggested by this Bill. It should be through an educational process. The Indians should be led to ask for their own enfranchisement, but should not be coerced, as they will be, if this Bill is passed. We heard before the special committee representatives of Indians from all over the country, and amongst them were men of exceptional ability, clergymen, professional men, returned officers and returned soldiers all of whom had the welfare of their race at heart, and they were strongly opposed to the compulsory feature of the present Bill. One or two men were ready to accept it, but these exceptions only served to confirm the general feeling. My hon. friend from Peterborough (Mr. Burnham), discussing this Bill in committee the other day, said that there was no compulsion in the Bill, and that people were misled on that point. That only shows that my hon. friend did not read the Bill or the evidence. I shall only quote on that point the evidence of Mr. Scott, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and the man who knows best. At page 52 of the evidence, he says:

It has been stated that the franchise provided for under this Bill is a compulsory franchise, and I have been asked the question whether that is so. I have been asked that question in the hope, apparently, that I would endeavour to conceal that fact, but it is a compulsory system, and I hope the committee will support it.

Now I want to give the House the opinion of two or three representative men among the Indians. A young man appeared before the committee by the name of Moses, from Brantford, Ontario. He is a member of the league of Six Nations, a very clever young man, a graduate of the Ontario Agricultural College, and progressive in every way. He suggested many things that should be done. He spoke strongly against the present system prevailing in his tribe, and sug-

gested many improvements. Altogether he impressed the committee very favourably. As to this compulsory enfranchisement, he said that it was the worst thing that could happen.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Was this intelligent professional man liable to pay his debts?

Mr. LAPOINTE: That is another question altogether. I do not understand why my hon. friend should ask it at this stage.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I will put it differently so that my hon. friend will understand it. He describes the witness as a very intelligent professional man, making his living, and presenting a strong case before the committee. Does my hon. friend think it right that a man of that standing and maturity should be exempt from liability for his civil obligations?

Mr. LAPOINTE: I will tell my hon. friend later, if he will allow me. I might say that this young man Moses said he was in favour of having this exemption from the payment of debts removed. I am not of the opinion of my hon. friend that this could only be done by enfranchising the Indians. Moses admitted that this exemption from the payment of debts was a disadvantage to the Indians.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Does the hon. member say that we can impose these civil obligations on an Indian, and not give him the civil right to the franchise?

Mr. LAPOINTE: I think so, and I shall refer to that later. Here is what Mr. Moses said:

Mr. DAVIDSON: When, in your opinion, should the Indians be enfranchised?

Mr. MOSES: That is a very hard question to answer. We would place it this way; give us an opportunity to prepare ourselves, let us have a meeting and bring these matters before our people and let them know what is going on. Let me try and make a point right here—my own father was a hard-working man, he started with nothing and he has reared a family of ten; we are all on that reserve at the present time. He has worked hard and what he has made is going to be distributed among his family. But, gentlemen, if you call upon him at the present time to become an enfranchised man, and to be taxed up for his fee, and everything else, it is just simply impossible; he cannot do it, because he has never expected such a thing; you have never suggested it to him and he has never thought of such a thing. If you give us to understand that this is going to come, from this time forward, I will go home and I will prepare myself and my family for that time when we are going to become enfranchised and that will be the fair British way of doing it. And any parents on that reserve, who have reared their family of children, will be placed out on the road if this Act goes into

[Mr. Lapointe.]

force in its present form. I claim that we ought to strike the happy medium. I know that our Council has opposed this department in everything.

The League of Indians of Canada, which is being formed by the best educated Indians, has passed a resolution which was presented to the special committee by a very able young man, a lieutenant of the Canadian army. One of the clauses of that resolution reads as follows:

The League of Indians of Canada as an association is not unalterably opposed to the principles of enfranchisement so long as it is based upon educative ideals and the proper training for the eventual assumption of the individual for the highest status of citizenship involving all its responsibilities. At the outset, the will and pleasure of the individual to assume the role and status should be based on the true principle of self-determination, but by no means or measures of coercion. Any intention of this order should be also by concurrence of a wife—if man is married—in order that separation divorce and estrangements may not be encouraged. Any such intention should be a matter the council or chiefs and band should be fully advised primarily.

Another gentleman, the Rev. Mr. Brigham said:

We do not want you to pass that in its present form. Place an Act, if you please, upon the statute books providing for the voluntary enfranchisement of the Indian so that his home would be conserved to him, and let it be beyond the scheming of mere politicians to get hold of the land under the provisions of this Act as it is now. Let the Indian be self-determining; he went to the war for that reason and why should we compel him to take a step that he doesn't, in his heart, believe he is ready for? Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen.

Many other Indians were heard, among them Mr. Picard from the Lorette reserve in the province of Quebec. He is a well educated Indian, and he spoke strongly against this Bill as being very dangerous in its application to the great majority of the Indians.

Some of the members of the committee, especially those from the West, among them my hon. friend from Skeena (Mr. Peck) and my hon. friend from Fraser Valley (Mr. Stacey) spoke very strongly in favour of the Bill. My hon. friend from Skeena said that the Indians of British Columbia were asking for enfranchisement.

Mr. PECK: I stated that I thought they were in favour of enfranchisement.

Mr. LAPOINTE: I have the very words of my hon. friend; they will be found in Hansard. And Mr. Scott is reported as follows: The man who is responsible for this Bill says:

It will be many years before this Bill will apply to the Indians in the West, although I have a petition from the Moshelle tribe to be enfranchised.

Mr. Scott intimated to us that in all the provinces, except in some parts of Quebec and Ontario, there is at present no Indian fit for enfranchisement and that the department, until many years have elapsed, will not recommend the enfranchisement of Indians in any of the western provinces. It is particularly for certain parts of Quebec and Ontario, according to Mr. Scott, that the legislation is being passed this session. I took the trouble to ask the superintendent as to the Indians of St. François near Montreal, the Abenakis, and the Mickmacks of Lorette, and he said that these men were ready to be enfranchised. I have had numerous letters from the Bishop of Nicolette beseeching Parliament not to pass this Act and not to force the Indians of these reserves to become enfranchised. He declares that if we did so we would make tramps of many of those men who are living there in perfect harmony in community. They are still children in the broadest sense of the word and should not be enfranchised against their will, as they will be if this Bill passes. The same position is taken by the missionaries, who have much to do with these Indians, and I cannot see why the Government should insist on adopting this Bill. Why not continue the policy of the department and improve that policy, making it easier for the Indians, who are desirous to be enfranchised, to secure enfranchisement? I think the statistics that have been quoted by Mr. Scott, and in this House the other day, show that this is the proper way of proceeding in the matter. Under the old law, in order to get enfranchisement an Indian had to apply to the superintendent. The superintendent of Indian Affairs referred his application to the agent of the department on the reserve, and he referred it to the council of the band. A certificate of probation was given to the man and three years after he could be enfranchised. Under that system, Mr. Scott says, the result has been that since Confederation we have been able to enfranchise only about 150 individuals; and Mr. Scott continues:

It is a crying shame that people should not be able to be enfranchised immediately when they desire to do so. During 1907 I recommended to the minister that any Indians who have any land located on the reserve may apply for enfranchisement and become immediately enfranchised if they have the proper qualifications. Since the passage of that Act and it has been in operation less than two years, we have enfranchised nearly 300 individuals. That shows

that there is a class which that amendment certainly reaches, and that they are men who are willing and anxious to take their places as Canadian citizens.

This shows something else, Mr. Speaker. It shows that as soon as better facilities were given 300 men—that is to say, 200 persons more than the whole number since Confederation—have been enfranchised during the past two years. Well, remove other barriers. This amendment applied only to men who were not living on the reserve. Make it applicable to all Indians on the reserve or out of it who want to be enfranchised, and educate them up to the standard of enfranchisement; make them capable of enjoying full citizenship, and these men will ask for enfranchisement when they are prepared for it. If you pass this Bill as it is you leave a sense of wrong in their hearts. They all feel from one end of the country to the other that they are not treated fairly and properly and that they are coerced into something which is not forced upon other people. Citizenship is not forced upon any man in any land, and they will feel that they are antagonized; they will feel that they are injured and results will be far more detrimental than if this Bill had not passed. I say that we should proceed in this matter by means of education and persuasion and not by force and coercion; and we should not leave it to the will or the whim of any officer of a department of Government to determine that this man or that man or any number of men shall be enfranchised and given the privileges of citizenship which they are not ready to enjoy or which they do not want.

As to the other provisions of the Bill—the educational clauses—I must say that at the outset I was inclined to be opposed to them. But having heard what was stated before the committee, and having received communications from various bodies and gentlemen who know about the Indians, I am now rather disposed to favour the new clauses concerning education. And I would ask the Government to confine the Bill to the educational clauses and strike out the clauses providing for compulsory enfranchisement. I would ask the Government to amend the Indian law in such a manner as to make enfranchisement of the Indians easier to those who want it and are ready for it, but not to proceed with this legislation as it is. The only argument that has been advanced is the one put forth by my hon. friend the Minister of the Interior: Is it fair that men who are enjoying all the privileges of citizenship, or who are ready to be full citizens, earning

their living among other people, should be exempt from paying their debts? Well, I say that the provision which forbids the attachment of the lands of Indians should be conserved and maintained; but the salaries of Indians who work in factories or anywhere else should be liable to seizure the same as the salary of any other man, and this can be done under the provincial law and it can be done under this law, with a proper amendment to the Indian Act. There is no other argument, no other reason which has been set forth, in favour of this measure and I will certainly vote against the third reading of the Bill.

Mr. W. A. BOYS (South Simcoe): Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the committee it is proper that I should add a word or two to what I said when the Bill was before the Committee of the Whole House. On that occasion I did not refer to one or two outstanding features in connection with the investigation we had and I should like to place these on Hansard. Perhaps the most pleasant feature during the seventeen or eighteen days' sittings we had was that, without one single exception, every Indian who appeared before us expressed the utmost confidence in the department.

Mr. HAY: Did you have any representatives of the Indian bands of the province of Manitoba at that conference or were they officially invited to be there?

Mr. BOYS: I do not recall one from Manitoba.

Mr. HAY: Did you have any from Saskatchewan?

Mr. BOYS: I do not recall that. I did not take the trouble to find out exactly where all the Indians came from. They appeared and we listened to what they had to say but the question was not one affecting the Indians of Saskatchewan, or Manitoba or Alberta; it was a question affecting the Indians of the Dominion of Canada. I want to proceed with what I was about to say: that without one single exception every Indian who appeared before us expressed the utmost confidence in the department and particularly in the Deputy Superintendent General, Mr. Scott. Many went so far as to say that it practically mattered not what law was passed by this Parliament, so long as he was in charge they would be perfectly satisfied. Some expressed the fear that in the future, as he could not live forever, some one might be there who would not be as satisfactory to

[Mr. E. Lapointe.]

them. I would ask the House to consider the fact that the Indians expressed the utmost confidence in and satisfaction with the administration as it has been carried on. I knew practically little of the Indian question except in a general way, as there are no Indians in my part of the world, and I was very glad to hear them say that in the committee.

The Indians who appeared before us were a highly capable lot of men. I do not think I ever heard a better or more impassioned address of eight or ten minutes than that which was delivered by one of these Indian representatives. Eight or ten of them addressed us, and in the language used and dramatic force displayed would do credit to any member of the House of Commons.

The question that at once arose was that in connection with the law regarding the enfranchisement of Indians. The House will know that in connection with the Bill this was the main feature that we were called upon to discuss at that conference. Everything else seemed to be satisfactory. The assertion of one of the Indians present was that the law did not matter. If any hon. member will take the trouble to look up the Indian Act, sections 108-112, and see the process that has to be gone through for Indians who require enfranchisement he will at once come to the conclusion that the existing law should be amended. I think I should just shortly state what the procedure is. An Indian has to make application for his certificate, then he must go before a priest, clergyman, stipendiary magistrate or some other like official and make oath, then he must present this statement to the council, thirty days elapse for affidavits to be filed, the certificate is then forwarded, if satisfactory, to the Superintendent General, an examination and, later, approval take place and then a location ticket is issued. The Indian has to wait for a period of three years, no matter how fit he is, no matter how keen he is for enfranchisement, before he can secure it. I would appeal to the hon. member for Quebec East (Mr. Lapointe) and I would ask him: Does he think any one of the Indians that he saw at the committee should have to go through all that and wait for over three years before he can secure enfranchisement?

Mr. LAPOINTE: No; I am in favour of amending the law.

Mr. BOYS: My hon. friend spoke of a young man who desired to advance but who

was not ready for enfranchisement. If there was anything in that the provision of this Bill would meet the case. My hon. friend was afraid that enfranchisement might be enforced upon the Indian and if that were the case there might be something in the argument. There is no such thought. Before that young man can be enfranchised the safeguards that it is proposed by this Bill to surround him with would have to be observed and only if he is found fit is he enfranchised. On the other hand, if such Indian should not be found fit, he is not immediately enfranchised and he is not enfranchised against his will. But if he wants to he should be able to secure immediate enfranchisement, and he should not have to go through the cumbersome and dilatory process to which I have referred.

Another question arises as to whether or not an Indian should be enfranchised against his will. My hon. friend sitting beside me says that I should mention that he would not be enfranchised until the lapse of two years. I think that was made clear when this matter was discussed the other day but that is the fact. No man is enfranchised against his will short of two years. Let us admit that we have men of the type that I referred to as having appeared before the committee. They are certainly fit for enfranchisement and capable in every way of undertaking important work. In some of the industries in the cities of this country Indians are earning from \$6 to \$10 a day and I am told that some of these Indians, and it is to their credit, are expert workmen and the best riveters we have in the country. They can climb to great heights without dizziness and do other work of a similar nature. You have such a man and, if he lives on a reserve, does not want enfranchisement, the question arises: whether he wants it or does not want it, if he is making money with the white man, should he be compelled? It is not a question of his voting; it is a question of his responsibility and rights of citizenship. As far as I am concerned, that is all I care about. You have such a man and he will not make application. Should he then be enfranchised? I think he should. The hon. member for Quebec East says: you do not enfranchise anybody else against his will. That is not correct. What about a young man of the white race; no matter what his mentality may be, when he reaches the age of twenty-one years, he is enfranchised. There are many young men who are not as fit to be

enfranchised as many of the Indians in this country. I was tremendously surprised at the grasp and intelligence shown by the Indians who appeared before us. It was not one or two but it was thirty of them. There were only one or two exceptions one being in the case of a feeble old chief of perhaps ninety years of age and one or two others who were probably not in the class to which I have referred. I think every member of the committee will agree that with the exception of two or three they were about the most capable men you could meet, they were far above the average. These men should have the franchise if they will not themselves ask for it.

Let us look at one or two of the protections surrounding the Indian. Again, may I ask are the Indians of this country forever to be the wards of the Government? What is to be the policy of the department? Is it that that status should continue forever, or should our policy, if possible, be one of getting the Indians to accept as soon as possible and as soon as fit, the duties, rights and responsibilities of citizenship? The latter is the policy of the department and I think every member of this House will agree that should be its policy. At present what is the position of the Indians? As to that I am only going to quote from two sections of the Indian Act. I want first to quote section 102 which reads as follows:

No person shall take any security or otherwise obtain any lien or charge, whether by mortgage, judgment or otherwise, upon real or personal property of any Indian or non-treaty Indian, except on real or personal property subject to taxation under the last three preceding sections: Provided that any person selling any article to an Indian or non-treaty Indian may take security on such article for any part of the price thereof which is unpaid.

Now what does that mean? We will take the case, for the purpose of illustration, of an agricultural implement. An Indian in any part of this Dominion and a good business man—and there are lots of them—is operating a farm. He purchases, we will say, a binder and the usual lien note is given. He does not pay it. It is true that the binder may be re-possessed but later on when perhaps it is not worth 25 per cent of what he paid for it. The Indian does not pay it, but the right to sue for that which he justly owes is lacking the person to whom he owes it. Should that be so in the case of an Indian who is a capable and good business man? Now take subsection 4 of section 105 which reads as follows:

Every such sale, barter, exchange or gift shall be null and void unless such sale, barter, exchange or gift is made with the written assent of the Superintendent General or his agent.

Again I ask the House to consider the case of an Indian who is a good business man, and there are lots of them. He cannot engage in barter, sale or exchange without writing to Ottawa and getting the assent of the Superintendent General. Should that be so in the case of a capable business man? Is there anything to be gained by surrounding such an Indian with protection of that kind? And I might go on and read the rest of these sections to support my argument.

I want to say this further: I do not think it is fair to call this compulsory enfranchisement. That, in its full meaning, I think would convey the thought that you are going to take every Indian and enfranchise him whether he wants to be or whether he does not. That is not so. But where there is one who is known to the department to be fit, the proceedings outlined are taken: A board appointed by the Indian Department acts, and one Indian from the band in question. They investigate the case and if they find he is fit for enfranchisement they so report. Here also the Indian is surrounded with the protection of the Superintendent General and the Deputy Superintendent General in whom the Indians have such confidence, and if after that investigation it is found that the Indian is fit an order is made for his enfranchisement. But that order is not effective for two years unless the Indian himself asks for enfranchisement after that investigation; and of course the Indian himself can start the proceedings for enfranchisement apart entirely from the board. So there is the two-fold feature: The Indian wanting enfranchisement gets it and gets it quickly. If he does not want it, and the department are of the opinion—having taken advice upon the matter—that he is a fit subject for enfranchisement, the proceedings I am mentioning are then taken, but even then he is not enfranchised for a period of two years. If there is any abuse—and there is nothing to warrant any hon. member suggesting for one moment from past experience (and that is after all perhaps the best guide) that there will be any abuse, then there is the two-year period during which reports can be made to this House and a committee in the future will have ample time to deal with it and set

[Mr. Boys.]

matters right if any injustice is done. If the Indian does not understand the Act and thinks its purpose is to take hold of every Indian, as it were by the throat, and enfranchise him, regardless of existing conditions, I can well understand him objecting, but if, on the other hand, the question is viewed in the light in which I think it should be viewed and in accordance, to some extent at all events, with the suggestions I have made—which are borne out by the Bill—I cannot conceive of any injustice being done to any Indian. Rather is it the hope of the department, and it is my expectation—from the evidence of the various witnesses including the Deputy Superintendent General—that this is a step in the right direction, one leading to the ultimate goal which every one of the Indians seeks, viz., as fast as possible to take his place in this country with the white man and to get away from the guardian and ward feature which they all admit is obnoxious.

We found this further distinct proposition with respect to them, and I will close by stating it although I might say a good deal more: Among the old chiefs who appeared before us the objection to the Bill seemed to be stronger than on the part of the younger men. Take the young fellows—some of whom had served overseas, splendid types of young men—(there were no less than three hundred of them from the Six Nations of Brantford alone, and some of them appeared before us). These younger men seemed to want to move more quickly along these lines than the older chiefs; they want the system of elections changed. I am not absolutely familiar with the present system but, as I understand it, they have some regulations of their own whereby the squaws select the chief. The younger Indians seemed to think that method should be a thing of the past and that the Indians themselves should have the opportunity of saying whom they want to preside in their councils. The committee have made a recommendation to the department that the views of the bands who expressed that wish should be taken by vote and if the majority vote favours it that the elective system, rather than the present system, should be put into force.

I trust the members of the House will accept the report of the committee—which is absolutely in accordance with the wishes of the department and the experience of the Deputy Superintendent General and those best qualified, I think, to judge—and that the Bill will receive its third reading.

Hon. Mr. MACKENZIE KING: It is unnecessary to add anything at this stage of the debate to what has been so exceptionally well said by the hon. member for Quebec East (Mr. Lapointe), who has served on this committee from the start and has followed the proceedings with great care. As the hon. member pointed out, the committee were far from unanimous in their approval of certain features of this Bill. There were certain features which the committee were prepared to recommend, and had the committee been agreeable to recommending what the members were unanimous upon, of course there would be no hesitancy in accepting this Bill at the present time. But it appears that the Government has made up its mind to ignore altogether a very important division of opinion on what is an outstanding feature of the Bill, viz., this question of enfranchisement; and I think it would be most unwise for this Parliament to treat in any light way either the question of citizenship and how it is to be obtained in this country, or the question of the rights of Indians who are considered wards of the Crown and equally wards of this Parliament. There is no doubt that some of the members of the committee—in fact all the members of it from this side of the House—are of the opinion that the present Bill does mean compulsory enfranchisement. Anything in the nature of compulsion—at this particular time of all times—is objectionable, and it is doubly objectionable when it bears any relation to citizenship. For that reason, Mr. Speaker, even were there no other, I feel that if the Government is unwilling to consider the suggestion made by the hon. member for Quebec East that only such features of the Bill be passed as were unanimously accepted by the committee, I would move:

That the Bill be not now read a third time, but that it be read a third time this day, six months.

The House divided on the amendment of Hon. Mr. Mackenzie King, which was negatived on the following division:

**YEAS.**

Messrs.

Boivin,	Denis,
Bureau,	Desaulniers,
Cahill,	Deslauriers,
Caldwell,	Duff,
Casgrain,	Ethier,
Chisholm,	Euler,
Copp,	Fafard,
d'Anjou,	Fielding,
Déchêne,	Gervais,
Demers,	Gould,

Halbert,	Papineau,
Hunt,	Pardee,
Johnston,	Pedlow,
Kay,	Pelletier,
Kennedy (Essex, N.),	Prevost,
King,	Reid (Mackenzie),
Knox,	Rinfret,
Lafortune,	Robb,
Lapointe,	Savard,
Leger,	Sinclair (Antigonish
MacNutt,	and Guysborough),
McDonald,	Sinclair
McGibbon (Argenteuil),	(Queens, P.E.I.),
McKenzie,	Trahan,
Maharg,	Truax,
Marcile (Bagot),	White (Victoria).—51.
Michaud,	

**NAYS.**

Messrs.

Allan,	Henders,
Anderson,	Hocken,
Argue,	Hughes (Sir Sam),
Arthurs,	Lang,
Ballantyne,	Loggie,
Ball,	Long,
Best,	Mackie (Edmonton),
Blake,	Mackie (Renfrew),
Borden (Sir Robert),	Maclean (York),
Bowman,	McIsaac,
Boys,	McLeod,
Brien,	Meighen,
Butts,	Mewburn,
Calder,	Middlebro,
Campbell,	Morphy,
Casselman,	Mowat,
Chaplin,	Myers,
Charters,	Nesbitt,
Clark (Bruce),	Redman,
Clarke (Wellington),	Reid (Grenville),
Cooper,	Rowell,
Cowan,	Sexsmith,
Crothers,	Shaw,
Cruise,	Sheard,
Currie,	Simpson,
Davidson,	Spinney,
Davis,	Stacey,
Drayton (Sir Henry),	Steele,
Edwards,	Stevens,
Finley,	Stewart (Lanark),
Foster (York),	Thompson (Weyburn),
Fraser,	Thompson (Yukon),
Fripp,	Tweedie,
Green,	Whidden,
Griesbach,	Wigmore,
Guthrie,	Wilson (Wentworth),
Halladay,	Wilson (Saskatoon).
Harold,	—76.
Harrison,	

**PAIRS.**

(The list of Pairs is furnished by the Chief Whips).

Messrs.

Burrell,	Béland,
Cockshutt,	McCrea,
Doherty,	Marcil (Bonaventure),
Charlton,	McCoig,
McGregor,	Pacaud,
White, Sir Thomas,	Jacobs,
Burnham,	Vien,
Scott,	Ross,
Lalor,	Stein,
Douglas	Turgeon,
(Cape Breton),	

Clements,	Molloy,
Manion,	Fournier,
Ames, Sir Herbert,	Gauvreau,
Armstrong (York),	Archambault,
Armstrong (Lambton),	Baldwin,
Blair,	Bourassa,
Bonnell,	Boyer,
Boyce,	Brouillard,
Bristol,	Cannon,
Buchanan,	Cardin,
Chabot,	Delisle,
Cronyn,	Devlin,
Crowe,	DuTremblay,
Douglas (Strathcona),	Fontaine,
Elkin,	Fortier,
Fulton,	Gauthier,
Glass,	Gladu,
Hartt,	Kennedy (Glengarry),
Hay,	Lancôt,
Hepburn,	Lavigueur,
Keefer,	Leduc,
Kemp, Sir Edward,	Lesage,
Maclean (Halifax),	McMaster,
McCurdy,	Lemieux,
McGibbon (Muskoka),	Mayrand,
McIntosh,	Murphy,
McLean (Royal),	Parent,
McQuarrie,	Power,
Sifton,	Proulx,
Munson,	Ross,
Nicholson (P.E.I.),	Seguin,
Nicholson (Algoma),	Tobin,
Tolmie,	Verville.

Mr. ROBB: It is my duty to inquire through you, Mr. Speaker, of the hon. member for Springfield (Mr. Richardson) whether he was in the Chamber and heard the motion put to the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must ask the hon. member for Springfield, in view of the point raised by the hon. member for Chateauguay-Huntingdon (Mr. Robb), if the hon. member was present and heard the question put.

Mr. RICHARDSON: Mr. Speaker, I was not present when the motion was put to the House. I said to my hon. friend the member for Yarmouth (Mr. Spinney) as I came in: "I am afraid I am late," but he informed me that under a ruling given two or three days ago, it would be all right for me to vote. I assume my vote was not counted.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must instruct that the vote of the hon. member be erased.

Hon. H. S. BELAND (Beauce) (Translation): Mr. Speaker, owing to an agreement between the Hon. Minister of Customs (Mr. Burrell) unavoidably absent, and myself, I did not cast my vote; had I voted I would have voted for the amendment.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: I was paired with the hon. member for Algoma East (Mr. Nicholson); had I voted I would have voted for the amendment.

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

Mr. O. TURGEON (Gloucester) (Translation): Mr. Speaker, owing to an agreement between the Hon. Minister of Commerce (Sir George Foster), who is absent, and myself, I did not vote; had I voted I would have voted for the amendment.

Mr. MANION: I was paired with the hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Fournier); had I voted I would have voted against the amendment.

Mr. McCURDY: I was paired with the member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux); had I voted I would have voted against the amendment.

Motion agreed to on the same division reversed, and Bill read the third time and passed.

#### WAR LOANS—AUTHORIZATION OF OVER-SUBSCRIPTIONS.

On motion of Sir HENRY DRAYTON (Minister of Finance) the House went into committee to consider the following proposed resolution, Mr. Boivin in the Chair:

Resolved, That it is expedient to bring in a measure to provide that the raising by way of loan of any sums which may have been raised in excess of the amount authorized by The Demobilization Appropriation Act, 1919, shall be deemed to have been duly authorized thereby.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Explain.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: The object of the resolution is to validate borrowings that have already taken place. We are providing for no loans this year. The various issues of the war loans and Victory loans were, as hon. members know, over-subscribed. The purpose of this legislation is simply to validate those over-subscriptions.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Have any of the over-subscriptions been expended or cut into by the Government?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: There has been no over-expenditure; that is, there has been no expenditure of money, the raising of which was unauthorized by Parliament.

Mr. FIELDING: Has my hon. friend a statement of the extent of the borrowing powers which were conferred and how far they were exceeded?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: The total amount authorized was \$1,750,000,000. The actual amount of subscriptions received was \$2,050,570,160.17. The over-borrowing, therefore,—this is a clean-up of the whole period—amounted to \$300,570,160.17.

Mr. FIELDING: My hon. friend speaks of cleaning up over-borrowings for the whole period. If there were any over-borrowings up to last session we certainly cleaned them up then; we have not now to do any cleaning up. We should be asked now only to authorize over-borrowings during last year. I did not think in the past there were any such matters that were not thoroughly disposed of.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: When I stated that that cleaned up the whole period, I was giving the committee the total amount. The officials of the department tell me this whole amount of \$300,000,000 is in respect of over-subscriptions of the Victory Loan of 1919, but the figures I gave cover the whole period.

Mr. FIELDING: My hon. friend does not designate any specific sum in his resolution.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: No, there is no sum designated.

Mr. FIELDING: Is it not usual, whenever we authorize a borrowing measure, that a specific sum is mentioned? It seems to me that my hon. friend should ascertain what his excess borrowings were and take authority for that amount, specifying the sum. I think he will find that is the experience in the past. To authorize and legalize a general borrowing power without specifying the amount in the Act itself, is open to some objection.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: This Bill was prepared by the department, so far as I know in accordance with their usual practice, and it does not mention any specific amount; it merely validates excess subscriptions. If my hon. friend thinks the amount should be stated, and if we find that there is no objection to that, I have not the slightest objection to specifying the amount.

Mr. FIELDING: We are only in the resolution stage, the first stage, and I would suggest that the minister specify the sum, putting it in the preamble or not, as he chooses. He would have to say something like this: "Whereas certain sums were authorized and further sums were obtained, this"—specifying the sum—"is authorized and approved." We might let the resolution pass with the understanding that when the minister brings in his Bill he will specify the sum. I realize that we have to provide for this, but it is just as well to do the thing in the usual manner, specifying the

sum, because I cannot recollect any borrowing power being granted without the sum being designated. I would suggest the hon. gentleman do not introduce the Bill until he has had time to look into the matter.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: Perhaps my hon. friend will not object to having the Bill read the first time in order to advance it a stage, and I will undertake to look into the matter in the meantime and see what I can do.

Resolution reported and concurred in.

Thereupon, Sir Henry Drayton (Minister of Finance) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 211, to confirm certain borrowings under the Demobilization Appropriation Act, 1919.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

## SUPPLY

The House again in Committee of Supply, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

Railways and Canals, chargeable to capital.—Canadian Government Railways, construction and betterments (to be expended under the direction of and upon such terms and conditions as the Governor in Council may from time to time provide), \$6,321,194.

Mr. CAHILL: Some two months ago the Minister of Railways (Mr. J. D. Reid) made a statement to the House of the earnings and management of the road, and he afterwards brought in the report of the Canadian Northern Railway, but he did not bring down any further information with regard to the Canadian National railways. The minister at that time informed the House that for the period there would be a deficit of something like \$47,000,000 on the then existing railways, and the Minister of Finance (Sir Henry Drayton), in a statement made later on, informed the House that there would be "to cover advance for the purpose above-mentioned" an approximate amount of \$23,000,000 required, that is a probable advance to the Grand Trunk railway, making in all a matter of seventy-five million dollars. A matter involving seventy-five million dollars of an expenditure by the Dominion of Canada to cover a deficit in the management of the railways is a matter of considerable importance. Railways are just as necessary to the development of a country as are its highways and, therefore, railways are something that we must have. Railways, by the nature of their undertaking, must have special privileges from the Government of the country. They receive the

right of eminent domain; they have the privilege of taking land from a private owner without his consent by paying him for it. Therefore, they must, in the interest of the public, be regulated, and the system adopted by the former Laurier Government was much superior to the one under which we are operating to-day. They found that the railways should be regulated, and they appointed a Railway Commission for that purpose, the regulation applying to the railways and other phases of the railway life of this country. To my mind, private ownership with public control is the proper system. Perhaps the Railway Commission could have had their powers extended so as to include location of railways as well as the control of freight rates, etc., which they have at present. If they had sufficient power to determine where railways are to be located before charters or locations are sanctioned by this Parliament, we would, in all probability, save much duplication. But they have not had that power and the result has been that we have had some duplication. Many hon. members opposite, including members of the Government, have argued that we have overbuilt the railways of this country; that we have too many railways. I am not prepared to agree with that statement. There is no question but that we have too much mileage for the present population, but we have not nearly enough mileage for the territory that should be developed in this country. During the development period of a country, railways will, in all probability, be built a little in advance of the requirements of the day, that all depending on the viewpoint of the Government of the day. If the Government have visions of a great future for this country, they are altogether likely to encourage railway construction and development. A wise government would follow up railway construction with an aggressive colonization policy. As you construct the railways, you bring into the country a great number of men to work on construction. It is well known that railway construction attracts immigration from foreign countries, just as the building of a city attracts people. When you start to build a city—houses, sewers, waterworks, pavements, sidewalks, and all the other things that go to make up a city—there is a great demand for labour, and men come there to work. That of itself makes a demand for more houses. But as soon as you get one house too many built and construction stops,

[Mr. Cahill.]

there is bound to be a reaction. The same is true of railway construction. As soon as you reach the point where construction stops, the men who were employed in that construction are going to find other employment or leave the country. It is at such a period that the Government would be well advised to turn their attention entirely to colonization and the development of the country's resources—timber, mineral, fisheries and agricultural resources. Our railways should have been so laid out as to accommodate the greatest number, first, of agriculturists, and then of other classes. I have no hesitation in saying that the Laurier Government did not adopt a wise policy of homesteading. I do not think it is wise to allow the promiscuous settlement of homesteads all over a great country. I think the Government should have opened up blocks of land on which homesteaders could settle, and should have built railways to that settlement, instead of allowing people to go all over the country hundreds of miles from a railway in some cases, and then come knocking at the door of Parliament for railway accommodation. It simply means that you are constructing too much mileage for the amount of land actually settled. The Conservative Government when they came into power apparently overlooked entirely a policy of colonization and the development of the lands along the lines of railway in order to produce traffic for the roads. Had they turned their attention to such a policy, we might not have had the condition we have to-day. However, they saw fit to adopt a different policy, and they allowed railway conditions to get into such a muddle that they, at least, thought that the only way out was to take over certain railways. Their method of taking over those railways was a very extravagant one. I think they paid entirely too much for them, and the records of the Government will show that. They paid for the Canadian Northern at least \$140,000,000 more than ever was spent by the Canadian Northern people in the construction of the road. That is shown by the Drayton-Acworth report and by the evidence given before the Board of Arbitration. However, when they had taken over these railways, one would naturally expect that the Government would have a policy for the railways under public ownership—a policy governing future construction, the method of management, and what should be done in the matter of freight rates when the earnings of the road were not equal to their

operating expenses. But apparently the Government have no policy. The manager of the railway, if he is correctly reported, was going round the country less than six months ago stating that the Canadian National railways would be an asset to the country and would help to pay off our huge debt, but when the minister presented his report we found that the manager was \$47,000,000 short on his earnings, to say nothing of the roads being able to relieve the burden of debt that is now on the country.

The railway situation to-day resolves itself purely into a question of management. What sort of management are we going to adopt? The Government told us two years ago, when they took over the Canadian Northern, that the Government roads were to be taken out of politics. That statement on the face of it should have convinced any thinking member of the House that the Government had given very little serious thought to the matter, because, as was pointed out from this side of the House, it is impossible to take Government-owned roads out of politics under the political system we have in this country. The minister, however, told us that the roads would be taken entirely out of politics, and that he was going to look out for a board of directors to manage the roads in the best interests of the people. The Minister of Railways selected his board of directors. He is absolutely responsible for the selection of every director on the Canadian Northern and the Canadian National railways. Among all the directors he selected there was not one railway man. If my hon. friend was going to run a grocery store I cannot conceive of his hiring a blacksmith to run it, because he would know it would be impossible for a blacksmith to run it successfully. But when it came to the bigger question of running the railways, he seemed to think a grocery man was capable of running the roads, and so he has hired grocery men, iron founders, and other men of that kind to undertake the management of the railway and act as a Board of Directors who will be responsible to the people. Not only that, but he saddled on the railway system the man who had made a failure of the management of the Canadian Northern, which failure made it necessary for the Government to take over that road. The man who had managed the roads and said he could make them pay was the man who was taken over as the manager. I question very much if that management was

not already settled before the Board of Directors was selected. I think if hon. members will look at the evidence given before the Arbitration Board, they will find it was understood at that time that the present management was to be the management of the Canadian National railways. The directors were taken in afterwards, with instructions, I have no doubt, that all they were to do was to sanction what the management would say to them, and let it go at that. The management, to my mind, is not good. It has several weak spots, and one of the weak spots is that the manager is too closely connected with the old Mackenzie and Mann interests. The people of this country have no confidence in the Mackenzie and Mann crowd. They have no confidence in people connected with that crowd managing the railways of Canada in the interests of the people of Canada. I pointed out to my hon. friend the other day that the manager of the Canadian National railways, Mr. Hanna, was president of the Townsite Company along the Canadian Northern, the Townsite Company having retained something like \$20,000,000 worth of property in the townsites along the line of railway. I accused the minister last year of allowing his management to transfer the equipment of terminals from one point to another for the benefit of the real estate company which own the townsite at that time. The minister said his information was that Mr. Hanna never owned a lot in Western Canada. Now I took the trouble to go down to the office of the Secretary of State and find out who were the owners of the Canadian Northern Townsite Company, and I found that Mr. Hanna was president of the company. Mr. Hanna said that there were bonds issued against this company, and that was why he was president. I find by sessional paper No. 195, Tuesday, April 15, 1919, Canadian Northern Arbitration, page 750, volume 2, that Mr. Tilley in cross-examining Mr. Hanna on Tuesday, February 12, 1918, asked him this question:

Q. Mr. Tilley. There were certain townsites out in that district—Canadian Northern townsites are they?

A. Mr. Hanna. No, sir.

Q. Mr. Tilley. Mackenzie, Mann and Co. townsites?

A. Mr. Hanna. Owned by the Canadian Northern Town Property Co.

Q. Mr. Tilley. And is the stock of that company owned by the Railway?

A. Mr. Hanna. It is owned by Mackenzie, Mann and Co.

I hope the minister will take time to investigate the question of the townsites.

Here, according to the evidence of Mr. Hanna under oath, are townsites owned by Mackenzie and Mann.

According to the evidence in the Secretary of State's Department Mr. Hanna is president of this company, and he apparently is still working for the Mackenzie and Mann crowd. My information is that he has been using the railway for the benefit of the townsites rather than for the successful operation of the road. I want to draw the attention of the committee to some things which it seems to me should be placed before them so that the matter may be adjusted by the department, if they will do so. The people of the country, whenever you meet them on the streets or on the railways, show dissatisfaction. They do not believe that the railways are being properly run, and they naturally ask why. I may read to the committee the following statement: I notice in Investment Items Supplement, Royal Securities, Limited, Montreal, April 30th, 1920, page 2, under the heading:—

Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company prosperous.

The company has recently been awarded orders for approximately \$3,000,000 of cars for the Canadian National Railways.

I understand that Colonel Thomas Cantley is a director and chairman of the board of Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company and he is also a director of the Canadian National Railways. There may not be anything wrong about it; it may be absolutely all right. But it does seem strange that the Canadian National Railways should take as their directors men who are selling supplies to the railway. It seems unreasonable that the Government should be unable to get directors who are railway men and who are not interested in any private undertaking whereby they stand to benefit by selling supplies to the Canadian National Railways. This is a matter in regard to which all suspicion should be entirely removed from the public mind. We should get the best railway men possible as directors and managers of the railways, and the Government should give the railways a fair chance. Hon. members last year and the year before said that I was opposed to public ownership. Public ownership does not enter into the question, but what I said then was that I feared that public ownership would get a black eye if there was not better management than the minister was proposing to institute, and the facts have justified that fear. The rail-

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ways have not been managed in the interests of the people; the management has not been in the interest of public ownership. I asked the minister last year for the names of the subsidiary companies connected with the Canadian Northern Railways. I was unable to get that information from him. There are quite a number of these companies that are controlled and listed in the annual report for 1919 as acquired security. I wanted to know from the minister what the liabilities and assets of the total undertaking of the Canadian Northern Railway amounted to, and what the total assets and liabilities of the Canadian National Railways represented. In other words, I wanted a business statement of just what we were receiving and what the liabilities were. I requested a statement in regard to the subsidiary companies but it was not given to me. Now, I desire this information, because in these undertakings we apparently are partners with a great number of people. I want to know who our partners are. Take the Duluth, Winnipeg and Pacific railway, and what is the situation? The Canadian Northern and the Government own fifty-one per cent of the stock. Apparently it is a profitable railway. Who owns the other stock? I find this in the evidence given at Toronto on April 15, 1919:

Q. Mr. Butler: That is the Duluth, Winnipeg and Pacific?—A. Mr. Hanna: Yes; it earns as much as the Canadian Pacific Railway in one of its last reports.

Q. Sir William Meredith: Are the operating expenses greater on that proportionately?—A. Mr. Hanna: No, this road earns fixed charges and earned a very fair rate on the dollar of common stock.

Q. Sir William Meredith: The company does not own more than 51 per cent of the stock, does it?—A. Mr. Hanna: Mackenzie, Mann and Co. own the other forty-nine.

Again we have Mackenzie and Mann apparently holding profitable portions of this whole undertaking. They have retained the valuable timber limits and the valuable townsites; they have retained all other valuable subsidiaries of the undertaking and have allowed the Government to take over the most unprofitable portions. Now, a railroad cannot possibly make any progress under arrangements of that kind. In the first place the bargain was bad. Too much money was paid for the road, and we did not get the assets of the road. The Mackenzie and Mann interests were allowed to retain the most profitable parts of the assets, but we had to take over the whole management, lock, stock and barrel, of a concern that was not able to pay half its way, while they had all the assets of

the Canadian Northern; and now the Government is using more money to manage the unprofitable portion. The Toronto Globe some weeks ago, after the minister had made his statement, pointed out as a reason why the railroad had to meet a large deficit this year that they had spent so much money on maintenance of way and equipment. That was one of the reasons why there was a large deficit. Now, if they had spent as much money in maintenance of way and equipment as the Canadian Pacific Railway spent during the same period, their loss would have been \$10,000,000 more. The Canadian Pacific Railway paid out \$844,000 per mile more in maintenance of way and equipment than the Canadian National Railways.

Mr. J. D. REID: Did the hon. member say \$800,000 per mile?

Mr. CAHILL: I meant to say \$844 per mile.

Mr. J. D. REID: That is different.

Mr. CAHILL: If we had spent on maintenance on the same basis as the Canadian Pacific Railway we would have had an additional loss of over \$10,000,000. After all, you must maintain your equipment as well as your railways, and the equipment when the Government took over the road was very much less than it was reported by the Canadian Northern people. I do not think any one will deny that fact. It was considerably less. They had a lot of old junk stock lying on the sidings and the company turned that over to the Government as rolling stock. As a matter of fact it was not rolling stock but simply junk. When my hon. friend took over this railway he found that he was short of equipment, and instead of coming to the House and frankly saying that he had only so many cars and so much equipment he gave us a statement of equipment as reported by the Canadian Northern and he started from that basis. When he asked for an unlimited cheque to buy equipment and we insisted on a limited amount I at that time stated that I knew the railway was short of equipment and I advocated that the equipment be purchased. The minister has not bought enough equipment yet. The railway is not yet properly equipped and the minister will have to spend more money before he can equip the road in order to take care of the trade that is now offering. He had not proper equipment but he would not come and admit to the House that he had taken somebody's word for something that was wrong. The Canadian Northern

in their statement at page 6 has the following:

The deficit of \$5,700,647.70 is after crediting Miscellaneous Earnings and charging Deductions from Income. The actual operating deficit for the year is \$6,471,846.35 as against net earnings of \$3,247,061.97 for 1918 and net earnings of \$7,443,369.41 for 1917. This loss between 1917 and 1919 of nearly 14 million dollars in net earnings is a direct reflection of the improper relation existing between earnings and operating expenses.

Now, the Canadian Pacific Railway report for the same year and for practically the same item is as follows:

The gross earnings of your transportation system during the fiscal year under review exceeded those of any previous year in the history of the company, and exceeded the gross earnings of 1918 by \$19,391,362, but the net earnings were less by \$1,369,351.

Had the Canadian Pacific maintained the same standard of equipment as the Canadian Northern they would have shown a profit of approximately eight and a half million dollars over the previous year, whereas we have shown a decrease of over nine million dollars. There must be something wrong when the management of the Canadian Pacific railway were able to report such a state of affairs, after taking into account the amount of money they spent on maintenance and equipment, a difference in their favour of eight and a half million dollars as against a difference adverse to us of over nine and a half million dollars. That must indicate to the minister that his management needs some investigation. It must show him that something is wrong with the management of the Canadian Northern, and my hon. friend should ascertain what is the trouble. I am quite satisfied that if he will go into the country and consult the people who are using the road and find out from them what kind of service they receive he will discover the reason for his deficit. He will find that the railway as at present managed will continue to lose more money every year because it is not giving satisfactory service to the people. Its patrons are not satisfied. I might draw attention to another fact. The Canadian Northern Railway system, with approximately eight thousand miles of railroad, carried fewer passengers in 1919 than the Intercolonial, the National Transcontinental, and the other branches of the Canadian Government railways comprising four thousand miles. The four thousand miles of railway under the old management carried about fifty per cent more passengers than the eight thousand miles of the Canadian Northern, and

it is overwhelmingly obvious that there is some reason for this. We noticed in the press a few days ago an item to the effect that the Canadian Northern Railway were selling some \$10,000,000 worth of bonds in the United States and paying seven per cent on them. I find in their balance sheet these items:

Cash and Victory Bonds in Trust Accounts held in respect of Construction work, Sinking Funds and other Special Accounts . . . National Trust Company, \$3,260,489.35.

This is apparently a provision for a sinking fund. That would be perfectly proper while the road was owned by the Canadian Northern Railway Company. But why should the Government of Canada have to allow the National Trust Company, of which I understand some hon. members opposite are directors, to have \$3,000,000 of the Canadian people's money on deposit,—at what rate? Four per cent? We are paying seven per cent on the money in the United States, a loss of at least \$100,000 a year on that item alone. We have another item, the Fidelity Trust Company Equipment series "D," 1919, \$7,500,000. This item of the National Trust Company has been carried on from year to year at about the same amount. It would be all right for a private company to carry a trust fund, but it is unnecessary for the Dominion Government to appoint some private company as a trustee for Canada. Arrangements should be made to save that \$100,000, or two or three hundred thousand, which we are paying to trust companies in profits made by friends of the Government. The whole item of \$14,000,000 mentioned in the statement would go a long way towards taking care of equipment. This committee should know what amount of equipment bonds has been issued. What amount of equipment bonds does the Government intend to issue, and have they in mind any policy? What amount would be necessary for them to sell of equipment bonds, and what other loans will be required to put the road in such shape that it can go on without further aid from the Government outside of paying for deficits? The minister last year told us when he made a loss of forty or fifty million dollars—a total loss in two or three years of some \$140,000,000—that he was getting securities and notes on the mortgages of the Canadian Northern. But the Minister of Finance came down a few days ago and ran his pencil through the whole amount. He does not consider it of immediate value. It may have some value at some future date, but he cannot call it a live asset. In fact, he

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discards it entirely as an asset. Now, how much more money does the Government expect to have to put into the system before it will be able to stand on its own feet so far as operation and capital charges are concerned? When shall we reach that point where we shall be able to meet annual deficits on the undertaking? Does he intend to increase the rates and make the people who get the service pay for it, or does he intend to make the whole people pay, and leave matters in this most unsatisfactory state, simply coming to Parliament in the last days of the session and asking for huge amounts of money to be handed over to a private company that do not even give an audit? The minister stood up in his place a few weeks ago and said we would get just what information he thought it was advisable to give us. Now, we stand in relation to this road as owners. We are representing the owners of the road. My hon. friend is simply our trustee. As our trustee he is entitled to give to the people's representatives in this House all information that he is asked for about the railway system. This is a public undertaking, it is the people's money that is in it, and my hon. friend has no more right to withhold information from this committee than he has to attempt to do away with the Auditor General's Department. When my hon. friend says he cannot tell us who they are insuring with because it is not in the public interest he is not treating the committee fairly or honestly. I notice the amount of the insurance premiums unexpired is \$1,200,000. That is quite a large sum. Who are the insurance companies who are getting this business and how are they getting it? Who are the companies that we are buying rolling stock from and how are they getting business? Are they getting it by contract? My hon. friend says that it is not in the public interest that he should give us this information.

If the Minister of Railways will look at the report of the Grand Trunk Railway Company he will find a great deal more detailed information than there is in the report of either the Canadian Pacific or the report of the Canadian Northern. That is because the British stockholder is more inquisitive. That road has not been paying dividends and the stockholders want to know why. Therefore they are critical, they are inquisitive. On the other hand the Canadian Pacific Railway Company have been paying huge dividends; and when you are getting dividends up to the limit of what you expect you are not so critical or in-

quisitive as to the conduct of the affairs of the railway. Now, at page 18 of the Grand Trunk report I find that ties to the value of \$1,374,000 were purchased in 1918 as compared with ties to the value of \$706,000 purchased in 1917, and the questions I would like the minister to answer are of this nature: How many ties did the minister buy, what price did he pay for them, and from whom did he buy? Did he buy by tender or private arrangement? From whom did the minister buy his cars and all the necessary equipment? How did he make the purchase? Was it by tender or by private arrangement? Did he buy from the directors of the company or from particular companies to which those directors belonged, or did he buy in the open market? Then I would like to know how did he sell the scrap from the railway—the scrap of the cars, the old rails, the old bolts, the fishplates and all the scrap that is annually sold by a railway company? I want to know to whom he sold, how he sold—whether by tender, by auction or in what manner—and who the lucky bidder was? I also want to know how the minister buys his supplies? For instance, does he buy his groceries from those two grocers who are directors of this undertaking? A railway company will buy a great deal of groceries in a year. How many dollars' worth does my hon. friend buy and from whom does he buy? Does he buy his groceries from the grocer director of the railway in Winnipeg and the grocer director of the railway in Montreal, or does he buy them in the open market by competition? The minister must also give us an idea of what the balance sheet of the different subsidiary companies discloses—their liabilities and assets, and what property of theirs we own and what we do not own. The minister must also tell us how he buys materials and what price he pays for them. We want to know where he buys his ties, his lumber—in fact where he buys everything and the price he pays for it. The minister cannot argue that the presentation of such information is not in the public interest. It is certainly more in the public interest that the people generally should be satisfied that they are getting a square deal, than if it is to allow the suspicion to exist that purchases are being made from the directors of this company. Hence I wish the minister to give us the fullest information possible concerning these matters. Then we shall be in a better position to determine the best method by which we can pull this undertaking out of the hole and make it a prosperous instead of losing one as it is

at present. My hon. friend has asked for constructive criticism and we have heard a great many demands in this House for that kind of thing. But, Mr. Chairman, if I had a watch to repair I would not take it to a blacksmith. In the same way if I have a plan for the successful management of a system of railways I would hesitate to entrust it to my hon. friend because I am afraid he would bungle the job. There is no question that this undertaking can be put on its feet and made prosperous and made to pay, for the public will be at its back if they think they are getting a square deal. But I will make this one suggestion to my hon. friend—and he cannot say this is not constructive criticism—he must get the management and the directorate of his railway system in shape; they must be the best that he can get and not such material as he has to-day.

Mr. J. D. REID: In view of the remarks of the hon. member I feel that it is incumbent upon me to occupy a few minutes in answering some of the points that he has tried to make. One might gather the impression from his opening remark that this Government had in some way altered the railway policy of the previous administration as regards operation and rates. So far as railway rates are concerned they are under the supervision of the Board of Railway Commissioners. That board was appointed by the Government of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier and in my opinion—having regard to the public interest and the efficient operation of railways—it was one of the best pieces of legislation that was ever put through this Parliament.

Mr. CAHILL: Hear, hear.

Mr. J. D. REID: As I understand it there has been no departure in any shape or form from the position as created by that legislation. So far as the control of railways is concerned the position is the same as it was under the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier except to this extent: The Canadian National Railway Bill which has been passed will bring every federal railway in Canada under the jurisdiction of the Board of Railway Commissioners.

Mr. CHISHOLM: Does the minister mean to say that every railway in Canada will come under the operation of that commission?

Mr. J. D. REID: I mean every railway under Dominion jurisdiction. Perhaps the hon. member has in mind that it would apply to a railway incorporated by provincial charter, but if so I say no.

Mr. CHISHOLM: I know that. That was my reason for asking the question.

Mr. J. D. REID: As regards the Government railways the board have been notified that they are to consider all complaints or charges until the Bill referred to becomes effective. They are to consider and deal with these questions exactly in the same manner as though that Bill were law to-day. Therefore, to all intents and purposes, all railways owned by the Government, or railways brought under Dominion jurisdiction by being declared works for the general advantage of Canada, are under the Board of Railway Commissioners, so far as regards freight rates or indeed any other matter as to which the board have power to act. Therefore I cannot see what reason there is for any complaint on my hon. friend's part with respect to the matter of railway rates.

Mr. CAHILL: I do not wish to interrupt the minister but I rather intended to convey an impression opposite to that which he seems to have gathered. I know the Railway Commission is a good thing; I believe the legislation which created it was the best legislation ever passed in this country. The minister says the Railway Commissioners have full power to regulate railway rates. That is quite true, but the board will not attempt to regulate them until asked to do so by either the public or a railway company. The members of the board themselves do not go out into the country and search around and inquire as to whether railway rates are right or wrong; they must be asked by some person, or some company, to regulate those rates. I wanted to ask the minister a question on this point because he seems to be skating dexterously over that piece of thin ice: Did the Canadian Northern Railway Company ask the Railway Commission for an increase of rates? The board have the power to increase the rates, but this Parliament has the final say. Parliament can veto the ruling of the Railway Board. Even if the board said that the rates should be reduced this Parliament could provide for an increase if such was thought necessary. I would therefore ask if the Railway Commission have been asked to grant an increase of rates.

Mr. J. D. REID: I want to give the hon. member the fullest information in connection with this matter; I do not think any hon. member feels, having regard to the statements that I have made, that I am trying to slide over anything. I under-

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stand the hon. member to ask whether the Canadian National Railways have made an application to the Board of Railway Commissioners for an increase in rates.

Mr. BUREAU: Does the Canadian National Railway Company exist in fact?

Mr. J. D. REID: Well, the Canadian National Railways—yes, they do exist.

Mr. BUREAU: The Canadian National Railway Company.

Mr. J. D. REID: That question is not a very serious one. The Canadian Northern—if the hon. member (Mr. Cahill) prefers that name—the Canadian Pacific, the Grand Trunk, the Canadian National Railways, the New York Central—all these lines meet and agree upon making the necessary application if a change of rates is contemplated. I do not think that they have made any such application to the Board of Railway Commissioners. I made inquiries in that regard, not only from the Canadian National Railways, but from some other railways. The answer I got was this: the question of increased freight rates is now before the Interstate Commerce Commission. I am under the impression that the reason why the Canadian railways have not yet made application to the Railway Commission for an increase of rates is that they are waiting to see what the result will be on the other side of the line. My hon. friend asked also if Parliament had not the final say as to increased freight rates; in other words, whether a refusal on the part of the Railway Commission to grant an increase could be vetoed by Parliament. As I understand the constitution of Canada, Parliament is supreme in everything; therefore if Parliament wishes to increase the freight rates, even though the Railway Commission may refuse an increase, it is my opinion that Parliament can do so.

Mr. TURGEON: May we deduce from the statement just made by the minister that Parliament may express its opinion and give its judgment as to the advisability of increasing the rates or of maintaining them on their present basis?

Mr. J. D. REID: As I understand it, Parliament may express its opinion with regard to freight rates or with regard to anything else. Many times since I have been here Parliament has expressed its opinion with regard to action that should be taken in certain matters. Therefore if Parliament wishes to express its judgment that the rates should be increased, there is no

reason why it should not do so. With reference to the railways in the United States, the statement has been made in the House that there will be no more deficits on the United States railways now that they have been returned to private ownership. The other evening I clipped the following item from a newspaper, which shows the results of the operation of United States railways since they were returned to private ownership:

Washington, June 22.—Railroad operations during April, the second month of private control showed a loss of \$15,625,529, the Interstate Commerce Commission announced yesterday.

During April last year the roads showed a profit of \$20,703,196, the commission said.

The operating expenditure during April, 1920, was \$322,338,785, as compared with \$276,576,590 in April last year.

Under the Transportation Act, the roads are guaranteed a return upon their investment for six months. The loss for April, therefore, means that the taxpayer will have to pay the amount of the loss plus the amount of the guaranteed returns either directly or through increased rates.

I quote this merely to show that on the other side of the line losses are made under private ownership as well as under Government ownership.

Mr. MACKIE (East Edmonton): Do the American railroad companies keep their books as we do, without taking account of fixed charges or loans, which, in connection with our Government railways, are included in the public accounts? Or have they a proper system of bookkeeping in arriving at that conclusion?

Mr. J. D. REID: The books of the railways on the other side are kept under the same system as the books of railways operated in Canada.

Mr. MACKIE (East Edmonton): Is it not a fact that in Canada none of the fixed charges in connection with the railways are found in the railway accounts, except in the case of the Canadian Northern Railway and the Grand Trunk Pacific, which are incorporated roads; that in connection with all Government roads the fixed charges are found in the public accounts?

Mr. J. D. REID: I was referring, of course, to the privately-owned roads, not to the Intercolonial or the Transcontinental. Now, the hon. member (Mr. Cahill) next referred to the management and to our present directorate, pointing out that we had appointed men who were not railway experts. Well, we took over the Canadian Northern Railway system and we put

together all the railways comprising the Government railway system. The management that had been in control of the Canadian Northern, the Intercolonial and the Transcontinental were kept on exactly the same as they were before, with this exception: when the roads were brought together some men were released and others were promoted—in all cases, men who had been employed in connection with these railway systems. To illustrate: The general traffic manager of the Intercolonial, Mr. Hayes, was made general traffic manager of the whole system from Vancouver to Sydney. Mr. Brady, who was manager of the Transcontinental, was made manager of the lines from Port Arthur to Sydney. Mr. Warren was advanced to general manager of western lines, and so on.

Let me say this in passing as regards my experience in connection with the employees of the railways we now own, and I want to include all our railways from Sydney to Vancouver. I have in my investigations come to the conclusion that the employees on the 15,000 miles of railway that we now own are, as a whole, as good as and equal to those of the Canadian Pacific railway or any other railway on the American continent. I want to pay them that tribute, because I find, from inquiries made amongst the travelling public that, as a rule, with, perhaps, an odd exception where some complaints may have been made, our employees are civil and endeavour in every way to serve the public well. As regards traffic,—with the present shortage of equipment on our railways, our employees have, in my opinion, carried out their work in a manner equal to those of any other railway on the continent of America, and I want to pay them that tribute at the present time.

Mr. JACOBS: How is it that it takes the Canadian Northern railway about one-third longer time than other railways to go from Ottawa to Montreal? What is the difficulty?

Mr. J. D. REID: The Canadian Pacific railway have a fast train to Montreal, but they also have slower trains.

Mr. JACOBS: They take three and a half hours, not four and a half hours.

Mr. J. D. REID: I have not finished my answer. They have two or three trains a day, including a fast train, between here and Montreal. The reason that train can run so fast is that it does not make so many stops, although it does not run one minute faster between stations. The Cana-

dian National railways do not run so many trains because there is not the same traffic, and, moreover, up to the present time they have not had the equipment to put on more fast trains. They have had to run fewer trains on account of lack of passenger equipment.

As regards the management of the Canadian National railways, my hon. friend (Mr. Cahill) takes issue with Mr. Hanna, president of the road. That is a grievance which I cannot help, and it does not seem possible for me to bring these two gentlemen together and make them friends. Mr. Hanna, however, is only one man connected with the operation of the railways, and the fact that he is president does not mean that the road is not being operated economically and in the interest of the public.

With reference to the Board of Directors, the hon. member has referred to the fact that Mr. Cantley is president of the Eastern Car Company, a company which receives large orders from the railways, and he says that we should say whether these orders are got by tender and so on. I think I said in this House a year ago that when these directors were being appointed, we endeavoured to select prominent business men in whom the Canadian people would have confidence, and to associate with them officials connected with the operation of the railway. As regards my action in recommending that policy at that time, I stated that I was not a railway expert; I am not a railway expert now and never will be; I do not expect to be able to claim that I am a railway expert; and I must depend upon those connected with the operation of the railway. If I was wrong at that time in recommending that policy, it was because I followed out a policy that the Canadian Pacific Railway had adopted and carried out for many years, that is, in having for a board of directors, a certain number of their own officials, paid absolutely by the railway, and, in addition, prominent business men selected from all parts of Canada who could meet together on the board once a month to give good advice regarding conditions in different parts of the country and who, perhaps, might also assist in bringing traffic to the railway. To adopt such a policy in connection with public ownership may have been a mistake. With regard to the Canadian Pacific directorate, almost every director outside of the management is interested in various corporations, and many of them are interested in corporations which are selling goods to

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that railway. That may not be a good policy, and it is for the Government to decide whether they will adopt a policy of having a board of management composed only of paid officials of the railway, the best men we can find being selected for that work, and having no other board than that, or whether we are to continue with the policy as now laid down. In my opinion—and I did not hesitate to express it last year and I am now expressing it again—if the public believe that we should not have on the board men, although they are business men, men whose character and reputation are beyond dispute, who are interested in other corporations and so on, then it is not in the public interest that such men should remain on the board. But that is a matter which will have to be taken up and decided, and whatever decision the Government may come to, we must assume the responsibility.

The hon. member (Mr. Cahill) referred to public ownership, and I should judge from his remarks that he is not in favour of public ownership. I want to state once more that this is not a question whether we are or were in favour of public ownership. Public ownership was forced on the people of Canada. We could not help it; it came to us without our wish; but here it is, and as we now have public ownership, I cannot for the life of me see, if we appoint men in whom the public have confidence, any reason why we cannot select from our own railway officials men who are just as able to operate that road successfully as men who might be appointed similarly by the Canadian Pacific. I cannot for the life of me see why the matter will not work out in that way.

Mr. CAHILL: Why not try it?

Mr. J. D. REID: Give us a little time and see what will be done. We are bringing the Canadian Northern railway, the Government railways and the Grand Trunk railway under one system, and I have asked for time for this reason. It is my judgment that the time to put the management in charge of all this railway system is when we have the Grand Trunk, the Canadian Northern, and the Canadian Government railways all under one system. We should appoint the management then, and we shall see what the result will be. Therefore, I want to repeat again: If we put the men there, we should give them an opportunity, and the result will, in my

opinion, be the same as that of other rail-ways.

The hon. member said that the equipment of the Canadian Northern when we took over the road was a lot of old junk.

Mr. CAHILL: A lot of it, not all.

Mr. J. D. REID: Before we took over the Canadian Northern system we had expert valuers go over the whole equipment and they valued it for what it was worth at that time. I am quite sure that my hon. friend, if he saw the valuers' report would not think that the equipment we took over was old junk.

My hon. friend has also referred to the Mackenzie and Mann interests, and has stated that we are in partnership with Mackenzie and Mann so far as the Duluth and Winnipeg railway is concerned.

Mr. CAHILL: I do not know how many others.

Mr. J. D. REID: We will take that one first. Information respecting all these rail-ways was given to the House when the Bill was put through. It was shown in Parliament that Mackenzie and Mann owned 49 per cent of the Duluth and Winnipeg railway, and that they retained that interest when we took over the Canadian Northern.

Mr. CAHILL: What Bill does my hon. friend refer to?

Mr. J. D. REID: The information appeared in the blue book which was laid on the Table at that time, and which is a part of the records of the House.

Mr. CAHILL: At what time?

Mr. J. D. REID: In 1914. The blue book shows the interest Mackenzie and Mann had in all these subsidiary companies. It showed whether we were purchasing them outright, or whether there were other interests. For instance, the city of Quebec has some interest in the Canadian Northern Quebec.

Mr. CAHILL: Have Mackenzie and Mann no interest in that road?

Mr. J. D. REID: I do not think so. The information is all set out in the blue book. My hon. friend says that the Duluth and Winnipeg railway is making money. It is; it is one of the best parts of the system. My hon. friend has also referred to the Townsite Company, of which Mr. Hanna was president. If my memory serves me right, when we took over the Canadian Northern all the land was taken over except the townsites, which Mackenzie and Mann

owned personally. The valuation was made on that basis. I cannot blame my hon. friend for the position he takes because he has got his information from the public records, but I can assure him that if he understood the whole situation he would come to a different opinion. Prior to the Government taking over the Canadian Northern the townsites owned by Mackenzie and Mann had been given as collateral security to parties who had made a large loan to the Canadian Northern. The parties would not advance the money otherwise, so these townsites privately owned by Mackenzie and Mann were given as collateral security for the loan. They were not released when we took over the road, but are still held as security for the loan that was made.

Mr. CAMPBELL: Have Mackenzie and Mann still an equity in these townsites?

Mr. J. D. REID: Yes. Now the Canadian Northern system in order to see that the money collected from the sale of these townsites went to the trustees for the bondholders appointed directors to see that the money was used for the particular purpose for which the security was given, and when the Government took over the Canadian Northern we had to have some of our Canadian Northern or Canadian National officials as directors of the Townsite Company, so that they would have control of the money until the maturity of the bonds.

Mr. CAHILL: I would like the minister to make that a little more clear. When the Townsite Company sells a lot, why do they have to keep any track of the money so far as the Government is concerned? As I understand it, when the bonds are paid off the lands will revert to Mackenzie and Mann interests. The Government will pay off the bonds and the lands revert to Mackenzie and Mann, so there is nothing to the minister's argument that we must keep some one to look after Mackenzie and Mann interests. Our men should be looking after our own interests, not the interests of Mackenzie and Mann.

Mr. J. D. REID: The townsites were given to the present bondholders as collateral security. Now, you cannot wipe out the collateral security. Therefore, the sales from these townsites must go to the trustees for the bondholders. Eventually any equity Mackenzie and Mann have in the townsites will go to them.

Mr. CAMPBELL: I understand that the bondholders have a claim against these

townsites, and that the Government have practically assumed that indebtedness, and that when that indebtedness is paid off the townsites will go back to Mackenzie and Mann. Is that correct? Another question: Were there any townsites belonging to the Canadian Northern Railway Company?

Mr. J. D. REID: Answering the last first, the Canadian Northern may have some townsites at some new places, but when we took over the road we did not take over any townsites. We took over the land, as I stated before. When these townsites to which my hon. friend refers are sold, the proceeds are held as collateral for the bonds. It is true that the Government must return to Mackenzie and Mann the townsites or the money we get for them. So far as any equity Mackenzie and Mann have in these townsites is concerned, they are willing to let the Government take over the townsites now by arbitration, if the Government so desire.

Mr. CAHILL: In the interest of the people I would ask the minister for Heaven's sake not to undertake any more arbitration with the Canadian Northern.

Mr. J. D. REID: I do not think the people of this country agree with my hon. friend. I think they would have confidence in any arbitration that might take place. There is only one concern in which Mackenzie and Mann are interested, and they are only very slightly interested, and that is the docks at Port Arthur. There is a very small equity there and the docks are being used in connection with the Canadian Northern railway. This was indicated at the time of the arbitration, and there is no secrecy about it; and if at any time the Government desire to take over the docks they can do so on the basis decided at the arbitration. So far as I know this is the only interest that Mackenzie and Mann have in connection with the Canadian National railways. They have no say whatever in regard to the operation of the system, and this very small interest does not affect the management in the slightest degree.

Mr. CAMPBELL: A railway man said to me that Mackenzie and Mann still hold some interest in some of the equipment.

Mr. J. D. REID: That railway man, whoever he was, said something in regard to which he had no information whatever. Mackenzie and Mann have no such interest, and the statement only goes to show what stories are circulating throughout the coun-

[Mr. Campbell.]

try prejudicial to the interests of the railway.

Mr. CAMPBELL: Well, I thought I would give the hon. minister an opportunity to deny the statement.

Mr. J. D. REID: My hon. friend (Mr. Cahill) found fault with us because the maintenance of the Canadian National railways was more than that of the Canadian Pacific railway.

Mr. CAHILL: No, less.

Mr. J. D. REID: Rather, that the Canadian Pacific was more than the Canadian Northern. Well, the explanation is simple. The density of traffic accounts to a large extent for the difference. The Canadian Pacific railway runs through larger cities and therefore they should expend more than the Canadian Northern. If I remember rightly, the hon. member also stated that the Canadian Government railways carried more passengers than the whole Canadian Northern system carried in 1918. The hon. member must bear in mind that during that year practically every returned soldier that came from the other side landed at Halifax. These men went from Halifax to Moncton, and so much traffic was accordingly credited to the Intercolonial. My hon. friend complains bitterly that we are leaving in the National Trust Company of Toronto a large deposit as shown in the report submitted to Parliament. The hon. gentleman asks why we should leave \$3,260,489.35 on deposit with the National Trust Company instead of the Government taking and using that money. There are other large amounts on deposit with trust companies: the Fidelity Trust Company re equipment series \$7,500,000, Pennsylvania Company \$400,000 and so on. The hon. gentleman must bear in mind that these moneys are held by the trustees for the bondholders and said moneys will be released from time to time as the equipment which is the collateral security for the bonds is delivered and paid for by the railway company and ultimately all these moneys so held in trust will be released. The hon. gentleman also asks how much more will have to be put into the Canadian National railways; are we to continue spending money for equipment and for new construction and when is it to stop? When we took over the Canadian Northern its equipment was probably about one-third that of the Canadian Pacific. The Canadian Pacific owned about four and a half cars per mile while the Canadian Northern

owned about one and a half and the result was that the Canadian Northern could not only not give a proper service but could not take away the traffic that was originating on its lines. I came into this House not once but twice asking for authority to purchase more equipment, and I believe every hon. member will agree that it is good policy to get sufficient equipment at as early a moment as possible to take care of the traffic originating on the Canadian National lines. We have not sufficient equipment now and were it not for the large expenditures that must be made for other purposes I would urge doubling the equipment at the present time. If I did what my judgment prompts me to do I would order right now at least 5,000 coal cars, get them here at the earliest possible moment and use them to carry coal from Nova Scotia and Alberta so that this country might be in no danger of a fuel shortage. But when I come to this House and ask for \$20,000,000 or \$25,000,000 for equipment, people say that I am asking for money for the Canadian National system that should not be expended. Every dollar we can afford to put into equipment is the best money that can be spent in Canada to-day. It will encourage people to produce, and to take their raw materials and have them manufactured, it will help to export our goods to foreign countries and it will in addition save a crisis in some of our provinces that could not take place if we had proper equipment. If I came again and asked for \$15,000,000, \$20,000,000 or \$25,000,000 for cars that are absolutely necessary if we are going to protect the people of this country from probable trouble on the ground of the shortage of coal supplies I would likely receive criticism that would hardly be justified. Conditions are such that I have in my estimates hesitated to ask for any more for this purpose.

Mr. MACLEAN (York): How much are the private-owned roads of the United States asking for similar equipment? Are they not asking for over \$1,000,000,000?

Mr. J. D. REID: The hon. member is right; they propose expending over \$1,000,000,000. I am now arranging to haul coal, to see what it will cost, from the western provinces to Ontario and Quebec and to bring it east at the earliest possible moment. I am trying to do, and will do, the best I can. The railways are working together. We will do our best to prevent any serious situation but we have not the equipment that will justify the carrying of

a very large quantity of coal from these provinces because it was not ordered and could not be got here until a month or two. But we have the equipment and can bring the coal from the United States so long as we are not held up by the switchmen's strike or other strikes on these railways. That is a question that some one will have to deal with in the near future in so far as bringing the coal from the East and the West is concerned.

The hon. member for Pontiac (Mr. Cahill) complains that I would not give him the information concerning the expenditures of these railways. The protection of the public is as I have stated. We have been operating the railways who, we believe, are honest and are operating them in the public interest. We have in addition to that one of the best firms of auditors who audit the accounts of the railway. That is what is done by any private-owned corporation. I do not think it has been asserted that any private-owned railway would give out every item of expenditure. There is not any doubt at all but that we would injure our railway if we advertised or gave to our opponents everything that was expended in connection with the operation of the railway. Let me give a concrete case. You call for tenders for ties, for coal or for any other item you might mention. You may call for tenders in the western provinces and in the eastern provinces. There is no doubt that you will have to pay different prices at different mines. There are different prices that you could pay for ties. That applies to every item entering into the operation of railways. The hon. gentleman mentioned insurance rates. If the hon. member will inquire of the management he will see that the Canadian National railways and probably the Canadian Pacific get certain percentages off, that they get cheaper rates than probably some other corporations will. If you expose that, or if the insurance agents should make that public, you will not get the same rates.

I do not claim that the members of this House or the public should not have the fullest information or go into any details in regard to the expenditures. I would have no hesitation in making public any information in connection with the road that I believe would not interfere with its operation or would not be against the public interest. But we are only starting to operate railways. The report that I lay on the Table of the House each year brings the Canadian National railways under the

eyes of the members of Parliament. I would think that in the future there would be no reason why a special committee of the House should not be appointed in connection with railways and let some of the officials come and explain the operation and give any information the committee may want. But if you have to place all the expenditures in connection with the Canadian National railways before the Public Accounts Committee, let politics get into it, have the management here and keep them here for from three to five months, you never possibly could operate the Canadian National railways. We must have confidence in the management. We have to trust them. The people should have men that they have not the slightest question of doubt about and in addition to that we must have auditors that the House, the Government and the country have confidence in.

Up to the present time I have not had any interference of any member of Parliament on either side of the House to the operation of these railways. They have never found any fault as far as I know. They have tried to do their best to keep politics out and to give those who are managing these railways a chance. I only hope and trust that they will continue as they have been doing to give public ownership a chance and if they do I believe the words of Mr. Hanna will turn out to be correct, notwithstanding the difference of opinion which has been expressed by my hon. friend from Pontiac. I believe that in the years to come Canada will have one of the greatest assets in the world and that we will be in a position to keep freight rates at the minimum. We will be in a position to prevent a crisis with regard to the interchange of food products and fuel between the provinces of Canada. Having an asset of that kind so we may be able to protect and provide for ourselves within our own borders instead of having to go to foreign countries is something that this country should be proud of.

MR. CAHILL: The minister's reference to insurance shows that the Government are getting something now that they are not entitled to and which should be made public. The minister says he can get a better rate by keeping the information secret. Let me tell him that the Government is not entitled to any better rate than the law permits so there is no reason why this information should not be disclosed. The same thing applies to the purchase of ties. You can go to the meeting of the directors

[Mr. J. D. Reid.]

of any railway company, as a shareholder, and ask to see the books, and they will show them to you. In the present instance as a trustee there is twice as much reason for your getting access to that information.

There is another point I want to make. Comparing the directors of the Government railways with the directors, for example, of the Canadian Pacific railway, the latter are men that are directly and financially interested in the welfare of that line. They have grown more so from year to year. They have large interests in the Canadian Pacific railway and its affairs are of vital interest to them. Every director of that company is personally interested in the efficient operation of the line. Unless you get that selfish interest presenting itself somewhere in the undertaking you are not going to get very far. There is no doubt that all of us are selfish and our first consideration is for ourselves. We like to make money for ourselves; that is only in accordance with human nature. So I say that these Canadian Pacific directors are directly interested in the management of the railway for the benefit primarily of themselves. You cannot possibly argue, with any show of reason, that because you pick up a man who is successful in his own business, and pay him \$2,000 or \$2,500 to act as director of a railway company that he is going to give its operations that direct and personal interest that he would if it were his own private business in which he was making money. The two things are directly opposed to each other. With the directors of the Canadian Pacific the success of their line is the first consideration. It is true that they have other business connections, but this is one of their big interests. In the case of the Government Railway system the directors have other interests and the operation of these railways is only a side issue with them. Therefore the minister's illustrations are entirely beside the question. The illustrations may look well on paper but they are not the same in the practical working out.

The people you want as directors are men who are directly interested in the development of that railway. A director who has no shares is not responsible to any person. The minister can remove him but it does not hurt him if he is removed because he has no responsibility. I repeat that what we want to do is to get on the directorate people who are directly interested in the welfare of this railway system, people whose future is tied up in it and to

whom the enterprise represents their life's work. These men will give to the undertaking their best thought and consideration, and their best efforts and labour. If the directorate consists of men who have no such interest in the undertaking as I have stated you are bound to have deficits, and they will go on increasing.

Mr. J. D. REID: The hon. member has just stated that the shareholders of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company can go to the offices of the company and see every item of expenditure in connection with its operations.

Mr. CAHILL: At the annual meeting.

Mr. J. D. REID: At the annual meeting any shareholder can get information in connection with the expenditures from the company but at such meeting there must be first a vote of the shareholders before that information is granted. I would like to make this other point: Suppose a shareholder did go to the offices and ask for information, I am told the president would ask him for what reason he wanted the information. If he stated he believed there was something wrong, the president would ask him for the source of his information and the shareholder having the interest of the company at heart would disclose it. But you would not find that shareholder going to the newspapers with any information he received if it were going to injure the company. On the other hand, the shareholders of the Canadian Government railways comprise every citizen in the Dominion. While members of Parliament have treated us fairly—in so far as the disclosing of information is concerned—there are, in my opinion, good reasons why the outside public should not be allowed to go to the railway management and ask "What are you paying for this, and what are you paying for that?" I think even the hon. member himself will agree with me that—outside of this House at all events—there are Canadian citizens that would like awfully well to get such information, and for two reasons: One, in order to be able to disclose it for the purpose of injuring public ownership, and another for the purpose of creating trouble between the railway companies. They might even go so far as to try to get that information in the hope of using it to assist them in making some money in one way or the other. That is what would happen. The shareholders of a private company, as a body, will work for the success of the

enterprise, and the people of this country as a whole will work loyally for the success of the Canadian National Railways; but the disclosure to the public of such information as asked for to the whole public I am afraid would injure our national system.

Mr. MACLEAN (York): There is one thing evident in this country now that we have got public ownership going, and that is that the national railways are, for the first time, making the pace. It is surprising how the opponents of public ownership are prepared to criticise, and do criticise, this policy, and they present all the arguments they possibly can against it. It is evident, however, that the national railways of Canada—while they have been acquired, as has been stated here, as a matter of compulsion; we had to take them over, and I am one of those who are glad we have taken them over—are going to vindicate themselves. The deficits which now exist will soon cease to exist and we will get a better service in this country. As I said before the pace is being made to-day; and you will see running between Toronto and Ottawa, within a week or two, a national service given by the Grand Trunk and the Canadian Northern that will be the best thing in the way of passenger service that we have known up to date.

Mr. COPP: How about the service in other parts of Canada?

Mr. MACLEAN (York): That improved service will be extended all over, and the improved equipment is coming.

Mr. COPP: Why should it be confined to the territory between Ottawa and Toronto? What about the Maritime Provinces?

Mr. MACLEAN (York): Wait until you see. You have political administration of the Intercolonial railway.

Mr. COPP: The minister says not.

Mr. MACLEAN (York): You did have, and the hon. gentleman and his friends were those who made it.

Mr. COPP: Nothing of the kind.

Mr. MACLEAN (York): I know all about it, and I saw it at work in this House; I have been here too long not to notice it.

Mr. COPP: When did that administration stop?

Mr. MACLEAN (York): It stopped largely when the hon. gentleman's friend's went out of office.

Mr. COPP: It did not.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. MACLEAN (York): But we are now having public ownership. We are getting improvements in the operation of the Government railways, and the pace is being made. The proof of that is that the Canadian Pacific are making the announcement that they are going to have this improved equipment; that they are going to try what we are doing now and get rid of all unnecessary duplications. It is because the national railways are now consolidating and giving improvements, and have to a large extent been freed from political interference that this opposition seems to grow and that this criticism is indulged in. For my part I hope there will be absolutely non-political administration of the national railways of this country. Some criticism has been made here to-day of the Board of Directors who are at present in control of the national railways, on the ground that with these directors who are practical railway men, are associated a number of business men. I believe that the entire administration and the directorate should be in the hands of absolutely practical railway men, and I believe that will come. The distinguished example of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company has been referred to, but I do not approve of the record of some of the directors of that company who are not railway experts. Within the Canadian Pacific Railway Company there have been a number of directors—if you ask me, and I am only giving you my information—who were not in the railway business for the advancement of the line so much as they were in the hope of making money in connection with speculations with respect to railways.

An hon. MEMBER: Name them.

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): I can name some; the Grand Trunk is a case in point. The struggles of the Grand Trunk for existence arose largely through the fact that the men on the directorate were more or less associated with stock speculations in the Old Country—and there have been instances of that here in Canada. I do not want to see any of these men connected with the administration of our national railways. I want to see our national railways administered by railway experts who are responsible to the Government and to Parliament, who are subject to the criticism of auditors as well as to the criticism of this House, of the press, and of the people

[Mr. Maclean.]

generally. I am confident that when the appeal is made to the people to support their national railways they will give them their business, and in a short time we will see great improvements. You go across the country and you see unnecessary duplications, unnecessary sidings and unnecessary stations—between Montreal and Toronto, for example, or between Ottawa and Toronto—you see these duplications that private ownership has imposed on the country, and you feel ashamed of the wastefulness and extravagance there exposed. But under public ownership we now see unnecessary men going out of the service; unnecessary stations are being closed; unnecessary ticket offices are being eliminated. You see the telegraphs of the country gradually coming into the national service; you see the telegraph and ticket offices in the same building, as is the case with the Canadian Pacific.

Mr. COPP: And you see increases of rates.

Mr. MACLEAN (S. York): They may increase the rates, just as the hon. member is increasing the rates for his services. He has to do it; the conditions compel him to do it. Does the hon. member say that the rates should not be increased if the requirements call for it? Even lawyers' fees are going up.

Some hon. MEMBERS: No.

Mr. CASGRAIN: They have been the same in our province for years.

Mr. COPP: I understood the hon. member (Mr. Maclean) to intimate that a saving should result from all these things, but instead of that the people have to pay more for the use of the facilities which he has mentioned.

Mr. MACLEAN (S. York): We have not had an opportunity to put all these things into effect; they are only beginning. I say that unnecessary duplication is being eliminated, as is unnecessary expense in connection with soliciting business—that is all coming to an end. The result will be benefit not only to the national railways but also to the Canadian Pacific. The Canadian Pacific will be a better road as a result of the consolidation that is now going on in connection with our railways; it will cause them to devote more attention to service than to the securing of business. I am confident that the people are determined to give public ownership a fair trial and that they are willing to vote the money for

the purpose of doing so. The minister is asking for a comparatively small number of millions for additional equipment—

Mr. BUREAU: Small number of millions!

Mr. MACLEAN (York): The railways in the United States have been so badly administered that they have nearly all been in the receiver's hands—not because the Government took them over, but because the Government was forced to administer them in order to get any kind of service during the war. Now that they are being returned to private ownership the attitude of the average investor in American railroads to-day is a prayer to God that the Government will take the roads over and administer them and let these people out of their investment. When hon. gentlemen say that private ownership has been a success in the United States and that we in Canada are going to run into something that will occasion great loss to us, they should remember that private ownership furnishes the most glaring example of mal-administration of great interests that has ever been witnessed in the world's history. Now, that is rather a broad thing to say, but when you go into the facts and when you see how privately-owned roads of the United States have been wrecked by those who control them—and who, quietly and in an underground way, are interested in them to the extent of selling supplies and making money out of them—you should not be surprised to find that private ownership has not attained the success claimed for it in the United States. But in this country we now have a chance to make a success of public ownership, largely because we are able to cut out unnecessary expense, eliminate duplications and make savings of one kind or another that will result in benefit to the people. Hereafter our national railways will not be run to make money for shareholders or anything of that kind; we are going to put the money into a better service and into the extension of lines; when settlers go into new parts of our country we are going to try to send the rails after them. I hope that some of these unnecessary rails will be used in the construction of colonizing lines in the West or wherever they may be needed. When it is stated that public opinion is not much in favour of nationally-owned railways, I want to repeat what I have said in the House before:—and I am speaking now to the Farmers' party in this House—that the Council of Agriculture in the United States,

an organization similar to the Canadian Council of Agriculture, have declared in favour of public ownership. The American Federation of Labour, which met in Montreal the other day, have declared in favour of public ownership. For the first time we have a Government in office which, no matter what their faults in other respects may have been, have done much in the way of giving public ownership a start. The assets of the Grand Trunk and its connection with the business towns of Quebec and Ontario are so valuable that opponents to public ownership are beginning to cry out; they do not want to see the lines in the West of the Transcontinental, the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk Pacific linked up with that splendid system, the Grand Trunk, which we have in the East. To-day the people of Canada have in their national railways the best transcontinental service in the country, or will have when the system is trimmed up, as it will be in a little while. We have the best strategical positions in all the cities of Canada now by reason of this combination. You go into Montreal and see what we get in the way of railway assets through the acquisition of the Grand Trunk.

Mr. BUREAU: And personal injury cases every day on account of people being killed at the crossings in Montreal.

Mr. MACLEAN (York): That is not the fault of public ownership; it is the fault of the hon. member for not improving the law.

Mr. BUREAU: But you are talking about the valuable lands that we are getting in level crossings.

Mr. MACLEAN (York): Well, they are valuable lands.

Mr. BUREAU: They kill a man a day on those crossings.

Mr. MACLEAN (York): They are very valuable, and we have similar assets all over the country. It is because we have these valuable assets in the East, these sidings in the East, this connection with industrial towns and cities in the East, that public ownership is looked upon with extreme disfavour by those who are inclined to oppose it on ordinary grounds. I regret that the party that claims to be the party of progress and democracy in this country—said to be the party on the opposite side—never looked upon it as a democratic policy that the people, not the private companies, should own the railroads of this

country. Private companies have always been the parties of interest. But democracy in this country is now asserting to itself the right to administer the railways, to build them up and to devote them to service rather than to profit. Most criticism of public ownership comes from gentlemen who claim to be consecrated to Liberalism and democracy. Nevertheless, public ownership is coming now; it is here and with us; we have to make the best we can out of it, and I believe it is going to succeed.

Let me tell the committee another thing that will happen now that we have public ownership in connection with our railways. What is it that every little town, village and railroad station in the East and in the West wants? It is what I will call a community centre. Now that we have national railways and a station in every one of these little towns and villages, the time has come when there ought to be in every such town or village a community centre, where there will be the railway station and ticket office, the post office, the national telegraph office, and if there is a provincially-owned telephone system, it will be able to find a home in that building. That being the case, by concentrating all that business into one building at that one point, we shall have a telephone service, a railway service, a telegraph service, and all those other great public services.

Mr. BUREAU: A fire station.

Mr. MACLEAN (York South): And, perhaps, a fire station. There is the hon. gentleman criticising again; there is the professed Liberal in this country. The moment you suggest something for the benefit of the people of this country, you encourage the criticism of my hon. friend.

Mr. BUREAU: A fire station there would be the greatest protection you could have.

Mr. MACLEAN (York South): Yes, you could call the fire brigade out at any hour of the night through this community centre. I have explained what is coming through public ownership. This is the first time in the history of this country that the scattered towns and villages of the West and the towns and villages of Ontario and Quebec are going to have those community centres. This will be similar to what the French call the department of communications which embraces railways, telegraphs, post offices and telephones, all being concentrated in one centre and owned by the people.

I want to speak just for a moment in regard to the railway station in the city of

[Mr. W. F. Maclean.]

Toronto. I referred to the matter in the House, but I was able to do so only by way of asking a question of the Government. I want to call the attention of the Government to the fact that a great deal of money has been spent in Toronto by what is called the Terminals Company for the erection of a new union station in that city. That Terminals Company is made up of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the old Grand Trunk Railway Company. They have built a fine station at Toronto, and the Government have come in with them and become partners by securing the whole east wing of that new union station for a public post office to handle and distribute outgoing and incoming mail. That building has been completed, and it has cost up to date between two and three million dollars. The biggest contributors up to date are the people of Canada, and yet the Board of Railway Commissioners has issued an order that railways going into that new station shall elevate their track. This can only be done at an enormous cost including land damages that may involve thirty or forty million dollars, and by reason of that order of the board, we cannot get the use of that station or its facilities, nor of that magnificent new post office that we have built there for the distribution of outgoing and incoming mail. The old union station in Toronto is the worst station in Canada, and yet several weeks after the new union station has been practically completed, we cannot get the use of it. I want to say to the Minister of Railways that he should immediately, on behalf of the railway system of this country, ask the Board of Railway Commissioners to suspend that order in regard to those elevated tracks. We cannot at the present time get the money necessary to elevate those tracks, and we do not want to have to pay the enormous damages that the elevation of those tracks would call for. Therefore, I think the Government, and especially the Minister of Railways, ought to ask for a suspension of that order so that that splendid station may be used not only by the people of Toronto, but by any one who may go there from other parts of the country. Having put all this money into that new union station, we shall have there the Grand Trunk, the Canadian Pacific, the Canadian Northern, and the Intercolonial if they wish to come that far, and we shall be only too glad to see them run into Toronto, using that new station. I am sure hon. members from Toronto will support me in saying that if that new station is completed and if it is held up in its use

by reason of that order of the board, that order should be suspended for the time being so that we may have the use of that station. Having a model station there, we shall presently have more of them throughout the country. I am not proposing any extravagant expenditures in connection with stations; but I believe you will see a better station at Montreal soon, and the result will be the building of better stations throughout the country. As soon as the Government say to the people of Canada: Support your own railways, I am sure the people will go to the support of their railways, and that will not be to the detriment of the Canadian Pacific, because there is a future for both railways in Canada. I want to point out one thing to the Canadian Pacific railway, namely, that it will find in this new Government system a better co-worker and ally than in the old system. I hope before long that some kind of pooling arrangement or, perhaps, a distribution of some of the territories, giving the lead at one point to one road and at another point to another, will be arranged for. But the Canadian Pacific is not going to be damaged or injured in any way by our having a real national line owned by the people and extending all the way across the continent. I have every confidence that, now that the national system of railways has been established, it will prove a great success and the people will see the benefits of this policy.

My prediction is—and I want to be judged by my prediction, and I have not often been wrong in connection with the railways of this country—that within five years the United States Government will own the railways of that country. They will find that they will have to follow our example, and I believe the Americans will take their railways out of politics. I know that one of the planks in the platform of the Republican party is that they are against public ownership of railways, but I believe the great majority of the people of the United States are in favour of public ownership just as the majority of the people of Canada are. That being the case, I hope the consolidation will go on, and again I say to the Minister of Railways that it is perhaps not going on fast enough. We have a committee to consolidate the Grand Trunk and the Canadian Northern, and to my mind the consolidation is going on a little too slowly. I hope it will move quicker now, and that we shall see all these useless stations closed and unnecessary officials dismissed and a large portion of

the railroads for the first time devoted to service rather than to the making of profits for shareholders. That is the underlying principle that commends itself to me in favour of public ownership.

Mr. RICHARDSON: I want to make one or two observations on the subject of transportation in this country, because it has a very deep interest for me. The hon. member for Pontiac, who opened the discussion, expressed a preference for private ownership under public control. I cannot quite understand what the hon. gentleman was driving at, because we have had private ownership in this country under semi-public control, through the Railway Commission, and it has not proved a wonderful success. It passes my comprehension how any hon. member of this House who has made any serious study of the railway question in this country can take a position opposed to public ownership. Very frequently we hear it charged—I have heard it charged session after session in this House—that the Government voluntarily embarked on this public ownership policy, and that it was sure to prove a national disaster. Now I think it cannot be too frequently repeated that the Government did not voluntarily embark on a policy of public ownership. Private ownership came to a disastrous end in this country, and it probably could not have been otherwise, because, as you will find by the records, every railroad in this country—even including the great Canadian Pacific, which cost such an immense amount of money, was subsidized by the people of this country to an extent that Sir John Willison in an article in a newspaper described as “an outrage on a free people”—was practically paid for by the people. We need not go back to discuss the Canadian Pacific railway, but every dollar that road cost has been put up by the people of this country. After that road had been built, we undertook to embark on another great transcontinental railway, the Transcontinental, which was to have cost the people of this country some \$13,000,000. As a matter of fact, the road has cost us \$250,000,000. It is true it is a splendidly built road, extending 1,800 miles, but I do not think it has sufficient traffic to pay for its axle grease. The question is, should that road be abandoned? There are many people who think it should, because it is a charge on public ownership. The old Grand Trunk, which by its contract undertook to operate the road, positively refused to do so, and the road is now thrown on

our hands. Should the Government or this Parliament decline to operate the road and let it fall into disuse? That is a very serious question. We have to face this fact: great vested interests have been created all along the line. Settlers by the hundreds of thousands have gone in there and are making their homes in the towns and villages that are being built up along the line, and to abandon the road would be a great hardship upon these people. It would therefore seem to be the desirable thing that this country should operate the road, but the road cannot be operated properly, except at an enormous annual deficit. The same remarks will apply very largely to the Grand Trunk Pacific, which was driven through the mountains at an enormous cost. This country has spent, I believe, no less than \$400,000,000 or \$500,000,000—let hon. gentlemen mark those figures—in unnecessary railroads paralleling each other in this country. Witness the tragedy between this city and the great city of Toronto. The old Grand Trunk, fifty or sixty years ago, had a monopoly of that territory. It had a double track between the two cities and was entitled to the traffic derived from that great territory. It was able to take care of all the traffic, but the territory has since with the consent of Parliament been invaded by the Canadian Pacific and the Canadian Northern. It is no wonder when you duplicate lines in this way that railroads do not pay, and that there is an annual deficit. All the railroads that we have taken over have been forced upon the country. We must have railroads. Transportation is almost as great a necessity as bread and butter, and consequently these railroads must be kept in operation. The Government was faced with this position: These privately owned roads came to an end. The Grand Trunk refused to operate the Grand Trunk Pacific, and absolutely refused to take over the Transcontinental. What could the Government do? Could it allow the hundreds of thousands of people who had settled along these lines to go without railway service? Why, if that had been done, there would have been a rebellion in the country.

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): Give the road to the Canadian Pacific.

Mr. RICHARDSON: We cannot afford to give it to the Canadian Pacific. We have already given them hundreds of millions of dollars. The Government was faced with

[Mr. Richardson.]

this vital problem: It had either to take over these roads or let the country go without transportation. That is the tragedy of the situation. There was absolutely no other sensible course for the Government except to take these roads over. It is all very well for the hon. gentleman to prattle about private ownership under public control, but we were faced with an issue, and that issue had to be met, and it was met in the only possible way it could be met. Hon. gentlemen will say, and they do say, and it is reiterated throughout the country, that we are piling up enormous deficits in the operation of these publicly-owned railroads. Surely we are. The deficit last year amounted, I understand, to \$47,000,000. But let us remember that during all the years that have gone by, the people of Canada have continually contributed in bonuses and subsidies to keep these roads going. That policy of bonuses and subsidies went on for decades until the time came when the people would not stand for it any longer. I believe the feeling of the country was that they would sooner take over these roads and operate them themselves and know exactly what the deficit was. It is true we have this deficit, but that deficit, I repeat, is no greater than the amount it would otherwise be necessary for us to put up by way of bonuses or subsidies to keep these roads going. Let me say to those who denounce this deficit on the Canadian National railways that during the war the United States took over and operated the railways there, and their loss in operation during the war was almost one billion dollars. So we have not done so very badly in Canada. Now that we have the railways, I believe that we shall be able so to co-ordinate them, and bring about such vast economies in the running of freight and passengers trains and through the amalgamation of ticket and freight offices, that we ought to be able to make the roads pay.

While I am on my feet I want to say a word with reference to a proposed increase in freight rates. In the debate on the speech from the Throne I spoke on this subject, because I believed this Parliament should hesitate before authorizing or recommending any increase in freight rates. Let us look the conditions squarely in the face. The country has been loaded with an enormous railway liability. I believe that we have no less than \$500,000,000 in value of roads that should never have been constructed.

The Transcontinental I have already alluded to. Is it a fair proposition that freight

rates should be increased in order to pay operating expenses on that vast capitalization? An enormous portion of that capitalization never should have been expended, and the users of these railroads, those who travel or send freight over them, would be obliged to pay these high freight rates if we granted the increase. Why should a limited number of people be saddled with that cost? Are not the entire people responsible for the situation? I am not here to charge one political party or the other with responsibility; they are all to blame. I remember twenty or twenty-five years ago, when I sat on the Railway Committee day after day as a member, how the exploiters and those who wanted charters to build railroads in various parts of the country, brought their supporters to that committee and presented arguments in order to secure those charters. Only in rare instances did the promoters ever propose to build the railroads themselves. They intended to dispose of the charters, and Parliament, through its Railway Committee and of its own accord, for the last thirty years continued a policy that has brought such a grief to the country in connection with the railway situation. The only cure is that we should take our medicine. Railing against one another in this matter will avail us nothing. We have all been responsible. Let us all take our medicine and realize—and the sooner the better—that an amount should be written off the public ledger in connection with public ownership sufficient to make up for the enormous expenditure in the duplication of railroads. The capitalization of the nationally-owned railways must be cut down to an amount which would just about cover cost, if constructed under proper auspices. Then you are in this position. You need only charge freight rates sufficient to pay operating expenses and interest on a reasonable capitalization. Until the crack of doom I do not believe that in Canada we would be able to pay on our nationally-owned railways sufficient to take care of operating expenses and upkeep and the interest on the vast capitalization that never should have been put into this enterprise. We must start right if we are going to make a success of public ownership. With regard to increasing the freight rates, let me point out that if you increase the rates the Canadian Pacific Railway will get about two-thirds of the amount that will be collected. Does the Canadian Pacific Railway need this amount? Does it need an increase in freight rates? If you look at

their statement you will find that they have from one to two hundred millions in reserve—I think, to be accurate, it is one hundred and fifty million dollars. So that to give them an increase in freight rates would be but a tragedy to the people of the country. But if you grant an increase on the nationally owned railways you must grant it in connection with the Canadian Pacific. Is it not far better, in the interests of the whole people, that we should suffer a loss in the operation of our nationally owned system, as we must suffer a loss for the reasons I have advanced,— I say, is it not far better that we should suffer a loss of forty-seven millions a year than that we should increase the rates and thereby call upon the people to shoulder some \$200,000,000 of a burden, the greater portion of which amount would go into the coffers of the Canadian Pacific Railway? This is an important question and one which hon. members should carefully consider, because an increase in freight rates would simply mean that you would pass on the cost to the people. Surely the people of the country are now just about taxed to the limit; and if you add such a vast amount as I suggest by way of an increase in freight rates it will only increase the burden of the people to an intolerable extent. It seems to me that under all the circumstances the people of Canada have reason to congratulate themselves at the present time on what has occurred. I believe that we are co-ordinating all these railway systems under one public management that will operate to the advantage of the system. I believe—and my belief is founded on observation—that this great system is steadily growing in favour and is improving all the time; and it is my conviction that we should encourage the nationally owned system of railroads. The time is not far distant, if we do so, when we shall have a system of which we can well be proud. I have not heard in this country during the last year or so, since the Canadian Northern was taken over, any charge that has been substantiated by reasonable evidence against the management of these publicly owned railroads. The president, Mr. Hanna, is very well known to me, and has lived in the West many years. He has told me, and has repeated in public, that no attempt has ever been made from any quarter, political or otherwise, to influence his appointments in connection with this great system. That is a highly important statement. It is true or it is **not**

true. If it is true I think the people of Canada have reason to be grateful that out of the railway chaos that has existed in this country for twenty or thirty years, we at last have a reasonably efficient and honest administration in our nationally owned system. I believe we have reason to thank God. Look at what has been going on in connection with privately owned railroads. They have been one of the greatest debauching influences in this country for the last thirty or forty years. No one ever hears any talk about crooked work in connection with the railroads now, and I believe that is one result of public ownership.

Let me say in conclusion that I believe it is the solemn duty of the people of the country, and especially of the members of this House, who are supposed correctly to represent the feeling of the country, to stand loyally by the publicly owned system; for that is the only solution of an enormous difficulty. You will not get all that you may expect; the work may not be perfectly done. But if it is reasonably done, and if we have an honest and reasonably efficient administration, we shall have reason to be thankful. If we secure an honest administration we have reason, I reiterate, to be deeply thankful; and I believe that we have that administration at the present time. Members may talk about changing the system, but let me tell hon. gentlemen opposite—and as an old Liberal I sometimes feel rather sad to see many of my friends opposing this democratic principle of public ownership—that this system is the only one that will work in Canada today. There is no other solution for our railway problem, and if my hon. friends were in office to-morrow and undertook to hand over the administration of these now publicly owned railroads to private ownership they would meet with a storm of indignation and opposition throughout the country such as they could not withstand. You may just as well make up your mind that public ownership in Canada has come to stay. Let us realize that fact and aim at securing the best, the most honest, and the most efficient administration in connection with that system. That, and only that, is the policy that is sure of success in this Dominion.

Mr. TURGEON: It being practically six o'clock, Mr. Chairman, I would ask that the committee rise.

At six o'clock the committee took recess.

[Mr. Richardson.]

### After Recess.

The House resumed at eight o'clock.

### PRIVATE BILLS.

#### CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE—THIRD READINGS.

Bill No. 180, respecting Dominion Trust Company.—Mr. McQuarrie.

Bill No. 192 (from the Senate), to incorporate Reliance Insurance Company of Canada.—Mr. Casgrain.

Bill No. 51, respecting The Dominion Fire Insurance Company.—Mr. Mowat.

Bill No. 169 (from the Senate), for the relief of George Emerson Fox.—Mr. Ross.

Bill No. 185 (from the Senate), for the relief of Graziano Bertini.—Mr. Pedlow.

Bill No. 186 (from the Senate) for the relief of William Henry Caswell.—Mr. Duff.

Bill No. 187 (from the Senate), for the relief of John Covert.—Mr. Porter.

Bill No. 188 (from the Senate), for the relief of Mary Ireland.—Mr. Nesbitt.

Bill No. 189 (from the Senate), for the relief of John Daniel Mills.—Mr. Ross.

Bill No. 190 (from the Senate), for the relief of Joseph Aimee Wilfrid David.—Mr. MacNutt.

Bill No. 191 (from the Senate), for the relief of Richard Simpson.—Mr. Mowat.

Bill No. 193 (from the Senate), for the relief of Nora Dowle.—Mr. Douglas (Strathcona).

### SUPPLY.

The House resumed in Committee of Supply, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN: When the committee rose at six o'clock we were considering item No. 114 of the Railway Estimates—Canadian Government Railways—\$6,321,194.—and Mr. Turgeon had the floor.

Mr. TURGEON: I intend that the few remarks I deem it my duty to make this evening shall be more suggestive than critical. From a sense of duty I desire to draw the attention of the Minister of Railways to a question that is of vital interest not only to myself and the people whom I represent in this House but as well, I believe, to the whole population of Canada. A short time ago, when the minister presented his annual statement with respect to the Government system of railways, the astounding revelation was made to us that the deficit on those railways amounted to \$47,000,000. In the same period of time the Canadian Pacific Railway Company were able to show a surplus of \$32,000,000.

It is apparent, therefore, that given the same efficient management and the same close attention as the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Government system instead of having a deficit of \$47,000,000 would have had a surplus of \$30,000,000. The deficit on the Intercolonial railway amounted to four and a half millions, something unprecedented in the history of that road in the long period which has elapsed since Confederation. If we compare the operations of the Intercolonial with those of other railways we are forced to the conviction that the adverse showing of the Intercolonial is four hundred per cent larger than it should have been. I do not intend to saddle the men who are at the head of that railway with the entire responsibility for this, or say that they should be dismissed on the ground of inefficiency. But I do maintain that there is good reason for asking the Railway Commission, through this Parliament, to be very careful and ponder well over the situation before they decide upon sanctioning an increase of rates on the Canadian railroads at the present time. A short time ago I saw a statement in the press—whether it was authorized or not I cannot say—to the effect that the chairman of the Railway Commission had stated that it was most likely ere long that the railway rates in Canada would be increased. That statement has had the effect of forcing public opinion in Canada to study the question of freight rates which hitherto it has not done. In former times when there was a deficit on the Intercolonial of from \$200,000 to \$500,000 people in the upper provinces—more particularly those in Ontario—were wont to raise a great outcry, those deficits, according to the Drayton-Acworth report, having reached a total of \$10,000,000 in the course of twenty-seven or twenty-eight years. The administration of the Intercolonial at that time was criticised because the people referred to claimed that the railway was controlled by political agencies in the Maritime Provinces and more particularly in the province of Quebec. But, if we compare the management of the Intercolonial under the Liberal regime—under ministers like Mr. Blair, Mr. Emmer-son and Mr. Graham—when it was no uncommon thing to have a surplus it does not seem logical to throw stones at Government operation. What a contrast it presents to the unfortunate financial results we now see under management by a com-

mission which is supposed to be untrammelled—or at any rate less influenced—by the politicians of the country. The question of freight rates is a very important one in this country, particularly when we have regard to the extent of our territory and the distance that our products must travel before they reach the ocean ports through which they are shipped to European countries. Again, products which are brought to this country have to be transported thousand of miles from the coast before they reach the consumers of the West. Then, we have a country to the south which has a population thirteen times as large as the population of Canada, and the wealth of which is twenty or twenty-five times greater than the wealth of Canada. Moreover, their natural facilities for the transportation of their western products are superior in many ways to ours. The United States are making every possible effort to reduce freight rates—particularly on those railroads which carry the wheat and other grains of the western states to ocean ports—in order that their farmers may get the greatest benefit from the markets of the world. They are making every effort to transport their products by water instead of by rail, in order to secure the advantage which would naturally accrue therefrom to their producers. It is time that Canada considered this question, not from any political standpoint but from the vital national standpoint, in order to bring about the most advantageous results for our producers, whether they be farmers or manufacturers. I have always advocated the Government control and operation of railroads. But I will tell the minister, if he will listen to me for a few moments, what, in my opinion, is the chief purpose of Government operation. Those who have advocated the Government operation of railways during the last five or six years have naturally claimed that such operation is necessarily in the interests of the people. Private operation is for the benefit of a few moneyholders whose chief object is to make profit in the construction and operation of railroads. On the other hand, Government operation is not for profit, it is for the benefit of all the people; its purpose is not to create surpluses, but to give the people of the country the best possible service at the lowest possible rate. Our railroads; they have been acquired by the Government not so much because of the adoption of the principle of public ownership, but because their acquirement was a matter of necessity. I have opposed some

of these measures of Government acquisition not with reference to the principle of public ownership, but because I thought that the bargains were not in the interest of the country at the time. But now we have these railroads and it is in the interest of the people at large to do the best that can be done under the circumstances, and to see that the railroads give the best possible service at the lowest possible rates so that the producers of this country may have no less advantage so far as freight rates are concerned than the producers in the great republic to the south. The shippers of the United States are appearing before the Interstate Commerce Commission and trying to get the lowest rate that they can for their produce, because when the shipper obtains a lower rate, his advantage on the market is enhanced. Freight rate is like tariff; it attaches itself to everything that it touches. It is more particularly in the interests of the real producers, the farmers, that we must give consideration to this question of rates. It is raw materials that are particularly affected by the tariff. We have been decrying the great corporations, the railway corporations, for having been plunderers of the people. It has often been said that they are charging excessive prices and making immense dividends, more than they have a right to make. Under present circumstances we have the fact that under the paternalism of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company better results are attained than under the Board of Management of the Canadian National railways. It is said at once: Let us raise the railway rates—I am speaking now of freight rates; on a later occasion I shall make a few remarks with regard to passenger rates. I am opposed to an increase of rates at any time, because if the rates are increased now they cannot be decreased in the future. At all events, years would have to roll by before any decrease could be effected, and in the meantime the commerce of the country would be ruined. Some years ago an increase of ten per cent in freight rates was effected and subsequent increases were made to the extent of twenty-five per cent altogether, I believe. But they have not lately been increased, and now we are asked, simply because the Board of Management of the Canadian National railways has shown a deficit of \$47,000,000, to increase the rates to cover that deficit. This increase the people of Canada would have to pay. Moreover, the rates on the Canadian Pacific would also be increased, and instead of com-

[Mr. Turgeon.]

ing annually before their shareholders with a surplus of \$32,000,000, the Canadian Pacific would show a surplus on operation of \$62,000,000—and you could not blame them. I ask this Parliament and the people of this country: Why penalize the users of the Canadian Pacific in those parts of the country where they have no other means of transporting their products in order to cover a deficit on another 15,000 miles of railway? We have to be consistent and very serious in this matter. What will become of the farmers of the West if their grain, once it has reached our ports, such a great distance away, has already cost the five or six or seven cents more than the rates paid by the farmers of the American West for their grain? How will they be able to make up the difference? It will be a loss to them completely. Therefore, before we increase the rates, we must at least give the National Railways Commission the rest of this year to see, according to their personal ability or inability, what statement they will bring before the Government and Parliament next session, when it will be time enough to increase the rates. If we increase the rates now, they might come back again next year still with a deficit, and follow the same procedure and increase the rates from year to year in order to meet deficits brought about through mismanagement by incompetent men or men who may not have the necessary command of the business to bring the railways of this country into the position in which they should be. Therefore, it is necessary that there should be no increase in freight rates during at least the present calendar year, after which we shall have the report of that board. We would have that report next January, and the session should be called at least by that time, so that we would then have more knowledge and information as to the reason why they come again with a deficit, if they do, and as I am much afraid they will. It is more particularly for that reason that I have spoken, because I know there are in this country industries that could not stand any further increase in regard to certain of their manufactured products.

As I said, we must understand that freight follows every article. Before pig iron can be produced in Sydney, freight has been paid out on coal, iron ore, limestone and everything else necessary in the production of that pig iron. Then, it may be sent in the form of billets or blooms to the manufacturer in Montreal, Toronto or elsewhere, and freight has to be paid on that again. Then, when the manufacturer

has made his farm implements and sends them to Winnipeg or Edmonton, another freight rate is paid, the rate being increased on account of the additional material that enters into the product. Therefore, every time that the article is shipped from the time it originally leaves the mine until as a manufactured article it reaches the consumer or final user, there is an increase in freight rates. Therefore, an increase of freight rates of another 25 per cent would at once increase the price of the farm implement or other manufactured article in the same proportion.

National railways we have and National railways we wish to keep. But in certain quarters there is a fear that, after we have increased the rates from year to year and made them so that a private company can make millions and come back as conquerors of the people, after our national railroads have been improved and better equipped through Parliament's yearly votes of money—which I am willing to vote to the Minister of Railways—it may be that those old railroad magnates who are still living in the country may possibly decide that they will seek to take back these railroads and run them for their own benefits.

In this connection the Minister of Railways (Mr. Reid) with his usual good will, I hope, will permit me to make some suggestions which are, perhaps, not all of my own creation, but which are in the public mind of the people of the Maritime Provinces and, no doubt, of other districts of our extensive country. The minister has spoken to-day of the personnel of the commission; he has spoken of Mr. Hanna, against whom I have nothing to say. I had occasion once in my life to meet him with some of my colleagues, and he was very courteous on that occasion, but that is all I know of him except that nothing resulted from our suggestions. I will, however, make the same suggestion to any one who is on that commission. When the commission was created and the personnel was to be chosen, the then hon. member for Kamouraska, now the hon. member for Quebec East (Mr. Lapointe) suggested that on that commission there should be at least one man or two from the ranks of labour to represent the labour element and to give the benefit of their experience in the management of the railway. That suggestion was treated with scorn by the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) who was in charge of the Bill at that time. No labour representative has been put on the commission, and after a year's experience, we have the re-

sult of \$47,000,000 of a deficit. There were many reasons for the suggestion of my hon. friend (Mr. Lapointe) that labour should be represented, one idea being not only for the sake of representation as a matter of pride, but in order that the benefit of the experience of the labour representative in the management more particularly of labour should be given to the administration. The Minister of Railways, when he made his statement and showed the conditions and reasons for that deficit, attributed it all to the increase in wages, and he told us that out of every dollar spent for administration during the year 84 cents went for labour. The Canadian Pacific, in making a report, gave the amount of their labour cost at 77 per cent. Who knows if one of the labour element on the railway, with his experience, more particularly of labour, knowing where it can be of best service and how to save money from day to day and from hour to hour during the day, would have been the author of a saving of millions of dollars by the proper distribution of labour which, under incompetent management, is often used with no results? That, no doubt, was the reason for the suggestion of my hon. friend (Mr. Lapointe), and it was the idea which animated me when I voted for his motion at that time. It has already been confirmed by great railway authorities who have been studying the railway problem in the United States, when a year or so ago the United States Government were considering whether they should return the railroads to private corporations or keep them under their own operation. In this connection I wish to quote from a report made by one of the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission of the United States, and which was published in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* in the month of November last, just a few months after my hon. friend from Quebec East had made his suggestion to this Government. I quote from page 86 of that report:

At present the labour question is a most important phase of the railroad problem. Industrial warfare upon the railroads spells ruin. It is more than a question of strikes. Every one knows that the country cannot long endure a stoppage in its transportation arteries, but not every one realizes how closely the furnishing of good service at reasonable rates is bound up with loyal co-operation between the men and the management. It is but one aspect of the question which is agitating the whole world at the present time, how to secure whole-hearted, willing work and increase production. Labour is fast coming to realize that increases in wages may not of themselves achieve desired results.

So it was no innovation that the hon. member for Quebec East was suggesting when he said we should have at least one, if not two, labour representatives on that board. The greatest railroad authority in the United States, which has hundreds of thousands of miles of railways to our few thousands, came to the conclusion after years of study of railway problems that if the Government retained control of the roads labour representatives would be appointed on the various boards throughout the country. The same author also suggested that if the railroads were run by the private corporations, similar provision should be made for the representation of labour with a view to greater efficiency and better results. In view of the necessity of making every possible effort to keep our expenses down to where they are now, and the necessity of urging the board as a last resort for our life to make every possible effort to reduce the expenses of management, we believe that the management in Canada should include at least one or two labour representatives, whose experience would be of great benefit in the administration of the roads.

There is another suggestion I have to make to the minister, and it is with reference to the establishment of divisions for the conduct of the operations of the National railways in Canada. Public opinion in the Maritime Provinces, and I am sure in many other parts of Canada, is in favour of divisional points being established. From our national ports on the Atlantic which are open during the winter our railways cover a territory of from 3,000 to 4,000 miles to the Pacific coast, and it is impossible for one body in the centre of the country, say Toronto, to be intimately aware of the needs of shippers and users of the railways from one end of the country to the other. The Interstate Commerce Commission has created a number of subdivisions, which give the shippers and users of the roads in these different divisions a certain degree of home rule in the administration and direction of the roads, instead of having the whole administration centralized in Washington. I think it would be a good thing to adopt the same practice in this country. A year or so ago at the time of the formation of this board, the people of the Maritime Provinces appealed to the minister to establish a board in the city of Moncton which would look after matters particularly pertaining to the Maritime Provinces. Moncton up to recently has been the centre of the administration of

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the Intercolonial railway. It is a centre also of a large number of interests of a common nature, and if a board were established there, it would be able to look after such matters as freight rates from one local point to another—which would depend upon the nature of the product,—and demurrage questions which arise at every moment and which, under present conditions, can be settled only with difficulty and loss of time. If a board were established at Moncton every shipper in the Maritime Provinces who had a grievance, imaginary or real, would be able to have his case considered by men who were more familiar with conditions in that part of the country than any central board could possibly be. It takes weeks and months to have these matters adjusted now by the organization in Toronto.

I participate in the deserved eulogy which the minister has expressed on behalf of Mr. Hayes. I would prefer, however, that Mr. Hayes had been left in Moncton. He knew the conditions of the provinces intimately and was thoroughly familiar with the needs of the shippers and users of the roads in the Maritime Provinces. Might I therefore suggest that the minister create a divisional point and a local board at Moncton. And not only at Moncton but at Montreal, and at Winnipeg or Edmonton, or both, so that shippers and users of the road could have their difficulties adjusted without loss of time. These matters now take as long to adjust as if they were matters of diplomacy between the governments represented on the League of Nations. Would the minister permit me in this connection to refer also to the statement made by another member of the Interstate Commission on this question, which will also be found in *The Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science*. Mr. Max Thelen, Director of Public Service, United States Railroad Administration, during the war established a division of public service for the purpose of providing that whatever action might be taken by the Central Railroad Administration at Washington affecting the interest of the travelling or shipping public, the public point of view should receive full consideration. This is a recognition of the fact that the first duty of transportation systems is to give to the public satisfactory service at a reasonable rate. For this special purpose the American Railroad Administration has established a series of freight traffic committees—what I would call local offices—in various sections of the country to which the ship-

pers as well as the traffic officers of the carriers might appeal for adjustment of freight rates. I do not think we see much of that in the administration of our Canadian National railways.

There are certain manufactures in New Brunswick in the carrying of which the Government railway cannot compete with the Canadian Pacific. The Government railway taking certain products from northern New Brunswick to the state of Maine has to travel a distance of some 125 miles more before the same connection can be made as the Canadian Pacific railway makes from St. John, and some adjustment ought to be made in this direction in the interest of the public as well as of the road itself. We should

9 p.m. do everything possible to increase the traffic on the road. Trade begets trade, and if you open an artery in one direction there will soon be an increase of trade all round; you not only increase the traffic on one particular road but generally. I think that there should be some special branch of the railway management charged with the duty of considering the representations that are made by the public and of seeing to it that complaints from the people in regard to the operation of the railways receive prompt and courteous attention. If there were something of that kind a great deal of trouble would be avoided and the operations of the railways would be much more satisfactory to the people at large. We are asking for greater production, and we should realize that production requires the freest and cheapest possible channels to the various markets of the world. It is only by removing every possible obstacle in the channels of trade that you can make trade profitable and increase traffic. The grain market more particularly is controlled by Liverpool—especially was this the case in normal times. Now, the Government will not always control the wheat of this country. In a short time this product will necessarily have to take the ordinary course of supply and demand the same as other products, and we must therefore prepare for the conditions in traffic that may arise when that happens. If I had the gift of my leader I would call the attention of the House with proper emphasis to this fact, that I, as representing a maritime constituency of some importance am anxious to see the fullest co-operation between the East and the West, because I realize that the interests of East and West are interdependent. The prosperity of the

West contributes to the greater prosperity of the East, and the East should also serve the West. We have been favoured with splendid seaports, and every article that is produced in the West has either to go through the East or go by way of the United States, and the question is whether the products of Western Canada in the future will go through American channels instead of taking their natural course through the Canadian sea ports of St. John, Halifax and Quebec. The minister said to-day that the shippers and producers and the railway magnates of the United States were fighting on the question of lower rates. Well, I would point out that it is necessary for us to have such freight rates in this country as will enable Canadian industry to be properly developed. It is contended that an increase in rates will benefit the Canadian Pacific railway to the extent of some sixty million dollars. I do not think that it would be advisable to increase the freight rates at this time. Let the railway management wait for another year, and when they have seen what discrepancy there may be between the operations of last year and the current year they will then be in a better position to judge as to whether freight rates should be increased or not. I do not think the present is an opportune time to increase them; but without any desire to criticise the administration unduly, I suggest that they should give the country more substantial evidence of their capacity and their efficiency than they have so far shown. I would suggest that they be given another year, and we shall then be able to estimate their ability, and Parliament will be able to pronounce as to their efficiency or otherwise. I am, and have always been, in favour of government control, and now that we have these roads we must see that they are operated in such a manner as to reflect credit on the principle of public ownership.

I shall now say a few words in regard to passenger rates, and I may remark that there is a great difference between passenger rates and freight rates. Freight rates affect the whole people, but passenger rates are not so far reaching in their effect; they affect the individual, whether he travels for pleasure or on business. While I am unalterably opposed to increased freight rates at the present time, I would be prepared under conditions as they are to give some consideration to the question of increasing passenger rates. The Canadian Pacific railway say, notwithstanding the

surplus of \$32,000,000, claimed at their last meeting, that they had not made sufficient to reimburse them reasonably for their expenditures on the roads which they operate. It may be that they have not reached a high rate in the dividends which are earned to-day. Meanwhile, in the interest of the Canadian National Railway Commission, as well as in the interest of the other roads which are working, I know, under great difficulties in view of the high cost of materials as well as the high cost of living, I would not object to a certain increase in the passenger rates. I would make a distinction between the first-class and second-class passenger rates. The traveller who uses the first-class, the Pullman car, the compartment car or the parlour car, does so for his own comfort and he is well able to pay the extra cost. I would suggest an increase of from ten to fifteen per cent in these passenger rates, and I would keep the second-class passenger rate the same as it is to-day, or increase it very little. In almost every case the passenger who uses the second-class car uses it because he cannot afford the comfort which the other cars would give him. He travels very often to seek a position in some other place where he has no certainty of being able to secure it. Or, a poor family travels to see other members of the same family in sickness or under other circumstances of a similar character and therefore we should not increase the second-class passenger rates, or if we do increase them it should be very little. Increase the rate as much as you like for the other cars where there is more luxury and comfort enjoyed by those who travel in them.

These are the few remarks that I intended to make to the Minister of Railways and Canals and I hope he will take them into consideration. They are offered from a sincere sense of public duty not only in the interest of my constituents and the Maritime Provinces but in the general interest of Canada. I believe that what I have suggested is bound to enure to the general advantage of the country at large.

There is another question more familiar to me and to the Minister of Railways and Canals that I may discuss with him. Still I will give him another chance, but if he has not done what I expect him to do I will again get on my feet in a few days when his Supplementary Estimates come down, because I can stand on my feet as long as he can sit in his seat.

[Mr. Turgeon.]

Mr. McISAAC: Mr. Chairman, I desire to take advantage of this item of expenditure to make some remarks relative to railway transportation in the province from which I come. I trust hon. members will not consider this subject of railway transportation in Prince Edward Island as simply a "hardy annual" that comes up each session. It is a question of the greatest possible importance to the people of that province and I sincerely trust that I shall be able to prove to this committee that the matters to which I wish to address myself are of sufficient importance to engage the most serious consideration of the minister. I feel quite satisfied that the minister is fully seized of the importance of the transportation question in our province. The remarks which I am about to make are not for the purpose of finding fault with the Government for not having done as much as it might have done; but simply to express my desire, and the ardent wish and conviction of the people whom I represent, that the good work so well commenced by the Government and the Minister of Railways and Canals shall be continued to completion at as early a date as possible.

There are two questions to which I wish to address myself. In the first place, there is the matter of the car ferry. While I am on that point, let me say that the service rendered by the car ferry at the present time across the straits of Northumberland between Prince Edward Island and the mainland is a splendid advance in the evolution of transportation in connection with Prince Edward Island. It is as a matter of fact a solution of the difficulty under which we have laboured in consequence of being an island and it is hoped that an auxiliary to the car ferry may be placed there as soon as such can be provided. I wish simply to make that statement now, and before I conclude I shall give reasons therefor and will develop this particular point so that I may be fully understood and that the minister may be aware of the position I take in reference to this matter.

The second question to which I wish to refer is one which is complementary to the car ferry service; and that is the completion of the standardization of the Prince Edward Island railway. A very good beginning has been made in that regard and the sections of the railway connecting Charlottetown, Summerside and Borden have been completed. What we want is a

continuation of that good work and the early completion of this standardization.

The third matter which I would like the minister to take seriously into his consideration is the upkeep of the railway terminals at Georgetown; the railway wharf and all facilities connected therewith. Later on in my remarks I shall offer some reasons which I trust will be found quite cogent and sufficient to convince the minister that this is necessary in connection with our system of transportation.

Coming back to the first point; the ferry link, as the minister knows, has frequently been discussed in the House of Commons. For years and years the matter of winter communication with the mainland was a most difficult problem; it was the crux upon which our province hesitated and did not join the Union when Confederation was inaugurated in 1867.

But afterwards when what were known as "the better terms" were offered—wherein it was stipulated that there should be such means of communication as would place the province, as respects mails and passengers in connection winter and summer with the railways of the mainland of Canada—we found ourselves able to enter Confederation. In order to give effect to the terms of Confederation many theories as to the proper kind of service were advocated, and plan after plan was taken up and discussed from time to time. The year 1878 saw placed on the route between Prince Edward Island and the mainland the first ice-navigating steamer. She was not a very powerful vessel but she served to make a beginning. Twelve years later the Stanley, a new ship, the second steamer that was provided by the federal government for winter navigation on the Straits of Northumberland was put into commission. Thirty-two years have elapsed since the Stanley entered upon that service, and she is still owned by the Government and is still at work winter and summer. That gives some idea of the excellent steamer she must have originally been. Then other steamers came and finally in 1916 the present car ferry steamer Prince Edward Island was placed in commission. The idea of a car ferry for navigating the Straits of Northumberland had not been seriously taken up till 1911, when the present Prime Minister of Canada (Sir Robert Borden) visited our province. The subject of winter navigation was brought to his attention at that time and the whole question was discussed with him. Mr. Borden, as he

was then, promised that if entrusted with power he would establish a car ferry service or provide some other mode of relief. He faithfully implemented that promise, and in 1916 the car ferry steamer Prince Edward Island, as I have already stated, was placed on the service. Speaking from memory she cost \$670,000. Terminals were established at Port Borden and at Tormentine, which, together with the ferry, represented a total outlay of \$2,875,000 in round figures. It will be seen, therefore, that the development of the service between Prince Edward Island and the mainland has been a matter of evolution. At first it was very unsatisfactory and very tentative in character. The service would be interrupted for long intervals, and occasionally in winter for weeks at a time. When the car-ferry service was first inaugurated the terminals at the Capes were not completed, and so the ferry ran between Pictou, and Georgetown or Charlottetown, alternately. It was not until 1918 that the car-ferry service was inaugurated between Port Borden and Cape Tormentine, a distance of nine miles. Between those points there are in winter very heavy ice floes, but there has been no day, for the three winters the Prince Edward Island has been in operation, that she has not made a crossing, when there were cars or mail matter on one side or the other for her to handle. It is true that last winter, owing to the severe weather, the crossing was very difficult, and on one occasion the crossing from Tormentine to Port Borden occupied twenty-three hours. But nevertheless she made the crossing; and to show you how fickle is the condition of the tide there and how uncertain the ice conditions, the day following this very prolonged crossing she made the trip in two and a half hours. That will give an idea of how uncertain and difficult is the navigation of the Straits.

Two years ago, when I first spoke in this House, I addressed myself principally to the question of winter navigation between Prince Edward Island and the mainland. At that time the car ferry was going through the ordeal of its first winter at the Capes. We all felt satisfied that with a modern system of communication there would be tremendous development in the production and export from agriculture as to Prince Edward Island. In the past all that was lacking was the means of transporting those products to the mainland and the world at large. The inauguration of the car-ferry service has effected an enormous development in the export trade from Prince

Edward Island. To such an extent was that the case last winter that a great congestion of traffic prevailed from time to time on either side of the Straits. So great a rush of business was there, in fact, that the ferry was not able to carry over the cars fast enough, and was obliged to concentrate on the freight, allowing the mails and passengers to remain over at Sackville for whole nights.

Now let me say a word or two about the steamer itself. So far as I have been able to gather, the Prince Edward Island at the time she was put into commission was the most powerful steamer of her class and kind that had been built up to that date, and the greatest ice-breaker. In view of the tremendous increase in traffic, and of the inability of the car ferry at times to handle the freight which offers, the people of Prince Edward Island are now convinced that another car ferry is required. I believe that the Minister of Railways has made arrangements whereby a steamer will be provided so that the car ferry can go into dry dock and undergo that over-hauling and repairing which she certainly must need from year to year after battling with the ice all winter. The people of Prince Edward Island, however, are convinced that an additional car ferry should be provided, of equal proportions, strength, and capacity, with the present car ferry, so that there may be no interruption in the service.

The present car ferry is equipped with a double line of rails, capable of accommodating six Intercolonial cars on each track, so that twelve cars can be transported at one time across the Straits. These cars now run from Charlottetown or Summerside, and are then carried across the Straits on the ferry; but from the outlying districts of Prince Edward Island freight must be transferred from the narrow gauge to the broad gauge either at Summerside, Charlottetown, or Borden. Before the road was standardized down to Borden from either side all freight had to be transferred at that point. What we want in addition to the car ferry is to have the standardization of the road completed as soon as possible; then we would be part of the mainland more completely than ever. Passengers from any station in Prince Edward Island, from the extreme east or the extreme west, could take their seats in the cars and journey without interruption or change to any part of Canada, virtually to any part of the North American continent. That is our desire; that is what we have been yearning for, working for

[Mr. McIsaac.]

and agitating for. A good beginning has been made, and I am here to bear testimony to what has been done and to thank the Government for their efforts in that behalf. I desire to impress upon the Minister of Railways and the Government the ardent desire, the perpetual yearning, of our people that the standardization of the Prince Edward Island railway be completed in order that we may have unbroken connection with the mainland from any part of the Island, as regards passengers as well as freight. Many perishable products such as fruit and fish cannot successfully be transported unless we have that through service; for these reasons we are, as you can readily understand, most desirous that this work be finished with all possible expedition.

Now, I wish to say a word with regard to the railway terminals at Georgetown in Kings county, and the necessity for having them kept in order and maintained in the best possible condition. Freight is landed there from coastwise steamers, and this freight can be borne away by the railway cars if the line is kept in good condition right down to the wharf.

There is another suggestion that I wish to make,—and I do not wish the minister or any one to consider that it is in any way chimerical. Georgetown harbour is one of the very best on the North Atlantic coast; I am sure that what I say in that regard will be corroborated by those who have any acquaintance with conditions there. Now, this is what I wish to put forward, and I assure hon. members that it is not impracticable. At present all passengers and freight leaving the Island go by the Borden route, which is in the western part of the Province. Formerly we had steamers crossing from Charlottetown to Pictou, but this service has been discontinued. The ports in the eastern part of the province, and those places which are in the vicinity of Souris, Georgetown and Murray harbour, are quite close to the mainland of Nova Scotia. But all traffic, from that part of the province destined for Eastern Nova Scotia, Cape Breton and Newfoundland, has to proceed all the way to Charlottetown, thence to Borden and, after being transferred to the car ferry, take the rail route on the other side and all the way around opposite and beyond the point of its departure, to its destination. I feel satisfied, having regard to the growth of trade and the increase of production in Prince Edward Island since we have had the car ferry, that the day will come—and

is not so far distant—when the business of the Island will be sufficient to sustain a car ferry service between Georgetown and Pictou, the car ferry being used to ply between these points during the summer. It would not be so difficult to create terminals at Georgetown where the car ferry formerly docked. What I have in mind is this: that during the summer months a car ferry, in addition to the one operating at Borden, might ply between Georgetown and Pictou. It is not unreasonable that we should have more than one point of departure from Prince Edward Island. Indeed, that was formerly the case, for we had boats for the mainland leaving both Charlottetown and Summerside; now, we have but one point of departure. If we had a point of departure at Georgetown for the east and the other at Borden as at present, the freight from each of the different sections of the Island would find the shortest and most natural outlet. Freight leaving Georgetown would go to Pictou and find a short and convenient route to its destination in Eastern Nova Scotia, Cape Breton or Newfoundland. The same applies to passengers. My idea is that the second car ferry would ply between Georgetown and Pictou in the summer and that during the winter both car ferries should operate at the capes, one leaving one side of the straits at the same time that the other left the opposite side. In case of any accident—and accidents are liable to happen in those tremendous ice floes—there would always be a steamer available to prevent the tying up of traffic for any considerable length of time. I am sufficiently optimistic to believe that if this plan was carried out the traffic to and from Prince Edward Island would be so great that some of the ships of the Canadian Government Merchant Marine would call at Georgetown as well as at Charlottetown, and these argosies, bearing the products of our province, would go to all parts of the world from this, one of the greatest harbours on the North Atlantic. In brief, these are the principal things that I wish to bring to the attention of the Minister of Railways.

There may be some hon. members who have not visited Prince Edward Island and who have no idea of what kind of province we have. Those who have visited the Island in the summer season are quite satisfied, I am sure, that no place on the North American continent is more desirable, at least at that time of the year. I believe that the Minister of Railways hesitated when we

first urged upon him the necessity of commencing the standardization of the Prince Edward Island railway. But he visited the Island and although his visit was a brief one I am sure that the very appearance of things as he found them on that occasion induced him to commence the standardization of the road when he did. I would be pleased if other members of the House who have not visited our province would make an excursion there and see it for themselves. I would like them to see the Island in the summer when the crops are almost ready for harvest, when the fruit is ripening, the grass is greenest and the other products of farm and field are in their most attractive state. All these things we produce—fruit, grain, roots,—and men.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. J. D. REID: And women too.

Mr. McISAAC: Yes, the women are always included; I simply used the general term, and my remark seems to have been well received. You will find men of Prince Edward Island all over this American continent, wherever you go, holding positions of honour, emolument, importance and responsibility. You will find them in Church and State; you will find them in all parts of the continent from coast to coast. You will find them in the highest positions of the judiciary, in the highest positions of the learned professions, at the head of more than one great university on this continent, whether in the United States or in Canada. A province that can produce such wonderful agricultural products, such horses as we produce down there, and such men as I have been discussing, is surely deserving of the most serious and earnest consideration of the Government.

Mr. WHITE (Victoria, Alberta): Have you any women down there?

Mr. McISAAC: We have; the best and noblest women in this broad Dominion. I am serious in what I say, and I do not wish any honourable member to think I am drawing on my imagination. If some of my hon. friends should have the good fortune and judgment to visit Prince Edward Island and see for themselves they would be convinced as well as I am. I shall not pursue the case further for the moment. I wish simply to impress most earnestly upon the minister the great importance of carrying out these matters which are so necessary to us at the earliest possible date that he may find himself able to give them attention.

Mr. CASGRAIN: I should like the hon. member if possible to make a few remarks in French.

Mr. McISAAC (Translation): Mr. Chairman, the hon. member for Charlevoix-Montmorency (Mr. Casgrain) wishes me to say a few words in French, but, unfortunately for me, my colloquial knowledge of this language is extremely limited, and I fear, if I attempt to say a few words, that I will only cause laughter. However, the subject I have treated is so near to my heart, so important and so necessary to my province, that I shall risk making a short speech, though it may be full of mistakes. I think, Mr. President, that there are some hon. members, on the other side of the House, who have already visited my province, and I hope that others, all, if possible, will come on a visit, whether it be on an excursion or on a pilgrimage, as you please.

Mr. ROBB: Before the minister replies, so as to economize time, I rise just to remind him that at a previous session I asked him for some information as to mail contracts throughout Canada. If the minister has the information, which I imagine may be somewhat lengthy, perhaps by unanimous consent it might be arranged to place it upon Hansard so that we would be able to see it to-morrow. That would be quite satisfactory.

Mr. J. D. REID (Rising).

Mr. LEMIEUX: Is my hon. friend going to give a partial answer only?

Mr. J. D. REID: It will take me only a minute to answer the hon. member (Mr. Robb), and then I will answer other hon. members.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I have something to say about the railway situation, and if my hon. friend is agreeable, I shall not be long and he will thus have the whole case before the committee and can make a general answer.

Mr. J. D. REID: Yes. The only thing I wanted to say before I answered the other hon. members was this. My hon. friend (Mr. Robb) asked me two questions in a previous debate, first the amount paid to each transportation company for the carrying of mail from Halifax, St. John, N.B., Quebec, Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg, West, and in the case of all except Halifax, also to points East. I have the reply to that question, and as it covers two pages, I should like, with the unanimous consent of the com-

[Mr. McIsaac.]

mittee, to place it on Hansard. My hon. friend also asked me the mileage of branch lines in this year's Bill, that is the Bill that went through the House, and I promised to have that answer and also put it on Hansard. The mileage of the Branch Lines referred to is as follows:

	Miles.
Prince Albert northerly.. . . .	50
Maryfield extension (From Bengough).. . . .	55
From point on main line between crossing of North Saskatchewan river and Radisson northerly to point near Meeting lake.. . . .	50
Total.. . . .	155

Preliminary surveys have been made and the approximate cost is \$35,000 per mile. Complete surveys are being gone on with and when completed final estimates of the cost will be prepared.

Each of these sections have been settled for a considerable time, and a great deal of the land is already under cultivation, and particularly so in the case of the Prince Albert north line, a lot of returned men have taken up land on the assurance that the line would be built. The country is splendid for mixed farming, and at present is absolutely without railway facilities. That is the information the hon. member wants.

The CHAIRMAN: It is very unusual, to allow any document to be printed in Hansard unless it has been read in the House; but under the circumstances, the committee may give its unanimous consent. I now ask: Is it the unanimous consent of the committee that this document be placed upon Hansard?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

Mr. J. D. REID: This is the answer to my hon. friend's first question:

Expenditure—On account of Railway Mail Service, Year ended 31st March, 1920.	
Alberta and Great Waterways.. \$	1,062 84
Algoma Central.. . . .	2,619 12
Algoma Eastern.. . . .	1,228 56
Atlantic, Quebec and Western ..	7,113 08
Boston and Maine.. . . .	4,014 46
British Columbia Electric.. . . .	5,599 57
Canada and Gulf Terminal.. . . .	1,971 90
Canadian Government.. . . .(a)	473,525 56
Canadian National.. . . .(b)	372,441 66
Canadian Pacific.. . . .	1,762,362 97
Cape Breton Electric.. . . .	2,369 68
Caraquet and Gulf Shore.. . . .	1,111 20
Central Canada.. . . .	391 88
Central Vermont.. . . .	6,998 64
Chatham, Wallaceburg and Lake Erie.. . . .	446 12
Dominion Atlantic.. . . .	31,236 37
Dominion Coal and Railway.. . . .	992 24
Edmonton, Dunvegan and British Columbia.. . . .	3,333 44

Fredericton and Grand Lake Coal and Railway	879 20
Galt, Preston and Hespeler	929 44
Grand Trunk Railway	553,419 21
Grand Trunk Pacific Railway	145,199 00
Great Northern	8,354 00
Hamilton and Dundas	248 00
Hamilton, Grimsby and Beamsville	749 75
Hamilton Radial	238 14
Hull Electric	1,600 00
International	557 00
Inverness Railway and Coal	3,447 72
Kent Northern	715 28
Kettle Valley	9,766 18
Kitchener and Northern	250 00
London and Port Stanley	2,516 76
Lotbiniere and Megantic	1,305 60
Maine Central	2,971 00
Maritime Coal and Railway	602 88
Michigan Central	54,845 72
Montreal and Southern Counties	227 12
Napierville Junction	3,451 65
Nelson and Fort Sheppard	1,499 52
New Brunswick Coal and Railway	1,456 96
New Westminster and Southern	3,667 57
New York Central	8,240 50
Niagara, St. Catharines and Toronto	495 29
Northern Pacific	4,326 40
Pacific Great Eastern	1,399 65
Pere Marquette	13,856 58
Port Arthur Electric	350 00
Quebec Central	33,233 04
Quebec, Montreal and Southern	5,722 72
Quebec Oriental	7,819 92
Quebec, Railway, Light and Power	3,620 00
Quebec and Saguenay	920 64
Red Mountain	251 20
Roberval and Saguenay	704 48
St. John Bridge and Railway Extension	500 00
Sandwich, Windsor and Amherstburg	1,806 46
Sydney and Louisburg	1,004 80
Temiscouata	6,233 74
Temiskaming and Northern Ontario	24,263 44
Thousand Islands	652 80
Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo	4,466 85
Toronto Suburban	100 00
Toronto and York Radial	4,206 84
Vancouver, Victoria and Eastern	3,366 03
Vancouver, Westminster and Yukon	2,144 86
Victoria and Sidney	35 11
Wellington Collieries	340 26
Windsor, Essex and Lake Shore	967 12
Total	\$3,608,745 71

(a) Comprising Intercolonial Railway—P.E. Island Railway—Grand Trunk Pacific east of Winnipeg and smaller subsidiary lines.

(b) Comprising Canadian Northern Railway and smaller subsidiary lines.

MR. LEMIEUX: I do not wish to delay the work of the committee unduly because I understand that time is of the essence of things before prorogation. Therefore, I will state the case for my district very briefly to the committee. There is an old French saying: "Chacun prêche pour sa paroisse." "Every one preaches for his own parish." Therefore, hon. members will not be sur-

prised if, this evening for a few moments only, I present my brief on behalf of the constituency which I have the honour to represent. It may say at once that I speak for the hon. member for Bonaventure (Mr. Marcil) who, unfortunately, is unavoidably absent from the House this evening. The question was brought to the notice of the Government by numerous petitions which have been signed throughout the district of Gaspé and Bonaventure. As you are aware, Mr. Chairman, the region known as Gaspesia comprises two of the largest and oldest counties of the Dominion. It is one of the old-settled districts of Canada. I have stated to Parliament before, and I take pride in repeating the statement this evening, that when Jacques Cartier discovered Canada, he planted the cross and the flag of France on the shore of the county which I have the honour to represent. I have been at Fontenelle on various occasions. It is in the bay of Gaspé. Gaspesia is peopled by a thrifty population of farmers, lumbermen, fishermen and seagoing folk, and it has a very special feature of our Canadian life: It is settled by the best representatives of the four great races which form the basic element of this country. We have there the Loyalists who came from the Thirteen colonies at the time of the war of Independence. We have there the Scotchman, the Irishman, the French-Canadian and a very large quota of Acadians from the Maritime Provinces. In fact, I consider that the interests of Gaspé are linked very intimately with the interests of the Maritime Provinces, especially the neighbouring province of New Brunswick. Its territory is immense. The Gaspesian Peninsula comprises 10,000 square miles. I have already described before a committee of this House the enormous potential wealth of that district. We have there not only timber, but asbestos mines, and rich deposits of zinc. We have also shale in large quantity. As to our other resources, they are well known. It is the great fishing centre of the province of Quebec. Our fish has been from time immemorial exported to all the markets of the world. For generations the people of that district have contributed their full quota to the upbuilding of Canada. In the late war, I am proud to say, hundreds of our young men served at the front and many, unfortunately, were killed. It will be my privilege next month to be present at the unveiling of a monument at Gaspé which is being erected by my electors in honour of the memory of the young lads who fought so nobly in the

war. For generations the people there have been handicapped in the matter of transportation and easy access to markets for the products of the farm, the mine, the forest and the sea. Since the outbreak of the war they have been deprived even of the advantage of communication by suitable boats. I do not blame the Government for this, because we all know that as a result of the war, transportation facilities by water have been very seriously curtailed, and unfortunately the peninsula of Gaspé has been handicapped in that respect.

As regards the railway problem,—and it is the problem which I intend to speak of this evening,—in 1884 the Parliament of Canada committed itself to the construction of a branch line of the Intercolonial railway extending from Matapedia, Quebec, towards Paspébiac and ultimately to Gaspé, in round figures a mileage of 202 miles. I am bound to say that the railway would have been built as part of the Intercolonial in the early eighties, if my poor electors of Gaspé and Bonaventure had not been the victims of a large fishing firm known as Robin and Company. I do not wish to minimize the commercial standing of that firm. It is a great firm, and stands in the same relation to the fishing population of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence and Labrador as that in which the Hudson Bay Company stood to the trappers of the Far West. When in the eighties it was first mooted that the Government intended building a branch line from Matapedia to Gaspé as part of the Intercolonial, immediately the firm of Robin and Company put its foot down on the project. Why? Up to that time and later in fact, the population of Gaspé and Bonaventure, a very adventurous population, had been in the employ of that firm just as the trappers and the half-breeds of the West worked for the Hudson Bay Company. The employees of the firm were forbidden to marry before a certain age, the fishermen were not allowed to buy from other stores than those of the company. Schools were scarce because the company was interested in keeping them in complete ignorance. To have given railway communications would have put them in contact with other parts of the country, thereby bringing about competition, and dissolving the close relations which had existed between this very powerful firm and the poor fishermen. Therefore the project failed, and the railway was not built until, in 1884, subsidies were voted. The Baie des Chaleurs company succeeded in building the first one hundred miles from

[Mr. Lemieux.]

Matapedia to Paspébiac. We all know the waywardness of that company. We all remember the scandals of 1890 and the investigations which took place in the Senate, and which brought about the downfall of one government at least. The railway was very poorly built, but unfortunately it stopped half way at Paspébiac. When I was elected in the year 1896—and I might remind you, Mr. Chairman, that I am twenty-four years old in this House—I was elected on the distinct pledge that I would do my very best to give the other portion of Gaspé an uninterrupted service between the Bay of Gaspé and Matapedia. It took several years before I could even gain the goodwill of my colleagues in the Government, because the reputation of the railway enterprise in that district was so unsavoury, but finally I obtained the goodwill of my colleagues in the Government and of my fellow members in the House and succeeded in getting a charter, and an English syndicate went to work and built the road from Paspébiac to Gaspé. I take pride in the fact that the road was built without any scandal, no subsidies went astray. The money all went into the road, which is one of the best equipped roads in Canada today. Unfortunately, however, there are two railways where there should be but one, and that one should be a branch line of the Intercolonial. I am bound to say that the question of a branch line of the Intercolonial between Matapedia and Gaspé was supported in the early eighties by no less a man than Sir Charles Tupper himself, who was then Minister of Railways and Canals in the old Macdonald administration. That policy, which would have been of tremendous advantage in the opening up of that country, was, unfortunately, changed. As I said a moment ago, Mr. C. N. Armstrong was allowed to build the road only in part, and another company had to run the risk of building the last one hundred miles, which it did. The two roads are linked together, but the last one hundred miles are in good condition, the first one hundred miles are in a poor condition. The road was completed in 1911, and since that time the service has been altogether inadequate, when not entirely suspended, and has been a deterrent rather than an incentive to progress. Many undertakings have been held up for years for want of a well-constructed and properly equipped and maintained road. At the present time timber out in the counties has at times to be rafted and carried by water to New Brunswick across the Baie des

Chaleurs to be manufactured, for want of proper railway facilities to carry it to market. As I said a moment ago, we have splendid timber limits, and there is a large concern, The North American Pulp Company connected with the Chandler mill, which has erected an enormous establishment for chemical pulp. They are exporting to the United States and to Europe and have transformed a little fishing community, the hamlet of Pabos, into a growing town. The district has been completely transformed, but we have not the proper railway facilities. Pulp mills have been erected, a large number of sawmills have been in operation, and mines are being opened up; and what grieves me, Mr. Chairman, is the fact that those natural resources which are after all the property of our Canadian people, are being operated at the present time partly by Americans. Why not conserve this wealth to our own people? In the interior of that peninsula we have already some American firms who are taking out the timber. There are Americans already scouring the country in order to stake mines. Let me say to the committee that Mr. Peter Lyall, the gentleman who has built these Parliament Buildings, is to-day—if the report of an American mining engineer, who is a well known authority in the state of New York, is true—the owner of zinc deposits in the peninsula of Gaspé, which are the richest on the two continents of North and South America. But, as I say, we have not the railway facilities to operate those mines, and to-day a truck road is being built over a distance of eighty miles in order to operate the mines.

I presented all these facts to the Railway Committee when, the other day, we were asking to have the railway system extended into the interior of the peninsula. The committee, by a majority of one or two, refused to grant the charter to a new company. The railway built ten years ago between Paspébiac and Gaspé by British capital has not been properly operated because of the unsatisfactory state of the Quebec and Oriental railway, which is the other line from Paspébiac to Metapédia, connecting it with the National railway. These two roads have a mileage of approximately 202 miles and serve a population of nearly 80,000 people, a population that would have been doubled had it had the efficient railway service that exists in other parts of Canada. Parliament some years ago authorized the Railway Department to take over railways as branch lines of the

Intercolonial railway not exceeding two hundred miles, and already this Government has been able to secure some of the branch lines in the province of Nova Scotia, if I mistake not, and in the province of New Brunswick. I simply voice the sentiments of the electors and the citizens of the peninsula of Gaspé and of Bonaventure in asking my hon. friend the Minister of Railways seriously to consider the advisability of taking over the lines known as the Quebec and Oriental and the Atlantic, Quebec and Western railway. My hon. friend may say that those who own these two railways are asking the Government too much. I am not in a position to state the intrinsic value of both railways. I do not know, except very vaguely, what the liabilities of both systems amount to. But this is a matter that might be investigated by the Government, and I think it would be quite easy for them on very favourable terms to acquire both roads and convert them into a connected branch line between Metapédia and Gaspé, the terminus of the line. Petitions have been signed by the people of the district and sent to His Excellency the Governor in Council, and my hon. friend the member for Bonaventure (Mr. Marcil) and I have received the usual answer that the Government would take the matter into very serious consideration. But, Sir, we are asking something more practical than "serious consideration." It is about time that the oldest section of Canada received fair play and justice at the hands of the Government. If it is found that the two railways are unable to carry the load of liabilities which it is said they carry, then the Government is authorized by the Act which was passed, I think, in 1911, to take these two roads over and to operate them in spite of the owners. I have not the Act under my hand, but my hon. friend is aware of its provisions. I therefore beg him on behalf of my electors and of the electors of the county of Bonaventure, during the holidays first of all to pay a visit to the coast and see for himself the railway situation there, and then to bring relief to the people. I find that the existence of two railways is, furthermore, a serious impediment to the exportation of products from the peninsula of Gaspé into Central Canada. Fish and timber and other products of the peninsula have to pay double rates. Now, I found the other day, reading the Montreal Gazette, a letter from a firm in Montreal. This letter is signed Robert Allan and Co., and is as follows:

Sir,—Why should the fishermen on the Gaspé coast be discriminated against on their shipments of fresh fish, when competing with Halifax shipments?

Owing to our long and close relations with the Gaspé coast, we feel the matter should be placed before the public. Perhaps it may be one of the many reasons why the railways are losing so much money.

As is well known, shipments of fresh fish are sent by express, it being necessary to get them on the market as fresh as possible. The Nova Scotian fishermen, shipping through large firms, are charged on the nett weight only, whilst the Gaspé fishermen are charged on the gross weight; in other words, the Gaspé fishermen pay for 25 per cent more weight.

Thus a shipment of fresh fish from Halifax, say, to Toronto, of 10,000 lbs. of fish, would be charged \$1.75 per 100 lbs. on 10,000 lbs., whilst the same shipment when shipped from the Gaspé coast would have to pay on 12,500 lbs. weight. The rate from Montreal to Toronto is \$1.50 per 100 lbs. the distance from Halifax to Toronto about 1,100 miles, and from Montreal to Toronto about 340 miles. The difference in the weight means that, to ship 1,100 miles, costs less than to ship 340 miles. In other words, from Halifax the fresh fish is carried about 750 miles for nothing.

Now this discrimination is, to our mind, unconstitutional, as well as illegal. No public carrying company has the right to make one firm pay on 10,000 lbs. and then turn around and make another firm pay on 12,500 lbs. on identically the same class of goods, with identically the same weight.

Is it to be supposed the Railway Commissioners are not aware of this underhand competition? We can hardly think they would countenance such an unjust proceeding against the fishermen of the Gaspé coast, who have to work just as hard as the Nova Scotian fishermen to make a living.

The next question is: Does the Minister of Railways know of it? It is evident some one is at the bottom of it, but who? One thing is certain, the fishermen on the Gaspé coast, when they learn how they are handicapped, will want to have it changed.

Cheap food is a great necessity these days, and everything should be done to put competition on a fair footing and show no favor, so that prices may be kept down to reasonable figures.

I call the attention of the Minister of Railways to this discriminatory rate which exists as between the coast of Gaspé and Nova Scotia. I stated a moment ago that the reason why the railway situation in that district was at a low ebb was due to the original interference of the great fish firm of Robin. Quite a change has taken place since the completion of the railway in 1910. When I was elected for the county of Gaspé in 1896 I met not tens but hundreds of people on the coast who never had seen a red cent in their lives. They were paid in effects by the firm. There were thousands of my electors who had never travelled even as far as New Brunswick. The town of Campbellton, the town of Dalhousie across

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the bay, were mere geographical expressions to them, because they had no means of transportation. They were kept under the yoke by the powerful firm, just as the trappers in the West were kept under the yoke of the Hudson Bay Company in days gone by. The situation has changed and to-day I can say that I represent a free community. But in 1896 they were not free and independent electors. They were not free subjects of His Majesty the King. There is a book which some day will be written on the relations of that big firm with the fishermen of Gaspé. It is said that reality is sometimes stranger than fiction. No one knows the misery that was endured by the fishermen of the Gaspé coast. As far back as the Conquest in 1759, because that firm came from Jersey about the time of the Conquest, it practically owned the land and the sea; indeed it owned the people. Transportation and commerce is after all the great avenue of civilization, and the construction of a railway in the Gaspé peninsula has been the means of bringing that population within the confines of civilization. I am proud to say that I represent to-day a highly educated population—I mean highly educated in so far as elementary education is understood. We have schools, we have convents, we have high schools. We have to-day a fine hardy type of Canadian on the coast of Gaspé. I say to the Government in all sincerity: Complete that work, take over that railway and make it a part of the National Railways system, where it belongs, and where it was intended to be from the beginning at the time of Confederation. Then, Sir, the Government of the day will have done its duty towards one of the most remarkable sections of the Dominion, rich beyond description of natural wealth. I speak this evening as a Canadian, and I say it is not pleasant to find that big American firms have laid their hands on the peninsula of Gaspé. They are doing it on the quiet. They are taking our natural resources. Yes, American companies and syndicates are operating and exploiting the resources of that fine territory. I say to the Government it is within their power to give our people the rights which appertain to them as members of the great Canadian family.

Mr. LAPOINTE: I have been asked by the Board of Trade of the city of Quebec to support the demand which has just been presented by the hon. member for Gaspé (Mr. Lemieux). The president, a few days ago, sent to the Minister of Railways (Mr.

Reid) a letter which contains all the arguments and I cannot do better than read it. The city of Quebec is situated 300 miles from Matapedia and 500 miles from Gaspé, both being terminal points of this railway and the letter shows conclusively that the question is not merely of local interest to the Gaspé peninsula, but that it is of interest to a very large section of Eastern Canada. The letter reads as follows:

QUEBEC, June 11, 1920.

HON. J. D. REID,  
Minister of Railways,  
Ottawa.

Dear Sir,—The Quebec Board of Trade understand that the people of the counties of Bonaventure and Gaspé have petitioned the Government to take over the two railways forming the shore line of communication on the Baie des Chaleurs between Matapedia, on the Canadian National railway, and Gaspé, a distance of 202 miles, because the service is very defective and unsatisfactory.

The Quebec Board of Trade would strongly endorse this petition, for the following reasons:

The railway in question, if put into good shape and operated by and in connection with the Intercolonial, would prove a very valuable feeder for the Government Railway system.

The counties of Bonaventure and Gaspé are two of the most important counties of the province of Quebec, sustaining a population of about 80,000 people which is rapidly increasing owing to their great natural resources. The soil of this district is of the very best, the climate good, permitting of the cultivation of wheat, fruit and of anything that can be grown in other parts of the province. The dairy industry is flourishing, and the country abounds in lumber which gives work to many saw mills and to some very large industries in the making of pulp and pulp wood. This business could be vastly increased if the grades and physical condition of the railway would permit of the hauling of freight trains of average capacity, so that freight rates could be made more reasonable.

But whilst the agricultural and lumbering resources of this splendid country are as important as those of any other part of the province, the Gaspé peninsula has a greater source of wealth in its fisheries. The waters of the Baie des Chaleurs, that great arm of the sea, nearly 200 miles in length, and of the Gulf of St. Lawrence adjacent thereto, literally teem with fish of the best quality. Salmon are caught in abundance, and also codfish, haddock, herring, halibut, lobsters, etc. The fisheries of the Baie des Chaleurs have been noted for more than two centuries. They have been carried on by wealthy firms from Jersey during that time and latterly by fish merchants of Gloucester and other places in the United States, who take away and repack this valuable food, and then send it all over the continent as being the product of their own fisheries.

The Jersey firms export their fish dried or salted to the Mediterranean, West Indies, Brazil and other places in South America.

The result is that the Canadian fisherman gets a mere pittance for his fish, not to be compared with the price paid to the fishermen in British Columbia, whose fish put fresh into refrigerator car at Prince Rupert, gives him three times the price paid to the Gaspé fishermen.

The completion of the railway to Gaspé should have changed this situation, and should have made these rich fisheries a source of food supply in fresh fish of the finest quality for the people of Eastern Canada. But it has not done so, because the railway has not had the financial ability to put in the necessary plant nor to give a quick service to Canadian cities.

In England and Scotland the fisheries are utilized to provide cheap food for the people, by means of food facilities at Grimsby, Aberdeen and other points, with a fast train service which puts the fresh fish into every important centre of Great Britain a few hours after it is landed, so that poor people can have this food at one-third of the price of meat.

The high cost of living makes this article of diet just as important for the people of Canadian cities.

The Quebec Board of Trade would therefore most earnestly recommend that the Government should acquire the railways between Matapedia and Gaspé, improve them, put in cold storage facilities at Gaspé, Port Daniel and Paspébiac, and run refrigerator cars with fresh fish to the markets of Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa and Toronto.

We respectfully contend that it is quite as important for the country to develop this source of cheap food supply, as it is to develop the wheat growing districts of the West.

Yours respectfully,

J. T. ROSS,  
President,  
Quebec Board of Trade.  
T. Le VASSEUR,  
Secretary.

I have nothing to add to this letter, and I cordially endorse everything that is set forth in it. It is certainly a very remarkable plea in favour of the demand presented by my hon. friend from Gaspé (Mr. Lemieux).

Mr. W. S. LOGGIE (Northumberland, N.B.) (Translation): Mr. Chairman, before speaking in English, I wish to say a few words in French on the subject of the railway situated in my constituency. I regret very much my inability to speak fluently the French language. I beg therefore to be excused if I continue my remarks in English.

Several hon. MEMBERS: (Translation): Hear, hear.

Mr. LOGGIE: I take this opportunity, and I do it with some pleasure, of referring to the first speech that I made in Parliament. The theme of that speech was the construction of a branch line railway starting at Newcastle, N. B., and ending at Tracadie in the county of my hon. friend from Gloucester (Mr. Turgeon). Let me first of all point out that Newcastle is a point on the main line of the Intercolonial forty miles south from Bathurst. At the present time there is what is known as the Caraque and Gulf Shore Railway,

starting at Bathurst and running like a half moon, if you like to say so, about sixty miles down to Tracadie, following the course of the Baie de Chaleur and then going through the peninsula and ending at Tracadie. The line that is asked for proposes to start at Tracadie and end at Newcastle. Thus you will have a half moon, as it were, of railway commencing at Bathurst running east around the coast back on the other coast, and then ending at Newcastle, N.B. I take this opportunity of reminding the minister that he has a petition in his office from the residents of the thriving villages that are located between Newcastle and Tracadie. From time to time it has been my privilege as well as my duty to draw the attention of the department to this very important project of railway construction. During the last two or three years I have not urged it, as we were not investing any money in building branch lines of railways, in the East at any rate. It seems to me, however, that the time is now very opportune to impress upon the minister the importance of the construction of these few miles of railway. Hon. gentlemen will remember that in the Estimates some two years ago \$200,000 was provided for the taking over of the branch line of railway that runs between Bathurst and Tracadie. The rumour now is that the owners of the railway—who at that time refused to accept an offer for it—are now willing and ready to sell, and I hope for good news in that regard from the minister in the near future. I desire to point out to him that the piece of road which he proposes to take over will not be complete until he extends it to Newcastle.

Mr. J. D. REID: I thought it was complete when I took it over.

Mr. LOGGIE: I have this duty devolving upon me representing a fishing constituency—

Mr. DUFF: Hear, hear.

Mr. LOGGIE:—and also representing an agricultural constituency as well as one that is very largely interested in the lumbering business. If one starts at Newcastle the first lumber mill encountered will be the Buckley mill. Going down three miles you come to the Miramichi Lumber Company's mill—a large band mill cutting a great quantity of lumber. Going about a mile farther you come to the Frasers Pulp Mill, Limited, and then farther down the coast you touch at Tabusintac and Burnt Church

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where there are lumber mills. In the winter season the bay abounds with fish. We are acting wisely in providing branch lines in the Prairie Provinces, so that the farmers can haul their wheat to the railway. But let me tell you that in the district on the Miramichi in New Brunswick which would be served by the railway whose construction I am advocating, in the winter season, for a distance of approximately forty miles, you may see teams on top of teams, as it were, hauling smelts from the lower bay to Loggieville, the nearest railway point. I urge this matter now because I imagine the Government will be operating the Caraquet railway in the very near future. The owners having accepted the offer, I hope that the necessary appropriation will be made in the Supplementary Estimates. I want to impress upon the minister the importance of connecting up the end of that road with Newcastle. We will then have a sort of half-moon line, starting at Bathurst on the Intercolonial railway, running round the shore and across the peninsula to Tracadie, thence on to Newcastle, forty miles from the starting point. The minister has this petition in his office; it has been there for some time. I have from time to time directed his attention to the matter and urged its favourable consideration. I can only leave it in his hands; I am sure he will not forget it when the proper time comes.

Mr. FIELDING: When we are making preparation for railway construction in the West—to which I am not objecting—involving many millions of expenditure, and when several hon. gentlemen are making proposals for other enterprises which would also involve large expenditures, I am sure that it will be a relief to the Minister of Railways to have his attention directed for a moment to an exceedingly modest appropriation which I desire to be made down in Nova Scotia. As we are adopting a system of national railways we shall no doubt in due time have to provide for extensions in the East and in the West, and other projects will be advanced later. But I ask my hon. friend, even at the risk of being deemed too persistent, to give attention to a modest claim for an extension of some three or four miles from the Halifax and Southwestern railway which will give immediate railway connection with Lockeport, a thriving and important fishing town. I have spoken of the matter on several occasions and I do not intend to enlarge on it now. I am aware that representations are being made to the minis-

ter by a committee of citizens of Lockport. I realize that nothing can be done at present, but I think it is not unreasonable that I should ask my hon. friend to give me an assurance that during the recess an officer of his department will visit that place and make a proper investigation so that at the next session the minister will at all events know the merits and utilities of the project. I hope he will be able to give me that assurance.

Mr. COPP: The Minister of Railways will, I am sure, be pleased to know that I have not any request to make of him so far as building railways is concerned. I have no doubt, however, that the request made by my hon. friend (Mr. Loggie) backed up by very cogent argument, will induce the minister to extend the railway that my hon. friend is interested in, so that it will form a sort of half-moon line from Bathurst around the shore to the town of Newcastle. Before I enter upon the few remarks which I intend to make this evening on the subject of railways, I would like to ask the minister what part of the Canadian National railways is included under the heading of "Canadian Government Railways," mentioned in the item now under consideration?

Mr. J. D. REID: "Canadian Government Railways" includes the Intercolonial and all its branches in the Lower provinces; the Transcontinental from Moncton to Winnipeg; the Hudson Bay Railway; the Quebec and Saguenay Railway. Of course, the Prince Edward Island Railway has always been regarded as part of the Intercolonial.

Mr. COPP: What I wish particularly to refer to is the Intercolonial railway, extending from Montreal to Halifax, St. John, and Sydney. In making his statement this afternoon the minister said that he had found it practically impossible to get rolling stock and proper equipment for the operation of the Canadian National Railways. He pointed out that when he asked Parliament for appropriations for betterments and equipment in connection with our great railway system, he always met with more or less criticism and opposition from members on this side, and that consequently he hesitated to ask for the vote necessary for that purpose. Well, the minister should not be over-modest in the matter of asking for money for the proper equipment of the railways which we now own and have to operate. Far better would it be for him to ask for sufficient money to equip this railway than to support a vote for \$20,000,000 by

way of loan to France or any other foreign country for the purchase of ships in Canada. The proper equipment and maintenance of our railway system is of greater importance and of greater advantage to the people generally than is the proposal that I have mentioned. During the past twenty years I have frequently travelled over the Intercolonial railway. I do not profess to be an expert in railway matters, but I do know that the equipment now used on the Intercolonial does not compare favourably with the equipment which was used prior to 1914 and 1915 before the Government embarked upon the larger enterprise of taking over the Canadian Northern Railway and operating it as part of the Government railway system. From Confederation up to 1911 and 1912 the Intercolonial was improved from year to year. The road was equipped with the very best of cars and engines, and a splendid train service was operated in competition with the Canadian Pacific, which has a line between the same terminal points, Montreal and St. John. Prior to 1911 and for some time thereafter a splendid train known as the Ocean Limited was run on the Intercolonial, but after this Government became influenced and taken in hand by the Mackenzie and Mann interests and the Canadian Northern was forced upon them, what happened? Not only was equipment withdrawn from the Intercolonial, which had been the pride of the people of the Maritime provinces and Quebec, but the name of the road was changed for no other reason than to make it correspond with that of the Canadian Northern. Would it not have been just as well to continue this road as a Canadian Government railway? But, as I say, the name was changed so that the "C.N.R." would be made permanent as part and parcel of the great system which Mackenzie and Mann take the credit for starting and carrying on in this country. But in travelling over this road in recent years, what do we find, particularly since the Government have taken over the Canadian Northern railway? We find that the best Pullman cars are taken from that service and put in the West. Travellers over this road now have to ride in practically obsolete, second-class Pullman cars with no electric lights. The other day I came up in a car in which there were kerosene or acetylene lamps, or whatever it might be, but we could not read in the train. There were no lights in the berths, and there were no reasonable facilities for comfortable travelling. That is the way in which that

portion of the Canadian Government railways known as the Intercolonial railway is being operated at the present time at the expense of the people of the eastern provinces, particularly the Maritime Provinces, who prior to this have always had a proper operation of the road. Travellers, when they find the Government of this country taking over and extending this large system of railways and withdrawing proper facilities from the Intercolonial, naturally, when they are going east from the city of Montreal, go by the Canadian Pacific railway which has a very much better service than we have on the Ocean Limited train.

I wish also to draw the attention of the Government to the absolute falling down of any attempt to advertise that portion of the eastern provinces through which the Intercolonial runs. A few weeks ago when I was travelling on the Ocean Limited, I happened to get into conversation with a gentleman from the United States. I kept pointing out to him places of interest along this railway, and finally I said: "Well, we have got through this section of the province of New Brunswick; we are about to leave the province of New Brunswick and to enter Quebec, passing through the Matapedia valley. I want to take you to the rear of the train so that you may have an opportunity of seeing the splendid scenery, unsurpassed in any other country, as the train passes through that section following the curves of the beautiful river Matapedia and across the different brooks and streams which flow into that river." What did we find? We found an official car, a private car, hitched on behind and the rear of the train covered and housed in so that we could not see the slightest bit of this magnificent country. I have drawn the matter to the attention of the minister before, and I have suggested to him that when private cars are being hauled by the train, they should not be placed in the rear so as to prevent passengers from seeing the magnificent country which this road traverses. I suggested that those official cars that are attached to practically every train on that road should be placed in such a position that passengers would have the opportunity and advantage of viewing the scenery.

There is another matter that I have drawn privately to the attention of the department. I do not say this in the way of criticism, but I trust that what has taken place will not be permitted to occur again. On the very trip of which I have

spoken, coming up on the Ocean Limited a few weeks ago, I reached Montreal at 9.20 in the morning, the train arriving on time. I was anxious to get back to Ottawa to attend to my duties, but I found that the Canadian National Railways train which is supposed to connect with the Ocean Limited leaves at 9.15 a.m. or just five minutes before the Ocean Limited arrives in Montreal and passengers have to remain in the city of Montreal for six hours waiting for connection to Ottawa. While we are waiting there, what happens? The first train is the Canadian Pacific, and naturally most passengers take that train, so that we are practically handing traffic over to the Canadian Pacific which my hon. friend would have us believe is the hated rival of the Government.

My hon. friend this afternoon referred to the question of political management. On many occasions I have drawn the minister's attention to the political management of the Intercolonial. In the first place, I want to say frankly and sincerely to the minister, in support of what has been said by the hon. member for Gloucester (Mr. Turgeon), that in my opinion, and I believe in the opinion of at least ninety per cent of the people of that section of the Dominion, the Government or the Board of Directors of this railway have made a mistake in doing away with the central offices at the city of Moncton and removing to Toronto the officials who have authority to look after the business of that section of the country. There is not in the city of Moncton a man who has authority to buy a scrubbing brush to scrub the floors of those offices without sending to Toronto for a permit to buy it. That is a mistake. In the past we used to go to Moncton to get our grievances redressed, and the officials there had some authority and would give us some satisfaction. But when we go to Moncton to-day, we are told: "We cannot do anything; we shall have to refer the matter to Toronto." There are no cars there to give to shippers of freight, and if shippers ask for cars, the matter is referred to Toronto and the shippers have to wait a week until word is received back whether cars will be sent down or not. It was an ill-advised policy to withdraw the general offices from the city of Moncton. That railway system extending from Montreal to Sydney, Halifax, St. John, with all the branch lines and also that portion of the Transcontinental that passes through New Brunswick

would constitute a division that could be better operated and controlled from the city of Moncton, where there are splendid offices and workshops, than from the city of Toronto. If that were done, people would become wedded to the system and would have confidence in the Intercolonial and the Canadian Government Railways. But instead of being friendly to the system and trying to carry on business and give their freight to the Canadian Government Railways, they are in preference giving it to the Canadian Pacific, which touches St. John; they send their freight from the different localities in New Brunswick to St. John and thence by Canadian Pacific to its destination in the West. Why? because in the city of St. John there are officials with whom they can do business. People want to do business quickly; if they want freight rates, they want to be able to get them at once so as to know what they are doing. If they have some matter they want to bring before the board of management or before the officials of the road, they take it before the Canadian Pacific officials in St. John and are able to get satisfaction and redress, but on the Intercolonial railway that cannot be done. What happens if something is lost on the Intercolonial? I came across a case the other day—I thought I had the correspondence before me—of a blind man who was coming from Amherst, having checked his grip there, to Sackville, a distance of ten miles, from Sackville going down on a branch line to Cape Tormentine and thence to Prince Edward Island. Somewhere in the mix-up this grip was lost. He wrote to Moncton, he telephoned to Moncton, he went to Moncton, but obtained no satisfaction. Finally he left the matter with me. I wrote to Moncton, and after some weeks I got a long letter from a gentleman in Toronto. The whole thing had to go to Toronto, and a list of the articles had to be sworn to, which amounted in value to something like \$100. Then this magnanimous gentleman in the city of Toronto said that he had considered the matter carefully, he had gone through all the correspondence—there was a stack about three inches thick—and he did not feel that the road was liable, but he would give \$45 in settlement. That was the reply that came from this Government official. It took all that correspondence and time to settle a matter of \$100, and would cost no doubt \$500 or \$1,000. That is the condition of affairs at present. What we are asking is that some satisfactory arrangement be made whereby

there will be somebody in that portion of the Dominion looking after the interests of the shippers who provide the freight that goes back and forth over the line. Until some such arrangement is made we shall have trouble all the time, and there will be a great deal more in the future than there has been in the past. I implore my hon. friend to throw politics aside for once. You tell me that there are no politics in the operation of the Intercolonial? If that is so, how is it that there is never a case—you would think it would happen occasionally by some mistake—where a Liberal is appointed to the Intercolonial? There is not a single case, and then you tell me that there is no politics on the Intercolonial. It is useless for my hon. friend to say so. I live at the very centre of the Intercolonial system, close to the city of Moncton. I am there practically every day when I am at home, and I meet the men and the officials employed on the road. I see the men who have been refused work. I see returned soldiers who have been refused work, yet a very few days afterwards, if not the very next day, I have seen men put to work on the road for no other reason than that they were friends of my hon. friend who operates the Intercolonial at the present time. My hon. friend may say that Mr. Hanna has told him that he does not want any politics in the operation of the road. I do not say that Mr. Hanna plays politics. I am speaking of the men in whom Mr. Hanna places confidence in the different sections through which this road runs. When they want help what do they do? I am not speaking of the head men. I have no doubt that every official of the Intercolonial of any consequence could truthfully say that he did not play politics on the road, but as you go down the line you eventually get to the men who have the patronage in the different counties of New Brunswick, and who are requested to give their recommendation for the employment of certain men to work on the Intercolonial. There is no question about that being done at all. I do not blame my hon. friend, nor suggest that he is telling us what he knows to be untrue. He does not know the facts. I know he would not write down and tell somebody to employ a Tory, but there are wheels within wheels, and as you work down the line it is just as it always was. My hon. friend should know these things, and I believe does know them. My hon. friend from South York (Mr. Maclean) this afternoon said that the operation of

the Government railways had been taken out of politics as soon as my friends in this House were defeated. Why, Sir, I could stand here and cite instances by the score, by the hundreds, yes, by the thousands, where after the change of Government in 1911 men were thrown out of employment, thousands of them, without the least regard for their experience or qualifications, for no other reason than politics. From 1911 up to a year or two ago when the road was taken over by the present Board of Directors, the whole staff was engaged by friends of the Government. It is not that I am finding fault with so much as that my hon. friend stands up and tells us who know better that there is no politics in the operation of the road. It might be all very well for him to tell that to people who do not know any better, but I have the information before me day after day and week after week, and I tell him that these things are taking place.

Mr. J. D. REID: Notwithstanding the fact that the hon. member takes issue with my statement, I say that I have not heard, and do not believe, that there is any politics in the operation of the Intercolonial. Might I also say that if the hon. gentleman has the information that politics is being carried on in the operation of the road, why did he not give me the information before? I would stop it promptly if I had the information.

Mr. COPP: My hon. friend should not be over-innocent regarding these matters. I have told him about it year after year. In any case, I do not need to tell him. The only difference between my hon. friend and myself is that I accept his word, but he does not accept mine.

Mr. J. D. REID: I thought the hon. member insinuated that I knew something about it.

Mr. COPP: No, I said just the reverse.

Mr. J. D. REID: Then I withdraw my statement.

Mr. COPP: I took great pains to say I knew the hon. gentleman would not write a letter to anybody on the road telling them to employ Conservatives. He does not have to.

Mr. J. D. REID: Does the hon. member wish to imply that I do it verbally?

Mr. COPP: Not at all. You would not do it. You do not have to do it. The men you placed in office years ago are there, and

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they do it for you. If my hon. friend does not know it, I can tell him that down in the city of Moncton there has not been a man employed on the Intercolonial for the last five years whose appointment has not gone through the patronage committee in the city of Moncton. A fight is in progress every once in a while between two men down there. One of them was my opponent, for whom I have the greatest personal regard and respect, and the other is the gentleman who was a candidate in the last election for a few weeks but finally withdrew. There is a fight between these two as to who shall have the patronage. For a time after the election they divided it. They said: It is your turn to-day, and mine to-morrow. So when my hon. friend talks about political patronage not being rampant on the Government railways he is very much mistaken.

Mr. CURRIE: May I ask a question? Whenever the hon. gentleman sees a poor benighted Tory getting a job on that railway, he calls that patronage, but when a Liberal gets a job that is not patronage. According to his theory if all the jobs were given to the Liberals there would not be any patronage on the railway. I understand that no one is given a position on the road except a returned soldier.

Mr. COPP: Oh, no.

Mr. CURRIE: It is pretty nearly that. Further, it is absolute nonsense for the House to waste time over the wails of the hon. gentleman about patronage. I took occasion once to spend three hours reading the names of men in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick who were discharged by the Laurier Government within two months after they came into office. On that occasion every Tory on the railway was discharged except those whose places could not be filled. It is like the pot calling the kettle black. If my hon. friend was in power to-morrow he would be the first man to claim his patronage and fire the Tories from the railway. We are so accustomed to hypocrisy of this kind in the House that the sooner my hon. friend gets off that and lets the House come to a close the better. He is not enlightening any one and is not making any point either.

Mr. COPP: I have waited in vain for my hon. friend to ask his question.

Mr. CURRIE: The question I want to ask you is this: Would you see a Tory get a position on that road? Would you con-

sent to a Conservative getting a position there?

Mr. COPP: Yes.

Mr. CURRIE: You never did.

Mr. COPP: How do you know?

Mr. CURRIE: You never recommended one in your life.

Mr. COPP: How do you know that?

Mr. CURRIE: Go ahead and let us have the names of any you recommended.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Steele): Order. I must request hon. members to direct their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. CURRIE: Well, then, let me ask the hon. gentleman if he ever recommended a Conservative for a position on that road?

Mr. COPP: I may tell my hon. friend that I never had the opportunity to recommend any one.

Mr. CURRIE: You would not do so if you had.

Mr. COPP: I trust I may have the opportunity before very long to recommend men, and it is my sincere hope that I shall be able to bring sufficient influence to bear in order to secure a fair deal for every one. Whatever influence I have had, I have never yet asked to have a Conservative dismissed from office for any cause whatever. My hon. friend will pardon me if I am trespassing upon the time of the House, and I should be sorry to have my remarks worry him. But the hon. gentleman has taken up a great deal more time this session than I, and I do not know that he has been more instructive to the House than I have been in my contributions to the debates, whatever may be their value. I do not think it lies in the mouth of the hon. member to read me a lecture and to say how long or how short a time I shall occupy in my remarks. We might as well have a distinct understanding so far as that is concerned, and I may inform the hon. gentleman that I propose to discuss this matter as fully as I think proper. I thought I was keeping within the rules of the House, and I did not intend to do anything to hurt the feelings of any hon. member; but my hon. friend is so exceedingly sensitive that he seems to have become alarmed and is rushing to the rescue of the Minister of Railways. Now, I think the minister can get along very well without assistance from that

hon. gentleman. The minister and I have always got along tolerably well, and I was only telling him some things which I thought might be a guide to him in the future. I have no doubt that when the minister says that such-and-such is the case he believes that what he says is true; but when he tells me things that I know are not in accordance with the facts I think it is only right that I should so inform him. It is immaterial to my argument whether or not the Laurier Government dismissed all the Tories in 1896. I had no part in that affair, whatever may have been done, and if my hon. friend has anything to say in that regard I shall be glad to hear him. I know nothing about what the Government did in 1896 or how many men they dismissed, and, what is more, I do not care. Let me tell my hon. friend that I do not care how many Tories he places in office in the city of Moncton or elsewhere, but I do ask him and the management of the road not to tell people that politics has been thrown aside and that there is no further political interference in the province of New Brunswick in connection with the operation of the Canadian Government railways. I ask hon. gentlemen opposite not to put that forward as a fact, for I know better.

I want to refer to a certain matter and I would ask the minister to give it his particular attention. Indeed, I have brought it to his attention on different occasions. It has reference to a very deserving class of people, and I know that the minister will bear me out when I say that something should be done on behalf of these people, for they are placed in a most unfortunate and disadvantageous position at the present time. I am not bringing up this matter by way of criticism of the minister or of the management of the railways; I am simply anxious that something shall be done. I refer to the question of pensions under the Provident Fund Act which was passed in 1907. I think that was the first attempt to provide a pension fund for the employees of the Intercolonial Railway. I have not the Act before me, but I think, speaking from memory, it provided that the Government should make an assessment on the men in the employ of the Intercolonial Railway. The men were to pay a certain sum per month—I do not know the exact amount—and the Government would contribute a like sum in order to provide a fund for the superannuation of the employees as they were retired from the ser-

vice, on the one condition that the amount to be provided by the Government should not exceed \$100,000 in any one year. That, briefly, is an outline of the Act. At that time, of course, this was something altogether new and the men regarded it as a great advantage to them. Men have been retired year by year and have received \$20 per month as retiring allowance, and I think they still have to pay a certain proportion per month out of that to the Provident Fund. Now in 1907, and up to 1912, or possibly 1914, \$20 a month was a fair amount of assistance to an old man who had been retired from the service, but to-day, as we all know very well, this sum is nothing but a bagatelle to a man who has a family to support. There are a number of old men in that section of the country receiving \$20 a month and that is practically all they have to live on, and they are drifting around almost on the town. To-day I received a long letter from a railway man. He does not happen to come from my constituency, although I know the man very well. He used to be in Moncton and now lives in the town of Truro, and he sets forth some ten or fifteen different complaints in connection with this matter. It is not necessary for me to take up the time of the House rehearsing them because we all know what they are. I realize that the Government, until they make some change in the Act, are helpless in this matter. They are bound by the Act that was passed in 1907, but to-day we are passing pension Acts and providing superannuation allowance for different men in the Government service, and there is no reason why a class of men like these should not receive some consideration. There are a great many of them, and a large percentage of them are not living at all, but only existing, on this pittance. I am not in a position to make suggestion as to what my hon. friend should do, but I do think that the Government, who are responsible, should devise some measure by which these men, who were trusted and efficient employees in their day, may get fair treatment. They are getting pretty old, and a number of them are being retired from time to time. I think they should be given the same consideration in view of the high cost of living, as is given to men who are similarly circumstanced. The men have talked this matter over with me many times, and I hardly go through Moncton without coming across one or more of them. They always ask me to do something in the matter, but my hands are tied; and I realize that the

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Government's hands are also tied until something is done to change the present statute. I know that my hon. friend and every other hon. gentleman in this House is sympathetic towards these men, but the point is that we should get something done through the Railway Department in connection with the Provident Fund officials themselves. They have a set of officials who work along with the Government and something should be done to provide for these men a fair retiring allowance. I trust that the minister will during the recess take this matter up and try, with his staff, to work out some arrangement, which will be reasonable and fair to these men.

There are many things in connection with the Government railways that I could refer to but I do not want to impose upon the good nature of the House. I have brought these matters to the attention of the minister with the best intentions and not in the way of criticism entirely. I think hon. members from the Maritime Provinces must realize that portion of Canada is not getting its fair and just deserts in regard to railway and other accommodations. It is only our duty, if it cannot be counted a pleasure, to bring these matters to the attention of the minister because this is the only avenue through which we can bring them publicly to his notice.

There is another matter that I regret very much to have to take up but I want to bring it to the minister's attention and see if he is in a position to give me some assurance because I do not wish to take up these very voluminous documents which I have before me—they refer to the dismissal of a certain railway official in the city of St. John in 1917—unless I am obliged to. This matter, as I understand, has not as yet been before the House. It has been before the department on different occasions. In going through the file I find that no less than two Cabinet ministers have taken it up and that one, if not two, private members in St. John have been before the Department of Railways in regard to it. The matter now has been placed in my hands. I have taken it up with the department privately but I have been unable to get redress for the gentleman on whose behalf I speak. I am very glad to see that my hon. friend from St. John (Mr. Wigmore) is here. The matter that I speak of has reference to the dismissal of Mr. Carvill, who had been ticket agent of the Canadian Government railway for eighteen years and who was summarily dismissed after four days' notice. I would like to say to the minister that I do not

want to make this document public unless I have to. All this man asks is to have an investigation into the cause of his summary dismissal from the Intercolonial. A few days prior to his dismissal a burglary had taken place in the Government railway ticket office in St. John. An investigation was being carried on by the police of the Intercolonial as well as the police of St. John. Finally, the whole thing was called off and Mr. Carvill was summarily dismissed. Mr. Carvill is a man with whom I have not the slightest acquaintance. I do not know him and I do not know that I have ever had an opportunity of meeting him. I know nothing about his politics or anything else. The correspondence I have had has been with the legal gentleman who has been retained by Mr. Carvill, as also with Mr. Carvill, and I may say for the information of my hon. friend from North Simcoe (Mr. Currie) that this legal gentleman is a strong Tory. He is the gentleman who has communicated with me. You see that I am at least taking up a case on behalf of a good Tory in the city of St. John, and I am glad to do it. As I say, this man was summarily dismissed. He and his wife feel keenly the implication—and the assumption is present in the minds of a certain number of the people of the city of St. John—that he was dismissed because he was mixed up with this burglary. That view was brought to his attention more particularly very recently. I might just refer to one incident. The elections for the commissioners of the city took place a couple of months ago. Mr. Carvill, who is a resident of St. John, had written a public letter in which there was nothing offensive suggesting that some repairs should be made to certain streets, as men often will do, and that letter was published in an evening paper. The next morning he received a letter dated St. John, January 19, 1920, which reads as follows:

Mr. George Carvill: Go and pay back the money you stole from the Intercolonial railway; I will look after the city of St. John.

Mr. J. D. REID: Is it an anonymous letter?

Mr. COPP: It is not an anonymous letter exactly; it is signed but it does not give any initials. It just gives the surname of the person who is supposed to be the writer. It is the name of a public man and I do not want to give it. That shows the position that this man is placed in, and it shows how that position can be misstated and misconstrued. This burglary occurred and a few days after this man was summarily

dismissed. He asked for an investigation. He claims he should have been reinstated. I am not here to say that; I do not know. If he was incompetent and was not conducting his office properly I would place myself on record as taking the position irrespective of politics that if a man holding a public office is not properly discharging his duties he has as much right to be dismissed as anybody else. But, while taking that position, I contend that a man who has given service for eighteen years and against whom no complaint has been made has a right to have his case inquired into when he believes himself to have been dismissed without cause. This burglary occurred between six o'clock Saturday night and seven o'clock Monday morning and in a few days this man was summarily dismissed, and the whole investigation in regard to the matter was called off. What conclusion would the ordinary individual come to but that they had found that he was guilty of this theft, and that they had dismissed him? It is unfair, it is a gross injustice to this man, I care not what his politics may have been. It is a gross injustice, an injustice that goes before his friends in the city of St. John, blackens his character and reputation and he has no opportunity of publicly defending himself in regard to the transaction. I repeat it is unfair on the part of the officials of the road. I do not blame the minister personally but I desire to get some reasonable assurance that this man will be given an opportunity of having his case investigated. I care not how old he may be, I care not how poor he may be, he is entitled to a decent, fair investigation when his reputation is blackened by the people who have summarily dismissed him without giving him a chance to vindicate his reputation and to show he was not guilty of the theft with which he has been practically charged by people in the city of St. John. That is the condition of affairs. This man has asked repeatedly—through letters written by himself, through his solicitor, and through his wife—for the Railway Department to appoint a commissioner so that he might give evidence under oath and call witnesses and clear himself from this suspicion. All he wants is an opportunity to prove his innocence with respect to the stealing of public money. That opportunity of establishing his innocence has been denied him by the men who have charge of the Intercolonial Railway; and I say it is unfair and inhuman that men holding high positions and drawing big salaries

should take upon themselves the responsibility of refusing any man—I do not care whether he is in the public service or whether he is a private individual—an opportunity of showing to the public that he is not guilty of the crime of which he only stands suspected, and, I say, suspected from the attitude and action of the Government. All I want is for the minister to assure me that he will take up this matter and give this man an opportunity of proving his case before an independent tribunal so that he may have a chance to clear his character. If that opportunity is afforded him and he cannot clear himself, then he must take the responsibility. I have no doubt that in making that request I shall have the support of my hon. friend from the city of St. John who I now see opposite me. I am not finding fault with this man's dismissal, I am not asking at this time for his reinstatement; I am simply pleading that justice be done to one who has been placed in the difficult position in which this man finds himself. I have numerous documents here that I must place on Hansard unless the minister can see his way clear to grant the very reasonable request that is made. I trust therefore my hon. friend will be able to assure me that he will grant the required investigation by a commissioner.

Mr. MACKIE (Edmonton): Could not the party in question have recourse to the law courts if it is a case of wrongful dismissal?

Mr. COPP: I do not know that he could. He was a public servant and I think the Railway Department had a perfect right to dismiss him if he was incompetent or was not giving proper service, although I think he should have received more notice. However, that is not the point I am making.

Mr. MACKIE (Edmonton): Perhaps I misunderstood the hon. member. I understood him to say that the implication against this man was that he was discharged on account of an alleged theft. Surely under the circumstances if there was wrongful dismissal and the man is not guilty he could have recourse to the law courts and could even sue the Government.

Mr. COPP: My hon. friend misunderstood me if he gathered that I said there was an alleged offence. There is no such thing alleged against this man, but the suspicion rests in the public mind. The public know that a theft took place, and when he was summarily dismissed they

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naturally came to the conclusion that it was on account of this theft. I do not say that the railway officials think that for a moment, but that is the idea in the public mind. It is a very simple thing to give him the opportunity of clearing away any suspicion that may be resting upon him in connection with this matter, and my hon. friend I think should do it. I do not want to take up the time of the House in placing the documents in my possession upon Hansard but I shall have to do so unless the minister will grant my request and save any further argument.

Mr. J. D. REID: This particular case occurred, as the hon. member has stated, during the administration of the late Hon. Mr. Cochrane, and before I became the head of the Department. In order to show that the late Mr. Cochrane was anxious to do everything he could for this man I find that on May 24th, 1917, he wrote Mr. Hayes as follows:

I am anxious that no injustice should be done him, and will be glad if you will look into this matter personally and let me have a complete and detailed statement of the case.

I only give that quotation in order to show that my predecessor had no personal feeling against Mr. Carvill.

Mr. COPP: I know that; I do not blame the minister.

Mr. J. D. REID: Mr. Carvill had been for a number of years ticket agent at St. John, and the records show that in the performance of the duties he was careless and negligent. Previous to this theft his work had not been of a satisfactory character, and the officials of the department had drawn his attention to the fact that he was not attending to his business in a proper manner. Later on the theft, which resulted in the loss of several hundred dollars, took place from the ticket office. The railway officials believed that Mr. Carvill was not looking after the office as well as he should, and that probably owing to his carelessness this theft occurred; but there is nothing to show that at that time or since they ever entertained the slightest belief that Mr. Carvill was guilty, or that they suspected him in any way of being concerned with the theft. In fact they exonerated him of that in every possible way. Neither did the late Mr. Cochrane believe that Mr. Carvill had anything to do with the theft. Having informed Mr. Carvill, or his friends, that

no suspicion of the kind was responsible for his dismissal the late Mr. Cochrane thought he had done all that he could do to clear Mr. Carvill's reputation in the matter. Mr. Carvill has brought the subject to my attention, and to the attention of other members of the Government, in order, as the hon. member has just stated, to clear his reputation before the public. Those ministers to whom he wrote have been shown the file containing the documents relating to the case, and after looking over it they have concluded that no other action could have been taken than has been adopted up to the present time. My hon. friend does not ask that this man be reinstated; he simply asks that he be freed from any suspicion of theft. But he wants a commissioner appointed to take evidence in the matter. If there is any suspicion on the part of the people of St. John that this man had anything to do with the theft, I want to tell them that the officials of the railway in no way believed or had the impression that he had anything to do with the theft. They absolved him from all blame so far as that is concerned, though they thought that he was careless in his duties. I repeat that they never believed that he had anything to do with the theft, and as the Minister of Railways and representing the Government I say the same thing now. I have gone over the file several times, and I do not believe that Mr. Carvill had anything to do with that theft. If I can do anything further to clear his reputation, why, I want to do it. I have never seen him or any of his family; I do not know anything about them. But we do not in any way implicate him; his character is perfectly free so far as that incident is concerned. What would be the use in my appointing a commissioner to go down and take evidence, and hear some people swear that he had nothing to do with the matter? The statements that I have made here tonight should be sufficient to free him from any suspicion; there should be no necessity for further explanation. I hope, therefore, that if the people of St. John have any belief of that kind they will remove it from their minds and let Mr. Carvill go about the city as an upright and honourable citizen.

Mr. COPP: I have no doubt that my hon. friend is absolutely sincere and honest in what he says, and that he would very much like to clear Mr. Carvill from any suspicion in the matter. But there is only

one way that the minister can absolutely clear this man from the insinuations which have been cast upon him by gentlemen who had control of the Intercolonial railway at the time, the manager and his officials at Moncton. The minister publicly states that Mr. Carvill had nothing to do with the theft. Well, I have no doubt that the minister would gladly say that, but the point is that the damage has been done. I do not want to repeat the argument, but by their action these officials have placed Mr. Carvill in a most unfortunate position in the eyes of the public.

Mr. J. D. REID: I state here and now that the officials of the railway, whether at St. John or Moncton, have never even insinuated so far as I know—

Mr. COPP: Oh, yes.

Mr. J. D. REID: At all events the records on file show that they have never insinuated that Mr. Carvill had anything to do with the theft. Now, if a commission is appointed to investigate the matter something might be said that might be interpreted in an entirely different way. If the hon. member will say what employees made the statement to which he refers, we will take care of them; we will find out why they make those statements. But unless some evidence is forthcoming that such statements are being made surely this man's character cannot be more effectively cleared than by the statement which I have just made on behalf of the employees at St. John, Moncton or anywhere else on the railway. Why should we go to the expense of holding an investigation?

Mr. COPP: The expense would not be large. My hon. friend says that this man was dismissed because of incompetency. I have no fault to find, except this—and I make the statement with reservation because it is based on information furnished to me. This man was dismissed in March, 1917. According to the file, it would appear that this man was incompetent during the whole of his eighteen years of service; he was backward in sending in his reports, and so on. In December, 1916, hardly three months prior to his dismissal, Mr. Hayes increased his salary. On a previous occasion he asked him if he would accept a better position outside of St. John, intimating that he was paying him all he could for the St. John office but that he would be prepared to give him a position outside with greater responsibility and at a higher salary. Now that does not altogether indicate the incom-

petency on the part of the official in question that this file would seem to suggest. However, I am not discussing that point, because I am not now asking for his reinstatement. But the minister says that not the slightest suspicion has been cast upon him by the manager or officials of the Intercolonial Railway. I notice on going through the file that they have been pretty careful about what they put in writing, and naturally so, because as soon as they put anything in writing in regard to a man's character they are liable to action; they are not exempt, as my hon. friend would be in regard to anything he said in the House,—although I know he would not say anything derogatory to the gentleman. But in one of his letters Mr. Hayes, then manager of the railway, writing to the Minister of Railways, said:

I wish to assure you and Mr. Mullen that the cause of Mr. Carvill's removal from the position of city ticket agent was not entirely due to recent developments but rather to general incompetency.

Mr. J. D. REID: That is right.

Mr. COPP: "Not entirely due to recent developments". What would you infer from that expression? A burglary was committed on a certain day. Subsequently the man who had charge of the office was summarily dismissed and the police who had been working on the case were sent away. Then the manager of the Intercolonial Railway, in subsequent correspondence, points out that this man's dismissal was "not entirely due to these recent developments", but was due "rather to general incompetency".

Mr. J. D. REID: He was dismissed for his carelessness.

Mr. COPP: From a reading of that paragraph one would see at once that the General Manager was using both strings to his bow. If the man was guilty of burglary, he should be dismissed; if he was not guilty of burglary he should be dismissed anyway, on the ground of incompetency. That is the only legal interpretation you could make of that paragraph in Mr. Hayes' letter. It is written with a great deal of acumen, I grant you; he carefully guards himself on every hand. But I should like to point out that in December, 1916, the offer of higher salary was made to this man by this same manager—and up to that time not a single word had been uttered against his record or his competency. But he was offered a higher salary and a more responsible position if he would leave St. John because he was receiving the

[Mr. Copp.]

highest salary that could be paid to an official there. It does not seem to me that his incompetency could develop to such an extraordinary degree in the three months between December, 1916, and March, 1917. If there is justice in the mind of anybody who has had charge of this matter, that man should be given an investigation; indeed, his case should have been investigated at the time. It is never too late to right a wrong that has been done to an individual in a case of this kind. My hon. friend speaks of the expense of this, but surely the expense would not be so very large. I may say to my hon. friend that if the Department of Railways and Canals are in an economical frame of mind to-night and feel that they should not impose upon the country by appointing a commissioner to sit for one day in the city of St. John, I feel sure some means could be taken by the friends of Mr. Carvill to pay for the commissioner if the Government do not feel they are able to spend this large amount of money to do justice to an official who has served them for eighteen years.

I have placed the facts before the minister, and I appeal to the hon. member for St. John (Mr. Wigmore) who knows the situation and who, no doubt, knows this man, to support my request for an investigation. I do not know this man, but I have received numerous letters from him and most heart-rending letters from Mrs. Carvill that the family has been ostracised by the people of St. John because of a gross injustice—I care not who is responsible for it—that was forced upon him through no fault of his own. He had charge of this office, and through all this voluminous correspondence he gives the best of reasons why he was absent from the office at that time. He was absent on official duty; he was taken from his office to ticket military trains through St. John. He left his office before six o'clock and he was at work at the station until ten o'clock at night, to do for this railway what he thought was his duty. Are the Minister of Railways and his officials, some of whom to-day are directors of this great railway system, prepared to accept the responsibility of allowing this man to suffer under a shadow, a cloud, a suspicion, not of his own making, but forced upon him at that time by the officials of the Intercolonial railway for whose acts the Minister of Railways and Canals must be responsible in this House to-night. I ask him if he refuses the fair and just demands of this man, who stands to-day prac-

tically charged by suspicion of his friends in the city of St. John with whom he has been living for many years, and who is to-day being ostracised by those people. The minister, because those officials at one time arbitrarily refused to give this man what was his just and fair due, is prepared to stand up and say: It is satisfactory to me and enough to say that he was not guilty. It will not be satisfactory to the friends of Mr. Carvill in St. John, nor to the right thinking people of the city of St. John, nor of the whole province of New Brunswick, nor of the Dominion of Canada, that a man should be placed in this position, not through any fault of his own, but forced in it because of the arbitrary decision of officials in regard to this man. Because he was a poor man occupying an inferior position under them, they were prepared, not only to blacken his character and his standing, but to ruin himself and his family in St. John. Why? Because, forsooth, they did not want to go to the expense of appointing a commissioner to investigate those charges and to give this man a reasonable and fair and just opportunity of placing before the public his side of the case, and to let it be understood that that should be done. I feel that I should place this whole document on Hansard so that every one will realize the position of affairs; but I have placed the matter before the minister and I hope the hon. member for St. John (Mr. Wigmore) whom I see before me will say at least that he is prepared to endorse the request I am making of the minister. The hon. member who lives in the city of St. John probably knows this man. I, however, feel that I have done my duty. I have placed the responsibility where it belongs, and the only avenue through which I could place it is through the Minister of Railways who must take the responsibility of the position taken by his officials. He stands to-day responsible, and if he refuses the fair and just demand that this man should be given a just trial, the minister must take the responsibility. I leave the matter to him, and the public will judge whether he and his officials under him are taking the right course in leaving this man in the position in which he is placed to-day, absolutely helpless under the suspicion that is cast upon him. He is constantly receiving anonymous letters in the city of St. John; he is obliged to ostracise himself practically in the public streets of St. John because of the wilful, unjust and unnecessary pretence of my hon. friend and his officials,

who, as I said a moment ago, are prepared to blacken this man's character for the sake of saving some criticism that might be levelled at officials of the Intercolonial railway at the time this took place.

Mr. CALDWELL: I wish to call the attention of the committee to a condition that exists and has existed for some years in Canada, and that works a great hardship to shippers of freight over both the Canadian National railways and privately-owned railways. To illustrate my point, I wish to quote from the Canadian Car Demurrage Rules authorized by the Board of Railway Commissioners of Canada and put into effect on August 20, 1917. According to these railway rules, shippers of freight are allowed forty-eight hours to load and unload cars, with certain exceptions, some of which are these. The last part of rule 5 of this book reads:

Should bulk freight be so frozen in transit, or before placement, as to render unloading impossible within the prescribed free time, such additional time shall be granted as may be necessary.

Rule 6 provides:

That if cars are bunched in transit—

That is, a firm may be able to handle, say five cars a day and ship them out at that rate, and on account of some neglect or other causes in transit, those cars become bunched and arrive at their destination, say twenty cars a day instead of five. The consignees have only forty-eight hours to unload those cars. There is a provision that in case of cars being bunched they get a rebate on the demurrage, but they must pay demurrage at the point of unloading and put their application into the railway for a rebate. Rule 10 reads:

If payment of demurrage charges properly due on cars held on public delivery tracks be refused, delivery of only the car or cars on which such charges are due shall be withheld by means of sealing or locking, or by placing where such cars shall not be accessible.

I am not quoting these rules to find any fault with them. The rules are absolutely right, because it is necessary to see that cars are loaded or unloaded in the specified time. But I want to point out how this works out in the case where the shipper or a man who receives a consignment of freight by the carload is entitled to a refund. First he has to pay the demurrage before he can unload the cars, and must apply to the railway company for a refund. Before I go further, I want to state that I think this works a greater hardship to the shippers of perishable food stuffs such as potatoes, of

which we ship large quantities from New Brunswick, than to the shippers of other products.

Mr. J. D. REID: May I say to the hon. gentleman that the matter he is referring to is one that the Minister of Railways cannot deal with. It is a matter for the Board of Railway Commissioners. If a shipper has been charged too much for demurrage or has any grievance of that kind, the Board of Railway Commissioners are the ones to deal with it. If an appeal came to me I would have to send it to the board, which is the only body under the law as it stands competent to deal with this kind of grievance. Unless the hon. member wishes to put the facts on Hansard he might write to the Board of Railway Commissioners or interview them, or if he sends me the facts I will take it up through the department with the board. I only mention that in case the hon. gentleman did not understand the situation.

Mr. CALDWELL: I did understand it. I have been to the Railway Commission about this. I consulted the chairman of the board and he told me they had no jurisdiction in the matter. That is why I wanted to suggest that some provision should be made whereby claims like this could be submitted to the Board of Railway Commissioners. Here are the claims of one shipper in New Brunswick, and his case is only one of hundreds. He is a shipper of perishable foodstuffs. He has over 300 claims, totaling some \$17,000, covering a period of seven years, dating back to 1913. They run from \$5 to \$1,300. The only recourse open to this shipper is to sue the railway company, and go into court and argue his claim there. Now I think a remedy should be provided. We all know what it means for a private individual to sue a railway company. Here are 300 claims, and they could not be sued in bulk, but would have to be each taken up separately and fought out in the courts. We all know about how these things come out. I would suggest that provision be made empowering the Railway Commission to deal with these matters, so that they could adjust the differences between the shipper and the railways. I do not think this House believes it is fair and right that a shipper should have to go to law with a railway company to recover an overcharge of freight or demurrage. According to the railway rules the shippers are allowed a rebate for an overcharge, but in practice they do not get it. As an evidence of that here are these 300 claims dating back to 1913, not one of which has

[Mr. Caldwell.]

been adjusted. The way it works out in the long run is this. The firm has to absorb these charges. Now \$17,000 of charges, which I believe are legitimate charges, are too much for any firm to absorb. I say I believe these are legitimate charges. I have no business interest in this firm, but I know the gentlemen personally. They went into a shipping business in a small way, twelve or fifteen years ago, with very little capital, and by their business ability and integrity they have built up perhaps one of the biggest shipping businesses in Canada. I have yet to know of their making any claim that was not legitimate. I have reason to believe that these claims are legitimate, but they have not been able to get any of them adjusted. I would like the minister, or Parliament, or whoever is competent to deal with the matter, to make provision giving power to the Board of Railway Commissioners to deal with such claims. The chairman of the board told me that they would be quite willing to undertake this work.

There is another matter I wish to refer to, briefly, as the hour is late. It is in regard to a question I put on the Order Paper in the early part of the session regarding running rights over the Canadian Pacific from Westfield Beach to St. John for the trains of the St. John and Quebec railway. I got a reply on the 16th of April. The question was this:

Did the Dominion Government make an agreement with the Canadian Pacific Railway Company to secure running rights for the said St. John and Quebec Railway trains over the said Canadian Pacific railway between Westfield Beach and St. John?

The answer was: No. Then I asked:

And if the Dominion Government did not make such agreement, who did, and what are the terms?

The answer was:

The St. John and Quebec Railway Company. The terms are as follows:

Then the terms are given. I had reason to believe at the time that the Minister of Railways must have been misinformed. Three days after I got a reply to this question, the Premier of New Brunswick made a statement in the local house that was absolutely contrary to the information given in the answer I have just quoted. Speaking in the provincial house, the Premier said in part:

It was expected that the Canadian National Railways would take over the road for operation when completed on September 1st, 1919. For more than a year previous the directors of the company had been urging on the manage-

ment of the Canadian National railways the necessity of making some arrangement with the Canadian Pacific Railway for running rights between St. John and Westfield. Assurance had been given by the officials of the Canadian National railways that such arrangements had been made and that there would be no difficulty or delay. When the road was completed, however, it was found that the Canadian Pacific Railway Company would not allow Valley railway trains to run over their tracks until an agreement in writing had been made.

I took this matter up in the Budget debate, and I was very sorry the minister was not in the House. I meant to call his attention to this privately, but it slipped my mind. I now take this opportunity of asking the minister to clear the matter up by telling us who secured these running rights, what they cost, and who is paying for them. I take the statement of the Premier of New Brunswick very seriously. I might say that there is no such thing as the St. John and Quebec Railway Company. That is merely a figure of speech. Our provincial government built the road, and the Dominion Government is operating it under an agreement with our province whereby the province receives 40 per cent of the gross earnings of the road. Now the gross earnings have never amounted to more than \$75,000 a year—if I am mistaken, the minister will put me right. Some years ago—it has been in operation five years—it was only earning in the neighbourhood of \$50,000 a year. I understand that there is no agreement signed with anybody for running rights, but that under a tentative agreement the Canadian National Railway system, or whoever is to pay, is to pay the Canadian Pacific \$100,000 a year for running rights over ten miles of their road to carry into St. John the traffic of a railroad that only earns \$75,000 a year. A return was also made to an order of the House, dated May 12, 1920, that I had moved for asking for a copy of all letters, telegrams, documents or other papers exchanged between the Dominion Government or any official thereof, and the Government of New Brunswick with reference to this matter. The papers have been brought down, and all they consist of is a letter from the president of the St. John and Quebec Railway Company dated the 3rd of June and an acknowledgment. Now the order for return was passed on the 12th of May, and trains have been running over this portion of the road since September 1, 1919. Yet, after an order being passed that all the papers in connection with this matter should be brought down, all that is actually brought down is a letter from the president of the Quebec and St.

John railway protesting that they have nothing to do with the procuring of these running rights and a short acknowledgment from the Department of Railways that they had received his letter. If this is a return of "all the letters, telegrams and correspondence in connection with these running rights," it is not much wonder the minister does not know who secured the running rights. I would ask the minister to clear that point up now.

Mr. J. D. REID: As other hon. members are going to speak I will deal with my hon. friend's question when I take up the others.

Mr. CAMPBELL: At this late hour of the night and at this the final stage of the session, I certainly do not intend to make any extended remarks on the subject of railways, but I think that if I ask a few questions of the minister it may serve my purpose this evening. I understood him to say a few moments ago that the item which we have under consideration, No. 114, included the Hudson Bay railway. Does that also include construction of branch lines in Northern Manitoba and Saskatchewan?

Mr. J. D. REID: No; that item does not. I can give my hon. friend any information at my disposal if he will indicate what lines he has reference to.

Mr. CAMPBELL: Would the construction of any of the lines in the West come under this item?

Mr. J. D. REID: There is an item on the next page of \$48,000,000.

Mr. CAMPBELL: That is item 127; it covers all the items in connection with the construction of the Canadian Northern and any extension of that line. Is that right?

Mr. J. D. REID: Yes.

Mr. CAMPBELL: I take it that this item 114, construction and betterments, is sufficient to include any work which the Government may undertake in connection with the Hudson Bay railway, either in the way of betterments or construction, during the coming year. I might say that the subject in regard to which I intended to speak was not only the Hudson Bay railway but certain branch lines in Northern Manitoba and Saskatchewan which would eventually become part of the same system and be connected up with Hudson Bay. If the minister would now give a statement as to these branch lines I should be very much obliged. The branch lines I have particularly in mind are those of Northern Sas-

katchewan and partly Northern Manitoba. They are the Melfort extension north-easterly, the Humboldt-Melfort branch, the Thunder Hill line westerly, the extension northeasterly of the line from Vonda, and also the line connecting up Sturgis with Hudson Bay Junction.

Mr. J. D. REID: I can give a list of the lines I have here. The Humboldt-Melfort has a grade of 5.4 and a 32 track.

Mr. CAMPBELL: Will that complete the line between Humboldt and Melfort entirely?

Mr. J. D. REID: I understand it will.

Mr. CAHILL: I think that if the minister would give us the details of the whole of these lines it would be more instructive to hon. members. The statement could appear on Hansard.

Mr. J. D. REID: Perhaps I can give the list.

Line	Work to be Done	
	Grade.	Track.
Line now under Construction.		
Alsask S. E. . . . .	16.0	16.0
Acadia Valley Branch. . . . .	5.7	....
Amaranth Extension. . . . .	6.2	....
Eston, S. E. . . . .	9.9	25.0
Humboldt-Melfort . . . . .	5.4	32.0
Luck Lake Branch. . . . .	5.3	14.1
Hanna—Medicine Hat . . . . .	15.4	8.0
Melfort, N. E. . . . .	13.3	32.0
Oliver, N.E. . . . .	....	22. .
Peace River Branch . . . . .	....	32.5
Peebles—Lampman. . . . .	2.0	20.0
Red Deer Spur. . . . .	....	6.1
Swift Current Extension . . . . .	2.4	18.5
St. Rose Extension. . . . .	8.3	....
Thunder Hill Extension . . . . .	....	*100.0
" " " . . . . .	20.0	....
Jackfish Lake Branch. . . . .	9.1	....
Winnipeg Cuf Off . . . . .	....	....
Munson Double Track. . . . .	6.0	6.0
Moosejaw terminals. . . . .	6.0	6.0
Total prairie lines . . . . .	109.0	242.2
*Ballast, etc.		
Vancouver Island, first 100 miles. . . . .	....	48.0
Kamloops, Kelowna. . . . .	40.4	106.4
Vancouver terminal. . . . .	....	....
New Westminster terminals. . . . .	1.0	....
Total British Columbia lines. . . . .	41.4	154.4
New lines.		
Acadia Valley. . . . .	18.0	....
Maryfield extension (from Bengough). . . . .	15.8	15.8
Prince Albert, N.E. . . . .	20. .	....
Turtleford East. . . . .	22.0	....
Total New Lines . . . . .	75.8	15.8
Total All Western Lines.	226.2	412.4
[Mr. Campbell.]		

Mr. CAMPBELL: How many miles of the Thunder Hill line were constructed last year?

Mr. J. D. REID: The statement shows a twenty-mile grade, and I think the rails are laid.

Mr. CAMPBELL: The rails are to be laid to Kelvington?

Mr. J. D. REID: Between the end of the present steel and Kelvington is about fifteen miles. About nine miles have been graded, there being six miles yet to grade. I wrote a letter to the contractor, whom I know personally. He came down from Glengarry and I asked him if he could not hurry up that work, and I had a letter from him stating that within two weeks he would have his men there to complete the work on that six miles. President Hanna informed me that if they could get the men and the steel they would have the road steeled into Kelvington this fall, but that it would depend entirely on the men and steel available. The contractor told me that it was almost impossible to get men to do the work there at the present time.

Mr. REID (Mackenzie): Do I understand that there is twenty miles of steel on the Thunder Hill extension?

Mr. J. D. REID: I have on the list for Thunder Hill extension twenty miles, which they were to do this year, but I understood from Mr. Hanna that between Kelvington and this point there was a distance of fifteen or twenty miles to be graded. He said they would complete the grading, and the last information I had was that there was about eight miles yet to be done. They intend to lay the steel if they can get the labour and the steel.

Mr. REID (Mackenzie): I drove over that grade last summer. Part of it is all right but the gaps will have to be filled in.

Mr. J. D. REID: There is no doubt that they are making every effort to connect Kelvington with the end of the steel as at present laid.

Mr. REID (Mackenzie): The end of the steel now is seventeen miles from Kelvington. Has the extension made last fall been ballasted?

Mr. J. D. REID: It is possible the grading is complete on the twenty miles.

Mr. REID (Mackenzie): Perhaps the 20 miles includes the extension beyond Sturgis. Would the minister give me the information as soon as possible in regard to that 20 miles of grading?

Mr. J. D. REID: I will be glad to show the hon. gentleman the correspondence I have had with the contractor.

Mr. CAHILL: What work has been done on the Kamloops line up to date?

Mr. J. D. REID: I will try and get that information before we go on with the Supplementary Estimates.

Mr. CAMPBELL: Is the line being built from Preeceville or Sturgis to Hudson Bay junction? Several deputations were down here last year to see the minister in connection with that work and he said he could not satisfy them then but that possibly something could be done this year.

Mr. J. D. REID: Even with all that we have laid out they are afraid it is going to be difficult to get men, rails and equipment. With regard to the question as to the operation of the Hudson Bay railway, there is an amount in the Main Estimates of \$100,000 which is to pay the expenses of looking after the terminals at Port Nelson and other works in connection with keeping the road in operation. In addition to that we have in the Supplementary Estimates \$80,000 which is the estimated cost of putting in repair the present mileage and to keep the road in such condition that it can be operated until construction is finally completed. There is no doubt whatever, and there need be no doubt in the minds of the people of that locality, that the Hudson Bay railway will be kept in operation up to where it has been operated for some time.

Mr. CAMPBELL: Is it the intention of the minister to lay any more steel or to do any further construction work this year on the Hudson Bay railway?

Mr. J. D. REID: No, I am sorry to say that owing to the shortage of labour, finances and everything else, the intention is not to lay any steel farther than it is at the present time,—I think it is 310 miles—but to keep that 310 miles in operation. Some doubt has arisen as to the completion of the Hudson Bay railway. There never was any doubt at all in the mind of the Government. It is the intention of the Government at the earliest possible date to see that that road gets through to Hudson bay. The Government started it and they intend, as soon as the situation will allow, to see that the road is carried on to the Bay.

Mr. CAMPBELL: I may say to the minister that his statement this evening is very

much like a statement that I have heard before. I quote from the Canadian Annual Review of 1911 a statement made by Mr. R. L. Borden (as he then was) during his tour of Western Canada. Hon. gentlemen will remember that 1911 was an important year in the history of this Government. The statement was as follows:

The Conservative party has been committed to the construction of the Hudson's Bay Railway since 1896. The road will be built by the next Conservative administration without one day's unnecessary delay. It will be operated by an independent Commission on behalf and in the interests of the people with full control of rates.

That statement is practically the same as the statement the minister has made at the present time. In the platform of the Conservative party, as taken from the Canadian Annual Review of the same date the policy of the Conservative party is laid down as follows:

Construction of the Hudson Bay Railway and its operation by an independent commission.

Mr. J. D. REID: What date was that?

Mr. CAMPBELL: It was 1911.

Mr. J. D. REID: Since that date we have built 310 miles—

Mr. CAMPBELL: Yes, 332 miles.

Mr. J. D. REID: True, 332 miles,—graded the road right in to the Bay, spent \$17,000,000 and I think the hon. member will not dispute the fact that if the war had not come we would have had the railway right into Hudson Bay and therefore the pledge of my right hon. friend (Sir Robert Borden) has been carried out almost to the full extent. The war prevented the road being completed.

Mr. CAMPBELL: As far as the war is concerned, this Government carried on the construction of the Hudson Bay railway and the terminals until the war was finished, but on completion of the war the work on the Hudson Bay railway stopped. That is something I never could understand. During the war the greatest amount of money was spent and work done on the Hudson Bay railway. Nearly all the work that was done on the terminals was done while the war was in progress, the steel was completed to mile 332 at the end of 1916, and further work was done on the road in 1917, including the partial construction of the second bridge over the Nelson river. That bridge was completed almost at the same time as the armistice was signed. But since the armistice no work whatever has been done on

the railway. It has always been somewhat of a mystery to me why the work was pushed ahead during the period of the war while since the war the work on the road should have stopped. In 1918 there was an item in the Estimates of \$1,000,000 for the completion of the road. The officials of the department said the road could be completed at that time for that amount. None of it was used because it was claimed that rails could not be obtained for the completion of the road. In 1919, for the first time in many years, no item appeared in the Estimates for work on that road except the item of \$100,000 that we have in the Estimates to-day for work at the terminals. That is merely a nominal sum in order that the Government may be provided with the necessary fund to look after the terminals, and do any repairs needed, provide watchmen and that sort of thing.

I may tell the minister that the people of the West are greatly disappointed that the road is not being pushed forward. The minister has just said that this pledge made by the present Prime Minister and this plank in the platform of the Conservative party have been carried out. The facts certainly do not carry out that statement.

I will tell the House what has already been done; in fact a little more has been done than what the minister has stated. The grading has been completed to the bay, including the construction of two steel bridges over the Nelson river and another over the Saskatchewan river. Three hundred and thirty-two miles of steel have been laid, leaving only 92 miles of steel to be laid to finally complete the railway to the bay itself. As I have already said, of the steel which has been laid the last rail was put down in the year 1916, and since that time no more steel has been laid. During five years the Canadian Pacific Railway Company constructed 1,900 miles of line; in ten years on this road only 332 miles have been built. If that is carrying out the pledge of the Government I do not know the meaning of the term. At Calgary a month or so ago a meeting was held of all the Boards of Trade of Western Canada. It was a large meeting, and this matter was discussed there, and a resolution was passed calling for the immediate completion of the railway. Resolutions of a similar character have been passed from time to time by nearly all the public organizations of Western Canada.

[Mr. Campbell.]

Now for a minute or two I would like to review the history of this project. The matter was first brought to public attention almost fifty years ago. I was speaking to a senator the other day, and he told me that as a member of this House he acted on a committee thirty years ago which considered and investigated the Hudson Bay Railway project. Since that time debates have taken place on the subject in Parliament almost yearly. The work was commenced by the Laurier Government in 1910, and was taken up by the Borden Government when they came into power in 1911. Then work was stopped, an investigation took place, and later on in the year work was once more resumed and has resulted as I have described. As I pointed out last year so much of the road has been built that if it is not completed and that part of the line which has already been built put into a satisfactory condition great loss will result from deterioration and decay. The minister told us to-night that \$80,000 are to be placed in the Supplementary Estimates for the purpose of putting into proper condition that part of the road over which trains are running, that is 214 miles. Now rails have been laid for 332 miles. There is therefore the remainder, 118 miles, which, I presume, it is proposed to leave entirely untouched until the elements have got in their work with the result that later on a great deal more expense will have to be incurred in order to put that part of the road again into good condition. For some time past representations have been made to the minister—not only by myself but by all the western members who are interested in the construction of this line—for the laying of at least 17 miles of steel this year to connect with two trestles which were built on the Limestone river. With steel connection to the Limestone river, boats could be taken from there down to Port Nelson. A series of rapids would thereby be overcome, and these trestles protected, otherwise they would suffer serious damage in a very short time. I was recently informed that what I feared has happened, the larger one of them has been carried away and this probably represents a loss of \$25,000 or \$30,000 to the Government in that respect. Unless this matter is gone on with in a businesslike way the project might as well be abandoned, because the road will have to be rebuilt unless it is given immediate attention.

Various reasons have been advanced for not completing the road. One is the lack

of money. In view of the fact that the Government have other items in these Estimates which are certainly of no more importance than the Hudson Bay railway that is rather surprising. Money can be found readily for other enterprises. I might mention the Trent canal, Welland ship canal, and other undertakings. It would seem that the Government can readily provide money for those works which they particularly desire to carry out. The question of obtaining labour is not a consideration. Last year I heard the Minister of Railways speaking about further work on the Welland canal, and he said it was absolutely necessary to go on with it in order to provide labour for the men who otherwise would not be employed. At the same time he said that the Hudson Bay railway could not be proceeded with because labour could not be obtained. I wish to point out that as far as the laying of steel is concerned—and that is the main item which is necessary under present conditions—not much labour is involved. The steel gang does not number more than from 60 to 100 men, and these can readily be obtained up in that northern country.

I now wish to read a short extract from the Winnipeg Free Press with reference to the opposition to the Hudson Bay railway which appears in the East. I can tell the minister that there has been aroused in the minds of the people of the West a strong suspicion that, notwithstanding the announcement of the Government that the road is to be completed, the unnecessary and persistent delays that are taking place and the obstacles that are being placed in the way of its completion, have caused the suspicion that there is some underground influence at work down here to prevent this project from being finished. The Free Press, which speaks authoritatively for the West, has this to say in a recent editorial:

#### Fighting the Hudson Bay Route.

The people of the West would no doubt accept more philosophically than they do the failure of the Dominion Government to go ahead with the work of completing the Hudson Bay railway if they were assured that behind the refusal there was nothing more than the stated economic reasons which are of undoubted force. If they are suspicious as to these being the only, or perhaps the controlling reasons, they can find their justification in the inveterate hostility to the whole Hudson Bay enterprise which is entertained by powerful interests in the East which is periodically revealed.

Further on the article says:

The opposition of Montreal and other eastern interests to the Hudson Bay road arises in reality from the fear that if the northern route

is opened up it will justify the expectations of its promoters and thus deflect traffic through the Bay and Straits which would otherwise pass through Montreal, enabling that Imperial city to levy a toll upon it. The motive of the opposition is not regard for national economy half as much as it is downright narrow-minded selfishness. Selfishness of a particular stupid kind, too; for there is no justification for this fear which oppresses them. If the Hudson Bay route were found to be a success beyond the wildest dreams of its supporters, Montreal, as the commercial capital of Canada, would share in generous measure in the resulting prosperity of Western Canada.

I might just state here in conclusion what does not appear to be generally known, that the West is actually paying for the construction of this road. Some years ago certain lands were set aside to be sold, the proceeds to be used in the construction of the Hudson Bay railway. Already \$30,000,000 worth of these lands have been sold and more than \$15,000,000 of money has been collected. Therefore all the money needed for the work is either on hand, or will be readily available. The Hudson Bay railway is to the people of the West what the Intercolonial railway is to the people of the Maritime Provinces, and what the Canadian Pacific railway is to the people of British Columbia. Unfortunately, the western provinces did not have any guarantee, contract or bond that this road would be built, such as the Maritime Provinces and British Columbia had when they entered Confederation.

There is taking place in the East a change of sentiment with respect to this railway. The reasons that were given in the first place for the construction of the line still exist. The West is one thousand miles nearer the seaboard by this route than by the St. Lawrence or any other route. The same conditions exist now that existed when this was given as the only reason for building the road. But since that time other reasons have developed. The situation is similar in the West to that in connection with the construction of the Timiskaming and Northern Ontario railway. This road was conceived and constructed for the purpose of serving a great clay belt in the north part of Ontario. Shortly after construction was started the original idea of the project was almost entirely lost sight of because of the fact that mineral discoveries of immense importance were made in that district. A similar situation exists in Northern Manitoba and Saskatchewan. While the original object of the construction of the Hudson Bay railway, that of establishing a convenient overseas route, is still very im-

portant, the construction of this road has brought to light the fact that in Northern Manitoba and Saskatchewan there is great mineral and other wealth which will place this part of the country on a par with any other part of Canada, if not in a better position. It has also brought to light the fact that the Hudson Bay itself may be and will be looked upon in the future as one of our national assets. Without taking up any further time, therefore, I wish simply to urge upon the minister and upon the Government as strongly as I can the desirability of incurring no further delay in completing this road. Further delay means great loss, directly in money and indirectly in the development of the North country,—and the letter has already been delayed altogether too long. Therefore, on behalf of the West as well as on behalf of the whole of Canada, I urge that in connection with this national enterprise some work of construction be done this year; that at least an additional mileage of rails be laid, which work will have exceedingly beneficial effects and besides serve as a guarantee of good faith on the part of the Government.

(Three members, Mr. Chisholm, Mr. Lafortune and Mr. Caldwell having risen at the same time):

The CHAIRMAN: I am sorry, but I promised Mr. Chisholm two hours ago that I would see him next.

Mr. LAFORTUNE: I have only a question to put.

Mr. CALDWELL: Has the minister forgotten to answer my question?

The CHAIRMAN: We will let Mr. Lafortune put his question; then Mr. Caldwell will receive his answer; then Mr. Chisholm will have the floor.

Mr. LAFORTUNE: May I ask the minister if he has a few dollars to spend for the repair of the Lachine lock bridge?

Mr. J. D. REID: I understand that a walk is wanted across the locks. We are investigating that whole matter with a view to seeing whether we can give the accommodation along the lines suggested by the hon. member.

Mr. LAFORTUNE: It is very urgent.

Mr. J. D. REID: Yes, I know.

Mr. CALDWELL: The minister did not answer my question when he was dealing with the remarks made by other hon. gentlemen.

[Mr. Campbell.]

Mr. J. D. REID: I will answer when my hon. friend (Mr. Chisholm) gets through.

Mr. CHISHOLM: My only reason for imposing upon the indulgence of the committee at this hour is to express my regret that the Government has not seen fit to carry out what I regard as a promise made last year, or at least what I expected would be done in view of the statements made at that time. I refer to the Inverness railway. I am like my hon. friend (Mr. Loggie); the first speech I made in the House was in respect to an extension of railways in the county of Inverness, and I have ever since continued session after session to keep before the Government the urgency for railway extension. I had hoped that the Government would not fail to acquire this branch line in view of the great traffic possibilities which would result from the development of our immensely varied and valuable natural resources. The Government did make certain proposals to the owners of that road, or rather to the bondholders with a view to getting control of it, but I thought at the time that the price offered was entirely too low. I realized the importance of this railway from the standpoint of traffic. I knew of the great wealth of western Cape Breton island and also how important it was that the railway passing through that zone should be in the hands of some concern that was not entirely concentrating its efforts on the development of its own properties. The Government I regarded as the proper party to own it. The Inverness railway was constructed by the Inverness Railway Company in 1897-98. They owned coal properties down there, but so far as I can see or so far as the people of Inverness can see, the company has never done anything to encourage the development of our resources or to extend its line beyond its coal mines but haul its own coal and discourage the development of other coal mines. They have defeated any effort in this direction on the part of other industrial undertakings. You will marvel at the lack of development in my county, in view of the importance of coal, when I tell you that in that zone from Port Hood north there is estimated to be 1,300,000,000 tons of first-class bituminous coal. This estimate is the result of investigations made by qualified officers of both federal and provincial governments.

The Inverness railway probably owned about one-tenth of that coal. Two coal properties were operated on a small scale along the course of this railway, but owing to the policy of the Mackenzie and Mann

Company the development of these two coal properties was always retarded; they found it difficult to get reasonable freight rates and the necessary supply of cars to carry out the coal. In fact, the people engaged in these works had been treated in such a way by this company that they had to give up operations entirely. Two years ago the Port Hood Coal Company began operations again and are now carrying on business on a small scale. In the expectation that the Government would acquire this branch line they went on and developed the works two years ago, and now their output is in the vicinity of three or four hundred tons a day, and would increase this output to a larger extent if the road had been taken over by the Government. But the point I wish to make is that the Government should have acquired that road and thereby furnish independent transportation facilities to our people—placing all concerns on the same footing and giving equal treatment to all. I venture to say that it is not in the class of any branch line mentioned in this House since I have the honour of sitting here. It differs from the others in this respect; that it goes through the wealthiest portion of Canada for its area so far as natural resources are concerned. It is not necessary for me to detain the House by enumerating the various sources of natural wealth in that particular section of our country. I have done this on many occasions and placed in the hands of the Government data sufficient to show them my justification for my statements, and had the Government acquired this line, and extended it to Cheticamp, with connecting branch through East Lake pyrites district and Whycomagh iron ore district and silica deposits to Orangedale, it would now be called upon to carry the product of at least five different coal mines besides the products of our farms, fisheries, and forests, and the output of the pyrites mines of East Lake Anslie and the iron and silica of Whycomagh and vicinity. As it is now, I understand that the railway has been taken over by a new concern, who have acquired also the mines at Inverness which were the property of Mackenzie and Mann. I hope that the conditions resulting from the acquirement of this road by this new concern will not be as they were when it was operated by the old company. The Government made a serious mistake in not acquiring the road, not only from the standpoint of the development of natural resources in that part of the country, but

also from the standpoint of the Government railways. I look upon this road as one of the most important branch lines, if not the most important branch line in any part of Canada. In saying this I have regard to the fact that the natural resources mentioned are there in abundance and are awaiting development. We have not there the harbour facilities that are enjoyed by other ports in the Maritime Provinces. In fact, we have no harbours along that coast that could be used for the carrying on of this trade in coal and other mineral deposits except Cheticamp. Accordingly, we are entirely dependent upon railways as a means of transportation. I want to say just a word with regard to the history of this recent transaction; there are some things about it that appear to be very shady indeed. Just a year ago, when the Government offered to take over the Inverness railway at a price estimated at about \$2,500 a mile, there appeared in London a certain financier from this country who is said to have succeeded in acquiring \$900,000 of the bonds of the Inverness railway. It is extraordinary that he should be in London at that time, evidently taking advantage of the fact that the Government saw fit to offer no more than \$2,500 a mile for this railway, and that he immediately afterward succeeded in acquiring such vast quantities of these bonds. I do not want to be suspicious, but I fear there was some relationship between the Government's apparently voluntary offer and the appearance of this gentleman in London looking for Inverness railroad bonds.

But when one suffers, as we are suffering in that part of the country, from want of proper transportation facilities; when we recognize that we have the wealthiest part of Eastern Canada, and when we recognize further that we cannot get an extra foot of railway in the county of Inverness, we now become suspicious, and particularly so of circumstances of this kind. This gentleman came across; he acquired this quantity of these bonds, and when he arrived in Nova Scotia he made the statement that the road would not be sold to the Government. He evidently took advantage of the low offer of the Government to get the bonds at what he chose to offer. The fault that I find with the Government—I think I am justified in going that far—is that they did not close the bargain with the bondholders when the transaction was first initiated. What is exceedingly peculiar about the whole thing is this, that this gentleman, having acquired these bonds, came

over to this country and refused to sell the road, whereas the bondholders expressed themselves, when the transaction was first mooted, as being willing to sell the road. I want to be perfectly frank; my suspicion is that the whole transaction made it at least possible for him to acquire these bonds at his own price, and when he had acquired them, he simply said to the Government: "I will not sell the road." The result is now that the road is sold to another company. I am not in possession of the facts in connection with that sale, so that I do not know what was paid for it, but it is evident that Mackenzie and Mann have now received a very substantial price for the road. If it paid this company to buy the road how much more profitable it would be for the Government to have acquired it.

Going back to the remarks I made first, I claim that the Government made a mistake as a business institution when they did not acquire the road. They made a mistake when they did not recognize the fact that, by putting this road into the possession of another company owning a part of the coal property there and surely going to devote their time and energy to the development of their own property to the exclusion of all other areas down there, we are going to suffer as a consequence, but hope the new owners will be more progressive and show a desire to encourage development of our country. I feel keenly on this subject, and that is the reason why I was determined to talk plainly to the Government, because I am bound to put my opinion of the whole transaction on Hansard.

May I refer once more to the resources of that part of the country? It is simply melancholy to me, knowing our wealth, knowing our possibilities, to think that we should be in this position to-day, that we have had to suffer under the Mackenzie and Mann regime for the last fifteen years. I hope and trust we will not continue to suffer under the incoming concern. It is painful to me to think of this when we realize that our coal is there; that our great fishing resources there are undeveloped. I must qualify that by saying that the fisheries are in an encouraging condition at present and have been for the last two years, but it is not ten per cent of the possible development if we only had proper transportation facilities. Our farming and forest wealth will of necessity suffer without railways. We have the richest farm lands of any one county in Nova Scotia but our progress cannot be expected with-

[Mr. Chisholm.]

out proper transportation facilities. We are denied those facilities so far.

As an illustration of the selfishness of that concern, Mackenzie and Mann, from first to last, let me say that there are two large coal deposits within thirteen miles of the northern terminus of that road and we have been trying to get them to extend the road to that area. The coal is there for shipment, but we cannot ship it out unless the road is extended. Mackenzie and Mann refuse to construct the road one foot further north and the reason is this. They made an effort to acquire these coal areas at a miserably low price, a price that no coal area owner would accept. They acted the dog-in-the-manger; they would not extend the road for the development of those coal areas, hoping that they would, after a while at least, drive those people to sell their coal at the Mackenzie and Mann offer. That is one of the many acts of the concern that damned the normal and possible development in our county. The areas are there, open, prepared for shipment, and we are now placed again in the same position that we cannot expect to get an extension of that road unless the present owners see fit to give us the extension. Is it then surprising that I express that serious regret and the regret of my constituents that the Government did not take a little more serious interest in this and did not acquire the road when they could have acquired it at a very reasonable figure? The whole transaction is a reflection upon the Government, upon their business judgment, upon them from the standpoint of getting a branch line that would give immense traffic to their system of the Intercolonial railway. Any private concern in the world owning the Intercolonial railway would have extended a branch down through our part of the country years ago. There is no progressive system known to me in this country that would not be delighted to take advantage of the opportunities offering there, excepting the Mackenzie and Mann concern, who have been the curse of the county of Inverness and Western Cape Breton Island. Simply because they control the situation there, simply because they own a part of the coal and they want to get the balance of the coal at their own price, they refuse to extend the railway further north where the bulk of the coal lies. This is the history of the county of Inverness as regards railways, and I am afraid this is going to be the future of the county of Inverness while the present Government controls our public affairs.

Let me go a little further. If these people had the first idea of business, they would have extended that road, not only to the coal areas north for a distance of thirteen miles, but to the port of Cheticamp where they would have found a first-class harbour whence the coal of the north of the county could be carried up the river St. Lawrence to Quebec and Montreal; to Prince Edward Island and the Magdalen Islands. There are so many points in favour of extending that road that one would be surprised that they should have failed to carry out the original promise, to build it to Cheticamp. When Mackenzie and Mann went into the county and undertook the construction of that road, they entered into an agreement with the municipality by which they set forth that they would build the road from the Strait of Canso to Cheticamp, and the municipality of Inverness agreed to pay the right of way and a substantial bonus of \$1,000 a mile. Not one dollar of the original agreement was to be paid to these people until they extended the road to Cheticamp, thus completing it. When they got as far as their own private property at Inverness, they went to the municipal council, and by appealing to the generosity of the council they succeeded in getting an advance from the municipality, on entering into a further agreement that they would continue the construction of the road to Cheticamp provided local and municipal subsidies were available—and they have always been available—after finishing it up to their mines at Inverness. They failed to carry out this promise; they betrayed the taxpayers of the county of Inverness, and they have been carrying on that business ever since they went into the county.

Once more, if in the future the Government can get control of that road, I would appeal to them, in the interest of the development of that part of the country, in the interest of the earning power of the Intercolonial, from every standpoint of common sense, to go forth and acquire that road. We have invited the Government many times since 1911 to send men down there to investigate the possibilities of that road from the standpoint of traffic and its extension to Cheticamp. In 1910, I placed all the data relating to the Orangedale-Cheticamp proposed branch line before the Government of the day, and I got a promise from that Government that they would undertake the construction of that road in 1911-12. I have a record of that assurance. The election, however, occurred then and

nothing was done by the incoming Government. In 1913 the Government sent an engineer down to look over the proposed branch line from Orangedale to Cheticamp, which would have been the solution of our transportation difficulty then. That engineer came back and made a very encouraging report. He placed the facts before the Government and he convinced the Department of Railways that this was a good undertaking in view of the immense natural wealth in that part of the country. I had hopes then that the Government would undertake the construction of this branch line and would thus have solved all our difficulties. However the Government failed to do so; the war came on, and since then I have been keeping all the facts before the Department of Railways in the hope that just as soon as the finances of the country would justify the construction of this road, I might induce them to construct it. I shall continue to urge the building of this road.

I am in sympathy with the construction of branch lines in the West or in any part of the country where the conditions will justify the expenditure. Since I came into this House first in 1908, I have invariably given my support for the construction of railways, because I consider that is really the only practical solution of our transportation difficulties in this country when water transportation cannot be had; but I must say that no branch line that I have looked into has the merits of this Orangedale-Cheticamp line touching at Chimney Corner and St. Rose coal areas. I propose discussing the need and justification of the construction of the Orangedale line passing as it does through rich mineral and farming districts. If this line were constructed, it would solve our transportation difficulties. I have always kept the merits of this line before the Government. I had hoped, I have always hoped, that the Government, I care not what Government it is, would take into consideration the requirements of these old settled districts, which have been settled for over two hundred years, where nature has been lavish in its distribution of natural resources, and where the construction of a railway would be justified from any standpoint. I had hoped that as a matter of business this Government would have undertaken, first, the purchase of the road, and then its extension so that both the rich shore country and the interior would have railway facilities. I shall discuss this

line, the Orangedale-Cheticamp, later on and show the great wealth of that part of the country. I am not going to blame the Government entirely for not taking over the road, but I am convinced their offer was entirely too low, the bondholders, for reasons I have stated, did not accept the Government's offer. The only fault I find with the Government is that they offered a price which I consider was ridiculously low, and which was not sufficient to induce the owners of the road to sell but simply gave their friend an opportunity of acquiring the bonds cheaply. There was every justification in the world for the Government offering a substantial price, and every justification to expect good results from the acquisition and extension of this road. I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that there was no branch line in Western Canada that I know of that offered one-fourth the possibilities of this branch line. The Government knew that. I placed all the facts before them. I regret they did not take over the road, from the standpoint of the development of our natural resources and from the standpoint of the traffic to the Intercolonial railway. I hope, however, that the future has a little more brightness in store for us than we have experienced in the past.

Mr. McKENZIE: I shall make one of the very briefest speeches I have ever made in this House, because the facts which I have to put before the minister can be confined in very narrow compass. I have no great condemnation for the minister of the Government in this matter except this, that we should not be called upon to discuss the very large and comprehensive question of railways at this stage of the session, and I hope that at the next session of Parliament the Minister of Railways will make a determined effort to have his railway business brought down in time to give us a fuller opportunity of dealing with it. As it is now, the session is in its expiring moments and we are in very hot weather. I wish to remind the minister that in 1914 a resolution was accepted by him, representing the Government at that time, in connection with railways in Western Canada. There are very few cases on record where a resolution moved by an Opposition member in this House is accepted by the Government, but here is the record. On the 16th of March, 1914, I moved this resolution in the House:

That in the opinion of this House the time has arrived for the extension of the Intercolonial railway of Canada into the non-railway sections

[Mr. Chisholm.]

of the Maritime Provinces within reasonable range of the said railway.

This resolution and the discussion on it will be found on page 1736 and following pages of Hansard of that year. Last year again I moved another resolution. I would emphasize that the resolution of the 16th of March, 1914, which I have just read, was accepted by the Government. During the war years I said nothing at all about railways. I kept absolutely quiet, but last year I moved this resolution:

Be it resolved, that in the opinion of this House the proposals of the said resolution of the 16th of March, A.D., 1914, should be carried forward to completion at the earliest possible date.

That was moved last year, and the question being put on the motion, it was resolved in the affirmative. The Government, therefore, at the second session last year, by accepting that resolution again approved of the resolution I moved in 1914. I am not going to weary the minister or the House with arguments because my arguments were accepted in 1914. The Government re-affirmed their acceptance of them last year, that is, that certain extensions of the Intercolonial railway should be made in the Maritime Provinces. I had particularly in mind the road into the county of Victoria which was surveyed in 1911. The contract for the road was let in 1911, but a change of Government took place and the Hon. Mr. Cochrane, the Minister of Railways after the change of Government, took the ground that there were too many claims on the treasury for him to undertake this work at that time. Here is, I think, a unique position: This House committed itself on two occasions to the necessities of the case which I have presented, and I am now asking the minister in justice to the Government and in justice to Parliament to carry out this resolution which has been twice accepted by the House. The minister may not be able to make a start in my part of the country this year, but at least he could check over the survey that has already been made in that county. The survey was made in 1911 and the contract was let. The records are in the department. I think in view of the record of Parliament in connection with this matter I am absolutely within my right when I ask the minister to check over the survey that has already been made in Victoria, and extend the survey further north in the county, to see what can be done and what results can be got from a survey of his own further north where the line is absolutely required.

The conditions in regard to a road in Victoria are getting better all the time. Pulpwood is getting to be an article of great value to the country now, and in the northern part of my county we have very extensive pulpwoods that are now without any rail connection at all. I think I am safe in saying that about \$1,000,000 have been invested at Ste. Ann's Harbour in connection with pulpwood. They get their pulp out in the summer when vessels can come in, but they have no railway connection at all. There is an unlimited quantity of pulp up there. I need not remind the minister that the county of Victoria is a very old part of Canada, as old as any other part of the province of Nova Scotia, and some sections of that county are 110 to 120 miles away from the nearest railway. To an Ontario man that must seem an extraordinary condition, for you can hardly find a farm house in Ontario that is not within ten miles of some railway. When you consider that Victoria is older than Ontario and that some parts of the county are 110 to 120 miles away from a railway, I think the minister will understand that our great ambition is to get better railway accommodation. The only ambition I have in politics is that the county I have the honour to represent will have this great boon of railway connection before I go out of public life. I do trust that the minister, regardless of party affiliations and of what party politics may suggest, will carry out, not some new thing, but what Parliament has committed itself to on two different occasions in the resolutions which have been accepted by the Government. It is at least in as strong a position as any other section of the country could occupy so far as the record of the House is concerned.

At this hour of the night and at this stage of the session I am only reminding the minister of facts. He must realize that the necessity still exists, and the merits of the case are well known to him. I desire to say one word in regard to another matter which is also a live question. The minister will remember that he visited our town a few years ago and saw for himself the terminus of the Intercolonial railway connecting Canada with Newfoundland. That terminus at North Sydney is entirely inadequate for the traffic that has to be handled there. The minister made up his mind at that time that something had to be done, and plans were prepared. The piers there require extension and it is necessary that there should be more room for steamships. Facilities are needed for carrying out the traffic between

Canada and Newfoundland. Now, this is not something of a local character for the benefit of North Sydney. Hundreds of thousands of dollars of traffic is carried all the time between Toronto, Quebec, Montreal, Winnipeg, and other parts of Canada, and Newfoundland. This traffic finds its outlet at the town of North Sydney, and any improvements effected there are not by any means purely for the advantage of that town. It is merely to maintain the facilities for carrying the trade between this country and Newfoundland. In order properly to handle that traffic we must have adequate facilities. What is happening now? The Newfoundland merchants, finding that they cannot get their goods from Canada by reason of the lack of these facilities, are getting them largely by water from the United States and in that way the Dominion of Canada is losing a very large trade and good money. Sometimes cars stand on the rail at North Sydney for two, and sometimes for three months, and the people in Newfoundland cannot get their goods because of this condition of affairs. Possibly the facilities are inadequate on the other side, but it is our duty to see that on this side we maintain a proper state of things. Then if there is any trouble on the Newfoundland side the people there will have to see to it themselves. One thing is perfectly clear to the minister, because he witnessed it himself, and that is that the facilities at the North Sydney terminus are absolutely inadequate. These are the only two matters I wish to bring to the notice of the minister, and I am doing so as briefly as I can. The history of my advocacy of railway extension in my own county, and the necessary facilities for a terminus in order to handle traffic with Newfoundland, are two things which are well known to the minister and which I think should receive his attention at the earliest possible moment.

Mr. BUTTS: When I first tried to catch your attention, Mr. Chairman, I did not intend to speak at any length but only to make reply to the remarks of an hon. member from a constituency in Manitoba relative to the Hudson Bay railway. Since then, however, certain other matters have come up in regard to which I think the facts as they really are ought to be placed before the House, late as the hour is and slim as is the attendance. I refer, first of all, to the remarks of my hon. friend from Inverness (Mr. Chisholm), in which he speaks of the great possibilities of Western Cape Breton, possibilities that he says, surpass those

of any other part of the Dominion of Canada. I do not desire even to attempt to minimize the greatness of those prospects. As a matter of fact, who are the ones that have minimized them? Has it not been the representatives of the county of Inverness themselves? I remember very well, and I think every one in Nova Scotia remembers, the session of the local House, when myself and my colleague from Cape Breton brought about the investigation into the Port Hood coal mine, and the representatives of Inverness county were the men that stood behind the Government and behind the Government experts—God save the mark!—when they tried to prove that the Port Hood mine had been flooded from the Atlantic ocean and was no longer any good. Every mining expert in Nova Scotia, when the report was issued, laughed at it, and those who did not laugh said they wondered that any mining expert would risk his reputation in signing the report that was made. So that if this Government or if this Government's predecessor has not treated the mines of Inverness as the commonalty of Inverness would wish, who is to blame? Why, no one but the representatives of Inverness, the friends of my hon. friend, and the present local government of Nova Scotia. I was there throughout the whole of the investigation and I know all about it. The Port Hood mines and the Mabou mines are on record in Nova Scotia, and if that record has been sullied so that they cannot float bonds or stocks or anything else in the markets of the world then Inverness has Inverness to blame; and a share of that blame falls to the present government of Nova Scotia and its inexpert and incapable mining officials. Go into Nova Scotia, and any little school boy will tell you about the mines of Inverness. They all know them; they know them from the records of their own representatives in Parliament; they know them from the records of the present local government of Nova Scotia; they know them from the debates of the Parliament of Nova Scotia,—all at their own instigation, for their own political aggrandizement. And if to-day Inverness suffers she suffers at the hands of her own Grit politicians. Now, there is no need for me to follow this very much further; I have placed the plain blunt facts before the country. Had I been representing Inverness, I would never have gone, for the sake of political aggrandizement, so far as to ruin the name of the coal deposits of that place and bring them into disrepute before the world as has been done by the ward healers of Inverness.

[Mr. Butte.]

The hon. member for Cape Breton (Mr. McKenzie) has spoken about the Newfoundland problem. The Newfoundland problem is as clear as the noonday sun. One of the things that I have thought about for years is the rounding out of British North America by bringing into Confederation the colony of Newfoundland. The only way of doing that is by the largest kind of encouragement in trade matters between Canada and Newfoundland. For a number of years—in fact for as long as I can remember—there has been little encouragement. The Newfoundland people extended a road away into the wilderness from Port au Basque and again out of the wilderness to St. Johns and Placentia. The result was that trade could not flourish. It was a narrow gauge road and cars have been known in the month of November to be blown off the rails. That may seem to be a laughable expression but it is absolutely true. In the last winter commercial men were known to be compelled to leave the trains and to trek it over the snowbanks where the railway was absolutely buried to a depth of from 13 to 15 feet and walk between fifty and sixty miles to Port au Basque to get the boat to take them to Sydney harbour, there to connect with the Intercolonial railway. That is a matter of absolute record; it is true. We must encourage trade with Newfoundland in the hope that in the near future, or even in the distant future, Newfoundland may find it to her advantage, and we may find it to our advantage, to round out the Confederation and make a perfect and complete British North America.

The only way in the world to do that is to cut out the Reid-Newfoundland company absolutely. The Reid-Newfoundland company had two nice boats when the war broke out. They had the second Bruce and another—two absolutely beautiful boats, designed and built purposely for navigation in the high latitudes of the North Atlantic and capable of going through any amount of ice that the North Atlantic, within reasonable limits, knows. The Reid-Newfoundland company, in their selfishness, as soon as the war broke out and they found they were able to make a large profit on these boats, sold them to the Russian Government, delivered them at Archangel and left this traffic between Canada and Newfoundland to go to the bow-wows. Such a concern as that is not safe for us to deal with, and therefore I say Canada should endeavour to bring about what many Canadians dream of as being the consummation of Confederation, the annexation, or coming into Con-

federation, of the Ancient Colony. It is only by establishing a line of steamships between Sydney harbour and St. Johns that it can be done. Since I last spoke upon this matter I have been told that the Government is likely to do that, and I would say that the sooner they do it the sooner they will have done a fine work for Canada and for Newfoundland and will have taken one step at least in the direction of the Confederation of British North America.

Now I come to the question of the Hudson Bay railway. I know perfectly well that it is not as popular a question to deal with as the unification of British North America. I know it cannot be, because I am absolutely incapable of defending the Hudson Bay project as far as it has gone. People living out in the Northwest and not understanding the conditions as they are on the Atlantic seaboard, are not the best judges. They often look at a map. Quebec is shown in one colour, Ontario in another, and so on; the water is always blue on the map, but it is not always blue when you get into a ship. Hudson bay presents the most difficult piece of navigation on this entire hemisphere from the north to the south pole and from the meridian that passes through Greenwich right around the world and back to Greenwich again. We have photographs down in our country, and if any one questions it he can come right down to Nova Scotia and see them in the Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company's office. At North Sydney, we have a ship called the Bonaventure. That ship was built purposely as a trading ship and to be used in the winter on the sealing grounds. She was built for navigation in high latitudes, and she is shown in a photograph in the Hudson's bay at the entrance to James bay. There she is on the 12th of August according to a photographic picture. Her master was Captain Couch, a well-known Newfoundland commander. There she is, and in the ice she does not look like a ship at all but like a jolly boat. Are you going to ship your wheat through that ice? Do you wheat growers of the West think it is reasonable to ask this country to expend millions of dollars to build a railroad from Le Pas to the Hudson bay, there to put your wheat on board of ships—if you can get them at the bay, and I do not believe you can—but granted you could get them there, are you going to send your wheat to Hudson bay and put it on board ships that are not able to take it out? These are the conditions. Remember, when you see the

blue on the map that blue does not always represent water. Icebergs may be there, floating ice may be there, and you have to go many degrees north of that before you get out of Hudson strait. And when you get to Hudson strait, no matter what day of the year it may be—I care not what day it is—you have to hug the shore on the north when the ice is on the south side of the strait, and when the ice is on the north shore of the strait then you have to hug the southern shore. Do you suppose for one moment that Lloyds or any other insurance company in the world, is going to give insurance to the average steamer capable of carrying wheat across the ocean? Do you suppose for one moment they are going to insure those ships? Yes, they might if you gave them a fifty-fifty agreement on it. In that case they might take even chances with you, but in the long run you will find they will not do it with the class of ships that carry wheat. They may do it with ships like the Bonaventure and the Bruce, and other vessels of that kind, but they will not insure such ships as would make it profitable for the wheat growers of the West to ship their wheat by way of Hudson bay. I say therefore that if the Minister of Railways should, right here and now, put his foot down and declare, "No more money for Hudson bay," I will stand behind him and I will say, "Hear, hear."

Mr. SINCLAIR (Queen's, P.E.I.): Before the minister replies I want to say a word or two regarding this important matter of transportation. I would have spoken earlier in the evening but many members, from different parts of Canada, were anxious to put themselves on record, and I held back in order to allow them to do so. Now I want to support the hon. member from King's (Mr. McIsaac) who dealt so eloquently upon the transportation problem as it affects the province which we both represent here. In the past the maintenance of communication between Prince Edward Island and the mainland has been an open sore as between the people of our province and the Dominion Government. I do not wish to detain the committee by rehearsing the various stages through which this question has passed since we entered Confederation; but I think it is always opportune to remind hon. gentlemen that when we did so, it was with the explicit and straight agreement that continuous steam communication should be kept up between the island of Prince Edward and the mainland. The efforts of the

various governments were always directed towards making that promise good, but for some years they were unable to do so. Proof of that can be found in the fact that in the year 1902 the Federal Government allowed Prince Edward Island an increase of \$30,000 a year in her subsidy as a recompense for their failure—and the failure of preceding governments up to that date—to implement the agreement that was made at Confederation. Now, Sir, that condition went on and various ideas in connection with the matter were advanced until 1912, when the Government of that day adopted the policy of establishing a car ferry service between the nearest point on Prince Edward Island and the mainland. Up to that time our communication was kept up in winter by icebreakers on two routes, namely, from Pictou to Charlottetown and from Pictou to Georgetown. In midwinter they both converged on the one route between Pictou and Georgetown. In the summer time we had two boats which kept up a dual service, one from Charlottetown to Pictou and the other from Summerside to Point du Chêne. The committee will therefore see that we had during those years four boats at our disposal to keep open our channels of communication; but we were then fighting the ice in various parts of the straits where, up to that time, it was impossible for human invention to keep open continuous communication. In 1912, as the Minister of Railways well knows, it was decided to adopt a different system, and I commend the Government for the decision they arrived at that time because it has meant a good deal to the province of Prince Edward Island—or rather it will mean a good deal when the whole scheme is put into effect. After that decision was arrived at tenders were let for the car ferry, as was referred to by my hon. friend from King's earlier this evening. That ferry, of seven thousand horse-power, was built at considerable cost and placed on the route in the year 1916. At that time the war was on and a Macedonian cry was sent out by Russia for icebreakers. The two ice-breakers we had were sold to the Russian Government for a certain price, and the other boats were allowed to be sold as well, so that where we used to depend on four boats we now have only one available to carry us through the ice conditions in winter time. These conditions are very hazardous for any boat and it is never known at what time an accident may occur. If an accident should take place under present conditions I want to tell the

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minister that the whole transportation of the province of Prince Edward Island would be placed in jeopardy. Our communication would be cut off, and it would be a disastrous thing to our business men and our producers, the farmers and the fishermen. Our exports have very largely increased during the last few years owing to the enhanced prices which were paid for our products, and other causes that have proved a stimulus to our people. Now, I want to impress upon the minister the necessity of placing in the Estimates at the earliest possible moment an amount sufficient to provide a second icebreaker for maintaining connection between Prince Edward Island and the mainland. When that system of transportation was embarked upon by the Government it was not merely with the idea of getting communication between the province and the mainland; a much broader principle was contemplated than that. We had on the island previous to that time a narrow gauge railway. The car ferry was built; she was equipped with standard gauge rails so as to convey standard gauge cars. That made it necessary, Sir, in order to get the full benefit of the means of communication thus provided, that we should have a standard gauge railway on the island. The Government have undertaken the standardization of the railway, and have continued the work, and though some of our people were rather inclined to think it might have been pushed along a little faster than it was I am not going to complain on that score. When the car ferry was placed in operation the work of standardizing the road was undertaken. It was begun in the year 1913 when long ties were being laid in place of short ties to allow for the spreading of the rails. That work was continued up to last year; on the section of the road between Charlottetown and Summerside and down to Borden a distance of some sixty miles has been standardized by the laying of a third rail, permitting the use of both narrow and broad gauge cars. The operation of these two systems makes very difficult the work of the management and the officials of the road. The point I wish to emphasize is this: in his statement made on the 30th March last the minister said that the Government had decided to go no further at the present time with the standardization of the gauge of the Prince Edward Island railway. He said that there was a deficit on the Intercolonial and that the Prince Edward Island railway contributed its

share to that deficit. But you cannot expect anything but a deficit on the Prince Edward Island railway so long as it continues in its present position. It is in a state of transition; it is being changed from a narrow gauge to a broad gauge system. Fully fifty per cent of the freight originating in Prince Edward Island to-day has to be transferred at three different points from narrow gauge to broad gauge cars, involving heavy expense to the railway. Now, Sir, while the railway is in that condition it is hardly fair to give the deficit as a reason for taking no action. In order to have a railway run properly; in order that its earnings may reach the maximum at a minimum of expense, it must be put in proper shape so that traffic may be moved with all possible speed.

This work, as I say, was begun in 1913. It has been continued piece by piece until 60 miles have been standardized out of a total of 277. The minister said that the work was stopped on account of financial conditions. He also told us in March that the policy of the Government was that lines which were begun prior to 1914 were to be finished before new work was undertaken. In view of the fact that the minister is preparing to lay several hundred miles of new steel in the West and in other parts of Canada during the present year, I can properly submit that the Government should have continued the broadening of the gauge of the Prince Edward Island railway this year. The minister should, I think, reconsider the statement he made on the 30th of March, and place in the Supplementary Estimates an appropriation for an amount sufficient at least to carry out part of the work of broadening the gauge of the Prince Edward Island railway.

The member for King's (Mr. McIsaac) dealt very eloquently with the transportation problem in Prince Edward Island and I do not like to disagree with him in that regard. But when he says that he is satisfied that the minister has been fully seized with the importance of this work, I can hardly say that I experience the satisfaction which my hon. friend seems to enjoy, because if the minister were fully seized of the importance of the matter which we are pressing upon him he would have placed in the Estimates a sufficient appropriation to continue the work, or would have used his influence with the management of the railway to have the work brought nearer to completion during the present year. I am not going to take

an extreme attitude in the matter; I am not going to say that the work should all be done this year. But it could easily be done within two years, having regard to the needs of traffic in the meantime.

It is urged that the financial conditions are not such as to justify the continuance of this work during the present year. But let me point out that the present condition of the roadbed is not such as to necessitate a very large expenditure in widening the gauge. All the new ties put in since 1913 have been of the broad gauge type. The roadbed is in proper condition for the spreading of the rails. That is not a very expensive operation; if it is necessary to put down heavier rails that can be done. Rails are available for new work in other parts of Canada; surely the minister can find rails to continue work that was begun in Prince Edward Island six years ago. I think I have described to the committee the condition that exists in that province and the necessity for having it remedied at the earliest possible moment.

About six weeks ago a petition was presented to the minister by the board of trade of the city of Charlottetown and representatives of the business men of Prince Edward Island asking that this work be continued and that provision be made for a second car ferry boat. I would like to know from the minister what consideration has been given to that petition, which has been presented to the general manager of the Canadian National Railway Board as well as to the minister.

I am sorry, Mr. Chairman, that I cannot join with my hon. friend (Mr. McIsaac) in advocating the Georgetown-Pictou route for a car-ferry service. When I was a school-boy I learned the couplet:

One thing at a time, and that done well,  
Is a very good rule, as many can tell.

If the people of Prince Edward Island get the benefit of proper operation of the service which we already have, and of standardization of the railway, I think the needs of the present year will be pretty well served. I join with my hon. friend, however, in his very happy reference to the good horses and the good men that have been produced in Prince Edward Island. He made a grave omission, though, when he neglected to mention the women; for I think we have the best women in Prince Edward Island that can be found anywhere. The success of the efforts made by that province during the Great War was largely due to the work of our women.

There is another point with regard to the standardization of the railway that I want to bring to the attention of the minister; it is with reference to labour conditions in Prince Edward Island. Since the armistice and demobilization several of our soldiers have returned to the province. We are not fortunate enough to have any manufacturing centres; our chief industries are agriculture and fishing, and when our boys came back from the war it was harder to assimilate them into civil life than was the case in other parts of Canada where labour was in great demand. As a result of that I want to appeal to the minister that our boys were looking forward during the present summer, as they had enjoyed in the summer in 1919, to the privilege of working upon the railroad and doing this new work, thereby getting employment that they could not otherwise get in the province in which they were born and from which they went to serve their country. On March 27, I received this telegram:

Earnestly request you exert every effort toward having estimates include appropriation widening gauge. Means employment of 300 returned soldiers. Government are providing labour by means of public works in all other provinces. Island returned men ask your co-operation in preventing injustice which will necessitate returned men leaving this province to obtain work.

P. R. STEWART.

Provincial Secretary, G.W.V.A., P.E.I.

That was the condition that obtained on the 27th March, and when the Minister of Railways stated on the 30th March, that the work of standardizing the railway was not to be gone on with this year, that announcement came as a severe jolt to returned men who had received work on this during the previous year and who were looking forward to the same thing during the coming summer, when they could assist their parents on the farms or in the fishing boats during the spring season, and in the summer season could serve the railways in providing the labour which was necessary to carry on this work. This was a very opportune time for the Government to do that work, and by so doing they would be serving two purposes instead of only one. I think I have put my case about as clearly as I need to.

There is just one other thing which I want to bring to the attention of the minister. In view of the transitory and uncertain conditions of our transportation system in Prince Edward Island at the present time, and in view of the reorganization that is necessary in taking over the Grand Trunk and making it a part of the Canadian Na-

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tional system, I want to ask the minister to consider the proposition of appointing from Prince Edward Island at least one man upon the Board of Management of the Canadian National railways. In view of the condition that we are in at the present time, I do not think it is too much to ask that at least one person who knows local conditions that obtain in that province should be upon that board. I leave this as a last word with the Minister of Railways, and I know he will bear it in mind, so that when reorganization takes place, all the provinces will be represented upon that board.

Mr. J. D. REID: I feel that I should answer some of the questions that have been put to me by different members who have spoken this evening. The hon. member for King's, P.E.I. (Mr. McIsaac), and the hon. member for Queen's, P. E. I. (Mr. Sinclair), have spoken with reference to the railway situation on Prince Edward Island. I understand they are asking that the balance of the railways on Prince Edward Island should be standardized and also that another ferry should be provided. I feel that I could not possibly hold out any encouragement for either of these two things being proceeded with during the present year. The necessity for a second ferry could hardly, I think, be justified. My hon. friend says that we should build another ferry to keep in reserve in case anything happens to the present ferry. I believe the present ferry can do all that is required, and if it is necessary to have another ferry, the hon. gentleman knows the Scotia that used to run to Mulgrave, fitted up so that she could take the place of the ferry in case of accident and ferry cars between Prince Edward Island and the mainland.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Queen's, P.E.I.): She would not do in the winter time when there is ice in the channel.

Mr. J. D. REID: There might be times when she would be delayed on account of ice, but she would be used only in case of an emergency or something happening to the other steamer when we might have to go back to the former system for a short time and run the steamer between Charlottetown and Pictou.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Queen's, P.E.I.): If you go back to that system, you would have no boat.

Mr. J. D. REID: We would have the Scotia. Except for the short time that

the ice was in the strait, the Scotia could run between Cape Tormentine and Port Borden and ferry cars.

With reference to standardizing the gauge, a couple of years ago I went to Prince Edward Island, and in order to save transfer at Port Borden, we extended the standard gauge to Charlottetown and Summerside. I was informed then that that would provide for about 75 per cent of the business of Prince Edward Island. The time for the extension will come, and as soon as the Government can see its way clear to commence that work it will be proceeded with.

The hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) and, I think, the hon. member for Quebec East (Mr. Lapointe) spoke about the railways operating down to Gaspé. One-half of the road is in good shape and the other is not in good condition. For the last two or three months the bondholders of that road have been pressing the Government to take it over, the price that they ask being, I think, about \$3,000,000 or about one-half whatever the bonds are. The road as it is being operated at present is bringing in no revenue to the bondholders; they are losing money, and anything they get out of the road will, of course, be really a gift to them, and so far as I can understand there is not much future for the value of the bonds to the bondholder. The position is exactly the same as regards other lines in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The amount asked by these parties by the road is such that I would not be justified in recommending the Government to pay it when we are taking over all other branch lines in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick on a certain basis that was agreed on by the Government. If the owners of the bonds had offered to hand over the road to the Government for a price comparable with the prices at which we were purchasing the branch lines in the lower provinces, I should be glad to recommend such a price. There the matter stands. What will happen, I cannot say; but it is altogether likely that like all the other lines, this road will in the end come to the Government. I do not, however, think it would be fair to pay a very high price for this road and then treat other roads in other provinces on a different basis. That is the reason why I could not make any headway in the negotiations with the present bondholders, and the matter must remain there until they at least reconsider the offer they have made to the Government. I have been in the Gaspé peninsula, and I know the situation there. I agree with the hon. member that it is a

most important part of the Dominion, a splendid country, and one that should have the very best and most up-to-date railway facilities. I think that answers the hon. members for Maisonneuve and Quebec East.

The hon. member for Northumberland (Mr. Loggie) urged that we build a railway from Newcastle to Tracadie. I had not heard of this before, but I understood him to say that the road should be built in connection with the taking over of the Caraquet and Gulf Shore Railway. I shall be glad to give that consideration when we have completed the transaction for taking over the Caraquet and Gulf Shore Railway. We have made an agreement for taking over that road, and an item for its purchase will appear in the Supplementary Estimates.

The hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) again drew my attention to the fact that Lockport was three or four miles from the Halifax and Southwestern Railway, and asked that consideration be given to that. I think I have already taken up that matter with the Board of Management. When it is drawn to their attention I cannot see why that should not be done.

The hon. member for Westmorland (Mr. Copp) criticised a little, and of course I cannot find fault with that in view of the experience he says he had with the car service on the Intercolonial. I am firmly of the opinion, however, from what I can hear from those travelling on the line that sleeping cars and the service as a whole is really equal to that of any other railway in Canada at the present time. During the war we were not able to purchase new cars and owing to the heavy work it is true that our cars, like those of other railways, are not as good as they were prior to the war. Furthermore, we have had to put into service almost every car we can get, owing to the increased mileage and the increased work we have to do. My hon. friend instanced the case of a private car being attached to the Ocean Limited which prevented the travelling public from viewing the scenery from the rear of the train. I understand that that was not a private car owned by the Government.

Mr. COPP: I think it was.

Mr. J. D. REID: Whether it was or not, it is not right that a private car should be attached to the rear end of a train carrying an observation car. If it is a regular Pullman, it is different. As a rule the railways put the private car next to the baggage, so that it does not interfere with the travel-

ling public. I am glad the hon. member has brought that to my attention, and I shall certainly draw it to the attention of the management. A private car must certainly take second place to the observation car. I trust my hon. friend will bring any complaint of that kind to my attention at once. He also referred to the trains of Montreal not connecting. That is correct. It occurred through an error made by a clerk in confusing daylight saving with standard time in drawing up the time table. On the 27th of this month, the new time table will come out and the mistake will be rectified. It could not very well be rectified before, because the time tables had all been printed and published. At all events, so far as the Grand Trunk and Canadian Northern are concerned that grievance will not exist in the future.

Mr. COPP: I want to make an explanation. I had intended to say that I had a conversation with the Deputy Minister and he explained the situation to me in that way. I quite appreciate it.

Mr. J. D. REID: A criticism of that kind is quite just and fair, and any errors of that kind should be brought to the attention of the Government in order that they may be rectified.

The hon. member also referred to the loss of a grip by a passenger, and his having to correspond with Toronto. His criticism, broadly speaking, was that we should have at Moncton some official with greater powers than any we have there at present. Of course, every great system must have a head office. I was under the impression that the present General Superintendent, Mr. L. S. Brown, is General Superintendent for the whole system. I understood that he could do almost anything in connection with the general operation of the road, and complaints of that kind, I think, should go to Moncton.

Mr. COPP: I wrote to Moncton but the letter was forwarded to Toronto.

Mr. J. D. REID: I suppose he would have to make a report to Toronto in any case. That was also a matter for fair criticism, and I shall see whether anything can be done to make the adjustment of these grievances easier.

The hon. member also referred to Mr. Carvill. Perhaps the hon. member would take the matter up with Mr. Carvill and see whether the statements I have made would not be satisfactory. If a commissioner were

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to go to St. John he would require evidence to be taken from the General Manager and the whole staff. It would take time to have an investigation. If a commissioner did go, it would have to be distinctly understood that it would only be for the purpose of clearing him from the charge of being implicated in the theft.

Mr. COPP: That's all he asks for.

Mr. J. D. REID: I could not possibly agree on any terms to an investigation as to carelessness and so on, with a view to reinstating him. I have great sympathy with any man with a family, who is lying under a charge, or who feels that his reputation has been injured. A man's reputation is really what he prizes most. No amount of money is to be compared with a man's reputation, and it is only on that ground an investigation could be considered. I have tried to do all I can publicly, by putting a statement on Hansard, to satisfy the people of St. John and Mr. Carvill and his family. I will try and consider the other request the hon. member has made.

My hon. friend also referred to the Employee's Pension Fund. That is a very important matter. I agree that the pensions are very small. Some months ago I had the staff commence to draw up a pension act applicable to the whole system. They are all different now, but when we get them all under one system it should work more satisfactorily than having three or four different systems. If I interfered at the present time with the Pension Act it might impede a proper final adjustment and for that reason we have had to delay for a short time any action in the matter. I am, however, endeavouring to get these men a higher pension, and personally I am of the opinion that they should receive more than they are getting. I think the matter should be adjusted at the earliest possible moment, and if the instructions I have given are followed out this should be possible before we meet next session.

The hon. member for Carleton, N. B. (Mr. Caldwell) asked a question in regard to the running rights over the Canadian Pacific railway from Westville to St. John. To get running rights over that road the St. John Valley and Quebec railway would have to make application to the Board of Railway Commissioners. I have not taken this matter up with Mr. Hanna, but they would have to make application, and no doubt Mr. Hanna would assist them in any way he possibly could. I have not the agreement be-

fore me and at the moment I cannot remember what the arrangement was with reference to the running rights over that road. While Mr. Cochrane was absent, as Acting Minister I entered into an arrangement with the Quebec Government to run over that road instead of building a road into St. John paralleling from Westville in. The hon. member states that it would cost \$100,000 but I do not see how it could cost so much. This is a matter that the New Brunswick and the Dominion Governments would have to dispose of by some mutual agreement. In the Supplementary Estimates, which contain large items in connection with the railways, I shall have full information at my disposal and shall be able to give to my hon. friend more details than I can to-night. If he will let the matter stand until then I will try to answer him to better advantage than I can this evening.

The hon. member for Inverness (Mr. Chisholm) made some remarks in reference to the Inverness railway. I do not blame him for regretting the fact that the Government have not taken over that railway. There was an understanding last year that we would take over all these railways in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, at a certain rate per mile. I took this matter up with the bondholders, or the representatives of the bondholders, and it was agreed that they should get \$150,000 for that railway. The agreement was signed and we passed an Order in Council, but what happened I cannot tell. However, the hon. member, I think, will agree that I could not do more than I did. The parties having agreed on the price, it was not my fault that the agreement was not consummated, although I admit that it will probably be a serious thing for that part of the country.

The hon. member for Cape Breton North and Victoria (Mr. McKenzie) referred to branch lines in the county of Victoria. We are getting some more railway work done in Cape Breton. In the Supplementary Estimates there will be an item to pay for the Cape Breton road which runs to St. Peter's, this being commonly known as the Webb Road. At one time there was a scheme to project that road further along to Bras d'Or Lakes, but I do not think that is where the hon. member referred to. I agree with him that there should be extensions in the lower provinces, and I shall take up the question with the railway management to see what the situation is and ascertain to what extent the people in these localities can be served by ex-

tensions of railways. I agree that while we are constructing railways in the West we should not overlook other parts of the country where roads are necessary.

Now, may I ask hon. gentlemen opposite, in view of the fact that we have had a thorough discussion of the whole railway situation, and as there are large items in the Supplementary Estimates in connection with which the whole question can be brought up again, that they allow these items to pass at the present juncture. When the Supplementary Estimates are up I shall have no objection whatever to answering any questions hon. members may desire to put in connection with the railways or canals. The hour is getting rather late, and we might pass the items in the Main Estimates, and on the Supplementary Estimates there will be ample opportunity for hon. members to discuss any questions relative to canals or railways.

Mr. BUREAU: Then, as I understand the minister, there is a distinct understanding that on the Supplementary Estimates the whole matter may be gone over again.

Mr. J. D. REID: Everything may be gone over. I have items on canals and railways and I shall have no objection, as has been done this evening, to answering any questions hon. gentlemen may ask with reference to railways and canals.

Mr. CAHILL: These agreements may be all right to those who make them, but I have certain questions which I desire to submit to the minister and I want to ask them on the Main Estimates and not on the Supplementary Estimates, which will come up on the last night.

Mr. J. D. REID: Of course, I have no objection to going on now, but—

Mr. CAHILL: I admit that the hour is rather late. Two o'clock in the morning is an extraordinary time for us to be discussing important matters such as these; but I have questions I desire to ask.

Mr. J. D. REID: The hon. member will have an opportunity to ask questions on the Supplementary Estimates.

Mr. CAHILL: I think the minister could very well report progress and take up the Estimates to-morrow.

Mr. J. D. REID: On the Supplementary Estimates my hon. friend can ask the questions which he desires to submit as well as on these Estimates, and we could make

some progress to-night. If hon. members let this pass it does not deprive them of the opportunity of asking any questions which they have in mind. The hon. member will have all the time he desires and will have plenty of opportunity when the other Estimates come up, and I see no reason for his objecting to letting this go through to-night. When the Supplementary Estimates come up his right to ask questions will be unimpaird.

Mr. WHITE (Victoria): I do not wish to interfere with the agreement of the minister with the committee but I have two or three questions which I desire to ask and it is just possible I may not be here when the Supplementary Estimates are under consideration. I desire to ask the minister a question in regard to the Brudenheim branch. We had a promise last year in regard to this branch line but when the Estimates came down we found that no provision had been made for it. It will be remembered that the Canadian Pacific had applied for a charter to parallel this line and it was agreed that they would give support to the Canadian National railways and that the line would be completed last summer. There was nothing done about it and there has been nothing done yet. When the minister's Estimates were before the House on a former occasion he said that he would give the matter further consideration and that he would be able to give me an answer when his Estimates were again up for consideration. I would ask him if he has given it that consideration and if he can do anything this year. I might refresh his memory by saying that there are only thirty miles altogether and as he knows it would be a great advantage not only to the settler but to the railway as well. On that section of the line they are drawing ballast for sixty or seventy miles as far up as Edmonton. This projected branch has any amount of available ballast within six or seven miles of the mainland. The minister might get that information from his engineers and other members of his staff.

There is another matter to which I would like to call the attention of the minister and that is that the people particularly in the district east of Edmonton suffered very greatly last year from lack of equipment. They were unable to get their grain out, there was no way of clearing the elevators. As a result there was congestion in the elevators from Edmonton east and spring came before they could get that equipment.

[Mr. J. D. Reid.]

The grain is still there and the season has been so wet that they could not haul it out. The minister talks about moving coal from the West but if he can get the equipment his first duty is to move the grain. A large portion of the grain is yet with the farmers. They are unable to get it out as they have been too busy putting in their spring crops and they have suffered great hardships.

Mr. J. D. REID: Is that not the line that the Canadian Pacific and Canadian Northern between them are to build?

Mr. WHITE (Victoria): Exactly.

Mr. J. D. REID: I am afraid that, as far as I can remember just now, there is nothing in the Estimates for that work. We had arranged in the committee that one company was to build one part and another company another, but I have not anything in the Estimates during the present year. In reference to the equipment for grain, I agree that grain must come ahead of everything else in so far as equipment is concerned. This is one reason why I have hesitated to ask for coal or box cars. I am asking for all the equipment this year that is practicable for wheat business.

Mr. CAHILL: I know the minister wants to be reasonable, and if we were to pass everything but item 127, with the understanding that we could ask any question on that item we might allow the Estimates to pass.

Mr. J. D. REID: I have several large items in the Supplementary Estimates which will be laid on the Table to-night. There is an item of \$25,000,000 for the Grand Trunk and Canadian Northern railways. There are items for the Canadian National railways construction, canal estimates, purchases for railways, etc. I think any one of these items would cover everything that the hon. gentleman has mentioned. If I could see that it would make any difference I would not object at all, but I would ask the hon. member, so long as it does not interfere with his position, to allow these Estimates to pass.

Mr. CAHILL: But it does interfere with my position.

Mr. CALDWELL: As I may not be here when the Supplementary Estimates are taken up, I would ask the minister to take a note of my question and put the answer on Hansard.

Mr. CAHILL: I want to find out who the tenderers are, how the contracts are let and

to whom they are let. I want to know the number of ties they bought in 1919 and what they paid for them.

Mr. J. D. REID: On July 21, 1919, tenders were advertised for our requirement of ties for the whole system. We advertised for 1,000,000 ties to be delivered on the Canadian National lines in British Columbia.

In answer to this advertisement we received tenders from twenty-eight firms, the lowest tenders being:—

K. Fessenden, 30,000 ties, at 65c for No. 1, and 55c for No. 2.

Aickin and Stevens,—100,000 ties, at 75c for No. 1, and 65c for No. 2.

Carter and Mear,—30,000 ties, at 66c for No. 1, and 56c for No. 2.

Galbraith and Earle,—8,000 ties, at 75c for No. 1, and 65c for No. 2. and 67,000 sawn ties, at \$19 per M.

George Fennell,—45,000 ties, at 80c for No. 1, and 60c for No. 2. Sawn Ties, 75c No. 1's, 65c No. 2's and 25c for No. 3's.

Northern Construction Company,—1,000,000 ties, 78c for No. 1, 70c for No. 2, and 40c for No. 3.

The balance of the tenders run from 80 cents to \$1.13 for No. 1 ties. We closed contracts with K. Fessenden for 30,000; Aickin and Stevens 100,000; Carter and Mear, 45,000; Galbraith and Earle, 75,000; George Fennell, 45,000; and the Northern Construction Company, 750,000, 150,000 of these to be delivered west of Kamloops, and the balance between Kamloops and the Alberta Summit.

In addition to the tie contract with the Northern Construction Company, we have made contracts with them for the following material. In all cases these contracts were let after competitive bids were asked:

January 24th Contract for 2,785 Cedar poles, 25 ft. long 6 inches tops at \$2.50 each;

2,232 Cedars poles 30ft. long 7 inches top at \$3.00 each;

1,450 Cedar poles 35 ft. long 7 inches top at \$5.25 each.

Also a contract on the same date for 103,000 standard cedar fence posts 8 feet long at 14 cents each. On January 15th, they received a contract for the delivery of 1,143 cedar piles 20 feet long; 730 cedar piles 25 feet long; 201 cedar piles 30 feet long; 252 cedar piles 35 feet long; 90 cedar piles 40 feet long; 12 cedar piles 45 feet long, for construction work. Also for maintenance—125 pieces 35 feet long; 265 pieces 40 feet long; 130 pieces 45 feet long; 60 pieces 50 feet long.

Mr. CAHILL: Could the minister give me any information about the coal contracts?

Mr. J. D. REID: Yes, I have the details here, but it would take a long time to read them.

Mr. CAHILL: I have no doubt the details could be placed on Hansard without their being read, if you would ask for the unanimous consent of the committee to that course being pursued.

Mr. J. D. REID: The information I have here occupies about five pages. Does the hon. member wish it placed on Hansard?

Mr. CAHILL: Yes, if you get the unanimous consent of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure that if the putting of these documents on Hansard would enable us to dispose of the Railway Estimates to-night the committee will give its unanimous consent. I have therefore much pleasure in asking the committee for unanimous consent in order to place on Hansard the lists supplied by the minister.

The committee gave unanimous consent and the documents were presented, as follows:

## CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS

## STEAM COAL CONTRACTS 1919-20.

## NOVA SCOTIA COAL.

Order No.	Company.	1919.		1920.	
		Tonnage.	Price.	Tonnage.	Price.
84	Dominion Coal Co.....	100,000	\$4.35 f.o.b. Sydney. .25c. extra for sc. coal.	400,000	\$6.00 f.o.b. Sydney and Springhill.
85	Nova Scotia Steel & Coal.....	75,000	4.35 f.o.b. Sydney Mines.....	125,000	5.50 " Sydney Mines.
86	Indian Cove Coal Co.....	7,000	4.35 " ".....	50,000	5.35 " ".....
87	Bras D'Or Coal Co.....	7,000	4.35 " ".....	25,000	5.75 " ".....
88	Anglo Coal Co.....	6,000	6.25 f.o.b. als. dock P.E.I.....	2,000	7.40 " Souris or Georgetown.
89	Inverness Ry. & Coal Co.....	25,000	5.00 " Inverness Jct.....	60,000	5.00 " Mine.
90	Port Hood Collieries.....	50,000	5.00 " Greenwood.....	30,000	6.00 " Cars tracks.
91	Greenwood Coal Co.....	50,000	5.00 " Coalburn.....	30,000	5.25 " Coalburn.
92	Milford Coal Mining Co.....	35,000	5.00 " Stellarton.....	125,000	5.75 " Stellarton.
93	Acadia Coal Co.....	225,000	5.20 " Westville.....	125,000	5.75 " Westville.
94	Intercolonial Coal Mining.....	150,000	5.00 " Pictou Hbr.....	.....	.....
95	Dominion Coal Co.....	125,000	5.30 " Springhill Jct.....	.....	.....
96	Maritime Coal, Ry. & P. Co.....	135,000	5.15 " ".....	125,000	5.65 " Maccan.
97	Minudie Coal Co.....	12,000	5.00 f.o.b. Maccan.....	.....	.....
98	Twin Seam Coal Co.....	10,000	.25c. extra for sc. 5.00 f.o.b. Maccan.....	5,000	5.50 " ".....
99	Emerson Coal Co.....	10,000	4.75 " ".....	10,000	5.50 " ".....
100	W. L. Barnes.....	39	5.00 " ".....	.....	.....
102	Central Coal Co.....	10,000	4.75 " ".....	.....	.....
113	Spurgeon Gammon.....	800	5.00 " New Glasgow.....	20,000	5.25 " Stellarton.
178	Lanark Coal Co.....	.....	5.00 " ".....	5,000	7.40 " Dock Souris.
	Chimney Corner Coal Co.....	.....	.....	1,157,000	.....
		1,007,839			

CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS.

STEAM COAL CONTRACTS.

AMERICAN RAIL COAL FOR ONTARIO AND QUEBEC POINTS.

Order No.	Company.	1919.		1920.	
		Tonnage.	Price.	Tonnage.	Price.
34	Empire Coal Co.....	8,500	\$5.40 cars our rails.		
53	A. Baile Co., Ltd.....	50,000	1.95 f.o.b. Mines.		
54	Canadian Import Co.....	125,000	2.17 " " taking.		
			Fr't. rate \$2.59 from Penn. Dist to Mtl.		
55	Century Coal Co.....	100,000		100,000	\$3.45 f.o.b. Mines.
56	Fielder-Davis Fuel Co.....	50,000	1.95 f.o.b. Mines.	100,000	3.40 " "
60	Geo. Hall Coal Co.....	25,000	1.95 " Morgantown Dist.	100,000	3.60 " "
63	F. A. Fish.....	25 cars	5.00 " tracks Toronto.		
64	Geo. Hall Coal Co.....	10,000	1.95 " port taking rate of \$2.81 to Montreal.		
67	Canadian Coal Co.....	10,000	2.00 f.o.b. Mines.		
68	Sterling Coal Co.....	500	1.85 " Morgantown.	30,000	3.50 " "
69	Valley Camp Coal Co.....	50,000	1.90 " Mines.		
71	Elias Rogers Co., Ltd.....	30,000	2.00 " "		
79	E. L. Hedstrom.....	8,000	2.60 " "		
80	Standard Fuel Co.....	2,000	2.61 " "	12,500	4.30 " "
	Rogers Alan.....			100 cars	2.80 " "
	Pittsburg & Bessemer.....			100 "	2.70 " "
				100 "	3.50 " "
	W. H. Bradford.....			40,000	3.40 " "
165	Warren Collieries, Ltd.....			50,000	3.80 " "
173	Dunlop Coal Co.....			50,000	3.85 " "
179	C. W. Young.....			100,000	4.25 " "
143	Youghiogheny & Ohio Coal Co.....			100,000	3.25 " "
		469,000		682,500	
SHIPMENTS IN ONTARIO.					
1	Imperial Munitions Bd.....	45,000	\$5.05 R-M British Chemical Works.		
2	"	5,000	5.30 L.p.		
3	Dept. Militia & Defense.....	2,347	3.50 in piles Camp Mohawk.		
5	Empire Coal Co.....	52,347	3.50 " Rathburn and Deseror.	14,000	5.75 Little Current Dk.
				14,000	

CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS.

STEAM COAL CONTRACTS, 1919-20.

VESSEL COAL FOR SHIPMENT FROM LAKE ERIE.

Order No.	Company.	1919.		1920.	
		Tonnage.	Price.	Tonnage.	Price.
24	Geo. Hall Coal Co.	25,000	\$6.00 als. dock Quebec.	300,000	\$4.83 vsl. L. Erie.
29	Youghiogheny & Ohio Coal.	200,000	3.48 f.o.b. vsl. L. E. Ports.	100,000	8.75 f.o.b. cars Hearst.
31	Canadian Coal Co.	40,000	7.00 " Hearst.		8.45 " " Oba.
32	"	10,000	6.50 " " "		9.00 " " Chicoutimi.
37	Geo. Hall Coal Co.	10,000	7.40 " Chicoutimi.	15,000	5.33 " " L. Erie.
57	Bessemer & Pittsburg Coal Co.	25,000	3.38 " vsl. L. E. ports	25,000	4.83 " " L. Erie.
58	Sterling Coal Co.	25,000	3.38 " "		
62	M. A. Hanna Coal Co.	25,000	3.38 " "		
72	Canadian Import Co.	10,000	5.91 als. dock Levis.	25,000	6.68 " vsl. Lorain.
73	W. H. Bradford (Smokeless) Coal Co.	20,000	4.93 f.o.b. vsl. L. E. Ports.		
	Purglove Maher Coal Co.				
	Commercial Coal & Supply Co.				
	Empire Coal Co.				
	Ayers A. L.				
		390,000		740,000	
COAL PURCHASED ALONGSIDE DOCK, FORT WILLIAM.					
30	Valley Camp Coal Co.	400,000	4.89 f.o.b. Ft. William.	400,000	4.83 vsl. L. E. plus \$1.56 to Ft. William
	Empire Coal Co.		4.92 " "	50,000	6.55 als. Dk. Ft. William.
		400,000		450,000	

CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS

STEAM COAL CONTRACTS.

F.O.B. CARS SUPERIOR AND DULUTH.

Order No.	Company.	1919.		1920.	
		Tonnage.	Price.	Tonnage.	Price.
Order placed in 1918.					
110	Northern Coal & Dock Co.....	75,000	\$5.93 f.o.b. cars, Duluth.....		
116	Northern Coal & Dock Co.....	8,000	4.65 "	15,000	\$5.93 f.o.b., Duluth.
117	Great Lakes Coal & Dock Co.....			20,000	6.25 " Superior.
118	Clarkson Coal & Dock Co.....			10,000	Duluth.
120	Western Coal Co.....			2,500	6.00 " or Ft. Wm.
121	Mostanina Coal Co.....			50,000	6.00 " Duluth or Superior.
122	Lehigh Valley Coal Co.....			7,000	6.00 " Duluth.
123	Lehigh Valley Coal Co.....			2,000	" "
	Carnegie Dock & Fuel Co.....			5,000	5.93 "
		83,000		111,500	



Mr. CAHILL: Would the minister tell me now about the insurance company?

Mr. J. D. REID: That is a matter I would rather discuss with my hon. friend than disclose the information here. It is not, I may say, a question of merely giving information to some particular firm. After discussing the matter with the officials of the company I came to the conclusion that if the hon. member understood the situation he would recognize it would be hardly fair to put the information on Hansard. If there is any particular matter that he wants information about I would be glad to give it to him but I think that in the public interest and in the interest of the railway itself he will scarcely press to have all the details placed on Hansard.

Mr. CAHILL: Will the minister say that he will give me what information he has pertaining to the railway?

Mr. J. D. REID: I will say this to the hon. member; I will give him any information I have in my office that I feel I would be justified in giving. My hon. friend will observe from the information I have given to-night that I am willing to go as far as I possibly can to meet his wishes. He need not hesitate at all to ask me for any additional information that he wants. If I cannot give it to him I think he will be satisfied that I have good reason for not doing so.

Mr. CAHILL: I think the minister is usually inclined to give more information when we are considering his Estimates than he is at almost any other period. Although we are sitting at an unreasonable hour, members are only doing their duty in asking the minister questions of this kind in order to inform themselves as to the conditions on the Government railway system.

Mr. J. D. REID: I am not objecting, that is right.

Mr. CAHILL: If the minister will furnish me with the information I think I should have, I have no wish to delay the committee.

Mr. J. D. REID: Very well, I will give it as far as I can.

Mr. CAHILL: When we are passing so many millions of Railway Estimates and there is this keen interest in the country on the railway question the people will surely expect us to obtain some of the details as to where the money is going.

Mr. J. D. REID: Perfectly right.

Mr. CAHILL: I think we should have some information about the insurance, and there are a few other matters I would like to ask the minister about. If he will agree to give me the information I will furnish him with a list of questions I want answered, and he may supply the data the next time his Estimates are under consideration.

Mr. J. D. REID: I shall be glad to give the hon. member any information that I can, that is as regards the fiscal year which has closed. I think that is what the hon. member wishes—not anything in reference to any contract that is in effect at the present time.

Resolutions reported.

#### FURTHER SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES FOR 1920-21.

A message from His Excellency the Governor General transmitting further Supplementary Estimates for the year ending March 31, 1921, was presented by Right Hon. C. J. Doherty, read by Mr. Speaker to the House, and referred to the Committee of Supply.

On motion of right hon. Mr. Doherty the House returned to the order: "First Reading of Senate Bills."

#### PRIVATE BILLS.

##### FIRST AND SECOND READINGS.

Bill No. 207 (from the Senate) for the relief of Charles Henry Foster.

Bill No. 208 (from the Senate) for the relief of Frank Cox.

Bill No. 209 (from the Senate) for the relief of Joseph Dubé.

Bill No. 210 (from the Senate) for the relief of John Donnelly.

On Motion of right hon. Mr. Doherty the House adjourned at 2.25 a.m. (Saturday).

Saturday, June 26, 1920.

The House met at Two o'clock.

#### JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING.

Mr. JOHN A. CURRIE (Simcoe North) presented the second report of the Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament on Printing.

Mr. LEMIEUX: With reference to the editorial committee it seems to me—

Mr. SPEAKER: There can be no discussion on the presentation of a report; a dis-

cussion can take place only on a motion for concurrence.

Mr. CURRIE: I understand the report will appear in the Votes and Proceedings on Monday.

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

#### BOARD OF COMMERCE—RESIGNATION OF JUDGE ROBSON.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister): I beg to lay on the Table correspondence with regard to the resignation of Judge Robson. This is in response to the request of the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Mackenzie King), and also in compliance with orders that have been passed by the House upon the motions of the hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) and the hon. member for Pontiac (Mr. Cahill).

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING: Does the return the Prime Minister has just presented include all the correspondence, or has some been withheld?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: It is all included so far as I am aware.

#### REPORT TABLED.

Report of Administrative Chairman of the Honourary Advisory Council for Scientific and Industrial Research of Canada, for the year ended March 31, 1919.—Sir George Foster.

Report relating to mail subsidies and steamship subventions for the year ended March 31, 1919.—Sir George Foster.

#### INQUIRIES FOR RETRUNS.

Mr. JOSEPH ARCHAMBAULT (Chambly and Verchères): I wish to call the attention of the Government to some orders for returns which were passed by the House, some even last session, and which have not yet been brought down. There were two returns of last session, one regarding the Ste. Anne military hospital, the second regarding the list of the Grand Trunk shareholders. On the 29th March of this session an order was passed calling for specifications and plans in connection with the Vancouver drydock and the contract given to Messrs. J. Coughlan and Sons, Limited. Another was passed on April 19 calling for a list of all farmers who enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Force. Another was passed on April 21 regarding the War Stamps Act, amounts collected, expenses of administration and fines in the different cases. Another was passed on April 26 asking for a return showing the amount of

[Mr. Speaker.]

liquor imported into Canada from 1913 to 1919. Another was passed on May 26 asking for a return showing the average prices of anthracite coal from 1914 to the present. Another was passed on June 14 asking for a return showing the names of insurance companies which have complied with section 115 of the Insurance Act of 1910, chapter 157. All these returns are important, and I hope the ministers will find time to lay them on the table of the House before the end of the session. I wish to call special attention to the order respecting the list of Grand Trunk shareholders. I insist on this one especially.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I shall direct the attention of the ministers to my hon. friend's request. It brings back to me some old memories, because I recollect that on one occasion, as leader of the Opposition I read out a list of about three typewritten pages of returns that had been ordered during the then session and two previous sessions and which had not been brought down. The failure to bring down returns seems to be common to all administrations but I shall endeavour to expedite these returns.

Mr. BELAND: When the right hon. gentleman is leader of the Opposition we shall see that he gets his returns.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR (Antigonish and Guysborough): More than a year ago I obtained an order of the House of Commons for the production of all correspondence relating to the appointment of a Lieutenant Governor for Prince Edward Island. The order has not yet been complied with. I should like to know when I may expect the return to be brought down.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I do not think there is any correspondence; at all events, any that can be brought down, but I shall make inquiry.

#### THE BOARD OF COMMERCE.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. M. STEELE (South Perth): In view of the fact that all three members of the Board of Commerce have resigned, and that there is now no board in existence, is it still necessary that merchants and others shall continue to supply the reports demanded by the former members of the board, and especially the report of the monthly purchases and sales by retail grocers.

Rt. Hon. Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister): My hon. friend is not quite ac-

curate in his estimate of the situation. Mr. O'Connor's resignation does not take effect until the 30th day of the present month. Mr. Murdock's resignation will be accepted as soon as an opportunity can be afforded of making the necessary recommendation to His Excellency the Governor General. In the meantime, I should consider it highly advisable that the merchants and other persons mentioned should continue to supply the reports as required.

**CIVIL SERVICE ACT AMENDMENT.**  
**CONSIDERATION OF AMENDMENTS BY SENATE TO BILL 53.—OBSERVANCE OF HOLIDAYS.**

The House proceeded to the further consideration of amendments made by the Senate to Bill No. 53, to amend the Civil Service Act, 1918, and the Civil Service Amendment Act, 1919.

Rt. Hon. Sir R. L. BORDEN (Prime Minister): When I moved the adjournment of the debate last Wednesday, I had not then made research into the law as it stood before the Civil Service Act of 1918 was enacted, or into the precise effect of the amendment introduced by the Senate. Since then I have had opportunity of having a memorandum prepared, which was submitted to me only to-day, and I think it is my duty to state its purport to the House. There seems to be no general statute declaring what shall be public holidays throughout Canada. The following appears to be the present state of the law:

First, there are holidays by common law, what are known as common law holidays. These are Sundays, Good Friday and Christmas Day. In addition to that, there are public holidays so declared by statute—Dominion Day and Victoria Day. Other days, so far as they are observed as general public holidays, are observed either as a result of a proclamation of the Governor General in Council or by custom.

The Revised Statutes of Canada, chapter 24, An Act Respecting the Public Revenue, prescribes in section 91, certain public holidays for the officers and persons employed in the collection and management of the revenue, as follows:

No day shall be kept as a public holiday by the officers and persons employed in the collection and management of the revenue, except Christmas Day, New Year's Day and Good Friday in every year, any day appointed by proclamation of the Governor General for the purpose of a general fast, or of a general thanksgiving, such days as are appointed for

the celebration of the birthday of His Majesty and His Royal successors, and any other statutory holiday, and any other such days as are, from time to time appointed as holidays by the Governor in Council.

The Bills of Exchange Act, in section 43, declares that in all matters relating to Bills of Exchange certain days shall be observed as legal holidays and non-judicial days, as follows:

In all matters relating to bills of exchange the following, and no other days shall be observed as legal holidays or non-judicial days:

(a) In all provinces of Canada: Sundays, New Year's Day, Good Friday, Easter Monday, Victoria Day, Dominion Day, Labour Day, Christmas Day.

The birthday (or the day fixed by proclamation for the celebration of the birthday) of the reigning sovereign;

Any day appointed by proclamation for a public holiday, or for a general fast, or a general thanksgiving throughout Canada.

The day next following New Year's Day, Christmas Day, Victoria Day, Dominion Day, and the birthday of the sovereign when such days respectively fall on Sunday.

(b) In the province of Quebec in addition to the said days: Epiphany, The Ascension, All Saints' Day, Conception Day.

(c) In any one of the provinces of Canada, any day appointed by proclamation of the Lieutenant Governor of such province for a public holiday, or for a fast or thanksgiving within the same, and any non-judicial day by virtue of a statute of such province.

Mr. BELAND: Is the right hon. gentleman quoting from the statute?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I am quoting, as I have said, from the Bills of Exchange Act. My hon. friend will observe that I have quoted from two statutes, first, from the Act respecting the Public Revenue, and secondly, from the Bills of Exchange Act.

The Interpretation Act, subsection 11 of section 34, defines holidays as follows:

(11) "holiday" includes Sundays, New Year's Day, the Epiphany, Good Friday, the Ascension, All Saints' Day, Conception Day, Easter Monday, Ash Wednesday, Christmas Day, the birthday or the day fixed by proclamation for the celebration of the birthday of the reigning sovereign, Victoria Day, Dominion Day, the first Monday in September, designated Labour Day, and any day appointed by proclamation for a general fast of thanksgiving.

Hon. gentlemen will observe that this is simply a definition of the word "holiday." It does not declare that these days are holidays, but it declares that when the word "holiday" is used in any statute it shall include the days which are enumerated in the subsection that I have just read.

Now, up to 1918 there was no provision in the Civil Service Act which made any of these days a public holiday. To bring

about any such result it would be necessary to find in the Civil Service Act a declaration that the civil servants were to be relieved of their duties on holidays, and no such provision whether by implication or otherwise was to be found in the Civil Service Act up to 1918. Therefore, I should like to point out to my hon. friends on the other side of the House who have raised this question, that up to that time, and indeed up to the present time, the arrangement with regard to religious holidays such as are mentioned here was entirely a matter of custom and of convention in Ottawa. The civil servants were not entitled to them as a matter of right, but they received the privilege as a matter of custom and of convention. I want to make that absolutely plain to my hon. friends on the other side and to all the members of the House, because the effect of the Senate amendment is very closely related to that fact, which I believe to be undoubted, from the information supplied to me in the memorandum from which I have been quoting.

Now, in the Civil Service Act of 1918 we find this provision:

The deputy head may grant to each officer, clerk or other employee a yearly leave of absence for a period not exceeding eighteen days in any one fiscal year, exclusive of Sundays and holidays, after they have been at least one year in the service.

That provision as it appeared in the revised statutes of 1906, chapter 16, section 101, was as follows:

The head of a department may grant to each officer, clerk or other employee, leave of absence for purposes of recreation for a period not exceeding three weeks in each year.

My hon. friends will observe that in the section as it stood up to 1918 there was no reference to the Sundays and holidays. The word "holidays" was introduced for the first time in 1918, and it might be argued that by implication the provisions of the Interpretation Act were brought into force and therefore the holidays enumerated in the Revised Statutes ought to take effect in respect of the Civil Service. We made inquiry as to where this particular amendment came from and how it came to be introduced into the legislation of 1918; and the secretary of the Civil Service Commission informs us that there was no special reason for introducing it and that it was not the intention of the Civil Service Commission to bring about any such result as that which might be deduced from the use of the word in that way.

Now, I should like to point out that the introduction of a number of holidays into

[Sir Robert Borden.]

the Civil Service Act is undesirable for the reason that if such a provision is applied to the inside service it cannot very well be withheld from the outside service. A regulation was established last year by the Civil Service Commission and approved of by the Governor in Council which not only gives a special allowance to persons who work on a public holiday on which they are not required to work, but further provides that they are to be remunerated at the rate of "time and a half," as it is called. Therefore, to establish a number of holidays by the Civil Service Act might entail upon the public revenues of Canada a very considerable burden. We have addressed ourselves to the Civil Service Commission with regard to the Senate amendment and they have made a statement to us from which I extract the following:

The Civil Service Commission is of the opinion that this amendment should be approved inasmuch as none of these five days are observed as holidays in the banking or commercial world throughout the Dominion generally; and it is found that the closing of Government offices on these days is a matter of very serious inconvenience to the public.

The commission further advise that some years ago the civil servants enjoyed a holiday on Corpus Christi, St. Peter and St. Paul's day and other Saint days of the same nature; that these were struck off the list a number of years ago and that the reasons which led to such action are equally applicable to the elimination of the other days alluded to.

As a net result of what I have said I need only emphasize these two points: first, that up to 1918, and indeed up to the present time—because the Act of 1918 was never regarded as having the effect I have suggested—the arrangements with regard to the exemption of civil servants on certain days of religious observance has been entirely a matter of custom and convention and not a matter of law; and, second, as a consequence of that (putting aside for the moment the legislation of 1918), the amendment proposed by the Senate confers a right which was never conferred before, inasmuch as it gives the force of law to that which before had merely the force of custom and convention.

In the circumstances I hope that my hon. friends who have advanced their opinions, as it was their perfect right to do, with regard to this matter will realize that the Senate amendment is not of the character that they suggest. While it does not go so far as I would desire nevertheless it does give the force of law to an established custom as to certain days of religious ob-

servance, although there was no such force attached to the observance of these days in the years that have elapsed since Confederation.

Hon. H. S. BELAND (Beauce): May I ask the right hon. gentleman whether should some of the civil servants find it a religious obligation for them to attend church on, say, Epiphany, All Saints' Day, Ascension Day, and Conception Day, they could avail themselves of the privilege to do so?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: They have availed themselves of that privilege during the past fifty years without any statutory provision whatever, and I can assure my hon. friend that it is not the intention of this Government to depart from or to violate in any way the custom that has thus prevailed.

Hon. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX (Maison-neuve-Gaspé): Must I conclude from the remarks of the Prime Minister that the Government concurs in the amendment of the Senate?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Yes.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Well, while I appreciate what has been stated by the Prime Minister, knowing his broad views on religious matters, I cannot but regret that we so to speak consecrate in the law of the land a principle which, up to the present time, has not been considered as part and parcel of our legislation. I am not accustomed to pay compliments to my hon. friend from Frontenac (Mr. Edwards), but I must tender him on this occasion my sincere congratulations on the broad spirit in which the other day he regarded this amendment. It does good at times, Mr. Speaker, to have an Orangeman and a Catholic stand together for the maintenance of a principle involving tolerance and freedom. Now, I appeal to my right hon. friend. He states, and he is right in stating, that since Confederation there has been no impediment imposed by any of the departments of the Government to prevent public officials from attending their religious duties whenever, on certain days, they find themselves under a religious obligation to do so. The British constitution, Mr. Speaker, is made up of precedents, of old usages, and of customs, most of them not embalmed in the Statute Book. That is the spirit of the British constitution. Freedom, as Tennyson says, "broadening slowly down from precedent to precedent," until it has become what we know it as today. Why should we in Canada, not re-

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spect ancient usages and time-honoured customs which have been accepted by both elements of our population, Protestants and Catholics alike? Since Confederation we have had in the office of Prime Minister of Canada Sir John A. Macdonald, the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, Sir John Thompson, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, Sir Charles Tupper, Sir John Abbott, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and the present incumbent, the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Borden. Never has this question been raised in any way, shape or form. It has been practically admitted that in this capital city of the Dominion, Roman Catholics in the Civil Service could attend religious service on these holidays, and that nobody would take exception to it. I am sure that nobody in this House, whether he be a staunch Orangeman, like the hon. member for Dufferin (Mr. Best), whether he be a Presbyterian, or a Methodist, will take exception to the fact that these religious holidays have been kept. Why should we not accept the precedent which has been created, which has been observed and which has never been challenged—

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Nobody is challenging it.

Mr. LEMIEUX: No, but if we agree to the amendment of the Senate we depart from the custom which has been established. We do away with a time-honoured usage and we may not always have a Prime Minister who is so broad-minded as is the right hon. gentleman. He says that no exception will be taken to the observance of these holidays. Well and good, but still under the amendment of the Senate in which we are asked to concur, these holidays will be done away with.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: No.

Mr. LEMIEUX: That is as I understand it.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I should like to make it plain to the hon. gentleman. If there was no statutory provision on the subject, matters would go on in this country exactly as they have done for the past fifty years. It would continue to depend upon custom and convention to which my hon. friend has alluded. Now the Senate have given the force of law to a portion of that custom and convention.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I take it that under the amendment of the Senate it is for the future decided that certain religious holidays which have existed by custom since Confederation are abolished.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I thought I had informed my hon. friend that the acceptance of the Senate amendment is not intended to disturb the custom and convention that has existed for something like fifty years.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I am quite ready to accept my right hon. friend's word. I shall never doubt it, but at all events I understood that the amendment of the Senate did what I have stated. I may be wrong, but that is my understanding. If my right hon. friend says that nothing will be changed in the customs and usages acceded to on all sides and intended to create in this capital city a spirit of tolerance and broadmindedness, I am very glad to accept the declaration.

Sir SAM HUGHES: If the Bill passes as the Senate have amended it, what about the civil servants on these holidays? Will they be able to take a holiday or have to go to the office?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: The practice that has been observed in the past will be continued. It has been the practice in the past, I think, to include all the days that are referred to by my hon. friends on the other side of the House. These days will continue to be observed in the future in the way in which they have been observed in the past. The sole purpose accomplished by the Bill, even as amended by the Senate, is to take two of these holidays out of the status of custom and convention and transfer them to the status of law.

Mr. BUREAU: If I understand rightly, there are certain feasts which affect Catholics and which are enumerated in the interpretation clause of the Revised Statutes under the word "holidays." The Prime Minister states that those who profess the Catholic religion hereafter will not be affected by these restrictions which are made in the Civil Service Act. Is my interpretation correct when I say that Epiphany, Ascension Day, All Saints' Day, and the feast of the Immaculate Conception are not included and that it is not intended to enforce upon people who do not belong to the Roman Catholic Church the observance of these feasts, but that those who belong to the Catholic religion shall be at liberty to observe them according to the laws of their church without any deduction of pay if the observance should take any of the time which they ought to give to the public service?

[Mr. Lemieux.]

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I thought I had made myself perfectly plain a great many times.

Mr. BELAND: It is right that my hon. friend (Mr. Bureau) should have the answer because he has put the question more clearly than I did.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I have said two or three times that so far as these days of religious observance, and religious duty are concerned, the whole matter has rested on custom and convention. It would have been far better, I think, if this had not been disturbed by the Senate. The effect of our action is simply to transfer from custom and convention two days which formerly depended solely thereon. These two days are transferred to the list of public holidays which must be observed in the Civil Service as a matter of law. I would have preferred to have had the matter left as it originally was; that is to say, resting upon custom and convention, but hon. gentlemen will understand that we are most anxious to avoid the defeat of this Bill and that there is a possibility, and even a strong probability, that it will be defeated unless we concur in this amendment. I hope hon. gentlemen will accept the assurance on behalf of the Government that this custom and convention which has prevailed in the past will continue in the future.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I would have liked to have had from the right hon. gentleman an expression of opinion on the other amendment excluding the Senate officials from the operation of the Civil Service Act.

Mr. SPEAKER: That has been disposed of.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: We declined to concur.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Very well.

Sir SAM HUGHES: What is the custom in the Quebec legislature—are these holidays observed there?

Mr. BUREAU: Yes.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I would suggest that if there are to be any holidays observed, the "17th of Ireland" and the twelfth of July might very properly be observed.

Mr. LEMIEUX: The motion can pass "on division."

Motion agreed to on division, and Senate amendment read a second time and concurred in. \*

## POST OFFICE ACT AMENDMENT.

Hon. MARTIN BURRELL (for the Postmaster General) moved concurrence in the amendments made by the Senate to Bill No. 167, to amend the Post Office Act. He said: The amendments made by the Senate are to remove the ambiguity that seems to have been in the Bill under which it was supposed weekly newspapers were not included in the three-quarters of a cent rate.

Motion agreed to.

## INLAND REVENUE ACT AMENDMENT.

Hon. MARTIN BURRELL moved concurrence in an amendment made by the Senate to Bill No. 178 to amend the Inland Revenue Act. He said: The amendment made by the Senate strikes out a clause in the Bill which provided for a new definition of standard leaf tobacco in regard to the moisture content. There have been a great many representations from different tobacco manufacturers all over the country that it would involve great hardship to adjust themselves suddenly to the provisions of this clause, and on the whole we have thought it better to postpone the matter and allow the clause to go.

Motion agreed to.

## BANKRUPTCY ACT AMENDMENT.

Hon. HUGH GUTHRIE (Acting Solicitor general) moved concurrence in amendments made by the Senate to Bill No. 126, to amend the Bankruptcy Act.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: What is the nature of the amendments?

Mr. GUTHRIE: The Senate has undertaken to strike out two of the clauses of the Bill to amend the Bankruptcy Act which this House passed this session. The first is in relation to the fees and remuneration of trustees under the Act. Under the original Act these fees were limited to five per cent of the estate. Under the Act which this House passed this session, power was given to increase that amount with the consent of the inspectors or of the court. The Senate has refused to pass that amendment and has stricken it out from the Bill. The second amendment refers to solicitors' costs. The provision in the Act which passed this House last session was that the costs of solicitors, attorneys and the like should not exceed five per cent of the estate. Under the amendment which was made during the present session these costs were to be taxed

according to a tariff to be fixed by general rule. The Senate has likewise stricken out that amendment. In my opinion these two clauses improve the Bill, and I would not like to say on behalf of the Government that they have been abandoned. At the same time I do not think any difficulty will come through the action of the Senate during the next six or eight months; and I think as an experiment—indeed the whole Act is experimental—we may as well concur in these amendments at the present time. If, however, it becomes necessary at a future time the Government may seek the opportunity to restore the two clauses in question.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: What will be the tariff of solicitors as a result of these amendments?

Mr. GUTHRIE: Under the Act, five per cent of the estate will be the maximum amount that can be charged.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: I understand that the Act comes into force on the 1st of July. Have the necessary trustees been appointed?

Mr. GUTHRIE: I could not answer that question; the administration of the Act is in the hands of the Secretary of State.

Mr. SPEAKER: That question has already been submitted on two or three occasions on the Orders of the Day. I do not know that it is in order at this stage of the proceedings.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: I was under the impression, Mr. Speaker, that the amendment of the Senate referred to the appointment of trustees.

Mr. GUTHRIE: It does not refer to the appointment of trustees but to their remuneration.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: The question I asked was whether the trustees had been appointed.

Mr. SPEAKER: The Government has already answered that very question.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: The information is not very precise.

Mr. McKENZIE: Do I understand that the action of the Senate restores the old sections?

Mr. GUTHRIE: The Act will remain as it passed last session with respect to the two sections in question.

Motion agreed to.

### YUKON PLACER MINING ACT AMENDMENT.

Hon. ARTHUR MEIGHEN (Minister of the Interior) moved concurrence in the amendments made by the Senate to Bill No. 152 to amend the Yukon Placer Mining Act. He said: The amendments of the Senate are not at all material; indeed the word "clerical" could be used to describe them. I am prepared to recommend the acceptance of the amendments.

Motion agreed to.

### DOMINION FRANCHISE ACT.

On the order for the House to again go into committee on Bill No. 12 respecting the election of members of the House of Commons and the electoral franchise.

Mr. GUTHRIE: May I ask the consent of the House to refer back to the committee of the whole the report made on Thursday last in respect of clauses 19 and 76. I beg to move:

That the report of the Committee of the Whole on sections 19 and 76 of the Electoral Franchise Act, Bill No. 12, received on the 24th of June, be referred back to the committee for further consideration and amendment.

Mr. SPEAKER: This motion, of course, can only be made by unanimous consent.

Motion agreed to, and the House went into committee, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

Mr. GUTHRIE: On Thursday resolutions were passed through the committee in respect to sections 19 and 76 of the Franchise Act. Section 19 is the section which provides for the appointment of a Chief Electoral Officer and fixes the salary of that official. Seventy-six is the section which provides for the payment of fees to election officials for the conduct of an election. It is only proposed now to amend the first part of that resolution, that applying to section 19 and the office of Chief Electoral Officer. The amendment which I now propose, and which I may say has been assented to by the deputy of His Excellency the Governor General, is as follows:

Resolved, that it is expedient to provide in the proposed Act respecting the election of members of the House of Commons and the Electoral Franchise (Bill No. 12) now before the House that the Chief Electoral Officer shall be from time to time paid the same salary and superannuation allowance as a puisne judge of the Supreme Court of Canada.

That he shall also be paid his reasonable travelling and living expenses while absent from Ottawa on the business of his office.

[Mr. Guthrie.]

That is the only change in the resolution. The formal motion to bring that change about I now beg to move and it is as follows:

That the resolution respecting the election of members of the House of Commons and the Electoral Franchise adopted on Thursday, the 24th day of June, 1920, be amended by striking out all the words between the words "paid for his services" in the third line of the resolution as printed and the words "Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada" in the eighth line inclusive and by substituting therefor the following words, "shall be from time to time paid the same salary and superannuation allowance as a puisne judge of the Supreme Court of Canada: that he shall also be paid his reasonable travelling and living expenses while absent from Ottawa on the business of his office; that any sums payable to him hereunder shall be paid out of any unappropriated moneys forming part of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada."

I should perhaps explain the object of the proposed amendment. The Bill provided for the appointment of the Parliamentary Counsel of the House of Commons to the office of Chief Electoral Officer. I do not know that the matter received as full consideration as it perhaps should have received when that section was drafted. However, upon further consideration of the matter, and after consulting my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition, it is now proposed to appoint to the office of Chief Electoral Officer Mr. O. M. Biggar, K.C., of the City of Ottawa—a gentleman who is at the present time retained by the Government, in the capacity of counsel, at a salary of \$10,000 a year. Under the proposed resolution Colonel Biggar, as Chief Electoral Officer, would receive the same salary as a puisne judge of the Supreme Court. That salary now is \$9,000 a year, but in view of the resolution on the Votes and Proceedings as it appears to-day—and which, I assume, will be passed—the salary will be increased to \$12,000. So that Colonel Biggar as Chief Electoral Officer will be in receipt of a salary of \$12,000,—that would be \$2,000 more than his present salary. It was proposed in the resolution which passed the committee on Thursday to grant an allowance of \$2,000 additional to the Parliamentary Counsel for his work under the Electoral Franchise Act. So in reality there is no actual increase proposed by this amendment. Colonel Biggar, as Chief Government Counsel, now receives a salary of \$10,000, and when he becomes Chief Electoral Officer he will receive \$12,000.

When clause 19 as redrafted is placed before the committee it will be found that the first charge on Colonel Biggar's time will be his duties under the Electoral Franchise

Act, and that all his other time will be at the disposal of the Government free. He will not be entitled to take any private practice; his full time must be given to Government work, but the first claim on his time will be in connection with his duties as Chief Electoral Officer.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Will he still act as counsel for the Government generally?

Mr. GUTHRIE: Yes, in any matters outside his duties as Chief Electoral Officer. He will be bound to perform without further remuneration any other duties in the way of counsel work, inquiry or the like, which the Government may ask him to perform.

Mr. POWER: Will he be an employee of the Department of Justice?

Mr. GUTHRIE: No, of the House of Commons.

Mr. POWER: But as Chief Government Counsel?

Mr. GUTHRIE: He will be at the direction of the Attorney General so far as counsel work is concerned.

Mr. POWER: Of the Solicitor General?

Mr. GUTHRIE: But he shall do all such further work as the Government may instruct him to do. I am satisfied that in Colonel Biggar's appointment we have made an excellent choice. I am perhaps as familiar as anybody with the present Franchise Bill, and I am satisfied that we want a man in charge as Chief Electoral Officer who is thoroughly un-partisan, who has youth on his side, who is thoroughly qualified as a lawyer, and who is of a judicial temperament and capable of coming to rapid decisions upon difficult legal problems which will arise under the Act, and I am satisfied that Colonel Biggar possesses all these qualifications in an eminent degree. The Government has very great confidence in recommending him for the appointment, and it is gratifying to know that the Government's action in this respect concerning the Franchise Bill has, I think, the unqualified concurrence of my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition.

I have therefore much pleasure in moving that the resolution be  
3 p.m. amended as I have read it to the House.

Mr. FIELDING: What will be the tenure of office?

Mr. GUTHRIE: As stated in the Bill. This is only the financial clause.

Mr. FRIPP: Is the Mr. O. M. Biggar referred to Mr. Oliver Mowat Biggar?

Mr. GUTHRIE: Yes.

Mr. FRIPP: Then it would require some stretch of the imagination on the part of most of us to adhere to the idea that he is non-partisan. I understand that when Mr. Oliver Mowat Biggar resided in Edmonton he was a very active politician on the Liberal side.

Mr. WHITE: Not at all.

Mr. FRIPP: That is my information. Then I would like to ask the minister in charge why it is necessary to change from the Parliamentary Counsel, who undoubtedly is non-partisan and who has had a long experience in the service of the Government. I would further like to have some information as to the duties performed by Mr. Biggar in the Department of Justice. If he is Chief Counsel in that department at \$10,000 a year, why is it necessary to retain Mr. Tilley to conduct the arbitration proceedings in respect to the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway system?

Mr. GUTHRIE: I am not very familiar with the proceedings in connection with the Grand Trunk arbitration, and therefore I do not know that I could give my hon. friend an answer to that question. I do know from all inquiries that I have made—and I have inquired in a good many directions—that I am assured, and I think my colleagues in the Government have been assured, that Mr. Biggar is in no sense of the word a partisan, and never has been. He is not now and I do not think ever has been actively engaged in politics. So far as his legal attainments are concerned, I think his standing at the Bar is known throughout the length and breadth of the country. I am aware that since the beginning of the year, at all events, his time has been very fully engaged in Government Counsel work—not always before the courts, but in respect to various Government commissions. It has been found very much cheaper for the Department of Justice to employ Mr. Biggar at a straight salary of \$10,000 than to employ counsel, as has been the practice for many years heretofore, as and when we require them. I may tell my hon. friend that counsel fees have gone up enormously, and it is no uncommon thing to have to pay a fee of \$5,000, and perhaps more, in a single case. I think the Government has had that experience. I am satisfied that the salary paid to Mr. Biggar saves a large amount

of money annually to the Government in counsel fees.

Mr. FRIPP: The minister has missed the point. The point of the amendment is that the Chief Electoral Officer shall be given the same superannuation as a puisne judge. When you retain counsel you do not superannuate him; you pay him for the work he does, and that is an end of the matter. Why should this gentleman be given superannuation the same as a puisne judge simply because he is a special officer of the Department of Justice at a salary of \$10,000? It is absolutely unfair to the rest of the service to select one man for this favoured treatment. Why should he because he is holding these dual positions be given superannuation the same as a puisne judge of the Supreme Court of Canada? It is a new departure, and as far as I am personally concerned I desire to register my protest against it, because if this proposal is carried into effect you leave the door open to other men employed in the Government service the same right to come here and ask to be paid superannuation upon a much higher scale than they can get under the present Civil Service Act.

Mr. GUTHRIE: This is not a case of superannuation, at all. The object of the Government and, I fancy, the object of the House is to appoint to the position of Chief Electoral Officer a man who is absolutely removed from political influence or control, who is at the beck or call of nobody. In order to have such a man, you must make his tenure of office secure, absolutely removed from the power of the Government to displace the individual from office. I may say that Colonel Biggar is not an applicant for this position. He has been consulted on several occasions and finally he has agreed to accept the position. He is a young man, an active practitioner, and the salary involved would be nothing to a man of his prospects. In order, however, to secure a man in permanent position absolutely removed from political influence, we have agreed to give him the same tenure of office as that of a Supreme Court judge, with the same salary and the same retiring allowance if he lives to entitle himself to such. That is the object we sought to attain. We are not adding this on to his present duties. We are creating this office by Act of Parliament for the first time in Canada. We realize that after the work is organized, as he will organize it, it will not take all his time. In years when there is

[Mr. Guthrie.]

no general election, the work will take only a small portion of his time, and we want to utilize his ability during those off years. This is too large a salary to pay a man for work of this character, unless he has other duties to perform. We intend, therefore, to use his ability as much as possible during all the intervening years when there is no general election, and I think, in the end, we are going to save money by so doing. This will certainly relieve us of the necessity, in many important cases, of employing eminent counsel.

Mr. LAPOINTE: I am glad, indeed, to agree with the Minister of Militia on at least one feature of this law. If we accept the principle that there must be a Chief Electoral Officer, that man must be independent of the Government of the day, and he must be placed in such a position as to make him independent of any Government or party. The only way to do that is to place him in the same position as the judges of the land and, therefore, I am in perfect accord with this disposition. I have not the pleasure of knowing Colonel Biggar personally, but I have been told that he is a well qualified lawyer and a gentleman who would not lend himself to anything that would not be just and fair to everybody. I certainly support this resolution.

Mr. BEST: I am not opposed to the salary which it is proposed to pay, but I think when an employee of the Government is in receipt of a salary of ten thousand to twelve thousand dollars a year, that ought to be sufficient. Many people living to-day in Canada have done very much more for this country than many men who are superannuated, and I am strictly opposed to the superannuation of any one. I do not believe in bringing up a race of paupers in this country. It will soon be that all the lawyers will be superannuated—

Mr. LAPOINTE: That might be better for the community.

Mr. BEST: —and we may later have the doctors superannuated. I am in favour of paying every Government employee a good salary and of letting them take care of what they get and save something for the future. Ninety-five per cent of the people of the Dominion of Canada, if misfortune should overtake them, have no superannuation to fall back upon and they would have to go to the poor house. That being the case, is it any wonder that the common people of this country are rising up to oppose this principle of superannuation? I think it is a great crime. We have to-day in our county

an example of two gentlemen, one of whom has retired and is drawing his superannuation right along and another man who has been appointed and is drawing the same salary, so that we are paying two salaries. I would suggest paying this gentleman enough, if that be \$20,000 a year, but do not have any superannuation.

Mr. MORPHY: I quite appreciate the view of my hon. friend, but I think he is on the wrong basis. It seems to me that the main thing to be aimed at in this particular employee is fixity of tenure of office. The point of paying a man \$20,000 to avoid the principle of what my hon. friend calls "superannuation" does not apply in this case. In a position of this kind, if the gentleman lives to an age that would entitle a judge to a retiring allowance, it is only reasonable that the country, having paid for his services in the same way as for the services of a judge, should follow the same principle in regard to retiring allowance. I have no doubt that, unless we secure a man who is competent and who is prepared to devote his every energy to the work, we shall get into the same state as the country was in at the last general election. I think hon. members will find their experience was the same as my own, that that Election Act was in a state of chaotic jumble. There is no question about that, and I had to make many inquiries, being unable to solve many of the sections myself. I felt it would have been a great convenience if we had had a central authority, similar to the proposition now before the committee, to whom the candidates throughout the Dominion could have applied by wire and received in return a quick response by wire from a man who had organized the staff, who had studied the law, who had mastered all the details, who has a pre-eminent ability to construe sections of the Act. That would have saved the country a great deal of heart-burning and trouble, and it would have been better for the Government if they had had a really expert man at the head of proceedings at that time.

Mr. LEMIEUX: All the experts were in England.

Mr. MORPHY: Yes, by the way, Colonel Oliver Mowat Biggar was in England doing his bit, as I understand, in the country's interest in the Great War. I should not think that would be anything to his discredit. I believe the principle involved in this is sound. It may be said,

as the hon. member intimated, that the salary is large.

Mr. BEST: I did not say that the salary was large; I spoke about the superannuation.

Mr. MORPHY: The hon. gentleman will give \$20,000 a year instead of \$10,000 in order to get rid of the superannuation.

Mr. BEST: I did not say that. I said "if it was necessary".

Mr. MORPHY: There was a string to it, a qualification.

Mr. BEST: Yes.

Mr. MORPHY: To my mind, if the hon. gentleman meant that, it would cost this country a very large sum to capitalize \$20,000 a year if this gentleman should live long enough to entitle him to a retiring allowance at the end of his tenure of office.

As regards the remarks of the hon. member for Ottawa (Mr. Fripp) I have made some inquiries about Colonel Biggar and I have never heard anything derogatory to him. I have never heard that he was a partisan, nor that he took active part in elections, and as this Act is intended to be a non-partisan Act, a fair Act for all parties in this country, the logical thing to do is to put a non-partisan into the position. I think Colonel Biggar is such a man. I do not think it is fair to assume a man is partisan because he happens to be called Oliver Mowat Biggar. The name is an honourable one.

Mr. LAPOINTE: The name sounds good.

Mr. MORPHY: It was a name with which men used often to conjure, and as we have in the seats of the Liberal-Unionists on this side a gentleman named Mowat who is a nephew of the late Hon. Oliver Mowat, and whom my hon. friend (Mr. Fripp) is content to sit with, surely he can extend the same courtesy and consideration to a gentleman who bears the same name as an hon. member who sits on the same side of the House.

Mr. LEMIEUX: He will be a judge before long.

Mr. BEST: I did not state that I was opposed to a Chief Electoral Officer being appointed; I believe that is the proper thing to do, and I have no fault to find with the man whose name has been mentioned. If the hon. member for Perth North (Mr. Morphy) is referring to the last provincial election in Ontario, then he has a good idea of what has happened in regard to

extreme salaries, insurance and pensions. I would have thought that the Government would have learnt a lesson from that, to be a little careful about pensions. Mr. Biggar may be a good man but I am opposed to any one in this country getting a pension from the Government, and I shall always vote against it. I will support the payment of good salaries, but I am wholly opposed to pensions. People who live in the country, after working hard all their lives, and who find themselves through some misfortune without means in their old age, have nothing before them but the county poorhouse, and I can see no reason why this Government should undertake to look after one class of people more than another. Let us pay a man well for his services, but let there be no pensions.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I ask my hon. friend if I am right in understanding that what he is now proposing makes no change whatever from what was proposed in the Bill as originally presented, except as to the person to be appointed. As I read the Bill as introduced by the minister it provides that the Chief Electoral Officer shall hold office upon the same tenure, and be removable only for cause and in the same manner as judges of the superior courts of the provinces. My hon. friend proposes to leave the Act in that particular just as it is—

Mr. GUTHRIE: Yes.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING:—so that the present proposal of my hon. friend does not affect one way or the other the tenure of office or the salary or any other feature of this provision except that it mentions a particular officer for the position.

In regard to Mr. Biggar, whose name is suggested, I may say that my hon. friend did mention to me that the Government had in mind asking Mr. Biggar to accept this position. He asked me whether in the event of Mr. Biggar being willing to accept the position I thought his appointment would be acceptable to members on this side of the House, as being that of a type of gentleman in whom in the administration of this Act the country would have confidence. I replied that I had every confidence in Mr. Biggar. Let me say, however, to my hon. friend from Ottawa that I mentioned to the minister at the time that so far as I was aware, Mr. Biggar, at the last election, was a supporter of Union Government. As my hon. friend knows, I

[Mr. Best.]

was opposed to the Union Government. If being a supporter of the Government was an evidence of partisanship, Mr. Biggar was certainly a partisan on that occasion. On the other hand I have reason to believe that Mr. Biggar in the judgment that he exercised at that time, took the position he did from an independent mind. He took, I believe, the course which seemed to him right and proper. I have the highest admiration for his character. I think he will prove an honourable and an efficient public servant, and although the fact that he supported this Government in the last election is a misfortune, I do not think that should be held against him indefinitely. I am prepared to say that as far as we on this side of the House are concerned we have implicit confidence in his integrity and ability.

Mr. CROTHERS: There is I think one aspect of this proposal that is objectionable. I think we are all agreed that to discharge the duties of this office we should have an honest and a capable man, one who would not be influenced one way or the other by partisanship. It is claimed that if this man were appointed, he would be entirely independent of the Government. Now this is where the inconsistency comes in as I see it. It is stated, I think, by the Acting Solicitor General, and it is generally understood, that this officer will be employed in this office only one year out of five, and that in the other four years he will be under the control of the Government. So he will not be independent of the Government at all. In these four years he would be getting directions from the Government telling him to take this position as a partisan or as a politician, and to take that position as a partisan or as a politician. That goes on for four years, and then in the fifth year he is expected to be absolutely unpartisan. I do not think it can be done.

I quite agree with my hon. friend from Dufferin as to pensions. I think my views on superannuation and pensions are very well known in this House. I do not approve of that aspect of the proposal. I think if this were to go through, we would have scores of men in the public service asking us in the near future to place them on the same basis as a judge of the Supreme Court of Ontario, or of the Supreme Court of Canada. Pensions and superannuation I do not like. I repeat that when a man is under the control and direction of the Government for four years out of five, I do

not think it can be said that he is absolutely a non-partisan.

Mr. MACKIE (Edmonton East): I have not heard all the discussion, but I heard Mr. Biggar's name mentioned. I am very pleased to say that I am personally acquainted with Mr. Biggar who comes from the city of Edmonton. He has only one fault to my knowledge, and that is that he was a Grit at one time, but fortunately he has ceased to be that. I agree with every word that has been spoken in commendation of him by my hon. friend. Mr. Biggar is a man of courage, of excellent reputation, and of integrity, and I would have ample confidence in him if appointed to this office.

Amendment agreed to

Resolution reported.

On the motion of Hon. Mr. Guthrie the resolution as amended was referred to the Committee of the Whole to be considered in connection with Bill No. 12, respecting the election of members of the House of Commons and the electorate franchise.

On section 19—Chief Electoral Officer:

Mr. GUTHRIE: I beg to move that clauses 19 and 20 be stricken from the Bill and that the following be substituted therefor:

The CHAIRMAN: The first motion should be for re-consideration, by unanimous consent, of clause 20, which has been adopted.

Mr. GUTHRIE: I beg to move by unanimous consent that clause 20, which has already been adopted, be now re-considered.

Motion agreed to.

On section 20—staff and temporary assistants:

Mr. GUTHRIE: I beg to move that clauses 19 and 20 be stricken from the Bill and that the following be substituted therefor:

19. Oliver Mowat Biggar, of the city of Ottawa, one of His Majesty's counsel, is hereby appointed Chief Electoral Officer. He shall hold office on the same tenure, be removable only for cause and in the same manner and be from time to time paid the salary and superannuation allowance as a puisne judge of the Supreme Court of Canada. He shall rank as a deputy head of a department, shall communicate with the Governor General through the Secretary of State of Canada, and in addition to the exercise of the powers and the performance of the duties with respect to elections now exercisable and performable by the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, he shall and may,—

(a) throughout every election properly direct all returning officers and, in case of incompetency or neglect of duty on the part of any of

them, recommend his removal and the appointment of another in his stead.

(b) exercise general direction and supervision over the administrative conduct of elections with a view to ensuring the fairness and impartiality of all election officers and compliance with the provisions of this Act;

(c) report to the House of Commons, through the Speaker, after an election, any matters arising in the course of the election on account of which ought, in his judgment, to be submitted to the House of Commons, and

(d) subject to the performance of the foregoing duties, act as counsel for the Crown or the Attorney General in such causes, prepare such opinions, and make such enquiries as the Governor General in Council may from time to time direct.

(2) The Chief Electoral Officer shall devote himself exclusively to the performance of his duties in the public service.

(3) The Chief Electoral Officer shall be paid his reasonable travelling and living expenses while absent from Ottawa on the business of his office.

(4) Any sums payable to the Chief Electoral Officer shall be paid out of any unappropriated moneys forming part of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada.

(5) In the event of the death of the Chief Electoral Officer while Parliament is not sitting, or of his inability or neglect to perform the duties of his office, a substitute shall, upon the application of the Secretary of State, be appointed by the Chief Justice of Canada, or in his absence by the senior judge of the Supreme Court of Canada then present in Ottawa. Upon his appointment such substitute shall exercise the powers and perform the duties of the Chief Electoral Officer in his place and stand until fifteen days after the commencement of the next following session of Parliament unless the Chief Justice of Canada, or the judge by whom the order appointing him was made, sooner directs that such order be rescinded.

(6) In the absence of both the Chief Justice of Canada and of any judge of the Supreme Court of Canada by whom a substitute for the Chief Electoral Officer has been appointed the order appointing such substitute may be rescinded by any other judge of the said court.

(7) The remuneration of a substitute Chief Electoral Officer may be fixed by the Governor General in Council and shall be part of the general expenses of the election or elections, if any, held during his tenure of office.

Assistant Chief Electoral Officer.

20. (1) Excepting the Chief Electoral Officer and one assistant, to be known as Assistant Chief Electoral Officer, and two stenographers, all of whom shall be appointed by the Governor General in Council, there shall be no permanent officers or employees appointed or paid to perform any duties in connection with elections. The Chief Electoral Officer shall from time to time select and appoint such temporary help as he may require for the proper performance of the duties of his office, first, however, submitting to the Auditor General the name and proposed salary payable to the temporary appointee and obtaining a certificate that such salary is reasonable and that funds are lawfully available for the payment thereof. All such appointees shall be discharged forthwith upon completion of the business of the election for or during which they respectively were engaged.

(2) The Assistant Chief Electoral Officer shall rank in the classification of the Civil Service of Canada as a Head Clerk.

Clause 20 in substance is as it was printed in the Bill, but it has been revised and is more workable in its present form. There has been no change in section 19 except in regard to the appointment of Mr. Biggar and in a precise definition of the duties which he will be expected to perform. In other respects the general tenor of the section remains.

Mr. FIELDING: I did not quite catch the section as read by the minister. How is the permanent successor to Mr. Biggar to be appointed?

Mr. GUTHRIE: He would have to be appointed by Parliament, but there is a provision for an interim appointment, in case of Mr. Biggar's death when Parliament is not sitting.

Mr. FIELDING: It seems to me that the machinery with regard to this appointment is not very well indicated.

Mr. GUTHRIE: I am advised that when a man is specifically named in a statute in the way in which this Bill is drawn there is no power save parliament to appoint a successor. That is the advice I have obtained from Mr. Biggar himself who drew the section.

Mr. FIELDING: That would mean by Act of Parliament.

Mr. GUTHRIE: It would have to be by Act of Parliament—

Mr. FIELDING: Not even by resolution of the House of Commons?

Mr. GUTHRIE:—in which the Senate must concur.

Mr. FIELDING: Well, it does not appear to me that the machinery is set out clearly enough.

Mr. GUTHRIE: This clause, and particularly this aspect of it, has been very carefully considered. It has been pointed out that, in the event of the death of Colonel Biggar, there is no power to appoint a new Chief Electoral Officer but Parliament, which would be the Senate and the House of Commons, and we must therefore provide for an interim appointment in the event of his death before Parliament met. That is the object of the clause.

Mr. FIELDING: The machinery for the interim appointment is clear enough, but I would have thought it necessary to indi-

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cate as clearly as possible by whom the permanent appointment is to be made. However, if the minister has received legal advice on the question I suppose it is all right.

Mr. GUTHRIE: That is the legal advice I have received.

Mr. FIELDING: I must say, however, that on the face of it it does not indicate how the appointment is to be made. Those who have a knowledge of constitutional law might be able to discover the method, but the ordinary man could not.

Mr. GUTHRIE: I presume that if an appointment is made by statute no change can be made except by Parliament itself.

Mr. FIELDING: A constitutional authority may know that but the average man, I venture to say, would not be able to gather the fact from the Bill.

Mr. CROTHERS: In regard to the provision for the filling of the office of the Chief Electoral Officer in case of his death or temporary inability to discharge his duties, it occurs to me that instead of this roundabout procedure of having the appointment made by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, a man who might not know very much about the matter, we might safely provide in the Bill that the Assistant Chief Electoral Officer, for whom this Bill makes provision, should act in his stead. He would be familiar with the work, and if he filled the position during one election he would be very much better qualified to discharge the duties than a new man who might be chosen by the Chief Justice. This would involve no additional salary nor difficulty and I think it would simplify matters and generally save considerable expense.

Sections agreed to.

Mr. GUTHRIE: The Bill has been very carefully revised since the other sections were passed, but there are still some defects in it which might be regarded as clerical errors, although some of them are rather more than of a clerical nature. The law officers have pointed out to me that a number of formal amendments will have to be made to correct these errors. It is proposed to have the Bill printed with all the amendments and to have twenty copies, so printed, distributed before the third reading. I should like the committee to return to clause 76 for reconsideration.

The CHAIRMAN: That clause was not passed.

Mr. GUTHRIE: Then I move to amend it as follows:

By striking out the first sub-clause, by substituting for the first five lines of sub-clause two the following words: "Upon the recommendation of the Chief Electoral Officer, the Governor in Council may make a tariff of fees, costs, allowances and expenses to"; by striking out sub-clause three of the said clause and by printing in Roman characters that portion of the clause which is now printed in italics, with the exception of the word "General" after the word "Governor" which should be stricken from the clause.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. GUTHRIE: Consequential upon the last amendment, I move that Schedule Two be stricken from the Bill and that "Schedules Three and Four" be accordingly re-numbered "Schedules Two and Three" respectively.

Schedule 2 is the tariff of fees for returning officers.

Amendment agreed to.

On section 100—advance polls for railway employees and others:

Mr. GUTHRIE: I move to amend clause 100 by substituting for the words "Schedule Three" where they appear in the fourth, fourteenth and sixty-ninth lines of the said clause, the words "Schedule Two."

Amendment agreed to.

On section 39—disqualifications of candidates.

Mr. GUTHRIE: In line 38 at the foot of page 28, subclause (b), I want to insert before the words "any person" the following words: "The member of the King's Privy Council holding the recognized position of First Minister." That is a section which provides for the disqualification of candidates.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I think I suggested that should go in.

Mr. GUTHRIE: Somebody suggested that, but it was omitted. Mr. Gisborne called my attention to it and sent me this amendment. I therefore beg to move:

That section 39, subclause (b) be amended by inscribing before the words "any person" in the third line of the said subclause the following words: "The member of the King's Privy Council holding the recognized position of First Minister."

Amendment agreed to.

On section 32—preparation of lists of voters:

Mr. GUTHRIE: At the last sitting of the committee we struck out the words "and schedule B." We should not have stricken out "schedule B." It was done under the impression that we had struck out Rule 4, but we subsequently restored Rule 4. It is necessary that schedule B shall remain. I therefore move to amend clause thirty-two by substituting for the words "Schedule A" in the thirty-third line on page fourteen of the Bill, the words "Schedules A and B respectively."

This will restore the words originally printed in the Bill and which were stricken out by a recent amendment.

Amendment agreed to.

On section 29—qualification of electors:

Mr. GUTHRIE: Since this clause was adopted a new Naturalization Act has been passed by this House and it is now before the Senate. It will be necessary to amend this clause to make it applicable to the new situation which has arisen by reason of the new Naturalization Act. That Act has not yet been finally assented to. This clause has been prepared by the law officers of the Crown. I have submitted it to my hon. friend from North Waterloo (Mr. Euler) and he approves of it. I move to amend clause twenty-nine by inserting after the words "The Naturalization Act" in the form contained in sub-clause two of the said clause the figures "1920" and by substituting for the words "paragraph (B) of subsection four of section eight of "The Naturalization Act," chapter thirty-eight of the statutes of 1919, (first session) where they appear at the end of the clause the following words: "subsection two of section seven of The Naturalization Act, 1920."

With this amendment the proviso at the end of the clause will read as follows:

Provided that no disability imposed by subsection two of section seven of "The Naturalization Act, 1920," shall disentitle a person on that ground alone to the said certificate.

Amendment agreed to.

On section 32—preparation of lists of voters:

Mr. GUTHRIE: Subsection 11 reads "any register, additional register" etc. I move to amend clause thirty-two by striking out in the first line of sub-clause (11) on page sixteen of the Bill, the words "additional registrar." These words should not appear there.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. GUTHRIE: I move to amend schedule A to section thirty-two, by striking out from the first line of rule (3), on page seventeen of the Bill, the words "and additional registrar" which were added to this rule by a recent amendment.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. GUTHRIE: I move to amend schedule B to section thirty-two by inserting at the end of rule (2) on page twenty-two of the Bill, after the words "to this Act" the following words:

The name of a married woman or a widow shall be entered in the index book under the first letter of the surname of her husband, or deceased husband respectively.

We put these words in for schedule A but not for schedule B.

Amendment agreed to.

On section 33—when new list of voters unnecessary:

Mr. GUTHRIE: I move to amend clause thirty-three by inserting in the second line of subclause (3) the words "and to the revising officers"; by inserting in the fourth line of subclause (3) the word "print"; by striking out from the last line of subclause (3) the word "rural" where it was inserted by a recent amendment before the word "registrar"; by striking out from the second line of subclause (4) the word "rural" where it was inserted by a recent amendment before the word "registrar" and by inserting in the third line of subclause (4) the words "or revising officer".

Amendment agreed to.

On section 63—name not on list, etc.:

Mr. GUTHRIE: I move to amend clause sixty-three by striking out in the fifth line of subclause two the words "or either of them" which are not required and which were added by mistake in a recent amendment.

Mr. GUTHRIE: That completes my amendment.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: If my hon. friend and the committee will agree to reopen section 10 I would like to suggest an amendment of which I spoke to my hon. friend some weeks ago.

Mr. GUTHRIE: I agree.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: It is an amendment respecting the publicity of funds used for political purposes. Section 5 of the Bill as it stands provides for the identification of the printers and publishers of

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election advertising. Section 10 provides that companies are not to contribute for election purposes, and makes it an offence for any company to

"loan, advance, pay, or promise or offer to pay any money or its equivalent to, or for, or in aid of, any candidate at an election, or to, or for, or in aid of, any political party, committee, or association, or to or for, or in aid of, any company incorporated for political purposes, or to, or for, or in furtherance of, any political purpose whatever, or for the indemnification or reimbursement of any person for moneys so used."

Section 76 of the Act, regarding election expenses provides that no payment is to be made except through an official agent who must account for and publish all contributions that have been made by different parties toward the expenses of any candidate. Now I think these sections read together clearly show that Parliament has in mind making public to as large an extent as possible contributions for the purpose of influencing the outcome of an election, but I am not sure that as construed in the past these sections have been interpreted to include advertisements or articles appearing in magazines, or other publications, such as newspapers which are paid for by private individuals or corporations, but which do not disclose on the face of them that they are paid for, and therefore are really in the nature of contributions for election purposes. The amendment therefore that I would like to suggest to section 10 is this. To amend section 10 of the Bill by providing that:

Every advertisement, article, notice, illustration or cartoon appearing in a newspaper, magazine, pamphlet, leaflet or other publication, and having reference to an election, if printed at the expense of any individual, firm, committee, association, society or corporation other than the individual, firm, committee, association, society or corporation which is the printer or publisher thereof, shall disclose that such advertisement, article, notice, illustration or cartoon is being paid for by such individual, firm, committee, association, society, or corporation and shall bear the name and address of the person or persons paying, or agreeing to pay, for the publication thereof.

Any person printing, publishing, or distributing any such advertisement, article, notice, illustration or cartoon, or causing any of such to be printed, published or distributed otherwise than is provided in this section is guilty of an offence against this Act punishable on summary conviction as in this Act provided, and if he is a candidate or the official agent of a candidate is further guilty of an illegal practice.

The House will see that if the section is interpreted in the loose way in which it has been in the past there is nothing in the Act to prevent "big interests"—shall I say? corrupting public opinion at the source

by spending large sums of money in paying newspapers to print articles which when printed would appear to the public to be from the pen of the editor, or the proprietor, or of some one employed on the paper, but which in reality are simply paid campaign literature. Now, I do not go so far as to say that any corporation or individual shall not have the right to insert in any publication any views or expressions of opinion in the nature of campaign literature which they may wish to present and pay for; but I do say where such contributions are made during an election for the purpose of influencing the electorate, all such matter paid for in that way should show on its face the fact that it is paid for by the particular person or corporation that is contributing in this manner to the election of a candidate or candidates, or to the support of a political party. I think the amendment is one which will appeal to hon. members as being wholly in the public interest, and I hope it will meet with the acceptance of the committee.

Mr. GUTHRIE: I am not opposed altogether to the principle involved in the suggestion, but it is pretty far-reaching, and I would not like to say offhand that I would approve it in the form submitted by my hon. friend. I have not had any opportunity of discussing the question, or of examining it, and I would rather that a matter of such great import as involved in this amendment should be left over until we can give it further consideration. I think there is something to be said in favour of compelling a man who inserts paid advertisements in newspapers to have it stated some place on the advertisement that he has paid for it. I have known articles to appear as news articles which were paid advertisements and in some way or the other they were misleading; but this is a sort of omnibus affair. I think if one paper copied something from another paper, or if I took an editorial from the Ottawa Citizen and had it published in the Toronto papers I might be liable to disqualification, and also to heavy penalties, if I did not state at the bottom of the article that I was paying for its insertion.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Not under this amendment as drafted.

Mr. GUTHRIE: I do not know, you read it for yourself; it is too big a proposal to consider offhand. I do not want either to condemn it or to approve it. It is a pretty late hour to bring this question in when

we discussed it at an earlier stage. Very little discussion took place on it, but we did discuss it, and when we did I thought for one that the matter had been dropped. However, my hon. friend has brought forward this amendment. What I would suggest to him is this: Let the Act pass. We are going to have a by-election in the course of a month or two under this Act, and we will see from that election how it works out. If there is necessity for this amendment, bring it up at the next session of Parliament and have a thorough discussion of it. I would not like to commit myself or the Government—I would not seek to commit any one in the House—until I have pretty thoroughly gone into it. On the whole I am not opposed to the principle but I would not like to accept it without further consideration.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I have no objection to the minister taking whatever time he wishes to consider this amendment, but I do most strongly object to having this Bill pass without having the committee consider it one way or the other. I regard this amendment as more important than any section of the Bill respecting contributions for political purposes. Unless the minister is agreeable to having it considered, I shall not only press it now, but shall also press it on the motion for the third reading of the Bill. It is directed wholly towards the protection of the public against the corrupting of the press by large business interests and the influencing of the electorate in a manner which is highly contrary to the public interest. I have no objection to the amendment standing until the third reading.

Mr. GUTHRIE: I will agree to that.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I think if in the meantime hon. members have an opportunity of studying the amendment they will approve of it. I was surprised to hear my hon. friend say he thought it was dropped, because I was most emphatic in declaring that I intended to introduce it. I recall that my hon. friend said when I spoke to him of the amendment that he thought it followed the law in New York State, I have reason to believe that it does follow some law in that State as well as similar laws in a number of other States. It is simply a means of precluding large and powerful wealthy interests corrupting public opinion at the source by inserting articles in the newspapers during an election—it is confined to that period—articles which are in-

tended to mislead the public, but which would not succeed in so doing if their source were disclosed. I might ask the minister what is his objection to having the matter stand in committee and considered at a further stage?

Mr. GUTHRIE: I want to get the Bill out of committee, if possible. It has been a very long time in committee. I think the first suggestion of my hon. friend to move his amendment on the third reading is a good one. Or, if he likes, let the committee pass on it now. I am prepared to adopt either course.

Mr. FIELDING: I do not see any special reason why this Bill should get out of Committee to-day more than any other Bill. I think the suggestion to allow the Bill to remain in Committee is quite reasonable, for it will give the Government and hon. members time to consider the amendment.

Mr. GUTHRIE: It must be borne in mind that this is a pretty long Bill, and it has yet to go through the Senate. I am prepared to agree to my hon. friend's proposal to discuss his amendment on the third reading; or I am prepared to discuss it now. There is nothing else to hold the Bill in committee, and I would like very much to hear discussion on this amendment.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I might point out to my hon. friend that if the moment at which I am moving this amendment is late it is owing to the fact this is the first opportunity I have had of submitting an amendment of the kind since the Bill has been in committee. It is not at all the fault of any of us on this side of the House that we have reached the end of the session with the Bill not through committee; that is wholly the fault of the Government. On the other hand, I am as anxious as my hon. friend to see the session brought to a close with as little delay as possible. I realize, in view of what my hon. friend has said, that if we voted on the amendment now it would be for the purpose of defeating it.

Mr. GUTHRIE: That would not prevent my hon. friend moving it on the third reading.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I do not wish to have the amendment defeated even in committee, because I think it is one which if hon. gentlemen read they will find to be very much in the public interest. I am quite prepared to allow it to stand over until the third reading. [But I hope in  
[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

the meantime hon. members will read the amendment as it appears on Hansard, and if possible, on the third reading give it their sympathetic support.

Mr. GUTHRIE: I am quite agreeable not only to study the amendment, but to consult my colleagues on it. It may be we will agree or disagree. But in the meantime I think the Bill should get through committee in order that its further passage may be facilitated.

Bill as amended reported.

### THE FRENCH TREATY.

On motion for Committee of Supply:

Hon. Mr. LEMIEUX (Maisonneuve): Mr. Speaker, before you leave the Chair I would like once more to call the attention of my hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce to the question of the French treaty. I know that my right hon. friend is quite prepared to answer any remarks I may make. I wish only to discharge a duty, and I know that my hon. friend, if I have not been able to give him any notice, can answer at once—

Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Minister of Trade and Commerce): Maybe my hon. friend will allow me to tell him what the present position is, and then he may not find it necessary to make a speech on the subject.

Mr. LEMIEUX: As I gathered from my right hon. friend that he has a re-assuring statement to make I wish to yield to him.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I am sorry the House will not have an opportunity to hear a speech from my hon. friend, but at this late date of the session I suppose we all wish to avoid set speeches. My hon. friend and the House itself, I think, know pretty well what the situation has been with regard to the French treaty. It has been denounced and it went out of operation on the 19th day of June. Some negotiations have been passing since, and a proposition has been made to the French Government by which in return for a reasonable compensation of import duties on lines of articles exported from Canada the French Government will be given the benefit of the intermediate tariff, and thus be put on the same footing as those nations which at the present time enjoy that benefit.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Shall we get from the French Government a continuation of the privilege of the minimum tariff? I am in-

formed that if suggestion is made by the Canadian Government to the French Government of giving under a new treaty the benefit of the intermediate tariff to French exports we might have from the French Government the benefit of their minimum tariff. My right hon. friend understands the very great importance of this subject in view of the large exports from Canada to France. The denunciation of the treaty, I regret to say, has threatened to dislocate that trade. But as my hon. friend states if there is a possibility of getting an arrangement by which benefit would be taken of the intermediate tariff, well and good. I suppose that is the best bargain my right hon. friend has been able to secure.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: That is all we can do.

#### AUDITOR GENERAL'S REPORT.

On the motion for Supply:

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): Before you leave the Chair, Mr. Speaker, I wish to be allowed to draw the attention of the House to a matter I regard as of very great importance, and that is the delay in connection with the placing on the table of this House of the Auditor General's Report. For several sessions past the law which requires the Auditor General's Report to be laid on the table of the House within one week of the opening of the session has been disregarded.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Does my hon. friend intend to carry on the discussion or is he just asking a question? I think if Saturday follows Friday as to the orders—

Mr. SPEAKER: The motion for taking Saturdays only called for the order of business to be the same as on Fridays or on Thursdays. It did not make applicable to Saturdays the rules which are applicable to Thursdays and Fridays; therefore under a ruling which was made two years ago, a motion is required on Saturday for Committee of Supply.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): I was not sure about the rule, but my right hon. friend did not observe the rule about five minutes ago—

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I was answering a question.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): —and I followed his example. I was referring to the fact that the law requiring that the

report of the Auditor General be placed on the table of the House within one week of the opening of the session, has been neglected or disregarded by the Government for several years past. It will be within the memory of my right hon. friend that some years ago the fiscal year was changed so as to enable the Auditor General to have his report ready in the month of October in each year. The report brings us up only to the 31st March of the previous year, so that it was estimated at that time that there would be ample time between March and October to prepare the Auditor General's Report and have it ready for the House, provided that the House met in November. Plans at that time were made for the session being held in the fall. The House did not meet this year until February, but the report was not ready when the House met. Section 48 of chapter 24 of the revised statutes reads:

Such accounts and the reports of the Auditor General thereon shall be laid before the House of Commons by the Minister of Finance on or before the 31st day of October next, following, if Parliament is then sitting, or if not sitting, then within one week after Parliament is next assembled.

That is the law. I wish to point out how it has been carried out during the present session. The House met on the 26th February; but the first volume of the Auditor General's Report was placed on the Table, not within one week of the opening of the House, but on the 19th March. The second volume was placed on the Table on the 25th March; the third volume was placed on the Table on the 25th April, and the fourth volume, which contained all contentious matters, was not placed on the Table until the 14th May. This made it impossible for the Public Accounts Committee to do their work. The House had been in session for nearly three months before the complete set of the Auditor General's Report was placed on the Table. The committee could not, of course, perform their duties without the report, and in this way the whole business of the Public Accounts Committee has been nullified for the present year. This is a matter of great importance, and I was very much surprised, in looking into the matter a few days ago, to find that the law had been disregarded altogether by the Government, not only for the present session but for several sessions past. I went back a few years to see how the former Government had done their duty in that respect, and while I did not go into the details, I looked up the year 1907-08 and

found that on the day of the opening of Parliament in that year, some time in the month of November, one volume of the report was placed on the Table; a second volume was tabled within three days and a third volume within a fortnight of the opening of the session. There were only three volumes at that time, whereas at the present time there are four. There can be no good reason to delay the presentation of the report for such a long period as it has been delayed during the past two years. It came to my notice that the trouble is not in the Printing Bureau; that the trouble is in the Finance Department, because I know, as a matter of fact, that the last of the copy did not reach the Printing Bureau until the 6th April, so that it would be impossible for the Printing Bureau to do their work unless the Finance Department had done its work providing the Printing Bureau with the copy. Therefore, as I have said, this is a matter which should not occur again, and I mention it so that the leader of the Government can draw the matter to the attention of the proper parties and see that when Parliament assembles next year the Auditor General's Report will be ready and the law will be complied with.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Mr. Speaker—

Mr. SPEAKER: The right hon. gentleman is not entitled to reply, but I am sure, under the circumstances, the House will give him a little consideration.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Yes.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: A little latitude. What the hon. gentleman states is no doubt true. It struck me, however, as he went through with his statement that he is very hard to satisfy. When a man gets one volume, very large and bulky, and then shortly afterwards, gets a second volume, equally large and bulky, and then shortly after that, before he certainly has had time to digest the other two, a third one is thrown upon him, one would think most mortals would have been quite well satisfied with what had been served up to them and would not have been so anxious for the fourth and final dish to be set on the Table. It is, however, the right of my hon. friend and the House to have the Auditor General's report. But my hon. friend failed to observe the fact that the Auditor General is a Parliamentary officer, and although he is connected with the Finance Department, it is not quite right, I think, to hold the Finance Department or the Government responsible for the time at which he gets

[Mr. Sinclair.]

his report through and ready for the printer. It is, of course, the duty of the Government to carry on business properly and to see that all reports are brought down as soon as possible. I will specially bring the attention of the Auditor General to the matter, and as my hon. friend has taken it for granted that this Government will have an opportunity of being questioned another year as to why the Auditor General's report is or is not down at a certain time, I will see that the proper statement is laid before the Auditor General so that he may be hurried up as much as possible. I notice my hon. friend, looking for precedents on his own side, out of fifteen years was cautious enough to venture only upon one, and he happened to find a favourable one in that respect.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: May I point out to my right hon. friend that the first three volumes of the Auditor General's report are practically only routine; the fourth volume is the most important and it contains the most contentious matter.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The first three are educative.

#### TRADE BETWEEN CANADA AND NEWFOUNDLAND.

On the motion for Supply:

Mr. D. D. MCKENZIE (North Cape Breton) Before you leave the Chair, Mr. Speaker, as I may not have an opportunity later on in the session to bring this matter to the notice of the Minister of Trade and Commerce, I wish to say a word to him in connection with the arrangements between Canada and Newfoundland in regard to the carrying trade or transportation between, say the terminus at North Sydney and Port aux Basques and or city of St. John, Newfoundland.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: That will be an item that I propose to take up as soon as we go into committee, and perhaps the discussion could take place then.

Mr. MCKENZIE: If there is any item in the Supplementary Estimates I did not notice it.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Yes.

Mr. MCKENZIE: What I wanted to point out is this. It is being contended that the transportation between Port aux Basques and the port of North Sydney is not sufficient to meet the immense volume of traffic. I would ask the minister if there is any arrangement in contemplation

whereby the Government would put one or more of its own steamers in the service between North Sydney and Port aux Basques, or between North Sydney and St. John. The minister is aware that the volume of business between various ports of Canada and Newfoundland is very large indeed, and that we have keen competition from American ports and American cities all the time. We have still only a comparatively small portion of the Newfoundland business as compared with the immense volume that goes to the United States. We have been doing very well for the last twenty years, but I feel that through the derangement of traffic facilities between the terminus of the Government railway at North Sydney and Newfoundland we may suffer a setback, and that would be much to be deplored. It is not a local question, because the larger centres of Canada with which Newfoundland is trading have much more at stake than we have in the port of North Sydney, but the conditions are much more apparent there than to a man living away from the terminus of the road, say at Montreal or Toronto. I wanted to bring this matter to the attention of the minister and I am very glad to learn he has been giving it consideration.

Motion agreed to, and the House went into Committee of Supply.

#### SUPPLY.

The House again in Committee of Supply, Mr. Steele in the Chair:

Mail subsidies and steamship subventions—Canadian Atlantic ports and Australia and New Zealand, steam service between, \$140,000.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: This is the same service as in former years.

Mr. NESBITT: Is there a regular service between New Zealand and Canada?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: This is from the Atlantic side. It is for a monthly service, and is being renewed for another year at the same rate. The service is carried on by the New Zealand Shipping Company. During the past two or three years it has kept up as well as it could the continuity of the service, but the service has been irregular because of the impossibility of getting ships. It is expected that this year they will be able to carry out the service regularly and give us a monthly voyage.

Canada and Newfoundland, steam service or services between, \$35,000.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: This is the service to which my hon. friend from North

Cape Breton alluded before we went into committee. The service is carried on between the Intercolonial terminus at Sydney and Port aux Basques, which is the western terminal of the Newfoundland railway. The service has been carried on for a series of years, and under a good many difficulties, due to the war and other circumstances, for which this end of the service is not in any way responsible. The Newfoundland railway, which runs from St. Johns to Port aux Basques, has its difficulties, and they have not been lightened from year to year. It has been found almost impossible for this service to take care of the amount of freight that offers, particularly from Canada for Newfoundland ports, chiefly St. Johns, and other ports in that vicinity. Two boats of the company, I think, were sold in the early part of the war, as being particularly adapted to Russian service. Other boats have been put on of late, but the company has found it very difficult to get suitable boats to carry the traffic which has offered in recent years. My hon. friend is entirely right in saying that the interchange of products between Newfoundland and Canada, and particularly our exports to Newfoundland, have increased very rapidly during past years. I have here some figures which would indicate that to the House. Taking the series of years from 1896 to 1919, in 1896 the imports into Newfoundland from Canada amounted to two million and a third. They ran along the two million line until 1904, when they increased to \$3,500,000. Then along the \$3,000,000 to \$4,000,000 line until 1913, when they passed the \$5,000,000 mark. Then they ran from \$4,000,000 and up to \$5,000,000 in 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916. In 1917, the exports from Canada rose to \$7,500,000, in 1918, from \$7,500,000 to \$11,000,000, and in 1919 to \$12,770,000. That was a very large increase, which resulted from natural causes, and it is very satisfactory so far as Canada is concerned. Exports from the United States to Newfoundland amounted in 1896 in round figures to \$1,500,000. They ran between \$1,000,000 and \$2,000,000 until 1906, when they reached \$3,600,000, as compared with Canada's \$3,521,000. They ran between \$3,000,000 and \$4,000,000 until 1912, when they rose to \$5,000,000 compared with our \$4,818,000. They ran between \$4,000,000 and \$5,000,000 up to 1916, when they reached the \$7,000,000 mark. After that in 1917, 1918 and 1919, the United States exports to Newfoundland ran up to \$10,000,000, \$12,000,000 and \$16,000,000. So taking the series of years we were pretty well on a parity with the United States

so far as our exports to Newfoundland are concerned.

With reference to the trade with Newfoundland, it is not all indicated by any means by that line of traffic between Sydney and Port aux Basques, because there are other steamship services carrying traffic from Canada to Newfoundland and carrying back fish and other products. From Halifax there has been and is now regular service to Newfoundland ports, but since the vessels of Canada's Mercantile Marine have been launched very considerable additions of fleet carrying capacity have been made on that line and are now supplying the service between Newfoundland and the Canadian ports. From this time out a very considerable addition will be made to the carrying fleet between Canada and Newfoundland by the services of the Mercantile Marine vessels.

Mr. McKENZIE: I wish to direct the minister's attention to the fact that for a good many years, I do not know how many, the vote for the service between Port Aux Basques, Newfoundland, and the terminus of the Government railway at North Sydney was \$70,000, and this year it has been cut in two. I think it will appeal to the committee that under present conditions, with coal costing three times what it used to cost; when engineers, deck hands, and all the contingencies that appertain to a steamer are three times more expensive than they were in former years, and when the demands upon the service are heavier than ever they were before, calling for a greater degree of efficiency than in the past; it is somewhat difficult to understand how the Government expects to get for \$35,000 the service which was rendered before for double that amount. One would imagine that the Government would be only too glad to get along without any increase in the subsidy, and it is rather inexplicable how they can hope to accomplish with \$35,000 what formerly \$70,000 was just sufficient to provide. I have brought this matter to the attention of the minister on several occasions and I was wondering whether there would be a substantial item in the Supplementary Estimates that would increase this amount that is provided here. If there is an item in the Supplementary Estimates—

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: There is not.

Mr. McKENZIE: I did not notice any item. I do fear that this service will be-

[Sir George Foster.]

come demoralized, and the Read Newfoundland Company cannot possibly on this small subsidy give the service which they used to give. As regards the statement that the company are selling their boats, I do not profess to have any knowledge in the matter, but my information is that these steamers were commandeered as a war measure. They were taken from the company. Any steamers required for the Russian Government were obtained through the agency of the Imperial Government, who took over these vessels from the Read Newfoundland Company, paying for them, of course, and passed them over to the Russian Government. The minister is perfectly aware that during the war it was extremely difficult to get steamers built. The Read Newfoundland Company are very enterprising. They have very great difficulties to contend with, but Sir Robert Read, the founder of the company, and his sons are men of great energy and industry. They have to contend with weather conditions in Newfoundland, snow, ice, etc., and it is exceedingly difficult for them to carry on business. The trade on the island has its disadvantages; there are large tracts of unsettled land, dreary wastes and barren soil, and the people have to battle with the snow all winter without many breaks by way of cities or towns that render difficulties of this kind less formidable. This is the condition with which they have to grapple, and there is the further fact that their steamers were taken over. They have never got back to a pre-war basis and I do not think they have succeeded in getting new steamers built. They have some fairly good steamers. The Kyle is a very good boat but possibly it is the only first-class steamer they have. The people of Newfoundland have nothing else by way of transportation facilities than the Read Newfoundland Company. For good or for ill, it is the best they have, and while one might contend that there is no obligation on us to look after conditions in Newfoundland, we must bear in mind that those conditions exist and that it is well that they should be improved in view of the fact that we have established a large trade with that Dominion. The National railways connections are through the agency of the Read Newfoundland Company. I think we should hesitate before striking such a blow at this subsidy as will be likely to demoralize the trade conditions that have arisen between ourselves and Newfoundland through the agency of the Read Newfoundland Company during the last

twenty or twenty-five years. I remember the inception of this traffic far better than I recall the operations of any line of traffic in Canada, because when this traffic first commenced it was so small that we as a town at North Sydney undertook to carry the produce that came from Newfoundland from the steamer to the railway station, a distance of about a mile. The rail did not go to the water then, and we undertook to carry the goods free of charge in order to start up this trade. So that as a town North Sydney is very much attached to the development of this trade and would be sorry—indeed the whole of Canada, I think, would be sorry—to see anything happen that would disrupt present conditions. I can only place the facts before the minister, as no doubt they have been placed a dozen times before, and urge that the Government and he himself change their ideas in regard to this matter and restore the state of things that existed heretofore. Let me repeat that it is difficult to understand why the Government, in view of the greater increase in the cost of coal and everything else that enters into the operation of steamers to-day, should reduce by half a subsidy which in years gone by was considered just ample.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I have given a good deal of attention to this matter. In the first place, the \$70,000 subsidy was probably pro rata, the highest subsidy we paid anywhere in Canada for similar service. It was higher by a very good percentage. Then we must recollect that the chief difficulty in the matter of transport between Canada and Newfoundland is not on the Canadian side nor so much in the passage between Sydney and Port aux Basques, which is about one hundred miles, if I recollect aright. The trouble is on the island of Newfoundland itself. The railway is not in a position to facilitate the transportation of goods. It has happened over and over again that after these vessels leave Sydney with freight they come back carrying a portion of that freight because they cannot find discharge for it on the other side. The facilities for storage are not what they should be and not what the Newfoundland railway would like them to be. That would be the case with the transport after you left Port au Basque. If we are to carry that service on we cannot devote a large subsidy to the inefficient passage of a couple of vessels between Port au Basque and Sydney which cannot find on the other side accommodation to discharge their freight. We

will have to get that freight carried to Newfoundland in some other way. Our own vessels are affording that some other way at this time and if the railway company is not able to get better boats and not able to carry on land what the present boats offer to it at Port au Basque, our own mercantile marine will be in a position, we hope, to carry freight to other Newfoundland ports and directly to Placentia or St. Johns. There is a very large traffic. In 1919 about 13,000 first-class and 7,000 second-class passengers were carried. Of freight there were 17,000 or 18,000 tons less carried during the last four or five years. That was largely owing to the fact that the railway was not in a position to carry all the freight that was offered. I would be sorry to see any of the necessary facilities for carrying our freight to and from Newfoundland diminished and I am sure that the facilities will not be diminished but we cannot afford to pay more than the amount that has been put in the Estimates for the service they can give us taking into consideration the congested state of their railway line from Port au Basque to St. Johns.

Mr. McKENZIE: I presume the Canadian mails between North Sydney and Newfoundland are carried without any further contribution than the subsidy. The Canadian mail between Newfoundland and North Sydney is a very large proposition. What arrangement has been made about the carrying of the mails in view of the cutting down of the subsidy?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The principle I am trying to introduce is that the post office must pay its own way and that for the majority of these services that are really important the commercial subsidy is supplied by the Department of Trade and Commerce and the Post Office Department must make arrangement for its own mail. It is doing that now and in a short time I hope that policy will be carried out through and through. It is now being carried out entirely on the Atlantic and it is being inaugurated on the Pacific. If that policy is adopted there will be an extra payment for the mails on their own poundage or space value.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Queen's, P.E.I.): Just to correct an impression that may have been given by the hon. member for North Cape Breton (Mr. McKenzie) in referring to the services between Sydney and Newfoundland as the only service between these points, I may say that we have now a regular service between Charlottetown and St.

Johns, by the mercantile marine. It would be well for the minister to keep that in view because it gives a direct service by a Canadian line whereas, in giving a subsidy, we give a subsidy to the Read-Newfoundland Company, which is a company tied up with the affairs of Newfoundland. Under the system which I refer to we are keeping up our own service, employing our own means of carriage and helping ourselves. It would be well that I should say for the benefit of any shippers whose attention may be directed to this discussion in the committee, that there is now a Canadian line through Charlottetown from any point in Canada direct to St. Johns Newfoundland which will help to relieve the congestion that exists at the larger ports on account of the want of facilities.

Canada and South Africa, steam service between, \$146,000.

Mr. NESBITT: How often does that steamer ply?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: This is a service which has been running for eight or ten years. It is a monthly service. It has been carried on during the war somewhat intermittently but not at all subject to the fluctuations which were noted as occurring in the Australian service because the contractors were able to secure vessels and to move the traffic with much more regularity. Now there is no difficulty about it and it is a monthly service.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Is that not the Elder Dempster line?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Yes.

Mr. LEMIEUX: That is more than eight or ten years old. It was inaugurated under the Laurier Government.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Well we have had a longer service than I at the time thought. That service has been a very satisfactory one and trade and trade interests with South Africa are constantly being advanced and are on a very satisfactory basis at the present time. This same line inaugurated a direct service with West Africa and although we are not paying any subsidy for the West African service we are getting a monthly service to South Africa and also a monthly service to the west coast. I may say that investigations made and information obtained disclose very excellent prospects of opening up trade between Canada and the west coast of Africa and the Gold Coast. We have very good friends there who were formerly West Indian administrators. One of them is now

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administering in Gambia and the other—who has just left Ottawa having been in attendance at the West Indian conference—has been nominated as the administrator on the Gold Coast. Both of these are very strong friends of Canada in the matter of the interchange of products between their countries and ours.

Mr. REID (Mackenzie): Would the minister kindly explain what products we get of theirs in exchange for our products? What products of ours do they require?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Our trade with Africa is very largely in exports and not so much in imports. Trade is carried on by what you might designate as "a one-passage service." That is the vessels go from here carrying our exports to the African ports, and then they take cargoes from there and work back, triangularly or otherwise, to Canada, and continue on with their service. The amount of our imports from South Africa is not at all in proportion to the volume of exports that we send them. That works to our advantage because it redresses the balance of trade generally with that country. We are sending to South Africa agricultural implements, calcium carbide, automobiles, paper, lumber, cereal foods, chairs, wooden ware, beaver board, nails, condensed milk, locomotives, cardboard, shovels and spades, cement, and a varied line of other articles.

Victoria and West Coast, Vancouver Island, steam service between, \$5,000.

Mr. REID (Mackenzie): May I ask which company receives that \$5,000?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The Canadian Pacific Railway Company are the contractors.

Vancouver and northern ports of British Columbia, steam service between, \$16,800.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The Union Steamship Company are the contractors in this case.

Charlottetown, Victoria and Holliday's Wharf, steam service between, \$2,500.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Queen's, P.E.I.): I would ask the minister if he has considered making any provision for an increase of this subsidy.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I have looked into the matter as carefully as I could and I have not been able to carry an increase for that service this year.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Queen's, P.E.I.): I would like to point out that under the conditions that obtain in connection with this

service it is almost necessary that some increase should be given if it is to be maintained. The cost of maintaining the Holiday's Wharf service has increased about threefold in the last five years. I know that representations have been made to the minister on the subject and I am really sorry to hear him say he cannot see his way to contribute in part towards this service, especially as the Provincial Government have assisted by raising the subsidy that they give to it. The freight rates have had to be raised and I think if my hon. friend had softened his heart a little and augmented the federal subsidy that by means of these three agencies it would have been possible to continue the service. I fear that under existing conditions it will be hard to keep it up at the present time.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: All I can say is that I am quite sympathetic.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I am not quite sure whether this is the appropriate time to raise the point, but I would like to ask the minister if he has considered,—in connection with the matter of communication between Montreal, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland,—the advisability of having these ships stop at Summerside, P.E.I.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The Mercantile Marine is putting on a service of one or two boats regularly between Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, and is providing for the Prince Edward Island service. At what ports the vessels will stop I cannot tell my hon. friend from memory but I will make inquiry.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I would like to point out to my hon. friend that the citizens of Summerside are most anxious to have some stop made at that port and I would like him to favourably consider their request if possible.

Halifax and Newfoundland via Cape Breton ports, steam service between, \$10,000.

Mr. McKENZIE: I see the appropriation for this service has been cut in two.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: This is the Farquhar Service.

Mr. McKENZIE: Is the service going on in the old way?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Yes.

Mr. McKENZIE: Captain Farquhar used to have two steamers on the route.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: This is a continuation of the old service for which the

contractors received last year \$10,000. I cut the vote down one-half in my desire to make some answer to the appeal of the Minister of Finance as to keeping these appropriations within a smaller figure. But on taking the matter up again and going over it I thought it was only fair to add something, and so in the Supplementary Estimates there is provision for a part of the remainder.

Mr. McKENZIE: Is it so appointed that the regular trips are being made?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Yes.

Mr. McKENZIE: When the Government is operating a railway service between Halifax and the important points of the island. I do not understand the necessity for subsidizing a steamship service. Of course if this service is necessary, I withdraw by objection.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: It is an old established service, and the boats call at Jedore, Owl's Head, Tangier, Hopes harbour, Ship harbour, Sheet harbour, Sober island and other ports. But I think my hon. friend is referring to item 177.

Mr. CHISHOLM: My hon. friend (Mr. McKenzie) must have forgotten that western Cape Breton island has no railroad connections, and therefore it is necessary that the shore connections should be continued from Halifax.

Mr. FIELDING: That is also true of some of the ports mentioned by my right hon. friend (Sir George Foster); they are quite distant from any railway communication and have to rely on steamers.

Mr. BUTTS: If I am not very much mistaken, there are boats along that very course subsidized by the Provincial Government of Nova Scotia.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: It is true that the Government of Nova Scotia subsidizes nearly all these services in co-operation with the Dominion Government.

Mr. McKENZIE: The hon. member for Inverness (Mr. Chisholm) spoke of the service on the west coast of Cape Breton; item 178 covers that service, which is necessary because there is a very large stretch of country from the strait of Canso around to Cape North with practically no railway communication. But I am not clear as to the usefulness of the service covered by item 177. I cannot quite appreciate why a steamer should go from Halifax to the Bras d'Or ports, as there is very good railway

communication, and there are two or three boats on the Lakes themselves, some of which boats are handsomely subsidized.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I think my hon. friend would probably get some enlightenment in regard to that item if he talked to the Halifax merchants and to their customers. A number of these ports get the service of more than one steamer, but that is only a partial service, and then these boats carry on also to other ports that are not touched by the services with which they interlock. It is a most complicated system. I started in with the idea of stopping duplication, and I have been at the work for the last eight or nine years, but I have found it pretty nearly impossible, because one line of argument is that when you build a railway you do not want any ship service; and the other is just what I have mentioned. Whilst we have succeeded in cutting out quite a lot of duplication, some still remains, I cannot see any better system than we have there now, unless we drop the whole thing, and then I know what a howl there would be from members representing those districts and also from interests outside. I try to be as fair as I can and to keep things running along. It is true that my hon. friend (Mr. McKenzie) living in Sydney, to which the railway could bring all possible things needed, might start out with the assumption that that was the point of supply and distribution for the whole of that section, but he would find, if that were applied, economic and traffic reasons which would bear somewhat heavily upon the steamers in the end.

Mr. REID (Mackenzie): Does any arrangement exist between the federal Government and the provincial government in regard to these subsidies? Is this business run at a profit or at a loss, and is it really necessary to continue these subsidies? It seems to me that it is perhaps a long established custom and very hard to break away from. Perhaps if some arrangement was entered into between the provincial and federal governments the federal government could be relieved of these subsidies.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I would like my hon. friend to try and work that out. Unfortunately the provincial governments have a decided objection to carrying the whole burden. Then, too, during the last two years the cost of service has very greatly increased. The service of which my hon. friend has just spoken, ought not on general principles to be subsidized by

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this government at all, for it is really confined to the waters of Prince Edward Island; but we have always helped to carry it on and it is a service which is useful and to a certain extent is necessary.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Queen's): I am sure my right hon. friend cannot refer to Northumberland strait as being within the province of Prince Edward Island.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I was speaking of Holliday's wharf service.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Queen's): Victoria is up the Northumberland strait on the coast of Prince Edward Island, so it is not wholly within the province.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I was referring to the service up and down those wonderful Arms.

Mr. REID (Mackenzie): My right hon. friend forgot to answer that part of my question as to whether these services are run at a loss? I am referring to those covered in items 170 to 176.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: We get returns from all those companies showing the amount of their revenue from freight and subsidies and I can assure my hon. friend that the credit balances are not making those companies rich. On the contrary, in most cases they have all they can do to just squeak along. It would be a very great deprivation to the people down there in subsidies and I can assure my hon. friend miles away from a railway to deprive them of their only means of receiving and forwarding freight. Therefore, we have continued the service on as economical a line as we possibly could.

Mr. REID (Mackenzie): I did not catch whether the minister said that the companies referred to return annual balance sheets to the minister.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Yes, always. If my hon. friend wishes to verify that, if he will go to my department, will find all those returns.

Mr. REID (Mackenzie): I take the minister's word.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: That is right.

Steam service between Quebec and ports on the north or south shores of the gulf of St. Lawrence, and or between ports in Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and the Magdalen Islands, \$70,000.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I want to say just a word or two on this item. I understand the subsidy has been removed this year with

the Gulf of St. Lawrence Shipping and Trading Company, and that they have chartered two new boats, that is, two of the old Government steamers, one the Champlain and the other the Lady Evelyn. I understand that the Lady Evelyn is going to make a service between Quebec and Gaspé, calling at intermediate ports on the coast of Gaspé. It is very important that this service should be well managed. During the last three or four years, unfortunately, there has been only a very inferior service, a boat by the name of A. Tremblay was chartered, which was an old boat propelled, of course, by steam, but giving really a very inferior service. There was no accommodation for passengers; it was only, so to speak, a freight boat. This year, although the people on the coast have been promised that the Lady Evelyn will be put on the service, the Lady Evelyn has not made its appearance at the various ports, and I have received from my electors many complaints which I have sent to the department of my right hon. friend. I understand, however, this is due to an accident which happened to the Lady Evelyn, and that she will now soon reach her destination. So much is for the cause of Gaspé.

I am interested also in the service between Pictou and the Magdalen Islands. The subsidy was given to the same company for the service between those two points. I cannot speak with too much vigour on behalf of my electors of Magdalen Islands, which, form in the gulf of St. Lawrence a very interesting and important group. The Magdalen Islands are inhabited by a population of 7,000, a very hardy and respectable people, mostly all of them being Acadian fishermen. They belong to the great fishing community, and since time immemorial they have given in the commercial world a very good account of themselves. But they require facilities to ship their goods to the mainland of Canada, especially Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The chief business of the Magdalen Islands, although this group of islands belongs to Quebec, is done with Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick. They, therefore, require at the distance where they are in the gulf, good steamship facilities. Last year and since the beginning of the war, the steamer service was very inferior. But this year they have the Champlain and it is a good boat, and if properly handled, I know it will give my electors a proper service.

I wish to tell my right hon. friend that the people of Magdalen Islands should not

be mulcted by excessive freight or passenger rates. I understand there is a contract with the company, and that there is a schedule of rates, which schedule has been raised. I hope my hon. friend will have some regard for the poor fishermen of Magdalen Islands who are fighting against nature in order to give him fresh fish and to give the centre of Canada the best fresh fish. They are far away, and during seven months of the year they are isolated, although at my request some years ago, we established the Marconi system, and furnish the Magdalen Islands with daily reports from the mainland. The people of those islands deserve that; but for their business they must have a continuous service of steamers in the summer and fall of the year. I trust my right hon. friend will see to it that, now that we are reverting quietly to normal conditions, the fishermen of Magdalen Islands will be given an excellent service.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Probably there is no service in the whole range of services which come under my department that has caused the department and myself more anxiety or to which more sympathy has been given than this service. War conditions made it impossible to get vessels of the right type. We have not had a vessel of the right type, although probably this contract may bring it, since the vessel which was run by, I think, Captain McClure, some time ago, which was specially adapted to that service. Last year there were difficulties and accidents happened, but I think my department, the Department of Marine and Fisheries and the Department of Railways have done everything possible to help out the unfortunate circumstances in which the inhabitants of the Magdalen Islands were placed.

There is one suggestion which I have made to the local government and that is that it would be the part of wisdom for the local government, which is to a certain extent the parent of the localities, to make arrangements, by financing or in some other way, whereby the actual supplies that are necessary for the carrying on of the fishing work would be got in in good time. As it is now, the people do not order their supplies until the very last moment, and they miss it sometimes just by the last moment, the moment being no moment at all. Some conditions of temperature arise very suddenly and their supplies cannot be taken in, or not in sufficient number. If there could be an arrangement whereby working capital could be furnished by the Quebec

Government and orders for supplies be placed early before the vicissitudes of climate make transport impossible, it would do much for the economic and social comfort of that community. I have not received any answer from the local government with reference to that proposition, but if the municipality and the local government could work out an arrangement of that kind I feel that it would alleviate the situation very considerably.

Mr. LEMIEUX: There is something, no doubt, in what my hon. friend suggests, but the gist of the whole difficulty, as my hon. friend will appreciate, is transportation. That is the vital point. Why should not the Federal Government give to a group of 7,000 Canadians in this far-away zone in the Atlantic the transportation facilities to which they are entitled? These people are taxpayers of the Dominion and they are entitled to this accommodation. We are building a large fleet of commercial steamers, some of which are to be put in service between Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. I say that our own people, Canadians, are entitled to first service on the part of this Government. I do not begrudge the service between Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, but the Magdalen Islands are a group of islands in Canada, and they should have the first service. I do not say that in a carping spirit at all, but I would humbly suggest to my hon. friend that one of these boats that are being built with the money of the Dominion, of which the people of the Magdalen Islands contribute their fair share, be put in service for the people of those islands.

My hon. friend says that in the fall of every year, and sometimes in the spring, there is an S.O.S. call from the people of the Magdalen Islands for provisions and fishing supplies. It is true, and I am bound to say that the Government has been very kind to these people, but they do not want to be continually begging from the Government, and we can do away with begging if we provide them with a steamer service from Pictou. The captain of the Stanley the government ice-breaker, is my authority for the statement that under ordinary circumstances you can run a boat between the mainland and the Magdalen Islands nearly all the year round without the slightest risk, and that there are perhaps only two or three weeks in the winter when there is any element of risk. The captain of the Stanley was ready to take the risk even during that period. Generally speaking, the service could be run nearly all the year round if a

[Sir George Foster.]

proper steamer was put on the route. Where is the Stanley to-day? Is she still in existence? The Stanley could have run on that service perfectly well. Once more I would draw my hon. friend's attention to the importance from a commercial and economic point of view of that group of islands.

Mr. CHISHOLM: Do any of these boats that are running between Quebec and Newfoundland call at any point in Cape Breton?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I do not think so.

Mr. FIELDING: I would call my hon. friend's attention to an omission, which I think is purely accidental, of a small service between Froude's Point and Lockeport, connecting with the town by railway. I feel this has escaped my hon. friend's notice owing to its being such a modest sum; it is only \$1,000. I am sure its omission is an error, and I would like my hon. friend to look into it. I have heard of no representation against it.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I will tell my hon. friend exactly what has occurred. This Dominion Government has been subsidizing, amongst other services, a number of small ferries between points not far distant from each other. This particular ferry my hon. friend speaks of runs about three-quarters of a mile.

Mr. FIELDING: More than that.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: There were one or two ferries in Quebec in much the same position. I took the ground that it was not the part of the Dominion Government to carry on ferry services between two points in a province closely adjacent to each other, and I cut them all out. The provinces should carry on these ferry services themselves. Then the Dominion Post Office requires a service. With reference to that and others that have been cut out, the Post Office will make its arrangements for carrying mails and will pay whatever amount they decide on. I think I appeal to the good sense of the House when I say that I do not think the Dominion Government should be subsidizing short ferry lines between adjacent points in a province. That is for the province itself to take care of.

Mr. FIELDING: My hon. friend is mistaken when he describes this as a ferry of three-quarters of a mile. The principle he is laying down, if it is a good one, will cut out a number of appropriations. I am quite sure he is not apprised of the facts in regard to this particular one. It is three or four miles from the railway and connects

the railway station with the principal town in that section. It is important and must not be regarded as a short ferry at all. It is an important commercial artery which is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of communication between a large town and the railway station, and if my hon. friend says that everything of this sort is to be called a short ferry he will have to revise his whole list, because he will find a number of such cases. He is evidently under the impression that this is a ferry of three-quarters of a mile, but he is entirely mistaken; it is three or four miles. This is a matter concerning which I recently called the attention of the Minister of Railways to the desirability of having a branch line built, and when I tell my hon. friend that it is the only channel of communication between the railway and one of the most important towns on the south shore of Nova Scotia I think he will realize that the impression which he has formed is altogether wrong. I should be glad if he would give the matter further consideration because he cannot justify his present stand. No doubt the modesty of the items has secured its present fate. If it were \$10,000 it would be renewed.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: If it had been \$10,000 it would be an ordinary service.

Mr. FIELDING: I must tell the minister that this is a matter that should not be treated lightly. It will be regarded as one of a very serious nature by those who are affected.

Mr. McKENZIE: It does not seem very clear what are the stopping places in the round trip provided for in item 187. It seems that a boat goes from the Magdalens to Newfoundland, calling at Prince Edward Island. If a steamer goes from the Magdalen Islands to Newfoundland she passes right by the island of Cape Breton and should certainly call there. She would stop there for coal anyhow. It is a place from which a lot of traffic could be carried to the Magdalen Islands and produce from that place and the other stopping points could be brought back. I think it would be a grave mistake not to provide that the steamer should call at Cape Breton, because in any event she goes right by the Island. The steamer passes within a few miles of the mouth of Sydney harbour, in crossing to Newfoundland, and it would be an unfortunate mistake not to have Cape Breton included as a port of call. It would be an advantage to the people of Newfoundland who might want to take that steamer on the

way to North Sydney, and the people of Prince Edward Island might also want to go there. It would divert the steamer from its regular course to a very slight extent, and I would suggest to the minister that he consider this matter.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I cannot find that she calls at any Cape Breton port.

Mr. McKENZIE: Then the minister ought to see that she does. Possibly the contract has not yet been made, and—

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Yes, the contract is made. The contract is one that was made for a series of years and it does not fall in until 1923.

Mr. POWER: Can the minister give me some information with reference to the contract between the Gulf of St. Lawrence Trading Company—I think that is the name—and the Government? Was there not some reference in the contract to certain obligations with regard to bringing cheaper fish to the city of Quebec and to Montreal?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I think there was.

Mr. POWER: Has the minister any information as to what were the terms of the contract and whether its conditions were fulfilled?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I have not the information here, but I have a distinct recollection that in making arrangements for the contract one of the considerations was that it would help facilities for the carrying of fish in a state of preservation to Quebec and possibly Montreal, but particularly up to Quebec. It was for the purpose of furnishing such facilities and equipment as would make that possible. I am quite sure that was part of the contract, but I have no further information here.

Mr. POWER: Does the minister know whether or not in past years this contract has been carried out?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I shall make inquiry and inform my hon. friend.

St. John and Digby steam service between, \$20,000.

Mr. WIGMORE: I had this matter before the department and the minister will observe that there is a decrease of \$10,000. Now, this company have enjoyed a subsidy of \$20,000 for a number of years. The service has been very much improved and I believe that even during a number of years when they were only making four trips a week they still enjoyed that subsidy. Today, with a cost of maintenance at least

100 per cent greater than it was in previous years, the subsidy has been reduced to \$10,000. Taking up this matter with the manager of this line, I find that there is very grave doubt whether the company will sign the contract for \$10,000. If that be the case, it will mean that they will run the boat for their own convenience and there will not be daily trips between St. John and Digby. The service will consequently be very much decreased and it is an important one, connecting the Canadian Pacific railway from Montreal to St. John and the Dominion Atlantic, of what is now known as the Canadian Pacific, from Digby to Halifax. I should really like the minister to give further consideration to this matter because it is absolutely necessary that a daily service should be continued, but I am afraid this will not be done unless the subsidy is increased to \$20,000, which was the amount paid in former years. Besides the carrying of mails on the steamer, it is necessary, when the boat arrives in St. John, to transfer the mails from the steamer to the post office or from the steamer to the train. This service costs the company a large amount of money, at least 100 per cent more than it did a few years ago. Altogether there is very little left out of the \$20,000, after a certain amount is paid out for the transfer of mails, and I can readily understand why they would not be very anxious to sign the agreement at all at this reduced figure. If the agreement is not signed the Government will have to pay a very much larger amount for the carrying of the mails in some other way.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: On the whole of these mail subsidies I was bound to make a substantial reduction, and on the whole service I have reduced the total considerably. I considered, having carefully studied the matter, that this was one of the services on which a reduction might be made; and that a subsidy of \$10,000 instead of \$20,000 will be sufficient to carry on the service. This is the service between St. John and Digby. It is a service also between two main points on the Canadian Pacific and is really the connecting link not on land but on water of the service of the Canadian Pacific railway in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. There is a large traffic between these two points. The number of passengers carried last year was 38,000 and the tons of freight 28,000 or 29,000. The mails have been carried as well. It therefore did seem to me, and I so stated to the Canadian Pacific authorities, that they would have

[Mr. Wigmore.]

to submit to a cut and might also have to submit to a cut in two or three other water services that I discussed with them. At that time they did not raise any objection to a cut in so far as my memory goes, nor have they since, to myself or the department, but if I am not mistaken some one has been talking to my hon. friend. I do not think the Canadian Pacific will allow that service to depreciate. It is essential with their connection between the two great portions of their line in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. They have carried it on splendidly up to the present. They have a good boat and I hope they will carry on the service. If not we will have to see what can be done.

Mr. WIGMORE: It is the best service we have ever had on that line.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: No doubt.

Mr. WIGMORE: I have been told by the manager of the line that they will not accept \$10,000. If they refuse to sign this contract does the minister not think that it will cost him more than \$10,000 to carry the mails? Some may think that they are receiving this \$10,000 for carrying the mails but a very large portion of it is paid out for the transfer of the mails from the steamer to the post office and from the steamer to the train. It is quite true that this is a connecting link between St. John and Digby but there will be a great number of times in winter when they would not have enough freight or passengers to warrant them in continuing it as a daily service. If they receive \$20,000 I believe they will be prepared to sign up for another year but I doubt very much if they would agree to sign the contract for \$10,000. Therefore, we will not receive the service that we have been receiving during the last two or three years.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: There might be something equitably done by making an arrangement under which the Post Office Department should receive and deliver their own mails at their own cost. I will take that up with the post office and the railway.

Mr. WIGMORE: I think that if the minister would do that it would be favourably received.

Sydney and Whycomagh, steam service between, \$4,000.

Mr. McKENZIE: This is the oldest steamship service we have in Cape Breton and certainly if not the best it is as good as

any and more deserving. I think, even at this late hour, I am justified in telling the minister the history of the service. In the old days if a man wanted to go from Sydney to Boston, Halifax or St. John, he would have to start from Sydney, take the steamer to Whycomagh, drive 35 miles to Port Hood, take the steamer from Port Hood to Pictou and there get the train. That was the route travelled from Sydney to Halifax and this is part of that old route. The steamer is doing splendid work in the Bras d'Or lakes every year and I am only sorry that it is not getting more money. It is not making any money. I see that another service in Cape Breton is getting \$14,000. If I had to give a conscientious opinion on the matter I would say that these votes should be reversed and that this steamer should get more than she is getting. I hope that in another year the subsidy will be increased.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: That is a strong bid for local support.

Sydney and Bras d'Or lake ports, and ports on the east and west coasts of Cape Breton, steam service between, \$14,000.

Mr. McKENZIE: Where does this boat call?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: It starts at North Sydney, right at my hon. friend's doorstep, and goes to Baddeck, Grand Narrows, East Bay, Big Pond, Irish Cove, Johnston's Harbour, Marble Mountain, St. Peter's, Grandique, Poulamond, L'Ardoise, Arichat, Mulgrave, Hawkesbury, Hastings, Port Hood, Margaree, Grand Etang and Cheticamp, returning to Sydney and proceeding thence to Gborous, calling at Port Morien, Main-a-dieu and Louisburg. These are familiar household names to my hon. friend.

Mr. McKENZIE: How often do they call at these places?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: It is a weekly service.

Mr. McKENZIE: She calls at Margaree; where is her next call coming around the northern end of Cape Breton?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: From Port Hood she goes to Margaree, from Margaree to Grand Etang and from Grand Etang to Cheticamp.

Mr. McKENZIE: And then?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: She turns around as any good boat ought to, and gets home.

Mr. McKENZIE: Let me tell the minister that in going home—he is quite

familiar with the old term—"One must needs go through Samaria" some time. This boat must necessarily traverse that section of the coast between Grand Etang and Sydney harbour. Passing along the coast she should enter the harbour of Ingonish, which is an important one, and then go up to Neil's harbour and St. Ann's harbour. It is important that she should call at all these places. Whoever made out the schedule of the ports at which the steamer should call had no regard at all to that 120 miles of coast in Victoria county. The boat puts into Grand Etang, in Inverness county and then passes along the coast without calling at any of the places which I have mentioned. I am sure that was not the purpose or intention of the minister, or of the Government in subsidizing this service. There is a lot of traffic along that coast in the summer time, and we should have the benefit of this boat calling at the ports to which I have referred.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I will look into the matter. I want to draw the attention of the committee to the fact that in the appropriations for steamship subsidies I have been able to make a saving of a little over a million dollars. Whether I have cut these Estimates too strongly or not I do not know.

On the motion of Sir George Foster progress was reported and leave granted to sit again this day.

#### WAR LOANS—AUTHORIZATION OF OVER-SUBSCRIPTIONS.

On the motion of Sir Henry Drayton, Bill No. 211 to confirm certain borrowings under the Demobilization Appropriation Act, 1919, was read a second time and the House went into committee thereon, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: When this Bill received its first reading the question was raised by my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) that the form of the measure was not proper, in that it left entirely blank all reference to the amendment. I have had the opportunity of discussing the matter with the hon. gentleman and now beg to move—confirming the point which he raised and with which I entirely agree—that clause one of the Bill be amended by striking out the words "any sums" in the first line thereof and inserting the words "a sum not exceeding three hundred and forty million dollars" in lieu thereof.

Mr. McKENZIE: Will the minister explain how that \$340,000,000 is made up?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: It represents the excess of subscriptions over and above the amount of the loans that were subscribed. That has been taken care of in the past. It was done last year by making provision in the Act for a new loan. This year there is no legislation enabling loans to be made, and by the present Bill we are merely validating the over-subscriptions that have taken place.

Amendment agreed to and section as amended agreed to.

Bill reported and amendment read a first and second time.

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Sir Henry Drayton, by unanimous consent moves that Bill No. 211 to confirm certain borrowings under the Demobilization Appropriation Act, 1919, be read a third time.

Motion agreed to.

On the motion of Hon. Mr. Rowell the House returned to the order of Routine Proceedings.

At Six o'clock the House took recess.

#### After Recess.

The House resumed at Eight o'clock.

#### INCOME WAR TAX ACT, 1917, AMENDMENT.

On the order for the third reading of Bill No. 158 to amend the Income War Tax Act, 1917, being called:

Sir HENRY DRAYTON (Minister of Finance): Mr. Speaker, before the third reading of this Bill I desire to move some amendments which will necessitate a reference to Committee of the Whole. The amendments are entirely non-contentious. I therefore move that the order be discharged and that the Bill be referred back to Committee of the Whole with instructions to amend.

Motion agreed to and the House went into committee on the Bill, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: The first amendment, Mr. Chairman, is on page 2 of the Bill in subsection 2 (a) of section 7, where a typographical error will be noted—the word “to” after “per cent” should read “of.” I therefore beg to move to amend clause 7 by striking out the word “to” in

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the thirty-sixth line on page 2 of the Bill and substituting the word “of.”

Amendment agreed to.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: By an error, which was not noted at the time, subsection 11 of section 10 places the incomes of non-residents in exactly the same position as those of residents, which of course would be a very radical change and something that was never intended. What was desired was to get from the agents of non-residents full particulars of their principals' income for the purpose of seeing that income properly taxable should be taxed. In order to carry out the intention as expressed I beg to move: That subsection 11 of section 10 be amended by striking out all the words after the words “outside of Canada shall” in the 18th line on page 4 of the Bill and substituting therefor the following words, “make a return of such income, and in case of default by such non-resident of the payment of any tax payable shall, on being so notified by the minister, deduct the amount of such tax from either the income or other assets of such non-resident in his hands and pay the same to the minister.” It is a policing provision and does not enlarge the liability of the non-resident.

Amendment agreed to.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: Then an amendment to section 16 I desire to briefly explain. We have always taxed stock dividends, and in order to remove all doubt that stock dividends were to be taxed and that everybody was to be treated in the same manner, the House has simply declared that dividends shall include stock dividends. Section 3 was therefore enacted this year in these words:

Dividends declared or shareholders' bonuses voted after the 31st day of December, 1919, shall be taxable income of the year in which they are declared or voted.

That was the form in which it was submitted to the House. The words “declared or voted” were struck out in committee and the section made to read “paid or distributed.” It has been pointed out that the section ought not to come into force at the present minute, because if it did earnings which were earned for years past and not distributed would be taxed on the basis of income for the year. For example, a company—and we have this particular matter before us—with a capital of \$200,000, which has been engaged in business for about twenty years, has accumulated shareholders' reserves amounting to \$1,200,000. It

is desired to reorganize the company and to divide the reserves among the shareholders. Under the Act as originally passed the division of the shareholders' profit, whether it is divided in cash or in stock, would be taxed, but taxed only in so far as profits are concerned for the years in which we have taxable provisions. Now, under section 3 which I have referred to, after this no matter when the money is earned all undistributed funds will be regarded as income of the particular year. But it is felt that an opportunity should be given to companies to divide profits which were made long before we had any income tax laws, and the amendment therefore that I desire to move will deal with section 16, because that is the section which specifies when the different provisions of the Act shall come into force. Accordingly I move that subsection 4 of section 16 be numbered subsection 5, and that the following be inserted as subsection 4:

Section 3 shall come into force on the first day of January, 1921.

Amendment agreed to.

Bill reported as further amended, read the third time, and passed.

#### SPECIAL WAR REVENUE ACT, 1915, AMENDMENT.

On the order for the third reading of Bill 183 to amend the Special War Revenue Act, 1915, being called:

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: Mr. Speaker, I desire to make some amendments in this Bill, and for that purpose I move that the order be discharged and that the Bill be referred back to the Committee of the Whole with instructions to amend.

Motion agreed to and the House went into committee on the Bill.—Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: I beg to move an amendment to a paragraph on page 8. Hon. gentlemen will recollect that jewellers have not to pay any specific tax on any particular article they sell, but they pay a tax on the whole turn-over. Numerous representations have been made from various parts of the country on behalf of the tobacconists. Tobacconists and others have to pay a tax of 20 per cent on pipes sold of a value in excess of \$2.50. Jewellers handle pipes to some small extent, and although it was not thought important, apparently there is now a danger of the pipe trade being taken away from tobacconists

and given to jewellers, and that was something that was never contemplated. I, therefore, move to amend clause 2 of the Bill by inserting after the word "except" in the twenty-eight line on page 8 the following words: "Pipes selling in excess of \$2.50 each." The result of the amendment is that the special tax on pipes selling for over \$2.50 is continued whether a pipe is sold by a jeweller or any one else.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Does this mean that the tax on pipes will be 20 per cent whether they are sold by a jeweller or a tobacconist?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: Yes.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: I am in favour of this amendment, but might I suggest that the same discrimination exists as regards fountain pens? When fountain pens are sold by jewellers, there is a tax of 10 per cent; if they are sold by stationers there is a tax of 20 per cent. The fountain pen trade is generally in the hands of the stationer, so that there would be a discrimination in favour of the jeweller.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: The matter at one time stood somewhat in the way in which the hon. gentleman intimates, but it has already been covered. Fountain pens now are taxable only when of a value in excess of \$5 each.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: But the discrimination exists just the same. Whether a fountain pen is a luxury or not does not always depend on the value of the pen. Ordinary large fountain pens are worth sometimes \$7.50 or \$8. Fountain pens are only luxuries when they are made of gold or silver. A five dollar pen is not always a luxury; indeed, in many cases, it is a necessity. I suggest that an amendment similar to the one which the minister has moved in regard to pipes of a value of \$2.50 each, should be moved in regard to fountain pens.

Amendment agreed to.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: Another matter that has been brought to my attention is in regard to the clothing item. Journeymen tailors, regular merchant tailors, have filed statements dealing very exhaustively with the cost of made-to-order clothes. They complain that there is a large difference between a made-to-order garment and that of a ready-made suit. They also complain that at the prices now suggested, proper, reasonable wages for journeymen cannot be paid. Undoubtedly there is a difference

between the cost of a journeyman tailor-made garment and a factory tailor-made garment, and the department has been studying what a proper adjustment would be. So as to give proper protection to those working in tailoring, I move to amend clause 2 by inserting after the words: "in excess of \$45." in the third line on page 9 the following words: "provided that on clothing covered by this item made to the order and measure of each individual customer by a merchant tailor or journeyman tailors in his employ, the tax shall be payable on the amount in excess of \$60."

Mr. CAHILL: Of course, the minister recognizes that in this, as in a great deal more of his legislation he is now adopting class legislation that protects the interest of the wealthier classes, so that a man who can afford to go to a tailor and pay \$59 for a suit is not taxed, whereas the poor man who has to pay, say \$46 for a suit, in a retail store, must pay a tax. This is in conformity with the minister's previous Bill; it is in conformity with the Government's legislation. The minister knows as well as I or any one else that a man who can afford to pay \$59 for a suit of clothes is just as much entitled to be taxed as the man who cannot afford to pay more than \$46. The minister knows that a made-to-order suit costing say \$59 is much better made and probably of better material than a ready-made suit costing \$42 or \$43 in a retail store. But this legislation is in keeping with the minister's legislation all through the Budget proposals; it is class legislation protecting the interest of the wealthy people as against that of the ordinary or poor people of the country.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: I have not any idea that I will be able to convince my hon. friend, but there is a difference between a man and a machine; at least, I always thought so, and I had an idea that as we have good journeyman tailors, members of first-class unions that to-day are working pretty hard against the machine, some consideration should be given to them. There is no doubt that we should help to control prices in these taxes, but there is also no doubt that the same measure of control cannot well be accorded to an article which costs from fifty to sixty per cent more to make than the cheaper article.

Mr. RINFRET: Has the minister received any representations as to raising the minimum price on "hats, bonnets and hoods, women's and misses', in excess of \$12 [Sir Henry Drayton.]

each?" When the resolutions were first introduced into the House the amount fixed on men's hats was \$5, on caps \$2, and on women's hats, \$12. An amendment was made to the resolution raising the price to \$7 in the case of men's hats and to \$3 instead of \$2 in the case of caps. Representations have been made by merchants that the price of women's and misses' hats should also be raised from \$12 to \$15. I shall not move an amendment at this stage but I would ask the minister to be gallant and make this change.

Amendment agreed to.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: There was no penalty provided in subsection (7) on page 11. I therefore beg to move to add after the word "paid," on line 39 on page 11 of the Bill, the following words:

And the penalty for neglect or refusal to obtain a license shall be a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars which shall be recoverable upon summary conviction.

Mr. CAHILL: Does that apply to retailers?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: That section deals with whiskies, medicinal articles, excise taxes, automobile taxes and the like.

Amendment agreed to.

Section as amended agreed to.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: There was a discussion in the House, I believe, as to whether these taxes could not be collected by stamps in order to save the immense amount of accounting which it was alleged would be necessary. Investigations have been made with a view to ascertaining whether stamps could be used or not and the department have come to the conclusion that in a large number of cases stamps could be used. To provide for this, it is necessary there should be a penal provision in connection with the non-affixing of stamps. I therefore beg to move to amend the Bill by adding as clause 4 the following:

4. (1) Every person who being thereto liable, refuses or neglects to pay the taxes prescribed by sections 19BB and 19BBB of this Act, or if such duty is payable in stamps neglects or refuses to duly affix such stamps and to duly cancel the same, shall be liable on summary conviction to a penalty equal to not less than ten times the amount of such duty but in no case less than fifty dollars.

Mr. CAHILL: That only applies to the vendor, of course?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: I do not know that it would only apply to the vendor. It

is the duty of the vendor to see that it is done, but I can imagine a case where the vendor and purchaser might be acting in collusion, and where a charge might possibly be laid against both. The hon. gentleman is quite right, however, the primary intention is to make the vendor liable.

Mr. CAHILL: The minister would not say that every time a man goes into a store to purchase goods, he would have to look up the Act to see whether it was being complied with or not?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: Oh, no. The hon. gentleman is quite right.

Amendment agreed to.

Bill as amended reported, and read the third time and passed.

### SUPPLY.

The House again in Committee of Supply, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

Naval service—To provide for the maintenance of the Royal Canadian Navy, \$300,000.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: I move that the committee consider at the same time in conjunction with this item, item No. 512 in the Supplementary Estimates for the year ending March 31, 1921, reading as follows:

Naval service—To provide for the maintenance of the Royal Canadian Navy—further amount required, \$1,700,000.

Motion agreed to.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: I might explain to the committee the reason why the item in the Supplementary Estimates is for \$1,700,000 instead of \$2,200,000 as I stated it would be when naval affairs were under discussion in the House a few days ago. I said then that with an item in the Supplementary Estimates of \$2,200,000 the total maintenance cost for our reorganized navy would be \$2,500,000. Inasmuch as the Rainbow and the Niobe are going out of commission as depot ships, and the cruiser and destroyers will not be here for possibly a month or two, it will be obvious to hon. members that we cannot require as much money for this fiscal year as we shall for the coming year, and therefore I have deducted from the Supplementary Estimates the sum of \$500,000. The amount now appearing in the Supplementary Estimates is \$1,700,000, making a total maintenance cost for naval purposes this year of \$2,000,000.

Mr. DUFF: Mr. Chairman, I am sure we are all very much pleased indeed to learn that the Minister of Naval Affairs

(Mr. Ballantyne) is able to see his way clear to reduce the Supplementary Estimates to the extent of \$500,000. Whilst, of course, we have to accept his explanation of this reduction, I think there is another reason for his having decreased the Estimate to this extent, and that is the fact that we put up such a good opposition the other day in discussing the matter. For that and other reasons I now propose in my own feeble way to endeavour if possible to convince the House that instead of voting \$2,000,000 odd for naval purposes this year we should vote only the exact amount required to settle up naval matters in Halifax, Esquimalt and elsewhere; and we should sell off the Niobe, the Rainbow and other ships and generally clean up the nasty, dirty mess in which matters stand at present. On the 14th of June we had the pleasure of listening to an excellent speech delivered by my esteemed friend the Minister of Naval Affairs, and after the hon. gentleman had concluded his address, I made the suggestion that I thought it would be in the interests of the country to defer further consideration of the item under discussion at the time so that the House and the people of the country might have an opportunity of thoroughly digesting the minister's speech. My hon. friend very graciously acceded to my request, and after I had made a few remarks he moved that the committee rise. And we are again proceeding with the Estimates to-night.

I intend to offer objection to the present proposal on three grounds. First, I do not think that we can afford a navy. Second, I think that what the minister proposes to do now or in the future will be inadequate for defensive purposes; and, third, I am convinced that public opinion is strongly adverse to the proposal, and we certainly should lend an attentive ear to public opinion.

As I say, my first reason is that we cannot afford to spend on naval affairs the money which the minister asks us for. Not only can we ill afford to spend this money, but in my opinion we cannot afford to spend the money which is necessary to demobilize the present so-called navy. In what position do we find ourselves to-day? At the present time our gross debt, if I remember rightly, is somewhere between two and a half and three billion dollars, a staggering liability for a country of small population like Canada as regards population, and ability to pay. What are our expenditures for this year? If any hon. gentleman will look at the Estimates as submitted to the

House—both the Main Estimates and the Supplementary—I think he will find very grave cause for serious reflection.

The Main Estimates, if my figures are correct, amount to the stupendous sum of \$537,000,000, and the Supplementary Estimates as brought down yesterday or to-day amount to another \$62,000,000. And, Mr. Chairman, if what we hear around the corridors and in statements made by hon. members and on the Votes and Proceedings is true, "the worst is yet to come." Now, these two amounts total some \$600,000,000 which the people of Canada will have to pay in taxes this year. I think that after listening to the Budget Speech of the Minister of Finance (Sir Henry Drayton) every hon. gentleman in this House should deem it his solemn duty to guard very carefully every vote which is made for the public service, and if it is at all possible to effect a saving in regard to any particular service it is the duty of every member who is imbued with a sense of responsibility to see that that saving is made. In my humble opinion we certainly could save most of the money which the Minister of Naval Affairs is asking us to vote to-night, and it is our duty at least to endeavour to persuade him to save it. In the Estimates which we are to vote we find that we have to raise the sum of \$142,000,000 to pay interest on the debt and to provide for a sinking fund; on pensions, to protect our wounded soldiers and to take care of the widows and orphans of the gallant men who fell in the war, we have to raise another \$27,000,000; in the Militia Department we intend to spend \$12,500,000; in regard to Railways and Canals, no less a sum than \$57,000,000; whilst for demobilization, to clean up war work, we have to spend the sum of 39,000,000. Of course, most of these items are necessary. Railways, like the poor, we have always with us; and we cannot escape the liability which has been forced upon the country in that respect. We must also shoulder our responsibility in connection with the returned soldiers. We must demobilize them and pay them off, and I am sure that every man and woman in the country, if the present condition of the country's finances were not so deplorable, would not only spend \$27,000,000 but twice that amount. As I have repeatedly stated, however, we should certainly not spend one dollar more than is absolutely necessary to-day, and in view of the tremendous demands that are being made upon us, we should be exceedingly economical. Mr. Chairman, I do not think that we should do anything that would seem, so to

[Mr. Duff.]

speak, "to grind the face of the poor"; and I think I am safe in saying that Canada to-day can be designated as a poor nation, in view of the heavy burden of taxation which we will have to face for the next generation.

The second ground on which I intend to vote against this estimate is this. I consider that what the Minister of Naval Affairs proposes to do either now or in the near future will be absolutely ineffective for defensive purposes. What did the minister tell us in his speech the other day in regard to the cruisers and other boats which he intends to get this year? He referred to the generous gift of the Mother Country to Canada. Well, so far as that is concerned, I am sure that we all appreciate the fact that the Old Country has offered us a gift. But, Sir, we should bear in mind that we are "daughter in our mother's house, but mistress in our own," and it is our duty primarily as citizens of Canada to say whether or not we shall accept that gift. Now, the gift in question comprises one cruiser, two torpedo boat destroyers and two submarines; and the cruiser, as I said in my few remarks the other day, is practically no better than the Niobe, which is going to be sold or broken up for junk.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: On what does the hon. gentleman base his opinion? The Niobe, of course, I admit at once is obsolete. But in view of the statement I made the other day, which will be seen in Hansard, that the cruiser we are to get is a modern ship—I gave the armament, etc.—on what assumption does my hon. friend base his argument that she is obsolete and is as useless as the Niobe?

Mr. DUFF: I thought I heard some other hon. gentleman opposite saying something. I would like him to get up and tell us what he said.

The minister why in my opinion the cruiser he intends to accept from the British Government is no better than the Niobe. I intended to give him my reasons for that and I would be glad to attempt to convince the minister that for the purpose for which the cruiser will be used the Niobe will do just as good work as the cruiser the minister is going to get. The cruiser that he proposes to accept has a displacement of 4,800 tons, length 453 feet breadth 47 feet, draft 16.8 feet, speed 25½ knots fuel capacity 1,345 tons of coal and oil consumption 260 tons. This is not a very large boat. The minister tells us that this cruiser was built in 1916.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: I stated that the torpedo boat destroyers were constructed in 1916. I also said that the cruiser was a modern one, and I gave her speed and armament, but I said that the question of just what type of cruiser we were going to get had not been settled yet.

Mr. DUFF: I have to apologise to the minister if I do not remember his remarks correctly. But it does not make very much difference to my argument. It is a well known fact in the naval service that a cruiser becomes obsolete when she is five years of age and whether this cruiser is one year or five years old, it only means waiting two or three years until she becomes obsolete. For the purpose for which the Government will use this cruiser, the Niobe will be just as good, do just as effective service, and in fact better service, than this cruiser that he is going to accept from the British Government. The Niobe will do similar work at far less expense. You will notice that this new cruiser is going to burn 1,345 tons of coal and use 260 tons of oil. Let us see the class that the Niobe is in. The minister in his statement gave quite a glowing description of the work which the Niobe did during the war. The minister's statement is quite correct; the Niobe has a record of which we all ought to be proud, short though that service was. Her work off New York harbour when she watched the steamers coming out of that port and put boarding officers on them to search them reflected great credit on the Niobe. There is only one ship in the British navy that put more boarding officers on vessels for the purpose of examining them than the old Niobe. Until her boilers went bad, this ship was used for patrol work. Instead of laying her up as a depot boat the Government should have fixed the tubes in her boilers and allowed her to remain in commission during the war. I contend that this new cruiser which the minister is going to accept from Great Britain will only be a plaything for some gentleman in his department and some officers and men in this country who will be taken from productive industries. Instead of allowing them to remain in the fields, the fishing boats, the mines or the lumber camps, these men will be taken from productive industries and put on board this cruiser. All this cruiser can do, and all we can expect her to do, for the next few years is to sail up and down the Atlantic coast, or go through the Panama canal and sail up and down the Pacific coast. There is nothing else for her

to do and yet we are asked to spend a large amount of money to provide a pleasure yacht for a number of people in this country.

I do not intend to talk about the torpedo boat destroyers, but I want to say in regard to the submarines that every man, woman and child, not only in this country but in every country in the civilized world heard enough about submarines during the war, and this Government will be ill-advised to accept from anybody those death-dealing instruments which the Germans used in the North Sea and other places during the war. Do we forget the Lusitania? Do we forget the hospital ships sunk by German submarines? Yet the minister and this Government intend to accept from the British Government boats of this type. We should turn that offer down—spurn it with scorn—rather than accept such boats from any Government.

We had the pleasure of listening the other night to the very distinguished gentleman who represents Montreal, St. Antoine, in the person of the Financial Director of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, Sir Herbert Ames, and I am sure that every person who heard him listened with a great deal of interest to his remarks. He told us what the League of Nations had done and what he expected the League of Nations to do. If we are to believe what Sir Herbert Ames told us, or if we are to give heed to what he says we can expect in the future, we certainly do not require even the nucleus of a navy. Let me quote what the right hon. Mr. Balfour says about the League of Nations:

If the League of Nations fails to promote a diminution in armament, remarks Mr. Balfour, "much of its value will be gone and we will have to admit that it has failed to carry out the great expectations entertained with regard to its future activities."

And commenting on this utterance the Montreal Gazette says:

To which may be added that if the nations were honest in their war-time protestations, and if they are wise in their intentions now, there will be a check in the mad race of armies and navies that inevitably leads to war.

These are the wise remarks of a statesman in the Old Country for whom every person in Canada has the greatest respect. It seems to me that what Sir Herbert Ames and what Mr. Balfour expects to be accomplished by the League of Nations must go to show us that it is not necessary for us to embark upon a naval policy of this kind.

I said a moment ago that these cruisers, destroyers and other boats that the Minister of Naval Affairs and the Government intend to accept from the Old Country would be absolutely ineffective for war purposes. I do not think that anybody will deny that statement. If anything should happen in the near future, if any complication should arise, we certainly could not expect to defend our coasts with these boats against any navy in the world no matter how small it might be.

Mr. ARMSTRONG (East Lambton): To whom would we turn for assistance to protect our coasts if we were put in the position which the hon. gentleman has just stated?

Mr. DUFF: I would ask my hon. friend to whom we would turn even if we had this little cruiser and these torpedo boat destroyers and two submarines. The hon. gentleman does not think, I suppose, that these would protect the Atlantic or Pacific coast in time of war?

Mr. ARMSTRONG (Lambton): No.

Mr. DUFF: I am sure he does not intend to convey that idea. I do not care what happens, these five boats are absolutely useless for defensive purposes. If war should come and you kept them on the Atlantic coast, the Pacific coast would be undefended, or if they were on the Pacific coast, the Atlantic coast would be undefended. You cannot very well cut in two—as Solomon proposed to do with the baby—this cruiser which the Minister of Naval Affairs is going to accept from England. You cannot have one part of that vessel on the Atlantic coast and the other part on the Pacific coast. I am sure that the hon. member for East Lambton (Mr. Armstrong) will agree with me that one torpedo boat destroyer on the Atlantic coast and another on the Pacific coast would not be very much good for the purposes of defence. And then, in case of an emergency, to whom would we turn? I tell the minister that we do not want these ships, and the reason for it is because on this side of the Atlantic we have the Monroe doctrine, and that doctrine will protect us as it will protect everybody else on this continent.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. DUFF: The Minister of Naval Affairs may very well laugh. Of course, it will be a great thing for him when these

[Mr. Duff.]

cruisers come out. He can put on his peak cap and gold braid, go down to the city of Halifax, board this cruiser and be received by a large number of man-of-war's-men. Next he can go up the St. Lawrence to Quebec and be received there by the mayor and the other civic dignitaries, and can finally proceed to Montreal, his own city, and be received there. It will certainly be a great time for the Minister of Naval Affairs. But to the average citizen of this country, the ordinary man who has to pay taxes into the federal treasury, it is no laughing matter. I can assure hon. gentlemen opposite that I was never more serious in my life when I say that these boats which the minister is taking, or thinking of taking, from Great Britain will be absolutely useless for defence purposes and will be an absolute waste of good money.

Now, Sir, I said a moment ago that my third reason for being opposed to this policy was that public opinion in Canada is very strongly against this navy, and if the committee will bear with me for a minute or two, I will read what two or three papers have said since the Minister of Naval Affairs announced his policy in that regard on the 14th of June. The Manitoba Free Press, of Winnipeg, in an editorial of June 17 gave utterance to the following views:

There is, however, nothing emergent in the situation. Even though it may be that we face a future of wars and rumors of wars, we are going to have a breathing spell of release from these alarms. No hostile warships are likely to raid our coasts for a decade or so; and we have time fully to consider the question and to reach some definite idea as to the extent of the burden we shall need to carry and the manner in which we can best provide this defence. Beyond the fact, which trust has been settled for all time, that the navy when it comes will be Canadian throughout, Canadian ships, Canadian crews, Canadian officers, Canadian control, there is no very clear idea anywhere as to what is best to be done. Admiral Jellicoe's reports have by no means settled the problem for us.

The Free Press has more than one suggested that, seeing that the matter is not urgent, this is one problem that the Union Government might very well mark time upon. The matter should be very fully discussed in parliament and out of it before commitments, which are bound to have large financial consequences are made. The situation has all the appearance of having been forced by the importunities of the Admiralty. The Admiralty probably holds as firmly to-day as it ever did its belief that a common Imperial navy, subject to central control, is the only means effectively to provide naval defences for the British nations.

The Dominion Government, not having made up its mind about this naval policy, is nevertheless creating a small naval force made up of vessels presented to Canada by the

Admiralty. These ships, with the exception as to the superior officers—the exception is worth noting—are to be manned by Canadians. Gifts are favours with sharp edges. There is in them, however carefully hidden, some element of obligation. A one-sided gift between equals is a difficult transaction; and where the relationship is uncertain with some suggestion of inferiority on the part of the recipient, the acceptance of a gift may possibly have awkward consequences. The Dominion Government, it seems to us, would have been well advised if it had replied to the well-intentioned pressure from the Admiralty by saying that it could have no transactions with it until it had worked out its naval policy and secured the approval of the Canadian people; but that, once this was done, it would be prepared to consider taking over British ships if the Admiralty had them to spare on the basis of paying their full value for them.

If Mr. Ballantyne's statement is to be interpreted as meaning that the Canadian naval policy is to be determined at an Imperial naval conference to be held in London shortly, there is room for vigorous protest.

That is what the Manitoba Free Press, one of the newspapers supporting this Government, says in part about Canada's Naval Policy, and it will be noticed that it asserts that the very best thing the Government could do would be to defer this matter until we have had time to go more fully into it. I hope the Minister of Naval Affairs will carefully weigh the words of the Manitoba Free Press. Now, Sir, there is another newspaper which is strongly opposed to naval expenditure at this time. The paper in question is published in what may be called a naval and military city—a city which ever since its settlement has practically been a base for the British Army and the British Navy, and lately a base for Canadian troops and for the Canadian Navy. The paper to which I refer is the Halifax Chronicle which, in its issue of Wednesday, June 16th, made the following statements:

It is to be hoped that the practice of ministers saying one thing and meaning another, or meaning nothing at all, will not become epidemic in Parliament.

Well, Sir, I might say here that the Minister of Naval Affairs is not the only minister who has been guilty of this very same thing. The Chronicle goes on to say:

The Minister of Finance gave a striking exhibition of it in his Budget Speech. The Minister of Naval Service has followed suit.

Hon. Mr. Ballantyne gave it to be clearly understood, three months ago, that no decision would be reached with regard to a permanent naval policy for Canada until after the next Imperial Conference in 1921, more than a year hence. He subsequently presented Naval Estimates of only \$300,000 for the current year. He issued orders for the virtual stripping of the Halifax and Esquimalt dockyards, and arranged for the disposition of all equipment and supplies. His apparent intention to economize

rigorously was regarded with almost universal satisfaction because it was generally felt that, after her enormous war expenditures, Canada could afford to do nothing effective in the naval direction, and had therefore better not attempt anything at present, or until the necessity and the way became clearer.

The matter was considered as good as settled temporarily, or for the session at least, until the minister sprung his new announcement of policy on the House of Commons, on Monday, coupled with Supplementary Estimates for \$2,200,000, in addition to the \$300,000 previously estimated, thus providing for a total expenditure of two and a half million dollars this year. More significant still, if not more ominous, was the repetition of his former statement that "no decision on a permanent naval policy would be reached until after the next Imperial Conference in 1921." The obvious suggestion is that the present vote of \$2,500,000 is only a preliminary step, a mere foretaste of what is to follow.

An amazing revelation made in the minister's speech was that at a meeting of overseas Premiers, in London, in 1918, over which Sir Robert Borden presided, a memorandum was drawn up and sent to the Admiralty, in which the policy now to be adopted was recommended. That policy is identical, on a small scale, with that which Sir Wilfrid Laurier proposed for Canada, and which after first supporting, Sir Robert afterwards strenuously opposed. It was in direct opposition to it, that he brought forward his defeated measure, to make a gift of Thirty-Five Million Dollars to the Admiralty from the Dominion Treasury. If Sir Robert is not a great sailor it cannot be for lack of knowledge of how to box the political compass on the Naval question.

The main points in connection with the minister's speech are that an additional \$2,200,000 of public money is to be expended during this and each coming year, with the prospect of indefinite further increases in the near future, and that Canada is to maintain a number of vessels, presumably for training purposes. We are to assume this further burden while almost crushed beneath the liabilities incurred through the war, and before any effective steps have been taken towards the rehabilitation of the country's finances.

While Great Britain is cutting down her Navy as far and as fast as she can, Canada is to start building up a new Navy. While the German fleet was at its full menacing strength Canada did without a Navy. Now that the German Fleet has been wiped out of existence, and there is no threatening fleet in sight in the world; now, after we have spent billions in the war and crippled the Dominion's finances for years to come, we are to be forced into further borrowings for additional expenditures to build and maintain a fleet which is wholly unnecessary just now, or as far ahead as one can see.

Surely Parliament will inspect and examine this singular proposition, so singularly brought forward, to the very bottom before sanctioning any such expenditures as that asked for by the minister, in Canada's present condition and circumstances.

I think that these wise words written by the editor of the Morning Chronicle should certainly have some weight with the Minister of Naval Affairs and other hon. gentlemen opposite. In fact I think I am safe

in saying that a great many of those hon. gentlemen are not in favour of a naval policy. As I said in my remarks some few days ago whispers came from a certain caucus—as whispers seem to come from a number of caucuses these days held by my friends opposite—that there was a division of opinion as to this naval policy and the Minister of Naval Affairs was told by his followers exactly what they thought about it.

Now, Sir, we have in the city of Halifax another paper, the Evening Mail, which treats the naval proposition of the minister as a joke—and it might well be considered a joke if it was not such a tragedy. The Evening Mail devotes one of its pages to what it calls a "Question Box." On that page it prints questions from readers and such answers as the editorial staff are able to furnish. Let me read one of these questions; it is as follows:

Question.—In the demobilization, so-called, of the Canadian Navy, again so-called, some two hundred, more or less, good, honest mechanics, natives of Halifax, mostly heads of families have been sent adrift. In each department a few men have been kept on, but the great majority have had to walk the plank. At the same time the clerical staff is left intact. Why get at the mechanics? If there is no use for the mechanics, there can be no use for the clericals. I thought the new navy was to be Canadian, but the men retained have been selected by Imperials who are shortly to leave for England. We were told the new head would be a young Canadian, but now we find it is to be an Englishman. While the war was on, some 7,100 young Canadians joined the service, serving in the North Sea, at home and elsewhere. Do you know how many of them are being retained for the new Canadian navy? Just one. And the new ships will soon be coming out to form the new Canadian navy with 1,500 Englishmen. Except, perhaps for a few clericals, the new Canadian navy will be more English than ever. We poor "natives" do not seem to be regarded as of any use except when there is any fighting to be done. I hope The Mail will take this matter up, for it is certainly getting up to the straining point.

The answer given to that question reads:

Answer.—Regarding the mechanics, we understand the labor unions are taking the matter up and as far as the other statements are concerned we have no direct knowledge. Of course, we have always considered this Canadian navy business as more or less of a joke and as time goes by we see no reason to change our opinion.

That, Sir, is the opinion of the editor of the Evening Mail, published in the city of Halifax—a city, which as I said a moment ago, was for many years a naval and military centre.

Mr. McKENZIE: Who is the editor?

[Mr. Duff.]

Mr. DUFF: I do not recollect at the moment; but the distinguished proprietor of that paper is no less a gentleman than Hon. Mr. Dennis, a member of our Senate.

Now, Sir, in view of the fact that public opinion is so strongly against this expenditure; in view of the fact that the finances of Canada are in such a serious condition; and in view of the fact that these ships we are getting cannot by any means be termed a navy or even the nucleus of a navy, it seems to me that the Government should reconsider this matter and not ask the House to vote these Estimates. My own idea is that under present circumstances the minister should take a decided stand and advise the Mother Country that we are not in a position to accept the proffered ships. I can understand that it is a very delicate subject for the Minister of Naval Affairs or the Government to refuse this gift from the Mother Country, but I think we might well be honest in the matter. At the present time practically one-quarter of the water front in the city of Halifax is owned by the Naval Department either for the Imperial or Dominion Government, and there can be no doubt that it would be better for the Government to sell that portion of the water front for business purposes, particularly as the water front facilities are insufficient to meet the local business needs; and by taking the course I have suggested the minister would be doing something that would help to stimulate and increase the business of this country. There is plenty of vacant land either on the Bedford Basin or on the Dartmouth shore where a dockyard could be located as a coaling station, etc., for the British Navy. Therefore in my opinion we should say to the Mother Country: If we enjoyed the prosperity of some years ago when we did not have to bear the enormous burden which we incurred during the war, we would be very glad to accept your gift; but at the present time our financial position will not warrant us undertaking the expenditure which the acceptance of your gift would involve.

But let us offer to help out the Mother Country in this way. Let the Imperial authorities make a new dockyard at the Bedford Basin or on the Dartmouth Shore and take over the naval defence of Halifax and Esquimalt. We will do what we can to provide naval recruits. If our young men now join this Canadian navy, they will have very small chances of promotion; but if the British Government take charge of naval affairs at Halifax and Esquimalt

they can train these same young men in the Imperial navy where there will be ample scope for their abilities to earn promotion.

Under all the circumstances, I think the Government would be well advised to inform the Mother Country that, for the reasons I have already stated, Canada cannot afford to take over the ships which have been offered, and that this Parliament will for the present defer dealing further with the question of naval defence.

Hon. C. C. BALLANTYNE (Minister of the Naval Service): Mr. Chairman, I am sure all hon. members will at once agree with me that this is the most remarkable speech that has ever been delivered in this House or that ever will be delivered for generations to come. It was rather difficult for me, as I am sure it was for hon. members, to follow the logic of my hon. friend from Lunenburg (Mr. Duff), for he set up an argument only to knock it down again. He first argued that we should have nothing in the shape of naval training or naval defence. But he overlooked the statement I made in the House a few days ago that under the Naval Service Act of 1910—which was placed on the Statute Books by my hon. friends opposite—we are in honour bound to maintain the docks at Halifax and at Esquimalt. Under that Act Canada entered into solemn obligations with the Mother Country not only to defend these shores, but to maintain and keep up a navy at all times, under certain conditions and regulations which it is unnecessary for me to specify at the present time. Suffice it to say that we were then obligated and will continue to be obligated, until such time as the Naval Service Act is repealed, to maintain the dockyards at Halifax and at Esquimalt. My hon. friend argued that we should wipe the slate of everything. I presume he intended that we should close up the Naval College at Esquimalt, that college that has such a splendid record. The Canadian cadets turned out by that college have gained a fine reputation for themselves in Canada and in the Imperial Navy that they have served so well during the time they have been in that fine service. But my hon. friend wants the Naval College closed up.

Mr. DUFF: I did not say that I wanted it closed up. I did not mention the Naval College. But since the minister has asked me what I would do with the Naval College, I would ask the British Admiralty to take it over.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: It goes without saying that if you close up the dockyards at Esquimalt and Halifax, and if you do away with the depot ships we have now, the Niobe and the Rainbow, and if you refuse to accept the generous gift of the British Government, it would certainly be a foolish policy to maintain the Naval College as it exists at the present time. Therefore, I assumed from the remarks of the hon. member that he wanted to abolish the Naval College as well as the dockyards and the depot ships.

He no sooner got through with that part of his argument than he undertook, very feebly and ineffectively, I will say, to prove that this modern cruiser with four-inch and six-inch guns, most modern in every way, these torpedo boat destroyers and the submarines were not modern; that they were of no value. Then, coming back to the Niobe, he went on to say that there was no use of accepting this modern cruiser from Great Britain because the country had the Niobe, and he said: Why not put the Niobe into commission again? I thought the hon. member was quite familiar with the state the Niobe was in at the present time, but apparently he is not; and therefore I will tell him that the Niobe is twenty-five years old and that she has no guns on board whatever.

Mr. DUFF: Whose fault is that?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: If my hon. friend will allow me, we shall reach all those things later on. It would cost to put the Niobe into commission not less than \$500,000, after she was put into commission, she would cost this country to keep her in commission the very large sum of \$1,445,329. If we agree with my hon. friend and put the Rainbow into commission, at a vast cost to the country also because she is obsolete and without guns and is a ship about thirty years old, it would cost this country \$625,869 to maintain the Rainbow in commission.

My hon. friend having got through with that phase of his argument got more remarkable as he proceeded on his way. He wiped that all out and said that he did not believe in having naval defence of any kind. He returned to the first part of his argument; he said: There is no need of having in this country a cruiser and torpedo boat destroyers. And he got almost panicky over the two modern submarines that the British Government have presented to Canada. One listening to him would think that at once we were going to send these submarines out to sea to shell the various

coast cities and fishing smacks, just as the U boats did. If my hon. friend has any anxiety on that score, let me assure him at once that I am a peaceful man and this is a peaceful Government. We have no idea whatever of sending these submarines out on such murderous cruises as the hon. member would lead the country to believe.

Mr. LAPOINTE: They will be peaceful submarines.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Let me tell my hon. friend again, before we leave the question of the cruiser, torpedo boat destroyers and submarines, that they are all modern. I hope the Parliament and Government of Canada will decide always to look after their own naval defence, and I trust that in the future, when a permanent policy is decided upon—as we fervently hope it will be at the conference of 1921—Canada may see her way clear, as her financial position will allow, to do something more in keeping with her dignity as a self-governing nation than what we are able to do at the present time owing to the strained financial condition of the country.

My hon. friend then came to the most startling part of his proposals. The hon. member for Lambton East (Mr. Armstrong) asked him to whom we would turn, and the hon. member for Lunenburg (Mr. Duff) said: We would turn to our neighbours, the Americans. And the hon. member would be satisfied that this country, that has shown its fervour and ability to take the part that she has nobly taken in the war, should take refuge under the Monroe doctrine if ever her shores were threatened in any way.

Mr. DUFF: Is it not true that the Government have to go every day with their hats in their hands to the United States for money, and that they will have to do that to get money for their new shipbuilding programme?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: The hon. member will agree that that has nothing to do with the argument he has made or with the reply that I am now making to his remarkable speech. But let me tell him that I do not think he would have one member on his side of the House—and he certainly would not have one man on this side—who would for one moment agree with his suggestion that this country above all other countries in the British Empire would be satisfied to rest under the folds of the American flag and to depend upon the Monroe Doctrine if ever our shores were threatened. We all trust that our shores may never be

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threatened; but if ever they be threatened, Canadians will defend the shores and ports of Canada in the future as they have always done in the past. If we have not sufficient naval forces to do that, we shall turn, not to our good friends the Americans or to the Monroe Doctrine, but to the Mother Country which has protected Canada from a naval standpoint ever since Canada has been a part of the British Empire. There has never been in the past, and there never will be in the future a time when Canada will find herself in such a humiliating position that she will have to take refuge under the Monroe Doctrine.

Mr. DUFF: The minister says that we have never turned and we shall never turn to the United States for protection. He must have a bad memory. Does he not remember that in the summer of 1918, the coast of Nova Scotia, the Atlantic seaboard was protected not only by United States destroyers but by United States airships?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: I am glad my hon. friend has asked me that question. Now that the war is over, I am at liberty to say that thousands and thousands of American troops went out by the St. Lawrence route and the ports of Halifax and Sydney, and American cruisers and American air forces were there for the protection of American ships and American soldiers.

Mr. DUFF: The minister did not answer my question.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: My hon. friend goes on to state that those torpedo boat destroyers, cruiser and submarines, although they are modern now, will, in his opinion, be obsolete five years from now. I prefer to take the opinion of Lord Jellicoe rather than that of the hon. member for Lunenburg. That distinguished naval officer states that neither a cruiser, a torpedo boat destroyer, nor a submarine, becomes obsolete under twelve or fifteen years. So we have at least twelve or fifteen years before any of the warships that England has been good enough to present to us, and which have been gratefully accepted by Canada, become obsolete.

I do not know where my hon. friend has been living when he has not been in Ottawa that he can say that public opinion in this country is against Canada expending the very meagre sum of \$2,000,000 on naval matters until such time as a permanent policy has been decided upon. He quoted from newspapers, but he took very good care not to quote that well-known Liberal paper the

Toronto Globe, because he would not have found in that journal an editorial on the navy to his liking. The Toronto Globe approved of this expenditure and approved of the Government policy in every respect. As I judge public opinion, I am quite satisfied that the great majority of Canadians from the Atlantic to the Pacific, irrespective of race or creed, not only are heartily in favour of what the Government proposes to do at the present time, but I am sure they will approve of Canada doing more than she is doing now when a permanent naval policy is decided upon, irrespective of what Government happens to be in power in 1921. My hon. friend will have an opportunity two years from now, or probably a little later, to test out public opinion upon a permanent naval policy for this country.

Mr. DUFF: The sooner the better.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: And he will not get very many votes if he advocates on the public platform at that time the extraordinary views he has given this House to-night. The hon. member also made one or two other statements that were absolutely incorrect. He said that at Halifax we had let out mechanics but nobody else, that all the clerks were retained. Let me tell my hon. friend that since the demobilization orders were issued, we have let out at Halifax 34 civilian clerks, 93 mechanics, 42 naval officers, and 227 men of other naval ratings. The hon. member gives the Government no credit whatever for reorganizing the navy, inefficient as it was. We have had a thorough reorganization, and have let out 782 officers and men of other ratings and civilians whom we did not require, and who did not possess the necessary knowledge and efficiency. Our navy is small, I admit, but it is going to be efficient, and there will be nothing political about it. With these modern torpedo boat destroyers, submarines, and the cruiser, we shall be in the best possible condition to train the graduates of our naval colleges and the young Canadians who, we hope, will join our Naval Service. Not only have we a long coast line in this country, but we have also a mercantile marine, which will consist of 63 ships, which we must endeavour to protect.

My hon. friend from Lunenburg says in a scornful way that the cruiser, the torpedo boat destroyers, and the submarines will be of no value in time of war. It is quite evident to me that my hon. friend did not cross the ocean during the war. If he had done so, I am sure he would have felt greatly relieved, as did all the passengers

and soldiers who crossed the ocean in those times of peril, to see in the far distance the smoke of approaching torpedo boat destroyers, those effective ships with a speed of thirty-five knots, zig-zagging along, up and down each side of the ship, and in front and behind, forming an almost perfect guard against submarines. If he had had that experience he would have a much higher opinion of torpedo boat destroyers than he entertains at the present time. I have only one more remark to make.

Mr. COPP: Hear, hear.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: The hon. member says "hear, hear." Surely it is no harm to place the actual facts before the people on such a question as this.

Mr. COPP: It was a note of encouragement.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: The hon. member for Lunenburg said that there would be no promotion for Canadians on these ships. There again he is in error. I am happy to say that when the ships arrive from England every officer on board the cruiser, the torpedo boat destroyers and the submarines will be a Canadian, except the four senior officers.

Mr. DUFF: What rank will these officers hold?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: The Canadian officers will be lieutenants and commanders. The captain of the cruiser will be an admiralty officer. With the exception of Captain Hose we have not in Canada an officer with sufficient knowledge to take command of a cruiser, but just as soon as Canadian officers are trained, the policy of the Government is to put Canadian officers on all these ships, and let the British officers go back home. Furthermore our Canadian officers will rank equally with the British naval officers on the other side, and will have the same opportunity for promotion in the home fleet as if they were on a cruiser in home waters. I am quite satisfied that the committee will pass this item, after we have heard possibly from one or two other members.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My hon. friend (Mr. Ballantyne) said that the Toronto Globe had spoken with approval of the Government's naval policy. Would the minister inform us what the Government's naval policy is?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: My hon. friend need not try to draw a red herring across the trail. He knows perfectly well that I was

referring to what we are doing at the present time until a permanent policy will be decided upon in 1921. I know my hon. friend reads the Toronto *Globe* and he must have seen the article.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I am not trying to draw a red herring across the trail. We are on the Naval Estimates and I am asking a concrete question: What is the Government naval policy? Has it a naval policy or has it not a naval policy? We on this side of the House understand that the Government has no naval policy. If it has, will the minister state it?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: L stated on the floor of this House on March 25 and repeated a few days ago, and I reiterate now that no definite naval policy will be decided upon until after the Naval Conference that will be called in 1921. I also stated clearly on March 25, that we had accepted this cruiser and the torpedo boat destroyers, and that for the present we were going to carry on on pre-war lines. I have been consistent all the way through in my remarks on naval affairs.

Mr. DENIS: This is a rather technical question, and if I make any errors in the few remarks I intend to make, I trust the minister and the committee will be indulgent. As I see it, this new expenditure that we are asked to make is the outcome of the mission of Lord Jellicoe to this country. It is true that the report made by Lord Jellicoe is not being followed; in other words, no permanent policy is being at present adopted. But the underlying idea of that report is, in a nut-shell, that all of the Dominions should unite with the Mother Country in an effort to build the most powerful fleet in the world. And what we are doing now is only a step toward the fulfilment of that policy. Now, it has been said to-night by the minister that we have no permanent policy at present; and, if I mistake not, neither has Great Britain any permanent naval policy just now. The permanent policies of Great Britain and her colonies will be formulated in the course of the next Imperial Conference which is to be held in 1921. The view that we have no permanent policy is very clearly expressed in the memorandum which was read to the House some time ago and which will be found at page 3605 of *Unrevised Hansard*. I may quote the minister's statement:

In view of Canada's heavy financial commitments and of the fact that Great Britain has not as yet decided on her permanent naval

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policy, and of the approaching Imperial Conference at which the question of naval defence of the Empire will come up for discussion between the Home Government and the Overseas Dominions, it has been decided to defer in the meantime action in regard to the adoption of a permanent naval policy for Canada.

The first point I want to bring to the attention of the minister is this. Since we have no permanent policy why should we take such a preliminary step as this, and why should we embark on any temporary policy? It seems to be generally admitted that we have no permanent policy, and we know also that the navy the Estimates for which we are asked to vote to-night would not be effective in case of war between now and 1921. Therefore what is the use of inaugurating a new policy which is not to be permanent and which, as a matter of fact, can be no policy at all until we are informed of the decisions on the naval question at the conference of 1921? From my point of view the money which we are going to spend now will be spent to no purpose. I said a moment ago that Great Britain contemplates having the largest and most powerful fleet in the world in conjunction with her Dominions. Now, there are two sides to that question. When war was declared by Germany practically the whole of the world united against her in order to destroy what was described as militarism. Germany had taken the necessary means to bring under her control what she considered to be the most powerful army in the world, and because Germany had created such a vast army the rest of mankind joined forces against her and decided on the destruction of militarism. Are we not to a certain extent in a similar position when we undertake to build the largest navy in the world? What was called militarism in Germany may, if we persist in this determination to create a huge and predominant fleet, give place to a state of things for which I can find no word in the dictionary but which I venture to term "navalism". We are undertaking a naval programme which will eventually bring the rest of the world into conflict with us. When I say "we", I mean Great Britain and her colonies. Let me state what the United States intend to do in this matter. They declared recently that they are going to build a navy even more powerful than any navy which Great Britain and her colonies united could ever build. To me, this naval rivalry is vying with German militarism in creating a feeling of international distrust. England has enjoyed the supremacy of the seas ever since the

destruction of the Spanish and the French fleets, and certainly no one regrets this fact. Up to the present time every country of the world has greatly benefited by the naval power which Great Britain has exercised. But will this be the fact for all time? Speaking in Ottawa in November or December last, Lord Jellicoe said:

The Empire must maintain a balance of sea-power which will enable her to meet and conquer any enemy.

About the same time he said in Toronto:

We ought to maintain forces that are sufficient to deal with any possible enemy.

This means, obviously, that we ought to maintain a fleet that can meet the rest of the world. For the last century England's supremacy has been unchallenged, but I do not know that her path, so far as control of the seas is concerned, will be in the future as smooth as it has been in the past. Let us see what the United States are saying. About ten days after Lord Jellicoe made the declarations I have just quoted, a despatch from Washington on December 9 last announced to the world that the Official Bureau of Naval Construction of the United States was recommending a programme the execution of which in five years would make the American fleet the equal of the most powerful fleet maintained by any nation of the world.

This statement was issued on December 9. Let us see what has been done by the United States since that time. I hold in my hand a very valuable, and I may say an accurate, review which is published in the United States, the Literary Digest. In its issue of June 19, 1920, there appears the following:

Our Navy to Lead the World: Just why America should be feverishly building huge battleships and battle cruisers at a rate that will soon make us the strongest naval power on earth is a question that is interesting Great Britain, Japan, and some people in our own land. The launching of the "Tennessee" the world's largest battleship, has renewed the talk about this matter. Twelve dreadnoughts and six great battle cruisers, with electrically driven engines, and mounting in all 152 sixteen inch rifles and 24 fourteen inch rifles soon are to be constructed. The cruisers will be 374 feet long and will have a speed of 37 miles per hour. The displacement of the "Iowa" and the "Massachusetts", two of the new battleships, will be 43,000 tons as against the "Tennessee's" 32,000 tons, and they will be two knots faster than this ship.

In other words, the new Massachusetts will be about four times as large as the Massachusetts of Spanish-War fame. To round out the Navy's stupendous programme, a proportionate number of scout-cruisers, destroyers, and submarines are being built.

From this one can very well understand—it is no secret by any means—that the

United States are contemplating now the creation of the largest and most powerful navy in the world. And if England has the absolute right to make claim to the largest and most powerful navy in the world it is a right which equally belongs to the United States. Let us see what is going to happen as a result of this situation. On the one hand we have England Mistress of the Seas for over a century, and she wants to keep this supremacy, and rightly too. I would be very glad to see England keep it. On the other hand we have the United States, which has a population two and a half times that of England, and which is richer than England, saying: We are going to build the largest and most powerful navy in the world. We have that sort of a conflict in actual existence between the two most powerful nations in the world. What will be the outcome of it? In order that England may have the largest and most powerful fleet we are asked—not through this vote because this is only the beginning—to contribute to England's navy. The minister said a minute ago that he was relying on the law which was passed in 1910 as a reason why this vote should be accepted. Of course the law which was passed in 1910 provided for a much larger expenditure on the naval programme than that which is now under discussion. But in 1910 conditions were different,—I will come to that point later on. For the time being we have two of the most powerful nations in the world facing one another and each saying: I am going to build the largest navy in the world. In other words: I am challenging you. There is a challenge in that. Why are these navies being built? They are not being built for commerce or trade; they are being built in order that one of these nations shall acquire supremacy of the seas. The United States are building the largest navy because they want to contest the hegemony which England has had for a hundred years on the seas. On the other hand England wants to keep her supremacy. Are we in a position to intervene between the two? Notwithstanding the fact that we are part of the British Empire, and notwithstanding that we are in sympathy with England's cause, are we in a position to intervene? I say we are not, on account of our geographical situation. If Canada was far distant from the United States we might very well have a naval programme and go into the building of war ships. But now we cannot go into that programme because we cannot at any time unite our navy with the English navy, in order to counteract the American navy.

It must not be lost sight of that navies are only built for war and not for peace purposes. They are only useful in time of war and if we want to ascertain the value or the necessity of a navy, we must suppose for the moment that war is declared. Supposing that war should be declared between England and the United States in five years from now, could Canada go ahead and assure England's plan of naval supremacy or send her navy to England? If England were to go to war with the United States our position would be absolutely helpless both on land and on sea.

Some Hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. DENIS: My hon. friends may laugh but it is true. I will go farther and appeal to any man who wants to look at this question sincerely and honestly. Our population is about one-twelfth that of the United States. The United States has about twenty times our wealth. How could we stand the pressure if war should ever be declared between the United States and Canada? Our navy would be absolutely ineffective.

Mr. MEIGHEN: What does the hon. gentleman think we should do under such conditions as that?

Mr. DENIS: If such an emergency should ever arise our position would be about the same as the position of Serbia when war was declared by Austria-Hungary against her. Our position would not be much better.

Mr. MEIGHEN: What should we do?

Mr. DENIS: I suppose we would do our best to defend ourselves, but I say what ex-President Roosevelt once said; I do not think our chances will be much better than the chances of a fat calf tied up in a tiger-infested jungle. That is what he said when comparing the strength of the United States with that of a small nation and that would be about the position of our navy. We would have no chance at all. There is no use of saying that we are patriots and that we are going to rise up and defend our country. Let us assume that we will try to defend our country, how could we defend it? Under no circumstances could we defend the soil of Canada against the United States.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Then I understand what the hon. gentleman means is that if such an unfortunate catastrophe should occur as that war should break out between Canada and the United States the British Empire would have no more

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chance than the fatted calf in the tiger jungle?

Mr. DENIS: I will explain myself again and I hope I may be able to make myself understood. I am simply speaking of Canada. Canada is close to the United States, she has a border line of 3,000 miles long and the United States aims in five years to have a navy equal to that of England,—they claim that it will be better but let us admit that it will be equal. It will be equal—there is no use of denying it.

Mr. MEIGHEN: If we are in the position of the fatted calf, does the hon gentleman think we ought to try and defend ourselves? Or should we not try at all?

Mr. DENIS: We should take the same course as heroic Serbia took. She defended herself and we could try to defend ourselves, but in the meantime we are well aware that we would not have any more chance than the fatted calf I spoke of.

Mr. KEEFER: What happened in the war of 1812 when the United States came over to take Canada?

Mr. DENIS: My hon friend is too much a reader of history to confront present conditions with the conditions of 1812.

Mr. KEEFER: There was the same ratio of people.

Mr. DENIS: There is no comparison at all.

Mr. KEEFER: The same ratio of people—ten to one.

Mr. DENIS: The conditions are not the same at all.

Mr. CAHILL: They were nearly all French-Canadians at that time; it is different now.

Mr. KEEFER: What about Queenston Heights, Lundy's Lane and the rest?

Mr. DENIS: Conditions are altogether different. Any student of conditions today must admit that Canada would not be in a position to defend herself against the United States.

Mr. MORPHY: Will the hon. member allow me a question? Has he forgotten that there is such a thing as a French navy?

Mr. DENIS: I did not catch the question.

Mr. MORPHY: I asked the hon. gentleman, if he has forgotten that there is such a thing in the world as a French navy?

Mr. CURRIE: And an Italian navy and a Japanese navy?

Mr. DENIS: Yes, there is a French navy, and there is an Italian navy and a Japanese navy.

Mr. KEEFER: And there is the League of Nations, too.

Mr. DENIS: Yes, there is the League of Nations, too. But all that would not save Canada from the United States if war was declared. By the time those navies would be here, and by the time transports could convey troops overseas to this country, Canada would be overpowered. Canada could be conquered ten times over and all the warriors in those countries could not defend it against the United States.

Mr. KEEFER: Why did not Germany try to break through Switzerland?

Mr. DENIS: I will answer that question as I did a minute ago. My hon. friend is too well informed to ask me a question like that. He is too well informed to make a comparison between a mountainous country like Switzerland and a country like Canada.

Mr. KEEFER: What about Switzerland?

Mr. DENIS: The conditions are altogether different. It is harder to go three miles through a mountainous country like Switzerland than it is to go 500 miles through a country like Canada. There is no comparison between the two countries at all.

Mr. KEEFER: What about the mountains of Italy? Austria got through those mountains into Italy.

Mr. DENIS: I do not quite see where the argument comes in. How long did it take Austria to do that? It took Austria three years to push its way through those mountains. It would not take the United States three years, or even three months, to get into Canada; their armies would be in this country within a few days. Now, I want to be well understood in the argument that I have made. I do not say that we should not do our duty in this matter, not for a moment; but I want the House to understand clearly that because we are neighbours of the United States our position is an exceptional one. If we were living in Australia, in New Zealand, or in any other British colony, the question would appear to us in a different light altogether.

Then it would be a matter of policy. We might say that it was convenient, or it was not convenient, it was proper or it was not proper, that we should construct a navy, organize an army, and pool our resources, naval and military, with England in case of war with the United States. But when we are neighbours of the United States we cannot pool our resources in that way. Even supposing we should construct a navy—and a strong navy—that navy instead of ensuring peace to Canada would only be a cause of inconvenience and a source of danger because it would have to be immediately placed in an antagonistic position against the United States navy in case of a difficulty between the United States and England.

Mr. MORPHY: Does the hon. member incline to the idea that the navies of the United States, of Great Britain and of Canada would be working in the one way to preserve the peace of the world? I would like his opinion upon that idea.

Mr. DENIS: If my hon. friend had followed the point I am developing he would have understood that I am now contemplating the possibility of a conflict between England and the United States, not otherwise. What I am now saying would not apply in case of a conflict between other nations, but it would apply in the event of a war between Great Britain and the United States. Therefore, I say that the only thing that we have to fear at the present time is the conditions between these two countries who are entering into an excessive and intensive development of their naval policies. In five years from now the navies of France, Italy, and Japan will be nothing as compared with either the British navy or the United States navy. There will be two great sea powers in the world—Great Britain and the United States. If no conflict ever arises between these two countries my argument does not apply. But I assert this: England will never need a Canadian navy to help her in case she should be in difficulties with the United States and even if that situation does arise we cannot help her on account of our geographical position. Consequently whether we look at the question from one side or the other I would say that our navy would be useless to help England.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Is it the hon. gentleman's contention that we should just exist on the sufferance of the United States?

Mr. DENIS: No.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Not quite?

Mr. DENIS: No, it is not. I think our country can very well be compared with the nations of South America, or to other countries in the world that have no navy.

Mr. MEIGHEN: If we are sure to be swallowed up in the event of a conflict do we not just exist on the sufferance of the United States?

Mr. DENIS: My hon. friend knows better than that.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Just explain that.

Mr. DENIS: There is no relation at all between our inability to resist pressure coming from the United States in case of war, and our being a dependency of the United States or under its control. Let us take Mexico for example. Could Mexico defend itself against United States? Has Mexico got a navy? The answer will be that Mexico is in the throes of civil war just now. But supposing the civil war had ceased, could Mexico defend itself against the United States? Has Mexico a navy, or has it an army? It has neither, and yet it is not a dependency of the United States or in a dependent state with respect to that country—not for a minute. Notwithstanding, if the United States should go to war with Mexico the latter could not resist its powerful neighbour any more than Canada could.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I do not say that the hon. gentleman intends to argue that we are technically a dependency, but if he is correct both Mexico and ourselves exist purely on the sufferance of the United States.

Mr. CAHILL: Where do you get that idea?

Mr. DENIS: I do not quite understand the meaning of the phrase "sufferance of the United States." It is a new expression to me and I fail to grasp its meaning.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I mean that because of her grace and kindness they desist from declaring war upon us. That is the only reason we exist according to the argument of my hon. friend.

Mr. DENIS: Not for a moment. My hon. friend knows better than that; he is too logical to hold that view.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Just explain the difference.

Mr. DENIS: My hon. friend has a logical mind and knows much better than that.

[Mr. Denis.]

Mr. MEIGHEN: Well, what is the difference?

Mr. DENIS: There are like examples to be found all over the world. For example, Belgium, before the war, would have been in the same position towards France and Germany if it had not been for the treaty which was then in existence. Belgium may perhaps be a poor comparison, I will take a better one.

Mr. MEIGHEN: It is very bad.

Mr. DENIS: Let us take Mexico which is a neighbour of the United States. Mexico is in exactly the same position as we are. Is Mexico not a free and independent state? Is it not absolutely free of any dependency upon the United States? Mexico does not depend upon United States for its liberty; Mexico has all the attributes of a sovereign state; but the undoubted fact remains that in case of war, we all know, it could not defend itself against the United States.

Mr. GRIESBACH: Who knows that?

Mr. DENIS: I take it for granted, without any fear of contradiction. But even if that example is not a good one others can be cited. Throughout the world there are small, weak nations that are neighbours of strong and powerful nations. The weak and the powerful nation live side by side, and yet no one pretends that the small and weak nation is a dependency of the strong nation or is dependent upon it. The weak nation conserves its dignity and its state of complete independence, but should a conflict arise it might happen that the weak nation could not defend itself. Now I was just saying this: The only nation that England can ever fear in the future—if there is any cause for fear at all, which I do not know; but we believe from all we hear that there is possibly some fear—is the United States. To-day the English navy is the strongest in the world, and if the policy of the Imperial authorities is carried out Great Britain will continue to be by far the strongest naval power in the world, with the exception of the United States. My information is that since 1914 the strength of the British navy has been more than doubled, and the British Government is about to undertake a very extensive naval programme. But the United States are doing the same, and in five years from now we will be confronted by a condition of affairs which has not obtained for over a century, namely, the spectacle of a great nation ready to contest the supremacy of

England on the seas. And, whether we like it or not, we have got to admit this fact. It is not a question of loyalty, it is not a question of saying that we like it or that we do not like it—we have got to acknowledge the fact. Therefore when we see the United States launching her stupendous naval programme, we have to admit that so far as ships and men are concerned the United States will have just as strong, and, perhaps even a stronger navy than England within five years' time. Of course, it is not always the big man who is the best fighter, and we do not know what would be the result of a trial of strength between the two navies. But, nevertheless, we have to admit the fact that to-day the United States are assuming an antagonistic attitude towards England so far as naval strength is concerned.

Mr. CURRIE: What do we care if they are?

Mr. DENIS: When I was interrupted I was developing my point that England will never need our navy, because, unless she is at war with United States, there is no other naval power or combination of naval powers which could for a moment hope to overcome the British navy. For it is inconceivable to suppose that France and Italy, for instance, would unite with Japan against England. Leaving aside the United States, in five years from now the British navy will still be superior to every possible naval combination. Consequently we have these two factors to consider: that if England is ever at war with the weak sea powers she will not need our navy, which, we must admit, would be an infinitesimal quantity; and, if she should be forced into a war with United States, our navy would be at once destroyed and our country would be overrun.

Mr. CURRIE: It is not so.

Mr. DENIS: My hon. friend may say "it is not so", but that does not change the facts.

Mr. ARMSTRONG (Lambton): Might I ask my hon. friend a question? Does he argue that we should break away from the British Empire? Or even if he does not go so far as that, does he realize that every man, woman and child in the British Isles is being taxed \$10.75 per head for the navy, while this proposal is equivalent to a tax of only 25 cents per head of our

population? What would he do under those circumstances?

Mr. DENIS: I am glad my hon. friend asks me that question, because it only serves to make clear what I have just said. I say that, leaving aside the United States, we are good and ready to do all we can to help England; against the United States we are good and ready to do all we can for England, but we are helpless. The facts are clear and simple, and I submit that I am not laying myself open to any charge of lack of patriotism when I state the facts.

Now, if this be true, I ask: seeing that no permanent naval policy has been adopted by Canada, and seeing that there is to be an Imperial Conference at which the questions I have just submitted will necessarily be discussed and a permanent naval policy decided on, what is the use of embarking on a naval programme at the present time? It is true that this programme is very small, but the proposed expenditure of \$2,000,000 this year, will be so much more next year, and probably will be still further increased the year following, and so on. When we are not in immediate need of a navy, when it might be altogether useless two or three years from now after the Imperial Conference, why spend money now? Why not wait until after the Conference when we shall have a definite policy placed before us?

My hon. friend the minister said a few minutes ago that in 1910 the Laurier Government passed a law to build a navy; and, of course, one might say that the argument I have been advancing would apply with equal force to the navy of 1910. But I submit that that is not so, because in 1910 the conditions were altogether different. The United States were not a first class sea power then as they are now, not by any means.

Mr. GRIESBACH: Oh, yes, the United States navy ranked fifth.

Mr. DENIS: That is far from being a first-class sea power.

Mr. GRIESBACH: The second, third, fourth and fifth naval powers were almost on terms of equality.

Mr. DENIS: At all events, if it were only for the reasons I have just given, I submit that the conditions in 1910 were altogether different from what obtain to-day. In 1910 the menace was the rising sea power of Germany, and Great Britain

urgently needed our help for in case of war our navy could have been used to some purpose against the German navy; and the same considerations would apply should the rising sea power to-day be Japan, China or any other nation but the United States.

On the whole I submit that there is no reason why we should for the present commit ourselves to any naval expenditure. We are not wiser than the British naval authorities, and they are waiting for this Imperial Conference before adopting a permanent policy; therefore this naval programme is, to say the least, premature. When the Conference next year shall have pronounced itself—and Canada will be represented there—we shall be in a position to adopt a naval policy suited to the needs of this country in relation to the needs of the Empire.

As I said at the beginning of my remarks, I am not posing as an expert, I am speaking simply as a layman, and I wish my words to be accepted as such. If the Imperial Conference should come to the conclusion that the point of view I have presented is wrong, well I will be ready probably to change my opinion, because I would not presume to think that I knew better than the technical men whose opinion no doubt will guide the Conference in reaching a conclusion as to a permanent naval policy for the Empire. At the present time we are going by ourselves alone without any direction. Because we think it is a good thing to do so, we are going into a naval policy which cannot and will not be any policy until a permanent policy has been adopted. Therefore, this should be suspended; these expenditures are premature.

Mr. ARMSTRONG (Lambton): We have just had the privilege of listening to one of the most remarkable speeches, I believe, that has ever been delivered in the Parliament of Canada, a speech placing the people of Canada in the most humiliating position that they could possibly be placed in, distinctly and definitely stating that we are in the position that Serbia was in previous to the war; that we are in the position Mexico is in to-day; that while we are looked upon as the right arm of the British Empire, we are to-day in the most humiliating position of any nation on the face of the globe. That is, according to the argument brought forward by my hon. friend. He says that as Great Britain has an enormous navy, and as the United States have built up a great navy we should not take any part in any war in the future, we

[Mr. Denis.]

should not support Great Britain in any way that would interfere with any action taken by the United States. I am sure that when the people of Canada read the words the hon. gentleman has just made use of they will recognize the fact that he certainly does not voice their sentiments. The Canadian people have given, in connection with this great war, a definite demonstration of what they are capable of doing, not only on land, but on the sea. Take into consideration the fact that previously to the war, every man, woman and child in the Motherland was compelled to take six dollars out of his and her pocket and give it towards the development of the British navy in order that we, as part of the British Empire, might be protected, in order that our commerce on the high seas might be protected, and that to-day Great Britain is taking from the people of the British Isles \$10.75 per head for the same purpose, while the request that has been made by the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Mr. Ballantyne) is simply for a paltry 25 cents per head from the people of Canada to help to carry on this proposal. The hon. member for Joliette (Mr. Denis) says that this is not the semblance of a navy. That is very true. The Minister of Marine and Fisheries has definitely explained that part of the matter. We listened to another very interesting speech from the hon. member for Lunenburg (Mr. Duff) who said: Sell out the Niobe and the Rainbow; clean up the dirty mess.

Mr. DUFF: Hear, hear.

Mr. RINFRET: The hon. member stands by his statement.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Who made the mess?

Mr. ARMSTRONG (Lambton): That is just what I was going to ask. Who was responsible for it?

Mr. DUFF: What has that got to do with the matter?

Mr. ARMSTRONG (Lambton): Who was responsible for enacting in 1910 a Naval Service Act?

Mr. DUFF: What has that got to do with the matter?

Mr. ARMSTRONG (Lambton): The hon. gentleman says: "What has that got to do with the matter?" The hon. gentleman says that we should clean up the dirty mess, but who were the men who organized the dirty mess?

An hon. MEMBER: The Act was passed before the war.

Mr. ARMSTRONG (Lambton): Yes, it was organized before the war, and while the hon. member for Lunenburg (Mr. Duff) was speaking, he was able to say that the Rainbow and the Niobe did excellent work during the war. Yet, he is perfectly satisfied to say that these new vessels that have been completed since 1916 are not to be compared with the Niobe and Rainbow that have been in existence for the last twenty-five years. The hon. gentleman knows very well that the latter vessels do not dare to leave the shores of Canada in their present condition. Let us look at the Naval Service Act for just a few moments. It is called "an Act respecting the Naval Service of Canada." It was introduced in this House on the 12th January, 1910, and was assented to on the 4th May following. I want the hon. member to remember that that Act is still in existence, still in force and effect. That Act provides for the establishment of the Department of the Naval Service, full control of naval affairs being vested in the minister of that department. It also provides for the placing of the Naval Service of Canada under the Naval Discipline Act and the King's Regulations and Admiralty Instructions, so far as applicable.

Mr. DUFF: Did the hon. member vote for that Act which he is reading from?

Mr. ARMSTRONG: This Act was passed while I was a member of Parliament and if I remember rightly I did not object to it. The Act further provides for the appointment of an officer to be called the Director of the Naval Service, who shall, subject to the regulations and under the instructions of the Minister of the Department, be charged with the directions of the Naval Service, and provides also that the Governor in Council may appoint a naval board to advise the minister in all matters relating to Naval Affairs. It also provides for a Naval Reserve Force, to consist of such persons as join the said reserve after Naval Service, or after undergoing such training as may be necessary, all members of said reserve being liable for active service in emergency. It provides also that the Governor in Council may organize and maintain a Naval Volunteer Force, and that the Governor in Council may place the Naval Force, or any part thereof, on active service at any time when it appears advisable so to do, by reason of an emergency.

Other provisions of the Act may be summarized as follows: In case of emergency the Governor in Council may place at the disposal of His Majesty for general service in the Royal Navy, the Canadian Naval Service, or any part thereof.

The Command in Chief of the Naval Forces is declared to continue and be vested in the King, and shall be exercised and administered by His Majesty or by the Governor General as his representative. The institution of the Royal Naval College of Canada is provided for by that Act also. I would like the hon. member to take particular note of this. He suggests that we should sell the naval dockyards at Halifax and Esquimalt and clean up the whole business, "the dirty mess"; as he calls it. The naval dockyard at Halifax had been taken over by the Canadian Government previous to the enactment of this legislation, or to be exact, on the first January, 1907, and on the 7th November, following the coming into force of this Act in 1910, the dockyard at Esquimalt was taken over. Included in these transfers were the following properties. At Halifax the Royal Naval dockyard and hospital, commander in chief's house and grounds, recreation grounds, and cemetery at Esquimalt, the Royal Naval dockyard and hospital, naval coal stores at Thetis wharf, the magazine establishment at Cole island, the Royal Naval recreation and drill grounds with buildings, and the Royal Naval cemetery chapel.

I should like the hon. member to pay particular attention to this provision: The Dominion Government will maintain the above mentioned properties at Halifax and Esquimalt in a state of efficiency, make any alteration in the buildings, wharves, jetties, etc., or in the present use of the sites; maintain the existing depth of water alongside the frontages of the properties, conveniences at least equal in character to those which exist at present. The Dominion Government will arrange for the stocking of coal or other fuel at Halifax and Esquimalt. But the hon. gentleman would scrap these and if the British navy came to our coast, they would not be able to have their vessels repaired unless these docks were in existence. Here is an important point. In May 1912 arrangements were made between the Canadian and Imperial Governments whereby the Naval Department undertook responsibility for the naval defence of defended ports in Canada. These defences include such matters as regulation of traffic, examination service, minesweeping in the approaches to the ports, establishment of

war signal stations, the construction of channels and general attack by torpedo craft. How can the undertakings be carried on without money? Are we to turn down the proposals made by the British Government? The hon. member for Lunenburg says: Yes, turn them down with scorn. That is the word he used.

Mr. DUFF: I am sure my hon. friend does not want to misquote me. I said: Turn down the submarines with scorn, not the cruiser or the torpedo boat destroyers.

Mr. ARMSTRONG (Lambton): I understood that my hon. friend was prepared to turn down the whole proposition with scorn. If he intends to turn down only the submarines with scorn, I think we can fairly conclude that he would not oppose turning down the whole proposition.

Mr. DUFF: But not with scorn.

Mr. ARMSTRONG (Lambton): The hon. member says we can rely on the Monroe doctrine. What a humiliating position for any member of this House to place himself in. What a humiliating position it would be for the Canadian people, boasting of our loyalty to the British Empire, and of the position we occupy as the Empire's right arm, if we had to ask the United States to protect us, instead of asking the British navy. It is true we were in a humiliating position during the war. It is true we had to ask the United States to protect our east coast and our cities. It is also true that we had to ask Japan to help protect our western coast. It is also true we were compelled to ask the British Admiralty to protect not only our ports but also our transports. The guns and ammunition that were made in this country, and the \$500,000,000 of agricultural products that left these shores every year during the war, had to be protected on their way across the high seas by the British navy. We do well to cling to that source of protection. We do well to consider doing at least a little towards assisting the British people under these trying circumstances.

Let me give the committee some idea of what the British people are doing. In 1920 Great Britain passed Estimates to the amount of \$482,950,000. What for? Not only to protect the coast of Great Britain, but to protect her Dominions beyond the seas and the colonies. In 1914 Great Britain's expenditure in this regard was \$267,860,000. She finds it necessary to-day to increase that amount to the extent I have mentioned. While in 1914 every man, woman

[Mr. Armstrong.]

and child in Great Britain was compelled to pay \$6 towards the upkeep of the British navy, to-day they are asked to pay \$10.75 towards its upkeep, while we here in Canada are not paying one dollar towards the upkeep of that navy. We are only asked under the present proposal to pay twenty-five cents per head of our population. The British people pay \$10.50 more per head towards the upkeep of the British navy than we are asked to pay under this proposition that has been placed before the Parliament of Canada. Canada has been placed in a humiliating position by the statements made by the hon. member for Lunenburg. He says the boats offered us by the Admiralty are not good. Surely the Niobe was some good to us during the war. I wonder whether the hon. member's leader approves of the stand he has taken on this matter to-night, and of the stand taken by the hon. member for Joliette. I hope he will tell the committee whether he is in sympathy with the position which these gentlemen have taken on the floor of Parliament.

We want to remember this fact, that the United States have already voted this year \$453,000,000 for the development of their navy, and they propose an additional expenditure if the United States does not join the League of Nations of \$195,000,000, making a total of \$648,000,000 or \$6.48 per head of population, while we are asked for the paltry sum of twenty-five cents per head to keep in existence a little protection for our coasts and our fisheries and to keep our dockyards in proper condition, and our coal supply sufficient in order that we may be able to assist just a little bit, if nothing else, should anything happen in these trying days.

The minister has given us full information in regard to this expenditure. He has re-organized his department, and has dismissed over 700 men. He has cut down expenses in every conceivable way. He has told us that previous to the war \$1,700,000 was expended in the upkeep of his department, and he is merely asking to-day for \$2,000,000. Surely this is not an unreasonable request for him to make. The Niobe and the Rainbow are to be scrapped. They were built in 1891. They are to be replaced by modern up-to-date vessels. The cruiser we have had presented to us costs Great Britain \$4,000,000, the two destroyers cost \$2,500,000, and the two submarines \$1,500,000. Great Britain paid for the building of these boats, and I think we should be most grateful for the British

offer, and appreciate the position in which we have been placed in that regard.

Let us see what Australia is doing. She has 32 fighting ships already built. She has an expenditure this year of \$15,000,000, which amounts to \$3 per head of population, as compared with twenty-five cents per head here; and remember this \$15,000,000 does not include harbour improvements, defences or fuel reserves. New Zealand has contributed to the British navy a battleship costing \$10,000,000. It was my privilege during a visit overseas shortly after the battle of Jutland to spend a day with Admiral Beatty and his fleet. There I was able to see that dreadnought the New Zealand, with all its battle scars and they told me how it led the way in that great battle of Jutland. It was also my privilege to go on board the great dreadnought Canada, and I was humiliated when I remembered that not one dollar had been put into that vessel by this country. Yet it was called Canada. When we take into consideration the mighty efforts that the great British navy put forth to protect not only the shores of Great Britain but the overseas Dominions and the people of this country, we must fully appreciate that it is our duty to give them at least a reasonable assurance that as far as we are concerned we will assist to some considerable extent. The Malay States have given \$12,000,000 towards the British navy—Canada not one dollar. Africa has given \$500,000—Canada not one dollar. Now the hon. member for Lunenburg would ask Great Britain to take charge of the docks at Esquimalt and Halifax and to protect our shores. He is not in favour of our expending the paltry sum of twenty-five cents per head under the present proposals. I do not think I need take up any more time. The minister deserves credit for the manner in which he has placed this Estimate before the House. He has got rid of the deadwood and has reorganized the department, having placed it on a business basis. He is now asking only sufficient money to carry on. Is Canada going back to the old service? Is she going to let England take care of all the coasts and dockyards? No; a thousand times no.

Mr. LEMIEUX: If I were, as my hon. friend has described himself in the Parliamentary Companion, a bachelor of oratory, it would be quite easy for me to deliver a flag-flapping speech such as we have just heard. The question is not whether or not the Empire is in danger or whether there may be entangling alliances which

might bring Canada into conflict with the United States. The question before the committee is whether Canada at the present moment is in a position to tax herself to the amount which is under debate, until the Imperial Conference has met. Mr. Chairman, I wish at once to take exception to the remarks which have been made by my hon. friend. I do not like this invidious comparison between the respective burden of the taxpayer in Great Britain and the taxpayer in Canada. Great Britain, I suppose, is mistress of her own House and of her own destinies. Great Britain is taxing herself to the extent she desires to be taxed, and it is not for us to say that overtaxing herself we should go to her rescue. My hon. friend gives expression, I think, to a very sordid sentiment when he insinuates that Great Britain is begging from her dominions.

Mr. ARMSTRONG (Lambton): Not at all.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Yes. My hon. friend says, in effect: Here is Great Britain taxing herself \$10 per head, whilst in Canada we offer her only twenty-five cents per head. Great Britain has not asked any of her Dominions to tax herself.

Mr. ARMSTRONG (Lambton): I am quite sure my hon. friend has no intention of misrepresenting me.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I have stated just what I gathered from the hon. member's remarks.

Mr. ARMSTRONG (Lambton): I certainly never made such a statement.

Mr. LEMIEUX: That is what I gathered from the hon. member's remarks, but if it is not what he meant I am ready to abide by his correction.

Mr. ARMSTRONG (Lambton). The statement as regards Great Britain being compelled to pay \$10.75 per head is correct, and the people of Canada are asked to pay only 25 cents.

Mr. LEMIEUX: The people of Canada are being asked to pay—by whom?

Mr. ARMSTRONG: By the Canadian Parliament.

Mr. LEMIEUX: That is where my hon. friend is mistaken. We are being offered a cruiser, two destroyers and two submarines, which form the nucleus of a navy. But we have not asked for that. We are offered the embryo of a navy, and surely it will grow. Canada does not intend to protect her coast lines with the nucleus of a navy; this is

only a beginning. My hon. friend should know that this gift is offered to us from the Admiralty through Lord Jellicoe, in order that Canada should assume for the future all expenditure involved in the up-keep of a greater navy. My hon. friend went on to say that he was humiliated, when on the other side in 1916 he visited the British fleet after the battle of Jutland and saw the name "Canada" inscribed on one of His Majesty's ships. He felt rather cheap at the idea that Canada had not contributed one red cent towards the maintenance of that ship. Let me say to my hon. friend that if he felt ashamed on that visit I am rather pleased to hear him make the confession, because it is the first sign of repentance by one of those loyal Tories of 1910 who opposed so bitterly the Canadian navy, which whilst protecting Canada could meet the emergencies that might confront the British Empire. My hon. friend should not have forgotten the events of 1909-10. The policy which is being propounded this evening by the Minister of Naval Affairs was evolved by the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his Government. It was introduced first in 1909 in the form of a resolution which was amended, the amendment being accepted unanimously by both sides of the House. In 1910 the Government came before Parliament with a Canadian policy, the naval Bill whose principal features were read a moment ago by my hon. friend (Mr. Armstrong). He now has the brass—pardon me, Mr. Chairman, the use of the expression—to say that he did not oppose it! I have not the Votes and Proceedings under my hand, but I know that my hon. friend voted against that Bill in the House on the third reading. And when he speaks of humiliation, the humiliation is on the Tory party sitting behind the Liberal Unionist minister who stands fast by the old Laurier Naval policy, although the time is not opportune to-day to put it into force. The humiliation is on the Tory party, now obliged to accept a policy which they denounced from one end of the country to the other,—denounced in the county of Lambton as being a separatist policy; denounced in the province of Quebec, in my constituency, in the constituency of Beauce, in the constituency of Kamouraska;—in short, in the sixty-five constituencies of my native province as being too British. Sir, what are the facts? When in 1910, the Naval Bill was about to be read a third time, a gentleman rose from his seat and moved this amendment:

[Mr. Lemieux.]

Mr. Speaker, in amendment to the motion that the Bill be now read the second time, I move that the word "now" be struck out, and the words be added at the end of the motion "this day six months."

This amendment was moved by Mr. Northrup, who at that time was a member of the House of Commons. The vote was taken on the 10th day of March, 1910. The House divided on Mr. Northrup's amendment, and the first name on the list of nays is the proud name of the hon. member for Lambton, Mr. Armstrong!

Mr. ARMSTRONG (Lambton): Will my hon. friend allow me a question?

Mr. LEMIEUX: Just allow me one moment, please. I am rather pleased to find that at last there is some sign of repentance on my hon. friend's part for his own action of a few years ago. The hon. member, I have no doubt, now regards his vote when my old chief Sir Wilfrid Laurier, propounded a national policy which is now adopted by the Government and which in 1910 had been endorsed by the Admiralty.

Mr. ARMSTRONG: May I ask a question?

Mr. LEMIEUX: Certainly.

Mr. ARMSTRONG: Can you tell us why the Government of that day did not put that policy into force? And what about the three dreadnought policy?

Mr. LEMIEUX: Mr. Chairman, I shall not evade the issue. I have stated that in 1909 the House unanimously voted in favour of the principle of that policy, and in 1910 the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier came before Parliament with a policy based in the resolution of 1909. It was bitterly opposed, I should say scandalously opposed, by the hon. gentlemen. We went to the country in 1911. And we were defeated, in our province especially, by the appeals, yes, the vicious appeals, made by the allies of the hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House. But why should I resuscitate the naval debate?

What is the issue? Let me say frankly I do not share the views of the hon. member for Lunenburg (Mr. Duff) when he says that Canada should depend on the Monroe doctrine for its protection, because it does not apply to Canada. After all, what is the Monroe doctrine? It is a British doctrine. The Monroe doctrine was invented by Canning, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Great Britain after the Treaty of Vienna. It was suggested to the American minister by Canning. For what purpose? Because the Spanish colonies in South America had

hoisted the flag of independence and Britain, intent on keeping the balance of power in Europe, did not want Spain to declare war against the new Spanish republics. The Monroe doctrine was enunciated to meet that situation. The United States were interested in maintaining the independence and freedom of the new Latin republics. It has been recognized since those days, and lately by no less an authority than Mr. Taft, that the Munroe doctrine does not apply to Canada. It was not formulated because of Canada but at the suggestion of Canning to be applied by the United States in the case of the new born republics of South America.

I do not like to hear in the Canadian Parliament these fiery sentiments when one speaks of the relations of the United States, Great Britain and Canada. There are a few Americans who believe that they can only be good Americans by virtue of the tail-twisting process during a presidential campaign. There are those jingoes here who believe that they are good Britishers only when they can pluck a few feathers from the tail of the American eagle. They do not represent public opinion in Great, and Greater, Britain any more than those jingoes to the south of us, represent the true spirit of the American republic. If there are two nations which are closely united in this world by common traditions and ideals it is the American Commonwealth and Great Britain. We are in the happy position of standing between Great Britain and the United States of America. No fear of a war; no fear of a contest. It will never exist between these two great countries where liberal ideas of tolerance and freedom have been consecrated for many centuries.

Sir, there is no cause for the display of jingoism which occurs at every general election, when the name of the United States or when the name of Great Britain appears in certain yellow newspapers. We have the faces before us and we have history behind us. For a century the United States of America and Canada, without any fortifications, without any soldiers, without the firing of a shot in anger, have maintained peace along 3,000 miles of boundary line. That is the best evidence that there never can be war between the United States and Great Britain. There are always a few clouds, on the horizon, but any one can detect the silver lining. Let us not forget that we are passing through a presidential election. When we are passing through elections ourselves many good people in the United States think there are a few madmen

too in Canada? We had evidence of that in the campaign of 1911 and during the campaign in 1917. It was then as it was in the old days, when George Brown alone in Canadian journalism stood for the cause of the North as against the South. There were then members of Parliament applauding and cheering at the news of the defeat of the North. That caused us the abrogation of the first reciprocity treaty, by the way.

Sir, I am and I have always been, in favour of a Canadian navy. I repeat what I said the other evening. Much as I differ from my hon. friend the Minister of Naval Affairs I say that he stands by his old ideals and that his common sense makes him firm in his stand. He knows that the Laurier policy was a national policy. He party with him as they are ready to accept after ten years has elapsed, the policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. I congratulate him. It is a piece of diplomacy well worth being remembered. I am for a Canadian naval policy for the reasons that were adduced in 1909 in the House of Commons. Because it meant the creation of a new national institution, and a response to the demands of the future; because it meant that Canada was taking on her shoulders the burden of national defence which naturally appertains to Canada; because it meant the development of national life and self-government within the Empire which brought us liberty, honour and peace. I was for the expenditure of our own money in our own way. I was for it because it meant the employment of our own men, of our own sailors, of our own mechanics, and the opening up of new channels for the activity, ambition and enthusiasm of our young men. These are the reason why in 1910 I stood behind my revered leader in the advocacy of a Canadian navy. But as I said a moment ago, that naval policy was a bone of contention during the general election of 1911 and we know what was the attitude of the party sitting in front of me on that issue.

New conditions have arisen. A war—the greatest of all wars—has taken place. It was a war which meant the end of all wars. We have taken a noble part in that war. My hon. friend the member for East Lambton (Mr. Armstrong) should apologise to the yeomanry of Canada for his pretended shame and humiliation. He claims he was humiliated at the idea that a certain political party objected to the policy he is now supporting. He should apologize for his humiliation to the yeomanry of Canada. Fight-

ing shoulder to shoulder with their comrades of the British Empire for the noble cause of liberty, 60,000 of our young men fell on the battlefields. They sleep "in the plains of Flanders where the poppies grow." No one need be humiliated when one realizes the manly support, which the yeomanry of Canada have given and would be ready to give to-morrow under the same circumstances to the Mother Country. Sir, Canada has done her share, she would do her share to-morrow if the same emergency, if the same danger should arise. But Canada fought a war which was to end all wars. The Allies have defeated, if I mistake not, the most rampant of all militarisms, past and present. In humbling Kaiserism destroyed and the spirit which the sabre rattlers of Berlin, they have it represented in this modern world; and probably the saddest day in German history, Sir, was the day when Admiral Beatty met on the high seas the remnant of the German Navy surrendering to the mighty British sea power. Mr. Chairman, where is the danger, where is the menace? The Allies have obliterated the menace, have defeated militarism, there is no German navy, and between the Allies there is a solidarity which will hold for all time to come. Besides, we are told that Canada has acquired a new status. She was represented at the Paris Conference. She was a party to a Treaty of Peace and to a covenant—a covenant which has established a League of Nations whose chief object is to prevent the wars of the future. I say therefore there is no danger, there is no menace, there is no cloud on the horizon. There is no necessity—no pressing necessity for this navy when the people of Canada are being taxed and overtaxed to pay the expenditures of the war, the pension bills. Why spend money and dash it away—to use the expression of an hon. member opposite? Canada is a member of the League of Nations and the member for St. Antoine (Sir Herbert Ames) the other evening asked the House of Commons—Aye, Sir, and he is asking the Canadian people, addressing himself to Boards of Trade and to Canadian Clubs,—to believe in the reality of the League of Nations. For him it is not a sham institution. He knows whereof he speaks; and he has been influential enough to obtain from this Government the amount which has been put in the estimates—and for which I shall vote with pleasure—the amount of \$250,000 as our first contribution to the League of Nations. Mr. Chairman, why

[Mr. Lemieux.]

should we be up against any resurrection of armaments and Militarism? Militarism is a growing illness. It starts first of all very mildly but it grows very rapidly. I remember the words spoken by the late Prime Minister of England, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. Speaking on question of the decrease of naval armaments on the part of Great Britain he said:

I hold that the growth of armaments is a great danger to the peace of the world. A policy of huge armaments keeps alive and stimulates and feeds the belief that force is the best, if not the only, solution of international differences. It is a policy that tends to inflame old sores and to create new sores.

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed,—as a Canadian, as a free British subject, considering well the actual position of Canada as regards her national finances—to this policy at the present time. When we have reached normal conditions again, I will stand, as I have always stood, for a Canadian navy, manned by Canadian sailors, built by Canadian mechanics and, Sir, flying the Canadian flag alongside the British ensign, defending the coasts of Canada and maintaining the honour of this Dominion on the high seas. Think for a moment of our national debt, of the interest charges, of the pension list, and we have the best of reasons to postpone the voting of this money. And, Sir, there is the very reason given by the Minister of Naval Affairs, that an Imperial Conference is being summoned for next year when this question will be possibly—I should say certainly—the first, or the most important, topic to be discussed during the debates that will take place. Then should we not wait until that Conference is summoned, until the members sit around the council table? That would be a very wise thing to do it seems to me. I am surprised that a good Anglo-Saxon like my hon. friend, a matter-of-fact business man such as he is, should rush towards the exchequer and get all money he can before the very principle which might call for that expenditure has been debated and decided in the cold atmosphere of a conference. Mr. Chairman, I say, let us wait until the Conference has met. As a Canadian—nay more, as a Britisher—I say further that no decision (much as I have regard for the ability of my hon. friend, much as I respect the Prime Minister of Canada) should be taken on behalf of Canada by the Imperial Conference without that policy being submitted to the representatives of the

Canadian people in Parliament assembled and before our delegates are duly instructed as to that policy. Mr. Chairman, I, after listening to the debate of this evening—although of another lineage than my hon. friend, although different blood courses through my veins, I think, yes indeed I believe, that I hold better British traditions than does my hon. friend. If there is one thing that the Mother Country will respect it is the spirit of self assertion, the spirit of independence—moral independence—which actuates the different units of the British Empire at large. This is not a new theory; it is almost a truism according to English parliamentary traditions. Listen to the words of the great parliamentarian Edmund Burke—perhaps the greatest of all British parliamentarians, certainly the most brilliant of the eighteenth century. Speaking on a question where the equality of freedom and self-government of a British dominion was the main topic, he used the following words:

My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are strong as links of iron. . . . As long as you have the wisdom to keep the sovereign authority of this country as the sanctuary of liberty, the sacred temple consecrated to our common faith, wherever the chosen race and sons of England worship freedom, they will turn their faces towards you. The more they multiply, the more friends you will have; the more ardently they love liberty; the more perfect will be their obedience. Deny this participation of freedom, and you break the sole bond, which originally made, and must still preserve, the unity of the Empire. . . . It is the spirit of the English constitution, which, infused through the mighty mass, pervades, feeds, invigorates, vivifies, every part of the Empire, even down to the minutest member.

I am bold to say, Mr. Chairman, that a Canadian can be a good Britisher—and it is my case—without being a jingo or a blatant Imperialist. Militarism is the natural consequence of Imperialism. I believe in the British Empire because it is not founded on militarism; it is founded on freedom, on justice, and on liberty. The difference between the British Empire and the other empires that have failed and disappeared is that it has granted her overseas Dominions full autonomy, while the Roman Empire exacted from its colonies that serfage which brought it to destruction; and the French Empire of Napoleon went to ruin from the same cause.

Speaking of Napoleon, Mr. Chairman, he began as a soldier of the revolution. Bonaparte was at first a friend of freedom, and the armies which he led were carried away

by the immortal La Marseillaise. They sang that inspiring chant which has since thrilled the hearts of all liberty lovers in the world.

Allons, enfants de la patrie,  
Le jour de gloire est arrivé!

That was the song of liberty, a liberty which the French armies promised to the downtrodden people of Europe, but under the mastery form of Emperor Napoleon liberty gave place to an acute imperialism which finally became an acute militarism, and it brought about his downfall.

Sir, our soldier boys did not fight and die on the plains of Flanders to erect on the ruins of German militarism a new form of imperialism. They fought and died for freedom, for the establishment of peace in the world; and we cannot erect a nobler monument to their memory than the League of Nations. That is the monument of our noble dead. The time is past when you could lure and thrill the masses by singing:

Le jour de gloire est arrivé

No.

L'ère de paix est arrivée

A new world is born, an era of peace has risen, and let us hope it has come to stay.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Mr. Speaker, the debate this evening has shown pretty conclusively that the difference between hon. gentlemen on this side of the House and hon. gentlemen opposite is that we on this side take some pride in the circumstance that in 1910 the Government of the day passed the Act which is known as the Canadian Naval Service Act, in which was set out the policy of the Liberal party in regard to naval matters. From that day until the present, the Liberal party have been staunch advocates of a Canadian naval service; that is the policy which we think should be the permanent policy of this country. But, so far as hon. gentlemen opposite are concerned, we have had from the minister himself this evening—in fact, we have had it each time he has spoken on naval matters this year—the admission that the Government have no permanent naval policy whatever; and yet they come before this Parliament and ask a vote for naval expenditure.

The ordinary course of procedure is, first of all, to have a policy, then to expound and explain it, then to bring in the legislation based upon it, and ask for appropriations to put that policy into effect. But the Government of the day is reversing the usual

order. They are coming to us and asking that money be appropriated for the Naval Service, and they tell us that a year or two hence they will announce what their naval policy is. That is no way to treat Parliament, and in order so far as possible to uphold the rights of Parliament we on this side are determined not to vote appropriations as a mere matter of temporary expediency, but at a time like this to demand from the Government in the first instance a statement of what their policy is. If that policy commends itself to us and to the country we will give it our support; if it does not, we will do our utmost to oppose it, believing that our opposition will be supported by the country at large.

Let me remind the House that at the beginning of this session during the first debate that took place I emphasized very strongly our disapproval of the habit that this Government have fallen into of leaving over until the very last days of the session matters of great national importance, and in particular asking Parliament to vote millions of dollars for expenditure which the people's representatives have had no opportunity to consider and discuss. I then stated that if the Government continued that objectionable course, we on this side of the House would be doubly careful before we acquiesced in the passage of any measure that would be the means of furthering that kind of action in the future. Notwithstanding that the Government has had ample warning, it is simply repeating this method, particularly in reference to the naval service.

On the 22nd of March the Main Estimates were presented to the House, and they contained the item:

Naval service—To provide for the maintenance of the Royal Canadian Navy, 1920-21, \$300,000; 1919-20, \$600,000.

Or compared with the Estimates of 1920, a decrease of \$300,000. On the 25th of March, just three days later, the Minister of Naval Affairs made a statement in this House on what he termed the naval policy of the Government, which contained the following:

In view of Canada's heavy financial commitments and of the fact that Great Britain has not as yet decided on her permanent naval policy, and if the approaching Imperial Conference at which the question of naval defence of the Empire will come up for discussion between the Home Government and the Overseas Dominions, it has been decided to defer in the meantime action in regard to the adoption of a permanent naval policy for Canada.

The House—

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Read on.

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I will in a moment. The House and the country generally read these two statements together—the statement the minister gave three days after the Estimates were brought down, and the figures quoted in the Estimates. When they saw that the Government proposed a decrease of \$300,000, as compared with the amount expended last year, they warmly approved and applauded that action, because it was generally felt that at this time before the work of demobilization arising out of the great war had been completed, and while Parliament was still voting vast sums of money for demobilisation, the Government was at least showing a sense of perspective in not asking for additional sums for the creation of a naval service.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Why does the hon. member not read the whole of my statement?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I read the whole statement the other day.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: It would do no harm to read it again.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The next paragraph which my hon. friend is so anxious that I should read is as follows:

The Government has decided to carry on the Canadian Naval Service along pre-war lines and has accepted the offer of Great Britain of one light cruiser and two torpedo boat destroyers to take the place of the present obsolete and useless training ships, the Niobe and Rainbow.

What I have to say to my hon. friend is this. When he made to the House the statement that the Government had decided to carry on the Canadian naval service along pre-war lines, and there was before the House the item in the Main Estimates I have quoted, if he had anything else in his mind, if he contemplated an Estimate, not of \$300,000, but of \$2,500,000, he should have told Parliament so at that time. Either he had not anything in his mind at that time and the whole business is as I have described it—my hon. friend shakes his head. Well, then he had in his mind that he was going to come to Parliament in the last days of the session, and ask Parliament to vote \$2,500,000, and he was afraid to mention it when he thought we would be able to discuss the whole policy without any need of haste.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: When I made the statement that the Government was going to carry on along pre-war lines, if my hon. friend had looked up the former Estimates, he would have seen that carrying on along

on pre-war lines would mean an expenditure of \$1,500,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I purpose taking, and I think we are justified in taking, the Government at their own word as the minister presented his statement on the naval situation, not as he brings it down in the dying days of this session. The minister, in bringing down his statement, said that Canada's very heavy financial commitments are a consideration. We purpose taking that view of the matter, and we would ask the minister to confine his expenditure on naval matters to what he intimated he was going to ask for at the time he made that statement. We ask him that because we believe Canada's financial commitments are very heavy at this time. This year we can afford to economise in some directions, while we cannot afford to economise in others. We possibly cannot avoid an expenditure of thirty or forty million dollars on demobilization, but we can avoid an expenditure of \$2,500,000 in regard to those vessels the minister hopes to have temporarily in commission. The minister said further:

In view of Canada's heavy financial commitments and of the fact that Britain has not as yet decided on her permanent naval policy, and of the approaching Imperial Conference at which the question of naval defence of the Empire will come up for discussion between the Home Government and the Overseas Dominions, it has been decided to defer in the meantime action in regard to the adoption of a permanent naval policy for Canada.

We say: If the minister has decided to defer this permanent naval policy until this conference, we think we are justified in asking him to defer in the meantime further expenditures on the navy than what is absolutely necessary to keep in existence the nucleus which may have to be continued after a permanent policy has been determined upon.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Is Britain doing that?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Britain has her policies to consider; we have our policies to consider. Great Britain has unquestionably certain matters to consider as regards her navy, having regard to her insular position and the equipment which she has, matters which are wholly different from the consideration of which we in this country have to take account at the present time.

Mr. MEIGHEN: My point is this. Is it not true, as set forth in the statement, that Britain's permanent naval policy has not been finally adopted? Is it not also true

that Britain is doing as we are doing now, voting money to support a temporary policy in the meantime?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I think, if my hon. friend compares Britain's military and naval expenditures to-day with her pre-war expenditures, he will find that the former are considerably less.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Less!

Mr. ARMSTRONG (Lambton): Nearly double.

Mr. MEIGHEN: They are far more.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Of course, there is the enormous upkeep of vessels in commission built during the war, vessels which Great Britain has not yet got completely rid of and some of which she is presenting to us at the present time and which my hon. friend wishes to relieve her of. But I do not think my hon. friend will find that Great Britain is entering upon any enlargement of the programme which she had when she came out of the war. That is the point I am making. What my hon. friend proposes to do is to take a naval condition which we have at the end of the war and to enlarge upon that very materially.

Mr. ARMSTRONG (Lambton): Might I—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. ARMSTRONG (Lambton): Well, the leader of the Opposition has made a statement, and I am sure he would not object to the correct figures being placed upon Hansard. I merely wish to say that the British Naval Estimates provide for an expenditure this year of £96,590,181, or \$482,950,905, as against £53,573,261, or \$267,866,305 provided for in 1914-15.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Will my hon. friend tell us what proportion of that is for the upkeep of ships built during the war, ships which Great Britain cannot afford to dispense with at the present time, and what part of it is for new constructive work, something entirely new in the way of additions to the British navy? Then, he will get the contrast I am endeavouring to point, which is this. What the minister is proposing now is that we should take a condition which we have at the present moment and enlarge upon it by fresh expenditures. I am contending that all Great Britain is doing is to continue what she found herself with at the end of the war, but that she is not enlarging her programme.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Is it not a fact that if we proceed to maintain the old ships, that would cost more than this? That is what the hon. gentleman recommends.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The old ships have, I understand, been out of commission for some time. They certainly have not been in commission since the war. What we are considering now is whether we should put new vessels into commission this year or wait until the Government has a permanent policy. We are not to-day saying that nothing shall be done as regards naval defence for Canada. What we say is that the minister should go leniently in the matter of naval expenditure until a policy is determined upon. When that policy is determined upon and is brought before Parliament, we shall be prepared to vote the money necessary to carry out that policy if it be one of which the Canadian people approve. In connection with naval matters, we have to take account, not only of naval expenditures, but of military expenditures and all war expenditures, and as my hon. friend knows, there is no comparison between such expenditures before the war and after the war. Before the war we had no expenditures to meet in the way of obligations arising out of the war. This year we have war expenditures amounting to \$171,934,464 to meet before anything is touched in the way of what may be necessary for military and naval purposes. The regular expenditure for the naval service runs to over \$2,000,000. When we are expending that amount of money in a year such as this, we can well afford to ask ourselves whether the demands of economy at the present time do not justify some caution in the matter of outlay on simply temporary expedients. It is for that reason I am going to suggest to the committee that instead of voting what the minister has asked in the Main Estimates and in the Supplementary Estimates, we give him all that he asked for when the Main Estimates were brought down, and that we strike out from the total amount what he is asking in the way of Supplementary Estimates to the amount of \$1,700,000. The Supplementary Estimates ask also for a further item of \$60,000 for the pay of temporary officers and clerks at headquarters, Halifax and Esquimalt dockyards. I think we can agree to let that item pass because it is not desired by hon. members on this side of the House in any way to interfere with the dockyards at Halifax

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

or Esquimalt or the pay of the officers and clerks who may be required there.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Does my hon. friend think that for the small sum of \$300,000 Canada can maintain dockyards at Halifax and Esquimalt? If he does, he is very much mistaken.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Then how did the minister dare to come to this Parliament with his Main Estimates containing an item of only \$300,000, and make a statement before this House on naval matters, when all the time he knew that what he was asking was not sufficient to carry out what he was pretending to the country he intended to do? I say that something is owing by the Ministry to Parliament, and if the Ministry is going to ignore Parliament it is high time for Parliament to begin to ignore the Ministry. Let me say further, that hon. gentlemen know or they ought to know by this time, that they have no mandate from the people in matters of naval affairs one way or the other. They have never had an expression of the people's views as to what is desired in the matter of these expenditures. So far as they know the people's opinion at all, it is that the people do not want them entrusted with the expenditure of another five-cent piece. We on this side of the House would be thoroughly justified if we held up every item of supply until the Government recognized the wave of popular indignation against them that is sweeping this country and gave the people of this country an opportunity to return to this Parliament men who are representative of the will of the country and are prepared to carry that will into effect. In this matter of naval expenditure I say that the people of Canada are not with the minister in the demand he is making at the present time for this amount of money. Until there is a permanent naval policy, and until that policy has been approved by Parliament, we are justified in saying that we will hold down to the minimum any expenditures that the Government ask for in regard to Naval Service. I therefore move that we strike out from the Supplementary Estimates the sum of \$1,700,000 and save, if possible, to the country that amount of unnecessary expenditure by this Government.

Mr. FIELDING: May I suggest that we pass the item of \$300,000, and then vote if necessary on the second item.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: I am sorry I cannot agree to the suggestion. As soon as we took

up my Estimates I moved and got the unanimous consent of the committee to consider this item of \$1,700,000 in the Supplementary Estimates in conjunction with the item of \$300,000 in the Main Estimates.

Mr. FIELDING: It doesn't make any difference.

Mr. LAPOINTE: I just wish to say a word or two as to the reasons why I am opposed to this item in the Supplementary Estimates, and why I am going to support the amendment offered by the leader of the Opposition. My objections to this item are the same objections that I made the other night to the increase in the Militia Estimates, and I feel it is not necessary for me to formulate the same reasons again on this occasion. My hon. friend from East Lambton (Mr. Armstrong), while my hon. friend from Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) was speaking asked why the Government discarded the naval law which had been adopted in 1910. I think I am in a position to tell him why they did. I have in my hand the Hansard of the session of 1911-1912, containing statements made by the ministers of the then Government, which will give my hon. friend the answer he is asking for. The hon. Minister of Marine and Fisheries of that day, hon. Mr. Hazen said (Hansard of that day, hon. Mr. Hazen said (Hansard page 5303):

I may say pending the declaration of what the policy of this Government will be touching the naval service—which, as my hon. friends know, the Prime Minister announced in the debate on the Address would not be determined until after full opportunity was had of considering the whole question and of first consulting with the Admiralty authorities in the matter—it has been thought better that the Estimates this year should be based on the idea of maintaining the existing ships and the existing establishments, including the Naval College at Halifax, on a proper basis, without adding new ships or adding to the equipment we have at the present time more than is necessary for the purpose of maintaining it in proper condition. It is on that basis entirely that the Estimates are made up this year.

The Postmaster General of that day, Hon. Mr. Pelletier, said—Hansard page 5314:

I may tell him further that that vote (the vote in the Estimates of 1912) is absolutely logical and consistent with the policy of the Conservative party. When we came into power we found certain conditions existing; we found that a naval college had been built at Halifax and that two ships had been purchased. Does the right hon. gentleman mean to say that we should have set fire to that college and sunk those two ships? It is true that one of them had met with a bad accident on a certain trip down in Yarmouth, but nevertheless, we found her there with the other ships, both belonging to Canada.

Further on, he said:

We had under the circumstances to continue what the late Government had put into operation. It would have been ridiculous, even for those so-called bad Nationalists in Quebec, without one moment of consideration, to close the naval college and give the ships to some other country. That would not be reasonable.

All the members of the Government of that day said that of course they had to keep the Rainbow and the Niobe, but that they would take great care not to add any other new ships to those two relics they had received from the previous administration. In 1913 the same thing was said. Here is what a very prominent gentleman (Sir Robert Borden) who was Prime Minister of that day and is Prime Minister still said at the same session—Hansard, page 5355:

It is for that reason that we thought the late Government were wrong in proposing such a policy, and that they did not go to the very heart of the matter; and that before we entered into any arrangement of that kind we must know where we were standing within this Empire. So, we propose that the naval policy of the late Government should not be continued, and we do propose before any naval policy is entered upon that some of those matters shall be considered and when that policy is brought down it shall be presented to Parliament, and the people of this country shall be given an opportunity to pronounce upon it.

So the right hon. gentleman, who was leader of the Government, said that the reason why Canada could not go on with the naval policy of the late Government was, first, that we did not know at that time where we were standing within the Empire, and, secondly, that before entering upon any permanent policy it should be first submitted to the people of this country. Those two reasons hold good to-day. We do not know any more clearly where we stand within the Empire, especially on the eve of an Imperial Conference, at which the status of Canada and of all the British Dominions is going to be considered, discussed and decided upon, and at which the question of the naval defence of the Empire is going to be discussed. I ask you, Mr. Chairman, what is the cause of all this haste? Why should we take those ships to-day?

Why should we, having declared that we have no policy, enter upon an undertaking which is really a policy? The Prime Minister pledged the Government at that time that nothing further would be done without the people of Canada having an opportunity to pass upon it. Surely no hon. gentleman would say that the people of Canada have pronounced upon the new policy instigated by the Minister of Naval affairs. The elections of 1917 were certain-

iy not conducted on any naval policy. This Parliament unquestionably has no mandate of any kind from the people to adopt such a policy. Why this haste? I repeat. Why should you be in such a desperate hurry to accept those ships and to enter upon a programme of naval defence? Mr. Chairman, conditions are altogether different now from what they were in 1910. They are different so far as the financial situation is concerned. We had the financial means to enter upon such a programme in 1910, but we have no such means to-day. And there was a menace then. Where is the menace to-day? Germany is impotent; she can do no harm. She is disarmed, both on land and on sea, and her allies are disarmed. They can do absolutely nothing against Britain or against Canada.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Did not my hon. friend say then that there was no menace?

Mr. LAPOINTE: That is one of the fine interjections of the hon. the Minister of the Interior. Why should he ask me that question? What has that got to do with the present contention I am advancing? Is there a menace to-day? I ask my hon. friend that question.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I would say there is no immediate menace to-day; but that does not say that this country as a nation, asserting the rights of nationhood, should not incur the obligations of nationhood.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Why do you not wait until next year when our status will be defined?

Mr. GRIESBACH: Will you say now that you will accept the status then defined and agree to assume the obligations which that conference may impose upon us?

Mr. LAPOINTE: Let me tell my hon. friend that I will not accept anything that he or anybody else may define for me. I may say to the hon. gentlemen that we have different ideas on many questions.

Mr. GRIESBACH: Hear, hear.

Mr. LAPOINTE: And I am rather of the opinion that we would not agree on this question. My hon. friend is a militarist. He has proposed.

Mr. GRIESBACH: Will the hon. gentleman tell me what a militarist is?

Mr. LAPOINTE: If my hon. friend wants a course in militarism I will ask the adjournment of the committee and I will give

[Mr. E. Lapointe.]

it to him on Monday. I have not the time between now and twelve o'clock. Now, Mr. Chairman, the minister by means of his interjection has induced me to speak of something else. I do not quite remember the point at which I left off, but I shall proceed to say a word or two in regard to the League of Nations. The countries of the world in the older regime had the system of alliances and the balance of power. One-half of the world was arming against the other half. But this system has been discarded, having been considered vicious and detrimental to the interests of mankind; and it is the cherished hope of every public man in the civilized world that it will not be revived, and that the League of Nations will be an institution that will prove effective in maintaining the peace of the world. I was not here when the hon. member for St. Antoine, (Sir Herbert Ames) spoke the other evening, but I read his speech and I may say that it did not require that hon. gentleman's eloquence to convince me that the League of Nations, if its precepts are observed, will be an important factor in promoting international amity. I believe in the League of Nations. I hope this body will accomplish the purpose for which it was conceived and put into operation. Canada is going to contribute. We are asked to contribute over \$200,000 for the first year, and I will vote enthusiastically for that contribution. But I will not vote for this project of a navy, for accepting ships and maintaining them before we know what our policy will be as to naval defence in the future.

I do not think that this is an opportune time, when ever nation of the world desires to establish peace on a permanent basis, for Canada to embark upon this undertaking. No one can afford to think of war to-day. War in the immediate future is unthinkable; it would be an unutterable crime. The war that has just ended was frightful enough, but it would be nothing compared to another war that might be precipitated in the present unsettled state of the world, and no nation can afford to take the responsibility for starting another war. I repeat, and I emphasize the point, that this is a most inopportune time for us to enter upon a new programme of this kind.

Another reason which I have for this stand is that we have no status. We do not know where we are on the question of nationhood. We claim we are a nation; I believe we are a nation; I hope we are

a nation, and that we shall act as a nation. But as my hon. friend has said, next year there will be a conference of all the representatives of the British Empire and the most momentous questions affecting the sister nations of the Empire will be discussed and decided. Let us, therefore, wait until this event has occurred before voting the amount of money which Parliament now asks us to vote.

My last reason is that this Parliament is not representative. It has not a mandate to vote this appropriation because it was not elected to do so, and furthermore the Government has pledged itself to the country that no naval expenditure will be made without being first submitted to the Canadian people. But there is this further fact to be considered. This Parliament at the present time—and no one can gainsay the fact—does not represent the majority of the Canadian people. Indeed, Sir, it does not even represent a large proportion of the people. Public opinion is decidedly against the present Parliament.

Mr. BEST: That is only your opinion; you don't know.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Is it? I venture to say that my hon. friend could not be elected in his riding to-day, and he knows it; and there are many other hon. gentlemen on the other side who could not be elected in their constituencies.

Mr. BEST: Don't you think that your country is the whole Dominion.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Well, I was elected quite recently in my county, and I think I can boast that I represent the opinion of my electors to-day. But my hon. friend cannot say the same. This Parliament, I repeat, does not represent public opinion. This Government has not been able to elect a single member supporting it except two ministers. They cannot do it, ministers cannot be replaced when they die or when they disappear in any other way. We have one of the most important departments in the Government, the Department of Public Works, which is not administered by a minister. There is a seat in this House—seat No. 40—which is vacant. It is going to be vacant until a new Parliament is elected because no minister can be elected by the Canadian people to fill that seat.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: There is no minister from the Maritime provinces.

Mr. LAPOINTE: There is no minister from the Maritime Provinces and there is

no minister representing the province of Quebec east of Montreal. There cannot be any, because nobody can be elected as a supporter of this Government let alone a member of it. When we have such a condition of things, is it reasonable to enter into a new policy, to ask Parliament to vote almost \$2,000,000 and to accept ships from the Admiralty as the nucleus of the Canadian navy of the future? Let the Canadian people pronounce upon it. Postpone this vote until next session, let us go to the country and then a Parliament which will represent the views and opinions of the people of Canada will decide as to the naval policy.

Mr. CRERAR: The ground in this discussion has been so thoroughly covered that I do not think I can add very much that is new to the debate. I do believe, however, that the position of the minister in asking us to pass this vote is illogical and inconsistent. In his speech in this House in the closing days of March he stated that our naval policy would be considered at the next Imperial Conference to be held in 1921. If that is true we must assume that we have no naval policy to-day. Now, if we have no naval policy, where is the wisdom of considering a vote of about \$2,000,000 for naval expenditures this year? I am quite agreeable to the vote that the minister brought down when the Main Estimates were laid before the House but I think the House is quite justified in taking the position that the minister and the Government at that time did not contemplate this additional expenditure of \$1,700,000. That being the case I think those in this committee who are opposed to this vote are simply standing by the position that the minister and the Government took at that time. Now, our naval policy is to be considered at the Imperial conference in 1921. Personally, I regret that the Government have accepted the generous offer made by the Mother Country to give us certain war vessels. It is not known whether these vessels will be of very great use in future wars. I have read recently expressions of opinion by quite competent naval authorities in the Old Land who state that in future wars the battleships and cruisers that we have had in the past will be of very little use. I have seen it asserted that hereafter light cruisers and submarines might flood the towns and cities along the shores of a hostile country with gas. That, I believe, is the opinion of at

least some naval authorities in the Old Land. For these reasons I think we could very well defer this expenditure. But we have other reasons. The Main Estimates call for an expenditure of \$550,000,000. We have Supplementary Estimates in addition to the Main Estimates providing for an expenditure of \$60,000,000 which means that the Government is asking this country to vote over \$600,000,000. The Finance Minister (Sir Henry Drayton) in the Budget Speech which he delivered a short time ago estimated his revenue for this year at \$382,000,000. With such a large discrepancy between our expected revenue and the amount of money we are expending should we vote this \$1,700,000 until we get into a position where our accounts will more evenly balance. I think that is a pertinent question in this discussion.

Again, we have given our adherence to the League of Nations. The whole civilized world is looking with hope to the League for the maintenance of peace in the future. Have we any faith in it? Was there any soundness in the arguments that were advanced when we were asked to take our place among the nations of the world who put their names to that covenant? If there is, why not wait to see what the League of Nations is going to do? That is the real hope of the future and I would like to see the Government of this country give a lead to the Canadian people in support of the League of Nations. We find ministers of the Crown in Great Britain openly advocating the League, educating the people to the necessities of the League and the need for it and we should have some similar propaganda in Canada. I would suggest to the Government and to my hon. friend the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) who is not here tonight and who, I believe, largely directs the propaganda of the Government in these matters, that he might very well engage in propaganda to educate the Canadian people to the virtue of the League of Nations. Personally I look upon the League of Nations as the great hope of the future. It is true that events have not altogether justified that hope up to the present, but the future peace of the world lies with the League of Nations; and if it cannot be made to function as it was hoped and intended it would, it is perhaps not too much to say that it may not be many years until our whole civilization, at any rate as we know it, is trembling in the balance. These

[Mr. Crerar.]

are all pertinent questions in relation to the vote that we are asked to give here tonight and such being the case, I must say that I am going to support the amendment offered by the leader of the Opposition. If we are to have any naval policy it should be a Canadian naval policy. I commend the Government for the stand they have taken in that respect, but I think we should postpone the consideration of our future policy until after the Imperial Conference has sat and the whole matter has been fully considered.

Mr. FIELDING: I do not imagine the Government have any intention of protracting this debate into Sunday, and I beg to suggest that we should rise and that the matter be taken up in due course on Monday.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: In answer to my hon. friend I would say that of course I would not approve of the committee sitting on Sunday morning, but I thought I had an understanding with some hon. members opposite that if this Estimate was debated until close to midnight they would allow it to pass.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, no.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: If that is the feeling I will not press the question further.

Mr. FIELDING: As far as I am concerned I had not heard of any such understanding.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I have heard of none. This is the first intimation of it that I have heard.

The CHAIRMAN: Is the committee ready for the question? We have two minutes more.

Mr. RINFRET: Mr. Chairman, at this late hour—

The CHAIRMAN: It is almost 12 o'clock. I would like to get an expression from the minister as to whether we ought to continue.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: In view of the opinion expressed, I beg to move that the committee rise and report progress.

Progress reported.

On the motion of Hon. Mr. Ballantyne the House adjourned at 12 o'clock (midnight).

**Monday, June 28, 1920.**

The House met at Two o'clock.

**REPORT PRESENTED.**

Mr. H. B. MORPHY (North Perth) presented the first and final report of the Select Standing Committee on Public Accounts.

**FINAL REPORT OF PENSIONS COMMITTEE.**

**FURTHER COPIES REQUIRED.**

Mr. HUME CRONYN (London) moved:

That 1,000 additional copies of the third and final report of the Special Committee on Pensions and Re-establishment be printed in English and sent to the clerk of the committee for distribution as instructed, and that Rule 74 be suspended in relation thereto.

He said: The original motion authorized the printing of 1,000 copies, but the demand for copies has been so great that the supply is almost exhausted, and it is quite evident we shall need more copies for distribution throughout the country.

Mr. SPEAKER: This is a motion which, in the absence of notice, will require unanimous consent.

Mr. J. A. CURRIE (North Simcoe): As chairman of the Committee on Printing, which has control of these matters, I would say that no application for the printing of further copies has been made to the committee, and it is therefore contrary to the rules of the House to make a motion of this kind. I would ask the hon. member to make application to the Printing Committee and we will see that he gets the extra copies printed within the next two or three days.

Mr. SPEAKER: Do I understand that the hon. member objects to the motion?

Mr. CURRIE: Yes.

Motion stands.

**REMISSION OF CHARGES IN DIVORCE CASES.**

Mr. H. C. HOCKEN (West Toronto) moved:

That in accordance with the recommendation contained in the twelfth report of the Select Standing Committee on Miscellaneous Private Bills, the additional charge levied and paid under Rule 89, paragraph 3 (c) on Bill No. 207 (Letter E-5 of the Senate), for the relief of Charles Henry Foster be remitted.

Hon. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX (Maison-neuve): Explain.

Mr. HOCKEN: The charge in this case was made because the Bill was not intro-

duced within the time prescribed by the rules of the House. The responsibility for that was upon the solicitor for the applicant, and he feels that his client ought to get this relief, which has been granted to so many others in the same circumstances.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I understand that this is a divorce Bill.

Mr. HOCKEN: Yes.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Is it the custom, Mr. Speaker, to remit the fees in divorce cases?

Mr. SPEAKER: Speaking from memory, it has been done this session in one or two instances. It has also been done, I believe, in previous sessions. The motion in its terms states that it is based on the recommendation of the committee.

Mr. LEMIEUX: If it is carried, it will be carried on division.

Motion agreed to on division.

**JOINT COMMITTEE ON PRINTING.**

**MOTION FOR ADOPTION OF REPORTS.**

Mr. J. A. CURRIE (North Simcoe) moved:

That the second and third reports of the Joint Committee of both Houses on the Printing of Parliament be now concurred in.

Rt. Hon Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I would ask my hon. friend to defer his motion until to-morrow. One section of the report deals especially with statistical reports, and I am afraid as it stands it might cause some confusion. I have asked the proper officer to interview the chairman of the committee with reference to the matter.

Mr. CURRIE: I might say that I was absent from the committee when the second report was dealt with. I understood from my colleagues in the Senate on the committee that the report was to be discussed at another meeting of the Printing Committee, and I was therefore surprised a few days later to find that the report had been presented to the Senate, necessitating its being presented here by me. The third report does not deal with any controversial matters, but only with public documents presented to the House, recommending that certain of them be printed and that others be not printed. I would therefore suggest that the House adopt the third report, and let the second report stand.

Mr. LEMIEUX: The second report is the one that was presented on Saturday. I understand?

Mr. CURRIE: That was our first report. It does not contain any recommendation to print or not to print public documents. The third report deals entirely with public documents that have been presented to the House.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Lest I forget, I wish now to express my surprise that the Joint Committee on Printing has appointed an Editorial Committee containing not one French name, although both languages are official. The Editorial Committee consists of Mr. Fred Cook, Assistant King's Printer, chairman; Mr. F. C. T. O'Hara, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce; Mr. F. C. C. Lynch, Superintendent of Natural Resources Intelligence Branch, Department of Interior, and associated with that Committee in an advisory capacity are the Right Hon. Sir George Foster, Hon. A. Meighen and Hon. Mr. Burrell. I hope that my hon. friend before submitting his report for adoption will take my remarks into consideration and that it will be found advisable to add at least one French name to the Editorial Committee. It seems to me that the Government should also be represented on that Editorial Committee by at least one French-speaking member.

Mr. CURRIE: I may say for the information of the hon. gentleman that the Committee on Printing had nothing to do with the appointment of the Editorial Committee. It is intended to leave the second report dealing with the cost of printing, etc., until to-morrow. I would move that the third report which is purely routine, be adopted now, and to-morrow I will move the adoption of the second report.

Mr. LEMIEUX: My hon. friend does not answer my objection.

Mr. CURRIE: Unfortunately I cannot deal with that report further than to submit it to-morrow to the House as it stands. It will then be for the House to instruct the Committee as to what action shall be taken.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. member (Mr. Currie) desires to amend his motion by striking out the word "second." The motion as amended calls for the adoption of the third report. Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Motion, as amended, agreed to.

[Mr. Currie.]

## TRADE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND CANADA.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. JOSEPH ARCHAMBAULT (Chambly and Vercheres): My attention has been directed to an article which appears in the Montreal Gazette of this morning and which contains the following headlines:

"Martens must be Deported from U. S. on Purchase There.—Canada Secures Trade which U. S. Government will not allow American to take.

The article in question goes on to state that Mr. L. C. A. K. Martens, Commercial Representative of the Soviet Government in the United States, has signed a contract with a Canadian firm for the shipment to Russia of several millions dollars' worth of food-stuffs, agricultural machinery and railroad equipment, and that the negotiations for this contract were carried on by Premier Lloyd George and Mr. Gregory Krassin, Soviet Minister of Commerce and Russian Representative in London. I desire to ask the Government, first, whether trade has been resumed between Canada and Russia; secondly, whether the Government are aware of this large contract in question; and, thirdly, if so, whether it is true that the negotiations were carried on by Premier Lloyd George.

Rt. Hon. Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Minister of Trade and Commerce): In answer to my hon. friend, I may say, first, that there are no restrictions as regards trade between the people of Russia and the people of Canada.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Hear, hear.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Any Canadian is at perfect liberty to make any arrangement he pleases in the way of trade with any Russian, and this Government does not grant any more facilities to one than to another. It is perfectly free and open to the people of the two countries to make any arrangements they desire as regards trade. In the second place, I may say that no negotiations have been carried on governmentally, although I may inform the House that I have been asked whether there is any objection to such trade being carried on and I have answered that there is not. As to what contracts have been made,—that is a matter with which the Government has nothing to do, and in regard to which, therefore, it has no special information; but it is currently stated that considerable contracts have already been entered into.

PRIVATE BILLS.

CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE—THIRD READINGS.

Bill No. 200 (from the Senate), for the relief of Muriel Curren Gilmour.—Mr. Fripp.

Bill No. 201 (from the Senate), for the relief of Marie Jeanne Yvonne Albertine St. Amour Lallemand.—Mr. Duff.

Bill No. 202 (from the Senate), for the relief of Lauretta Estelle Cook.—Mr. Fripp.

Bill No. 203 (from the Senate), for the relief of Reginald Muir Barlow.—Mr. Fripp.

Bill No. 204 (from the Senate), for the relief of Alfred John Crawford.—Mr. Hocken.

Bill No. 205 (from the Senate), for the relief of Frederick Minskip.—Mr. Fripp.

Bill No. 207 (from the Senate), for the relief of Charles Henry Foster.—Mr. Wallace.

Bill No. 208 (from the Senate), for the relief of Frank Cox.—Mr. MacNutt.

Bill No. 209 (from the Senate), for the relief of Joseph Dubé.—Mr. Fripp.

Bill No. 210 (from the Senate), for the relief of John Donnelly.—Mr. Wallace.

QUESTIONS.

(Questions answered orally are indicated by an asterisk).

TERMINATION OF FRENCH TREATY.

\*Mr. LEMIEUX:

1. Is the Honourable the Minister of Trade and Commerce aware of the following memorandum issued by S. W. McMichael, acting commissioner of customs and addressed to the collectors of customs and others concerned, dated 1st June, instant?

File No. 99678. No. 2398-B

MEMORANDUM.

DEPARTMENT OF CUSTOMS, CANADA.

OTTAWA, 1st June, 1920.

To Collectors of Customs and others concerned:—

French Treaty

ceases to be in force after 19th June, 1920.

Referring to Memorandum No. 2368-B, containing The French Convention Act, 1919, you are advised that notice has been given for termination of the convention respecting Commercial Relations between Canada and France, dated 19th September, 1907, and the supplementary convention, respecting Commercial Relations between Canada and France, dated 23rd January, 1909, whereby the said Franco-Canadian Commercial Conventions cease to be in force after 19th June, 1920.

Notes—While articles the produce or manufacture of Japan will after the 19th June, 1920, not be entitled to the benefit of the rates of duty provided under the said Franco-Canadian Commercial Conventions by reason of the existence of these conventions, such articles will still be entitled to the Intermediate Tariff as extended in part to Belgium, The Netherlands and Italy.—(Vide Memo. No. 1592-B).

Note further—Regulations respecting Samples (Vide Memo. 1729-B) will, after the 19th June, 1920, apply only to British countries and to Japan.

S. W. McMICAL, Acting Commissioner of Customs.

2. Is the Honourable Minister aware of the fact that French importations now coming in under the general tariff rates are discriminated against by the admission of many similar goods from Japan, Belgium, the Netherlands and Italy under the intermediate tariff?

3. In order not to dislocate the trade which has developed between Canada and France, should not the honourable minister offer my cable to the French Government our intermediate tariff against their minimum tariff pending negotiations towards a permanent agreement?

Rt. Hon. Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Minister of Trade and Commerce):

1. Yes.

2. Yes.

3. Steps have already been taken in the direction indicated by the question.

SENATE AND HOUSE OF COMMONS ACT.

INCREASE OF SESSIONAL INDEMNITY, SALARIES OF MINISTERS, ETC.

On motion of Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Borden (Prime Minister), who stated that the assent of His Excellency the Governor General had been obtained, it was resolved that the House go into committee to-day on a resolution increasing the salaries of ministers of the Crown, and the Solicitor General of Canada, the allowance of the leader of the Opposition, the salaries of the Speakers of the Senate and of the House of Commons and the Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons and the indemnities of members of the Senate and House of Commons.

THE CANADIAN WHEAT BOARD.

Rt. Hon. Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Minister of Trade and Commerce) moved that the House go into committee to-day on a resolution to amend Bill 206 respecting the Canadian Wheat Board.

He said: This resolution makes provision for a portion of the powers already exercised by the Wheat Board which were omitted in the preceding resolution. The provisions are for the purpose of working out the really organic powers that are given to the board.

Motion agreed to.

INCREASE OF JUDGES' SALARIES.

On the motion of Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Borden (for the Minister of Justice), who announced that the assent of the Governor General had been obtained thereto, the

House resolved to go into Committee of the Whole to-day on a resolution providing for an increase in judges' salaries.

### THE FUEL SITUATION.

#### RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING RAILWAY COMMITTEE TO MAKE NECESSARY ORDERS.

On motion of Right Hon. Sir Robert Borden (Prime Minister), the House went into committee, Mr. Boivin in the Chair, on the following proposed resolution:

Resolved, that it is expedient to bring in a measure amending The Railway Act, 1919, by adding thereto provisions conferring upon the Board of Railway Commissioners of Canada, power to do and authorize all such acts and things and to make from time to time all such orders and regulations as the board may deem necessary or advisable by reason of real apprehended scarcity of coal and other fuel supplies in Canada.

Rt. Hon. Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, when I last spoke to the House on this subject I dealt with the situation in respect to the importations of coal up to the 31st May. I then gave to the House a statement of the importations during the present year as compared with those of last year. The statement I then made was very encouraging with respect to the period from the 1st January to the 31st May this year as indicating that importations during the present year had been somewhat greater than during the corresponding period of last year. Since that time the two ministers who were particularly charged with the consideration and investigation of the situation with regard to coal, have been giving very close and earnest attention thereto and on Saturday I was informed by my hon. friend the Minister of Labour (Mr. Robertson) that a somewhat serious condition had arisen particularly during the past four or five days and that there is urgent need for some such action as that which is indicated in the resolution now before the committee. I think it is best I should read to the committee a report which I asked for, which was handed to me this morning and which embodies the information presented to me about noon on Saturday. I should say that immediately upon receiving this information I took the subject into consideration, discussed it with such of my colleagues as were available and decided that the resolution in question should be placed on the Order Paper. The report of the two ministers

[Sir Robert Borden.]

which was handed to me this morning, is as follows:

OTTAWA, June 28, 1920.

To His Excellency, the Governor General in Council:

The undersigned ministers, having been delegated by His Excellency the Governor in Council to give special attention to the coal situation and alleged shortage in coal supply, have the honour to report that:

From January 1 to June 1, 1920, the importations of both anthracite and bituminous coal from the United States exceeded the quantity received during the same period in 1919, but, because of the reserves being low, was scarcely sufficient to supply the normal requirements. Since April 15 of this year, and particularly since June 1, receipts of coal have been very irregular and unsatisfactory.

The provinces of Ontario and Quebec are wholly dependent upon outside sources for their supply of coal. The province of Ontario alone requires three and one half millions of tons of anthracite per year, or approximately 64,500 cars, which means an average shipment of about 200 cars per day for each day in the year. Since April 1st of this year we were short on our daily receipts 125 cars per day. Ontario requires eleven millions of tons of bituminous coal annually, equivalent to 220,000 cars of 50 tons each, or a daily shipment of 600 cars. From April 1st to June 15th, 28,930 cars, or 380 cars per day were received, leaving a shortage in daily receipts of bituminous coal of 220 cars per day. The situation in Quebec is much similar though accurate figures are not at the moment available.

Our investigations clearly indicate a most serious situation so far as transportation in the United States is concerned, inadequate car supply and strikes of railway employees largely contributing to the serious congestion. Industries in the United States are, in many instances, curtailing their output or closing down for lack of fuel, and the Government of that country has placed the control of the distribution of coal in the hands of the Interstate Commerce Commission who have, we are informed, made three orders which have a bearing on the situation here, i.e.

- (1) Embargoed the exportation of coal from the Atlantic ports to outside countries;
- (2) Fixed priorities;
- (3) Are permitting only such cars to come to Canada as they are assured will be unloaded within twenty four hours from the time they are placed, and, further, that the cars will be returned direct for re-loading.

It is further apparent that this pooling arrangement and distribution through the commission in order of priority is having the effect of sending many Canadian coal cars to other destinations, rendering the car situation still more difficult.

It is to be further observed that there have been exported from Canada, between January 1st and June 1st, 1920, approximately 160,000 tons of coal from Nova Scotia to European ports, principally Holland and France. Prior to the war approximately two million tons per year were brought from the Nova Scotia fields up the St. Lawrence, principally to Montreal, which supply has been almost entirely cut off.

In view of the United States having embargoed the exported coal to foreign countries, be-

cause of the serious shortage at home, it will be difficult for Canada to consistently contend for increased supply from the United States unless an embargo is also placed upon the exportation of Canadian coal overseas.

The Provincial Fuel Commissioners find their task rendered more difficult as a result of P.C. 3004, of December, 1918, becoming inoperative.

In view of all the foregoing facts the undersigned have the honour to recommend that the fuel control such as existed under P.C. 3004, of December, 1918, should again be made effective and that a Fuel Controller, or some board with the necessary power, should be established, with a view of making an agreement with the Interstate Commerce Commission of the United States to ensure a permanent and steady delivery such as will meet the Canadian requirement as far as is reasonably consistent, and to enable the Provincial Fuel Commissioners to effectively direct and control distribution equitably.

(signed) J. D. REID,  
Minister of Railways.

G. D. ROBERTSON,  
Minister of Labour.

Hon. gentlemen will understand that the Order in Council, 3004 of December, 1918, is a final revision of the Orders in Council which established the Fuel Controller and which gave effect to the regulations which he recommended to the Governor in Council. They will understand further that the situation here disclosed is a serious one; but I do not wish it to be understood that the proposal of this resolution is the only action which is under our consideration. It is obvious that some effective effort must be made, if possible, to ensure greater supplies from sources within this country itself.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Now let me point out that when the United States exercise control and establish priorities within their own country, it is absolutely futile for us to expect that they will send coal to this country unless we establish in Canada some tribunal with powers corresponding to those that are exercised in the United States by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Public opinion in the United States would not permit any such course, and the reason is very obvious. The use of coal is restricted in the United States to certain purposes, under certain established priorities, which have regard, for example, to essential industries as distinguished from those which are not essential; we could not therefore expect the United States to send to this country coal to be used without any control whatever, and absolutely irrespective of essential industries or of any priorities. It is therefore absolutely necessary that we shall confer upon some

authority in this country the power necessary for the purposes which I have indicated. There were two courses which seemed open. One was to ask Parliament to confer upon the Governor General in Council powers similar in this respect to those which the Government possessed under the War Measures Act. I have explained to the House on more than one occasion that the Government is not desirous of assuming responsibility of that character, if any other authority can be named and any other machinery can be devised for the purpose of taking such matters into consideration and of carrying out effectively what was carried out I think pretty effectively by Mr. Magrath as Fuel Controller, under the Order in Council of December, 1918, and under the Orders in Council which preceded it in date. It therefore occurred to me, and the suggestion was approved by my colleagues, that inasmuch as we have a Board of Railway Commissioners in Canada—which I believe is not oppressed with too great a burden of work at the present time, which has wide powers in respect of many cognate matters, and which possesses administrative machinery very highly organized—that we might very well ask the House to confer adequate powers upon that board, instead of confiding these powers to the Governor in Council as they were confided to us under the War Measures Act—not only in this respect but in other respects. I present the resolution to the committee for that purpose. It is perfectly obvious that we cannot fold our arms and sit still and do nothing. Something must be done. Wide powers must be conferred on some authority to deal with this matter while Parliament is not in session. Even if Parliament were in session continuously during the rest of this year, it is perfectly clear to every one that Parliament would be utterly helpless in attempting to exercise administrative powers of this character. I hope, therefore, that hon. gentlemen are fully seized of the facts and that the resolution which I now propose will receive their approval.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I am not disposed to take pride in saying "I told you so," and it is not with a view to re-hash the statement I made the other day, and which was somewhat precipitated by way of a motion that I now rise, but simply to state that I am perfectly in agreement with the right hon. gentleman in the course he is now taking. I think it is the proper course, because this difficulty is principally one of transportation, and it is therefore quite fit-

ting that the control of coal should, for the time being, be placed in the hands of the Railway Commission.

When I made my motion last week I had first-hand information of a very serious nature, from coal merchants in this city and from manufacturers, and that information was supplemented by despatches in the press stating that the Toronto Gas Company, and the Montreal Gas Company were short of coal, and that the latter company was applying to the Public Utilities Commission of Quebec to obtain higher rates for gas because of the scarcity of coal. But since then I have been in New York, and I am glad that the right hon. gentleman has taken hold of this very serious question, because I found that even in New York city last week emergency committees were being appointed by various industries to cope with the very serious coal shortage which now exists in the United States, notwithstanding that it is a country where coal is produced in such abundance.

I am at one with the right hon. gentleman when he states that in view of the present situation, which is certain to be aggravated from year to year, the Government should encourage in the most practical manner the more extensive operation of our coal deposits and of our shale deposits,—in other words, that the substitutes for coal which exist in the West and in the East should be developed with a view to relieving the coal shortage. As was stated a few minutes ago the two great central provinces of Ontario and Quebec will be hit most severely by this coal shortage, I still believe, Mr. Chairman, that the Government should put more than three of its steamers on the route between the mines of Sydney and the chief distributing centres of Montreal and Quebec.

Undoubtedly it is only fitting and proper that the Railway Commission should make it its primary duty to prevent a coal famine during next winter. I do not wish to be panicky but from the information I have gathered in the United States from special reviews dealing with the situation, there can be no doubt that it is a very serious matter so far as this country is concerned. That only emphasizes this feature, which I mentioned in another debate: we surely should not be entirely dependent on our great neighbour to the South for our coal supplies. As has been stated by the right hon. gentleman, we have vast coal deposits and other fuel resources in abundance, and it requires only well directed effort on the part of our Government and

[Mr. Lemieux.]

our people to become practically independent of our neighbours to the South. But it will take many years before we are able to develop our own fuel resources to the point that we shall be completely independent.

I am proud to know that during the war the United States treated Canada in a very fair manner as regards the coal supply that was needed for domestic and industrial purposes, and I am quite sure that if that feeling of amity between the two countries is cultivated we shall never regret it, because both countries should learn to give and take in matters of trade. We need the hard coal of Pennsylvania for Ontario and Quebec, and the United States require our pulp-wood for their paper industry. Therefore a policy of give-and-take should be cultivated by both countries, and I am confident that no one to-day, in view of the very serious coal situation which threatens us, would go into the byways of Ontario and Quebec and repeat the old slogan: No truck and no trade with Uncle Sam.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I do not know that I heartily concur in the proposal to refer this matter to the Railway Commission. Personally, I think we would get much better satisfaction were we to ask Mr. Hanna, of the Canadian National Railways, Mr. Kelly, of the Grand Trunk, and Mr. Beatty, of the Canadian Pacific Railway, to get together and organize adequate transportation facilities for the haulage of the coal from the United States to Ontario and Quebec. I rise, however, to once more emphasize the fact that we have within our own domain ample coal resources for all our needs, if we would only properly develop them. Moreover, in the matter of car shortage, if the Western American roads were encouraged to develop the Crowsnest coal deposits, they could relieve the car shortage to a very great extent. The Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, the Northwestern and other United States roads run close to our border, and if we encouraged those roads to come into the Crowsnest Pass region and open up coal mines there—and we have in our semi-anthracite deposits there some of the very finest steam coal in the world—I am satisfied the car shortage would be relieved, due to the removal of the long haul handicap from the American central coal fields to western points. We can also, as I pointed out on other occasions, by establishing routes from our coal mines in the Rocky mountains to the East, place our western coal to the utmost limits of On-

tario and Quebec at much cheaper rates than we can now get it from the United States mines.

I merely throw out the suggestion once more: that an active policy under responsible government is much better than dealing with theories about having control by the Railway Commission or any other body, and by that policy we must develop our roads and our coal mines within our own borders.

Mr. CURRIE: I have no desire to prolong this discussion. I rise simply to call the attention of the Government to something that I think might be done in the way of assisting the transportation of coal from the eastern to the central part of Canada. Along the Great Lakes we have a number of wharves and docks that are not equipped with coal handling machinery, and the lack of such facilities was found to be a very great drawback in obtaining coal from the United States by water. That condition exists along the St. Lawrence, and also, I understand, in the Maritime Provinces. I know that a plant for rapidly unloading coal from vessels is very expensive; on the other hand, if you had to depend on the primitive method of unloading by horse and bucket, it is also very expensive because of the length of time the ship is held in port. A type of self-discharging coal vessel, developed in the United States, has been very successfully used along the Great Lakes for a number of years. This vessel comes up to the dock and unloads anything from 25 to 500 tons without the use of any appliances on the dock and without employment of coal-handlers. I suggest to the Government the advisability of considering, in connection with their shipbuilding programme, the building of half a dozen vessels of this kind. They could be loaded St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes and unwith coal from Nova Scotia, proceed up the load their cargoes at Government docks and wharfs, which can be found at nearly every town and village along the coast, without requiring any machinery whatever for the unloading of the cargo. Then, these ships would be useful in another respect, because during the winter season when they could not proceed up the Great Lakes they could trade with South America and Central America, carrying Canadian coal to small points along these southern coasts where coal is required and unloading it in the manner that I have mentioned. I direct the attention of the Government to this matter, because at present the carrying of

coal from Nova Scotia in coalers and bringing it to central points where there is expensive unloading machinery is a more or less costly operation. I believe that at only two or three points are these unloading docks to be found in all of lake Ontario, one at Kingston, one at Toronto, and some at Hamilton. The same applies to lake Erie and lake Huron. If self-discharging coal vessels were built they would be splendid earners, because they make a charge for unloading the coal just the same as if the cargo were unloaded in the ordinary manner; they get about 25 cents per ton for the unloading. It does seem to me that we are allowing the coal that we have in the East to be taken away from us. A few years ago Nova Scotia coal was largely used to supply all the districts from Montreal east; now all the districts around Montreal and the St. Lawrence are supplied with coal which comes from the United States. That is a condition of affairs which we should not allow to continue. The carriage of coal by water is the logical way of handling it and is cheaper than any other method. Apparently there is an impression in the minds of some hon. members that the shortage of cars in the United States is largely responsible for the difficulty in our obtaining coal. I have before me a copy of the Iron Age, the official organ of the iron and steel trade in the United States. I find that in the columns of this paper hundreds of second-hand gondola coal cars, capable of passing inspection, are offered for sale. For instance, there is an offer of two hundred cars from Birmingham, Alabama. Well, if there was a shortage of cars, a company in Birmingham, Alabama, would not be offering to sell two hundred gondola coal cars. There must be something wrong if that is the case. Besides, I do not think this Government should have much difficulty in getting plenty of cars, either by lease or by purchase, to bring coal from the United States. But I am informed by some large users of coal that in the United States the moving of coal is permitted only in train loads. That presents a difficulty to Canadian users of coal, especially those in Ontario. No distinction is made in the charge for demurrage as between concerns that are using coal directly, under their boilers and in their furnaces, and those who are dealers. We all know that the shortage of cars a few years ago arose through the fact that the dealers frequently kept their cars of coal on the sidings for a considerable

length of time, in some cases steps becoming necessary to compel them to unload. In other words, if they thought the market in coal was rising they would keep the loaded cars on their sidings indefinitely, paying one dollar a day per car for demurrage, and thus carrying on a kind of profiteering in coal. That condition was changed, but a very iniquitous thing was done, because no distinction was made between the man who needed the coal for his boilers and the man who was obtaining it for resale. There is hardly a man in Ontario who has been using coal during the last three or four years who has not been compelled to pay hundreds of dollars for demurrage which he really should not have had to pay. Suppose a man uses on the average a car of coal a day under his boilers or in his furnace. That man cannot safely have anything less than fourteen days' supply of coal on hand, because blizzards are liable to come up; the coal situation may become acute, and if he has not an adequate supply on hand he must close down for the winter. That has happened in very many cases of which I have personal knowledge. Now, in order to have the necessary supply of coal he must bring the cars in and he must unload them. Unloading and re-loading coal costs about fifty cents a ton more than it would cost if a man were able simply to run a care right up to his boiler house and unload right at the boiler. The regulation to which I have referred places a handicap on manufacturers in Canada. I hope the Government will take into serious consideration the advisability of allowing all manufacturers who use coal some abatement in the demurrage charges that are made, so that they can hold a car for at least seven or ten days at one dollar per car per day, which is a fair and reasonable charge, instead of penalizing them from \$7 to \$12 per day. I know companies that have to pay to the railways as much as \$700 or \$800 a month for demurrage. The Steel Company of Canada, if they have cars standing with coal, and especially coke, must pay a very considerable amount. I cannot see why there should be any demurrage charge against coke at all, because those who are using coke or know anything about it know that coke cannot be unloaded a second time, because the loss would be so great from the coke crumbling into dust. It must therefore be unloaded direct from the car into the furnace. I hope that the Minister of Marine will take into consideration the advisability

[Mr. Currie.]

of having half-a-dozen colliers built. I feel satisfied they could handle coal very much more cheaply. We could get Nova Scotia coal up to Belleville, Kingston, Port Hope, Cobourg, and all these other places and unload it alongside the dock by means of the elevators these colliers carry. I hope the Government will do everything in their power to see that the situation is relieved.

Another thing we must consider is an embargo on coal going to Europe. Normally we give the United States just as much soft coal as they give us. In times past the great bulk of the soft coal for the Eastern States used to come from Nova Scotia. A large quantity of Nova Scotia coal still goes there, but not in as large a quantity as it should. Whether the United States is endeavouring to reach the point where they will not have to use Canadian coal, I do not know, but the fact remains that they are compelling a lot of our coal to find a market through Atlantic ports in Europe and South America. Whether that is due to lack of effort on our part, or to diversion of Nova Scotia coal to Europe, I do not know, but I am satisfied that the Board of Railway Commissioners will take that matter in hand.

The situation so far as Ontario is concerned is very acute. Some of the large concerns in Toronto and Hamilton will have to cease operations unless the situation is relieved, thereby throwing out of employment thousands of men. That is going to cause great trouble this fall and winter. The cost of living is so great that a working man cannot afford to lose a single day's work, and it is necessary that we do everything in our power to see that the coal supply is maintained. I hope to see the day when this country will be independent of any other country for its coal supply, and when we will have sufficient coal and adequate facilities for handling it. I think one of the most cogent reasons for having built by the Government a small number of ships of the kind I have mentioned is that it would enable us to supply our own people largely with coal from Nova Scotia. The minute we start bringing this coal to Hamilton, you will find the owners of bituminous coal in the Southern States rise up in their wrath against the United States Government and demand a free market. The best market for the United States anthracite coal mines is Canada. We use proportionately more hard coal than do the Americans. Many anthracite coal mines in the United States are standing idle to-day because they have no orders. The control

of coal by the United States Government has enabled the coal mine owners in the United States to establish what is known as a trust, and they are bound to shove up the price of coal, and create an artificial shortage. It is not a real shortage, but an artificial one. A friend of mine who was in the coal region recently told me there was ample coal available there, and that they were desirous of getting all the orders they could, but the United States Government had interfered so seriously with the course of events so far as the coal of Pennsylvania and Ohio was concerned that it looked as though there was going to be a complete jam up in that part of the country. Whether they are going to try and freeze us out this winter, I do not know, but it looks very much like it.

Mr. BUREAU: There will be a real shortage if they freeze us out.

Mr. CURRIE: There was a real shortage last year, and it looks as if there will be a real shortage for us this year; whether it is a real shortage for them or not, I do not know. They are not very anxious to have our money as it is at such a big discount, as our people are all buying goods in the United States which they formerly used to buy in Canada. I understand that the balance of trade with the United States runs against this country to something like \$90,000,000 a month. It is only a question of a couple of years or so until we will owe the United States so much money that we shall have to surrender ourselves over to them, or go to war and repudiate our debt, because we will not be able to pay it.

I am a high protectionist. I do not wish to go into any discussion of that subject to-day, but I am sorry to see all three parties in this House so anxious to buy goods from Uncle Sam. We are giving him a balance of \$90,000,000 a month to enable him to cripple us more and more every day.

Mr. LALOR: It would be well to buy coal from him at all events.

Mr. CURRIE: He says our dollar is no good. I trust the Government will take into consideration the advisability of adopting some method whereby we can get Nova Scotia coal more cheaply. We cannot get it by rail because the cost is prohibitive. We cannot buy coal from the West and bring it by rail further east than Fort William at a reasonable cost. The rest of the distance must be covered by water, and we must provide water trans-

portation. What are we going to do in that respect? Let us decide, and do it quickly.

Resolution reported.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN thereupon moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 217, to amend The Railway Act, 1919. He said: It might be desirable for me to read the exact terms of the Bill in order that hon. gentlemen may be acquainted with them at the earliest possible moment. The Bill is as follows:

The Railway Act, 1919, chapter sixty-eight of the statutes of 1919, is amended by inserting the following section as 71 A immediately after section seventy-one thereof:—

"71 A (1) The board shall have power to do and authorize such acts and things and to make from time to time such orders and regulations as the board, by reason of real or apprehended scarcity of coal or other fuel supplies in Canada, may deem necessary or advisable for the provision of such supplies and for the distribution, control and disposition thereof.

"(2) Without restricting the generality of the foregoing terms, it is declared that the powers hereinbefore conferred upon the board shall extend to the trading in and to the exportation, importation, production and manufacture of coal and other fuel supplies.

"(3) This section shall continue in force until the last day of the next succeeding session of Parliament and no longer."

I have read the Act in its exact terms in order that hon. members of this House may understand that it is proposed to confer upon the Board of Railway Commissioners of Canada very wide powers in this respect. As the Act was originally prepared, the approval of the Governor in Council was made a condition precedent to the exercise of these powers by the board. But, on the whole, we thought it desirable to eliminate that provision and to ask the House to confer upon the board the powers which I have enumerated, without any restriction or reservation except such as may be found in those provisions of the statute which enable an appeal to be asserted, in respect of all matters, to the Governor in Council, from any judgment or decision of the board.

May I add just one word, in view of what has been said by my hon. friend from Simcoe (Mr. Currie), as to the attitude of the authorities of the United States to this country in connection with coal supplies. I have been informed by the late Fuel Controller Mr. Magrath, by those who were associated with him, and by other persons who are familiar with these matters, that no attitude could have been more friendly or considerate toward the people of this country in respect of the needs of this country, than that which was exhibited by

the Government and the people of the United States during the time we were short of coal.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Hear, hear.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I made the same statement the other day, but I desire to repeat and emphasize it now in view of what my hon. friend (Mr. Currie) has said in that regard.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Hear, hear.

Sir SAM HUGHES: What is the advantage of surrendering over to this body the authority of the Governor in Council? I must confess that I am not enamoured of the principle of handing over such an authority to commissioners. Suppose anything of an extraordinary character occurred; suppose something went amiss with the commission and it got into trouble; suppose it found itself in such difficulties as would render effective action on its part impossible; the people of the country would undoubtedly demand that the Government should step in and disregard the commission. I certainly think that the Government should retain control in this matter and that the principle of responsible government should be adhered to.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: If I might say a word or two further, with the permission of the House, I would point out to my hon. friend (Sir Sam Hughes) that the Board of Railway Commissioners exercise at the present time powers of an exceedingly wide and comprehensive nature with regard to the whole question of transportation in Canada. These matters are dealt with by the board independently of any suggestion or action on the part of the Government. There is, however, reserved in the statute which I have mentioned an appeal to the Governor in Council from any judgment or decision of the board. During the course of my experience, extending over nine years, I do not recall an instance in which we have reversed the decision of the Board of Railway Commissioners. We may sometimes have sent back the case for further consideration on the part of the board. These questions have usually arisen in respect of administrative matters as to which the board was equipped with an organization such as was not possessed by the Government, an organization of experts upon whose advice the board would naturally depend. And, therefore, we always took the ground that unless some very clear case was submitted to us, unless it was perfectly

[Sir Robert Borden.]

obvious that the board had overlooked some consideration, or unless the board had omitted to give a hearing to persons who were interested, we ought not to attempt to substitute our judgment for the judgment of the board. I think that principle has worked very well in practice. Parliament was willing sixteen years ago to confer these very wide powers upon the Board of Railway Commissioners, subject to the appeal that I have mentioned, and there seems to be good reason why we should not bring the Governor in Council into the matter at all, but simply leave the statute to its operation; and in that case the Governor in Council will possess the same authority by way of appeal that it already possesses in respect of the powers which were committed to the board in the Act as it was first approved by Parliament.

Sir SAM HUGHES: I understood the Prime Minister to say that the right of appeal had been removed.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: No, the right of appeal exists in the statute at present. I have explained that in very few cases, if any, was the power of the Government ever exercised by reversing the judgments or decision of the board. At the moment I cannot recall any such case. I said, further, that the House would be safe in committing these powers to the board with the same reservation of the right to appeal to the Governor in Council as that which now exists.

Hon. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX (Maison-neuve): In ordinary circumstances I would certainly agree with my hon. friend from Victoria and Haliburton (Sir Sam Hughes). No one likes to surrender to any outside commissioner the authority that resides in the Government but at the present time, in view of the emergency which exists and which might become more serious as time goes on, I think it is only a proper course to take to see that an independent commission—which after all has given satisfaction to the Canadian people at large since its inception—should be empowered to deal with this situation. I am not afraid that the Government will suffer from any lack of coal during the next few months if we have a general election. I think the Government will have an ample supply of heat in case of an appeal to the people, but I want to keep the home fires burning in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first time.

Mr. SPEAKER: When shall this Bill be read the second time?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Now, if hon. gentlemen have no objection.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Proceed.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Then, Mr. Speaker, I move that the Bill be read the second time.

Motion agreed to, Bill read the second time, and the House went into Committee thereon, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On clause 1—Powers of Board of Railway Commissioners with respect to coal and other fuel supplies.

Mr. BUREAU: I saw a draft of the Bill, which said, "with the consent of the Governor in Council". Is that the only change now?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: That is the only change.

Mr. MACLEAN (York): What provision is there in this amendment or in the general Act for the full enforcement of the decrees of the Board of Railway Commissioners? As a matter of fact, is there in the Act, as it now exists, power in the commission to enforce the decrees and to see that they are carried out?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: The power conferred upon the Board of Railway Commissioners by this Bill are, in my judgment, of so wide and comprehensive a character that regulations or orders made by the board will have the force of law.

Mr. MACLEAN (York): I have heard it stated in this House before that cases have arisen which showed that the board lacked any real power of enforcing its decrees. I have frequently pointed out in this House that although from time to time we legislate in this direction and appoint commissions of this character, we do not make the legislation sufficiently strong to ensure the enforcement of the regulations which those commissions may make. In the United States, in all important measures of this kind, they provide not only that a commission shall have the power to do so and so but that it shall be the duty of the Attorney General of the United States—and I think the same ought to be the case in this country—to enforce the Act. All the powers of the board itself ought to be clearly defined so that there would be no

mistake as to its authority to enforce its decrees and orders.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I shall take into consideration the suggestion of my hon. friend and get in touch with the chairman of the board to ascertain whether, in his judgment—he is conversant with the whole matter—any additional provision should be inserted. If it should be deemed necessary that provision could possibly be inserted during its passage through the Senate.

Bill reported, read the third time and passed.

#### INCREASE IN JUDGES' SALARIES.

Rt. Hon. CHARLES DOHERTY (Minister of Justice) moved that the House go into committee on the following proposed resolution:

Resolved that it is expedient to amend the Judges Act, chapter 138 of the Revised Statutes of Canada, 1906, and to provide:—

1. That paragraph (a) of section 2 be amended to provide that "judge" as applied to a Superior Court included the Chief Justice and the President, and as applied to County Courts includes a junior judge.

2. That the salaries of the judges of the Supreme Court of Canada shall be increased to the following amounts:—

	Per annum.
"(a) The Chief Justice of Canada . . . . .	\$15,000
"(b) Five puisne judges, each . . . . .	12,000

3. That the salaries of the judges of the Exchequer Court of Canada shall be increased to the following amounts:—

	Per annum.
"(a) The President of the Exchequer Court of Canada . . . . .	\$10,000
"(b) One puisne judge . . . . .	9,000

and that there be only one puisne judge of the said Court.

4. That the salaries of the judges of the Supreme Court of Ontario shall be increased to the following amounts:—

	Per annum.
"(a) The Chief Justice of Ontario . . . . .	\$10,000
"(b) Four Justices of Appeal, each . . . . .	9,000
"(c) The Chief Justice of the Exchequer . . . . .	10,000
"(d) The Chief Justice of the Common Pleas . . . . .	210,000
"(e) Twelve judges of the High Court Division, each . . . . .	9,000

and that upon a vacancy occurring in the office of the Chief Justice of the Exchequer Division or in the office of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas the salary of such Chief Justice shall cease and the number of salaries for the judges of the High Court shall be increased to thirteen, and after both of the said offices have become vacant, the salaries of the judges of the High Court Division shall be as follows:—

	Per annum.
"(c) The Chief Justice of the High Court . . . . .	\$10,000
"(d) Thirteen judges of the High Court Division, each . . . . .	9,000

5. That the salaries of the judges of the King's Bench of the Superior Court of the province of Quebec shall be increased to the following amounts:—

	Per annum.
"(a) The Chief Justice of the King's Bench. . . . .	\$10,000
"(b) Eleven puisne judges of the Court of the King's Bench, each. . . . .	9,000
"(c) The Chief Justices of the Superior Court. . . . .	10,000
"(d) The puisne judge of the Superior Court who is appointed by the Governor in Council to perform the duties of Chief Justice in the District as constituted for the Court of King's Bench sitting in appeal within which the Chief Justice does not reside, Montreal or Quebec, as the case may be. . . . .	10,000
"(e) Thirty-five puisne judges of the Superior Court, each.	9,000

"Provided, however, that a judge of a Superior Court shall not be entitled to receive any addition to his present salary unless he actually resides at or in the immediate vicinity of Montreal, Quebec, Sherbrooke or Three Rivers, as the case may be, as required by article 3076 of the Revised Statutes of 1909, of the province of Quebec, as enacted by section 41 of chapter 79 of the statutes of 1920, of the said province; and provided further that this provision shall come into operation upon and after a day to be named by proclamation of the Governor in Council.

6. That the salaries of the judges of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia shall be increased to the following amounts:—

	Per annum.
"(a) The Chief Justice of the Court. . . . .	\$10,000
"(b) The Judge in Equity . . . . .	9,000
"(c) Five puisne judges of the Court, each. . . . .	9,000

7. That the salaries of the judges of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick shall be increased to the following amounts:—

	Per annum.
"(a) The Chief Justice of New Brunswick. . . . .	\$10,000
"(b) Two puisne judges of the Court of Appeal, each. . . . .	9,000
"(c) The Chief Justice of the King's Bench Division. . . . .	10,000
"(d) Three puisne judges of the King's Bench Division, each	9,000

8. That the salaries of the judges of the Court of Appeal and of the Court of King's Bench of Manitoba shall be increased to the following amounts:—

	Per annum.
"(a) The Chief Justice of the Court of Appeal. . . . .	\$10,000
"(b) Four puisne judges of the said Court, each. . . . .	9,000
"(c) The Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench. . . . .	10,000
"(d) Five puisne judges of the said Court, each. . . . .	9,000

9. That the salaries of the judges of the Court of Appeal and of the Supreme Court of British Columbia shall be increased to the following amounts:—

[Mr. Doherty.]

	Per annum.
"(a) The Chief Justice of the Court of Appeal. . . . .	\$10,000
"(b) Four Justices of Appeal, each.	9,000
"(c) The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. . . . .	10,000
"(d) Five puisne judges of the Supreme Court, each. . . . .	9,000

10. That the salaries of the judges of the Supreme Court of Prince Edward Island shall be increased to the following amount:—

	Per annum.
"(a) The Chief Justice of the Court. . . . .	\$10,000
"(b) One assistant judge, being also Master of the Rolls in Chancery. . . . .	9,000
"(c) One assistant judge, being also Vice-Chancellor. . . . .	9,000

11. That the salaries of the judges of the Court of Appeal and of His Majesty's Court of King's Bench of Saskatchewan shall be increased to the following amounts:—

	Per annum.
"(a) The Chief Justice of Saskatchewan if he is also the Chief Justice of the Court of Appeal, and, if not, the Chief Justice of the Court of Appeal. . . . .	\$10,000
"(b) Three puisne judges of the Court of Appeal, each . . . . .	9,000
"(c) The Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench. . . . .	10,000
"(d) Five puisne judges of the Court of King's Bench, each. . . . .	9,000

12. That the salaries of the judges of the Supreme Court of Alberta shall be increased to the following amounts:—

	Per annum.
"(a) The Chief Justice of the Court. . . . .	\$10,000
"(b) Eight puisne judges of the Court, each. . . . .	9,000

13. That on the coming into force of the Judicature Act passed by the Legislature of Alberta in 1919, and upon and after a day to be named by proclamation of the Governor in Council, the salaries of the judges of the Supreme Court of Alberta shall be as follows:—

	Per annum.
"(a) The Chief Justice of Alberta	\$10,000
"(b) Four Justices of Appeal, each	9,000
"(c) The Chief Justice of the Trial Division. . . . .	10,000
"(d) Five Justices of the Supreme Court of Alberta, each . . . . .	9,000

14. That the salary of the judge of the territorial Court of the Yukon Territory shall be increased to \$7,000 per annum.

15. That the Governor in Council may for each fiscal year pay for expenses of travelling and living while in attendance at a sitting of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a sum not exceeding \$3,000 to a member of His Majesty's Privy Council who is eligible to be a member of the said Judicial Committee in respect of holding of having held judicial office in Canada and who attends a sitting of the said Judicial Committee as a member thereof.

16. That every judge of any circuit, county or district court in whose county or district there is a city or town with a population of forty thousand people or over shall be paid one

thousand dollars per annum in addition to his present salary.

17. That the provision of subsection 3 of section 27 of the said Act as to taxes and deductions shall not apply to any judge whose salary is increased by the present Act, or whose salary was increased by chapter 59 of the Statutes of 1919, and who accepts or has accepted such increase, and that the salaries and retiring allowances of judges appointed after the seventh day of July, 1919, and of all judges accepting any increase of salary under the proposed Act or accepting or having accepted any increase of salary under chapter 59 of the Statutes of 1919, shall be taxable and subject to the taxes imposed by The Income War Tax Act, 1917, and the amendments thereto.

18. That no judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, the Exchequer Court of Canada, or of any Provincial Superior Court shall receive any remuneration in addition to his judicial salary for acting as Administrator or Deputy Governor General, or for any duty or service, whether judicial or executive, which he may hereafter be required to perform for or on behalf of the Government of Canada or the Government of any province thereof.

19. That every judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, the Exchequer Court of Canada, or of any Provincial Superior Court who may be nominated for the purpose by the Governor in Council or the Lieutenant Governor in Council shall execute without additional remuneration any commission or enquiry for which he may be appointed as Commissioner under any authority in that behalf exercisable by the Governor in Council or the Lieutenant Governor in Council including the discharge of the duty of arbitrator in any case in which he may be named to act by the competent authority. Provided, however, that any such judge while acting as Commissioner or arbitrator at the nomination of the Governor in Council shall be entitled to his moving or transportation expenses and living allowance at the rate provided by section 18 of the said Act, and such judge when employed under the authority of the Lieutenant Governor in Council may be paid by the Lieutenant Governor in Council his moving or transportation expenses and a living allowance not exceeding the amount which he would be entitled to under the said section 18.

He said: I desire to make a modification in section 16 and I therefore beg to move:

That the words "in whose county or district there is a city or town with a population of 40,000 people or over," be stricken out.

Motion agreed to, and the House went into committee on the resolution as amended, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

Mr. CRERAR: What are the present salaries of the county judges?

Mr. DOHERTY: The present salary of the County Court judges is \$4,000. We are making it \$5,000.

Mr. CRERAR: Does that apply all over the provinces?

Mr. DOHERTY: All over the provinces.

Mr. LANCTOT: Before this resolution passes I desire to offer a few observations with respect to it. I do not complain so much about raising the salaries of judges, but I would like to see provision made in the Bill which is to be founded upon this resolution for contributions by the judges themselves towards the pensions which they are to receive. I noticed in the press the recent death of an old judge in the province of Quebec. He was appointed to the Bench in 1873, but in 1888 was retired on a pension, which he had been in enjoyment of for the last thirty-two years and towards which he had not contributed even one cent, as is required in the case of pensions to other classes of the community. We do not see such pensions granted elsewhere in Canada after only fifteen years of service. In other cases when pensions are granted, the beneficiaries must themselves contribute towards the pension fund. Are we to consider that the lawyers of the country are to be especially favoured in that regard? The particular judge to whom I refer was appointed at a salary of \$4,000 per annum and therefore received during the course of his fifteen years' service the sum of \$60,000, in round figures. He was a pensioner of the country for thirty-two years and during that period drew \$85,354, so that from the time he was elevated to the Bench to the period of his death he received in all \$145,354. It is not only the salary which a judge receives when he is discharging his duties, but the pension which he draws upon retirement, that we must take into consideration. It is not necessary for a judge to have reached old age to be retired; it is very common for persons in this House and out of it to be looking for judicial positions, and consequently the retirement of a judge sometimes takes place before considerations of age or health demand it. Frequently when a member of Parliament who is a lawyer fails to be re-elected to Parliament he is placed on the Bench. We then witness the spectacle of politicians going here and there through the country and saying to a judge, "You have served fifteen years, why not resign? We have another man waiting to take your job." That practice will be easier to follow in future than it has been in the past because of this legislation. I know judges who were appointed in the province of Quebec about the year 1905 at a salary of \$5,000, and the passage of the legislation to be founded upon this resolution will make it possible for those judges to draw a pension of \$6,000. It would be foolish for them to

remain on the Bench hereafter because they will get more by retiring than by staying. What will be the result of such legislation? For the purposes of illustration I will put a case to my hon. friend the Minister of Justice in this connection: Supposing a judge should follow the example of the Minister of Justice, and retire from the Bench, and offer himself as a candidate at a parliamentary election and be returned? Supposing that man becomes Minister of Justice? He will then receive a pension of \$6,000, the parliamentary indemnity of \$4,000 and the salary of a minister of the Crown, \$10,000. That would be a very agreeable situation for any man to find himself in. As I say, I would not object at all to the pension if the judge, like the civil servants for example, contributed so much every year towards the pension fund. Personally I have made provision for my old age; I am paying insurance on my life and when I die, my family will have a few thousand dollars at their disposal. Others should do the same. I do not see why there should be this discrimination in favour of judges, and when the Bill which is to follow this resolution is introduced, I intend to move that the judges be treated in the same way as the rest of the community. While I am on my feet I would like to ask the Minister of Justice this question: Supposing a vacancy should occur six months from now in the representation in the Supreme Court of Canada from the province of Quebec, can an ex-judge who is receiving a pension from the state be appointed to replace the gentleman who is retired?

Mr. DOHERTY: I think a person in that position might be appointed, but I do not think he would be entitled to draw a pension as a retired judge while he was actually a judge in office.

Mr. LANCTOT: If I understand the minister such an appointment could be made but my hon. friend does not believe for a moment that the appointee would accept a pension. That being so, when the present Minister of Justice accepted that portfolio he ought not to have continued to have drawn his pension as a retired judge. That is the way in which I look at the matter and that is how I shall always regard it. If justice is not done to the farmers and the working men of this country in this matter I intend to tour the province of Quebec and tell my fellow citizens what is going on here in Ottawa when both parties combine to enact such bad legislation as

[Mr. Lanctot.]

this. At the proper time, after the Bill has been introduced, I propose to move certain amendments giving expression to my views.

Mr. CROTHERS: I would like to ask the Minister of Justice upon what ground it is proposed to amend clause 16 under which it was proposed that an additional \$1,000 per annum should be granted to the judge of any circuit, county or district court in which there is a city or town with a population of forty thousand or over.

Mr. DOHERTY: The clause which appeared in the original resolution did make that distinction. But we have since found, by representations coming from numerous quarters, that the distinction sought to be made would not operate fairly, that the test of there being a city of forty thousand population in that county was not a fair test of the importance of the business to be transacted or of the amount of judicial work required to be done. I may say that it has been pointed out to me, and it is beyond dispute, I understand, that in all of the western provinces, particularly in British Columbia in very many counties there do not happen to be cities, but while there may be in those counties a smaller number of cases to be decided, it imposes upon the judges who hold office in them the obligation of covering a very extensive territory, frequently under conditions of travel which are not of the most agreeable kind, and that those judges compensate at least for the difference in quantity of work by the added arduousness of the conditions under which it has to be performed. Coming to the other provinces, even in the province of Ontario it has been brought to my attention that in quite a few cases the judges in counties or districts where there does not happen to be a city of 40,000 inhabitants have as large a burden, in some instances, as in districts where there is such a city. Moreover, it has been found that in some of these counties containing a city of 40,000 inhabitants the judges in adjoining counties necessarily have to share the burden, and it would manifestly be unfair under those circumstances that there should be a discrimination in the salary. Therefore, taking it all round, it seemed to be impossible to draw a line that would do perfect justice.

Apart from that I think if hon. members will reflect for a moment they will feel that taking the County Court judges as a whole this is perhaps a fair consideration. Their salaries are to-day but \$4,000. Of course, their work may be more or less onerous,

but in any case it is work to which the judges have to devote their whole time, and leaving the salaries at that figure might perhaps invite comparisons with other allowances from which it would appear that there was not perhaps altogether quite a fair balancing of the different conditions. In any event, I may say that the principal reason is that we find ourselves face to face with the fact that such differences operate unjustly, and it was impossible to find a line of demarcation that would operate equitably. Therefore it appeared to us in view of the very large number of County Court judges, with regard to whom I do not think it can be suggested that \$5,000 is too large a salary, that even if it should happen that taking in the whole there might be places where the work would not be adequate to justify that salary, still on the whole balance we would be doing the right thing by granting the increase.

Then there is another feature to be considered; it is undesirable to discriminate between judges. A judge is a judge—it is the position. It may happen that a judge is appointed to a district where there is a little less work than in other districts, but that is not because he selected that district. Whether the work be heavy or light, his whole time is given to it, and if he is a man fit and capable to be a judge in any court and to do honour to his office, I think everybody will agree that he would be able to earn at least \$5,000, if not more.

It has been suggested that in the province of Ontario, with the large number of County Court judges, there were some with not adequate work as compared with the judges in the other provinces. In that connection I would point out, that under recent legislation, we are steadily proceeding to decrease the number, so that the judges who at present number seventy in the County Court will ultimately be reduced to fifty. Provision is made for not filling vacancies as they occur, and a large number of counties which had two judges have been reduced to one judge. That process of reduction is going on with fair rapidity.

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): Could not that process of gradual reduction be accelerated by legislation on the part of the Provincial Government?

Mr. DOHERTY: It is their legislation which has produced that result.

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): It is going very slowly. It needs an accelerator.

Mr. DOHERTY: I would remind my hon. friend that every judge in office is a judge for the rest of his life, and the only way in which the Ontario legislature could speed up the operation of its statute would be to terminate the judges' lives at an earlier date than nature did.

Mr. CROTHERS: The reason given by the minister that under the clause as it now stands some County Court judges would receive a larger salary than others does not seem to have regard to the fact that some County Court judges in Ontario receive more than the ordinary salary.

Mr. DOHERTY: Not from the Dominion.

Mr. CROTHERS: One or two points have been omitted which I think should be mentioned. We have in Ontario something over seventy of these County Court judges.

Mr. DOHERTY: Just seventy now.

Mr. CROTHERS: In many of the counties there are two judges, a senior and a junior; and those of us who come from Ontario know that it is no exaggeration to say that in many of the counties there is not half enough work to keep one judge busy. We have junior judges in Ontario who do not pretend to do anything except for three or four days during each month. Last year their salary was increased by \$1,000; they are with us again this year. Now those judges have other sources of income. There may be a few exceptions, but in the great majority of cases the Government of the province appoints the senior County Court judge also a judge of the Surrogate Court, for which he receives fees to the amount of about \$1,000. I think the Government commuted those fees in some cases a year or two ago. If I remember rightly, the senior County Court judges Surrogate Court fees were fixed at \$1,300, and the juniors' at \$1,000. But let us put those fees at \$1,000; then from other sources I estimate they get \$500, that is, for their work in the selection of jurors, the revision of voters' lists, and hearing appeals under the Ditch and Watercourses Act; so that with their salary of \$4,000 they are in receipt of about \$5,500.

Another point that should be brought to the attention of the committee is that when those judges retire at the age of seventy-five years they receive their full salary during the rest of their lives, even if they have only served five years on the bench. I do not know whether the Minister of Justice

has succeeded or not, but I know that he has endeavoured not to appoint men to the County Court bench older than sixty years. I think, however, there have been many exceptions to that rule. Supposing a man is appointed at sixty, he is bound to retire at seventy-five years of age. At the maximum he serves fifteen years, and as the law now stands he would receive \$4,000 a year during the balance of his life. But that retiring allowance applies whenever he retires regardless of his length of service.

Mr. DOHERTY: There will be a clause in the Bill to correct that.

Mr. CROTHERS: I am speaking of the law as it is now. My hon. friend the Minister of Justice says that he intends to change that condition of affairs. In the case of a Superior Court judge the pension depends upon the number of years he has served on the bench; if he has served for fifteen years he gets a percentage, if for twenty years a larger percentage, and if for twenty-five years a still larger percentage of his salary. But that, of course, does not apply at all to the County Court judges. A few weeks ago I received a letter from a County Court judge saying, "I have served for so many years; I suppose I am not entitled to my full salary?" I had to write him in reply that he was entitled to his full salary, no matter how long he had been on the bench.

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): By Dominion legislation?

Mr. CROTHERS: Yes. A County Court judge may retire after he has served thirty years even if he is only sixty. If he was appointed at the age of thirty and served until he was sixty, he would be entitled to full pay for the rest of his life. He may retire at sixty at full pay, but he is not obliged to retire until he is seventy-five, and then he gets full pay for the rest of his life. It is admitted all around—the minister himself would be the first to admit it—that a great many of these judges are not earning anything like what they are being paid. The time may come when the junior judge will disappear, in which event another will not be appointed in his place, but that may take ten, fifteen or twenty years. I do not believe that the people of Ontario are in favour of this increase.

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): If more vigorous legislation in the same direction were passed by the legislature of Ontario, this difficulty would come to an end.

[Mr. Crothers.]

Mr. CROTHERS: But you cannot by legislation put a man out of his position.

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): You can do something.

Mr. CROTHERS: You cannot by legislation put out a man who has held a given position for ten, fifteen or twenty years. The procedure of the courts has been fixed by the legislature of the province, and I am bound to say, after an experience of forty years, that legislation has been passed in order that junior judgeships may be given to friends. Are we to give these men another \$1,000? In the case of a man who has served only five or ten years, such an increase is entirely unwarranted. I am satisfied that my electors do not approve of it, and I am opposed to it on that ground as well as on personal grounds. With regard to the population provision in the clause as it now stands, take the city of Toronto. Of course, there is more work in Toronto than there is in Ottawa, but they have four or five judges in Toronto.

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): Three, anyway.

Mr. CROTHERS: I think there are four or five; I could name four right now. I do not think that we would be warranted in increasing those salaries. An increase of \$1,000 was given only last year. The great majority of the judges, I believe, are perfectly satisfied with their present salary. The only reason I have ever heard for an increase is that judges in the province of Quebec who do the same kind of work but are called Superior Court judges get a larger salary,—\$7,000. Since this matter came up a few days ago I have been informed that the judges in the province of Quebec do the County Court work as well as the Superior Court work.

Mr. LEMIEUX: And the Criminal Court work too.

Mr. CROTHERS: A deputation which came here a few weeks ago urged that the salaries of County Court judges in Ontario should be increased on the ground that the judges in the province of Quebec who were doing the same kind of work were getting a great deal more. But that does not seem to be true; the judges in the province of Quebec do the High Court as well as the County Court work. That is a good reason why they should be paid more. I do not think it is fair to the ratepayers of this country that we should increase these salaries. Wait until a number of these junior

judges retire. I am sure that many of them get a great deal more than they ever earned as solicitors or barristers.

Mr. PROULX: I expressed my opinion with regard to this matter the other day when the Estimates of the Department of Justice were under consideration, and I have not since changed my mind. I am opposed to the whole resolution. I believe that in these times of stress, when we have to tax even the necessities of life in order to obtain the necessary revenue, we should not make such increases. The judges should wait a few years until the financial condition of the country show some improvement. They are getting very good salaries now, considering the allowances that they receive upon retirement. They are better paid than civil servants in the higher offices whose work is very important and who really work much harder than some of these judges. These civil servants do not get the generous allowances that the judges get, though the civil servants contribute to the superannuation fund while the judges do not. I concur in the suggestion made by my hon. friend (Mr. Lanctot) that if the judges die before they receive any retiring allowance the amount paid into the fund to which they should contribute could be paid to their families. I cited one case where we had been paying a pension to a judge since 1888 who had never paid a cent to the retirement fund. I repeat that there is a certain class of civil servants who are much more deserving of an increase than the judges are. But it is always the case, Mr. Chairman, that we give to those who do not need and withhold from those who need. There is one class of people who are public servants if they are not civil servants, and who render a great service to this country; I refer to the men who carry the mail throughout the country. The rural mail carriers have been receiving a starving allowance. Certainly they are not sufficiently remunerated.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: The judges should carry the mail.

Mr. PROULX: Well, my hon. friend may be derisive, but I tell him that these public servants are very deserving; certainly they are more deserving of consideration than judges who are already receiving salaries of \$7,000 and \$8,000, who receive a very generous retiring allowance, and who do not pay a cent to the superannuation fund as the civil servants do. It is my opinion that the people of this country are not getting a square deal. The time will come

when there will be in Canada a people's party who will give a square deal to all the people, and then there will be no privileged classes. Now you are going to make all the judges a privileged class. My hon. friend (Mr. Crothers) has mentioned the case of the County Court judges of Ontario. I am of the opinion that there are twice as many County Court judges in Ontario as are needed. In my own district we have two County Court judges while there is not enough work to employ one judge half the time, and I am sure that the same applies to many other districts in the province. These judges get \$4,000 and \$5,000; the senior judge gets \$1,000 from the province, and he gets fees as well, which amount to \$500. Legislation was passed in 1919 increasing the number of County Court judges in Ontario, as my hon. friend (Mr. Crothers) has said it will take at least fifteen years to eliminate the number that is not required. I submit that the Government could have waited a few years before making these increases. The plea of the high cost of living is always advanced in favour of increases; but we are not sure that the high cost of living will always prevail as it does to-day. In my opinion we may have very hard times in a few years and the cost of living may topple down. Once these salaries are increased it is practically impossible to reduce them. It is like the indemnities to the members of the House; once they are increased they can never be decreased.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. PROULX: If the high cost of living is the reason for the increase I would have preferred to see the judges get a bonus. We do not know whether the high cost of living will exist next year or two years hence.

Mr. BUREAU: It will be higher.

Mr. PROULX: We do not know. I think that in a few years the inflation that we have to-day will not exist and that prices will be much lower than they are now. We have to tax the people on necessities—in fact, upon everything. Water is about the only thing that is left untaxed now-a-days, and soon, if increases of all kinds are going to continue, we will have to tax water. The people will get tired of this sort of thing and there will arise a People's party, of which the United Farmers' and Labour are already the nucleus. I shall not regret it when a People's party does arise in this country. I think the two old parties have

too often agreed to pass legislation in favour of privileged classes. I consider this legislation is in favour of a privileged class, and I agree with my hon. friend from West Lambton (Mr. Pardee) that the people of Ontario will not support it.

Mr. HOCKEN: I would point out to my hon. friend that we have a People's party in this House already on this side—a people's party that was elected by an enormous majority in 1917. So my hon. friend need not predict something that has already happened.

I think a pretty good case has been made out for the readjustment of the pension system for the County Court judges. Beyond that, I do not agree with my hon. friend from West Elgin. On the face of it, the proposition to confine the increase to county judges in districts and counties with cities of a population of 40,000, looks pretty reasonable, but if we examine it we shall find the grounds are not quite as strong as they appear at first sight. If we have too many judges in this country and some are not employed more than half their time, that is the fault of this Government.

Mr. GUTHRIE: The fault of the Provincial Government.

Mr. HOCKEN: Why should not this Government co-operate with the Provincial Government and group certain counties for judicial purposes? Some counties have already been grouped. Why should we not group other counties? If this Government made representations to a Provincial Government that they had laws upon their statute book that resulted in a waste of public money, I do not think any Provincial Government would resist an appeal from this Government for the reduction of judges to the number actually required. In some cases, as my hon. friend from Prescott says, there are two men employed where there is not enough work for one.

On the other hand, there are counties where it takes a judge practically every day of the year to perform the duties of his office. That is a disparity that is not the fault of the county judge; it is the fault of the existing legislation. I have been making some inquiries and I find that the amount that is given by the province to judges for Surrogate fees and that kind of thing is over \$1,000. That includes the revision of assessments and voters' lists, and in our city that is an important matter involving a great deal of work, the hearing of appeals under the Ditches and Water Courses Act, school arbitrations, and many

[Mr. Proulx.]

other duties prescribed by statute, in the province of Ontario at all events. One county judge, now passed away, I believe, estimated that there were 167 different duties imposed on county judges by the Statutes of Ontario. Some of these, I presume, would be of a very minor character, or the judges could not perform their work at all. The revision of assessments, the revision of voters' lists, the hearing of Ditches and Water Courses appeals, school arbitrations and that kind of thing, in addition to their other duties, keep the judges in most of the counties fully employed, if they perform their duties properly.

Our Superior Court judges have a vacation of three months. Not many of the county judges have a vacation of that length. There are many counties in Ontario where it would be impossible to get the work done if the judge took a three months' holiday. In the city of Toronto there are three county judges. They have opportunities of adding to their incomes which are not within the reach of the average judge. They sit on arbitrations of various kinds and on boards of conciliation. One of them sits on the Police Commission, which adds \$1,000 or more to his salary. So the judges in the big centres have opportunities of adding to their incomes which are not within the reach of other judges. I think the amendment proposed by the Minister of Justice striking out the limitation regarding 40,000 population should be adopted. I think we should first, eliminate, as we have arranged to do and as will be done in process of time, all the junior county judges, except in the big centres. Next, we should group the counties, so as not to have two judges sitting for the county of Prescott, for instance, if there is not enough work to keep one judge employed.

Mr. CROTHERS: Half the counties of Ontario are in the same position.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: There are no lawyers in Prescott.

Mr. HOCKEN: If half the counties in Ontario are in the same position, that strengthens my argument. We should not put these men on a salary which is inadequate, simply because we have created a lot of sinecures all over the country. What we should do is to fix the boundaries of the districts in such a way that the judges will have enough work to do. The county judge in a county town is one of the leaders in his town. I venture to say that nothing is started in the way of a subscription where the county judge is not approached

first. He has many demands upon him, not quite as heavy perhaps as the members of this House, but still very considerable demands, confined, of course, to his locality. These are considerations that we ought to take into account. The county judges have to perform duties not involving large sums of money, but involving the liberties and the rights of a subject, and in that respect their duties are as important as those of the Superior Court judges. Furthermore, they try more cases, and their time is more fully occupied. I think they are entitled to the increase that is proposed by this legislation, and I heartily support the Minister of Justice in his amendment.

Mr. MACKIE (East Edmonton): I want to say a few words on account of the remarks which have been made by the hon. member for Prescott. It may be true that some evils exist in the province of Ontario, but there are other provinces besides Ontario. If there are evils in Ontario, let my hon. friend first clean his own stables, instead of arguing from the particular to the general. In the province of Alberta we have district court judges who have to travel around the country. A district court judge will leave the city of Edmonton and go from place to place on the Canadian Northern for two hundred miles, hearing cases. Other judges travel North to Fort Murray, a distance of 300 or 400 miles. Others go from Edmonton to Peace River Crossing, a distance of 380 miles, and then by boat or team to Vermillion, another 300 miles. These are inconveniences with which the judges have to put up for a salary of \$3,500.

It is all very well for my hon. friend to say he is going to attend to the creation of a People's party composed of the United Farmers and Labour, which party will rule better than either of the present parties. If by Labour he means those people who have endeavoured to empty the jails of Manitoba for the purpose of throwing on society men who have been condemned by their peers, he is quite at liberty to associate himself with that party, but I shall not do so.

A particular case like Ontario's should not govern all the other provinces. The judges are the only body of men who stand between the people and the executive, and their position should be such as to command respect. If men have been appointed to the bench by reason of their political activities, and they did not deserve to be appointed, it is because the system of appointment is wrong. Because

there may be cases of this kind, every other appointment that has been made in the country should not be condemned. If men have been appointed to the bench who should not have been appointed, it is principally because the salaries of the judges have been such as to prevent other men from accepting the positions. I hope the House will pass the resolution as it is.

Mr. FRASER: As one who waited upon different members of the Government to have clause 16 amended, I think it is my duty to say a few words in support of the amendment. The judge of the county of Welland has every hour of his time occupied. He was also chairman of the local branch of the Patriotic Fund where he is doing excellent work, for which he got no remuneration, and served also on the Victory Loan Committee. I consider it a shame that Judge Livingstone should have had to work for the past number of years at the salary he has been receiving. I strongly support the amendment.

Mr. FORTIER (Labelle): I desire to say a few words in regard to this resolution, not from a general standpoint but rather with reference to its local application. As for the resolution itself, I am heartily in favour of its proposal, for I think it is a measure of justice which should have been put into force many years ago. The increase is perfectly justified by present circumstances, and while it will be welcomed by the judges themselves I have no doubt the people of the country will be generous enough to approve it. The resolution does justice to the judges of the province of Quebec, and particularly to those judges who are known as rural district judges. This term, in my opinion, is really a misnomer, because outside of the districts of Quebec and Montreal the population of other districts is urban as well as rural, and the judges in those places should receive the same salary as judges in cities. I want to direct the minister's attention particularly to paragraph 5 of the resolution with reference to residence of judges. I have a large practice in the Ottawa valley, especially in the city of Hull, and I may inform the minister that representations have been made to the proper authorities to provide that in the future the judge who administers justice in this district should have his residence in Hull, as was the case in the past. There is a proviso to clause 5 which states that a judge of a Superior Court shall not be entitled to receive any addition to his present salary—I am speaking of Que-

bec—unless he actually resides in the immediate vicinity of Montreal, Quebec, Sherbrooke, or Three Rivers. I think that the same conditions that apply to Sherbrooke and Three Rivers apply to Hull, and I would suggest to the minister that Hull might be included in this list and be given a resident judge.

Mr. DOHERTY: I cannot do that because it will not fit in with the legislation of Quebec. If I said that there should be a judge resident in Hull I would be providing for a judge who is not provided for by provincial legislation. The hon. gentleman must realize that we have to take the courts as they are constituted by the provinces, and we cannot create new conditions as to where men shall reside. That is a matter entirely for the province. Speaking as an individual, I appreciate the motives that inspire the hon. member, and as an individual I should be glad to do whatever I could to dispose the proper authorities to take my hon. friend's point of view. It will not, however, do for me to put in a provision about Hull, because the judge must live where the legislature of his province says he should live. We cannot make him live anywhere else.

Mr. FORTIER: I may say that representations are being made to the Provincial Government with a view to securing an amendment to the present law, and I understand that the matter will be considered at the next session of the provincial legislature. Representations have been made by the bar of our district and by many responsible citizens in order to have the law amended. There are peculiar reasons why there should be a resident judge in Hull. Hull is the third city of Quebec. It is situate some distance from Montreal, and it is not in the interests of the people of Hull, and it certainly does not make for convenience in the despatch of business, to have a judge from some distant point visit the district. If Quebec and Montreal are the great centres of the province of Quebec, I think it will be admitted that Hull is the metropolis of the Ottawa Valley, and as such is entitled to reasonable consideration in this matter. I hope that in the near future the proper authorities will see the wisdom, not to say the justice, of returning to the former condition, and will appoint a judge to be resident in Hull. If the Provincial Government adopts that suggestion, then the Minister of Justice at some future time will be able to amend, in accordance

[Mr. Fortier.]

with that change, the legislation which we are now enacting.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): I desire to say but a few words on this resolution. I am not very enthusiastic over these increases. I have no doubt they are all right and necessary, but I regret that the Government have found it advisable to propose them at the present juncture, when it is so difficult for us to square our accounts. However, if there is to be a general increase in the salaries of judges, I would call attention to the County Court judges of my own province. I do not think that the province of Ontario should be taken as a guide in this matter, because it is well known that the proportion of County Court judges in Ontario is greater, according to population, than that of other provinces. In Nova Scotia there are eighteen counties and only seven County Court judges. In that province we have, roughly speaking, a population of half a million, and as a rule the County Court judges are pretty hard worked. The principle that gives an increase to the judge who happens to have a city of forty thousand in his jurisdiction will exclude all the judges in Nova Scotia, except the judge in the city of Halifax.

Mr. DOHERTY: That limitation in regard to population of forty thousand has been struck out, and the resolution as it now stands applies to all County Court judges.

Mr. SINCLAIR: That means, I take it, that the judges of Nova Scotia will get an increase?

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes.

Mr. SINCLAIR: If that is the case I have nothing further to say.

Mr. DOHERTY: I move to amend paragraph 18 by adding the following words:

"Without prejudice to the rights of any judge under the provisions of any provincial statute now in force."

The clause as worded compels the judges in future to perform without remuneration any judicial or executive duties that they may be called upon to perform by the Dominion or the province, but there was no intention to destroy the specific statutory provisions already in force in the provinces, and the words are added to make that intention clear.

Amendment agreed to.

Resolution reported and concurred in.

Rt. Hon. Mr. DOHERTY thereupon moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 218, to amend the Judges' Act.

Mr. DOHERTY: The Bill is not printed for circulation as yet but its contents are absolutely, with one or two additions, the contents of the resolution.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Go on.

Mr. DOHERTY: I beg to move that the Bill be read a second time.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Do we understand that the Bill is exactly in accordance with the resolution?

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes, except that there are two or three sections added. As a condition of this increase the judge in future will be bound to give gratuitously their services on all commissions to which they may be appointed by this Government or the Provincial Governments. In the second place, as a condition of this increase the salaries and emoluments of all judges accepting it become liable to taxation and likewise to fall under the taxation already imposed by the Income Tax Act. Thirdly, there is a provision—and that meets some of the criticisms that were made—that, as regards all judges who may hereafter be appointed, section 20 of the Judges' Act, which establishes a certain scale and entitles judges to retire with a full salary at certain dates and under certain conditions, is repealed. As regards judges actually in office now, any of them who become entitled under that section to retire with full salary will be entitled only to full salary as it stands to-day. This increase will not be taken into consideration in computing the amount to which they shall be entitled. I think these are the three provisions in addition to those in the resolution and it will be observed that all these additions, are restrictive instead of extending advantages to the judges.

Mr. MACLEAN (York): Will the new legislation in regard to judges giving their services apply to commissions already in existence or only to those that are to come hereafter?

Mr. SPEAKER: If it is agreeable to the hon. members perhaps the details could be explained to better advantage in the committee.

Mr. LANCTOT: I object to the second reading as I have not seen the Bill and I want to see it.

Mr. SPEAKER: Does the hon. gentleman object to the second reading?

Mr. LANCTOT: I want to discuss the Bill on the second reading, and I want the Bill discussed in committee.

Mr. SPEAKER: Do I understand the hon. gentleman wants to discuss it in committee?

Mr. LANCTOT: I must read the Bill before I am able to discuss it.

Mr. SPEAKER: The motion must either carry or stand.

Mr. LANCTOT: Stand.

Some hon. MEMBERS: No, no.

Mr. CURRIE: I think the hon. gentleman does not quite understand. The second reading now is a purely formal matter. The Bill will be brought down and printed and we can go into committee and discuss it.

Mr. LANCTOT: That is all right.

Mr. SPEAKER: The second reading involves the principle of the Bill. If the hon. gentleman presses his objection the Bill cannot now be read a second time. Do I understand the hon. gentleman to object?

Mr. LANCTOT: I do not see what advantage it would be to the Government to pass the second reading of this Bill now. It can be done at another sitting of the House.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must ask the hon. gentleman specifically if he objects to the second reading now?

Mr. LANCTOT: Yes, I do.

Mr. DOHERTY: Perhaps the hon. gentleman would return me the Bill I gave him as it is the only copy I have to give to the printer.

Motion for second reading allowed to stand.

#### CANADIAN WHEAT BOARD.

Rt. Hon. Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Minister of Trade and Commerce) moved the second reading of Bill 206 respecting the Canadian Wheat Board.

He said: Mr. Speaker, before the House goes into committee on this Bill I desire to make a statement which I think is due not only to the House but is also due in fairness to some gentlemen outside of the House. It is in reference to a discussion which took place when we were upon the resolution which formed the basis for this Bill. The hon. member for Chateauguay-Huntingdon (Mr. Robb) read a certain statement made by Dr. Magill in an address

delivered to the Winnipeg Grain Exchange and drew certain inferences therefrom. I think it is fair to Dr. Magill, to the House and to the Government that I should make a short statement in reference to it. At page 4236 of Hansard the hon. member for Chateauguay-Huntingdon is reported as follows:

I have in my hand a copy of a speech delivered by Dr. Magill explaining to the members of the Winnipeg Grain Exchange the results of his mission to London, England, from which I quote:

"I took the opportunity of calling at Mr. Harris' office.

He told me that he had been at the conference in Ottawa, that he knew all that had gone on, and had talked with grain men, and that he came back to London believing that it was his duty to sell Canadian wheat to England and to neutral countries. Mark you, after the market had been opened, Mr. Harris, chairman of the War Trade Mission, believed it was his duty to sell Canadian wheat to England and to neutral countries. He also told me that a cablegram had been sent by Sir Robert Borden to Mr. Arthur Sifton, telling him among other things to sell fifty to seventy-five million bushels of our wheat."

The hon. member for Chateauguay-Huntingdon proceeds:

Now, did Mr. Arthur Sifton, acting on the instructions of the Prime Minister, sell 50,000,000 or 75,000,000 bushels of the Canadian crop before it was ripe or before it was ready to go on the market? That is the statement that was made publicly to the Winnipeg Grain Exchange and it has not been denied.

I want to call the attention of the hon. member for Chateauguay-Huntingdon and the House as well to the fact that whereas the text of that quotation and its assertion is that Mr. Harris, in the first place, believed he came back to England with authority to sell, and in the second place that a cable had been sent to Mr. Arthur Sifton telling him amongst other things to sell 50,000,000 or 75,000,000 bushels, the statement made by the hon. member for Chateauguay-Huntingdon goes further than that. After asking the question "now did Mr. Arthur Sifton acting on the instructions of the Prime Minister" (and so on to the world market quoting the words).

He says:

That is the statement that was made publicly to the Winnipeg Grain Exchange and it has not been denied.

That is that Mr. Arthur Sifton, acting on the instructions of the Prime Minister to sell, did sell 50,000,000 or 75,000,000 bushels of the Canadian crop before it was ripe or before it was ready to go on the market. I think there is the distinction between what was actually said in Eng-

[Sir George Foster.]

land and the statement in the last paragraph. There the definite statement was made that that grain was actually sold.

Mr. ROSS: Will my hon. friend allow me?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Yes.

Mr. ROBB: With all due respect to my right hon. friend I did not make that statement, and if he will read Hansard again he will notice what I said. "Now, did Mr. Arthur Sifton sell? It was an inquiry I made of the Government.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Very well, I will go over my hon. friend's remarks again if he will be good enough to pay attention. The words of my hon. friend were these:

Now, did Mr. Arthur Sifton, acting on the instructions of the Prime Minister sell 50,000,000 or 75,000,000 bushels of the Canadian crop before it was ripe or before it was ready to go on the market?

Mr. ROBB: That is it, an inquiry.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: (reading):

That is the statement that was made publicly to the Winnipeg Grain Exchange and it has not been denied.

The statement that was made by Dr. Magill to the Winnipeg Grain Exchange was that Mr. Harris had told him he came back to England believing he was authorized to sell and that a cablegram had been sent to Mr. Sifton asking him to sell; but not a word to carry out the assertion of my hon. friend that these bushels of wheat had been actually sold although that was my hon. friend's statement.

Mr. ROBB: Well, I never said they were sold. I inquired "Did Mr. Sifton sell them?"

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: But my hon. friend besides an inquiry made a positive statement. I grant him this inquiry, but I read to him again his positive statement:

That is the statement that was made publicly to the Winnipeg Grain Exchange and it has not been denied.

Now there was no statement made to the Winnipeg Grain Exchange that the wheat had been sold. There is where my hon. friend and I differ as to our views on the matter. However I am quite willing to leave it to the judgment of the House. Later on the hon. member for Chateauguay (Mr. Robb) made another statement. After having made the statement that I have read, from which the House inferred that this grain had been sold, a question was asked

by the hon. member for Victoria and Haliburton (Sir Sam Hughes), in these words:

I understood from his (Mr. Robb's) remarks that in connection with the order for sale of wheat in England to which he refers there was a loss having regard to the price which subsequently had to be paid in Canada for that grain. Who bore that loss and how was it made up?

The House will see that the hon. member for Haliburton (Sir Sam Hughes) got the same impression that I did and it was the only impression that could be taken from the words of my hon. friend—that the wheat had been sold, that therefore a loss had occurred, and that the Grain Exchange was shut down in order that the Government might escape some part of that loss. My hon. friend (Mr. Robb) said further:

Mr. Robb: I did not say there was a loss. I quoted a statement made publicly in the Winnipeg Grain Exchange that Mr. Lloyd Harris had said that the right hon. Prime Minister had cabled the Rt. Hon. Arthur Sifton to sell fifty or seventy-five million bushels of Canadian wheat, and the impression left upon the members of the Grain Exchange was that because Mr. Lloyd Harris or Rt. Hon. Arthur Sifton or whoever was acting for them had carried out these instructions and had sold this wheat it became necessary to close the Winnipeg Grain Exchange and fix the price of wheat so that the wheat could be secured and delivered without too great a loss to Canada. I am waiting for some person to clear that up.

Now, there was the reiterated statement that the wheat was sold, that there was a loss, and that therefore this inference of my hon. friend from Haliburton was perfectly correct. I then rose and said:

There is not a shadow of foundation for a statement of that kind or any such inference from a statement of that kind as my hon. friend has made on several occasions in this House, leading to the impression that the Government sold short in Great Britain and then, to cover themselves, stopped the Exchange operations when wheat went up. If any one says that he makes a base unfounded assertion which has not one iota of truth in it.

Mr. Robb: The statement is made that Hon. Arthur Sifton did sell the wheat and no one denies that to-day.

Sir George Foster: The statement is not made that Mr. Sifton sold 75,000,000 bushels of wheat.

Mr. Robb: The minister to-day denies that statement that the wheat was sold.

There again is the reiteration that it was his belief that the wheat was actually sold. Then this interjection was made:

Mr. Meighen: Nobody made the statement except yourself.

Mr. Robb: Do not be so sure about that.

If the hon. member for Chateauguay can bring any person, or any authority, to say that that wheat was sold then he will have

done something which he has not done up to this time. I thought it was only fair that Dr. Magill, who—according to the hon. member for Chateauguay—lies under the imputation of having told the Winnipeg Grain Exchange that Mr. Sifton had sold 50,000,000 or 75,000,000 bushels of wheat in Great Britain,—should be cleared of that imputation. He did not say so, nor do I know any one in Canada, or out of it, who has said so with the simple exception of the hon. member for Chateauguay.

Motion agreed to and the House went into committee on the Bill, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 3—Wheat Board may be constituted:

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I should like some information as to the names and the occupations of the members of the present board?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The following are the names of the members of the present board: James Stewart, H. W. Wood, Frederick William Riddell, W. A. Black, Norman McLeod Patterson; Wm. L. Best; C. B. Watts; Wm. H. McWilliams, Joe. Quintal, Lieut.-Col. J. Z. Fraser, Wm. A. Matheson, F. O. Fowler.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: According to reports published in the press in September last some comment has been indulged in with regard to the criticisms of the Wheat Board offered by the old Board of Commerce when the insinuation, if not the direct charge, was made that the large milling companies were represented on this board to a greater degree than was advisable in the public interests. In fact the statement was made that two members of the large milling companies and the secretary of the Dominion Milling Company were members of this board, and that the interests of the producer and the consumer were not represented to the extent that they should be.

Has the attention of the Government been directed to the fact that the discrimination was against the producing of food owing to the fixation of prices by the board on the by-products of wheat? They differentiated to the extent of \$10 per ton between bran and shorts, although, as is well known, there is a difference of only one per cent in the protein contents of those two commodities, and the lack of protein in the bran was made up by the admixture of screenings. I think in view of the complications which have arisen in respect to the Board of Commerce, we ought to find out whether it is the intention of the Govern-

ment to continue having the large milling companies represented on the board to the disadvantage of the producers of foodstuffs, whose interests have been largely neglected.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: My hon. friend will see that the section of the Bill provides for the appointment of a Canadian Wheat Board consisting of twelve members. The passage of this Bill does not commit the Government to any particular twelve men. What ever criticism therefore may have applied to the members of the board as it now exists does not necessarily apply to the new board, because it does not follow that these same men will be appointed in exactly the same proportion as regards the various interests which they are presumed to represent. However, I am bound to say that the Government made very careful choice of the members of the board, and to the best of their ability apportioned the nominees to the different interests involved; the producing interest—the wheat growers; the milling interest; the shipping interest; the consuming and labour interest. And although it is absolutely impossible to have any twelve men carry on operations of this kind and be immune from criticism and dissatisfaction, I think I may say, as having a pretty intimate knowledge of their work, that the operations of the board have given general satisfaction, and that there is a feeling in the country that they have given every one a fair deal.

The hon. gentleman (Mr. Sutherland) must remember that operations as extensive as these are, stretching over such a vast territory and dealing with so many varying interests, must necessarily cause more or less friction, all the more so because it was an unusual method of conducting the marketing of grain, and consequently brings up new and in some cases somewhat perplexing questions. On the whole I believe that through the operations of this board a better price was secured to the farmers and a more uniform passage of the wheat from the hands of the farmers to the ultimate consumers than could have been got in any other way. I believe also that the consumers of this country received their flour, and consequently their bread, at a cheaper rate than could otherwise have been the case; for it is indisputable that flour in this country has been from \$1 to \$2 and more cheaper on the run of the season than the price enjoyed by consumers in the United States.

I believe that those who have had the most intimate knowledge of the operations [Mr. Sutherland.]

of the board have the greatest confidence that the board has performed to very general satisfaction a very difficult duty requiring a great deal of executive capacity.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I admit that I have not that intimate knowledge of the operations of the board that some others may possess, and I am pleased indeed to know that the minister has such absolute confidence in the satisfaction which the board has given. As to the price of flour, I would again emphasize what I have already referred to, that the production of flour is not the only important feature of the grain trade. I pointed out that before the appointment of the Canadian Wheat Board mill feeds were purchasable at nearly one-half the price which has obtained since this board began its operations. Formerly there was a spread of only \$5 per ton between bran and shorts; whereas to-day by the fixation of prices the spread is \$10 per ton. It is well known to every one who has had any experience in stock-raising that that spread is altogether too great, considering the fact that there is a difference of only one per cent of protein between bran and shorts, and that that difference is largely made up by adulteration.

With regard to the personnel of the board, it has been stated by the minister that great care was exercised in selecting these men. I come from a part of Ontario where there is a great demand for certain of these mill feeds, and where wheat growing is carried on to a very great extent. It is well known that Western Ontario is a part of the province where farming is conducted with the best possible results. But strange to say, although I have made inquiries of hon. members from Western Ontario, and even from Central Ontario, I have never yet been able to find a single representative of the people who was consulted in regard to the appointment of the one solitary nominee from Western Ontario. I know that a few days ago that gentleman was caricatured by some of the agricultural journals as a farmer who was the laughing-stock of his neighbourhood. Pictures were shown of his buildings and fences, and a general "write-up" given of his whole history. I do not know whether that is correct or not, and I do not think that the writer of the article had any love for that particular member of the wheat board; but as a representative of the people of my constituency, I do want to say that when this Government selects men to deal with their property, as this board has been dealing with it, I consider that I am en-

titled to know something about who is making these recommendations to the Government over and above the heads of those who are elected to look after the interests of the people in Parliament. Western Ontario has received absolutely no consideration from this board and I for one would like to see this business return to ordinary channels and again become governed by the laws of supply and demand. We do not want to have dictators doing things which were done last year and which hampered Western Ontario as no other one thing has done, unless it was the Board of Commerce, which recently passed out of existence.

Section agreed to.

On section 5—Board may make investigation respecting supplies of wheat, etc.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I move that clause 5 be amended by adding as subsection 2 the following words:

Should a board be appointed under this Act after trading in the wheat crop of 1920 has commenced, the board shall have power to adjust and make payments from the funds of the board in respect to actual losses incurred by reason of the bringing into effect of this Act. Provided that before payments are made such adjustments and payments are approved by the Governor in Council.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): What amount of losses does the minister anticipate?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: If the marketing of wheat is decontrolled and the business proceeds in its normal channels, the exchanges work and buyers and sellers, as in normal times, go on the market, make their contracts and incur their obligations. This they do upon their individual and corporate responsibility, looking to the future. They deal over a certain space of time and they make provision for certain contingencies which may arise out of a present purchase by some deal for future sale or purchase to hedge their first transaction. They also incur obligations one to the other and contracts between buyer and seller. Suppose that normal business goes on for a week, two weeks, a month, or two months, and then the Government suddenly brings this Act into operation and shuts the gate upon all transactions. These contracts and obligations remain, and the individuals concerned are without the usual facilities and privileges of the market with which to recoup themselves. It is apparent that no business of any kind would be undertaken in the face of a contingency of that kind; so in order to have normal and usual transactions go on, it is necessary that some guar-

antee be given that if the Government does step in under such circumstances the board shall have power to adjust and make payment from the funds of the board in respect to actual losses incurred by reason of the Act being brought into force. There is a provision that any adjustment or payments are to be approved by the Governor in Council.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): Suppose the Government fixes a price at \$2 a bushel. They are dealing with 100,000,000 bushels of wheat. The price in the markets of the world drops to \$1.75; in that case the Government would be involved in a loss of \$25,000,000,000. It looks to me like a very serious responsibility that the Government are assuming. If I am wrong, the minister will put me right; if I am right, I would hesitate to vote for the minister's proposal.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The Government does not assume any responsibility whatever. The board, if it is brought into action, will take up the work, carry on transactions for the future, and adjust and make such payments to those who have been carrying on operations as they may think necessary, to the extent of actual losses incurred. It is not the Government that stands these losses, if there are losses; it is the general fund of the board, which undertakes to sell, to get a price, to make certain advance payments and then to adjust and distribute whatever may be left in the pool, just as was done last year.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): Then it is clear from what the minister says that the country does not undertake any responsibility for the expenditure of money in connection with the sale or purchase of wheat?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: None.

Mr. ROBB: Is this proposed legislation based on the experience of past years, or is it retroactive?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: It is not retroactive. It is based upon what is absolutely necessary if men are to engage in the business. I think my hon. friend himself will agree that there should be some guarantee. But it is to a certain extent based upon the experience of the wheat board last year. The Grain Exchange was open for a number of days; wheat transactions were carried on and certain actual losses were sustained when the wheat board took hold of matters and carried on operations. Those were adjudicated and passed upon and the Gov-

ernment thought it was only right that we should recoup traders for actual losses, not for speculative gains or anything of that kind, but simply for actual out-of-pocket losses. A small item is in the Estimates to provide for this settlement. So, in part, the provision which is sought to be made covers and carried on operations. Those were actually did occur.

Mr. ROBB: There is an item in the Estimates to recoup those who made losses last year?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Yes.

Mr. ROBB: That would have a sort of retroactive effect.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: No, it has no retroactive feature.

Mr. ROBB: As my hon. friend is cleaning up certain losses that were made last year, would I be in order in inquiring how adjustments were made of the transaction in 1914 or 1915 when my hon. friend commanded some 12,000,000 or 15,000,000 bushels of wheat, to satisfy a contract that was made with Italy or Greece?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I think that would be decidedly retroactive. I have not the information in that respect before me.

Mr. MAHARG: I understand that the present wheat board continues to August 31st of this year.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: About the end of August.

Mr. MAHARG: It then goes out of existence automatically, and it will be for the Government to decide whether the exchanges are to be opened or not?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Yes if the board is called into existence by the Government next year it will be for the board to decide whether the exchanges should be opened or not, but if we simply have enabling legislation providing for a board of twelve, and that legislation is not brought into effect, it will be for the Government, maybe in association with the present board, to say whether operations may take place on the exchanges, if the trade is de-controlled. Due and early notice will be given.

Mr. MAHARG: If the present board goes out of existence and the Government allows the exchanges to open, if contracts are made for millions of bushels of grain, and the market acts as it did last year and prices go up and the Government gets scared as

to the results, it will close the grain exchanges. Then, if I understand the proposed addition to this clause, any dealers who have made losses will be recouped from the proceeds of the sale of wheat that has come under Government control. In other words, the producers will be charged to recoup the losses any dealers may have made in high speculation.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Yes.

Mr. MAHARG: Then I object most strongly, and I am not prepared to let the clause pass without considerable time being taken for further discussion.

Mr. MEIGHEN: The hon. member as a supporter of the legislation is hardly fair in saying that last year the Government got scared. He intimated that the Government was afraid of high prices for wheat, and consequently stepped in when the exchanges opened. The hon. member knows that those were not the circumstances at all. The circumstances were these: After the Government had decided last year that we were in a position to go back to normal trading, and after trading was in operation, it transpired that by reason of the attitude of overseas governments and because of overseas control, associated with the fact of American control, no orders were coming for our wheat. Consequently, no banking facilities were available. Consequently, no wheat was going to move. As a result it appeared that the wheat was going to stack back in the West, and that the whole season of navigation would be lost on that account. On that account alone the Government stepped in—not because of any apprehensions as to the price of wheat going up. Indeed, we had the matter under consideration before the grain exchanges opened, but we could not get far enough to decide not to let them open. The advance of wheat on the exchange had not one whit to do with the Government's decision, and I think my hon. friend's intimacy with the facts and circumstances ought to have prevented his giving that impression by his statement. It was merely the fact, as I have stated over and over again, that the situation in Europe, the market for our wheat was such that no orders were coming and no finances were available to move the wheat. Not only the bankers but the railway companies made it clear to us that something had to be done or our wheat was not going to move. Those were the only circumstances that moved the Government to act.

[Sir George Foster.]

To come to the point that is at issue here, I am quite free to say, at least it is my opinion, that if the Government acts on this legislation we ought to act before the time necessary for the exchanges to open, in which event this clause would not come in. Those dealing in wheat must get ready, not at the time the exchanges open, but long in advance. They must have time to get ready to perform their function as wheat traders. Now they cannot do that, with a statute like this on the books, unless they see there is some provision that will prevent them landing in a bog. This clause is in order to give them assurance in the meantime that they are not going to be up against a stonewall, and perhaps certain losses, by getting ready to trade in the ordinary way. If circumstances do not demand that we use the legislation, the ordinary avenues of trade will then be open, but they would not be open unless provision such as this was made in the law. If, on the other hand, it should happen that the legislation is used after there has been some little trading on the exchanges—it could not be a very long time after trading had opened—if shortly after trading has started we find it necessary in the interests of wheat producers, in order that their wheat may move, to take this step, it does not seem to me to be unreasonable that actual losses incurred as a result of our action, taken solely in the interests of the producers in order that their wheat should move, should be taken care of by the board. Last year some losses were taken care of, and on a very fair basis indeed. Certainly, there was no over generosity; merely actual money out of pocket, not a cent of profit in any case, but only money actually out of pocket, and I do not know that all those losses were taken care of. I took part in the adjustment myself, and I kept it down to the smallest possible amount. That amount was taken care of. We felt that it should be taken care of by the board, but the board had a legal opinion that they were not competent to do so. If the Government is to interfere in the interests of the producer, the producer is not going to complain if actual losses are spread over the whole lot, rather than paid out of the treasury by those in whose behalf the legislation was not called into being at all. It is not going to be any great amount; that is inconceivable. There might be a small amount, but I would think there would not be any amount at all. I do not think it all probable or likely that a decision cannot be arrived at before wheat trading opens. But

even if it is not, it is better to have something of this kind on the Statute Books in order that there will be no barrier or discouragement to those engaged in the trade in the ordinary way that would prevent them from making their arrangements, so that if we did not call the Act into effect the wheat would move in the ordinary channels.

Mr. ROBB: Bearing in mind the statement of the minister, I think that this is a good time, in view of the statements of Dr. Magill before the Winnipeg Grain Exchange in regard to the conference he had with Mr. Lloyd Harris in London, England, to inquire of the Government as to what authority Mr. Harris had from them to sell the crop. Mr. Harris says that he went to England believing that he was authorized to sell the crop. Did he have any such authority from the Government?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The Government was extremely anxious as to what should be done with reference to the marketing of our wheat. We were confronted with government regulation in regard to buying in Europe. We had a crop which was beginning to be harvested and which had to start, in the way of finding its channels from the farmer to the ultimate consumer, immediately and not in two or three or four months' time. It could not afford to wait for an organized governmental agency on the other side to say whether, when, and to what extent that agency would purchase, because it might not make an offer or a promise as to whether it would take any or all; and if it did not, and for the length of time that it did not make that offer, there would be an absolute blocking of the passage of wheat from the farmers' hands out. If that obstacle were maintained for any considerable time—two or three months—it would throw the wheat of the West past the closing of navigation and imprison it there to a very large extent until the spring when there would be an opening. That situation will explain to my hon. friend the anxiety of the Government to know what the British Government proposed to do in the matter. For two previous years it had bought, for itself and for the Allies, practically the surplus of Canada, and the question was, would it do that for this present season, and to what extent would it do so? Consequently the matter was canvassed. Mr. Harris was here, and before he went to England, in the interview with Dr. Magill—

Mr. ROBB: In July.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Yes,—the matter was talked over and very earnestly canvassed. I may say that Mr. Harris was chairman of the Trade Mission in London. Ministers were in London, and I shall read the telegram that was sent by the Prime Minister (Sir Róbert Borden) to Mr. Sifton, because it will explain precisely the point of view of the Government at that time. On July 14 the following cablegram was sent to Mr. Sifton,—and this is no doubt the message to which Dr. Magill had reference:

Question of marketing wheat crop most urgent. Suggest that you and Robertson—

That is, Dr. Robertson.

see the British authorities immediately and impress upon them the necessity, in Imperial interests, of making arrangement to purchase in Canada. We could furnish part credit, but most desirable that as much outside money as possible should be provided, as our exchange with United States becoming serious. Unless action taken at once railway companies will be most seriously affected in their earnings, as crop will not be moved to the seaboard. Ascertain if British Government would make an offer for, say, fifty or seventy-five millions of bushels at a fixed price, or at a price to be fixed later on on some agreed basis such as price paid in the United States. Cable reply as soon as possible.

This cablegram explains its own purpose and import. It was to ascertain from the British Government whether they would take our surplus, to what extent they would take it, and what would be the financial terms upon which it would be taken if they made up their minds on the question. That, of course, is a very different matter from sending a cablegram to Mr. Harris or to Mr. Sifton or to anybody else authorizing him to sell seventy-five million bushels of grain. The Government was intensely interested in getting some sure market for the surplus grain of the farmers of Canada, which at that time was in an impasse. It seemed to have encountered an obstacle, and there was no chance, so far as the Government could see, of that obstacle being speedily removed unless the British Government would come to our aid with an offer or a promise or an undertaking to take a certain part or the whole of our surplus.

Mr. ROBB: Having read the cablegram from the Government to Mr. Arthur Sifton, who was then in England, has the minister any objection to reading the cablegram that was sent in reply, if there was such a message, or to stating whether Mr. Lloyd Harris or Mr. Arthur Sifton had any

[Mr. Robb.]

conversation with Lord Crawford with regard to the Canadian wheat crop?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: After that cable had been despatched Mr. Sifton and Mr. Robertson immediately got into communication with the British authorities and inquired as to what they would do, and when, and on what terms; and a few days after the interview an answer was received to this effect, if I remember rightly, that the Royal Wheat Commission would make their purchases and make them at the lowest possible price. They gave no promise and no intimation as to how much they would take, as to when they would take it, or the price which they would be prepared to pay.

Mr. ROBB: The minister has not made any reference to my question as to any conversation between Mr. Lloyd Harris and Lord Crawford.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: If there was a conversation between Mr. Lloyd Harris and Lord Crawford, it was to the same purpose. I am not quite sure but what Mr. Harris saw Lord Crawford with Mr. Arthur Sifton and Dr. Robertson.

Mr. CRERAR: I think there is some force to the point that my hon. friend from Maple Creek (Mr. Maharg), has raised in regard to the claims that may be made against the wheat board in the event of it being established after the opening and subsequent closing of the market should this occur. Personally, I see no objection to the board appropriating from its funds in such case the amount that may be necessary to discharge bona fide losses that may have been incurred in legitimate trading. But what I would point out to the minister in charge of this Bill is that there might possibly enter into this a large speculative quantity, that might easily run into a very considerable amount of the board's money. I hope the legislation is not wide enough that the board would, under such circumstances, be obliged to make good any losses, arising from pure speculation.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Quite right.

Mr. CRERAR: That is one point I wish to impress upon my right hon. friend. There is one other suggestion that I would like to make and that is that the Government should reach its decision at as early a date as possible as to whether or not it is going to control the handling of wheat for next season. I cannot imagine anything that would be more unfortunate in its re-

sults and more difficult in working out than to have the grain markets opened for a period of one, two or three months, then closed again under legislation and the activities of the wheat board resumed. I would suggest that it would be wise in the interest of all concerned that the Government should reach their decision as to the continuance of the board for another year at as early a date as possible and should make it known to the country so that there would be no uncertainty in regard to the matter.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I quite agree with my hon. friend (Mr. Crerar), in both his suggestions and the Government will pursue that policy. They have ascertained from the trade, as we call it, that if decontrol comes, the middle or latter part of August would be as early as they would care to undertake operations upon the board. Certain preliminary arrangements have to be made if they are to carry on their operations; all the more so because for three years they have been rather out of the full running. The Government are bearing that in mind and the decision will be given at a sufficiently early date to enable them to make all the necessary preparations before the opening of the exchange. We are in a difficult position — there is no doubt about that. Whatever may occur in the future and we cannot quite tell what it will be. But one pretty certain fact is before us. Taking things as they look now, a more than ordinary crop will be raised in the Northwest. Taking things as they appear to us now in the West with coal supplies, railway equipment and transport generally as they are, matters will be none too favourable in the best of circumstances for the rapid and adequate moving of the crop. If the crop is larger than before, greater financial and other efforts must be made to move it and put in force the machinery necessary for moving it. My doubt would be whether, if there was not some guarantee that actual losses would be taken into account by the board and that an adjustment of these losses would be had according to the best opinion of the board, you would get that full effort, enterprise and financial investment in the preliminary operations looking to the marketing of the grain that would be essential and that therefore the farmers might suffer very largely because of that inadequacy. These are some of the things that confront us and it is difficult for any Government to have to face them.

But there is the point of view that the farmer must himself take. He cannot market his own grain individually; it is impossible and it is through the mechanism, either of normal business methods or of the wheat board, that he can hope financially or otherwise to get his grain moved, get it into the hands of the consumer and get his return payments. It is those things that must be borne in mind on both sides and we are subject to the uncertainties of the position. I am hoping that it will turn out that if decontrol takes place wheat will not have to be controlled again but one cannot tell. In one sense it might be better if control had to take place that decontrol should not first take place but my view, the view of the Government and the view largely of the business people of Canada and of the farmers may be this. I do not know. It is very difficult when you have 50,000, 60,000, 70,000 or 80,000 to feel that in the aggregate you are in contact with their view. But there is the situation. The Government has to deal with it and it will keep in mind the two suggestions as my hon. friend has given them to us.

Mr. ROBB: The minister now is making provision for the eventuality of possible losses. Supposing that the Government decides to handle the crop; that at the end of the year there is a slump in the market of fifty cents a bushel, and that Canada sustains a loss of \$50,000,000 or \$100,000,000 on account of handling that wheat, is it fair that all the taxpayers of Canada should be assessed for that when, upon the statement of the minister made in the House a few days ago, the wheat board now has on hand a considerable sum of money, not owing to profitable handling but to advances in the market? The experience of those in the trade is that the market is just as liable to go down as to go up. Would the minister consider the wisdom of holding the money now in the possession of the wheat board in trust and making a redistribution when the Government decides to clean up all this handling of the crop and go back to normal conditions? If it is fair this year to give the grower the advantage of an advancing market, surely he should be ready to stand the chances of a declining market next year. What would the minister think about that?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I think that my hon. friend, if he thinks for a moment, will not press that point.

Mr. ROBB: I would like the minister's opinion on it.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The situation seems to me to be exactly this: The Government undertook to and did appoint a wheat board. As every individual farmer cannot market his grain, the wheat board steps in and markets the whole of the wheat received from the farmers of Canada. It does it on this basis: Using the best of our judgment, we will promise you and pay you an initial payment when the wheat is delivered. It is not a fixed price. The Government never fixed the price of wheat this last year. It is a preliminary payment arrived at and recommended on the judgment of the wheat board.

This year it was \$2.15 on the basis of No. 1 Northern at Fort William. Now, the contract with the farmer is this: that the Wheat Board markets his wheat to the best advantage, gives him an advance payment of \$2.15, and at the end of the season—when it has marketed the crop, received the payment, and paid the expenses—it pays to the farmer what is owing to him this year for this year's crop and not for next year's. It could not therefore go as a guarantee against next year's crop. This is the due of the farmer for last season's crop, and we would not have any right at all to mortgage that to pay the losses of another set of farmers for another season's crop. That would not be fair; my hon. friend, I think, will see that. Every tub must stand on its own bottom; that is the old saying. The tub that is standing on its bottom now is the tub containing the farmer's wheat for last season's crop. The next tub, if there is to be one, will contain the wheat that is raised this coming season and the proceeds will go to the farmers who raised that wheat. I think my hon. friend will see that it would not be right to expropriate the farmer's profits for last season's crop in order to guarantee against losses for next season's crop; and it is eminently fair, taking everything into account, that it is the wheat basis itself which must father its existence, and if it found out later that it is absolutely necessary that the Government shall call into effect this board, then it will be the proof that in the mind of the Government no other way as good to get the farmer's wheat into the market could be found, and that therefore it is eminently to the interest of the farmer that a mode of operation should be put into force and should get for him the best that is possible to be got.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): Will the minister say where the board get the money to pay the advance of \$2.15 to the farmer?

[Mr. Robb.]

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The board gets in this way: When my hon. friend goes to his bank and says, "I want an advance of \$100 or \$500, or two or three million dollars" (as my hon. friend might be in a position to—I do not know), the bank will say to him, "Morally you are a good creditor. What are you going to do with your advance?" and you tell them "I am going to buy and sell wheat." However good your moral standing, and whatever securities you may have otherwise, that bank will probably say to you, "Have you any contracts for wheat, or are you simply trading on your optimism in the belief that you will be able to get a contract somewhere?" You show them your contracts when you get them, and if your contracts are all right and the security satisfactory they will say, "You shall have your advance up to a certain amount." That is what the Wheat Board, backed by the Government, was able to do. It was able to say to the bankers, "Make an advance to the Wheat Board on the security of the farmers' wheat up to a certain amount." The initial credit was given, and this wheat was sold and this money came in. The money was not in the pockets of the Wheat Board individually; it was passed back to the banks; and for all the subsequent operations of the Wheat Board, after the initial start was given to it, money flows in constantly, and consequently the absolute advance by the banks is an infinitesimal amount to be taken into account.

Mr. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): We are back in the same position where we were before. The banks advance the money on the credit of the Government. They do not advance the money to an irresponsible Wheat Board but they advance it to the Government of Canada and if, when the wheat is sold, in place of bringing \$2.15 in the market it brings only \$1.02 or \$1.50, then the Government will have to implement the difference between the price the wheat has sold for and the advance they made to the farmer, so that the Government is incurring a very serious and heavy liability in this matter, whereas the minister told me a few minutes ago that the Government was not incurring any liability.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The Government to the extent that I have spoken of, as starting the initial arrangements, incur a responsibility. Two things come in. In the first place we have the good sense and judgment of a board which has a primary and pretty efficient knowledge of the whole

situation. What that board did last year it would do again: It would look over the situation, it would exercise its judgment and it would set such an initial payment as, in the best exercise of its judgment, it thought would not submit it to ultimate loss. There is always a contingency. My hon. friend starts out into a business venture. He does not know whether he will live to complete it or not but he tries it and takes the contingency. There is a contingency in every business that we start, and to a certain extent the Government does incur some responsibility. It is willing to incur something as a responsibility rather than to have the great primary product of wheat depressed in its value so that the country does not get what really the fruitful earth gives to it as its heritage.

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): From the conversational discussion which has taken place it is quite evident to me, although we never could get it admitted, that it is the country that is advancing the money, not even the banks, and it is by reason of national notes and the credit of Canada that even the banks have the means and the wherewithal to finance these propositions. I notice that is very frequently ignored in all the financial arrangements of this country and is hardly ever admitted in Parliament—in other words that the money for carrying on the business of this country, especially since the war began, is not so much through what the banks have of their own as it is through the additional issue of bank notes, or rather of national notes on the credit of the country, that so enormous a proposition as the handling of the Canadian wheat crop is carried.

Mr. HENDERS: I do not think there need be very much fear of sustaining loss in connection with the handling of the crop if the method that obtained last year is pursued. As was intimated by the minister, before the initial price or advance is fixed, due consideration is given to the matter. The board will see to it that they make an initial advance that will leave them perfectly safe with the reasonable expectation that they will be below the price expected to be obtained for the wheat rather than above, so that the Government is perfectly safe in the hands of the board acting so prudently. I remember very well that last year there was a conference held at which there was a general discussion of this matter and people generally felt

that with the initial advance in such a position the farmers would be given all that we could reasonably afford to give them and they might pay their indebtedness as it came about, always bearing in mind the fact that the Government must safeguard itself from the possibility of loss in the future. No doubt equally satisfactory results will be obtained this year if the same course is pursued. There is another point I wish to emphasize and it is the suggestion made a few minutes ago about getting the policy fixed definitely, or at as early a date as possible. If there was any failure at all in connection with the crop last year it resulted from attempting to do the impossible, and I would like to sound a note of warning that this year no attempt along that line should be made. It would be far better and safer for all concerned, if the Government sees its way clear to do so, to say right at the beginning "We hold the control of the wheat for the next year" rather than attempt to experiment and have to retrace its steps later. I am sure that with the experience of last year before the Government it will be very careful along that line this year.

Mr. MAHARG: The minister tells us that the losses the Government had to make good last year were very small. Can he tell us to whom those losses were paid? Was any portion paid to the actual original buyers of the wheat from the producers, or were the losses paid wholly to the speculative element that buys second-hand?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I have not that information at hand. I have ordered it to be ready for presentation when the item in the Supplementary Estimates is brought before the House. It is only actual money losses that were made good.

Mr. MAHARG: I quite agree that that is the case; but those losses might have been incurred by some men who had never bought a bushel of wheat in their lives; it was simply paper they were dealing with. We know of instances where the real purchases of wheat brought in for sale to the elevator companies have been exceeded eight or ten times by the purchases on the market. Probably a million bushels of wheat would be actually thrown on the market, but the trading for that day showed that millions and millions of bushels were dealt with. This is what I am objecting to. I do not object if the minister can confine the benefit to the actual gatherers of grain in the country, whether they be purchasers by carload or by wagonload; but

the objection is to allow all and sundry to come in and probably fifty to seventy-five millions bushels of grain will be handled on the market in the course of a few days when there was really not a bushel of wheat actually sold and purchased, as was the case last year. I venture to say that not an elevator company that sold any wheat on that market when that particular trade was made thought that these losses would be made good. I would like it to be made clear just who is going to be recouped for any losses, and what is going to be done with the profits. There might be handsome profits made in the meantime.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: There is this consideration: the area of trading this year will certainly not be so wide as in normal times because of the conditions. The opening of the grain markets in the United States at a later date and dealing in options only of December, as seems to be the idea at the present time, will not offer a very extended area for trading. It will be mainly trading in Canada upon the exchange itself between its members and between the wheat buyers and the farmers. There is this other consideration: any man knows when he makes his trade that if he does not protect himself by honest and reasonable trading he will have to bear his own losses. I cannot conceive of any one on the strength of the mere contingency that the Wheat Board may be brought into operation, and with it some machinery by which losses can be adjusted, will therefore go into a speculative adventure. The strong probabilities are that he would have to bear his own losses, and therefore he would be just as careful in the one case as in the other. I will get the information for my hon. friend.

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): It does not seem to me fair that the loss, if any, is to be borne by the country in view of the fact that the country is also to attend to the financing.

At six o'clock the committee took recess.

#### After Recess.

The committee resumed at Eight o'clock.

Mr. CRERAR: I notice that the amendment provides for the issuing of licenses. Will the minister be good enough to explain why power to issue licenses is required by the wheat board and whether or not there is danger of conflict with the Board of Grain Commissioners?

[Mr. Maharg.]

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: These powers have been given to and used by the present wheat board from the time they commenced their operations. It is simply to provide the machinery by which they can carry out the powers with which they have been endowed. They could not do that without a system of licenses.

Mr. ROBB: Paragraph (j) reads:

To prohibit the export out of Canada or the importation into Canada of any wheat or wheat products otherwise than in accordance with the regulations or orders of the board.

This broadens the powers that different boards in Canada have had from time to time since an Order in Council was passed in 1917 giving to Canada the right and privileges of reciprocity, so that if the board is established under this legislation and continues this year as they did last year and by the Food Control Board of previous years, there will be a continuation of the efforts, if I may use the word, of the Government to destroy the much-boasted benefits of reciprocity in wheat between Canada and the United States. The minister will admit, I am sure, that if we prevent the importation into Canada of wheat products, that automatically will deprive our own people of the benefits of reciprocity and of sending our wheat into the United States markets.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The intention is not at all to interfere with reciprocal relations between the United States and Canada. The probabilities are that even if the wheat board be again called into operation the power may never have to be used so far as importations from the United States are concerned,—as, indeed, it was not used by the wheat board last year, at least, to such an extent as to go counter to the reciprocity dealings between the two countries. It is simply a preventive measure which may be used under certain circumstances and which will not be used unless it becomes necessary. With reference to the export of wheat and flour, of course, that is vital to the work of the wheat board, because if it undertakes to buy and to sell under its own system there is no proper way it can do that except by a system of licenses. It must have the power to grant or to refuse.

Amendment agreed to.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I want to go back to clause (c), and to add after the word "storage" the following words:

And also to the reasonable necessities of the Canadian consumer, provided that as between wheat and flour preference should be given to the exportation of flour except in cases where the public interest would be adversely affected thereby.

This broadens the ground upon which the wheat board may fix its prices for home consumption wheat and the products of wheat and makes it possible and necessary that in the fixation of these prices they must have regard as well to the interests of the consumers who depend for their food upon the millers supply, who, in turn, depends for his mill supply upon the farmer's product. The other consideration is this: that in the selling and export of the wheat and wheat products, preference must be given, unless it adversely effects the public interest,—of which they are to be the judge from time to time—to flour as against wheat. The reasons for that are obvious. In the first place, though the farmer wants to get as strong a price as he can for his wheat, he still must always bear in mind, as I think he does, that the people are to be considered as well; that in the fixation of price the interests of the consuming public as well as of the selling public should be considered. Further, it is to the advantage of this country—not only that; it is almost an absolute necessity—that as far as possible the subsidiary products of wheat milled in Canada shall be available and accessible for Canadian consumption. On that depend many widely extended interests—the dairy interests and the stock interests will occur readily to the minds of all of us. Now, during the past season the wheat board has been very much blamed—and, I think, unjustly—in that the mills have not had a greater grinding possibility, so to speak, and have not put in the export market as large a proportion of wheat flour as their industry had a capacity for, and as stock dealers and dairy men would like them to have done in order that stock and dairy foods might be at the disposal of our people. Those two interests, then,—the consuming interests and the stock and dairying interests—ought to be factors in the considerations upon which the wheat board will base its estimate and judgment with reference to prices. A good deal of criticism has been wrongfully levelled against the wheat board. My hon. friend from Kent (Mr. McCoig) is not here, but hon. members will recollect the charge that he made against the Wheat Board in respect to unsatisfactory grains.

What he said, and you will find it in Hansard, was this: That the wheat board

deliberately prevented Ontario millers from getting Ontario wheat to mill, and that consequently their mills were not employed for a longer space of time, and that consequently the stock and dairying interests of Ontario were sacrificed. And he drew a most doleful picture of the diminishing number of cattle and sheep and stock generally, which he laid to the fault of the Wheat Board in not allowing Ontario millers to get their own wheat to mill. He produced telegrams in this House from farmers in Kent asking that this wheat board project should not be put forward in legislation. I do not blame those farmers for sending those telegrams if they took as their basis the statements of the hon. member for Kent. What are the facts? The facts of the case were that Ontario raised 20,000,000 bushels of wheat last year, and that the wheat board bought less than 90,000 bushels of that 20,000,000, which would not be sufficient in the feed it would give to keep the stock of Ontario going for a single day. Yet, my hon. friend drew that doleful picture and made the criticism against the wheat board that by their arbitrary action they had made it impossible for the Ontario mills to grind their grain because the board had taken it for export and sale. It is on such statements that a good many people form their conclusions, and it is not quite right to the people that those statements should not be carefully considered before they are uttered and made public.

Mr. MORPHY: What became of the balance of the Ontario wheat?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: It was milled and fed by the Ontario people themselves, absolutely. The other criticism was this, that the wheat board did not try, or if it did try it did not succeed in getting a larger proportion of orders in the foreign market for wheat flour. Now, I followed that matter pretty closely myself. When I was in England and Paris the matter of the future supply was up, and different states through their representatives had interviews with the ministers, and particularly with myself, as to what Canada could do to supply them with wheat. What was the whole clamour, the whole demand? It was that we should get wheat for them. Greece wanted wheat, Italy wanted wheat, France wanted wheat, Belgium wanted wheat, England wanted wheat. None of them wanted flour, and for the very obvious reason that, in the first place the wheat was more easily taken to them and at less cost, but mainly

because they had a famine of stock feed, and they wanted the wheat in order that they might mill it at home and have the stock feed for their cattle—just as we wanted it here. That was what the Wheat Board was up against when it undertook to market flour as well as wheat, and it was only by very tactful and very persistent effort in making conditions such that these countries should take a certain amount of flour, if they got their demands for wheat at the prices that were going. In that way—and I know whereof I speak—the Wheat Board has been instrumental in selling flour on the foreign market which the mills could never have got rid of but for those efforts of the board and what I consider their tactful management in the treatment of foreign markets. I just draw those items to the minds of hon. members so that when they are thinking about this or that, they may modify undue criticism by taking into account the conditions. I know that the Greek Government, Venezelos and his officers, came to me and we talked the matter over. I suggested that we wanted to get rid of flour as well as wheat, and they said that the circumstances were such that they had the money and would pay for wheat, but they wanted wheat and not flour. Yet in spite of all that the Wheat Board has been able, and Canada has been able, to sell a certain proportion of flour even to Greece.

Mr. LALOR: Has the minister any idea of the quantity of western wheat milled by Ontario millers?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I have not those figures before me. I will say this—maybe it might be said now: of the total crop of wheat last season, about 60,000,000 bushels of wheat have been sold, as well as a little over 20,000,000 bushels of wheat equivalent in flour, making about 80,000,000 bushels in all that have been sold. What remains is not a very large quantity, and it is daily going out.

Mr. CRERAR: Was that 20,000,000 bushels of wheat that was sold in the form of flour, sold abroad or at home?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The figures I gave were export figures.

Mr. WILSON (Saskatoon): I am very pleased that the minister has introduced this amendment, for I thought of suggesting one to that effect myself. The milling industry of Canada is a very important one. Success in farming and the welfare of our people depend upon milling as well as on the production of wheat. During the past

[Sir George Foster.]

year the millers have been in an awkward position owing to the great difference in transportation charges on flour as compared with wheat. The cost of transporting flour across the ocean at the present time is about 25 cents a hundred higher than the rate on wheat. That makes a difference of about 15 cents a bushel. This is a serious handicap which the millers are labouring under. While I have had about 16 years' experience in the milling business, I do not think that in my whole experience there has been a time when the business was so crippled as it was during February, March and April of the past year. A great many plants throughout the country were closed down. We have in Canada a milling capacity of about two-thirds in excess of the consuming capacity of the Canadian people. The hon. member for South Oxford (Mr. Sutherland) was complaining that, in his opinion, the Wheat Board was unduly favouring the millers. Now the millers have been of the opinion that they have not been getting altogether a square deal from the Wheat Board. I think, however, it has been mainly through the difference in the cost of transportation of flour over wheat that the Wheat Board have been unable to export for the millers the quantities of flour which the millers think should have been exported. The member for South Oxford has based his complaint on the prices of bran and shorts. He complains that the prices are excessive and he also finds fault with the spread of \$10 between bran and shorts, which he says is too great. As to the first complaint regarding the high cost, I may point out that the miller must buy the wheat from the farmer. When millers purchased wheat at a dollar a bushel and calculated on the basis of 100 pounds it would mean about a \$1.66 per 100 pounds. At that time, to my knowledge, we were selling bran in the West at from \$20 to \$25 a ton, and for a great portion of the past season the millers have been paying \$2.88 per bushel for wheat. Convert that into hundredweight value and it is \$4.66 per hundred, which is pretty nearly three times greater than a dollar a bushel. If you add the same ratio of advance in your feed compared with the increased price of wheat between \$1 and \$2.80, we would have to have about \$75 a ton for bran. So that you can see that the wheat board in setting the price have loaded on to the flour an extra amount of the cost, far greater than when wheat was about a \$1 a bushel, in order to sell bran and shorts at the

price at which they are being sold to-day. Since the House rose at six o'clock I have been looking at the Montreal Gazette, and I find that bran is quoted at \$54.25 a ton and shorts at \$61.25. Now, the hon. member for South Oxford complains that there is \$10 of a difference in the selling price between bran and shorts, but this quotation from Montreal shows a difference of only \$7, and the same obtains in Winnipeg. The price of bran in carload lots in Winnipeg is \$48 and shorts \$55 per carload.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: Will the hon. member deny that the wheat board fixed a difference of \$10 between the two?

Mr. WILSON (Saskatoon): Not to my knowledge. Now, in Australia the Government Control Board sells wheat at slightly less to the millers than they can get in the export market in order to give the mills a little advantage in being able to mill at home and so have feed at home. It is very important, I think, that as much as possible of the wheat should be milled in the country, from the point of view not only of employment, but also of feed. You cannot have an abundance of feed if the mills are not running pretty well up to capacity, and it would seem to me that unless there can be some closing up on the ocean rates at present existing between flour and wheat at 25 cents a hundred it will almost put the mills out of business in this country. If such a policy is allowed to be carried out by any shipping company it can easily extinguish an industry in this country so far as exports are concerned, and I think the Government should use their good offices in bringing to the attention of the shipping companies this unfair discrimination; for after all, there is not much difference in the handling charges between transferring a car of flour and a car of wheat from a car to a vessel. I think, therefore, that there is an unfair discrimination to the injury of the milling business and the country. If we pursue a policy of milling wheat in this country only to the extent of our home consumption of flour, our farm lands will be ruined to such an extent that they will be impoverished. The only way in which you can retain the fertility of the land is to return as much as possible back to it of the product which you take from it. You can turn it back in the way of bran and shorts through the medium of feeding stock and obtaining the resultant fertilizer. I hope that the members of the committee

will see the necessity of this amendment as introduced by the minister. The mills are not asking for anything unfair. There was a similar regulation in the United States when they had wheat control. The Wheat Control Board could give a preference so long as it did not operate to the detriment of the people. They had power to give a preference to the export of flour.

Mr. MAHARG: Will the minister say what he considers would be a proper interpretation of the word "preference" in his amendment? To what extent will it apply?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I am not able to answer that question, and I do not think that the hon. member quite expects me to answer it. You have a board that represents all the different interests concerned, a board of practical men of wide knowledge. They fix these prices, and I think we can trust them to give what they consider to be a fair and equitable consideration to the two products during the process of their sale. I do not think you could apply any academic rule of preference. It would depend to a large extent on the sales and on the parties to whom you sold. But the main principle is established for their guidance, that they should see to it that a preference be given unless there is a prejudicial effect upon the public interests. For instance, if you were too hard in pushing your preference on flour you might to that national customer lose the sale of your wheat as well. All these considerations enter into the question. In connection with what my hon. friend has said in regard to the discrimination in ocean rates, in so far as that can be remedied without taking the matter up particularly with the different steamship carrying interests, the wheat board has an opportunity of overcoming that differentiation which is the rule of the carrying steamships. For example, in negotiations with, let us say, the Greek Government there would be the condition that whilst the Greeks paid so much for their wheat and the wheat board agreed to deliver the grain as the seaboard the Greek government would undertake to provide its own carrying capacity and send its own vessels, chartered or otherwise; and in these cases, of course, the discrimination or differentiation between wheat and flour does not come in.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I do not like to delay the House but it appears to me the only way in which we can get information in regard to the operations of this board, not having a report from them it to get it in-

directly. I do not wish to be understood as condemning the board for not being able to get greater quantities of flour shipped. I realize the difficulties they had to contend with in that ocean rates on wheat were so much more than on flour that it was practically impossible for our Canadian millers to compete with the millers overseas. I have made reference to this question on a number of occasions and I do not think that any one could infer from my remarks that I was blaming the millers or the board. I did attribute the cause of our trouble to the fact that while the people of Great Britain and other countries are wide awake to the importance of the by-products of wheat, the people of Canada are asleep in regard to the matter. If we had a general awakening it would change that condition so materially that we would reap the benefit from it, and now that we have entered upon transportation, and the construction of ocean steamships we could afford to give a preference to the shipment of flour over wheat because it would be good business for Canada to do so. The ocean freight charge of 35 cents per 100 pounds on wheat and 60 cents per 100 pounds on flour discloses an outrageous difference; yet the ocean rates are largely controlled by the people of Great Britain. I pointed out the other day the manner in which the stock raisers of Great Britain are protected by the government of that country. The "free trade" government of Great Britain prohibit the importation of cattle from Canada. In addition they have charge of the transportation of products from this country, and in that way they not only protect the farmers of Great Britain but protect the millers as well. The Government of Great Britain are anxious to keep the mills in operation all the time so that they will have this stuff to feed to their stock at a cheap rate. With regard to the production of bread, I venture to say that the amount that is paid out for bread by the average family is only a small item compared with what they are paying for many other foodstuffs such as dairy products, beef, bacon and things of that kind which are dependent on the grinding and feeding of mill feed.

I am glad that the minister has moved this amendment. I would suggest that he go a little farther and see to it that these ocean transports for which we have paid \$20,000,000 will be employed, so as to bring these people to their senses and make certain that the millers of this country are not discriminated against in the way in which they have been discriminated against in the past.

[Mr. Sutherland.]

I desire to say a word or two in regard to the spread between the cost of bran and shorts. It came out in the evidence in the investigation before the Board of Commerce that this matter was in the hands of the wheat board, that the spread had been fixed at \$10. As a matter of fact that has been in force for a considerable time. What has resulted? This has resulted—that the per ton. The miller is grinding up bran that has been ground up fine; there is only one per cent of difference. Bran is said to contain 14 per cent of protein, 3 per cent of fat and 10 per cent of fibre, while shorts has 15 per cent protein, 4 per cent fat and 8 per cent fibre. The difference is so small that the Food Board, when they had control of this matter, fixed the spread at \$5 per ton. The miller is grinding up bran and selling it as shorts or middlings. In addition to that, it not being up to the grade in protein, he takes care to see that the offal or screenings that are taken from the grain,—mustard seed and things of that kind, which are high in protein,—are added to this poorer bran in order to bring it up to the standard that is required. There has been going on, and there is going on to-day, the worst system—I will not say of graft because it is permissible for the miller to do this by reason of the legislation which we have placed upon the Statute Books—but a system the continuance of which is nothing short of an outrage. We have the evidence of the leading millers, the Ogilvie Milling Company, the Lake of the Woods Milling Company and such others, that such a practice exists. Their contention is that they buy this stuff in the wheat and that consequently they are justified in calling it wheat and putting it in with the by-products of wheat in the milling process. That has been going on and is still going on. In that, I contend, the millers are pursuing a shortsighted policy. That stuff ought to be sold for what it really is. If the mill feeds were protected as they ought to be very few complaints would be heard from the farmers.

Just a word with regard to the province of Ontario. It has been stated that under the regulations of the wheat board the price paid to the farmers is about \$2.18 per bushel. As a matter of fact they have paid \$1.95 per bushel. It has been pointed out that of the 20,000,000 bushels of wheat grown in Ontario last year only about 90,000 bushels was handled by the wheat board. Where has the rest of it gone? Much of it has been ground up and fed to stock rather than take a chance with the dirt that

is being put on the market and sold at a high price. Many of the very best farmers in Ontario have been grinding their wheat and feeding it to their stock rather than dispose of it in any other way, largely by reason of the fact that only \$1.95 was the amount that was being paid to them and they had no assurance that they would ever receive anything further than that amount. The amount which the farmer, under the certificates issued to them would receive, in addition to the \$1.95 per bushel, would be so small that it would not be worth consideration, and these certificates have passed out of the hands of the majority of the people who had them. I congratulate the minister on embodying in the Bill that preference, but I would ask him to go farther and see that power is placed in the hands of the board to in some measure control ocean rates, because I believe that the transports that we have been building come under the control of this House. In that way, and in that way only, can you ensure justice being done and equal rights to the people of Canada and particularly the millers.

Amendment agreed to, and section as amended agreed to.

On section 10—providing cars:

Mr. ROBB: From the experience of last year this clause gives the Grain Board power, if they wish, to ruin dealers who may be handling oats. The experience of last year was that large quantities of oats were purchased by Eastern Canada dealers but for one reason or another they were unable to obtain delivery. Direct orders were sent by the Chairman of the Board of Railway Commissioners to Fort William to put up at least a certain percentage weekly of cars loaded with oats, but notwithstanding these orders preference was given at times to wheat. Now we are going to legalize this practice by giving the board power to put out wheat in preference to oats. Hon. gentlemen can see that that may be used greatly to the disadvantage of sellers and purchasers of oats who might sell oats for delivery at certain times, because it is within the power of the board in handling the wheat to prevent those people from getting cars and from making delivery as requested. It seems to me that the minister might very well strike this clause out of the Bill.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I think my hon. friend has scarcely read the clause carefully. There are two sides to the question.

The main point is that an equitable and just distribution of carrying facilities shall be given, having regard to the occasion and the quantities to be distributed. It would be quite possible, under certain conditions when the navigation on the Great Lakes is about coming to a close, to make it impossible to have the proper quantity of carrying facilities given to the wheat and if the wheat did not get those facilities within the limits of time it would very largely have to be stored during the winter. Now what I want to call my hon. friend's attention to is this: The matter is left in the way in which I think it ought to be left, it is not in the hands of the wheat board, it is in the hands of the Railway Commission, and all that the wheat board can do is to make their request and the Commission act upon it according to their own good judgment. What is referred to has actually fallen out to be the practice during the past year, and sometimes very much beyond what the wheat board thought was an equitable provision, taking into account the circumstances I have spoken of as to the rush to get the wheat out within a certain period. Of course after that rush was over, there was still an opportunity for the local dealers to get their local quantities. My hon. friend will see that the matter is absolutely within the power of the Railway Commissioners.

Mr. ROBB: Why is it necessary to put in this provision at all if the Railway Commission now have this power?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: It is necessary because it gives the wheat board an opportunity to present their case before the Railway Commission.

Mr. ROBB: Exactly.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: That is all, and the wheat board have the right to press their case, under certain circumstances, just the same as all other dealers have.

Mr. ROBB: To the detriment of other shippers.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: That is for the Railway Commission to say. The matter is not decided by the wheat board. The request, and the arguments to sustain the request, are made by the wheat board, but the judgment is altogether within the hands of the Railway Commission.

Mr. ROBB: But by legislation the wheat board are given at least a hint that they will have certain preferences over the handlers of oats and barley; and the very argument the minister puts up in favour

of getting wheat forward before the close of navigation might equally well apply to oats or to barley that were sold for delivery on a certain ship sailing at a certain date. If they are all on the same basis why give a preference?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Except to this extent; my hon. friend will admit that oats are not a trans-oceanic shipment in the way that wheat is. Consequently oats are not so important for the export market, and if there is an exigency, as between the two, wheat should get the preference for a certain time for export. This clause merely gives the right to bring that matter closely to the attention of the railway board and they decide it. We cannot leave it to any better authority.

Mr. ROBB: My hon. friend will scarcely get me to admit that wheat is more important than oats, because we produce in this country double the quantity of oats that we do of wheat.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Yes, but in the case of wheat for the export market I think my hon. friend will admit my contention.

Mr. ROBB: No, I will not admit it.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I see, my hon. friend will not admit anything.

Section agreed to.

On section 15—powers of grain supervisors of Canada restricted:

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I move that clause 15 be dropped. It is not necessary now because there is no longer any board of grain supervisors.

On section 16—Duration of Act:

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: To make the Act workable I beg to move to amend clause 16 by inserting after the word "shall" in the first line the words "come into force upon proclamation of the Governor in Council and shall;" and by substituting for the words "day immediately succeeding the day of prorogation of the next session of Parliament" the following words: "15th day of August, 1921."

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Is that amendment in view of the suggestion made the other day for my right hon. friend's consideration—to cover the possibility of the Government going to pieces during the course of next session?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Oh, no, we have not made any provision for an improbable calamity.

[Mr. Robb.]

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I think you are making it now.

Mr. FIELDING: How does the amended section read?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: In this way:

This Act shall come into force upon proclamation of the Governor in Council and shall continue in force until the 15th day of August, 1921.

It is not to provide for any such calamity as was hinted at and hoped for by my hon. friend (Mr. Mackenzie King), but because the operations in the season's crop end about that time.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: It would be very wise to provide against both contingencies. Amendment agreed to.

Section as amended agreed to.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Before the Bill is reported I want to add a little to what I hinted at the other day, but was not able exactly to confirm. There will be a dividend of 50 per cent paid upon the participation certificates, on and after the 15th July, to be equal at least to 20 cents per bushel.

Mr. ROBB: Fifty per cent or 50 cents?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Fifty per cent.

Mr. FIELDING: Has any provision been made in case of wheat going below the stated price? Of course, if there is a surplus, wheat growers get it. But if there is a deficiency who pays the bill?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: We discussed that matter this afternoon, but my hon. friend was not in the House. However, I will give him the information.

Mr. FIELDING: No, I can read it in Hansard.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: All right.

Mr. JACOBS: I suppose there is no danger of the Government being charged with profiteering as a result of this announcement?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: If am afraid to touch such a delicate subject.

Bill reported as amended, read the third time, and passed.

#### DOMINION FRANCHISE ACT.

Hon. HUGH GUTHRIE (Acting Solicitor General) moved the third reading of Bill No. 12 respecting the election of members of the House of Commons and the electoral franchise.

Hon. W. S. FIELDING (Shelburne and Queen's): Mr. Speaker, I desire to move:

That the Bill be not now read a third time, but be recommitted to a Committee of the Whole House, with instructions to amend it by adding the following words as subsection 1 of section 40 "In the case of by-elections, if two or more vacancies exist at the same time the Governor in Council shall fix one and the same day for nomination in all the electoral districts for which members are to be elected. Provided, however, that this shall not apply in any case in which the vacancy, whether caused by death, resignation or otherwise, has existed for less than one month".

The principle of simultaneous polling has been regarded as an important one in the public affairs of Canada for very many years. There was a time, long ago, when exceptions had to be made for a few isolated districts. These have gradually disappeared, and I think now we recognize that in the case of a general election there should be one day chosen for all the elections to be held. I know that in the earlier history of the provinces which now compose the Dominion the name of a very distinguished statesman in Nova Scotia was most honourably associated with what is called "the simultaneous polling day". I refer to the late distinguished leader of the Conservative party in that province, the Hon. Mr. Johnston. The desirability of simultaneous polling, then, has been recognized in our general elections, but by some omission it has not been recognized in our by-elections. If it is a sound principle that at a general election all the elections shall be held on the same day, surely it is an equally sound principle to say that if there are half a dozen by-elections the writs shall be issued for the same day. All the argument that applies in the one case applies with the same force in the other case.

Now, it has happened at times that a number of vacancies have existed and the government—and when I say "government" I do not mean the present Government but all governments—have taken advantage of the opportunity to select the particular seat in which it suited their convenience to bring on the election, and having carried that seat, as they believed they might, they used it as an instrument to affect the results in the other seats, and so undue influence was exercised by the government of the day. Again I say that when I speak of "the government of the day", I am not referring to the present Government alone, but to all governments.

It seems to me that it is reasonable, if there are a number of vacancies existing at the same time, that the writs shall be issued for the same day. When I was presenting

that view at an earlier stage of the session an hon. member asked me the question: What would you do in the case of a vacancy which had very recently occurred? I thought that a fair question, and what I have proposed in this resolution is that if the vacancy has occurred within thirty days the rule shall not apply, but wherever vacancies have existed for thirty days or more then all shall be filled at the same time; the writs shall be issued for one and the same day. Now, if you want an illustration of this—and it is only because it is an illustration that I refer to it—take what has happened in the case of East Elgin. Here we have had a vacancy for several months, but no writ has been issued, simply and solely because it has suited the convenience of the Government to pick and choose the places in which there shall be contests. The district of St. James in Montreal and the district of East Elgin were made vacant by death at about the same time. In the case of St. James division an opportunity was afforded to the people to return their member, and we have an able and eloquent member in this House representing that division. But the people of East Elgin have been denied an opportunity of having any representative in this House. There was a time when there used to be some talk of French domination. Here is a case of French domination; the French district of St. James has its member here but the English district of East Elgin has been denied the right of representation in Parliament. Sir, the argument is so simple and so complete that I do not need to dwell upon it. The motion I make is to the effect that if a vacancy has but lately occurred, say within a month, it shall be excepted from the rule, but wherever vacancies have existed for more than a month the Governor in Council shall be obliged to issue the writs at the same time, so that the condition which now prevails whereby one constituency in this Dominion is denied its representation for a whole session shall no longer be permitted to exist.

Hon. HUGH GUTHRIE (Acting Solicitor General): Mr. Speaker, I do not know that personally I take any great objection, on the whole, to the proposal which my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) has just made in the amendment which he has moved, but I think it is rather late in the career of this Bill and late in the session to bring such a matter forward. I have some faint recollection that during the committee stage of the Bill my hon. friend made a sugges-

tion something like that which he now makes in his proposed amendment, but he certainly did not press his suggestion with any earnestness at that time. After all, the matter is a minor matter and not one of serious import. We have at present only one vacancy in an electoral district, and if the amendment passed it would not affect any election which is at present in sight or which we can reasonably anticipate. I agree that in the case of a general election we should abide by the established principle that all elections should be held on one day; that is the provision in the Bill. I believe also that if several by-elections were to come on approximately at the same time it would be well that they be held on the same day. However, at the last session of this Parliament the House considered this question.

Mr. FIELDING: No.

Mr. GUTHRIE: It was brought up in the form of a public Bill introduced by a private member on the opposite side, and referred to a special committee of the House. That committee recommended that the Government should bring on by-elections to fill vacancies within six months after the day upon which the vacancy occurred. That was not haphazard legislation. The special committee went fully into the question. We considered it at two or three meetings; I was a member of the committee. We reported our findings to the House of Commons and the House passed that law. Now, that is a reasonable safeguard. I can remember when it was a common thing in the old days to keep constituencies open for a long time to suit the convenience of the Government—not of one Government; I think every Government was guilty in that respect, if guilt was attributable to anybody. But now we have a definite, fixed rule on the subject, that only six months may elapse before a by-election shall be brought on and a given vacancy filled. In my humble judgment, the House should stick to that provision.

But my chief objection to the proposed motion is this. So far as we can see now there is no difficulty that it is going to remedy. If difficulties arise we may take steps at the next session to remedy them; I do not think that at this late moment we should recommit this measure. The House has so fully gone into the whole election Bill, has so thoroughly discussed it, that the moment has come when, I think, hon. members are entitled to say; surely this is the end. If we have not an absolute-

[Mr. Guthrie.]

ly perfect measure we have one which comes nearer to a perfect measure than any other election law that was ever submitted to this Parliament. I think, Mr. Speaker, that this proposal may well await another session—if, indeed, it is one which should obtain our serious attention at all.

The House divided on the amendment of Mr. Fielding, which was negative on the following division:

YEAS.

Messrs.

Archambault,	Kennedy (Glengarry and Stormont),
Baldwin,	King,
Boivin,	Knox,
Bourassa,	Lanctôt,
Boyer,	Lapointe,
Brouillard,	Leduc,
Casgrain,	Leger,
Chisholm,	Lemieux,
Clark (Red Deer),	MacNutt,
Copp,	McDonald,
Crerar,	Maharg,
d'Anjou,	Marcile (Bagot),
Déchéne,	Papineau,
Delisle,	Pedlow,
Demers,	Pelletier,
Deslauriers,	Proulx,
Duff,	Reid (Mackenzie),
DuTremblay,	Rinfret,
Euler,	Savard,
Fielding,	Seguin,
Fontaine,	Sinclair (Antigonish and Guysborough),
Fortier,	Sinclair
Fournier,	(Queens, P.E.I.),
Gauthier,	Stein,
Gervais,	Tobin,
Glaéu,	Trahan,
Gould,	Truax,
Halbert,	Verville,
Hunt,	White (Victoria).—58.
Johnston,	

NAYS.

Messrs.

Allan,	Davis,
Anderson,	Drayton (Sir Henry),
Argue,	Finley,
Armstrong (Lambton),	Foster (Sir George),
Arthurs,	Fraser,
Ballantyne,	Fripp,
Ball,	Fulton,
Best,	Green,
Blair,	Griesbach,
Blake,	Guthrie,
Bolton,	Harrison,
Borden (Sir Robert),	Hay,
Bowman,	Hnders,
Boyce,	Hocken,
Boys,	Keefer,
Brien,	Lang,
Butts,	Loggie,
Calder,	Long,
Casselman,	Mackie (Edmonton),
Chaplin,	Mackie (Renfrew),
Charters,	Maclean (York),
Clark (Bruce),	McIsaac,
Cooper,	McQuarrie,
Cowan,	Manion,
Crothers,	Meighen,
Cruise,	Merner,

Morphy,	Simpson,
Mowat,	Spinney,
Munson,	Steele,
Myers,	Stevens,
Nicholson (Algoma),	Sutherland,
Peck,	Thompson (Weyburn),
Redman,	Thompson (Hastings),
Reid (Grenville),	Thompson (Yukon),
Rowell,	Tolmie,
Sexsmith,	Tweedie,
Shaw,	Wigmore,
Sheard,	Wilson (Saskatoon).
Sifton,	

—77.

PAIRS.

(The list of Pairs is furnished by the Chief Whips).

Messrs.

Burrell,	Béland,
Cockshutt,	McCrea,
Doherty,	Marcil (Bonaventure),
Charlton,	McCoig,
Davidson,	McKenzie,
McGregor,	Pacaud,
White, Sir Thomas,	Jacobs,
Burnham,	Vien,
Scott,	Ross,
Lalor,	Cannon,
Stacey,	Gauvreau,
Douglas (Cape Breton),	Turgeon,
Clements,	Molloy,
McGibbon (Muskoka),	McMaster,
McCurdy,	Parent,
Halladay,	Kennedy (Essex),
Whidden,	Bureau,
Nesbitt,	Kay,
Armstrong (York),	Cahill,
Bonnell,	Cardin,
Hughes, Sir Sam,	Denis,
Maclean (Halifax),	Desaulniers,
McLean (Royal),	Devlin,
Mewburn,	Ethier,
Middlebro,	Robb,
Stewart (Lanark),	Fafard,
Bristol,	Lafortune,
Chabot,	Lavigueur,
Clarke (Wellington),	Lesage,
Cronyn,	McGibbon (Argenteuil),
Crowe,	Mayrand,
Currie,	Michaud,
Douglas (Strathcona),	Murphy,
Edwards,	Pardee,
Elkin,	Power,
Foster (York),	Prevost,

Mr. PARENT: I was paired with the hon. member for Colchester (Mr. McCurdy). Had I voted I would have voted for the amendment.

Mr. MEWBURN: I was paired with the hon. member for West Lambton (Mr. Pardee). Had I voted I would have voted against the amendment.

Mr. BURRELL: I was paired with the hon. member for Beauce (Mr. Béland). Had I voted I would have voted against the amendment.

Mr. McMASTER: I was paired with the hon. member for Muskoka (Mr. McGibbon). Had I voted I would have voted for the amendment.

Mr. DAVIDSON: I was paired with the hon. member for Cape Breton North and Victoria (Mr. McKenzie). Had I voted I would have voted against the amendment.

Mr. LALOR: I was paired with the hon. member for Dorchester (Mr. Cannon). Had I voted I would have voted against the amendment.

Mr. CLEMENTS: I was paired with the hon. member for Provencher (Mr. Molloy). Had I voted I would have voted against the amendment.

Mr. DOHERTY: I was paired with the hon. member for Bonaventure (Mr. Marcil). Had I voted I would have voted against the amendment.

Mr. STACEY: I was paired with the hon. member for Temiscouata (Mr. Gauvreau). Had I voted I would have voted against the amendment.

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I am sure hon. members of the House will agree that if it is possible in the administration of as important a measure as this Franchise Act to effect a substantial economy and at the same time to give to the electorate greater confidence in the machinery itself, such an object is eminently worthy of attainment at the present time. In the Bill as it has been finally passed through committee, provision is made that in the provinces where provincial lists are available and have been prepared within two years of the time a general election takes place, these lists shall be made the basis of the lists to be used for federal purposes. That section of the Bill must be read in conjunction with two other sections of the Bill as it now stands: First, the section which provides that in urban districts all lists shall be revised by judicial officers, who shall hold courts of revision at stated times and in stated places within twenty days of the date of polling, and secondly, that section of the Bill which provides that on the day of voting any elector in a rural municipality may have his name put upon the list by simply going to the poll accompanied by any other resident elector in the municipality, and taking the oath respecting qualification of voters, whereupon such elector receives the right to vote and is given a ballot.

With the law amended in this form it seems wholly unnecessary to provide for the appointment in the rural districts of enumerators who under the present Bill are termed registrars. If there were in a province no provincial lists available, there

would be some reason for appointing registrars in rural as well as in urban districts, but where the law provides, as the Bill now does, that in certain provinces where there are provincial lists they are to be made the basis of the lists for federal purposes, the need of any registrars to supplement those lists or to strike names off is wholly unnecessary. That being so, I propose to submit to the House an amendment to the effect that in rural districts where the provincial lists are used as the basis of the lists for federal elections, registrars shall not be appointed, but that persons whose names do not appear on the provincial lists may either go before one of the revising officers in an adjoining urban division and have their names placed upon the lists by the court of revision which may be held at such place, or, if they prefer so to do, may wait until the day of election and go to the poll accompanied by some person resident in the polling subdivision and exercise their right to cast their ballots upon taking the oath. If that course is adopted it should be the means of saving to the country hundreds of thousands of dollars in the administration of the Act. It should also be the means of avoiding the necessity of appointing a whole army of enumerators in those provinces where the work of preparing the lists is already virtually complete. It is obviously desirable in connection with election lists that if possible there should be about them something in the nature of finality. When provincial lists have been prepared and are available to all who care to see them there is this element of finality. Electors can look at the lists and if their names are not on them they will know that if entitled to vote they can on the day of election go to the poll and take the oath and vote, or that before the election day they can appear in an adjoining urban municipality where a judicial officer is revising the roll and have their names added. This means no doubt on the part of the elector as to whether or not his name is or is not on the list for the purpose of voting. But the Government proposes, notwithstanding, to appoint in rural divisions enumerators to revise these lists that have already been prepared by the provinces. That means that these rural registrars may, in accordance with the provisions of the Act, take from those lists or add to them as they think best. Giving that power to a group of appointees of the Government for that particular time and purpose will simply create confusion in the minds of the elec-

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

tors, who will not know until practically the day of polling comes whether or not an enumerator has erased a name or has added it. I feel, therefore, if we can effect economy in the administration of the Act and inspire greater certainty in the mind of the electorate in regard to election machinery, at the same time removing the possibility of abuse through Government patronage, we shall be helping to make the Act more acceptable to the people of the Dominion. I can see no reason whatever why the Government should wish to have this power of appointing a lot of superfluous registrars or enumerators, unless it is to influence a body of men at election time by the use of a little patronage, which may mean little in outlay to individuals, but which, when extended to a large number of persons, will represent a considerable sum in the ultimate expenses of elections.

Let me indicate to the House what this business of enumeration has cost the country. One can only arrive at the cost approximately, but I think the figures I have will roughly suggest what it is we aim at in seeking to effect this economy where there is absolute safety in so doing. In a statement brought down by the Minister of Finance (Sir Henry Drayton) on March 22, figures were given as to the cost of previous general elections in Canada, and I will give to the House the totals for the years then recorded. The House will see from these figures how very much more expensive the election of 1917 was than any previous election, and I shall show, after I have quoted these figures as a whole, wherein the additional expense for 1917 is almost exclusively chargeable to the system of enumeration which was adopted in that election, in place of the system that had been formerly followed of using provincial lists where they were available. In 1896 the general elections cost \$197,000—I will not give the odd figures—in 1900, \$232,000; in 1904, \$307,000; in 1908, \$391,000; in 1911, \$507,000; in 1919, \$1,678,000. There is an increase over the previous election of \$1,170,000 in the last election, which was carried on under the enumerating system. My hon. friends opposite will say that this sum included the expense of taking the vote overseas. It did, but the Auditor General's report contains the figures as to that cost, and a return was made to Parliament showing the various items in connection with the election of 1917 from which I quote. In 1911, the cost of the general election was \$507,353.55. The election for

1917 cost \$1,678,139.99, of which \$251,613.09 was paid for military and naval presiding officers, special returning officers, scrutineers in Canada, Bermuda, the United States, England, France, and elsewhere. In other words, that was the total amount which went to the taking of the vote outside of this country. The cost in Canada alone came to \$1,426,526, of which the cost for returning officers and enumerators was \$1,204,207. So that practically the whole of this large amount consisted in paying officers and enumerators. In the last provincial election in Ontario the lists were prepared for the first time under the enumerating system and that election cost the province nearly a million and a half dollars.

Now, the Act as my hon. friend permitted it to be amended in committee provides, so far as Ontario is concerned, that we shall use the provincial lists in so far as they may be prepared at the time of a general election in this country. If an election comes within the next year or two we shall use the lists used in the last provincial election. After that time we would take the lists prepared under the Ontario Act, which provides that the lists must be made up by the assessors in the municipalities, revised by the Courts of Revision, and then printed in a form that is available to every one. These will be the lists that will be made the basis for federal elections. What we say is that those lists in that completed form, prepared by officers who are not appointees of the Government, not creatures of the administration, but the assessors chosen by the municipalities themselves, and revised, not by creatures of the Administration but by judges, officers recognized by the Crown and by the Government as independent—we say that where those lists are completed in that fashion, it is wholly superfluous to appoint an army of enumerators simply to add a name to them or strike off one as the case may be. We say that this is entirely superfluous especially when we know that if any man's name is not on the list after these registrars have gone over it he may nevertheless have his vote by being sworn on election day. We believe that if the Government will accept this amendment it will save the country a considerable part of a million dollars if we are to judge by the figures of previous elections already quoted. It will effect an enormous saving in the provinces in which there are voters' lists available, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Ontario particularly, and will add considerably to the confidence the electors

have in the lists. What is necessary in a franchise act is that as far as possible it should be above question; it should be effective; it should be economical and satisfactory in administration; it should satisfy the public conscience; it should secure that acquiescence in a verdict which should be the last word on all questions submitted to the people and it should appeal to the sense of right and justice, honesty and fair play. The sanctity of the franchise is a fundamental principle of the institutions of a free people. If we can do anything to give greater confidence and security to the electorate and save the country a large sum of money at this time when the public debt is gigantic and the annual expenditures enormous we will be doing something which ought to be regarded as a public duty by every member of this House.

With regard to this amendment, let me say that I have taken verbatim et literatim the very suggestion made by the minister in charge of this Bill when it was before the committee on May 17. Hon. members will remember that there was a conference between members on both sides of the House to see if in some way or other economies might not be effected in the matter of administration. That conference took place in the minister's office, members from both sides of the House were present and they were absolutely at one as to the wisdom of adopting this precise amendment. There were other amendments which might have afforded reason for difference but when this amendment was introduced in the House some difference arose over lack of appreciation of its real purpose which was to effect economy and to provide security and the suggestion of the conference was thrown overboard. I have drawn this amendment in the language of the minister himself and I propose to move it in the hope that the House will at this time give its assent to it. I therefore move:

That the Bill be not now read a third time, but be recommitted to a Committee of the Whole House, with instructions to amend it, by inserting the following words at the beginning of Rule 1 of Schedule B to Section 32 of said Bill:

"No rural registrar shall be appointed in any electoral district in any province where provincial voters' lists are available for the purpose of a Dominion election under the provisions of subsection one of section 32 of this Act. In such cases provincial voters lists shall be adopted as final and complete for rural polling divisions: subject, however, to the right of any person to apply to have his name added

to the voters' list as provided by section 63 of this Act; and subject also to the right of any person resident in a rural polling division to apply in person to the revising officer of an urban polling division in the same electoral district, or if there be no urban polling division in such electoral district, to the nearest revising officer in another electoral district, to have his name added to the voters' list for such rural polling division.

"If under the laws of any province, provision is not made for the enrolment of female voters, or no provincial voters' lists exist which are available for the purposes of a Dominion election under the provisions of section 1 of section 32 of this Act."

The remainder of the section shall be followed out as it stands in the Act. The effect is to leave the law to apply generally, absolutely as it stands this amendment applying only in the provinces to which its special application appears from the face of it.

Hon. HUGH GUTHRIE (Acting Solicitor General): Mr. Speaker, the amendment which my hon. friend has just moved was so thoroughly discussed in the committee stage of this Bill that one cannot offer anything to the House now unless by way repetition. I failed to hear anything in the remarks of my hon. friend upon this subject which was not repetition. But I may be permitted a few words to state not only the Government's position but the general scope of this legislation and the principle upon which it was prepared. We took as our model the system of the province of Saskatchewan where they have no voters' list unless a provincial election is called. There they adopt the system in urban municipalities of registration and in rural municipalities of enumeration. From experience in that province, from all inquiries that have been made in regard to the operation of the Act, we are inclined to think that the Saskatchewan system has given satisfaction to all political parties. We adopted it as the model for the Dominion measure seeking as far as possible to have a uniform election law which would appertain in every province of Canada. We built upon that model, but as the matter progressed we found that there were election laws which were distinctly not uniform. We found in the Quebec law some provisions which were not included in the Ontario law. In Nova Scotia, it was represented, the present Nova Scotia election machinery was perfect. So in other provinces; but we had to determine upon some principle and we kept as closely as we could to the principle

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

upon which we have started, namely, the Saskatchewan system which was registration in the cities, and enumeration, if you so call it, in the country. Well, my hon. friend would like, I have no doubt, the lists of the province of Ontario, but he has failed to point out that those lists to which he refers are not provincial lists in any sense of the word; they are municipal lists, lists prepared for municipal purposes, lists of the ratepayers entitled to vote at municipal elections. That is what he asks us to accept. These lists are not used for provincial purposes in the province of Ontario until they are added to by a county judge and a board with which he surrounds himself under the provisions of the Ontario Act. But we have met my hon. friend more than half way. We have gone so far as to say that while in Ontario, under your present law, you have no provincial voters' lists, and will not have until a provincial election looms up, we have gone so far as to say we will take the lists in course of preparation, provided they have gone to the point of revision by a judge, with power to add to or take from them for the purpose of our Dominion franchise and Dominion election. Now could a fairer offer be made? We have made it, we have agreed to it, and we have amended the Bill in that way.

We could not accede to my hon. friend's proposal in regard to Nova Scotia. Whether it is truly stated or not, I do not know, but I do know that in regard to the provincial lists in Nova Scotia, there is a deep-rooted conviction on this side of the House that they are not as non-partisan as hon. members opposite are inclined to believe. We could not accept them, but we apply in Nova Scotia the same method and the same principle that we have applied throughout all the other provinces of Canada. In any province, if you have a provincial list not more than two years old, we accept it as the basis for Dominion purposes with power to add or to take from. My hon. friend from Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau) was reasonable. He said: Make the two-year limitation and I am satisfied. And I assume that he spoke for the province of Quebec. I remarked then that no member from that province objected. The objection has come from where? From Ontario and Nova Scotia solely, in regard to this clause.

Now my hon. friend says: I am going to move the very amendment which the minister brought into this House. Well, we did have a conference, as the House knows. It was not a conference sought by the Government but one to try and meet the earnest pleas and solicitations of hon. mem-

bers opposite, and we went a long way. We made a suggestion which we reduced to writing and we brought it down to the House and I for one would have agreed to it at that time; but no sooner was it recommended, or brought before the House as a suggestion, than my hon. friend from West Middlesex (Mr. Ross) began to object. Then an hon. member from Quebec took exception, and so it was. It seemed to please nobody, and we withdrew it. Now we stick by the Bill as it was originally introduced, with the single exception in regard to the Ontario municipal lists. Well, I cannot add anything to the discussion which took place in committee. We went over it time and again, it was argued from every point of view, and the committee deliberately determined to reject my hon. friend's proposal. He has added nothing to it to-night, and I can only ask the House to reject it upon this occasion.

Hon. W. S. FIELDING (Shelburne and Queen's): My hon. friend states that in preparing his Bill, he took as a model the legislation of Saskatchewan. The leader of the Opposition in preparing this amendment has taken as a model the words of the Minister of Militia (Mr. Guthrie).

Mr. GUTHRIE: As I have explained the matter.

Mr. FIELDING: There was a conference.

Mr. GUTHRIE: Yes.

Mr. FIELDING: The Bill, which was manifestly partisan in its purpose, was considered at that conference, and we made it so clear to the hon. gentleman that his Bill was partisan that he came to an agreement with respect to the lists of the province of Nova Scotia which applies also to other provinces to some extent. He has repudiated that agreement. He has, I claim, been guilty of a breach of faith in respect of the treatment of those lists.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. FIELDING: What is wrong?

Mr. GUTHRIE: Mr. Speaker, I emphatically deny that I have been guilty of any breach of faith. My hon. friend has no right to make any such statement.

Mr. DAVIDSON: Take it back.

Mr. FIELDING: I had prepared and placed in the hands of my hon. friend an amendment respecting the lists of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. In that amendment I had particularly referred to Nova Scotia, but at the request of hon. gentlemen from New Brunswick I had included that

province in it because I was told the lists in the latter province were the same. The Minister of Militia told me he was prepared to accept that amendment if I would strike out some words from it. What were the words? The words were "that the provincial lists were to be treated as final." The hon. gentleman said "If you will agree to accept the other provisions of the Bill we can take your amendment." "What is the provision?" I asked. The hon. gentleman said there was a provision that if in urban districts anybody had been left off, he could go to the County Judge and make application to get his name on. "There is no objection to that" I said. "Then there is a provision that a man whose name is left off can go to the poll on election day and in company with two witnesses"—I believe the provision has since been changed to require only one witness—"he can swear to his right to vote and to get his name put on the list and vote." "A have no objection to that", I said, "Though I think it is unnecessary".

Now then, as to the merits of the question.

The Nova Scotia lists are not 10 p.m. prepared by partisans. Again and again the minister, at the dictation of somebody else, has made the statement that they are. It is not founded on fact; the Nova Scotia lists are prepared by the municipal councils. The municipal councils are composed of the average man in Nova Scotia, Grit and Tory alike, but they are not partisan bodies any more than they are in any other parts of the country. These lists are posted up and every opportunity is given to put on names. There is a provision respecting an appeal to the sheriff which is very little used. I believe the records show that very few appeals are made to the sheriff; but if there is a man left off that list he has the right to go to the poll on election day, swear to his qualification, and cast his vote. What more can you ask? By having two lists you are putting the people of the country to the annoyance and the trouble which is always connected with the preparation of an election list. What the hon. gentleman is doing in this case is this: He is creating an army of partisans, "registrars" he calls them, to add names to, and strike names off, lists which are as nearly perfect as anything can be. If there is any imperfection the machinery which the hon. gentleman proposed, and which we have been willing to accept, gives the two chances to make it good; the man in the urban district has the right to go to the county judge, and the man in the

rural district has the right to go to the poll on election day and cast his vote. There is a perfect machinery for preparing of election lists according to the point of view of my hon. friend himself, without the intervention of the registrars. But this provision will give the hon. gentleman the right to appoint an army of registrars in order that this Bill—which we were told at the beginning was to be fair, and just, and generous—may be used as a partisan instrument. That is the object of appointing these registrars, that is what we are going to be up against.

Mr. A. B. COPP (Westmorland): I desire to endorse what has been so well said by my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) in regard to the lists prepared in the province of Nova Scotia. In the province of New Brunswick the lists are prepared almost in the same way; if it is possible for anything to be fairer we have it in that province. In the province of New Brunswick we make and revise our lists every year irrespective of whether there is an election or not. That revision is made by the county councillors elected by the people in every parish. Two county councillors and two revisers make up the lists. The appointments in the town are made by the town Council and the officials so appointed make up the lists in the different towns throughout the province; the remaining member of the board is appointed by the government of the province. In September a trial list is made up. That list is posted and every elector has an opportunity of going before the board and applying to have his name put on it. The lists are then posted in public places throughout the different parishes, and every person has an opportunity of examining it. Afterwards they have the privilege of going before the board and having their names added or struck off according to the evidence that is adduced. After the list is completed, it is deposited with the county secretary at shire town and in the month of December or in the month of January it becomes the official list for the year in which it is to take effect. Nothing could be fairer than a list prepared in that way. Yet my hon. friend insists that partisan registrars shall be selected to interfere with the lists that have been so carefully prepared by men who know the different voters throughout their parishes and after all inquiries have been made and everything possible done to give all persons in their parishes an opportunity of having their names placed

[Mr. Fielding.]

upon the lists, and to give them an opportunity of going to the polls and casting their ballots independently, for whoever they may wish, on election day. When the board of revisers of each parish—and these revisers are selected by the people—prepare this list it is prepared in an equitable and fair way, for all shades of politics are represented on the revising board. And I say to my hon. friend that he cannot get a fairer list under any act he may pass. That has been the practice in New Brunswick for many years; the electors understand it, and it works out very satisfactorily. But under this Act the people of New Brunswick will not know that when the registrars are going through the rural sections any elector can appear before them to have names stricken from the list or added to it. Therefore, I say, he is interfering with the rights of a province which has for years been in advance of the other provinces in the preparations of its voters' lists.

When this Bill was introduced by the minister (Mr. Guthrie) he promised that it was going to be a fair election law that would give everybody an opportunity to conduct elections in a reasonable and proper manner; but notwithstanding that promise, at the very last moment my hon. friend refuses to redeem it, and he now interferes with the people's rights by dragging the preparation of the voters' lists down into the hurly-burly of party politics by appointing partisan enumerators and registrars to frustrate the undoubted rights of the electorate. I warn my hon. friend that he is not doing justice to the people of New Brunswick or to the people of the other provinces when he interferes in this way with those election principles that have been in effect in this Dominion for so many years.

The House divided on amendment (Mr. Mackenzie King) which was negatived on the following division:

YEAS.

Messrs.

Archambault,  
Baldwin,  
Béland,  
Bourassa,  
Boyer,  
Brouillard,  
Bureau,  
Casgrain,  
Chisholm,  
Copp,  
d'Anjou,  
Déchène,

Delisle,  
Demers,  
Deslauriers,  
Duff,  
DuTremblay,  
Euler,  
Fielding,  
Fontaine,  
Fortier,  
Fournier,  
Gauthier,  
Gervais,

Gladu,  
 Hunt,  
 King,  
 Lanctôt,  
 Lapointe,  
 Leduc,  
 Léger,  
 Marcile (Bagot),  
 Papineau,  
 Pedlow,  
 Pelletier,  
 Proulx,  
 Rinfret,

Savard,  
 Seguin,  
 Sinclair (Antigonish  
 and Guysborough),  
 Sinclair  
 (Queens, P.E.I.),  
 Stein,  
 Tobin,  
 Trahan,  
 Truax,  
 Turgeon,  
 Verville,  
 White (Victoria).—48.

**NAYS.**

**Messrs.**

Allan,  
 Anderson,  
 Argue,  
 Armstrong (York),  
 Armstrong (Lambton),  
 Arthurs,  
 Ballantyne,  
 Ball,  
 Best,  
 Blair,  
 Blake,  
 Bolton,  
 Borden (Sir Robert),  
 Bowman,  
 Boyce,  
 Brien,  
 Buchanan,  
 Burrell,  
 Butts,  
 Calder,  
 Casselman,  
 Chaplin,  
 Charters,  
 Clark (Bruce),  
 Clark (Red Deer),  
 Clarke (Wellington),  
 Cooper,  
 Cowan,  
 Crerar,  
 Crothers,  
 Crowe,  
 Cruise,  
 Currie,  
 Davis,  
 Drayton (Sir Henry),  
 Finley,  
 Foster (Sir George),  
 Fraser,  
 Fripp,  
 Fulton,  
 Glass,  
 Gould,  
 Green,  
 Griesbach,  
 Guthrie,  
 Halbert,  
 Harold,  
 Harrison,  
 Hay,  
 Henders,  
 Hocken,  
 Hughes (Sir Sam),

Johnston,  
 Keefer,  
 Kennedy (Glengarry  
 and Stormont),  
 Knox,  
 Lang,  
 Loggie,  
 Long,  
 Mackie (Edmonton),  
 Mackie (Renfrew),  
 Maclean (York),  
 MacNutt,  
 McDonald,  
 McIsaac,  
 McQuarrie,  
 Maharg,  
 Manion,  
 Meighen,  
 Merner,  
 Morphy,  
 Mowat,  
 Munson,  
 Myers,  
 Nicholson  
 (Queens, P.E.I.),  
 Nicholson (Algoma),  
 Peck,  
 Porter,  
 Redman,  
 Reid (Grenville),  
 Reid (Mackenzie),  
 Rowell,  
 Sexsmith,  
 Shaw,  
 Sheard,  
 Sifton,  
 Simpson,  
 Smith,  
 Spinney,  
 Steele,  
 Stevens,  
 Sutherland,  
 Thompson (Weyburn),  
 Thompson (Hastings),  
 Thompson (Yukon),  
 Tolmie,  
 Tremain,  
 Tweedie,  
 Wallace,  
 Wigmore,  
 Wilson (Saskatoon).

—101.

**PAIRS.**

(The list of Pairs is furnished by the Chief Whips).

**Messrs.**

Cockshutt,  
 Doherty,  
 Charlton,  
 Davidson,

McCrea,  
 Marcell (Bonaventure),  
 McCoig,  
 McKenzie,

McGregor,  
 White, Sir Thomas,  
 Burnham,  
 Scott,  
 Lalor,  
 Stacey,  
 Douglas (Cape Breton),  
 Clements,  
 McGibbon (Muskoka),  
 McCurdy,  
 Halladay,  
 Whidden,  
 Nesbitt,  
 Bonnell,  
 McLean (Royal),  
 Mewburn,  
 Middlebro,  
 Stewart (Lanark),  
 Bristol,  
 Chabot,  
 Cronyn,  
 Douglas (Strathcona),  
 Edwards,  
 Elkin,  
 Foster (York),  
 Hartt,  
 McLeod,  
 Nesbitt,  
 Paul,  
 Richardson,

Pacaud,  
 Jacobs,  
 Vien,  
 Ross,  
 Cannon,  
 Gauvreau,  
 Prevost,  
 Molloy,  
 McMaster,  
 Parent,  
 Kennedy (Essex),  
 Boivin,  
 Kay,  
 Cardin,  
 Devlin,  
 Ethier,  
 Robb,  
 Fafard,  
 Lafortune,  
 Lavigueur,  
 McGibbon (Argenteuil),  
 Murphy,  
 Pardee,  
 Power,  
 Cahill,  
 Denis,  
 Desaulniers,  
 Lesage,  
 Mayrand,  
 Michaud.

Mr. WILLIAM D. EULER (North Waterloo): Mr. Speaker, when this Bill was in committee I took exception to subsection 2 of clause 29 and at that time I moved that the said subsection be struck from the Bill. My reason for doing so—

Mr. SPTAKER: Order. I must ask hon. gentlemen and others in the Chamber to refrain from so much conversation in order that the hon. member who is addressing the House may have an opportunity of being heard.

Mr. EULER: My reason for asking that the subsection be struck from the Bill was that it placed upon certain British subjects a disability with regard to the franchise. The facts are these. All British subjects who are married women of alien origin, with the exception of those who were born on the continent of North America, are prevented from exercising the franchise until they have first secured from a judge a certificate which will permit them to vote. I am not at all unappreciative of what has been done by the Government in the direction of removing certain injustices that prevailed in the Franchise Bill, and particularly in this clause; and also of some changes that have been made in the Naturalization Act. I am glad that this was done, as a matter of ordinary justice. But I do regret, Sir, that the Government in that good work stopped short of rendering complete justice to the people on whose behalf I now speak. The laws that are enacted in this House should be log-

ical; no law enacted at any time should conflict with any other recognized law on our statute book. The naturalization law of this country, and, I think, of very other British country, states very definitely—and the principle has been recognized for many years—that the wife of a British subject is herself a British subject. Then, we have in the law which I am now criticising, the clause by which it is proposed to enact that the wife of a British subject is not, in certain cases, a British subject. I contend, Sir, that the two laws are absolutely contradictory and that the only way in which the difficulty may be composed and the differences reconciled is to strike out the provision which is in conflict with the old recognized British law. In the past, married women of whatever origin, whether of alien origin, native born, or born in other parts of the British Empire, lived in Canada on terms of absolute equality so far as citizenship was concerned. I know whereof I speak. In the community from which I come we have, as is well known, many women of alien origin—and I am not now referring only to those of former enemy alien origin. Their husbands were naturalized; they all lived together in harmony, none having a feeling of superiority over the others; none having a feeling of inferiority. I say, Sir, that it was a most desirable condition and one that ought to be continued in this country. But if this clause is passed in its present form, the condition of equality, and, necessarily, the feeling of equality, that exists among those people will be destroyed. The fact that the franchise is now conferred upon women is no reason why that equality should be destroyed. I contend, Sir, that the clause should be struck from the Bill; only if that is done will the Franchise Bill be placed squarely upon the basis of citizenship, as it ought to be. I admit that it may be desirable that women of alien birth should also show themselves worthy of naturalization and receive personal naturalization, as I said the other day. I believe that it is right, when both sexes are placed upon an equality with regard to the franchise, that they should receive their rights and privileges as men do. But when I made this suggestion the other day the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) stated that it was impossible to place in the Bill a clause under which married women of alien birth could receive personal naturalization papers. If the Naturalization Act were amended in that way I believe it would be a proper course. But we have the law as it

[Mr. Euler.]

stands to-day, and I submit that it would not be just to make that law retroactive and to place certain men and certain women in this country in a class by themselves,—which necessarily carries with it some feeling of inferiority, or at least places these people on a different basis of citizenship from that of their more favored sisters or brothers.

Mr. CURRIE: May I put a question to my hon. friend? About ten years ago a law was passed in the German Empire, which, briefly stated, meant "once a German always a German," regardless of any naturalization papers the German might take out anywhere else. A law of that kind used to be in force in Great Britain many years ago; it permitted people to have a dual naturalization. Has the hon. member any reason to believe that that law has been withdrawn in Germany?

Mr. EULER: As a matter of fact I do not know whether there is such a law in Germany or not. I am told that it applies in France as well. I would point out that if such a law exists it certainly was not enacted by the people of whom I speak; they had absolutely nothing to do with it. I suppose what my hon. friend means to imply is that these people should never be allowed the franchise in Canada—which is surely an unthinkable condition.

Now, I say that the law should not be made retroactive. If you make it retroactive, men who in the past have voted, even during the time of war, will be taken out of the class of voters and will be obliged to go before a judge and to prove that they are worthy of citizenship. I say that that should not be done. You also place the same disability upon women who are not of enemy alien countries. The House is apt to assume that the plea is made entirely on behalf of people of former enemy origin. I am free to say that the provision affects that class of women in the constituency which I represent, but I think it should be also borne in mind that it places under this disability not only women who were born in Germany and who are now British subjects; not only women who were born in Austria; but also women of France, of Belgium, and of Italy. It places under this disability men who have voted in past years, and places them under the necessity of appearing before a judge. In a practical way, Mr. Speaker, I believe that the enactment of this law will result in the disfranchisement of a good many British subjects. These people will be to some

extent sensitive. They have felt themselves Canadians the same as anybody else. Now that the war is over, this Parliament should not do anything that will destroy the harmony that ought to exist among Canadian citizens; and this law will to some extent do that. It will implant in these people some sort of feeling of inferiority. Because of the discrimination that would be enacted by this law some of them I am sure will not subject themselves to the humiliation of appearing before a judge. Some of them have voted in the past and they can see no good reason, and I can see no good reason, why these people, some of whom have actually voted during the war, should appear before a judge to show they are worthy of the franchise.

In my opinion a good purpose would be served, and no ill could result, if we placed the franchise definitely on the basis of citizenship, as we would be doing if we struck out this clause. Our law after all gave citizenship, and I contend that citizenship means very, very little if it does not confer the vote. It is either all or nothing. It is practically nothing if you do not give the franchise.

In conclusion, I would ask the Government not to place itself in the position of the Indian giver who gives with one hand and takes away with the other. I therefore beg to move, seconded by the hon. member for George Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs):

That this Bill be not read a third time but be referred back to a Committee of the Whole House with instructions to amend the same by striking out in its entirety subsection (2) of section 29 of said Bill.

Hon. HUGH GUTHRIE (Acting Solicitor General): I have only a word to say in regard to this amendment. This is certainly one of the questions that have been most discussed during the progress of the present Bill through the House. The discussion arose in the first instance when the Bill was up for its second reading. My hon. friend from North Waterloo (Mr. Euler) on that occasion pointed out to the House the somewhat drastic form in which the clause was at that time drawn, and an intimation was given by a member of the Government during the course of the debate on the second reading that the particular language in which the Bill had been drawn at that time did not convey the real intention of the Government in regard to the matter. The Bill in that respect was modified when it reached the committee stage. In committee the whole question was very fully considered and I think the committee

was divided upon it. The clause was amended and my hon. friend from North Waterloo undertook to thank the committee for what he referred to as half a loaf. He said that half a loaf was better than no bread. The Naturalization Act again has since been amended. The clause which he most strenuously objected to has itself been amended. So that I think the clause as it appears in the Bill to-day having passed through committee is not a harsh clause, but under the circumstances a very reasonable one. I point my hon. friend also to the Ontario Act passed in April last. A clause in that Bill is very, very similar to a clause in our Bill.

Mr. EULER: Perhaps it was copied from it.

Mr. GUTHRIE: The Ontario Act is older than the clause in this Bill. It was passed before our Bill was introduced at all. A new Act was also introduced during the late session of the Ontario Legislature and they did enlarge a little on the Bill that is now before this House in respect to application by married women for certificates which entitled them to vote. They enlarged in one or two respects by allowing them to appear before police magistrates and one or two other officials, as well as judges. I cannot imagine that any difficulty is going to result from the provision in the present Act. It was pointed out that in large cities where there are a great many women who will have to apply and obtain certificates, there will not be enough judges to hear the applications. I do not think that at all. The moment this Act receives the consent of His Excellency, which I assume will be in a day or so, any one who so desires can make application to a judge and obtain a certificate. There is no limitation as to time. She has not to wait until until the House is dissolved. She can go at once. It is perhaps within the realm of possibility she may have two or three years before the next general election within which to obtain her certificate. At all events there is going to be ample time to obtain it. There is going to be no rush about it. I think for these reasons we should support this clause. I therefore cannot accept the amendment.

Mr. EULER: Does the minister realize that these women have to fill much stricter requirements than their husbands who were naturalized years ago?

Mr. GUTHRIE: I do not think the requirements are severe at all. If you will read

the Naturalization Act you will find that the requirements are as to good character, proper age, and the like. These are the qualifications that any country should require before granting citizenship. If they can satisfy a court or judge in that respect the certificate is granted. I do not look on it as a hardship or as an inconvenience. It has been pointed out that the exception of those born on the North American continent is a very grave exception. It worried some hon. gentleman that a negress from Florida could vote without making application for a certificate, and it was said that we discriminated against married women from France and Belgium. Those are very extreme cases. They will not arise. I would not hesitate a moment to say that there is nothing in such instances, and the House should not heed the appeal in that respect. I think the amendment should be voted down.

Mr. JOHNSTON: Will it be necessary for a woman applying before a judge for a certificate to bring her husband's naturalization certificate?

Mr. GUTHRIE: If I may be allowed to speak again, Mr. Speaker, I do not think the husband need be present, nor is it necessary to bring his certificate. All they have to do is to satisfy the judge that they are otherwise entitled to naturalization, except for that special clause in the naturalization Act, and if that be so, they will get the certificate to vote. There is no requirement about the husband being present or anything of that kind. I have no doubt any reasonable judge will be satisfied with the word of any respectable woman in regard to the matter. I do not know what the judge will require. Some judges may require more than others, but I am satisfied they will exercise a wide discretion and will grant every convenience that may be necessary.

Mr. S. W. JACOBS (George Etienne Cartier): The minister stated that one of the qualifications for a woman voter in the circumstance which he has just related is that of character. Now, is there anything in the Bill which says that the character of a male voter is to be taken into consideration. Why should a discrimination be made against the women in this respect? That is something I have yet to understand. I heard it mentioned on several occasions when the matter was up both on the second reading and in committee. The minister says that a woman in order to have a vote

[Mr. Guthrie.]

in Canada must have a good character, but there is nothing said in regard to the character of the man once he is on the list. When this whole question of the qualification of women was first broached in the House—I think it was brought up last year when the By-Elections' Act was introduced—I raised objection to it and opposed it as vigorously as I could, and I have objected to it in all its stages until this the final stage of the Bill, before it is put upon the statute book. I think it is only right that I should now most formally protest against this law in the name of thousands of women who will find themselves disfranchised under this Act. There is no question in my mind, and in the minds of many throughout the country, that this is nothing more or less than a scheme on the part of the Government to disfranchise a large body of voters who may possibly vote against the Government. I have stated that in the House on several occasions and I have not yet had a denial from the Government or any member of it. I know that anything I may say at this moment will have little effect on the Government because they are embarked on the scheme and intend to jam this clause through. I feel that they are very much like the Egyptians of old, whose hearts were hardened against the Israelites; but in that case we are told it was the Almighty himself who hardened their hearts. Well, I do not give the Government credit for being in association with the Almighty in any respect. Rather do I think that their hearts are hardened by Satan. Now, the only crime which these women have committed is that they have not been born in this country. If they were born on the North American continent, they would be qualified but seeing that they chose to be born in Europe, a judge must pass upon their qualification. That is what it amounts to, nothing more or less. They must not only be British subjects; but they must be super-British subjects. They must not only have married British subjects and lived with British subjects, but their characters must be good and they must have a certificate or imprimatur from a judge of the court of the district in which they reside before they can have the right to come before the returning officer and cast their votes, against the Government. In my own city of Montreal from ten to fifteen thousand women will be placed in this category, and their characters will have to be examined while they stand in queues in front of the judge. I can now understand why it is that we have increased the salaries of

judges from \$7,000 to \$9,000 a year. The reason is that they will have to deal with all these cases under this new franchise Act. I say, Mr. Speaker, that this whole scheme on the part of the Government is intended to prevent as many as possible from voting at general elections. My hon. friend from North Simcoe (Mr. Currie) this evening asked a question of the hon. member for North Waterloo (Mr. Euler), whether it was not a fact that German women, once they are citizens of the German Empire or the new German Republic, can never change their status—in other words, once a German always a German.

Mr. CURRIE: They have dual citizenship.

Mr. JACOBS: The point I want to make is that this Act is not providing against anything of that kind; that is provided for in the Naturalization Act, wherein it is declared that if a person has dual naturalization, one, say, German, and the other by reason of the Act, British, in the case of war that person reverts to his former citizenship and is subject to all the disqualifications of an alien enemy. He or she may be interned or deported or may have to report, etc. That is provided for in the Naturalization Act. But here that question does not arise. We will permit that person to vote only on his being provided with this certificate. Now, where is the justice which permits a man to vote whether he is or is not of good character, but declares that his wife must have a good character, otherwise she cannot vote? Why should we be so particular with regard to the character of the womanhood of the country in respect of those who are foreign born, when we do not exercise the same scrupulous care so far as the men are concerned? I have not yet heard of the Acting Solicitor General what the reason for this is. It is purely camouflage; nothing more or less. My good friend from North Waterloo was rather complimentary to the Government. He said that in many respects this was a fair Act.

Mr. EULER: Oh, no.

Mr. JACOBS: Well, I gathered from the tone of his remarks that he thought it was fair in many respects.

Mr. POWER: He was merely polite.

Mr. JACOBS: I do not wish to be tied down, so far as I am concerned, by any remarks made by any hon. member on this side of the House as to the fairness or jus-

tice of the Act. From the very start I have opposed it, and I have pointed out some of the anomalies of it which were very clearly seen to-night when we have half a dozen amendments to improve the Bill, although those amendments are all voted down by the willing instruments of the Government. I will admit that on the face of it this Bill did not look unreasonably unfair, but as soon as it is examined, even only in a cursory way, one cannot but come to the conclusion that it was designed with a view to getting it through the House, and that its so-called fair provisions are not fair at all. Altogether, Mr. Speaker, I feel that if this Bill goes through with this clause as it is it will constitute a blot on the Statute Books, and that is the feeling of tens of thousands of people throughout the country. The minister must know that to be the view, because he is in touch with the outside world; and while I am free to admit that he is a fair and just man in many respects, I think in this case he is but a tool of the Government. I have known him on many occasions to be just and fair in all his dealings and decisions.

Mr. POWER: When he was on our side.

Mr. JACOBS: And even since he has been on the other side. He has not yet fallen to the depths that one would expect of a minister who is associated with such a Government. It shows that his early up-bringing has had some good effect upon him so far. I do not say how long that wholesome influence will abide with the hon. gentleman, because it is evaporating very rapidly if we are to judge by the nature of the law which he is attempting to put through the House. I want to state now that I most solemnly object to the passing of this clause. Although I know that anything I can say at the present juncture will have no effect on the Government, I feel it is my duty as a member of this House representing a very large element of the people affected by this measure to rise in my place and protest against the passage of it.

Mr. JOHN A. CURRIE: (Simcoe North): I have no desire to delay the House, and I rise only because my name has been mentioned by the hon. member who has just concluded his remarks and because of a question which I asked the hon. member for North Waterloo (Mr. Euler). Now, if I do not mistake the condition of affairs in this country, there are over half a million returned soldiers who, with their mothers, their wives and their sisters, represent over

a million votes that will be cast at the next election. That body is unitedly opposed to giving any votes to aliens of enemy origin. The hon. minister, Mr. Guthrie, has made concessions time and time again to hon. members opposite on this question, and I have no doubt that if hon. gentlemen on the other side thought that by talking for another week or two they could secure such an amendment to the Act as would deprive the soldiers themselves of the vote, although they are anxious that alien enemies should be given that right, they would advance many arguments to the minister. The hon. member (Mr. Jacobs) is learned in the law and he knows international law possibly as well as any other man in this House. He must, therefore, know that the full rights of British citizenship have never been granted to an alien at any stage of the game. The merchant shipping Act of Great Britain has always contained a clause to the effect that an alien, whether he is naturalized or not, cannot own shares in a British ship and live outside of Great Britain and Ireland. Is that giving the alien full citizenship or rights of citizenship.

Mr. POWER: Cut out Ireland.

Mr. CURRIE: Citizenship is not a right; it is a privilege that is granted, and less should be heard in this House in the nature of what we have heard. One would think it was a right. It is not a right. And voting is a privilege, not a right; and the hon. member for North Waterloo has a great deal of hardihood to get up and denounce the minister as he has done tonight for amending the clause as he has amended it. The Government has gone very far—farther than their followers in the country and fifty per cent of the people want them to go; there is no doubt about that.

Mr. EULER: Does the hon. gentleman realize that under this clause the soldiers that he speaks of may themselves be disfranchised with their mothers and sisters?

Mr. CURRIE: The soldiers are not disfranchised if they have fought in the war. The vote is granted to everybody except the woman who has married an Englishman and who, if she wants a vote, can go to the judge and get it. That is no great hardship. At one time she would have to apply to Germany to cancel her citizenship. According to the old German law, if a man wished to become a British sub-

[Mr. Currie.]

ject he had to make application 11 p.m. to the German embassy, for permission to become a British subject. None of these people who are objecting to-day ever made application to the German embassy to become British subjects. Many of them will still retain their dual citizenship. Returned soldiers at their conventions and gatherings have unanimously passed resolutions against giving the franchise to alien enemies but this House has not listened to their representations.

The House divided on the amendment of Mr. Euler which was negatived on the following division:

YEAS.

Messrs.

Archambault,	King,
Baldwin,	Knox,
Bourassa,	Lanctôt,
Boyer,	Lapointe,
Brouillard,	Leduc,
Bureau,	Leger,
Casgrain,	MacNutt,
Chisholm,	McDonald,
Clark (Red Deer),	Maharg,
Copp,	Marcile (Bagot),
Crerar,	Papineau,
d'Anjou,	Parent,
Déchêne,	Pedlow,
Delisle,	Pelletier,
Demers,	Power,
Deslauriers,	Prevost,
Duff,	Proulx,
DuTremblay,	Reid (Mackenzie),
Ethier,	Rinfret,
Euler,	Savard,
Fielding,	Seguin,
Fontaine,	Sinclair (Antigonish
Fournier,	and Guysborough),
Gervais,	Sinclair
Gladu,	(Queens, P.E.I.),
Gould,	Stein,
Halbert,	Tobin,
Hunt,	Trahan,
Johnston,	Truax,
Kennedy (Glengarry	Verville,
and Stormont),	White (Victoria).—59.

NAYS.

Messrs.

Allan,	Calder,
Anderson,	Casselmann,
Argue,	Chaplin,
Armstrong (York),	Charters,
Armstrong (Lambton),	Clark (Bruce),
Arthurs,	Clarke (Wellington),
Ballantyne,	Cooper,
Ball,	Cowan,
Best,	Crothers,
Blair,	Crowe,
Blake,	Cruise,
Bolton,	Currie,
Borden (Sir Robert),	Davis,
Bowman,	Drayton (Sir Henry),
Boyce,	Edwards,
Brien,	Finley,
Buchanan,	Fraser,
Butts,	Fripp,

Fulton,	Nicholson (Algoma),
Glass,	Peck,
Green,	Porter,
Griesbach,	Redman,
Guthrie,	Reid (Grenville),
Harold,	Richardson,
Harrison,	Rowell,
Hay,	Sexsmith,
Henders,	Shaw,
Hocken,	Sheard,
Hughes (Sir Sam),	Sifton,
Lang,	Simpson,
Loggie,	Smith,
Mackie (Edmonton),	Spinney,
Mackie (Renfrew),	Steele,
Maclean (York),	Stevens,
McCurdy,	Stewart (Lanark),
McIsaac,	Sutherland,
McQuarrie,	Thompson (Weyburn),
Manion,	Thompson (Hastings),
Meighen,	Thompson (Yukon),
Merner,	Tolmie,
Morphy,	Tremain,
Mowat,	Tweedie,
Munson,	Wallace,
Myers,	Wigmore,
Nicholson	Wilson (Saskatoon).

(Queens, P.E.I.), —90.

PAIRS.

(The list of Pairs is furnished by the Chief Whips).

Messrs.

Cockshutt,	McCrea,
Doherty,	Marcel (Bonaventure),
Charlton,	McColg,
Davidson,	McKenzie,
McGregor,	Pacaud,
White, Sir Thomas,	Jacobs,
Burnham,	Vien,
Scott,	Cannon,
Lalor,	Ross,
Stacey,	Gauvreau,
Clements,	Molloy,
McGibbon (Muskoka),	McMaster,
Halladay,	Kennedy (Essex),
Keefer,	Boivin,
Nesbitt,	Kay,
Bonnell,	Cardin,
McLean (Royal),	Devlin,
Middlebro,	Robb,
Bristol,	Lafortune,
Chabot,	Lavigueur,
Cronyn,	McGibbon (Argenteuil),
Douglas (Strathcona),	Murphy,
Foster (York),	Cahill,
Hartt,	Denis,
McLeod,	Desaulniers,
Nesbitt,	Lesage,
Whidden,	Mayrand,
Douglas (Cape Breton),	Fafard,
Mewburn,	Pardee,
Elkin,	Michaud.

Mr. BELAND: I was paired with the Minister of Customs (Mr. Burrell). Had I voted, I would have voted for the amendment.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I was paired with the hon. member for South Simcoe (Mr. Boys). Had I voted, I would have voted for the amendment.

Mr. MEWBURN: I was paired with the hon. member for West Lambton (Mr. Pardee). Had I voted, I would have voted against the amendment.

Mr. LALOR: I was paired with the hon. member for Dorchester (Mr. Cannon). Had I voted, I would have voted against the amendment.

Mr. McMASTER: I was paired with the hon. member for Muskoka (Mr. McGibbon). Had I voted, I would have voted for the amendment.

Mr. DOHERTY: I was paired with the hon. member for Bonaventure (Mr. Marcil). Had I voted, I would have voted against the amendment.

Mr. JACOBS: I was paired with the hon. member for Leeds (Sir Thomas White). Had I voted, I would have voted for the amendment.

Mr. J. A. MAHARG (Maple Creek): Before the main motion is put, I would like to move an amendment. The amendment which I purpose moving will go much further, in so far as purity of elections is concerned, than anything that has yet been submitted to this House, certainly much further than any provision contained in the present Bill. I move, seconded by Mr. Knox:

That Bill 12 be not now read a third time but that it be referred back to Committee of the Whole House with instructions to amend the same by adding to clause 10 of the Bill the following clause to be known as clause 3:

"All contributions to a group of candidates or any political party, incorporated or unincorporated, shall be open to the public, and all such contributions shall be published in the same manner as is now provided in this act governing contributions and expenditures in the election of members to Parliament."

The House divided on the amendment of Mr. Maharg, which was negatived on the following division:

YEAS.

Messrs.

Archambault,	Demers,
Baldwin,	Deslauriers,
Bourassa,	Duff,
Boyer,	DuTremblay,
Brouillard,	Ethier,
Buchanan,	Euler,
Bureau,	Fielding,
Casgrain,	Fontaine,
Chisholm,	Fortier,
Clark (Red Deer),	Fournier,
Copp,	Gervais,
Crerar,	Gladu,
d'Anjou,	Gould,
Déchène,	Halbert,
Delisle,	Hunt,

Johnston,  
Kennedy (Glengarry  
and Stormont),  
King,  
Knox,  
Lanctôt,  
Lapointe,  
Leduc,  
Leger,  
MacNutt,  
MacDonald,  
Maharg,  
Marcile (Bagot),  
Papineau,  
Parent,  
Pedlow,  
Prevost,  
Proulx,  
Reid (Mackenzie),  
Rinfret,  
Savard,  
Seguin,  
Sinclair (Antigonish  
and Guysborough),  
Sinclair  
(Queens, P.E.I.),  
Stein,  
Tobin,  
Truax,  
Verville,  
White (Victoria).—58.

## NAYS.

## Messrs.

Allan,  
Anderson,  
Argue,  
Armstrong (York),  
Armstrong (Lambton),  
Arthurs,  
Ballantyne,  
Ball,  
Best,  
Blair,  
Blake,  
Bolton,  
Borden (Sir Robert),  
Bowman,  
Boyce,  
Brien,  
Butts,  
Calder,  
Casselman,  
Chaplin,  
Charters,  
Clark (Bruce),  
Clarke (Wellington),  
Cooper,  
Cowan,  
Crothers,  
Crowe,  
Cruise,  
Currie,  
Davis,  
Drayton (Sir Henry),  
Edwards,  
Finley,  
Fraser,  
Fripp,  
Fulton,  
Glass,  
Green,  
Griesbach,  
Guthrie,  
Harrison,  
Hay,  
Henders,  
Hocken,  
Hughes (Sir Sam),  
Lang,  
Loggie,  
Mackie (Edmonton),  
Maclean (York),  
McCurdy,  
McIsaac,  
McQuarrie,  
Manion,  
Meighen,  
Merner,  
Morphy,  
Mowat,  
Munson,  
Myers,  
Nicholson  
(Queens, P.E.I.),  
Nicholson (Algoma),  
Porter,  
Redman,  
Reid (Grenville),  
Richardson,  
Rowell,  
Sexsmith,  
Shaw,  
Sheard,  
Sifton,  
Simpson,  
Smith,  
Spinney,  
Steele,  
Stevens,  
Stewart (Lanark),  
Sutherland,  
Thompson (Weyburn),  
Thompson (Hastings),  
Thompson (Yukon),  
Tolmie,  
Tremain,  
Tweedie,  
Wallace,  
Wigmore,  
Wilson (Saskatoon).—86.

## PAIRS.

(The list of Pairs is furnished by the Chief Whips).

## Messrs.

Cockshutt,  
Doherty,  
Charlton,  
Davidson,  
McGregor,  
White, Sir Thomas,  
Burnham,  
Scott,  
McCrea,  
Marcil (Bonaventure),  
McCoig,  
McKenzie,  
Pacaud,  
Jacobs,  
Vien,  
Ross,

Lalor,  
Stacey,  
Clements,  
McGibbon (Muskoka),  
Halladay,  
Keefer,  
Nesbitt,  
Bonnell,  
McLean (Royal),  
Middlebro,  
Bristol,  
Chabot,  
Cronyn,  
Douglas (Strathcona),  
Foster, Sir George,  
Hartt,  
McLeod,  
Nesbitt,  
Whidden,  
Douglas (Cape Breton),  
Mewburn,  
Elkin,  
Martin,  
Wilson (Wentworth),  
McIntosh,  
Harold,  
Cannon,  
Gauvreau,  
Molloy,  
McMaster,  
Kennedy (Essex),  
Boivin,  
Kay,  
Cardin,  
Devlin,  
Robb,  
Lafortune,  
Lavigueur,  
McGibbon (Argenteuil),  
Murphy,  
Cahill,  
Denis,  
Desaulniers,  
Lesage,  
Mayrand,  
Turgeon,  
Pardee,  
Michaud,  
Fafard,  
Pelletier,  
Gauthier,  
Trahan.

Mr. ROBB: I was paired with the Chief Government Whip (Mr. Middlebro). Had I voted, I would have voted for the amendment.

Mr. BELAND: I was paired with the hon. Minister of Customs (Mr. Burrell). Had I voted, I would have voted in favour of the amendment.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I was paired with the hon. member for South Simcoe (Mr. Boys). Had I voted, I would have voted in favour of the amendment.

Mr. MEWBURN: I was paired with the member for West Lambton (Mr. Pardee). Had I voted, I would have voted against the amendment.

Mr. McMASTER: I was paired with the hon. member for Muskoka (Mr. McGibbon). Had I voted, I would have voted in favour of the amendment.

Mr. DOHERTY: I was paired with the hon. member for Bonaventure (Mr. Marcil). Had I voted, hon. members will be greatly surprised to learn, I would have voted against the amendment.

Mr. LALOR: I was paired with the hon. member for Dorchester (Mr. Cannon). Had I voted, I would have voted against the amendment.

Mr. McMASTER: One of the delightful experiences, Mr. Speaker, in addressing the House on a subject of this kind is the number of members who are present to hear one's voice, to weigh one's argument, and, let me trust, to give a proper verdict upon it. I have an amendment to move which, if members would wait and listen to, they

[Mr. Maharg.]

would, I feel sure, be impelled to support. Let me read the amendment, because its terms constitute the very strongest grounds which can be urged in its support.

I move:

That the Bill be not read a third time, but be recommitted to the Committee of the Whole House, with instructions to amend section 10 by adding thereto the following subsection:

"Every advertisement, article, notice, illustration or cartoon appearing in a newspaper, magazine, pamphlet, leaflet or other publication, and having reference to an election, if printed at the expense of any individual, firm, committee, association, society or corporation other than the individual, firm, committee, association, society or corporation which is the printer or publisher thereof, shall disclose that such advertisement, article, notice, illustration or cartoon is being paid for by such individual, firm, committee, association, society, or corporation and shall bear the name and address of the person or persons paying, or agreeing to pay, for the publication thereof.

Any person printing, publishing, or distributing any such advertisement, article, notice, illustration or cartoon, or causing any of such to be printed, published or distributed otherwise than is provided in this section is guilty of an offence against this Act punishable on summary conviction as in this Act provided, and if he is a candidate or the official agent of a candidate is further guilty of an illegal practice."

I presume, Mr. Speaker, that all will agree with me when I make the assertion that what we need is not only honest and disinterested voters, but informed voters. Now, how are voters to get information on public questions? By the spoken word, and also by the written word. We have a great deal of information published at the time of an election, and the object of this section is that voters shall know whence comes the article, whence comes the advertisement, whence comes the cartoon which they are looking at or reading. I remember that at the time when Victory Loans were advertised not only by my hon. and learned friend the Minister of Finance (Sir Henry Drayton) but by patriotic citizens throughout the country, they used to insert large advertisements in the newspapers, to stimulate the purchase of Victory Bonds, and at the bottom of the advertisements was printed, "This space furnished by"—such-and-such a company; or such-and-such an individual. Something of this sort is required in connection with advertisements which appear supporting one or other political party or one or other political candidate. We have a right to know whether those who are undertaking to advise and improve the people at the time of the election are disinterested or not. For in-

stance, a great deal of literature goes out to-day fathered by the Canadian Reconstruction Committee. Now, if you scratch the Canadian Reconstruction Committee ever so tenderly you will uncover the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. We are entitled to know who is undertaking to give us advice, whether in the form of advertisements or in the form of articles—a much more insidious form of propaganda. When "boiler plate" is sent out to the country newspapers all over the Dominion in praise of one or other political party or of one or other political leader, it is only right and proper that the reading public should be informed who is paying for these articles so that they may judge as to the value of the advice by judging of the interest of those who tender it. I do not propose at this late hour, Mr. Speaker, to unduly delay the committee with this amendment. It is an amendment which every one who desires to have honest, clean elections, who desires that the decision should come from a free and independent electorate, honestly informed on the questions of the day, should be able to support. I leave it in the judgment of the House, hoping, if not fully expecting, that the resolution will carry by an overwhelming majority.

Hon. HUGH GUTHRIE (Acting Solicitor General): This amendment was moved in committee on Saturday last by my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Mackenzie King). He did not press the amendment to a vote on that occasion, but intimated that he or some other hon. member would move it on the third reading of the Bill, and in the meantime I promised, on behalf of the Government, to give it full consideration. At an earlier date in the session when the matter was first brought to the attention of the committee I was inclined to think that perhaps there was something in the proposal. I am aware that in the State of New York, and perhaps in some other States of the Union, such a law is in force. Any one glancing at the New York papers during election time will see advertisement after advertisement, with at the foot, the name of the person who contributed or paid the advertisement. In this country the proposal now before the House is something entirely new, and I would have supposed that my hon. friend (Mr. MacMaster) in bringing it to the attention of the House would have made some kind of a case,—would have shown the House that there

was some grievance which should be righted, some wrong that should be remedied. But evidently he has assumed that there is a disease somewhere in the body politic and he has brought forth what in his opinion is a remedy. But is there any disease? Has there been any wrongdoing? Has any harm been done by the method employed in regard to our newspaper work, our pamphleteering, our poster work, during the course of elections throughout Canada? I submit that no harm has been done in that regard. I have never heard the charge made; consequently I think it is absolutely unnecessary to place such a clause in our election law, at all events at the present time.

There is another thing about it; such an amendment might have the effect of abridging what is an undoubted private right at the present time. I can imagine that there are very able men who are too modest to put their opinions before the public under their own names, too modest to go on platforms and discuss political questions; who for their own private reasons do not desire their names to be made public, but still do desire to take part in elections. Surely these men are entitled to print pamphlets at their own expense and to circulate them as fully as they deem proper. Would that be wrong? Does the name matter, after all? Is it not the article; is it not the reasoning; is it not the argument that counts, rather than the name of the individual? I suppose the strongest political pamphleteering that ever was carried out was done anonymously. I question whether any one knows to-day who wrote the Letters of Junius, which were published anonymously. They may have been written by a great man, or by a man in modest, humble circumstances, but they certainly were effective. Why not permit such a system? I can well understand, too, that a man, through apprehension of trouble, perhaps through motives of fear, may desire to issue a statement of his views upon public questions without submitting his name. I heard of one case of an employee who desired to circulate as part of his political propaganda some of the writings of Henry George and of Karl Marx, but was afraid to do it under his own name. He should have the right to do that if he sees fit; nor should his position be jeopardized if he merely desires to lay his opinion before the public. I cannot imagine how a wrong can be done under the present system. I cannot imagine what wrong my hon. friend seeks to remedy. If the House desired to do something of the kind I think

[Mr. Guthrie.]

it might more intelligently have dealt with the proposal, but for my part, speaking in this instance on behalf of my colleagues, whom I have consulted, I think that under the present circumstances in this country it is wholly unnecessary to inflict upon the private person, the firm, the corporation,—upon anybody—the necessity of exposing who has paid for or who has written a political document. I repeat that it is the document that counts, not the writer; it is the argument that will weigh, not the personality of the man. If my hon. friend wanted to do a real service he would insist that every newspaper article, every newspaper editorial, should be signed, as is done in France, I believe. That might convey to us some information. No man in the House has a greater respect for the press than I have. I read it. I hope that it may have widest and broadest circulation, but I am sometimes bound to confess that it would be better for the public if, when some hon. member quotes in this House from an editorial appearing in the Morning Glory out West or the Evening Howler down East, we knew that the writer of the article was a clerk drawing a salary of \$15 or \$20 a week. But we do not know that; we take the argument as it is written. It has the authority of a newspaper, but it must stand or fall by its own merits. I see no reason for the adoption of this provision, and I ask the House to vote it down.

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (leader of the Opposition): I am somewhat astonished at the remarks of my hon. friend, (Mr. Guthrie). He says that he has studied this amendment somewhat carefully and has submitted it to the Government for consideration. As hon. members will have observed, the burden of his remarks was directed against what he said was an injustice to modest men. He said that many men would like to give their views at election time but would be too modest to put their names to those views as published. He remarked that the greatest pamphleteering that had been done had been done anonymously, and he cited in that connection the Letters of Junius. Well, there is absolutely nothing in the amendment proposed by my hon. friend from Brome (Mr. McMaster)—which as my hon. friend has mentioned, is an amendment I suggested in committee the other day—which relates in any way to disclosing the name of any person who has written any political article. The amendment has nothing to do with the writing

of any article, and when the Acting Solicitor General speaks of that he is either trying to deceive the committee in regard to the intention of the mover of the amendment, or he has not studied the amendment as he should have studied it. There is nothing, I say, in the amendment which relates to exposing who is the writer of any article, one way or the other. The amendment is solely aimed at disclosing who is paying for the circulation of certain kinds of literature during election periods; that is all the amendment aims at. I maintain that it is very much in the public interest that the people should know, when articles appear in the press that have been paid for in the nature of advertisements to the extent, possibly, of hundreds of thousands of dollars, whether those articles are the bona fide expression of the views of the paper publishing them, or whether they are articles paid for by some iron and steel merger, some textile interest, some manufacturing, packing, canning, financial, commercial, or other interest that is willing to contribute hundreds of thousands of dollars, if not millions, to the winning of the campaign. What is the whole purpose of the law as it stands in regard to contributions for political purposes if it is not to make impossible large contributions by special interests to campaign funds where the source from which they come is not stated? The law as it stands should be broad enough, or ought to be considered in such a way, as to cover contributions of this kind. Section 10 says:

No unincorporated company or association and no incorporated company or association other than one incorporated for political purposes alone shall, directly or indirectly, contribute, loan, advance, pay, or promise or offer to pay any money or its equivalent to, or for, or in aid of, any candidate at an election, or to, or for, or in aid of, any political party, committee, or association, or to or for, or in aid of, any company incorporated for political purposes, or to, or for, or in furtherance of, any political purpose whatever, or for the indemnification or reimbursement of any person for moneys so used.

Well, Mr. Speaker, if that section means anything it surely means that where a great concern like one of those mergers I have spoken of offers to pay a million dollars for campaign purposes and desires to make the contribution in the form of paying different papers to publish certain articles or for pamphlets to be distributed—that such a contribution is in aid of a candidate or in aid of a political party. I am

astounded at the minister taking exception for one minute to the proposal which has been made, because under the law as it stands any contribution from these big interests for the purpose of winning elections, a contribution which takes the form of paying for the circulation of literature, is a contribution for political purposes and should bear on the face of it the name of the party who makes the contribution. The member for Brome (Mr. McMaster) does not suggest, in the amendment which he has moved, that these contributions be not made. All he has suggested is that the public shall know, when they read an advertisement or an article that is being paid for by some special interest for political purposes, that that interest is paying for it; that the view expressed is not the opinion of the paper itself but is something that is paid for and inserted in that way. My hon. friend does not take exception to a newspaper printing anything that it pleases, through its own editors or any persons whom it cares to employ. What appears in a newspaper from its own staff, or is contributed, no matter from where it may be collected, can appear just in the form in which it is at this time. The amendment does not touch a matter of that kind at all. What it aims at is the disclosure of the source of payment where articles are paid for by special interests. Where, for example, some interest goes into a newspaper office and asks that a certain article be published, and the newspaper says, "We cannot publish this article; it is not in accord with our 12 m. views," or "We have other views to express," and the interest turns round and says: "Will you publish it if we pay for it?" "What is your price?" and the newspaper names its price and takes the article—I say that articles taken in that way should bear on the face of them something to the effect that: this article contributed by so-and-so is being paid for by so-and-so. It must be remembered that this amendment has reference only to literature at election time. The Act defines what is "during an election". I say it is in the public interest that these large election contributions by wealthy financial, commercial or industrial interests should be disclosed when they are intended to have a direct influence upon public opinion during the period of an election. Why, you poison the springs of public opinion at their source unless you protect the public against that kind of purchasing of the press, because that is what it is. It

is not only purchasing the press, but deceiving the public as well.

Mr. CURRIE: Surely my hon. friend does not mean to slander the press of the country to the extent of saying that its pages are open to purchase? Political matters of that kind are generally put in as advertisements.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I am not making any charge against the press of the country, and my hon. friend need not try to misconstrue my remarks as such. What I am saying is that when a large corporation goes to a newspaper and says "We want certain things inserted in your newspaper," and the newspaper refuses unless it is paid for the insertion, a purchase takes place.

Mr. CURRIE: It goes in as advertising matter.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: If it goes in as advertising matter, I am perfectly satisfied. That is all I am asking—that it shall go in as advertising matter, that it shall not appear to the reader to be part of the expression of opinion of the press itself. I am asking that it shall show on its face that it is paid-for material, and by whom it is paid for. That is all I am asking, and I say that a paper that is unwilling to insert after paid material, the fact that the material is being paid for, is being purchased to that extent. That is what I mean by the purchasing of the press. I do not say that the press should not publish anything it wishes. It should have the greatest possible freedom in publishing everything, but I do say that where contributions are made by powerful interests to election funds in the form of paid-for material that goes into the press or magazines or into any printed form, the source of such material should be known to the electorate, so that when forming a judgment they may weigh the argument in the light of the source from which it comes. That is the whole purpose of the amendment. I hope that the House, for the sake of purity of elections, for the sake of the formation of an intelligent public opinion at election time, for the sake of giving the country confidence in a Parliament that may be returned, confidence that it has been returned through a contest fought out with a knowledge of facts and conditions as they are, fought in the open in regard to all phases of arguments that may be used—I hope that in the interests of the press, of the public, of purity of elections, and of all that goes to make our political institutions

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

strong and durable and respected, the House will see its way to adopt this amendment.

The House divided on the proposed amendment of Mr. McMaster which was negatived on the following division:

YEAS.

Messrs.

Archambault,	Kennedy (Glengarry and Stormont),
Bourassa,	King,
Boyer,	Knox,
Brouillard,	Lanctôt,
Buchanan,	Lapointe,
Bureau,	Leduc,
Casgrain,	Leger,
Chisholm,	MacNutt,
Clark (Red Deer),	McDonald,
Copp,	Maharg,
Crerar,	Marcile (Bagot),
d'Anjou,	Papineau,
Davis,	Parent,
Déchène,	Pedlow,
Delisle,	Pelletier,
Demers,	Prevost,
Deslauriers,	Proulx,
Duff,	Reid (Mackenzie),
DuTremblay,	Rinfret,
Ethier,	Savard,
Euler,	Seguin,
Fielding,	Sinclair (Antigonish and Guysborough),
Fontaine,	Sinclair
Fortier,	(Queens, P.E.I.),
Fournier,	Stein,
Gervais,	Tobin,
Gladu,	Trahan,
Gould,	Truax,
Halbert,	Verville,
Hunt,	White (Victoria).—60.
Johnston,	

NAYS.

Messrs.

Allan,	Edwards,
Anderson,	Finley,
Argue,	Fraser,
Armstrong (York),	Fripp,
Armstrong (Lambton),	Fulton,
Arthurs,	Glass,
Ballantyne,	Green,
Ball,	Griesbach,
Best,	Guthrie,
Blair,	Harold,
Blake,	Harrison,
Borden (Sir Robert),	Hay,
Bowman,	Henders,
Boyce,	Hocken,
Brien,	Hughes (Sir Sam),
Butts,	Lang,
Calder,	Loggie,
Casselman,	Mackie (Edmonton),
Chaplin,	Mackie (Renfrew),
Charters,	Maclean (York),
Clark (Bruce),	McCurdy,
Clarke (Wellington),	McIsaac,
Cooper,	McQuarrie,
Cowan,	Manion,
Crothers,	Meighen,
Crowe,	Merner,
Cruise,	Morphy,
Currie,	Mowat,
Drayton (Sir Henry),	Munson,

Nicholson (Queens, P.E.I.), Nicholson (Algoma), Peck, Porter, Redman, Reid (Grenville), Richardson, Rowell, Sexsmith, Shaw, Sheard, Sifton, Simpson, Smith,	Spinney, Steele, Stevens, Stewart (Lanark), Sutherland, Thompson (Weyburn), Thompson (Hastings), Thompson (Yukon), Tolmie, Tremain, Tweedie, Wallace, Wigmore, Wilson (Saskatoon).
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—86.

PAIRS.

(The list or Pairs is furnished by the Chief Whips).

Messrs.

Cockshutt, Doherty, Charlton, Davidson, McGregor, White, Sir Thomas, Burnham, Scott, Lalor, Stacey, Clements, McGibbon (Muskoka), Halladay, Keefer, Nesbitt, Bonnell, McLean (Royal), Middlebro, Bristol, Chabot, Cronyn, Douglas (Strathcona), Foster, Sir George, Hartt, McLeod, Nesbitt, Whidden, Douglas (Cape Breton), Mewburn, Elkin, Martin, Wilson (Wentworth), McIntosh,	McCrea, Marcil (Bonaventure), McCoig, McKenzie, Pacaud, Jacobs, Vien, Ross, Cannon, Gauvreau, Molloy, McMaster, Kennedy (Essex), Boivin, Kay, Cardin, Devlin, Robb, Lafortune, Lavigueur, McGibbon (Argenteuil) Murphy, Cahill, Denis, Desaulniers, Lesage, Mayrand, Turgeon, Pardee, Michaud, Fafard, Power, Gauthier.
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Main motion agreed to on the same division reversed.

Bill read the third time and passed.

Rt. Hon. Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I move that the House return to the order of motions. I understand that some formal motions have to be made.

Motion agreed to.

PRIVATE BILLS.

FIRST AND SECOND READINGS.

Bill No. 212 (from the Senate) for the relief of Mildred E. B. Martin.—Mr. Wallace.

Bill No. 213 (from the Senate) for the relief of Arthur John Frankling.—Mr. Wallace.

Bill No. 213 (from the Senate) for the relief of Nelson Alexander Boylen.—Mr. Wallace.

Bill No. 215 (from the Senate) for the relief of Mahala Burton.—Mr. Wallace.

Bill No. 216 (from the Senate) for the relief of Joseph Henry Forbes.—Mr. Wallace.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT.

Rt. Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): Mr. Speaker, I move:

That a message be sent to the Senate to acquaint their honours that this House have agreed to their address to His Excellency the Governor General respectfully requesting that His Excellency will be pleased to transmit a joint address to His most Excellent Majesty the King most humbly praying that he may graciously be pleased to give his consent to submitting a measure to the Parliament of the United Kingdom to amend certain provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, by filling up the blank therein with the words "And the House of Commons of Canada".

Motion agreed to.

SALARIES OF MINISTERS AND INDEMNITY OF MEMBERS.

On motion of Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Borden (Prime Minister) the House went into committee to consider the following proposed resolution, Mr. Steele in the Chair:

Resolved, That it is expedient to bring in measures to amend the Salaries Act, and the Senate and House of Commons Act, and provide,—

1. That the salary of the member of the King's Privy Council holding the recognized position of First Minister shall be fifteen thousand dollars per annum and each of the following ministers ten thousand dollars per annum, that is to say,—

The Minister of Justice and Attorney General,

The Minister of Militia and Defence,  
The Minister of Customs and Inland Revenue,  
The Minister of Finance,

The Minister of Railways and Canals,

The Minister of Public Works,

The Minister of the Interior,

The President of the King's Privy Council for Canada,

The Minister of Marine and Fisheries,

The Postmaster General,

The Minister of Agriculture,

The Secretary of State for Canada,

The Minister of Labour,

The Secretary of State for External Affairs,

The Minister of Trade and Commerce,

The Minister of Immigration and Colonization,

The Minister of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment.

2. That the salary of the Solicitor General of Canada shall be seven thousand dollars per annum.

3. That the Member occupying the recognized position of Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons shall be paid an additional annual allowance of ten thousand dollars.

4. That the salaries of the Speaker of the Senate and of the Speaker of the House of

Commons shall be the sum of six thousand dollars per annum each, and that the salary of the Deputy Speaker of the House of Commons shall be four thousand dollars per annum.

5. That for every session of Parliament which extends beyond fifty days there shall be payable to each Member of the Senate and House of Commons attending such session a sessional allowance of four thousand dollars, and that a Member shall not be entitled to the sessional allowance if he does not attend a sitting of the House of which he is a member on at least three-fourths of the days upon which such House sits, and that the allowance for any less number of days shall be twenty-five dollars for each day's attendance. A deduction at the rate of twenty-five dollars per day shall be made from the said sessional allowance for every day beyond fifteen on which the Member does not attend a sitting of the House of which he is a member if the House sits on such day. Provided, that, in the case of a Member elected or appointed after the commencement of a session, no day of the session previous to such election or appointment shall be reckoned as one of such fifteen days, and each day on which the House sits when the member is in the place where the session is held but is by reason of his illness unable to attend any such sitting as aforesaid, shall be reckoned as a day of attendance at such session, for the purpose of the indemnity; and a member shall, for the said latter purpose, be held to be in the place where the session is held whenever he is within ten miles of such place.

6. That sections twelve and thirteen of the Senate and House of Commons Act be amended by adding the Member of the King's Privy Council holding the recognized position of First Minister to the list of offices mentioned therein which may be held without disqualifying the holder thereof from sitting and voting in the House of Commons, any one of which may be resigned by the holder thereof and any other of which may within one month of the resignation be accepted by such holder without vacating his seat in the House of Commons, unless a new administration has been formed in the meantime and has occupied the said offices.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: This is a motion upon which I desire to speak somewhat fully, but I do not intend to do so this evening. The subject has already been discussed in the House and I venture to suggest that the debate upon it might take place upon the second reading of the Bill, which according to Parliamentary practice is the time at which the principle of the Bill is discussed. I would suggest to the committee that the resolution might be passed without committing any one in the slightest degree and with the full understanding that all debate on the subject shall take place on the second reading and in committee on the Bill. This proposal is not made with the idea of restricting debate in any way, but merely that the debate may not take place twice. I hope that the committee will see its way clear to accede to this suggestion.

[Sir Robert Borden.]

Mr. FIELDING: Would it not be desirable that two Bills should be prepared rather than one? The Act respecting ministers' salaries and the Act respecting the Senate and House of Commons are two distinct things, but the whole matter is dealt with in one resolution. I think there would be an advantage in separating them. I offer the suggestion to the right hon. gentleman, when it comes to the question of the Bill, that there should be two separate Acts. I think it would be more convenient if they were dealt with separately.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I left the drafting of the Bill altogether to the Parliamentary Counsel. I think he put the whole matter into one Bill, but if the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding) attaches importance to the suggestion he has made I will endeavour to change it.

Mr. FIELDING: I do not attach enough importance to it to press the matter. I only suggest to the right hon. gentleman that it would conform to good legislative practice, but having made the suggestion I am content to leave it in his hands.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I rather think my hon. friend is right in his suggestion to have it in the form of two Bills. However, it was not brought to my attention before. Perhaps under the circumstances it might be introduced in the form in which it has been prepared by the Parliamentary Counsel on whom I have relied in the matter and who has placed it in this shape.

Resolution reported.

Right Hon. Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister) moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 219, to amend the Salaries Act and the House of Commons Act.

Motion agreed to and Bill read the first time.

#### SUPPLY.

House again in Committee of Supply.

The Naval Service—to provide for the maintenance of the Royal Canadian Navy, \$300,000.

Further amount required, \$5,700,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I was just going to make a suggestion to my hon. friend the minister (Mr. Ballantyne) who is in charge of these Estimates, namely, repeat the suggestion made by my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) the other evening, that when we vote on these Estimates we vote on them as they have been brought down, first on what is

suggested in the Main Estimates and, second, on what is suggested in the Supplementary Estimates. The hon. gentleman the other evening asked the committee to consider the two items together. I think Hansard will show that the expression used was "to consider them together." Certainly, I gave my consent on this side on the understanding that it was the consideration and not the voting of the items together that was proposed. I think the chances are that the Speaker of the House will rule that we have no power to vote on the two items as though they were one item. The minister, I am sure, will make more progress with his Estimates if he allows them to be voted on in the order in which they were presented to Parliament than if he tries to prevent that on a mere technicality.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: According to the Rules of the House the Main and Supplementary Estimates could not be considered or voted on together without the unanimous consent of the committee. The leader of the Opposition will remember that on Saturday night last the Chairman asked for the unanimous consent of the committee to consider both of these and there was no objection to it.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: To consider both, but not to vote on both. I am absolutely agreeable that we should consider both so that we will only have one discussion and be done with it, but I think we should vote on the Main Estimates first and then on the Supplementary Estimates. If my hon. friend is unwilling to agree to that we will have to use whatever means are necessary to ensure the proper consideration of these items.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): I understood that the general discussion on the naval policy had not been concluded. I do not know how far I am right in that, as I was not here; but I should like for a very few minutes to make some observations in connection with the vote. I want to be as brief as possible, but if I did not say something at this time I should be untrue to certain convictions to which I cannot be untrue without being untrue to myself. I concede to the minister and to the Government that in introducing this very considerable—this very large—vote they were confronted with a difficulty. We had extended naval discussions a few years ago and at that time a number of us occupying seats on this side of the House were strongly committed to the principle of a Canadian

navy. I concede that the Government had to take that into their consideration and they had to further consider the fact that we in Canada had wholeheartedly fought alongside the Old Land and other portions of the Empire through the Great War. But, having conceded that, I must say that there are other very weighty considerations which occur to my mind and which would lead me to express the opinion that the Government had been shortsighted in accepting the offer of the British Government at this particular time. Having regard to the financial position of the country on the one hand and to the fact that there is to be an Imperial Conference, as I understand, in 1921, to discuss the whole question of the naval defence of the Empire, I think they were shortsighted to have accepted the offer. I think they might very well have based themselves where I base myself in criticism of their policy—they might very well have said to Lord Jellicoe, and the Admiralty, and the British Government: Well, we are meeting to discuss this matter with the representatives of the whole Empire at an Imperial Conference in 1921, and we refuse at this time to commit the country to what is a very large naval expenditure which, in the very nature of things, will lead to much larger naval expenditures, if history has anything to teach us upon this subject. I base myself there first in criticism of the Government in having embarked upon this policy. They would have saved money in the meantime; they would have saved a very divided state of opinion in the country; they would have saved—if rumour informs us rightly—considerable divisions in the ranks of their own party, which appear in caucus if they do not appear in Parliament; they would have saved this political discussion at a moment when we all want to get away to our homes after a somewhat arduous session. There are other considerations that I think ought to have weighed with the Government in approaching this matter.

Mr. Chairman, I was very much impressed by the remark made by my hon. friend from Maisonneuve (Mr Lemieux), when he said that the whole question of naval defence, the whole question of the naval defences of the Empire, the whole question of armaments, has been vastly changed by the lessons of the war and by the conditions of the peace; and the first consideration I should like to advance in that connection is this: I should like to quote an old hackneyed saying, "that arm-

aments depend upon policy." Now, what is the policy of the British Government at the present moment? Their first item of policy which has any bearing on the question of armaments, from my point of view, is that the Old Country has entered heartily into the support of the League of Nations. If that be our policy, if that be the policy which we believe to be the one that should guide the most advanced nations of the world then surely it has a most important bearing on our attitude to armaments. Because if you are going to make the League of Nations a success, if you are going to have combination of the strongest peoples of the world to prevent war, then I submit to this committee that you are not going to do that by following the old path of believing that war is eternal, and that therefore the competition in armaments must recommence, with the horrible experiences the world has gone through in the last six years. I have heard opinions of the lightest character expressed about the League of Nations and its chances of success in this world. Mr. Chairman, I have no sympathy with those expressions; and at this point I want to pay a compliment to my hon. friend the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) who seems to be the one member of the Government, the one public man of Cabinet standing, who in this country has devoted himself with wholeheartedness, so far as his leisure would permit him, to making Canada's contribution to the League of Nations a real success.

I pass from that consideration in regard to my hon. friend to a consideration of the men who are behind the League of Nations in Great Britain. Unfortunately, on this continent, President Wilson, who did splendid service in this connection has been put out of commission—he has had an unfortunate illness. But in Great Britain the world is distinguished in having A. J. Balfour, of almost unparalleled experience and ability in politics; Lord Grey, whose knowledge of foreign policy is not exceeded by any one; Lord Robert Cecil, Lord Bryce, and numbers of others of little less calibre that we could mention, who not only believe that the League of Nations will be a success but are working might and main to make it a success. Now if that is the policy of Canadian statesmen—and here I speak to both sides of the House—I confess that I think we should have spent our time better if we had voted a sum of money to bringing our own people up to the high mark of civilized thought upon this question instead

[Mr. M. Clark.]

of voting two and a half millions at almost the first session of Parliament after the war is over, for the buying, or upkeep, of vessels of warfare. I cannot disguise from myself in this connection that we have had an expression of an opinion from one of the calmest minds in the Empire or the world, Viscount Grey; that another war would mean the ruin of civilization. That is a very weighty opinion coming from such a source, and if we subscribe to it, we will be careful ere we embark upon this war of armaments, because the one war leads inevitably to the other one. And that leads me logically to this consideration that if the war did anything it demonstrated the absolute fallacy of the old pagan doctrine which has come down to us from thousands of years and has been preached up to the very commencement of the last war—the fallacy that to prepare for war is the best way to maintain peace. Mr. Chairman, I submit that no man with ordinary intelligence who looks at the history of this war and the events that preceded it, will ever maintain that old fallacy again. Why, what did we have? If ever a war would have been prevented by preparation for war then the last war surely never would have occurred. We had the nations of Europe arming and arming by sea and land, until they were staked against one another and held back like dogs in the leash, until the leash broke, and the most civilized peoples of mankind poured themselves out in slaughter upon one another, with the result that civilization was shaken to its very foundations, and it is hardly yet at the point at which it has recovered. Now there is this further consideration in this connection—it is a supplementary thought to that which I have just tried to impress upon the committee: that we cannot any longer logically hold that to prepare for war is the best way to keep the peace. Sir, the very opposite is the truth. As sure as the nations embark in a competition of armaments, so surely, sooner or later, will they land themselves in war again. That is one of the lessons of the late war that we cannot hide from ourselves. But the war has demonstrated this further supplemental fact, as I mentioned in a word or two uttered upon the military estimates—that a nation not warlike at the beginning of a war can be one of the most potent factors in the final and concluding stages of that war. For proof of that I only ask Canadians to reflect, as they may do with pride, upon what happened by the

influence especially of our own country at Amiens and Cambrai, at Lens, and at Mons.

Now another practical consideration, which I think gives strong supplemental support to my main contention, that the Government might easily have avoided this situation at the present time! Against whom are we going to fight in the immediate future? In answer to that question, when it has been discussed before, the only suggestion I have heard was that we might have a war between Japan and America. Well, that could not possibly implicate the British Empire, because Japan is our Ally, and I do not think myself that a war of anything like the dimensions of the last or which is at all likely to implicate Canada, can take place in the near future. Sir, it is not only of moral importance, because the people are fed up with war, it is of economic importance. I repeat, it is of economic importance. Where would you get your munitions, where would you get your food supplies? We have so impoverished ourselves, so impoverished our supplies, that our difficulty now,—I speak of all the nations that were implicated in the war—is not to supply huge armies abroad, but to feed the ordinary run of our population at home. In the face of that fact, am I not justified in claiming that in the immediate future a war that would implicate Canada is almost unthinkable, and certainly it is unthinkable to my mind before the Imperial Conference of 1921. Under those circumstances, would it not have been wise for the Government to give us a breathing space and to have asked the Imperial Government to give us a breathing space? Would it not have been wise to have been influenced by these considerations?

Sir, there is another consideration that comes to me here. This expenditure is not only useless, it is much worse than that, for it commits us to a wrong line of policy and at the same time it does not, in all probability, provide the means which would be of the slightest use to us if we did unfortunately find ourselves at war. Why, I have a recollection of Canada beginning a navy before, Sir, and as a Canadian I was ashamed to see our newspapers printing cartoons and writing about our small beginnings in that direction. I was ashamed to see things, and felt humiliated to the ground; and I contemplate that before a year or two is over, we will have the same kind of literature and the same kind of cartoons with respect to the ves-

sels which are being given by the Admiralty—probably because they are nearly obsolete vessels already—and given to us that we might embark on an expenditure of two and a half millions for their upkeep.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Would my hon. friend allow me a question?

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): We are in committee and I propose to finish my remarks, if the hon. minister will be so good. I was going to say what will probably satisfy him on the point he was raising. If the vessels were up-to-date at the present moment—and I concede all that to him—they certainly will be obsolete in five years. That is my answer to the point my hon. friend was going to put, and he can put it as strongly as he likes. Well, as we are not likely, in my judgment,—and I am following from point to point as quickly as I can—to have a war within that time in which we will be implicated at sea, if those vessels will be obsolete in three years—and we know the brevity of life of these vessels; this was all discussed at length years ago in this House—then more than ever I contend that we are committing ourselves to a useless expenditure at a moment when it could be avoided by the exercise of ordinary foresight and of ordinary political strategy in dealing with the Mother Country.

Not only does the question arise in one's mind as to what will be the use of these vessels, but if we are thinking in terms of war—and I suppose we have to as long as we discuss these matters—then we have to have other considerations in our minds. Mr. Chairman, I do not readily think with those people who say that in a thousand years you will have wars in the world just as you have always had them. After all, Sir, the world does improve. Less than a hundred years ago in my native county of Northumberland, two members of the nobility fought an electoral contest and used language which was not exactly pleasant to one another. After the contest they went down to the seashore and fought a duel. The law of the land allowed that sort of thing at that time. But duelling is not allowed in Great Britain now, nor in Canada, nor in any other part of the British Empire. So that the world does improve. And I am one of those who hold that if the best influences of the best men in the civilized nations of the world will take up the League of Nations idea and work for peace, they will do a great deal to promote better ideas among the nations of the world and

press home the lessons of the Great War. But they won't prepare for peace by preparing for war.

However, I was passing on to say that if we must speak in terms of war, I wonder if the Government have taken it into their consideration that some of the wisest men, from the military point of view, are already prophesying that the next war will be in the air? I do not know what the Government's Air Board is doing, but aeroplanes could be used commercially within one's own country. However, my point is, and I want to put it in a sentence, that if the next war will be in the air, it would seem rather a useless way of meeting it by making preparations in the old way for a war on the sea. There are people who have come out with still more modern views. I see my distinguished friend from Skeena (Mr. Peck)—and I suppose everything military is a matter of common observation and study with him,—and I wonder if he has been reading the article stating that the next war will be with chemicals. If that is going to be the case and we are going to sail in the air and kill one another with gas, then what is the use in embarking, within eighteen months of the Imperial Conference, upon a huge naval expenditure? I notice my hon. friend (Mr. Ballantyne) smiles. He will find it is no smiling matter when he tackles the opinion of the farmers and the returned soldiers and the labour men upon this question: Don't let him deceive himself about the returned men—

Mr. BALLANTYNE: If my hon. friend will allow me a moment? I was not smiling at his argument at all, I was smiling at something else which my colleague happened to be telling me.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): I am very glad to have that explanation. His smile soon left him when I told him it would be taken off him, and taken off good and plenty. If we are going to fight the next war with chemicals, we had better spend money on teaching our people chemistry. If we are going to fight it in the air, we had better make our Air Board a reality instead of a name, and had better establish an air service in Canada which will be useful in the meantime for commercial purposes within our own country.

And I would suggest that if you want to have vessels of war kept floated and run by Canadians, you will have to teach your people to go to sea. If you would only take your minds from war considerations

[Mr. M. Clark.]

and study how great navies have been built up in the world, you would find that you would be doing better service for the defence of Canada at sea in the future by altering your fiscal policy than by all the naval expenditures that this Parliament can be induced to make by the persuasive accents of my hon. friend the Minister of Naval Affairs. What is the use of building navies if your fiscal policy drives you off the ocean? And that is what it has done. It is what it did to America; it is what it has done very largely to Canada. I do not want to enlarge upon what is a somewhat favourite theme with me, but my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) knows very well, there was a time when Nova Scotia was a great seafaring province, but to-day her great merchant fleets have disappeared off the coast of that province which has honoured itself in honouring him.

Now I want to come to a practical consideration which I would like to impress upon statesmen young and old in this country, and that is that when the Imperial Conference comes about I think it would be a great mistake—and I want to impress this very earnestly upon both sides of this House—I think it would be a great mistake for statesmen from any part of the Empire, and especially from Canada, to go to that conference committed to a view which I understand already dominates the mind of Lord Jellicoe, namely, that we should have a uniform system of naval defence throughout the Empire. Canada's position in this matter is very different from that of Australia. I want to suggest that when the Imperial Conference is held, if the instructions and lessons of the late war are thoroughly kept in mind, we should try if we could not find a system of co-operation between the different parts of the Empire. Australia, in the very nature of things as long as war vessels are built, must have far more importance in sea defence than Canada has. And I want to go a step further in that consideration. What has been the lesson of all wars as to the termination of them? What was the lesson of the last war? What won? I am not sure that I should say the last man in the field; I am not sure that I should say the last vessel on the sea, or the last aeroplane in the air. What won in the last analysis was the last shot in the financial locker. That is what won. What would be the lesson of that, if I am right?—and I hold that I am right. It was won by the tremendous economic resources of the

United States, which were brought to the aid of the British Navy and of the armies of all the Allies. It was when those tremendous economic resources were brought to our aid that Germany faded away, was put out of business. The lesson of that would surely be that while Australia must have some naval defence, in Canada, if we are to continue this loose confederation, of which all the parts are free, known as the British Empire, we would do better, possibly, permanently to have a system of co-operation between the different parts of the Empire. But certainly we should have done better to have that system of co-operation until the Imperial Conference was held; we should have done better to give our people a breathing space from naval expenses, especially at a time when, I think I have offered considerations which go far to prove, such naval expenditure useless because it is unnecessary.

I come back to my first point, which shall be my last. I think the Government was shortsighted to accept the offer of this vessel. I myself think that Lord Jellicoe put one over a very sharp man, our own First Lord of the Admiralty (Mr. Ballantyne); I think the British Admiralty put one over on him. We were shortsighted and badly guided. We had so easy a course; it was to say—I repeat: Let us leave this thing in abeyance; let us till our vast western plains; let us re-establish our financial resources, and when we meet in the Imperial Conference, whoever are the representatives of Canada will enter into all these weighty and wide considerations and will work out a system of co-operative defence which will make an Empire bigger and abler to defend itself in the future than it was in this war.

I want to say one word more. I want to impress upon the Government and all sections of political thought in this House that in armaments it is the first step that count. If the nations begin to embark once more in a competition, whether by chemicals, or in the air, or by sea, or on land,—leave all thought of the League of Nations,—then take it from me, Mr. Chairman, that another war in the future is as certain as that the sun will rise to-morrow morning. In the meantime we should have gone very carefully; we need not have committed ourselves to this expenditure at this time. If the conversion of my hon. friends on the other side to the principle which we on this side defended so strenuously in very different times, as my hon. friend (Mr. Lemieux) has pointed out; if their conversion has been brought about through

Canada having attained what has been called a national status, then I want to warn hon. gentlemen on both sides of this House that they will have to see to it that they change the status of their national pocket-book.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I should like to say, in reference to what my hon. friend (Mr. Clark, Red Deer) has advanced to the committee, that we cannot determine questions of this kind by saying: "If the next war is to be fought in the air," or "If the next war is to be fought with gas." If my hon. friend would put forward any practical suggestion founded on results that are already demonstrated, I for one would be most willing to listen to him and to give every weight to his suggestion. But what advantage is it to a Government responsible in these matters to say that the next war may be fought in the air or that the next war may be fought in some other way, and therefore we are to do nothing at the present time? I know something of the very eminent statesmen who have been alluded to by my hon. friend—statesmen who are as earnest as any one in their desire to promote and strengthen the purpose of the League of Nations. Does my hon. friend know of any one of these eminent statesmen who is prepared to abolish and scrap the British navy under existing conditions? I have not heard of one of them who is prepared to do that.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): I think I have already answered that question. I stated in almost the last words I uttered that in the island portions of the Empire, like Great Britain and Australia, preparations by sea could not in the present condition of the world be absolutely put to one side.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Does my hon. friend not recognize that the security of the seas is essential to every part of our Empire, and is just as essential to us as it is to Great Britain, or Australia, or New Zealand, or South Africa? I should like my hon. friend to tell us, if he can, what advantage it would be if we should plant and sow and reap, if the crop, when harvested, could not seek the markets of the world beyond the seas. How does my hon. friend imagine that the safety of the ocean highways is not of very marked im-

1 a.m. portance to this country as well as it is to Great Britain? I think my hon. friend misunderstands the purpose of the Estimate which has been put forward by the Minister of Naval Affairs. That Esti-

mate is largely in fulfilment of a measure which was presented to this House ten years ago and which received, if I remember correctly, the support of my hon. friend himself. Under those circumstances I can hardly realize the force of the position which my hon. friend has put forward to-day. He has spoken of the security afforded by the League of Nations and he has properly referred to the endeavour of my hon. friend the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) to impress upon the people of this country the supreme importance of committing themselves to the purpose which is embodied in the League. No one is more sincere in his desire that the people of this country shall be impressed by that purpose than I am. But I should like to inform my hon. friend that when the League of Nations was being sanctioned in Paris, no less than eighteen or nineteen different military campaigns were being carried on in Europe. A great many of them have been carried on since, and some of them are being carried on to-day. I venture to say that no one would be quite so confident in the ability of the League of Nations to control these matters under present conditions as to suggest that the entire naval defences of the Empire should be abolished in advance. The navy represents force, and so do methods of Government in any civilized country represent force. But when force has behind it the just purpose of maintaining order, of sustaining orderly Government, of upholding justice among people in their dealings with each other, force is not to be despised or sneered at. If my hon. friend suggests that force has always been provocative of war, I venture to point out to him that the force embodied in the naval strength of Great Britain has never been used for that purpose and has never been provocative of war; that is my firm belief. On the contrary, I believe that the force typified by the naval strength of this Empire has on more than one occasion averted war. If my hon. friend will consult his recollection of the historical events of the past twenty-five or thirty years he will be the first to concur in the observations I make in that respect.

Now, the naval Estimate which the Minister of Naval Affairs has presented to the House, is, under the circumstances, a very moderate one. It does not represent anything that could be regarded as a permanent policy. I myself took the ground years ago that a permanent naval policy, in the sense in which I understand it, should not be embarked upon in this country until the

[Sir Robert Borden.]

people had had an opportunity to pronounce upon it, and I hold that opinion to-day just as strongly as I did before. But in the meantime are we to abolish these dock-yards to the upkeep of which we are committed by very solemn engagements, and are we to put absolutely to one side the purpose and undertaking which was embodied in the Act of 1910 which had the support of my hon. friend and myself? That is a question and it seems to me the only question for the committee to consider, and I hope that hon. gentlemen will see their way to approve of the Estimate which my colleague has offered.

Mr. FIELDING: Although this subject is a very large one which offers justification to those who wish to speak upon it at very great length, I do not feel at liberty at this late hour, and under the circumstances of our meeting and the desire of hon. members to bring the session to an early close, to speak more than a few moments. My creed on the naval policy was expressed in the resolution, in the preparation of which I had some part, which was adopted unanimously by the House in the year 1909. That resolution set forth that the people of this country, as they increased in wealth and population, should undertake in larger measure than in times past to share the burdens of naval defence. The resolution went on further to declare that that good purpose could best be served by the establishing of a Canadian navy, created and maintained in harmony and co-operation with the Imperial naval authorities. The resolution further recognized the fact that in the maintenance of a great British navy we had the best guarantee for the peace of the world. That was the creed of that day, and that is the creed I propose to hold to whenever the necessity shall again arise. That that creed was departed from, that that unanimous resolution of the Canadian Parliament was not carried out, that partisan ends were allowed to divert the people of Canada from that purpose, has been to me a matter of profound regret. I am glad to know, however, that in what the Minister of Naval Affairs is now proposing he is practically returning to the policy of that day. The right hon. the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) has just told us one of the reasons why we ought to do what is now proposed is because we passed the Naval Act of 1910. Well, if we on this side of the House are bound by the Naval Act of 1910, my right hon. friend need not be bound by it, because he did all he could

to defeat it. Still, I rejoice to know that we are now recognizing the wisdom of the policy of 1909 and 1910, and if it were necessary to enter into any extensive naval programme to-day I should join very heartily with my hon. friend the Minister of Naval Affairs in the line he is now taking.

But some things have happened since 1909 and 1910. In the first place we have had a war. While a dreadful war in some respects, there is a silver lining to every cloud we are told, and if there can be a silver lining to that dreadful black cloud it is that there is no prospect of any war in which Canada would be concerned. I do not share the view of those who say that all wars are at an end—that this was a war to end wars—that there will be no more wars. With human nature constituted as it is, I am afraid we may still have wars. But surely it is not too much to say that now, at this moment, there is no probability of a war in which Canada will be concerned. I think we will all admit that. I think the nations that have been warring are obliged for their own necessities to take a breathing spell, and surely we in Canada can afford to take a breathing spell and wait to see what is going to be done.

Another thing has happened since 1909 and 1910, and that is the formation of the League of Nations. Now as to the manner in which Canada is participating in the League of Nations I differ from many members of this House, but that is not a material point now. The League of Nations exists and I have the highest admiration for it. I have the greatest faith, at all events the greatest hope, that it is going to prove a magnificent instrument for the spreading of the blessings of peace. It is not doing just as well now as some of us would desire. I notice that that very eminent French writer, Pertinax, in a recent article stated that he had gone over to London to ascertain public opinion there regarding the League of Nations, and he said he came back with the opinion that all the leading men of Great Britain thought the League was dead. I hope he is wrong. I do not think we should vote it dead. I do not want to see it dead. I think it still has a chance of life. I share the admiration of those hon. gentlemen who have eulogized the League of Nations. Surely, we should give it a trial. Surely, we should give it a chance to maintain peace before we make up our minds we are going to have war. I do not claim that war is at an end, but I say that now under the very circumstances under which this House

is meeting, there is no immediate prospect of war.

Then there is the financial consideration. In the year 1909 we had the German menace unquestionably to justify us in the action we were taking, and we were in a flourishing financial position. If we needed a few million dollars in that day we had it. But a great change has come over the country since then. I am not blaming any one for that, but the cold fact is that we are not in the financial condition we were in, in 1909 and 1910. We have a financial condition to-day which is so grave and serious that the smallest application that is made to the Government now for some useful public service is turned down with the idea that we have not the money to pay it. If we have not the money to meet the urgent claims that are made upon us in many public services in this country, why in the world do we need money to spend lavishly in the manner that is now proposed. My hon. friend the Minister of Naval Affairs came before the House with a proposition in his Main Estimates for the expenditure, which we are justified in saying provided for all the needs as he then saw them, of \$300,000 for naval purposes. He must have had information at that time that that was a sufficient sum for the naval problem he was then dealing with. He has now come forth with another proposition for nearly \$2,000,000 additional. What for? Surely not for what he had in his mind when he brought down his Main Estimates, because that would be a charge against my hon. friend that he misled the House, and I know he does not want to do that. When he brought down in his Main Estimates an item of \$300,000 for naval purposes we are justified in saying that that was a sufficient sum to provide for the immediate purposes of his department. If something else has occurred since, if a new light has broken on my hon. friend and he is now coming forward with a new scheme, we are justified in criticising that scheme and in asking ourselves, Is it wise to adopt it? What is the reason given? The British Government are offering us some vessels. Well, we ought to be very grateful for that. Every Canadian must be proud of the good relations between Canada and the Mother Country. Every Englishman is proud of the part Canada took in the war. Every Englishman is willing to do everything he can that is fair and reasonable to please Canada. I am willing to believe that the offer of these ships was intended as a generous action on the part of the British Government. But many a

generous proposal is so generous that one is wiser respectfully and politely to decline it. I do not think any harm would be done if the Government were to say to the British Government "We much appreciate what you have done, and we would be glad enough to make use of your ships. There may come a time later on when we will want your ships, but just at present we would rather not accept them, because we have not yet decided on our future naval policy."

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Will the hon. member be good enough to tell the members of this committee whether he would be willing to carry on with the Niobe and Rainbow?

Mr. FIELDING: A good deal depends on the purposes for which they are required. For some purposes, I imagine, the Rainbow and the Niobe could be used. That is a technical question. The Niobe was a good enough ship to render service in time of war, but she was tied up by the Government at the wharves in Halifax. She was tied up at the time German submarines were sinking our sailing vessels near Seal island off the coast of Nova Scotia. When the Crown Princess Cecilie came with a great cargo, almost of gold, with immense riches, she could have been taken on the high seas by the Niobe if hon. gentlemen opposite had not had her tied up at Halifax. They have been ultimately shamed into doing something, and now they come and tell us about the good service rendered. Of course, she rendered good service, but she would have done better service if she had been continued in the work that she had been doing instead of being dismantled at Halifax when the war broke out. With regard to submarines, I do not understand why Canada wants vessels of this kind. I am not a naval man and I have no expert knowledge of naval affairs; but I have an opinion of my own touching this question, and if I have one fault to find with the treaty of Versailles, it is the fact that it did not provide for the destruction of every submarine. The submarine is the pirate of the ocean. She has no legitimate purpose in commerce. She is not needed for any commercial purpose whatever, and it was only for vile purposes indeed that the Germans used her. Speaking in the presence of naval men who know the subject better than I do, and against whose opinions I will not pit my own, I must say that I regard it as being a matter for regret that we are asked to receive these submarines. If I remember rightly, the Treaty of Versailles obliged

[Mr. Fielding.]

the powers to destroy the German Zeppelins, and it would have been better had it also obliged them to destroy every submarine that existed, and made it a part of the duty of the League of Nations to see that submarine warfare should not be practised in the future.

I say that there are reasons why we should not proceed further in this matter. The first is that we have not the money; second, there is the fact that we are not in a position to-day to declare any extensive naval policy; and last, but not least, is the fact that if you accept these ships from Great Britain you accept a white elephant. We should say with great gratitude that we appreciate the offer which Great Britain has made us but that we cannot find it possible at the present time to avail ourselves of it. Later on we may have the ships when we can afford to undertake a definite policy in this direction. We are not going to ignore naval responsibility and refuse to take our share in naval affairs, but in view of all that has happened, let us have a breathing spell, let us have time to think matters over, and let us devote the money to things more urgent than this:

Mr. ROWELL: As the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Michael Clark) has been good enough to refer to me and to speak of the interest which I have taken in the work of the League of Nations, I desire to make one or two observations in connection with the Estimate now before the committee. I appreciate what my hon. friend has been good enough to say. I believe in the League of Nations with all my heart, and I believe that the ideals for which it stands will ultimately prevail, no matter how great the difficulties that now face it or how many the discouragements which those who are interested in it may encounter. I believe in it because I am convinced that civilized peoples will come to see that reason is a better method of settling international disputes than the sword; and just as we have departed from the old methods of settling our disputes as between individuals by force, and have established the reign of law in our domestic affairs, we ultimately will establish the principles and rules of international law in the settlement of international disputes. But while that is so, no one who is not blind to existing conditions in the world can deny the fact that we have not yet reached the stage where there is whole-hearted acceptance of that ideal by all the peoples of the world. The question has been raised as to why the

League of Nations does not put a stop to existing wars, and it has been argued against the League that its inaction in this respect indicates its weakness. I do not by any means accept that view. The League of Nations was not organized to put an end to existing wars, but to preserve the world's peace once peace had been established; and that peace has not so far been thoroughly established throughout the world. But, as I have said, every one who is not blind to the facts must recognize that we have not yet reached that stage where the public opinion of the world is prepared to accept and fully carry out the ideals of the League of Nations. We must steadily work toward that end in all the countries concerned. Now, what is the situation of the British Empire? And in this respect the British Empire differs from every other political unit in the world to-day. The United States is composed of a group of states lying side by side, connected by great systems of transportation, bound together by lines of land communication and water communication on their lakes and rivers, and the whole composite system is under the protection and control of the government. They can police and protect all their highways of traffic from one end of that country to the other. They have the absolute means at their disposal to preserve communication between New York and San Francisco and between Buffalo on the north and the Gulf of Mexico on the south. The same is equally true of the German Empire. That Empire is composed of a group of states lying side by side and bound together by systems of railway transportation, all under the protection and control of the government. What is the situation in regard to the British Empire? The Empire consists of a group of states or nations widely separated, bound together by the oceans, the great highways of traffic of the world. There is only one way that the British Empire can keep open these highways of commerce; there is only one way that we can maintain and control our systems of water transportation that connect the various portions of the Empire, and that is by being in a position to police the high seas and to protect our commerce against hostile attack. We must keep open the freight and passenger routes throughout the world in order that the various parts of the Empire may be kept in constant touch and free communication. That cannot be questioned. Then, if that be so, is the whole burden of keeping open these lines of communication to rest upon

the Mother Country? I appreciate the serious financial responsibilities which this country faces at the present time, and I do not believe that we should undertake any obligations that we can honourably avoid undertaking. But Great Britain to-day is under a much heavier financial burden than we are. Her debt is very much greater, very much greater per capita than ours. Her people are bearing taxation vastly beyond anything that we are bearing at the present time. In view of this fact, are we to say to the Mother Country: "While you have a heavier debt than we have, while the war has cost you more than it has cost us, we are still going to leave on your shoulders the whole burden of keeping open these lines of communication and protecting the shores and the coasts of Canada as well?" Are we going to say that we will not even defend and protect our own coasts and shores under these conditions? Frankly, I think that is a humiliating position which I, as a self-respecting Canadian, am not prepared to assume. With the country we possess and the resources at our disposal—I would be ashamed of being a Canadian if we were to continue to impose upon the Mother Country the duty of protecting and defending our coasts and commerce, and I believe it is our duty to show our self-respect and self-reliance by doing something towards the defence of our own coasts and the protection of our own trade routes. Now, what is proposed here? The Prime Minister has pointed out that the action we are taking is in pursuance of the Naval Act of 1910 adopted by this House ten years ago.

That Act authorized the maintenance of a Canadian naval force and provided for the manner in which the work of the force should be carried on. We have had in Canada a very limited Canadian naval force. We have had the vessels which have been referred to. It is quite beside the question to discuss how good, or how bad, how efficient or how inefficient they have been in the past. We have had them. They have constituted some measure of protection for our coasts, some measure of naval effort on the part of Canada. All the Minister of Naval Affairs is proposing is to accept, without a dollar of additional cost to Canada, the vessels which the Mother country has offered to donate to take the place of vessels which have already become obsolete.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): Does not the very acceptance of those vessels as a gift

bring in the element of humiliation which the hon. gentleman suggested I was advocating a minute before?

Mr. ROWELL: No, it does not in the least. The Mother country has more of these vessels than she needs.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): Precisely.

Mr. ROWELL: Absolutely, she has more than she needs.

Mr. CASGRAIN: Why do you need them then?

Mr. ROWELL: Because, as self-respecting Canadians, we should be ready to defend our own coasts as any self-respecting man should be ready to defend his own home.

Mr. JACOBS: Who protected our eastern and western coasts during the recent war? As I understand, the eastern coast was protected by the American navy, and the western coast by the Japanese navy.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: I explained the other evening that in so far as the Atlantic coast was concerned our good friends and allies the Americans were sending thousands upon thousands of troops via Montreal, Halifax and Sydney; they did send their vessels up there and they did provide certain air craft for the protection of their own troops and at the same time afforded a certain amount of protection to us.

Mr. ROWELL: If it was a fact that our coasts were defended by the Americans on the east and the Japanese on the west that would be an added reason why we should not leave ourselves in such a position any longer; we should have a naval force, not for aggression but for the protection of our coasts and our trade routes.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Is that not a strong reason for the Government having a naval policy?

Mr. ROWELL: My hon. friend knows, as the Minister of Naval Affairs has already announced, that there will be an Imperial Conference next year. At that Imperial Conference two questions must be fully considered. First, the extent to which Canada should undertake naval effort on her own account. Secondly, because of its relation to the whole problem of naval defence throughout the Empire, how can we best

[Mr. Clark.]

co-operate with the other portions of the Empire in naval defence? We must endorse the view presented by the hon. member for Red Deer that the question of naval defence of the British Empire should be a matter of co-operation between the different nations that compose the Empire. Therefore it is a proper thing to meet in conference to consider and discuss that matter, and also to discuss the methods by which that co-operation can be most effectively carried out. These are the salient features of the question which must be considered and settled. But my hon. friend knows, as the Prime Minister indicated, that what is now proposed is but carrying on the policy which was embodied in the Naval Act of 1910. It is a substitution of new and up-to-date vessels for those which have become obsolete, and it is the basis or the nucleus of the Canadian navy, a navy designed for the defence of our own coasts and the protection of our own trade and commerce. Surely my hon. friend does not wish for any more. The Government's naval policy, in so far as a policy is required at this time, is embodied in this Estimate.

Mr. LEMIEUX: The Laurier policy.

Mr. ROWELL: One aspect of the Government's naval policy is the substitution of new boats for boats that have become obsolete for the purposes so clearly and cogently pointed out by the Minister of Naval Affairs. The second aspect is to consult with Great Britain and the sister Dominions at the Imperial Conference as to the extent to which Canada and the other Dominions should develop naval forces in co-operation with the Mother Country. I must say frankly that I cannot understand the opposition to this modest and moderate proposition. It seems to me to be the very least that Canada could do. Would my hon. friend suggest that, having taken over the defence of Halifax and Esquimalt years ago and relieved Great Britain from the responsibility of maintaining them, Canada should go back on that proposition? One hon. member on the other side suggested it, but I would be greatly surprised if the leader of the Opposition would endorse that policy.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: No, I would not.

Mr. ROWELL: The leader of the Opposition says he would not endorse it. Then, we have to maintain our coast defences and

our naval stations at Halifax and Esquimalt. My hon. friend would not suggest that we close the naval college for the training of our naval cadets, for what is the use of having naval bases at Halifax and Esquimalt, and a naval college unless we have the nucleus of a navy, a nucleus which may be some service as a matter of defence and which may provide the ships upon which our young men will receive the training necessary to fit them for naval service? I entirely agree with the view presented by the Prime Minister that the British navy has not been an instrument of aggression. The existence of the British navy has been one of the best guarantees for the preservation of the world's peace which the world has had, and under existing conditions no one who understands the world's situation or the troubles that still exist will say that Great Britain could wipe out that navy at the present time and that the British Empire could be safe. Nor can anybody fairly suggest that the present condition should continue under which the Mother Country bears the whole burden of the naval defence of the Empire including Canada and that Canada should not take some share of it small though it be. I do not hesitate to say that I believe Canada should take a larger share in the future than this proposal involves.

An hon. MEMBER: You want to bankrupt this country?

Mr. ROWELL: Canada should take a share commensurate with the importance of this country and adequate for the defence of her own shores and commerce. I do not think that we could do anything less as a self-respecting nation. No one is more anxious than I to see naval armaments, in fact all kinds of armaments, diminished and every step taken to preserve the world's peace; but unless the nations that believe in the League of Nations have some force behind them to give weight to their judgment, and give weight to their conclusions, they will find themselves impotent in the face of those nations that do not believe in the League and still believe in force. Much as we desire the success of the League of Nations it will only be successful if the nations that believe in peace and want to see peace established throughout the world have at their command a force which the nations that do not believe in peace dare not challenge for the time being and consequently will accept the decisions of the League without going to war. If that be

so Canada, as a member of that League, should have at her disposal a very moderate and a very limited force. As one of the nations of the British Empire she must have at her disposal a reasonable force under existing conditions.

Mr. RINFRET: I feel that most of the argument that could be advanced on both sides of this question has already been presented to the committee. Yet I do not think that we should apologize for prolonging the debate because I believe that before we allow the minister to get the money he is asking for this service we should exhaust every means in our power to oppose it. I am keenly desirous of voicing my protest against these naval estimates and the haphazard way in which they were introduced into this House by the minister on the 14th of June. I will admit that before the session started it was intimated that the Government might propound a naval policy during the session but on the 25th of March last—as has already been pointed out—the minister very clearly declared that it had been decided to defer any action during this session in regard to the adoption of a policy for Canada. But now he has changed his mind and it is hard to reconcile his present attitude with the declaration he made on the occasion referred to. Not only was that statement clear and definite but it was borne out by the item for naval purposes in the main estimates which only amounted to \$300,000. The hon. member for Parkdale (Mr. Mowat) admitted that when he read that statement he and his good militarist friends received a shock. Really it almost seemed that a blush of shame and resentment suffused the virgin cheek of my hon. friend. Here is what the hon. member said during the debate on this question on June 14th:

I do not agree that the announcement made in March with regard to proposed changes effecting a reduction of our naval services was received with satisfaction by the country..... The statement that we were not to take our part as a nation; that we were not to support other nations of like mind to ourselves, was received not only with concern but with feelings of shame by the people.

There seems to be great confusion and uncertainty in the mind of the minister as to what he is going to do. On the 25th of March last he declared that there would be no Naval policy and the estimates for the Naval Services only called for \$300,000. On the 14th of June—

Mr. BALLANTYNE: If my hon. friend will do me the honour to read what I stated

on March 25th he will notice that I said we were going to carry on along very nearly pre-war lines, and that no permanent naval policy would be adopted until after the conference in 1920-1921. If my hon. friend is confused on this issue let me set his mind at rest at once: I have never been confused on the issue—not on the occasion to which he refers, nor now.

Mr. RINFRET: My hon. friend may not have been confused but my point is that he made a statement that confused the House and the country at large. That statement was supported by his asking for first for the sum of only \$300,000. It is also proved by the discussion which took place between the minister and the member for Parkdale from which it is very plain that the latter at the time obtained the same understanding from the minister that we all did, then on the 14th of June the minister comes along once more and announces that the Government has accepted five ships that will call for an expenditure of \$2,500,000. On the 26th of June we have another statement under which it is contemplated to have only three ships involving an expenditure of \$2,000,000. I think there is to be found ample proof of my contention.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Five ships.

Mr. RINFRET: I understood the government had dropped the idea of the submarines.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: No, No.

Mr. RINFRET: Any way the Government had reduced its Estimates for this purpose to \$2,000,000. I think that is very plain. I think we have ample proof, from the facts I have cited, that the Government itself does not know where it stands on the question. The Admiralty does not know what ships to send and Canada does not know what ships she will get. The Admiralty does not know what to do with the ships, and Canada does not know what she will do when she gets the ships. I think the whole matter is in a state of topsy-turvy confusion unworthy of the consideration of this committee.

It is very refreshing to hear hon. gentlemen opposite,—even the Prime Minister himself—placing reliance on the Laurier policy to carry this expenditure through. The Prime Minister, only a few minutes ago, pointed out to my hon. friend from Red Deer (Mr. Clark) that he approved of a naval policy in 1910. Surely he did; we all approved of the naval policy at that time. But is it not also a fact that the

[Mr. Ballantyne.]

right hon. gentleman (Sir Robert Borden) led a campaign against that naval policy? And when he was in power in 1913, what policy did he adopt but the proposed payment of \$35,000,000, as a direct contribution to the Admiralty? The other day when the Minister of Marine was expressing his gratitude for this splendid gift from the Admiralty—as he said—hon. gentlemen opposite applauded his statement. What a change of view on their part, Mr. Chairman. Before the war some of these gentlemen contended that the British navy needed reinforcements and it was very urgent to add to its warships. Now it appears, on the contrary, that the British navy has a surplus of warships and that she is well able to dispose of a few to the colonies. Why is that? Because the war has demonstrated that the supremacy of the British navy was not challenged. It was of such a character that the German ships did not even offer to fight; and the Admiralty now, as I say, has an over supply of ships. But the war is over now, Mr. Chairman; the German navy has been destroyed and the German peril has disappeared. The countries of Europe are putting to one side all thoughts of militarism. They are now applying themselves to the work of reconstruction, to peace work. And yet, Mr. Chairman, here is the situation: we stood for a navy in 1910, in the days of the German peril when the navy was most needed, and when we had plenty of money in the public treasury. Hon. gentlemen opposite make that stand when it has become useless and when we have no money left in the treasury to pay for it. The minister, of course, says it is only a small amount of \$2,000,000. I ask him, is it not a fact that we have a tremendous deficit in our finances? Is it not a fact that to meet that deficit we have to tax and over-tax the people?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: May I ask my hon. friend what he would do?

Mr. RINFRET: I am coming to that.

Mr. DUFF: Give him a chance.

Mr. RINFRET: First of all, I will tell my hon. friend frankly that I will vote for the amendment to strike out this amount from the Estimates. The minister says that it is only a small amount; it is only \$2,000,000. Let me remind him that if he obtains this money from Parliament the people will be taxed to an even greater extent, and that they will have to dig a little deeper into their pockets which are, in all truth, flat enough at the present time. If my hon.

friend would only consult the people, if he would only go to his constituents in the St. Lawrence Division of Montreal, he would find that in every household the Budget of the Minister of Finance has created gloom and distrust and that the people are out of patience with the Government. They can barely purchase a few of the mere necessities of life without paying extra dollars in the way of taxes, let alone contributing \$2,000,000 for this purpose. I claim that \$2,000,000 at the present time is really a very large sum when it is for such a useless expenditure as is contemplated. I wish it to be very clearly understood that we on this side are not going back on the policy that was adopted by the Laurier Government in 1910 when conditions were so different. We are opposed to the present expenditure because we say that at this juncture it is premature and inopportune, because it will only add a useless burden to the taxes that are already being paid by the Canadian people and because this war Parliament has outlived its mandate and has no authority whatever to fasten such an expenditure upon the country.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I have only a few words to add to the discussion. For several nights we have heard this vote objected to on the ground that there is no immediate menace at the present time and that consequently no obligation devolves on Canada to take any share, or assume any burden in the matter of Imperial naval defence. It has been urged upon the other side repeatedly, night after night, that they were prepared to take a share of the burden back in 1909, 1910, 1911 and 1912 because at that time there was a German menace on the horizon that compelled the nations of the world to arm against it, and that because of that German menace they, on the other side, were ready that Canada should bear some share of naval defence. Well, it is a little difficult of credibility, to one who sat through the debates of those years, to think that at this time hon. gentlemen would stand in their places and dare to assert that their policy of that day was dictated by any consideration of a German menace, or that they would venture now to pose as the authority on naval menaces.

Why, for years, during 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912 and 1913, the same gentlemen who oppose this vote assured this Parliament over and over again that there was no German menace at all—that it was all the product of March hares and April fools—that it was all a figment of the imagination—that there was nothing in it whatsoever—that

there was no emergency—that there was no call for special action—and that the only consideration that dictated their policy at that time was regard for the ordinary attributes of nationhood to be assumed by Canada. They said, "We are a nation now. Under the aegis of Sir Wilfrid Laurier we have risen into the status of nationhood, and being a nation, and without regard to any menace from Germany or anywhere else, it becomes us to take some part in guarding the trade routes of this nation and the shores of this country."

Now, there was never any dispute that that obligation did rest upon us as a nation, aside altogether from considerations of Germany's naval ambitions. But the ground was taken on this side that although that was true, and although those principles could be argued as related to the question of permanent policy, there was a German menace so far as the human eye could detect it, and that therefore we should do something immediate and effective to assist in meeting that menace. That is why we on this side of the House contended that while it was our duty to take our part as a nation in co-operation with the Empire in a permanent scheme of naval defence, that could well wait until we provided for what was immediately before us, until we did something to assume the immediate obligation of this country in relation to the menace that overhung the European horizon. And although no one undertook to be a prophet in the matter, we did contend that there were indications that clearly pointed to the necessity for immediate action. We were refuted, scoffed at, and scorned night after night and week after week and the word "emergency" became a byword with hon. gentlemen opposite, and they sat in their places and cheered to the echo the assertion that there was no "emergency" at all because the world could depend for its peace on that great bulwark, the Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany. Yet tonight they stand up and say, "Why, the only reason we were led to vote money in 1910 was because of the German menace."

Now it is argued that the German menace has passed away. Nobody contends that it has not. What there may be in the future no one can tell. But the obligation of the British Empire to protect its sea routes has not passed away. The obligation of Canada as an integral portion of the Empire to bear its decent share as a country has not passed away. Not one argument that supported the policy of 1909 and 1910 has passed away or been diminished an iota.

Has Britain decided that she can now rest on her oars because the German menace has disappeared? Has the League of Nations decided that there need be no backing of force behind the obligations that it incurs? Great Britain that in 1909 and 1910 was spending possibly \$200,000,000 to \$300,000,000 a year on her navy is spending to-day \$482,000,000. Is she spending it because she loves to spend it, because she has the ships and therefore must spend it? Why, she can scuttle the ships. She has scuttled some—in fact, she scraps every ship she can and keeps only those that she believes to be essential for the purpose of the naval protection of this Empire, including this Dominion. It is said that she has more ships than she needs. So she has—and she has more obligations than she needs, too. If Britain maintains those ships to the extent of \$482,000,000, is it a tremendous burden on us to assume an obligation of \$2,000,000? Is that more than our share at the present time? We know it is far less. We know that such a portion as is now proposed will necessarily form a component part of any fair share of naval obligation that we later incur? We know that it will. Then why do we defer taking this portion on ourselves? How can we in honour defer longer our action in the matter? \$2,000,000 as against \$482,000,000!

"Why," it is said, "we have not the money that we had in 1909 and 1910 when we incurred that obligation under the Laurier Government." That obligation, as an obligation, nobody objected to; we only objected on the ground that it did not meet the immediate situation. But that obligation was not a \$2,000,000 obligation, it was a \$30,000,000 or \$40,000,000 obligation. And the obligation in 1913 when they proposed to have a naval unit on the Pacific and another on the Atlantic was not a \$2,000,000 obligation; that was a \$70,000,000 obligation. But even to that extent no objection was taken. The objection was that for us to undertake to construct in this country a navy of the dimensions then proposed would never meet the emergency that was then menacing the world. That is why the alternative proposed by the Government of that day was proposed—an alternative that unfortunately was later defeated.

So that the argument advanced by the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding), that it was all right in 1909 and 1910 when we were flush of money, and all wrong to-day, falls to the ground. How could it be all right for us in 1910 to assume an obligation of some \$30,000,000 or

[Mr. Meighen.]

\$40,000,000 which the Government of that day proposed, as against the United Kingdom obligation of possibly \$250,000,000; and all wrong for us to-day to assume an obligation of \$2,000,000, as opposed to the United Kingdom obligation of \$482,000,000? Is no country in this Empire, is no nation in the world, to take a naval obligation upon itself until some war is immediately in sight? Is that the policy of the nations of the world to-day? Is that the policy of the League of Nations? Is not the British fleet the main bulwark of the League of Nations at this hour? And if it is, is \$2,000,000 out of \$482,000,000 too big a share for Canada? If that represents the spirit of Canada, then I apprehend that the member for Joliette (Mr. Denis) was possibly interpreting aright the spirit of this country when he said the only thing we could do, if the United States and Great Britain went to war, would be to lie down and be eaten up like a fatted calf in a tiger's den. But I do not think he did interpret aright the spirit of this country when he made that comparison. I am sure he did not interpret it aright when he said that \$2,000,000 was too big a share for us to contribute when Great Britain pays \$482,000,000.

Now, why the opposition to this vote? The leader of the Opposition says: I am in favour of a Canadian navy now. He was in favour of it, he said, in 1909 and 1910, because there was a German menace. Well! Did he not go down to the county of Waterloo and tell the people of that county that they should not vote for Sir Robert Borden; because he was ready to build ships to fight Germany.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The only mistake in that statement was that the Prime Minister was not ready to build any ships and did not build any.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I was referring to the statement of the hon. member. That did not indicate that the German menace was having much influence on him. He says now that he would do as he would have done then—have a Canadian navy, on \$300,000 a year. He is ready, he says, to keep up Esquimalt and Halifax; but you cannot keep them up on that amount. What is the good of keeping up Esquimalt and Halifax and a naval college if you have no boats? If there is need of naval defence, then we must keep them up; if there is no need of naval defence, why keep them up? And if there is need of naval defence then we must have at least a nucleus as provided by this vote.

It is argued at interminable length that because this amount was not in the Main Estimates we must now vote it down, and it is even suggested that the Main Estimates necessarily represent the decision of the Government at that time as to what is required. Why, who ever heard of that suggestion before? Do the railway Estimates do so? At the time the main Estimates were put in, these arrangements were not complete. It was impossible to fix a figure. The figure was fixed just as soon as arrangements were complete, and in that form it is presented to the committee to-night. Those who vote against it do so to say that Great Britain may continue for all time to bear the whole burden of naval defence. They vote to say that this country continues the great parasite in this Empire; that is the vote of hon. gentlemen opposite, no matter how they themselves interpret their attitude. Those who vote against this item to-night vote to say either that Great Britain shoulder our burden and keep shouldering it for all time or that the United States of America shall protect this country. And if they vote the latter then in all conscience let them vote also to support the navy of the United States. I do not know of any reason why we should sponge on the United States any more than on Britain. But the member for Lunenburg (Mr. Duff) wants the Monroe doctrine to shelter us under its wing for all time. Well, if he will be honest with the United States he had better pass a vote to help the United States navy.

Mr. DUFF: Oh, no; that is not necessary.

Mr. MEIGHEN: It is big enough now?

Mr. DUFF: Yes, of course it is.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I see; the United States voted the money first; therefore we are out of it altogether.

Mr. DUFF: Certainly.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Well, I cannot help standing in admiration; it really deserves more than a passing tribute—the extreme sense of self-respect and national respect possessed by the member for Lunenburg.

Mr. DUFF: The only one who has any loyalty, of course, is the member for Portage la Prairie (Mr. Meighen).

Mr. MEIGHEN: I was not talking about the hon. gentleman's loyalty; I was talking about his sense of national self respect.

Mr. DUFF: Then you have all the national respect; keep it.

Mr. MEIGHEN: He would make use of protection to which he does not contribute. He will not pay a cent if somebody else is ready to do it; he will accept all the benefits but assume none of the burdens. That is the kind of country he likes to live in; that is the kind of country he likes to boast of; that is the kind of country he says he is loyal to. Such is the naked issue as it is before us now.

It is true that the share and distribution of control in war and in peace, the share and distribution of responsibility, financial and otherwise, in matters of naval defence must be worked out in conference, and our further lines must be pursued when that conference is over. There is no danger at all that what is provided for here cannot become part of any scheme that is so worked out. That being the case, surely the time for us to say that we are ready to assume at least a portion of our obligation is upon us now.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): I should like to offer a friendly suggestion to the Minister in charge of the Estimates, and that is that he keep charge of it and keep his fellow-members of the Cabinet out. I cannot conceive for the life of me how a speech such as that to which we have just listened is going to help any minister to get through his Estimates.—I should say

a most provocative speech, in answer to a speech which the Minister in charge of the Estimates will admit was at least an attempt at constructive ideas; a speech which offered the suggestion that the Government were shortsighted in not waiting eighteen months. I cannot understand how the hon. gentleman who has just sat down (Mr. Meighen) can think that his remarks have been effective as against a constructive speech of that order.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Better not to have all the provocation on one side.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): My hon. friend is sitting; he had better have a fair amount of the modesty of youth and sit and be silent.

Mr. MEIGHEN: The hon. gentleman does not do it.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): I appeal to the protection of the Chair. I was glad to have my hon. friend's admission to-night that the British navy, forsooth, is the bulwark of the League of Nations. Why,

the last time he talked of Britain in this House he described it as a nation which had a fiscal policy which had sent its sons abroad as remittance men and kept its sons at home as paupers. I was glad to have that admission from him. I do not think he can remember when he speaks one night what he said a few nights previously. He will have very great difficulty in reconciling the two attitudes, in any case. I protest against the Minister of Marine being disturbed by his colleagues and I protest against our being kept here by provocative party speeches such as we have just heard. I tried, I repeat, to offer no word of partisanship whatsoever; to keep out party disputes. But if my hon. friend wants to get into party disputes, he can have them to his heart's content. He comes here forsooth and says that in 1909 and 1910 there were those of us who talked the same language I did to-night, that I would rather look for peace than look for war, and he flings about, with that well-known style of his, the words "No menace." He said there was no menace. I will give my admission on the point. I used exactly the same language at that time that Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Haldane were using in England. My hon. friend, of course, who can correct all the heresies of Adam Smith and all the mistakes of the younger Pitt in following Adam Smith, and all the mistakes of Gladstone, and of Cobden and of Bright and of Hartington, saw all that was in front of us and knew all about it. Once persuaded, he is on his feet, on any subject whatsoever, a very Daniel come to judgment. He comes here now and talks of that admission I have made to him and flings around the world the phrase "No menace." I am sorry he embarked on this aspect of the debate. He did not touch on a single word of the argument I put forward. He gave no reason why we should not delay until the Imperial Conference. That is not his style when he comes to assist any minister with his Estimates. "No menace"—I can fling the phrase too. He charges us with having said that there was no menace in 1909 and 1910. Did he see a menace in 1911 when he joined with Bourassa, who did not believe in helping Great Britain at all? Did he see a menace when he supported a Government which scrapped, practically scrapped, the vessels that were provided under the Laurier system, which he comes forward ten years later—a little late in his wisdom this time—and claims to be supporting in this proposal? He comes here

[Mr. M. Clark.]

and talks about protecting trade routes. If we did not see the menace, I can claim at least for myself, that I had a far more accurate forecast than he of what would be needed to meet it. My hon. friend will do me the credit of recollecting that if I scoffed at \$35,000,000—and I never scoff, it is not my style of argument—if I did speak lightly of \$35,000,000, I took the view, and repeated it again and again in those debates, that if Great Britain had such a war on her hands \$35,000,000 was a paltry and useless expenditure, that we should be behind her with all the forces of our nation. Whose prophesy proved the correct one? The prophesy of a Government that thought \$35,000,000 would be of any use in those circumstances, or the prophesy of the humble individual who is now addressing the committee, who claimed that if we had to fight the German power we would need to be behind Britain with all the resources of this country? After all, what counts in this world is not so much the man of vision who sees the menace, as the man who has an accurate conception of the policy that is necessary to meet it.

I did not want to go into this line of argument, but it was the only line I could go into because it was the only line my hon. friend used. I do not want to exaggerate. He did say, as did the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) in an extremely moderate speech which I cannot class with that of my hon. friend (Mr. Meighen) immediately opposite, that these five vessels were necessary to protect the trade routes of the Empire. If the minister in charge of these Estimates will discard the help of these provocative speeches, I would like him to tell us in what way these five vessels will be used to protect the trade routes of the Empire. Has he formed some conception of the vessels conveying ships on the seven seas or of two vessels on one coast and three on the other, "protecting the trade routes of the Empire?" When I was on my feet I gave my own ideas which I have as much right to entertain as my hon. friend has his views, how this country could best do her proper share of Imperial defence. I suggested as a subject for thought and I was speaking to younger men than myself whether there could not be some co-operation between the various parts of the Empire whereby Britain, which can build ships out of compare with anything that Canada can do for generations to come—naturally; there is no discredit to Canada in that—should defend the trade routes of the Em-

pire while Canada concentrated on developing her vast resources so as to be able in time of war to provide the resources of war in the shape of food and other requirements. In that way we could do something to help defend the Empire. We can do nothing with the Rainbow and Niobe. My hon. friend himself has said so again and again. There can be no protection on the seven seas with five vessels. There is not much difference between us, my hon. friend says, when it comes to practical suggestions. I say we would have been wiser not to begin until eighteen months from now at the earliest, until after the Imperial Conference was held at which this subject will be discussed. There was nothing provocative in that. I said that the Government appeared to be lacking in foresight. The only practical suggestion that came from my hon. friend the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) or my hon. friend the President of the Privy Council was that these ships were for the protection of the trade routes of the Empire. I would ask the minister, as a practical method of forwarding his Estimates, to explain how he proposes to protect the various trade routes of the Empire with these five ships.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I have never adopted the practice of following too closely the advice of the hon. member for Red Deer, and I have never had reason to regret my course in that regard.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): I can tell you occasions when you have.

Mr. MEIGHEN: As the interruption has come, I may remind the hon. member of the exceedingly kind welcome which he always gives to interruptions himself. I might say that in the remarks I made I did not have any special reference or any reference at all to my hon. friend, nor did I have his speech in mind for a single moment. I do not know how he got the idea that I was particularly attacking him. I know he made a speech. I was in the Chamber part of the time but my attention was otherwise engaged by hon. members, and I never heard a single sentence of his speech. I was out most of the time, and consequently not a sentence or a word of his speech was in my mind when I was on my feet, so he was visioning a nightmare when he conceived I was getting up particularly to provoke him. He seems also to feel that it is the prerogative of the Opposition to have a monopoly of what he describes as provocative speeches in this House. This debate has been continued

now, not for one night or two, but for at least three. I have never spoken on the subject before. Indeed, I think the same subject was debated in this House in 1913 for three weeks or at all events two consecutively, and although the hon. gentleman himself made many speeches on that occasion, and many provocative ones, I had yet until to-night to make my first speech on naval defence in the House of Commons.

I do not know just how to follow what he describes as the line of argument he pursued. I did not detect any lines of argument at all. He seemed to think I had boasted that we on this side of the House, and myself in particular, had foreseen the German war, that we knew it was coming, and that we acted accordingly. I made no such statement. Indeed I distinctly denied any such boast on our part. I distinctly said that no one could foresee it. I stated that there did appear to us indications which convinced us that the time had come to prepare immediate and effective efforts for what might easily come to pass in that regard. No one can foresee such things. But my hon. friend and many around him are in the position of having attempted to say definitely that there was no such menace, and that the policy of this Government should be governed without any regard to its possibility whatsoever. That is what I contended and nothing more. Now he says: "What I said on that occasion was not that \$35,000,000 would be any use, for I did not think it would be any good at all; I said that if war came, we should come to the help of the British Empire with all the resources at our command." Who did not say that? That is embodied in every resolution passed. We all knew that, but there were those of us who thought that inasmuch as there was danger, though no one could definitely foresee what might come and foretell it, it was the part of wisdom to have some resources at our command.

Consequently we thought that a contribution, at all events something in the way of assistance, towards naval defence that would meet the emergency, were it upon us, would be the part of wisdom. He was no better than any one else in the assertion that the right thing to do, if the emergency did come, was to bring the whole resources of Canada into the scale. Where he differed from others was in saying that we did not need to provide resources of such a character and within such a limited time as would be of real use in that event. He says: "I knew thirty-five millions in these

three dreadnoughts would be no good." I know he said that at that time; but I know the British Admiralty said precisely the opposite, and I know the British Admiralty have not so far changed their view. With all due respect to the hon. member for Red Deer and his superior authority in all tariff and economic matters, and most other matters, I would respectfully beg to defer to the opinion of the British Admiralty on naval questions, even above his.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: I must necessarily be brief at this late hour, and I am extremely sorry that my good friend from Red Deer (Mr. Clark) did not hear the previous debates that took place in this House on two previous occasions. I feel satisfied that if he had heard those debates or had had the time to read them he would not have given expression to-night to the arguments which hon. members have listened to. I have a great admiration for the ability of my hon. friend, but I must say that I do not always find him practical. Now, I do not desire to be theoretical on this or any other question. I have been trained as a practical business man, and I believe in dealing with facts and conditions as I find them. When introducing this Estimate in the House I avoided everything that savoured of a party character. I took conditions as they confront the country. I explained the meaning of the Naval Act which is so familiar to all hon. members. It meant that whether we liked it or not we had to maintain the naval college and the dockyards at Halifax and Esquimalt. As Minister of Naval Affairs, the man responsible to the people for the wise expenditure of public moneys in connection with naval matters, I did not then criticise, and I do not criticise now the purchase of the Niobe or the Rainbow; but I did say the other night that one of these ships, the Niobe, was twenty-five years of age, while the Rainbow was thirty years old. I said that they had performed good service in the past, but I pointed out that to-day the Niobe is tied up at the dock at Halifax and for the last two or three years has been stripped of all her guns on instructions from the Admiralty. During the war these guns were placed on the merchant marine ships, and I explained to the House that the Niobe and the Rainbow were useless and obsolete as training ships. I explained to members of the committee that it cost \$450,000 a year to keep the Niobe tied up at the dock at Halifax, and that it would take \$225,000 to keep the Rainbow tied up at Esquimalt. I further

[Mr. Meighen.]

stated that the naval service of Canada needed reorganization, and needed it badly. The Government has thoroughly reorganized the service from headquarters down, but not one word of commendation has fallen from the lips of hon. gentlemen opposite for what the Government has done in this respect. The Naval Service of Canada has not only been put on a business footing, but it has been rendered exceedingly efficient from a naval standpoint. Notwithstanding this, however, not one word of commendation comes from the opposite side in regard to the economies which the Government have put into effect by this reorganization. If I had come into this House and had said that we were prepared to go along with the inefficient service that we had, with 782 more men than we need, and that I was willing to keep the Niobe and the Rainbow tied up, and asked the House to vote the same amount I am asking to-night there would have been no criticism from hon. members opposite.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, yes.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: But when we come here with a reorganized service, having got rid of 782 civilians and naval ratings whom we did not need, and when I explain that to put the Niobe into commission as this cruiser will be it would cost \$500,000; that it would cost over a million dollars to maintain the Niobe after putting her into commission, and \$150,000 to put the Rainbow into commission, and over \$600,000 to maintain her when so equipped, I appeal to the hon. member for Red Deer to-night to turn his well-developed talents into a practical channel and, instead of sweepingly asserting that we ought to cut off the vote, to offer some constructive criticism for once and tell hon. members what he would suggest in lieu of my proposals. Not a word comes from the hon. member for Red Deer as to what he would do. He talked most eloquently, as he always does, about the League of Nations, but he offers not one practical suggestion as to what we should do in this connection. If he had said: I am opposed to maintaining the Niobe and the Rainbow; I am opposed, as the hon. member for Lunenburg (Mr. Duff) says, to keeping up the dockyards of Halifax and Esquimalt, and I want to close up the naval college; I don't want one dollar of the country's money spent until after the conference of 1921—if he had so expressed himself, then I say we would have had a clear-cut statement from the hon. member. But no; he deals in generalities; he does everything but come down

to the practical business proposition that faces the minister and hon. members of this House. During the course of this debate I have tried over and over again to impress upon hon. members the full significance of the situation and have solicited suggestions as to what they would do. Not a word! The leader of the Opposition says: "I am not opposed to Canada carrying out the naval obligations that were placed on the Statute Books by my late revered leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Oh no! I am in favour of that; but I do not want any ships at all. Maintain your Halifax dockyard; maintain your Esquimalt dockyard; maintain your naval college; but no ships at all. I don't want any ship at all." Then he has the fanciful idea that we could maintain these two dockyards and the naval college on the paltry sum of \$300,000. To do what the leader of the Opposition says would take at least \$600,000. What is the Government's proposition? We say we do not want to put the country to one dollar's additional expense but we do want to have a small naval service if we can get it on an efficient basis. We are not criticising the old Niobe and Rainbow. They have served their day and generation. We are offering both of these ships for sale. We have accepted from the Mother Country \$7,000,000 worth of ships, an absolutely modern cruiser, two modern torpedo boat destroyers and two modern submarines. The hon. member for Red Deer says they will be obsolete in five years. Admiral Viscount Lord Jellicoe says they will not be obsolete in five years. He says they will not be obsolete before twelve or fifteen years, and the Government and the Minister of Naval Service have accepted the judgment of such a naval authority as Viscount Jellicoe on that point.

The hon. member for Red Deer says that he would like a direct answer from me as to what these ships can do in the way of guarding trade routes. I do not pretend to say that one modern cruiser, two torpedo boat destroyers and two submarines constitute very much of a naval defence for Canada. I think it is altogether inadequate, and I would express the hope, as I did the other night, that after the Imperial Conference has been held, whoever the Minister of Naval Service at that time may be, he will come before this House with a very much larger vote than I am asking for at the present time. My own opinion is that Canada should really have a navy in keeping with her dignity as a self-governing nation. The cruiser and the other ships

that we are getting are modern and they are officered by Canadians with the exception of four British officers. We will put as many Canadians on these ships as have the necessary knowledge and efficiency. They will give our young men and able bodied seamen the necessary training. Officers and men of the navy cannot get their training by being tied up at the docks at Halifax and Esquimalt. Therefore these ships will be at sea most of the time giving practical training to the officers and men. These ships will do this also. I for one hope we will not have any unrest in our own country now or at any other period, but if we ever do have any unrest on the Pacific or the Atlantic coast at least Canada has these modern ships ready to render us the defence that they may be able to render. Furthermore they can protect our trade routes in so far as the number of ships will be available for that purpose. But I do not want hon. members to imagine that we think that with this small number of ships we can boast of having a strong Canadian navy that can protect our trade routes adequately. Canada will have to depend in the future on the British navy and the Mother Country until such time as this country votes a very much larger sum than we are now voting.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): Can the minister tell us the age of these vessels?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: The destroyers were built in 1916 and the submarines were built in the same year. Captain Hose, the Director of Naval Service, is at present in London in consultation with the Admiralty officers and especially with the First Lord of the Admiralty, Admiral Beatty. I have been informed by him that the cruiser is of the Bristol class but I have not been informed of her armament or of her name; therefore I am unable to tell just what the age of this vessel is.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): I would never dream of putting my authority against that of Lord Jellicoe in the matter of the age of a vessel, but just before our naval debate several years ago a number of Canadian journalists visited Great Britain, and amongst other wonderful things they saw 144 ships of the line at Portsmouth. They were informed that the average life of these vessels was twelve years. So that I did not exaggerate so much when I said five years. I congratulate the minister that these vessels will last a little longer than I said but assuming they have been built for four

years and I said five years, that makes nine; therefore I was not so far out. I was only three years out.

Mr. EMMANUEL D'ANJOU (Rimouski): (Translation): Mr. Speaker, the question at present before the House has been discussed from every viewpoint, and I do not pretend to bring new arguments against this vote that the Hon. Minister of Marine asks us to pass, or against this nucleus of a navy of which the Hon. President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) has just spoken; but, in a few words, I wish to explain my position before this House and the country, and to give the reasons why I oppose this expenditure. In 1911, when the elections were on, especially in the province of Quebec, the contest centred on the question of a navy. As you know, the people of that province voted by a large majority against the project of a navy. Those adverse to it in the province of Quebec denounced it as an Imperial navy, and in Ontario those who fought it as a "tin pot navy" are the same who to-night ask us to vote more than two millions for the nucleus of a navy. In passing this vote we would commit ourselves to the principle of a navy for the future.

The county that I have the honour to represent voted strongly against such a scheme of naval defence in 1911. The present Government does not hold a mandate from the people to ask the members to vote this Naval Estimate. Doubtless one might have been for or against a navy in 1911, but conditions then were not the same as to-day. At that time we were flourishing financially, and we were on the eve of a conflict such as the world had never seen. For these reasons the regretted leader of the Liberal party was justified in asking Parliament to vote the money necessary for the creation of a Canadian navy, since a real menace overhung the horizon. But now the Great War is over, the German navy is at the bottom of the sea, the League of Nations has been established, and this last war has been fought, not only to destroy militarism, but to prevent future wars; therefore the Government is not justified in saddling the country with this burden of more than two millions or in forcing the representatives of the people to approve of this vote.

For my part, I strongly oppose this expenditure and I declare that I shall not vote a single cent for a navy.

[Mr. M. Clark.]

As all the Liberals of that time, in 1911, on all the hustings, at all political meetings, I did not hesitate to defend the project of the Canadian navy advocated by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. But now, when there is no menace on the horizon, when the country is over head and ears in debt, and because the sentiment of the people in the province of Quebec and all over the country, is opposed, not only to the nucleus of a navy, but to militarism in any form or shape, I do not hesitate to declare myself absolutely opposed to this expenditure. Besides, has not the Prime Minister, the chief of the present Union Government, declared upon the floor of this House, that, when his Government should judge it wise to establish a navy, he would consult the people, either by a referendum or by a general election? So, to keep their promise to the electors, the Government should, if they now wish to settle a navy upon the country and accept the gift England offers, dissolve Parliament immediately and ask the people whether they desire the establishment of a navy. If the people return to power those who govern us to-day, which I very much doubt, they will then have the right to put through their scheme, for they will have submitted the issue to the people and will have received an affirmative answer.

I have not the intention to speak at greater length, but I believe that it is ill-advised of the Government to accept gifts from England. There is an old proverb which says: "Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes"—I fear the Greeks even bringing gifts. Really, gifts are to be feared. In 1913, the Prime Minister asked Canada to make a gift to England of three dreadnoughts, because she was in need of them, he said; to-day, England, having no further need of ships, wishes to give us some, to be the nucleus of a navy, thus inducing the country to accept the principle of a navy; and at next session perhaps it will not be two millions, or five, or ten millions, but it will be about fifteen million dollars which we will be asked to vote for the building of ships—ships to make war upon whom?

With all my might I oppose this Naval Estimate and it will be with infinite pleasure that I shall vote in favour of the amendment proposed by the hon. leader of the Opposition, because I consider that I shall be doing my duty not only to my electors but to the whole country.

Mr. DUFF: Before the question is put I would like to put a few interrogations to the minister. I am sorry that the debate has occupied so long, but we on this side are not to blame. If the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden), President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell), and especially the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) had stayed out of this debate we would have been at home in our beds long ago. The minister remarked a few minutes since that it would take \$450,000 to repair the Niobe, and \$225,000 to repair the Rainbow, and put both vessels in shape. Will the minister be good enough to explain how the repairs would cost that much money and what these repairs are?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: The hon. member for Lunenburg (Mr. Duff) must take my word as a minister on the total expenditure that is necessary to put these vessels into commission. If he thinks that I can tell him just what is wrong with the boilers, with the engines, and the piping, and the bottom of the boat, and the electrical equipment, I cannot; I would need to get a very detailed report, but I have that report in my office. I have been informed by the technical officers that the cost will be \$500,000 to get the Niobe ready to go to sea and \$225,000 for the Rainbow. If the hon. member wishes me to give the details item by item I shall have to get detailed reports from the technical officers before doing so.

Mr. DUFF: I am willing to take the minister's word as to the cost, I would not for a moment doubt it. But does he realize that \$450,000 is a very large amount? It is almost as large as the sum which he would have to pay for the new cruiser,—if he were not getting it as a gift.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: No, \$4,000,000 is the cost of the cruiser.

Mr. DUFF: Still the amount is very large. It seems to me that it is almost impossible to spend so much money in the repair of the Niobe. There is not very much wrong with her. Only the other day I had a conversation with a man who has been on the Niobe for five years. He said she was in very good shape outside of some slight repairs needed to her boilers and engines. It seems to me that the estimate given by the minister is a very large amount. Still, I am willing to take the minister's word that such an amount is required. The minister did not seem quite pleased because we on this side did not

commend him for the reorganization of the Canadian Navy. The minister has not informed us what reorganization he has carried out. We have not had much information as to what he has or has not done in the work of reorganizing the navy except in the matter of discharging certain officials and promoting others. Before any commendations or bouquets are due to the minister he should certainly give us a detailed statement of what he has done and what he intends to do.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: I am not looking for any bouquets.

Mr. DUFF: Well then, commendation.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Well, commendation is the same thing. I have a consciousness that I have done the right thing in the public interest. I did give all the detailed information that hon. member is now asking for in a speech that I made a few days ago. I gave a statement then of the number of officers, civilians, and other particulars.

Mr. DUFF: I have another question to ask the minister. He says that it will take half a million dollars to get the Niobe into commission. How does he figure that out?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Because the Niobe is a very much larger vessel than is the cruiser which we have been promised. The personnel on the Niobe would be two hundred men more than the complement on the cruiser, and the larger and the more obsolete a ship gets the more costly she is to maintain.

Mr. DEMERS: What would be the number of men on each of the ships?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: On the cruiser, 377 officers and other ratings; 79 on board each of the destroyers, and 21 on board of each of the submarines.

Mr. DEMERS: What is the total number?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: The total is 608.

Mr. DUFF: The number of men the minister has just given us is merely the crew of the different boats?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: The officers and crew.

Mr. DUFF: I understand the cruiser will not be able to give any number of boys a naval training. She can only accommodate 367 men, so she cannot take a number of young naval ratings to sea to be trained.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: I have just been informed by Commander Stevens that one

third of the persons on board the cruiser will undergo training.

Mr. DUFF: Is it not a fact that the Niobe can accommodate some 1,200 men for training purposes?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: If the Niobe were in commission and at sea she would be able to accommodate 600 men.

Mr. DUFF: Will the minister tell the committee how many men she had on board during the war?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Twice that many.

Mr. DUFF: That is what I thought.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: If the hon. member would allow me. The situation was, the Niobe tied up at the wharf as a depot shop, or in other words as a barracks as compared with the Niobe ready to go to sea. If the Niobe were ready to go to sea she would carry 600 men, but as a floating barracks, which she has been for the last two or three years, she has been able to accommodate 1,200 by crowding them.

Mr. DUFF: Is it not possible for her to take 600 naval ratings on board for training purposes in addition to her crew?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: No, I am informed that it would not be a fact.

Mr. DUFF: It is strange, but I was talking, only three days ago, with a very reliable man who was an officer on the Niobe for the last five years, and he informed me that it was no trouble for her to take 600 men more, in addition to her crew, for training purposes. If that is so, she would be a vastly better boat to that which the minister is going to accept from the Old Country.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: My hon. friend has been long enough in business, and in public life to realize that he must not attach too much importance to disgruntled and inefficient naval officers and ratings that have been demobilized. They, of course, have made most extravagant statements to him and have tried to embarrass the Government and myself. We have let out, as I say, 782 men, and naturally they are not very friendly towards me or towards the department.

Mr. DEMERS: Is it the intention of the Government to put on those ships the same men as were on the Niobe and the Rainbow?

[Mr. Ballantyne.]

Mr. BALLANTYNE: We will put on those ships only the men who have the necessary knowledge and efficiency.

Mr. DEMERS: Canadians?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: If Canadians have it, they will go on the ships; if they have it not, they will not go on.

Mr. DUFF: There was some difference of opinion as to whether the \$300,000 was sufficient to keep up the dockyards at Halifax and Esquimalt, and the naval college, one minister, I think, saying that it was not sufficient. Will the minister tell us how he intends to spend the \$300,000, and whether or not it is sufficient for the purposes I have mentioned?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: I explained it on a former occasion, and the Minister of the Interior did so to-night. We had not our final arrangements completed with the Admiralty, and having probably delayed the Main Estimates a little too long, we were anxious to get them down. I had to find out the type of ship, the number of men who would be on it, and the scale of pay. In pre-war times we paid the ordinary sailor \$1.10 a day; now we have to pay him \$1.65 a day. So that the \$300,000 in my Main Estimates was only a sufficient sum to pay the men in the service until such time as I could figure out exactly the amount of money we wanted and get it voted. If we were not to have any ships at all, but were merely to maintain the dockyards at Esquimalt and Halifax and the naval college, I would not do it on a smaller vote than \$600,000.

Mr. DUFF: That is satisfactory.

Mr. P. F. CASGRAIN (Charlevoix and Montmorency) (Translation): Mr. Chairman, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, and at the risk of repeating certain arguments which have already been brought forward, I feel it to be my duty to offer the committee certain remarks before the closing of the debate—

Mr. MACKIE (Edmonton East) (Translation): A little louder, if you please.

Mr. CASGRAIN (Translation): We all represent here certain constituencies and a certain number of people. In the province of Quebec, and particularly in the county of Charlevoix and Montmorency, which I have the honour to represent in this House, I believe that the naval scheme of the Government is not favoured by public opinion. In 1911, when the naval policy of the

lamented Sir Wilfrid Laurier was brought before this House, and later when the elections were held mainly on that issue, the county of Charlevoix and Montmorency refused to endorse this policy, and when my hon. friend, Mr. Cannon, now member for Dorchester, ran in that county against the late Sir Rodolphe Forget, what happened? The policy of the Liberal party was discarded in favour of the policy adopted by the party which is now in power. And now these gentlemen in power, after having defeated Sir Wilfrid Laurier's policy, which they represented as not being abreast of the times, come and tell us, "We are doing to-day exactly what you wanted to do." We can answer them: If you have waited ten years before coming to your senses and adopting the true naval policy, the just, the good and honest naval policy advocated by the Laurier Government at that time, you can wait longer, especially now that there is no longer any emergency.

It would be too long, Mr. Chairman, to go over the various arguments which were brought forward by both the Liberal and the new Progressive parties to show that there is no enemy to launch on us a surprise attack. Since last year, since the last frightful war is over, we now enjoy a security which was not ours before.

We have the League of Nations, and if we are to believe the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) and the member for St. Antoine (Sir Herbert Ames), who favoured us with a lengthy speech last week, there is no doubt that the League of Nations has been established, the League of Nations exists, it will exist and do its work; therefore, we are safe, and there is no danger that the terrible ordeal, the heavy burden under which humanity has laboured these last five years, will ever be repeated, in the future. Such is the wish of the President of the Privy Council, such is the wish of the hon. member for St. Antoine, such is the wish of all.

It has often been said: "If you want peace, prepare for war"; but, now, I shall say: If you prepare for war, you shall have war. During several years, all European nations have endeavoured to provide against war, to safeguard themselves, to prevent a repetition of the horrors of the olden times, and what happened? Lately, war has proven that though we may all be prepared to safeguard peace, and to maintain it forever, it was not possible to do so.

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Mr. Chairman, I do not wish to continue this debate beyond measure, but, there is a thing which strikes me in this discussion of the Estimates, as proposed by the hon. Minister of Marine (Mr. Ballantyne) to-day; he tells us: "Such was the policy of the Liberal party ten years ago, it should be your policy to-day." He has taken the advice given by the Admiralty, and of prominent officers of the British navy, who have certainly given him good advice, and have told him what to do under the circumstances. Earl Jellicoe came here a few months ago. It is perhaps because of his advice that this famous item of a few million dollars is brought to us to-day, hoping that we will agree to it readily; only, Mr. Chairman, the Government, by its present policy, endeavours to return to the policy of the Liberal party and says: Here, this is your child, take it. And again: We have consulted with the Admiralty, that is what should be done, something must be done. We do not know what is the direct policy of the Government; the President of the Privy Council has just now told us: The Government's policy is right here, in this item which we are submitting to you, and to which you must agree.

Mr. Chairman, in view of all these arguments, it seems to me that there are words by which we may accurately be designated. The Government, by this policy, as well as by all others, tries to catch at anything and everything in order to be able to carry on, and I might say that, at present, the Government's policy is a policy of "catch-as-catch-can," and it is so with all the Government's proposals.

Mr. Chairman, the policy which the Government proposes and which they want us to adopt to-day, the item they want us to vote, and to vote immediately, this evening, does not seem to me necessary. It is far more necessary, at present, to endeavour to reorganize our finances and economize, especially when there is no emergency, as I stated before; our endeavours should be such that when, in the future, a similar emergency, or, perhaps, a greater one, occurs again, our financial position may be as sound as ever before; and then we may talk of a navy and adopt such principles as the hon. Minister of Marine now proposes to us.

Mr. Chairman, there is something which strikes me in connection with this matter: in these supplementary items which have just now been brought down, as well as in

the other items which were brought down at the beginning of the session, no provision has been made for the county I represent, for certain works which are most urgent and for necessary expenses I have always asked the Government to provide for, not for patronage and partisanship, but only because these things are absolutely required. And if there is no money to meet the necessary expenditure in a county, to carry out the most needed improvements, so that we may have a boat service in the county of Charlevoix-Montmorency, so that the people of the county should not be prisoners and deprived, during several months of the year, of all communication with other parts of the country, then, I say that we must not and cannot vote whatever amount the Government may propose for a war navy, and, as far as I am concerned, I shall vote against it, so long as the fair and just claims of the people of the county of Charlevoix and Montmorency, which I represent, have not been attended to.

Mr. MACKIE (Edmonton): Mr. Chairman, I crave your indulgence for addressing the House at this late hour and more particularly for speaking in the French tongue which to me presents greater difficulties than the English language. However, having given some time to the study of the naval question, having read the speeches of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir Robert Borden and listened to the remarks of hon. gentlemen in this House I have reached the conclusion that I am bound to oppose any useless and extraordinary expenditure which would commit this country to any elaborate programme, either naval or military; at the same time I believe, with Sir Wilfrid Laurier, that every nation should shoulder the burden of its own defence. Such a policy is sound, logical and practical. The other day I heard the hon. member for Lunenburg (Mr. Duff) say that he would rather rely on the neighbouring Republic, and put his trust in the Monroe doctrine. To my mind this would only belittle our own country and prevent us from fulfilling our obligations as national dignity demands.

Now, with your permission, I wish to quote a few passages from a speech delivered by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, since it sets forth in a much more persuasive and eloquent way than I could do the principles which shall serve me for my future guidance.

[Mr. Casgrain.]

We are on solid ground. Let our children study the conference of 1902 and the conference of 1907; they will find that we have always been consistent in every way: We have always held to the same policy which sought to develop our means of defence on land and on sea, but without foregoing our autonomy; we were not satisfied with merely contributing to the defence of the Empire: we wanted to preserve our autonomy in this as in all other matters.

"The principle of the Naval Act." At this point, Mr. Chairman, you will pardon me if I read a few more extracts, since the question is a new one to me. It was debated in 1902, in 1907 and in 1910; but to me the question is entirely new. Therefore I ask you to bear with me for a few moments longer.

What basic principle, the "raison d'Etat," induced us to introduce and pass this Naval Service Act? That, gentlemen, is a question upon which superior minds may differ, a question which they may argue pro and con; and I am here with you to discuss that question. The reason, gentlemen, which prompted us to introduce the Naval Service Act, and introduce it at the session of 1910, is found in the memorandum which I read to you a moment ago; in that memorandum we announced our intention of gradually organizing our naval defense in proportion as the population and the wealth of this country increased.

This Act came up for the first time in 1902, again in 1907, and was finally proposed in 1910, eight years after it was mentioned for the first time. Eight years in the life of a people, gentlemen, is a mere minute, aye, a mere second; but in this minute, in this second, Canada had advanced with giant strides.

Our condition is very different from what it was in 1902; we have grown in numbers, and we have grown in wealth.

There is another reason, more peremptory, more conclusive still and it is this: we have grown not only in population and in wealth, we have also grown in moral stamina.

If these words were really true at the time, are they not more so to-day? If in 1910 the Canadian people had grown in moral stamina, if the country felt at that time a moral obligation to adopt a policy of naval defence, is not that duty still more evident to-day? If, at that period when Canada had attained to a population of five million, the country felt itself in duty bound to adopt a policy of naval service, should we not, now that our population has reached eight million, vote for that purpose at least a sum which is smaller than that proposed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier?

Some hon. MEMBERS (Translation): Carried.

Mr. MACKIE (Edmonton) (Translation): There is no hurry. You see, gentlemen, the English-speaking members do not understand French, so they find French

speeches tiresome. These gentlemen would be better advised to learn French so as to know exactly what is going on in the House.

Now let us see what idea was at the bottom of this naval policy which we want to develop. In inaugurating this policy of naval defence we were not moved by the fear of war; no, but there is this other consideration: we have a coast-line extending for a thousand miles along the Atlantic and a coast-line extending for a thousand miles along the Pacific; the Hudson Bay railway will be six hundred miles distant from the shores of the St. Lawrence; the terminus of the Transcontinental line is at present six hundred miles removed from all these establishments on the Pacific coast. We will have to patrol these distant waters for the protection of the business enterprises which will soon be launched there.

Now, I put this question to my hon. friends opposite: is our thousand-mile coast-line on the Atlantic still there; is our thousand-mile coast-line on the Pacific still there; is the Hudson bay railroad still six hundred miles distant from the shores of the St. Lawrence; is the terminus of the Transcontinental line still six hundred miles removed from the Pacific coast establishments which Sir Wilfrid Laurier alluded to? The first question brought up by my hon. friends since the beginning of this debate was the cost of the navy; the second had to do with the League of Nations.

As regards the cost of a navy I am going to quote Sir Wilfrid Laurier still further, since he gives us the example of moderation.

Let us come to another point: the cost of the Canadian navy. Ah, the tears I have seen shed over this question also. We have been told that we would be obliged to borrow, to burden the Canadian people with taxes in order to pay for the upkeep of the navy.

Gentlemen, there are navies and navies.

To-day England, France, Germany spend 50 per cent of their revenue for armament, both on land and sea. The upkeep of the navy I propose will not require 50 per cent of our revenue.

Just what will the navy cost this country, gentlemen?

The Great Powers spend 50 per cent. Are we going to take 25 per cent? No. Are we going to take 20 per cent—15 per cent? No; not even 15 per cent, nor 10, nor 5. We are going to spend \$3,000,000 a year. Last year our revenue was \$100,000,000; so the navy will require exactly 3 per cent of our revenue.

Putting aside the expenditure incurred through the war, and taking into account the increase in our population from 1910 to the present day our revenue is greater now than it was then.

To come back to the argument of Sir Wilfrid Laurier—we are asking less than

he did: the present appropriations are only for some two million odd dollars, while he asked for three million in 1910.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier goes farther; he maintains that we should have a certain measure of naval defence because we are a nation. On this point he enters into a discussion with Mr. Bourassa and the Conservatives.

This is what he says.

Mr. Bourassa maintains that we are not a nation because we are dependent upon England. It is true that politically we are dependent upon England; but in a legislative sense we are independent; and Mr. Bourassa is perfectly aware of the fact. We, Canadians, gentlemen, have followed in nobody's footsteps; we have ploughed our own furrow. Before us it was only through violent separation from the Mother Country that colonies attained to nationhood. We have blazed a new trail; we have become a nation without breaking the ties that bind us to the Motherland.

Now, if I give heed to the statement of the President of the Privy Council, we are to-day a nation more than we were in 1910, since we have been admitted to membership in the League of Nations, which has been invoked by all the hon. members of the Opposition. What amuses me is that the members of the Opposition believe, as I do, that the League is merely a Utopian conception. Still they invoked the League to-night; and they were very emphatic about it; particularly the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark).

Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that the members from the province of Quebec should be with us in this proposal for a Canadian navy since we are only carrying out the policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier; and we are not asking for \$3,000,000 but a much smaller amount. Lately the province of Quebec has taken hold of things in an admirable way; has given to the other provinces of the Dominion of Canada a magnificent example of sound judgment, of moderation and of generosity. It seems to me that the representatives of this splendid province should join hands with us so that we may continue the policy laid down by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, so that we may safeguard the autonomy of our country and not fall slaves to the American Republic; in this way we shall give to Canada the status so eloquently extolled by the hon. member for Red Deer, by the President of the Privy Council and by the two gentlemen who preceded me. I hope that when the time comes the hon. members from Quebec will vote for the continuation of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's policy.

Mr. P. A. SEGUIN (L'Assomption and Montcalm) (Translation): Mr. Chairman, in following the arguments the hon. member who has just sat down (Mr. Mackie) and particularly in following the passages he quoted from the speeches of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, you no doubt noticed, as I did, the constant recurrence of the phrases "having regard to our population" and "having regard to our wealth." I think the hon. gentleman repeated at least ten times "having regard to our wealth." If, in 1910, having regard to our wealth, we could begin to lift our heads a little and consider that we were possessed of enough of this world's goods to start organizing a bit, I think that at the present time we should reason in just the opposite way and say "having regard to our poverty;" and I feel sure that if our lamented leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, were here to-day, he would say: "having regard to our extreme poverty, having regard to the country's distress, having regard to the deplorable state of our finances, it is no time now to launch forth into extravagant expenditure in order to lend a hand to England which, luckily, has too many battleships as it is."

In 1911 these gentlemen wanted to spend money to give ships to the Mother Country because she needed them. To-day they want to spend our money for the upkeep of warships which the Mother Country no longer needs. Mr. Chairman, in the face of the tremendous deficit with which we are confronted, I maintain that the present is no time for spending money in that way.

Several times during the course of the session I have approached the Postmaster General to obtain a rural mail service in my district. Each time I received the very same answer: "We have no money."

The Department of Agriculture refused to continue the maintenance of an experimental farm in my county which had been there for years, because the Minister of Finance claims that funds are lacking. Well, if we are short of funds when it comes to encouraging the principal industry of this country, namely agriculture, why should we vote over two million dollars for a navy which next year will cost five or six millions, doubling every year or so. I wish to lodge as strong a protest as I possibly can against this outlay of public money for a navy, just as I protest against the country incurring any expense for military purposes; let the Government give this money to the Minister of Agriculture who, though well disposed, is unable to

[Mr. Mackie.]

do what he feels should be done, for the farmers of this country; I want to see some help given the farmers of this country and particularly the farmers of L'Assomption and Montcalm, which county I have the honour to represent in this House.

Mr. A. M. DECHENE (Montmagny) (Translation): Mr. Chairman, the committee is not yet ready for the question to be put; some hon members are waiting to address the committee and although the hour is late I still wish to have the pleasure of expressing my opinion. I shall be as brief as possible. I take advantage of this opportunity of congratulating the hon. member for Edmonton (Mr. Mackie) on the delightful French speech with which he favoured the committee this evening. We have only one regret, namely, that those hon. gentlemen on the right of the Speaker who are as fluent in French as the hon. member for Edmonton, do not employ that tongue more frequently. If those members on both sides of the House who possess both languages would only employ both when they address the House the rivalry which would result would be of distinct advantage to all. On this side we do our best; we often speak in English; more often, perhaps, than we should, and we are delighted to extend our greetings in French to the hon. members on the other side who use that tongue to address the House. Unfortunately, this rivalry does not exist; there are some who hesitate. I want to tell them that they are wrong.

However, let us come back to the naval question, which has given rise to so much criticism and which is always turning up when not desired, as perhaps is the case to-night. Now that the war is over, now that we have acceded to the Government's request and spent millions for demobilizing our army, and for re-establishing our soldiers in civil life, an hon. minister arises and tells the House: "Now that we have finished demobilizing the army, I intend to reorganize the navy; I intend to go about war preparations in another sphere." And the better to make us swallow the pill he tries to persuade us that he is merely carrying out the policy inaugurated by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. But in 1909 and 1910, these gentlemen found the navy proposed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier far too small; they nicknamed it the "tin navy," and claimed that it would be of no use to the Empire. Sir Wilfrid really submitted the naval question to the voters in 1911, and we know that his defeat was in a great measure due precisely

to his naval policy. His successor had barely arrived when another naval policy was submitted to Parliament, a more ambitious policy this time, more in keeping with Canada's resources; however, it had the same fate as the Laurier policy: it was defeated here at Ottawa and laid aside.

Therefore we may come to the conclusion that, even in 1912, after the elections of 1911, the Canadian people were opposing the creation of a navy. Since that time we have had no opportunity for consulting them, and knowing what they now think, especially since the war is over, about the establishment of a navy. But we may still hold that at this very moment, in 1920, the people of Canada are utterly opposed to a navy and would spurn it were they consulted.

The proposal which is now before us does not even embody a policy in the past of the Government; it is rather aleatory, something which would allow us to wait and see what may be decided upon by a large conference which our ministers would attend, without telling us beforehand what policy, what proposals they were going to lay on behalf of Canada before the Prime Ministers of the several parts of the Empire and the Lords of the Admiralty. When once the conference is over and they have departed from England will they tell us upon their return what the thought at the back of their head was when they started? They would not be able to do it, because we know very well what transpires in this country, we are aware that the people and even the majority of their representatives are still opposed to the creation of a navy and to any scheme of naval expenditure.

If we on this side of the House fought desperately and opposed with all our might this vote of \$1,500,000 asked for by the hon. Minister of Marine (Mr. Ballantyne) so as to launch his little ships, keep some afloat, while others would sink to the bottom, it was because we knew we had behind us not only the consensus of opinion of one province, but the opinion of every province and of every man throughout Canada; it was because we had the consciousness of representing the sane majority of the people, the thoughtful element, the group of tax-payers. We know that every tax-payer is opposed to useless and premature expenditures. I call them premature, because we are aware that England has more ships than she can maintain—we have it from the ministers themselves. And turning our attention to the news that comes to us

from overseas, to the reports of several of our fellow-citizens in London, in Liverpool, or coming back from England, we notice that everywhere, in all large centres, England has scores of warships tied up to the docks, as our own Government have tied up the Niobe and the Rainbow, because the Admiralty cannot engage a sufficient number of sailors to man them. She has more ships than she needs; she has the whole German fleet at her disposal, not knowing what to do with it. Facing that huge fleet, as the hon. Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) was saying this morning, the British Admiralty keeps whatever is required or needed for the security of the Empire, and yet they have small ships to give away to every friend of theirs, to every colony that is ready to launch into large naval expenditures.

The most enlightened portion of our people is aware of these conditions and under the circumstances we are justified in waging a relentless war against the hon. minister (Mr. Ballantyne), who sneers because he knows of his might, he knows he has that might which Sir Robert Borden himself praised to-night because he thinks, as the Czar and the Kaiser thought that might is still the main weapon which sometimes overcomes right and sometimes constitutes and imposes right. To-night we heard our little Canadian Kaiser saying that he also thought that might was really the upholder of right in the world, but it is the upholder of right in its own way.

On account of the stand taken by the Prime Minister himself, we are entitled to ask how far this proposal will go, which is advocated by the hon. Minister of Marine, who is also the minister of the harbour of Montreal.

An hon. MEMBER: It will go to the bottom.

Mr. DECHENE: The hon. member says it will sink to the bottom. But there are also undersea boats; however, the League of Nations does not want them, of course, and the hon. minister (Mr. Rowell) invited us to vote \$400,000 to pay our quota to the League of Nations, a league the object of which is altogether different from that of the hon. Minister of Marine, as it is aiming at the restoration and preservation of peace throughout the whole world, while he is aiming at the production of war weapons which are condemned by every people on earth, against which we fought in every possible way, and which sent to

the bottom of the ocean soldiers who should have fought under the rays of the sun, and on warships in the open; and we now see the hon. minister defending the submarines which he and his colleagues cursed the most while the war was on.

Well, Mr. Chairman, we shall be pleased on this side of the House to vote for the amendment moved by the hon. leader of the Opposition and we shall heartily oppose all these proposals.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Is there any correspondence between our Government and the British Government with regard to these ships that are being obtained from the British Government?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: I do not know of any correspondence beyond some cables.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Is there anything on record which the House might have that would indicate the way in which the gift was proffered and how it was accepted?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: I am willing to give my hon. friend every bit of information that I have. He will remember that Lord Jellicoe's report suggested various schemes, the smallest one involving an expenditure of \$10,000,000 by 1926 or 1927. Then he went on to enumerate the vessels the British Government would give if that scheme were adopted. The Government could not see their way clear to undertake any larger expenditure than the present Estimates call for. The only thing in the way of correspondence or cable that I know of—and I think I know about them all—was a cable sent to the Admiralty to inquire if they would let us have one cruiser and two destroyers, the submarines already being here. They replied that they would.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: In other words, we asked for the ships; they were not a present from the Mother Country.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Oh yes; I thought I had made the matter clear to my hon. friend.

Mr. BELAND: There is all the difference in the world.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: I will go over it again. Lord Jellicoe's report suggested various schemes. The smallest scheme involved an expenditure of \$10,000,000 spread over a period of years. He enumerated the ships that Great Britain was willing to offer us.

[Mr. Dechène.]

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: They were willing to offer the whole lot?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Certainly, far more than we have taken.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Will the minister explain the amount of \$300,000 under the heading "Decrease" compared with Estimates of 1919-20, in respect to item 198?

Naval Service—To provide for the maintenance of the Royal Canadian Navy.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: First of all I think I had better explain why the vote for 1920 is so small,—\$600,000. A very much larger amount than that was charged to demobilization, so that the item of \$600,000 is not a fair comparison on a pre-war basis. In regard to the \$300,000, I have nothing to add to what I have already stated to-night.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: How much was charged to demobilization account, and how does the minister account for some of these payments for Naval Service being made out of demobilization account rather than out of appropriations made by Parliament for the purposes of the Naval Service?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: The explanation of that is that although the war was over we were on a war footing for quite a long time afterwards, and had very large demobilization charges.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I think I ought to say in conclusion that it seems to me in the way in which these Estimates have been put before us the Government have treated Parliament with anything but the regard Parliament deserves. We are told in the first place, that this particular Naval Estimate is a purely fictitious item; that it does not correctly represent the Estimate of the previous year or of the present year. In other words the Estimates are absolutely meaningless. I think the minister deserves all the criticism that can be levelled against him for treating Parliament in this way.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: For the enlightenment of my hon. friend, who, I am sorry to observe, is not feeling as pleasant as he ought to feel at this hour of the morning, I may say that in 1912 the Naval expenditure was \$1,233,456.08. I shall not give the figures for any further years, but if the Estimate at present before the committee is compared with that figure and regard is had to the increased cost of everything,

hon. members will agree that the amount now asked is not out of the way.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The minister himself is not quite as pleasant as he ought to be at this hour, so far as I can see. He has not yet explained this decrease compared with Estimates of 1919-20. Any one reading these Estimates would be under the impression that the Government were asking for \$300,000 less this year than last year. Either that \$300,000 has a meaning or it has not. If it has a meaning, I wish the minister would make it plain.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: If no other information has been put before the committee my hon. friend would be quite right in his contention, but, in view of all the detailed information that has been submitted I really have nothing more to say.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Question.

The CHAIRMAN: I desire to remind the committee that when these items were previously under consideration it was moved by Mr. Ballantyne that item 198, to provide for the maintenance of the Royal Canadian Navy, \$300,000, and item 512, \$1,700,000, for the same purpose, should be considered together. The motion did not provide that they should be voted upon together. I merely wish to warn hon. members that the discussion is now concluded on both and that the votes will be taken in succession without further debate. Shall item 198 carry?

Item agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN: Shall item 512 carry?

Item agreed to on division: yeas, 55; nays, 31.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Does the minister not think we have covered about enough for to-day?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: We are just about through. I may say that the Government are very anxious that Parliament should prorogue to-morrow night. We have only a few items here.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Hon. gentlemen opposite will have to show some consideration to members on this side; otherwise we will sit here for the rest of the week.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: I may tell my hon. friend that, while we are anxious to prorogue, if the hon. member wants to stay we can stay just as long as he can.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Well, my hon. friend can have his test right here and now.

Civil Government—Department of Naval Service—salaries \$272,340, contingencies \$50,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: We on this side are quite prepared to expedite the business of the House, but to be perfectly frank with my hon. friend, if he insists on pressing further business to-night, I shall for my part take very good care to see that this House does not prorogue to-morrow night. Furthermore, I may say to my hon. friend that I had a distinct understanding with the Prime Minister that when we passed these Naval Service items to-night this House would adjourn. If my hon. friend wishes to go on in spite of that, he is free to do so.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: My hon. friend has just stated what the Prime Minister said, but my hon. friend has not allowed the Naval Estimates to pass.

Mr. DAVIDSON: I think the hon. gentleman must be under a misapprehension. As I understood it, he agreed with me that the Minister of Marine and Fisheries would be allowed to get through his Estimates and then the House would adjourn. I communicated that intelligence to the minister and he agreed to it.

Mr. DUFF: How is this amount of \$272,340 made up? I would like a list of the salaries.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: I shall be very glad to give any information I have. This is for salaries under the Civil Service classification, which the Government are asked to vote.

Mr. DUFF: I can quite understand this is for salaries under the reclassification of the Civil Service, but I would like a detailed statement of how many officials there are for whom this amount is to be voted for salaries, and what are their duties in the Department of Naval Service?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: My staying powers are just as good as my hon. friend's. The details are as follows:

CIVIL GOVERNMENT ESTIMATES, 1920-21—DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVAL SERVICE—  
DETAILS.

Number.	Class.	Salaries.
		\$      cts.
1	Deputy Minister and Controller.....	6,000 00
1	Asst. Deputy Minister.....	4,200 00
1	Chief Accountant.....	4,260 00
1	Chief Hydrographer.....	4,500 00
1	Superintendent of Fisheries.....	4,200 00
1	Director Radiotelegraph Service.....	3,900 00
1	Chief Tidal and Current Surveyor.....	3,700 00
1	Director of Naval Stores.....	3,660 00
2	Fisheries Specialists: 1 at \$4,000, 1 at \$3,420.....	7,420 00
2	Hydrographers: 1 at \$3,500, 1 at \$3,000.....	6,500 00
1	Purchasing Agent.....	3,060 00
1	Chief Inspector Fish Curing and Packing.....	2,880 00
1	Supt. of Fish Culture.....	2,760 00
1	Dist. Supt. Radio. Service.....	2,760 00
1	Resident Engineer Fish Hatcheries.....	2,760 00
2	Asst. Hydrographer: 1 at \$2,940, 1 at \$2,460.....	5,400 00
1	Accountant.....	2,640 00
6	Head Clerks: 2 at \$2,520, 4 at \$2,400.....	14,640 00
1	Principal Map Draftsman.....	2,600 00
1	Principal Translator.....	2,520 00
5	Principal Clerks: 1 at \$2,500, 1 at \$2,040, 2 at \$1,920, 1 at \$1,800.....	10,180 00
1	Inspector of Hatcheries.....	2,400 00
1	Asst. Zoologist.....	2,300 00
1	Publicity Agent.....	2,300 00
1	Junior Accountant.....	2,300 00
5	Principal Account Clerks: 1 at \$2,280, 1 at \$2,160, 2 at \$1,920, 1 at \$1,800.....	10,080 00
1	Assistant Engineer.....	2,220 00
1	Principal File Clerk.....	1,920 00
2	Principal Clerk Bookkeepers: 2 at \$1,920.....	3,840 00
2	Tidal and Current Surveyors: 1 at \$2,300, 1 at \$2,160.....	4,460 00
1	Storekeeper.....	1,920 00
2	Junior Purchasing Agents: 1 at \$1,800, 1 at \$1,560.....	3,360 00
1	Assistant Architect.....	2,220 00
3	Senior Map Draftsmen: 2 at \$2,100, 1 at \$1,920.....	6,120 00
1	Senior Draftsman.....	1,680 00
1	Translator.....	1,450 00
1	Junior Engineer.....	1,680 00
1	Map Draftsman.....	1,550 00
1	Senior Engineering Clerk.....	1,800 00
3	Senior Account Clerks, 2 at \$1,380, 1 at \$1,320.....	4,080 00
1	Senior Audit Clerk.....	1,380 00
9	Senior Clerks: 1 at \$3,400, 1 at \$1,550, 4 at \$1,380, 3 at \$1,320.....	14,430 00
3	Senior Clerk-Bookkeepers: 1 at \$2,100, 2 at \$1,440.....	4,980 00
4	Senior File Clerks: 1 at \$2,700, 3 at \$1,380.....	6,840 00
6	Senior Clerk Stenographers: 1 at \$1,440, 5 at \$1,380.....	8,340 00
2	Senior Statistical Clerks: 1 at \$1,450, 1 at \$1,400.....	2,850 00
1	Senior Transportation Audit Clerk.....	1,380 00
1	Senior Messenger.....	1,050 00
5	Accounts Clerks: 2 at \$1,400, 1 at \$1,100, 2 at \$1,020.....	5,940 00
3	Audit Clerks: 1 at \$1,050, 1 at \$1,020, 1 at \$960.....	3,030 00
9	File Clerks: 7 at \$1,020, 2 at \$960.....	9,060 00
5	Messenger Clerks: 2 at \$1,050, 1 at \$900, 1 at \$730.....	3,720 00
1	Stores Clerk.....	1,050 00
1	Supplies Clerk.....	1,140 00
18	Clerks: 1 at \$2,100, 2 at \$1,400, 1 at \$1,300, 1 at \$1,020, 13 at \$960.....	19,700 00
4	Clerk Bookkeepers: 1 at \$1,200, 1 at \$1,080, 2 at \$1,020.....	4,320 00
15	Clerk Stenographers: 1 at \$1,140, 12 at \$1,020, 2 at \$960.....	15,300 00
2	Clerk Typists: 1 at \$1,080, 1 at \$960.....	2,040 00
2	Jr. Audit Clerks: 2 at \$700.....	1,400 00
1	Jr. Account Clerk.....	650 00
9	Jr. Clerks: 2 at \$750, 1 at \$700, 4 at \$660, 1 at \$650, 1 at \$600.....	6,090 00
1	Jr. File Clerk.....	800 00
1	Jr. Clerk.....	750 00
3	Jr. Clerk Bookkeepers: 1 at \$750, 1 at \$700, 1 at \$660.....	2,110 00
10	Jr. Clerk Typists: 1 at \$850, 1 at \$760, 2 at \$750, 4 at \$700, 1 at \$650, 1 at \$600.....	7,160 00
10	Junior Clerk Stenographers: 2 at \$800, 3 at \$750, 3 at \$700, 1 at \$650, 1 at \$600.....	7,200 00
189	Totals.....	292,630 00
	<i>Contingencies.</i>	
	Stationery, Printing, temporary clerks, travelling expenses, telegrams, telephone tolls, etc.....	\$50,000 00

Mr. DUFF: We are very glad to get that information from the minister. I gathered, as he was reading the list, that some of these officials were employed in the Department of Fisheries and some in the Department of Naval Service. Would the minister tell us what portion of this \$272,000 is for officials in the Naval Service Department, and how many officials there are in that department?

Mr. BELAND: I am sure we do not wish to retard the business of the House. We on this side have registered our strong opposition to the policy of the Government in its naval proposals. However anxious we are not to delay the business of the House, we have understood from the leader of the Opposition that there existed between the right hon. gentleman who leads the Government and himself a clear understanding as to what should be carried this evening, and my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition stated to the committee in clear and distinct terms that the only items that were understood between himself and the leader of the Government to be adopted this evening were those coming under the heading of "Naval Service," on page 47 of the Main Estimates. It can readily be understood, therefore, that there is strong opposition on the part of the leader of the Opposition to the minister taking up these other Estimates on page 8. If the minister insists upon doing it against the agreement between the two leaders, of course he has the majority and can do it, but I feel that that is not his desire. I think it would expedite the business of the House if we were to postpone consideration of these other items until to-morrow, when I am sure they can be put through in a very few moments. I do not think we have very serious objection to the item because it is mainly salaries which are fixed by the Civil Service Commission. But the ground taken by the leader of the Opposition is that the understanding arrived at between the two leaders was that only the items comprised under this heading of Naval Service on page 47 would be carried this evening.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: I agree with my genial friend from Beauce (Mr. Beland), and I stand by the agreement made between the Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition that only the Naval Estimates should be passed to-night, but the trouble is that the leader of the Opposition has lost his temper and gone away in a huff.

[Mr. Ballantyne.]

Now, we have only one or two more strictly Naval Estimates to pass, and while I have no desire to depart for one moment from the agreement entered into between the Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition, I think the committee might very well pass these two items, because they are included in the Naval Estimates. I stand by the agreement that was made, but my young friend the leader of the Opposition loses his temper, flares up, and is not willing to abide by the agreement entered into between himself and the leader of the Government. I am not going to depart from the agreement, and if hon. gentlemen will bear with me for five minutes more I think we can put these two items through.

Mr. ETHLER: Mr. Chairman, I think it is my duty to protest against the words which the minister has used in reference to the leader of the Opposition. I think that the hon. gentleman must have forgotten himself when he stated that the leader of the Opposition lost his temper. This is improper language, in my opinion, for the hon. minister to use in reference to the leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition, and I think hon. members on this side will unanimously resent it. For my part I emphatically protest against it.

Mr. CASGRAIN: I want to add a few words in support of the protest voiced by my hon. friend. The leader of the Opposition is in a far different position from hon. members on the other side. He has been staying here all afternoon from two o'clock until recess and from the resumption until the present hour, whereas hon. gentlemen opposite come and go as they please, because they have five or six ministers who can come in and chip in and help out the Minister of Naval Affairs.

Mr. STEVENS: I have been staying here, like the leader of the Opposition, according to my hon. friend, rather patiently all afternoon, all evening, and for a good slice of the morning, and I am surprised that the minister, the leader of the Opposition and all of us have not lost our tempers. It is pretty warm, but I had a notion about three hours or more ago to intervene with the suggestion that we should stick a little closer than we were doing to the item, and I think we would have made better progress. I am not desiring to read a lecture, but I should like to tell hon. gentlemen that some of us have not complained very much to the House about staying here during these long weary weeks, although we have

not had the opportunity of getting away. We have, I think, been doing our best to expedite business and I would suggest that if there has been a misunderstanding we can surely get together and settle it—it is not so important a matter—without delaying prorogation for several days more. I do not think that we should let ourselves suffer of such a misunderstanding, and the House will be wise in settling down to business and getting things through so that we may go home.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: There are just two more items that are strictly Naval Estimates.

Mr. BUREAU: What are the items?

The CHAIRMAN: Item 17 is not carried.

Mr. BUREAU: Before this item is carried, I want to say just a word. As my hon. friend (Mr. Stevens) says, we are rather keyed up after having stayed here from two in the afternoon to four in the morning. I think there is some misunderstanding on the part of the Prime Minister, the Minister of Naval Affairs and the leader of the Opposition. We had two items under consideration, and it was agreed that the general discussion of those items would be taken together and the items voted separately. Now, the leader of the Opposition must have had in mind, when he made the agreement with the Prime Minister, that after these two items passed, which seemed to be the most important, the House would rise and the others would be considered later. Evidently the Prime Minister thought that all the Naval Estimates would go through. The leader of the Opposition, believing that he had fulfilled his part of the agreement, thought it was unfair on the part of the minister to try to force further items through. The minister, being under the impression that all of the items were to pass, thought that it was unfair for the leader of the Opposition to try to stop them. There is the gist of the whole misunderstanding. What are we to do about it? The minister says that he has two more items. I think we had better have some sort of compromise on this matter. If we pass Number 17 there is \$300,000 or thereabouts to the good, and we can let the other one rest until to-morrow, when we have recuperated and when we shall not be so keyed up. We may be in better humour and be better prepared to go on. If there is a misunderstanding let each side make a sacrifice so that we may meet each other half way. We can go home and sleep over

[Mr. Stevens.]

the matter and come back in better spirits to-morrow or rather to-day—and put the other items through.

Mr. TOBIN: Have him withdraw the words he used in reference to the leader.

Mr. BUREAU: I have stated the matter from my point of view. I do not think my hon. friends on this side would object to a compromise.

Mr. DAVIDSON: Perhaps I might throw some light on the matter. During the discussion of the Naval Estimates I was on the other side for a while, and the Chief Whip and the leader of the Opposition asked me what the programme was for this evening. The leader of the Opposition suggested that it would surely be enough if we got through with the Naval Estimates, and I said I thought so. In the first instance I believe it was hoped that we would go on with the Militia Estimates this evening, but this might be late and I thought we had better not do so. I said that I would consult with the minister and reply to him later. After consultation with the minister I went back to the leader of the Opposition and told him that the Government were prepared, if the minister should be allowed to go on and get through with his Estimates on Naval Affairs and Fisheries, not to go on with the Militia Estimates. I understood the leader of the Opposition agreed to these Estimates being passed.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: I do not want to go on with Fisheries and Wireless. The hon. member for Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau) has put the matter very fairly and plainly. The Prime Minister thought it had been agreed by the leader of the Opposition that the Naval Estimates would go through. If you pass Civil Government and one more item of \$260,000 that will finish it for to-night and we will still have a long list left.

Mr. BUREAU: If we are going to have a compromise, it must not all be on one side. I made the suggestion in order that we might let everybody go home and feel happy and satisfied.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: There is no man for whom I have a greater respect than the hon. member for Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau) and if we pass the Civil Government Estimates we will agree to report progress.

Mr. DUFF: Before the leader of the Opposition went home he spoke to me. It is not correct to say that he had lost his temper. He said that it was very late, that he wanted to be here at two o'clock, that he

ought to go home to get some rest, and that as the Minister of Naval Affairs was going on with his Estimates he would ask me to stay and look after them. I do not think it is fair for the minister to make the statement that the leader of the Opposition went away in a temper, and I think he should take it back. Part of this item of \$322,000 is for Fisheries. Am I correct in that?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Everything is under Naval Service, but of this amount \$83,050 is for Fisheries and \$188,290 for Naval Service. Both are lumped together under the heading of Civil Government.

Mr. DUFF: Why is it necessary to spend \$188,000 for salaries for naval officials at Ottawa in view of the fact that we are only spending \$2,000,000 on the Naval Service? This is too large an amount to spend for the salaries of officials in Ottawa.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: In order to keep the arrangement with the hon. member for Three Rivers I move that the committee rise and report progress.

Progress reported.

On the motion of Rt. Hon. Mr. Doherty the House adjourned at 4 a.m., Tuesday.

### Tuesday, June 29, 1920.

The House met at Two o'clock.

#### FURTHER SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES.

A message from His Excellency the Governor General transmitting further Supplementary Estimates for the year ending March 21, 1921, was presented by Sir Henry Drayton (Minister of Finance), read by Mr. Speaker to the House, and referred to the Committee of Supply.

#### REMISSION OF FEES ON DIVORCE BILLS.

Mr. HERBERT M. MOWAT (Parkdale), moved:

That in accordance with the recommendation contained in the Thirteenth Report of the Select Standing Committee on Miscellaneous Private Bills, the additional charge levied and paid under Rule 89, Paragraph 3 (c) be remitted in the case of Bill No. 214 (Letter P 5 of the Senate) intituled: "An Act for the relief of Nelson Alexander Boylen."

Mr. LEMIEUX: Is it customary to remit those charges?

Mr. SPEAKER: I believe it has been done in the past repeatedly, and it also has

been done on several occasions during the present session. Is it the pleasure of the House to adopt the motion?

Mr. LEMIEUX: On division.

Motion agreed to on division.

#### OFFER OF NAVAL SHIPS FROM GREAT BRITAIN.

##### CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN CANADIAN GOVERNMENT AND ADMIRALTY.

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (leader of the Opposition): Before the Orders of the Day are called I desire to ask my Right Hon. friend the Prime Minister if we may have laid upon the table of the House before prorogation the correspondence between the Government of Canada and the British Government with regard to the acceptance of certain ships for the Canadian Naval Service. I was informed last night by the Minister of Naval Affairs (Hon. Mr. Ballantyne) that there was some correspondence which was mostly in the form of cables. I presume it is possible for us to have that correspondence laid on the Table before the House prorogues.

Rt. Hon. Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister): In so far as it is not of a confidential character there is no objection to laying it on the Table. I am not familiar with the matter, but I shall make inquiries in view of my hon. friend's question.

Hon. C. C. BALLANTYNE (Minister of Naval Affairs): If the Prime Minister will allow me,—I informed the leader of the Opposition in the early hours of this morning that the only official communication between the Government of Canada and the British Government was one cable through the proper channels here to the effect that we could not accept all the ships offered but enquiring whether we could get one cruiser and two destroyers. That is the only despatch that has passed between this Government and the Admiralty. If the leader of the Opposition desires to see a copy of that cable I shall be glad to place it on the Table.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I shall be glad to have it tabled.

Rt. Hon. Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Minister of Trade and Commerce): Mr. Speaker, I beg to move that the House return to the order "introduction of Bills."

Motion agreed to.

## BOARDS OF TRADE ACT AMENDMENT.

On the motion of Rt. Hon. Sir George Foster (Minister of Trade and Commerce), Bill No. 220 (from the Senate) to amend the Boards of Trade Act was read the first and second times.

## CLASSIFICATION OF HOUSE OF COMMONS OFFICIALS.

On the Orders of the Day.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE (Quebec East): May I ask whether the final report with regard to the classification of the officials and employees of this House will be laid on the Table before prorogation, as has been promised?

Hon. N. W. ROWELL (President of the Privy Council): I am not sure whether it is yet completed, but I shall make application at once to the secretary of the Civil Service Commission and, if it is, it will be laid on the Table. I understood from the commission that the delay was due to the fact that they could not take up the application of the classification until the House had finally passed upon the organization itself. The organization was a matter for the House to determine, and until that was disposed of the commission could not apply the classification to the existing staff. I shall inquire into the matter.

Mr. LAPOINTE: The House passed upon the classification a few weeks ago.

Mr. ROWELL: Quite so, but the commission was not able to take up the matter until after the House had passed upon it. I shall ascertain whether it is now ready.

## CRIMINAL CODE AMENDMENT.

Consideration of amendments made by the Senate to Bill 137 to amend the Criminal Code.

Rt. Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): Mr. Speaker, the Senate has made to this Bill quite a number of amendments, some of them purely verbal, and some that produce a material effect as modifying certain of the sections as passed by this House. After consideration of the amendments, however, although they do detract from the full effect which I think this House desired to produce, they do leave us a very material advance in the law on the subjects dealt with, and for that reason I would be disposed to ask the concurrence of the House in them. In regard to the particular provisions I have in mind, we have gained at least half a

[Sir George Foster.]

leaf in regard to what this House has been able to impress upon the Senate should be the law. I think it is wise to take that and to look to the future for further advances in that regard. The first amendment is merely to correct a description of the court which is to take appeals in the province of Ontario and to substitute for "the Court of Appeal for Ontario," the words "a divisional court of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of Ontario." It transpires that that is the correct description according to the provincial statute. The second amendment is to add to the number of authorities who may grant licenses in connection with the possession, or carrying, of firearms to "any person authorized under the law of any province to issue licenses or permits to carry firearms." This amendment was introduced at the suggestion of the Government. It has been represented to us by different provincial authorities that under provincial laws there were persons authorized to issue such licenses, and it seems only proper that their powers to issue permits under this Act should be recognized. Section 4 has been amended. This is the section which makes it an indictable offence for any person over the age of eighteen years to seduce or have illicit connection with any girl of previous chaste character of or above the age of sixteen and under the age of eighteen years. Under that provision an offence would be committed by seducing or having illicit connection with such a female. The amendment is to strike out the words "or has illicit connection with." Under the amended section the offence is committed only when seduction takes place; the mere illicit connection is not an offence. Section 5, the section which makes it an offence to have illicit connection with females in the employ of the party committing the offence, has been amended by striking out the word "woman or." As that clause left this House it was an offence to have such connection with any woman or any girl. The Senate seems to have considered that the Act when committed in regard to a woman—by which, I understand, a married female is meant although I cannot give their reasons for that—should not be constituted an offence and they have struck out the words "woman or." Section 6 which would make it an offence for persons not being married to register themselves in a hotel as being man and wife is struck out. Section 9, which makes it an offence to have carnal knowledge of a girl

under the age of sixteen and above the age of fourteen has been amended by inserting after the word "girl" the words "of previously chaste character." They have also added to section 9 a subsection, 9a, which provides that:

No person accused of any offence under this subsection shall be convicted upon the evidence of one witness, unless such witness is corroborated in some material particular by evidence implicating the accused.

The purpose apparently is not to look upon the evidence of the party against whom the offence is alleged to have been committed as sufficient by itself to justify conviction.

Immediately after section 9 there has been inserted a section entirely new which deals with an offence not dealt with in the Bill itself. The section, however, I think is absolutely unobjectionable and should meet with our approval. It is to deal with the offence committed by a person who:

"(a) being an officer or employee whose duty it is to collect fares or tolls, wilfully neglects to collect any fare or toll, or wilfully collects less than the proper amount, or accepts any valuable consideration for omitting to collect such fare or toll;

The application of this provision, I think, would probably be to collectors upon railways. The suggestion for such legislation came from the railway employees who find that at present they are being prosecuted under the Secret Commissions Act for offences of this kind with the result that they are liable to be proceeded against summarily and that their opportunities for appeal are exceedingly limited. It was represented that for men in that position such a charge was one of exceptional gravity and involved consequences which brought very severe punishment under the code, involved the loss of their employment, loss of their standing in the future and that it would be only right to make a provision under which they would be subject, for that offence, to be prosecuted upon indictment, with the option to themselves to take a summary procedure of trial if they thought proper. This provided that a man who has committed the offence I have described is liable upon indictment to two years imprisonment or to a fine not exceeding \$2,500, or to both fine and imprisonment. Then there are additional provisions for the method of trial and a provision that any person liable to punishment under a charge of this kind shall not be prosecuted under the Secret Commissions Act. I may say that this was considered before it was

agreed upon and that in our judgment it is a desirable and commendable provision.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN (York): Do I understand the minister to say that the railroad brotherhoods concerned have asked for this?

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes, it was asked for by the parties affected and they seemed to us to make out a perfectly good case that they had a grievance. Section 11 is struck out by the Senate. That was a section that required that, before a man could be taken from one province to be tried in another province, there should be a request on behalf of the Attorney General of the province into which he was being taken. I am not in a position to give the reasons of the Senate for striking out that clause.

Section 16 is also amended. That section as it left this House provided, that where no criminal term was held in a particular district in the province of Quebec the case might be transmitted to an adjoining district where a term was being held. The amendment provides that this may be done whenever no jury is summoned in the particular district, the Attorney General of the province having requested that modification.

Article 17 is amended by simply inserting the two words "of appeal" after the word "notice" which makes the provision more clear but does not change it.

The Senate have added clauses 18, 19 and 20. Clause 18 is a provision which affects the legislation with regard to what is usually called the age of consent. It provides that on the trial of any offence against sections 4, 5 and 9 of this Act—which are the sections dealing with the offences I have mentioned—the trial judge may instruct the jury that if in their view the evidence does not show that the accused is wholly or chiefly to blame for the commission of said offence they may find a verdict of acquittal. It is obvious that this very much mitigates the rigour—if that is a proper word to apply to it—of the provision which this House thought ought to be passed.

Mr. MORPHY: What is the offence dealt with?

Mr. DOHERTY: Three offences, which consist of having illicit connection either with a girl between fourteen and sixteen, with a girl who is in the employ of the party committing the offence, or with a girl, under certain circumstances, between

sixteen and eighteen; and the provision is as I have just read it, that if the jury be of opinion that the blame is not entirely, or mainly, with the male person concerned, they may find a verdict of acquittal.

Mr. MORPHY: Does the minister think that is a wise provision as regards a girl of fourteen years of age?

Mr. DOHERTY: It does not apply to the girl of fourteen. It applies to the girl between fourteen and sixteen, to the girl who is in the employ of the person committing the offence, and to the girl between sixteen and eighteen when it comes within the conditions making it an offence to have illicit connection with her. As to whether it is a wise provision or not there is room for difference of opinion. I think we had better accept it at the present time. The Senate have also added section 19 which amends section 216 as enacted by chapter 13 of the statutes of 1913. The amendment substitutes "five" for "ten" in that provision. Finally there is a provision that the Act shall come into operation on the 15th day of October next. I move that the amendments be concurred in.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE (Quebec East): With regard to the section which provides that if there is no term of the criminal court in a particular district of the province of Quebec the prisoner can be tried in another district, is that only to be done at the discretion of the Attorney General or has the prisoner something to say?

Mr. DOHERTY: The accused has the right to ask for it if he so desires; the Attorney General also has the right to ask for it if he thinks proper. Heretofore the Attorney General had no such right, and the consequence was very injurious to prisoners in some instances as well as to the carrying on of the administration of justice, because it created a situation where the prisoner was exposed, perhaps, to the likelihood of being kept a very long time in jail without an opportunity of trial. Moreover it is pointed out that it involves an exceedingly disproportionate expense in the administration of justice in districts in our province where offences are scarce, where you can only manage to find one or two people who are accused of anything and the large expense would be incurred in the district of holding a court and summoning jurors.

Mr. JACQUES BUREAU (Three Rivers): But the prisoner may ask for a change of venue at any time:

[Mr. Doherty.]

Mr. DOHERTY: When there is proper call for it.

Mr. STEIN (Kamouraska): May the prisoner prevent a change of venue?

Mr. DOHERTY: If a district to which he is being sent is one in which he thinks he will not get a fair trial he will have the same right to ask for a change of venue as he would when he is brought before any other court.

Motion agreed to and Senate amendments concurred in.

#### NATURALIZATION ACT (1914) AMENDMENT.

Rt. Hon. Mr. DOHERTY moved concurrence in the amendments made by the Senate to Bill 184, to revive and amend the Naturalization Act, 1914. He said: The amendments are three in number. One is to insert a clause which was enacted in the fall session of 1919 and the insertion of which was overlooked when the Bill went through this year owing to an oversight. It was to provide that the application in the province of Ontario might, in addition to the other courts mentioned, be made to the Court of General Sessions.

The second amendment is to make more clear the provision about the posting up of the notice of application. It is provided that the notice shall be posted up at least three months before the application is heard by the court. The effect of the amendment is to require that the notice shall be posted up continuously for that period, which I think is what was intended.

The third amendment is to insert in section 7 the words "the time of." They clearly ought to have been in there, the particular phrase having reference to something which existed "at or at any time before the grant of the certificate." The amendment simply puts in the words "the time of" to make the section read: "at the time of or at any time before the grant." etc.

Amendments read the second time.

#### CIVIL SERVICE ACT AMENDMENT.

The Speaker announced the receipt of a message from the Senate that it doth not insist upon its first amendment to Bill No. 53, to amend the Civil Service Act, 1918, and the Civil Service Amendment Act, 1919, to which the House of Commons had disagreed.

THE JUDGES ACT AMENDMENT—  
INCREASED SALARIES FOR JUDGES.

Rt. Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice) moved the second reading of Bill 218 to amend the Judges Act:

Mr. ROCH LANCTOT (Laprairie and Napierville): Mr. Speaker, before this Bill is read the second time I desire to make a few remarks in regard to it. I may say at once that I do not approve of it. The country is confronted with a very heavy debt, and the Government do not know where to get the money to meet our obligations. During this session new taxes have been imposed for over \$100,000,000, but I have no doubt that at the next session of Parliament the Minister of Finance will require further revenue to meet the increasing expenditure. That being the case, I do not see why a certain class of the community should have their salaries increased, particularly when this Government has been preaching economy for the last five or six years, and we on this side of the House have been doing the same. Therefore, if we want to prove to the people that we are sincere we must not pass this Bill.

I am not the only member who is of the opinion that the increase should not take place at the present time. My right hon. friend (Sir Robert Borden) who leads the Government said in this House on the 23rd instant—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. I must call the attention of the hon. member to the rule that reference cannot be made to a previous debate in the same session.

Mr. LANCTOT: I will not read from the Hansard report, Mr. Speaker. But if my memory serves me well, I think the Prime Minister told hon. members that this was not the proper time to increase the indemnities, because we have had to refuse the soldiers' request for gratuities, and public works of all kinds have had to be postponed by reason of the heavy financial commitments of the country. I take the same stand now as when I voted for the amendment proposed by my hon. leader (Mr. Mackenzie King) on the 1st of March last, that this Government should not attempt to legislate any more because it has no longer the support of the people.

When the debate took place last week, many hon. members participated in it, but having read all the speeches then delivered I am still at a loss to find any strong argument in favour of increased indemnities at the present juncture. We have been told by some hon. members that if the country

wants good men it must pay them a good salary. That may be true, but I wonder, if hon. members receive the \$1,500 more that is called for by this Bill, whether they will be any better men.

Some hon. members advise me, Mr. Speaker, that this is not the Bill for the increased indemnities.

Mr. SPEAKER: No. The Bill, which is now before the House is Bill 218 to amend the Judges Act. I did not wish to restrict the hon. member because I thought he was merely making a reference to the other Bill.

Mr. LANCTOT: As I intend to move an amendment to Bill 219 to increase the indemnities, I will resume my seat for the present.

Mr. EDMOND PROULX (Prescott): I do not want to repeat the arguments, which I made yesterday—

Mr. JACQUES BUREAU: Arguments!

Mr. PROULX:—against increasing the judges' salaries when the Government to-day finds it such a difficult matter to make both ends meet. As we have been imposing taxes on almost all the necessaries of life, I am of the opinion that the judges might well wait until the financial condition of the country is considerably better. I therefore move, seconded by Mr. Lanctôt:

That Bill 218 be not now read a second time, but that it be read a second time this day six months.

Mr. JOHN BEST (Dufferin): Might I ask the hon. Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) if the judges whose salaries are increased another thousand dollars will be entitled to pensions corresponding with the increase? If so, I shall oppose the Bill. I am not against paying good salaries, but I am against pensions and big salaries.

Mr. DOHERTY: The provision that judges are entitled to retire on full salary is entirely abolished; but those judges who to-day are under that law entitled to retire with full salary would be entitled to do so with the salary of to-day so long as they meet the conditions governing their retirement. That position as drafted does not apply to the County Court judges, but will be prepared to consider an amendment when we get into committee, which will be the proper place to deal with it.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Would the minister kindly repeat his answer for the benefit of this side of the House?

Mr. DOHERTY: I was explaining that in regard to all judges hereafter appointed the provisions which entitle them to retire

with full pay are repealed, and that as regards all judges presently upon the Bench, and who are therefore under the law which confers that right upon them, if they retire in the future under conditions which would under the existing law entitle them to full salary, they will receive only the full salary as it is to-day, not including the addition to be made by the present Bill.

Amendment (Mr. Proulx) negatived on division.

Motion agreed to, Bill read the second time, and the House went into committee thereon, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 5—Exchequer Court of Canada;

Mr. BEST: I would like the minister to give us an assurance that these pensions will be regulated or wiped out. I want to express my honest conviction that this pension business is getting to be a farce in this country. Why should those who make large salaries get pensions while those who get small salaries, and who need the money, do not? I want it to be distinctly understood that I wish every civil servant, every employee of the Government, to be well paid, but I do want to see the people of this country take care of what they get. I want them to be in a position to realize that they are not going to get pensions for years to come and be a burden on the country. I am totally against pensions of this kind, especially for those who are getting good salaries. I would like the minister to say how he is going to deal with the matter.

Mr. DOHERTY: We might more appropriately deal with that question when we come to the clause which deals with pensions. I may say at once that this Bill does not abolish all pensions but it does abolish pensions at full pay, leaving in existence only the two-thirds pensions.

Section agreed to.

On section 10—additional \$1,000 payable to judges of Circuit, County and District Courts when district, etc., has town or city, of over 40,000 population.

Mr. DOHERTY: I move that the marginal note be amended by striking therefrom the following words: "when district, etc., has town or city of over 40,000 population."

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. FIELDING: Does this increase the salaries of judges whose salaries were increased a year ago?

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes.

[Mr. Doherty.]

Mr. FIELDING: It is getting to be an annual affair. We have to increase these salaries every year, have we?

Mr. DOHERTY: No, we hope this will be the termination of it. We only want to supplement the good work that was not completed last year, but we consider it complete now.

Mr. CRERAR: What length of service is required to entitle a judge to pension?

Mr. DOHERTY: The present provision is that a man who in the High Court has served fifteen years shall be entitled to a pension of two-thirds of his salary. A man who has served twenty-five years and is seventy years of age may retire with full pay; so with the man who has served twenty years and is seventy-five years of age. These provisions for retirement with full pay are dealt with in the last section of the Bill.

Mr. CROTHERS: Is there any provision here to make the retiring allowance depend upon the length of service?

Mr. DOHERTY: The effect of the last clause of the Bill is to do away with any provision, so far as this increase is concerned, which entitles a man to retire with full pay, leaving as it is the provision that a man who has served fifteen years or more may retire with two-thirds of his salary. Any man who to-day comes under the law which entitles him after a certain period of time to retire with full pay will be entitled, when the time comes, only to the pay as it stands to-day, without the increase.

Mr. FIELDING: Is it not possible that the proportionate allowance of the larger salary may be better than the full allowance of the lower salary?

Mr. DOHERTY: I do not think that is possible. The present increase is \$2,000; the total salary does not increase by more than one-third.

Section agreed to.

On section 12—repeal of provision making judges liable to taxation who received an increase under Act of 1919.

Mr. FIELDING: I notice that the provision with respect to extra payment to judges—which, I think, is a wise provision—does not extend to any of the judges below the Superior Courts. Why should not this provision extend to the gentlemen to whom we voted an extra \$1,000 last year and for whom we have just provided another \$1,000?

Mr. DOHERTY: I think that is quite proper. We can amend section 12 by adding after the word "Superior" in the second line, the words "Circuit, County or District."

Mr. FIELDING: Would it not be better simply to say, "no judge . . . . shall receive any remuneration" and so on?

Mr. DOHERTY: I accept that suggestion. I move that section 12 be amended by striking out from the second and third lines of subclause 1 of 34 the following words:

—of the Supreme Court of Canada, the Exchequer Court of Canada, or of any Provincial Superior Court.

Mr. McMASTER: Might I draw the attention of the Minister of Justice to the fact that by broadening his clause in this way he would cut out the police magistrate who, I presume, would be a judge, whose salary might be very small and who might be asked to do very important work outside of his duties. Perhaps that is the intention and it may be a good thing, but I wish to point it out.

Mr. DOHERTY: A judge of the police court is not a judge under this Act at all. He is not appointed by the Dominion Government, and this Act would have no application to him.

Mr. McMASTER: In common parlance he is called a judge.

Mr. DOHERTY: I think we can safely assume that in an Act of this Parliament of Canada dealing with salaries of judges appointed by the Dominion Government, a judge means a judge under this Act. The salary of a police magistrate would be *ultra vires*. We have no authority over a police magistrate.

Mr. CRERAR: Would the minister explain the purport of this amendment again, because it is quite impossible to hear down at this end of the Chamber.

Mr. DOHERTY: The clause as it stood prescribed that no judge of the Supreme Court of Canada, the Exchequer Court, or any Provincial Superior Court, shall receive any remuneration in addition to his salary for acting as Administrator or Deputy of the Governor General, or for the performance of any executive or judicial duties that he might be called upon to perform by the Dominion or by the province. The amendment strikes out the enumeration of particular courts so as to make the provision apply to a judge of any court, that is,

of course, any court coming under our authority and under this Act.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. FIELDING: A provision is very properly made that, in case of these additional services, judges shall be allowed out of pocket expenses. But the words used are "shall be entitled to his moving or transportation expense and living allowance." If he is travelling, the living allowance will be all right, but if he is doing some work in the place where he lives, he ought not to have any living allowance.

Mr. DOHERTY: The hon. gentleman will notice this reads: "his moving or transportation expenses and living allowance at the rate provided by section 18 of this Act," that is, of the Act we are amending, not clause 18 of this Bill. Section 18 of the Act prescribes the conditions upon which a man gets a living allowance; he gets a living allowance when he is absent from his home living in some place other than the place of his usual or official residence as a judge.

Mr. FIELDING: If it is as clear as my right hon. friend says, I have no objection. That a judge should get a living allowance when he is travelling is perfectly right, but if, say, an Ottawa judge is called upon to perform some duties in this city, he should not have a living allowance.

Mr. DOHERTY: I want to make it perfectly clear and we shall make it perfectly clear by using the phrase "at the rate and on the conditions provided by section 18." I, therefore, move to further amend subclause (2) of clause 12 by inserting after the word "rate" in line 10 on page 8 of the Bill, the following words, "and upon the conditions." The clause will now read:

Shall be entitled to his moving or transportation expenses and living allowance at the rate and upon the conditions provided by section 18 of this Act.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. FIELDING: In subclause (2) at the foot of page 7, I think it would be better to strike out the enumeration of judges as we did in the preceding subclause, so that it will read, "every judge who may be nominated."

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes. I move that subclause (2) of clause 12 be amended by striking out after the word "judge" in the first line thereof the words "of the Supreme Court of Canada, the Exchequer Court of

Canada, or of any Provincial Superior Court."

Amendment agreed to.

Clause as amended agreed to.

On clause 13—increases of salary not to affect annuities equal to a full salary under section 20, and said section not to apply to judges hereafter appointed.

Mr. CROTHERS: There is a provision that the retiring allowance of a County Court judge shall be determined by length of service. This section, as I understand it, provides that that would not apply to the addition of \$1,000 granted the other day.

Mr. DOHERTY: I think I explained that with the additions we have made to this, County Court judges to-day are entitled, if they have served twenty-five years, to retire on two-thirds of their salary. As regards County Court judges, the only men who can retire on full salary are, not men who voluntarily retire, but men who, under a provision of the law introduced

3 p.m. some six or seven years ago, are compulsorily retired when they reach the age of seventy-five years. That enactment, whether Parliament was wise in enacting it or not, was not an enactment in the interests of the judges; it was looked upon as an enactment in the public interest to ensure the disappearance of men who, it was assumed as a general rule—of course, we all recognize there are exceptions—had reached the limit of their usefulness, and when you compulsorily retire a man, it seemed to Parliament at that time that it would be right to give him his full salary. It must be borne in mind in regard to that class of men whom we presume to be unfitted for the performance of their duties, that the number of years they are likely to live is not very great. But outside of that, I think there is a provision that a County Court judge having served thirty years, may retire on full pay. There is no provision, excepting that provision of compulsory retirement, that says that a County Court judge, irrespective of length of service, may retire on either his full pay or a pension. Of course, where a man breaks down through illness and infirmity and is incapable of performing his duties, in such a case he gets two-thirds of his salary.

Mr. CROTHERS: I have no doubt the minister has looked into this matter and that what he says is correct. I have not

[Mr. Doherty.]

so understood the matter for years, but I have not had time to look it up myself. I understood the practice for some years has been that if a County Court judge reached the age of seventy-five years, he was compulsorily retired, and regardless of the length of time he has served, whether it was five years or ten years or twenty-five years, he would be entitled to full pay. For instance, if a man was appointed a County Court judge ten years ago at the age of sixty-five, under the law as it was then, he would be entitled on reaching seventy-five years of age to his full salary for the rest of his life. The retiring allowance was to depend upon the salary he was receiving at the time he retired. That amounted to an agreement with the man. Now you hold that the additional amount he receives in his salary shall not be taken into account in calculating his retiring allowance. That strikes me as a breach of faith with the man who accepted the office.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Clause 13, line 20, says:

And the provisions of the said section 20 shall not apply to any judge appointed after the passing of this Act.

This Bill contains only 13 clauses and there is evidently something wrong.

Mr. DOHERTY: The hon. member will see that the first section of the Bill begins by referring to paragraphs so-and-so of section 2 of the Judges Act, Revised Statutes of 1906, etc. That is the Act that is referred to all through this Bill as "the said Act." There seems to be a difference of opinion with regard to the application of this last clause, which provides that the increases of salaries granted by this Bill shall not entitle any judge to any increase in the annuity which may be granted to him under section 20 of the Judges' Act. There is a difference of opinion as to whether this should apply to County Court judges or not. I understand that the hon. member for Dufferin (Mr. Best) suggests that it should, and the hon. member for West Elgin (Mr. Crothers) is of opinion that there is an element of injustice in so doing. I do not think that argument quite applies when we are giving an increase of salary and making this provision a condition of the increase. However, I am in the hands of the committee as to whether it is necessary, in view of the very limited number of cases in which County Court judges are entitled to retire with full pay, to make this applicable to both classes. It is fair to

bear in mind that in all these cases the men are very old and the amount they will have to live on for the rest of their lives will be but \$5,000, the amount that they have become accustomed to spend. It will cost us very little because it will be for a very few years. These considerations led the Government, in considering the matter, not to include them in the section. As I say, however, I am in the hands of the committee if the committee thinks it will be better to apply the same rule to both classes of judges.

Mr. LANCTOT: I have a couple of amendments which I desire to move. I move, seconded by Mr. Proulx, that there be added to the Bill as section 14, subsection 1, the following:

If any person receiving a pension under the said Act becomes entitled to any salary in respect of any public office under His Majesty, in respect of His Government of Canada, such salary shall be reduced by the amount of such pension.

I might just as well move the other one.

Some hon. MEMBERS: One at a time.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Is this amendment intended to be retroactive, or does my hon. friend propose that it shall apply in the future?

Mr. LANCTOT: I think it might be better to make it applicable to future cases. I would not care to make it retroactive; we have had enough retroactive things for a while. I cannot, of course, help what has been done in the past, but I think a provision such as this is desirable for the future.

Mr. PROULX: I remember that in 1905 when pensions were granted ex-ministers there was a provision in the Act that the pension of an ex-minister would be reduced by the amount of any salary he might receive from an office under the Government. It is only fair that this provision should apply to judges who, in receipt of a pension, accept a salaried office from the Dominion Government.

Mr. FIELDING: If the amendment is made to apply to any present case it would seem to have a personal colour and I would very much regret anything of that kind. I would be willing to support it if it applied to the future, because the principle laid down is absolutely sound. I should like to see my hon. friend revise the amendment to take out of it the personal colour. The argument is a sound one and the amend-

ment should carry, subject to that qualification.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I might say, on behalf of the Government, that I am prepared to accept the suggestion of the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's.

Mr. LANCTOT: I am perfectly willing to accept the suggestion.

Mr. PROULX: I am prepared to make it apply only to cases in the future.

Mr. MACLEAN (Halifax): I am not going to say that I am opposed to the suggestion of the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding), which has been acquiesced in by the Prime Minister, but I should like to hear both of these gentlemen give reasons for the acceptance of the suggestion which came from hon. gentlemen opposite. I cannot quite see the reason for reducing the salary of a minister of the Crown who is serving in that capacity by reason of the fact that in some former occupation which he pursued he earned under the law a pension. I am open to conviction, but I should like to hear both hon. gentlemen give reasons in support of their contention.

Mr. FIELDING: I made no mention of ministers of the Crown but I think we must clearly see that the whole purpose of a pension chargeable upon the public treasury in the case of any man who has occupied a permanent position is that he shall receive that pension after the time when, by reason of advancing years, physical or mental infirmity, he is no longer able to discharge his duties. If under no other circumstances a pension is, as should be, granted to him, and if he is afterwards called upon to discharge some public duty surely it is not reasonable that he should take both the pension and the salary too. It seems to me that is a very simple proposition. The theory of a pension is that no man should receive a pension if he is able to discharge his duties. If he is not able to discharge his duties he may fairly claim a pension, but if he is not able to discharge his duties in one office he is presumably not able to discharge them in another. I am sorry that my hon. friend has made allusion to any specific instance because I had no idea of making any particular reference but I think the principle laid down that no man has a right to both salary and pension is absolutely sound.

Mr. LALOR: Would that apply to the indemnity of a member of Parliament as well?

Mr. FIELDING: An indemnity is not a salary?

Mr. MACLEAN (Halifax): I fail to see that the argument presented by the hon. member (Mr. Fielding) is absolutely sound. I unfortunately mentioned the case of a minister of the Crown receiving a pension from the State. Suppose a person is receiving a pension of \$500 a year and he comes to the capital of his country to perform a public duty in the capacity of a minister of the Crown. The salary which he will receive hereafter is \$10,000 a year and I assume that is intended as a recompense for the service which he is rendering to his country. I think that \$10,000 is little enough. I would have preferred that it should have been more in the present instance but it does seem anomalous to reduce that minister's salary by \$500 by reason of the fact that he is drawing a pension from the State for some service rendered in the past.

Mr. BEST: How would it be reducing the salary by \$500 if a person drawing \$500 as a pension and not drawing a salary for anything else were appointed a minister of the Crown at \$10,000 a year? He would be drawing \$10,000 in place of the \$500 and he would, by failing to draw his \$500, be getting \$10,000.

Mr. LEMIEUX: It seems to me that the principle propounded by the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) is absolutely logical. If a man is appointed a judge, according to the Judges' Act, he may, two, three or four weeks after receiving his commission, become ill. He may at once tender his resignation and he will be entitled by law to his pension for life. Let us suppose that three, four or five years afterwards he is absolutely cured and he can resume his duties. He chooses to run for parliamentary honours. By his abilities he is promoted from membership in the House of Commons to a Cabinet position. Would it be fair, would it be justifiable, after having been on the Bench for, let us say, one year, after having been forced to resign on account of ill health, being entitled by law to his pension for life, and after being cured and becoming a Cabinet minister, he should draw his salary as a member of the Cabinet and his pension as well? It seems to me that the question is not debatable. If the Minister of Justice will take it from me I assure him that I am not at all personal in saying this. It does not need any such assurance from me because the case of the Minister of Justice

[Mr. Lalor.]

is not similar to the one I have mentioned. The right hon. gentleman served on the Bench for at least fifteen years and he was entitled by statute to his pension. He received his pension and it was not because he was ill that he resigned. His time had elapsed and by the effect of law he became entitled to his pension. His case is quite different from the hypothetical case I put to my hon. friend (Mr. Maclean, Halifax), and which might be a case where the public would reasonably resent any double-barrelled salary being paid.

Mr. MACKIE (Edmonton): The hon. gentleman (Mr. Lemieux) has just cited the case of a judge who had been appointed a short time, who had then been pensioned and who had become a member of the Cabinet. Assuming that a member of the Cabinet were defeated in an election or chose to resign his Cabinet position, would he then be entitled to resume his pension? Under the amendment may he go back to his pension or is he deprived of both the salary and the pension?

Mr. LEMIEUX: The amendment as read a moment ago does not cover that case.

Mr. MACKIE (Edmonton): If the amendment is to jeopardize a gentleman's future by reason of the precarious position he holds as a member of the Cabinet, you are going to prevent men of ability from entering politics or holding such positions by reason of the fact that they may be at any time deprived of their source of revenue.

Mr. CROTHERS: The case cited by the hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) would not arise under the statute which says:

If any judge of the Supreme Court of Canada or of the Exchequer Court of Canada or of any superior court in Canada, who has continued in the office of judge of a superior court in Canada, or in any of the provinces, for fifteen years or upwards, or who becomes afflicted with some permanent infirmity.

Not simply after a year or two but permanent infirmity. The particular case set forth by the hon. member for Maisonneuve where a man being made a judge, after a month or two becomes ill, resigns, gets a pension for life and on becoming better can take another position at a large salary does not come within the provision of this section. That is not the intention of the provisions of this section. He must be permanently infirm or have served fifteen years. Now a man enters into the public service in accordance with the terms of this statute. That is, the Government says to

him: "You will go to the Bench and when you have served the country for fifteen years you will be entitled to a pension of two-thirds of your salary." That is an agreement, a contract. The man says: "Very well, I will accept your offer. I will go upon the Bench for fifteen years and then I shall be entitled to two-thirds of my salary." That is simply a contract and the man is under no obligation to any one. If at the end of fifteen years he resigns he is at perfect liberty to take any other position he may see fit to take; and the fact that he accepts a salary in connection with some other position does not affect at all his right to that pension. It is simply a case of carrying out an agreement with the man when he accepted that position on the Bench.

Mr. FIELDING: I question whether it would be wise policy to provide that any officer in the public service of Canada—after a period of fifteen years and while he is blessed with health, strength and energy—should be entitled, of his own motion, to claim a pension and go out. I question whether that was the meaning of the law. My hon. friend from Elgin, I presume, has been reading from the Revised Statutes.

Mr. CROTHERS: Yes.

Mr. FIELDING: I think this matter was discussed a year or two ago and that some changes were made in the law which qualifies the provision which my hon. friend has just read. However, I do not wish to dwell upon that. There is some difficulty in framing a suitable amendment on this matter; and I would suggest to the Prime Minister that it might be fitting for him to let that clause stand for a few hours and at a later stage he might bring in an amendment which might meet the views of all parties. There are difficulties in framing an amendment, as the right hon. gentleman has probably already seen. However, if he prefers to press the matter now I have no objection. I think the spirit of his amendment is good but it needs careful consideration.

Mr. DOHERTY: I would like to say one word. I do not want to discuss the principle of the amendment at all because it might very properly be suggested that I am not a disinterested judge of that question. Nevertheless I would like to set myself right in one respect. The hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) expressed the opinion that in all cases the idea of a pension was associated with in-

firmity, or old age, or incapacity of some kind to perform the duty. Now let me point out that there was in force in this country before I was born—so far as I know it has been the law from time immemorial—a law, as the hon. member for West Elgin pointed out, containing the express provision that if a man has served fifteen years he should be entitled to a pension.

Mr. CROTHERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. LEMIEUX: By law.

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes, and let me say this in addition; at the time I resigned, a government of which the hon. gentleman (Mr. Fielding) was a member was in power in Canada. That government had a Minister of Justice with regard to whom I am sure we would all agree, that Canada has had no more eminent lawyer. Let me further point this out: I did not retire and ask for a pension. I tendered my resignation to take effect when His Majesty should be pleased to grant me the pension to which my fifteen years of service—that was set forth in express terms—entitled me under such a section of such a statute; and the government of that day acquiesced in that view, otherwise they would not have accepted the resignation. I must say that I felt bound to proceed in that way because if it was a matter of asking anything that was not my absolute right I did not desire to follow that course. More than that, before I took that step I was at pains to look very carefully as to what the effect of the provision was, because it was suggested that by reason of the word "may" being used that affected, in some way, the absolute nature of the right. However, I found it to be absolutely a settled law in the United Kingdom that "may" used in a provision of that kind—enacted for the benefit of a certain class of persons, and prescribing the conditions by which they should be entitled to that benefit—was to be interpreted as imposing a duty on the Government, not as granting a privilege; and a moment's reflection upon the effect of treating it otherwise will, I think, make it quite clear why that is so. What is going to become of the independence of the judiciary if the Governor in Council can sit and say to one man who has been fifteen years on the Bench, "I like you, you can have your pension," to another man who has served fifteen years, "I do not like you, you cannot have your pension." One of the fundamental principles of our constitution is the preservation of the independence of the judiciary, and that is absolutely inconsistent

with the conferring of discretionary power upon the Government—any government—to grant this or that to a judge. The rights of the judges, if you are going to secure their independence, must be absolutely fixed and not dependent upon anybody's discretion. Now as I have said I looked into the condition of the law in England; and when looking back I found that the then Minister of Justice in Canada—not dealing with my case at all but talking on the general proposition—expressed the opinion that has just been expressed by the hon. member for West Elgin—that that clause constituted a contract between the man appointed and the Government of this country which has conferred upon the former a right. The occasion was a discussion upon the repeal of a statute which had granted a pension on retirement. The hon. Mr. Aylesworth justified that repeal. It was suggested to him that it involved a violation of a contract under which service had been rendered and this instance was cited. Mr. Aylesworth made the distinction. He pointed out that as it happened there was no man who had become a minister while that provision for pension existed and therefore there could be no contract on the subject; whereas, he said, with regard to every judge who accepted office under the law making that provision, there was a contract which it would not be justifiable to violate. I found also in our own province the opinion of the late Hon. François Langelier, for a number of years Lieutenant-Governor of the province, a judge of one of our highest courts and whose position as jurist is beyond question. He, commenting upon an article of our Code in the province which provides that "may" is to have the meaning of "shall" gave as an illustration, showing that that was the proper meaning, this very section. I desire to say this, if the committee will bear with me, because I think it is fair that the position as it presented itself to my mind should be put before them; and the fact that the view that I took obtained the sanction to which I have alluded is also I think to be borne in mind. (It is also to be remembered that salaries are fixed with that pension in mind. I served those fifteen years on a salary of \$5,000 a year with the right to this pension. At the time that I accepted office it was a matter of universal comment that the salaries were too low. I accepted office, but I accepted it with that right, among others. I may say that in discussing whether I should accept it or not, friends of mine thought that I was doing an unwise thing,

[Mr. Doherty.]

and the consideration that weighed with me, as was pointed out at the time, was that at the end of fifteen years I would not yet be an old man and I would have acquired the right to that pension with my leisure. I express no opinion in regard to it; I leave that to the judgment of the House.

It would follow from that naturally that I would share the view expressed by the junior member for Halifax (Mr. Maclean) but, as I said, I do not want to discuss it. But I do want to add one thing further: When I accepted office in the then Borden administration I submitted the facts—and I think my then colleagues will recollect the incident — at our first meeting, and I said then that if any of my colleagues entertained a doubt as to whether that pension was my absolute right, I would be prepared to forego it. Those gentlemen—and they were all fairly competent—expressed themselves in the sense that that pension was my absolute right, and I acted accordingly. With the best judgment I can bring to bear upon the subject I never had a qualm of conscience, and for myself I would go on feeling that I was just as absolutely entitled to that pension as if I had rendered like service to any individual citizen upon a life covenant.

Mr. FIELDING: I regret exceedingly that the right hon. Minister of Justice has deemed it necessary to present his own case to the House. I do not think he was called upon to do so, for I do not think any hon. member made any remark which might be taken to reflect on my right hon. friend; certainly I did not do so. While my right hon. friend and I do not always agree, I have always found him most courteous, and as good and just as it is possible for a good Tory to be. I have nothing but the profoundest respect for him, and I would feel the deepest regret if any word I had said had wounded him in the slightest degree. I do not desire to reflect on him. I am dealing with this as a matter of principle, and I think that the very essence of a pension system is that a pension shall be accorded to a man, no matter what his public service may be, when he is no longer able to render efficient service. If we are making contracts whereby men in the heyday of their youth and energy can retire upon a pension, I think it time we changed the contracts. But let me say again that I had not the slightest thought of reflecting on my right hon. friend, and if any word of

mine wounded him I exceedingly regret it and desire to take it back.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I am not quite sure that the provision of pensions has always followed precisely the lines which my hon. friend for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) has suggested, whether we look to this country or to other countries. I think sometimes you will find that a pension has been entirely dependent upon length of service, and in other cases it has been dependent altogether upon incapacity to perform further the duties which were in the first instance committed to the person in question. However, I do not know that it is worth while for us to pursue that subject further. I should be prepared to accept the amendment which the hon. gentleman from Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Lanctôt) has proposed in the following form:

If hereafter any person becomes entitled to a pension under the said Act, and becomes also entitled to any salary in respect of any public office under His Majesty in respect of His Government of Canada, such salary shall be reduced by the amount of such pension.

If that is acceptable to my hon. friend it can be adopted.

Mr. LANCTOT: That is acceptable to me.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): I regret that the evident sense of the House appears to be behind my right hon. friend the Prime Minister, for I think that he has accepted this amendment somewhat hastily. I would like to have heard him pursue further the grounds upon which pensions are conferred, because I think that he touched the crux of the whole matter when he raised that question.

I conceive a pension to a judge given by the State after fifteen years service, where no question of illness is involved, is a recognition on the part of the State of the tremendously arduous and responsible work of the judge. With my long experience of the administration of law on both sides of the Atlantic, I do not think it is possible to exaggerate the respect in which the highest legal dignitaries of the land should be held. It was not infrequently my lot as a medical man to give evidence before the assize courts of the Old Land, and I always felt when giving that evidence that I was in the presence of a tribunal which ranked next to the great Judgment Seat to which we are told we are all going.

The recognition of the dignity of the law and the keen sense of justice that actuates the highest functionaries connected with

the law has a tremendous influence upon what I conceive to be the deepest respect for law and order and advanced civilization that has been seen in the world, and if I may claim the honour I still think that that profound respect is to be found in the Old Sod and in the other countries of the Empire.

Now, what is the position? The State has in its wisdom recognized by law the dignity of the judge's position, his high services to the State, the tremendous strain upon him while he is doing his work; it has recognized him to this extent, that in the wisdom of Parliament a law has been enacted that at the end of fifteen years service this high dignitary is entitled to a pension. There may be the recognition of another principle—but I should be sorry to have to state it in that case—that we do not pay our judges enough. If that were so, no greater disgrace to the country could be imagined. Probably the right principle in regard to pensions is that all servants of the public should receive enough while they are serving the public in such capacities as we are referring to that they could save enough money during the fifteen years service not to need any pension thereafter. But in that connection the State has viewed the question differently; that a salary is given sufficient to maintain the dignity of the position, and that a pension resulting from that salary is legally conferrable upon a judge or other functionary at the end of fifteen years.

I contend that if there is an evil, in the brief period we have been considering the question we have not discovered it. Like my hon. friend the junior member for Halifax (Mr. Maclean) I have very little sympathy with this amendment. I repeat my regret that it has been accepted somewhat hastily, in my judgment, by my right hon. friend.

If there is an evil it is either that we do not pay our judges sufficiently or that perhaps it would be better for us if a tradition grew up amongst us that one who has held the high position of a judge shall be ineligible for service in politics afterwards. I think that would be the better course. I am not prepared at the moment to suggest what course the committee should take. It will probably take the course—and I am not going to blame it—of following the advice of my right hon. friend (Sir Robert Borden) on one side and the member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) on the other. I do not think that the amendment goes to the root of the evil. We have

taken the course of accepting it hastily; it is simply a picayune amendment, in my judgment, and I have no sympathy with it.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I should not like to have my hon. friend (Mr. M. Clark) under any misapprehension as to the intent of this section. Any person who becomes entitled to a pension in the future remains entitled to it just as in the past, but if such a person accepts any other office of emolument under the Crown, the provision of this amendment simply means that during the period in which he enjoys that further emolument the amount of pension to which he is entitled shall be deducted from the salary of the office. After he ceases to enjoy that office of emolument his pension will be payable to him just as it was before. I cannot see that any evil will flow from the provision. Perhaps, as my hon. friend (Mr. Clark) has said, I have accepted without sufficient consideration the view which was put forward by my hon. friend of Shelburne and Queen's. But I am not convinced, after all, that this proposal is not a wise one.

Mr. CLARK (Red Deer): I should like to offer one sentence to make myself clear on one point. A judge has earned his pension on one of two grounds. He has earned it under the law of the land, passed by this Parliament, either because the State—very properly, I think—has recognized the high position and the great responsibility which he has sustained for fifteen years, or because his state of health no longer enables him to discharge his duties. Under our law and the traditional practice of this House, which, I think, is different from that of the Old Land, he is perfectly free afterwards, if his health is good—and I understood my right hon. friend to say that the question of health did not necessarily enter into it at all—to enter politics and become a minister of the Crown. My view is that he has earned his pension by the dignified and sincere responsibility that he has assumed and by the honest discharge of his high duties. In the present case I want to say that my right hon. friend the Minister of Justice has shown his abilities as a lawyer and his fitness previously to have been a judge and has fully earned his present salary as Minister of Justice. He has done both things and earned both sums of money under the law, but I still think that if this thing had been properly ex-

[Mr. M. Clark.]

amined into we should have gone deeper for a cure. I have still very little sympathy with the amendment.

Mr. MOWAT: This matter is so important to the ranks of the bar that I think something should be said about it. I believe that the amendment can be accepted without interfering with the principle which my hon. friend from Red Deer (Mr. M. Clark) and my hon. friend from Halifax (Mr. Maclean) have spoken about, because the person who gets the pension has the option of accepting a further office of emolument or not. There seems to be a disposition on the part of some members to think that judges are an especially favoured class of the community. But that is not the case. It is more desirable, I would say essential, that judges should be men occupying the highest place at the bar, professionally and otherwise, and occupying the highest place in their community as trusted men, because they stand between the poor and the rich and have at all times great and onerous responsibility. Now, to get the best men as judges sometimes you have to appeal to men who are in receipt of a larger income than they would get on the Bench, and they have to sacrifice their independence. It is an attractive thing to a man who is offered a judgeship to feel that he will receive something after his judicial career is ended. So that the principle is not to support him, as my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) has said: not to support him only, but to make a bargain with him which will induce the best men in the country to take the judicial office. And so I say that this arrangement is a bargain or agreement to pay this amount of money yearly after a man's judicial career has ended. The payment may be spread over a period of years after he retires, but at the same time it is the consideration for an agreement made. Unless you have some arrangement of this kind I fear that the principle which was had in mind when the Act was passed in the first place, a principle which has been recognized in England for many years, will be subverted, with much resulting disadvantage. It is highly important that the bargain should be kept. While statutes cannot be changed to suit the times, let us not forget that the reasons for the passing of this statute exist to-day as reasons for its continuance.

Amendment agreed to.

Bill reported with amendments, read the third time and passed.

## SALARIES OF MINISTERS AND INDEMNITY OF MEMBERS.

Right Hon. Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister) moved the second reading of Bill No. 219, to amend the Salaries Act and the Senate and House of Commons Act. He said:

The question involved in this measure is one of considerable importance and interest, and I entirely agree that it should be fully and frankly discussed. The committee was good enough last evening to pass the resolution pro forma on the understanding that that step should not commit any hon. member to the support of the Bill, and that the matter should be entirely open upon the second reading and in the Committee of the Whole House.

The question involved in this measure is one for the House rather than for the Government, although, of course, legislation of this character must, under the provisions of our constitution, be initiated by the Government. In a recent debate I expressed certain views which are familiar to the House. I stated with perfect frankness my belief that the indemnity of members at the present time is too low, and on the other hand I expressed a doubt as to whether the present session was an opportune time for taking action in the matter. Having regard to what seemed to be the views of a large majority in the House, I thought it my duty to present this legislation to Parliament. I have not felt that the question whether the time is or is not opportune ought completely and absolutely to control all other considerations, and hence the proposals are before the House in the form which I am now proceeding to discuss.

It is desirable, I think, to give a short historical review of the arrangements for indemnities of members since this confederation was formed and also to set forth certain facts which have a bearing upon the present situation. Immediately after Confederation the indemnity of members of Parliament was fixed at the sum of \$1,000; at that time the sessions were very short, lasting about six weeks or two months. The business of Parliament and of the Government as well was then relatively insignificant to what it is at the present. The indemnity continued at that figure until the session of 1901, the first session after the general election of 1900, and during that session the indemnity was increased to the sum of \$1,500. Just before that session I had been elected leader of the Opposition,

which position I held for a considerable time, indeed, somewhat longer than I would have wished.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. JACOBS: Many happy returns.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I can observe in the ebullitions of my hon. friends on the other side of the House the same spirit which used to animate us during those days, but I fear that the fruition of their hopes will be postponed much longer than in our case. There was a good deal of debate about the increase in 1901. I supported the increase; many apprehensions were expressed as to its effect; but none of them, so far as I am aware, have been realized up to the present time. The indemnity remained at the sum of \$1,500 until the first session after the general election of 1904; indeed, it seems to have been a practice to deal with these matters immediately after a general election. At that time the indemnity was increased to \$2,500. The tremendous increase in the cost of living, the increase also in the length of sessions, could not have been foreseen at that time and were not foreseen. Hence, it was then anticipated that no further increase of the indemnity would be necessary for a generation at least.

The legislation of that year also embodied a proposal for a special sessional allowance to the leader of the Opposition. As I then occupied that position the question had a certain personal relation to me, but I had no difficulty in expressing my ideas with regard to it, both publicly and privately. I remember dealing very fully with the whole question in a speech which I made in the city of Toronto immediately after the session of 1905. The view which I then expressed and which I now entertain is this, that unless the selection of the leader of a party in Opposition is to be confined to the wealthy and leisured class—and we would all, I think, regard that as detrimental to the best interests of the country—or unless on the other hand he is to be made dependent upon financial interests in his own party, then a salary should be provided for the leader of the Opposition, and it was provided. The practice has since been followed in several of the provinces, and although my acceptance of that situation was attended at that time with many jeers and gibes from various quarters throughout the country, I never paid very much attention to them. Any one must be absolutely fool-

ish who would imagine that a special sessional indemnity provided, not by the Government, but by the people of the country and paid out of the revenues of the country, could in any way affect the independence of any hon. member holding the position of leader of the Opposition. I took this position further, when the subject was first broached to me, that if any allowance was to be made to the man holding the very responsible position of leader of the Opposition, he ought to be placed upon the same basis as that accorded to ministers of the Crown. That was the course then taken, and that is the course which we propose to take in this Bill.

With respect to the considerations which should influence the House either one way or the other in determining this proposal, I think it may fairly be claimed that we have a right to turn to the example of the provinces of Canada and of the country which is nearest to us in the character of its people, in their mode of life, and in the character of the representatives sent to its legislatures; to turn also to the example of other dominions of the Empire whose conditions are virtually the same as our own. Therefore, I must ask the patience of the House while I place upon its records certain information which has been gathered and submitted to me, and some which I have gathered myself. Let

us take first the provinces of  
4 p.m. Canada and consider the situation therein, first as to the

length of session and the consequent burdens imposed upon members of their legislatures. We find in the province of British Columbia that the average length of session is about nine weeks and that the indemnity is \$1,600 for each session. In Alberta the average length of session is seven and one-half weeks and the indemnity is \$2,000. In Saskatchewan the average length of session is six weeks and the sessional indemnity is \$1,800. In Manitoba the average length of session is nine weeks and the sessional indemnity is \$1,500. In Ontario the average length of session is eight weeks and the sessional indemnity is \$1,400. In Quebec the average length of session is between eight and nine weeks and the sessional indemnity is \$2,000. In New Brunswick the average length of session is seven weeks and the sessional indemnity is \$1,000. In Nova Scotia the average length of session is twelve weeks and the sessional indemnity is \$700. With respect to what has been done in

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recent years, I may point out that in Alberta the sessional indemnity was raised from \$1,500 to \$2,000, in 1919; in Saskatchewan from \$1,500 to \$1,800 in either 1919 or 1920; in Quebec it was raised from \$1,500 to \$2,000 in 1920; in New Brunswick it was raised from \$500 to \$1,000 in 1920. Now, comparing this House with the legislatures of the provinces which I have named, we observe that the sessions of this Parliament average about 18 or 19 weeks in each year. They are necessarily held at a period of the year when men engaged in business activities, whether farming, commerce, industry, or any other occupation of an equally important character, are inevitably taken away from their work and for that reason are obliged to make provision therefor by the employment of other persons, or otherwise to suffer serious detriment in their business. In addition I point out to the House and to those throughout the country who have been critical of these proposals, that in some at least of these legislatures the House sits only from Tuesday to Friday night, and the members living near to the place at which the legislature convenes are at liberty to have at least three days of the week during which to attend to their personal affairs, whereas in respect to the majority of the members of this Parliament, the attendance must be fairly continuous from the beginning of the session to the end, and, so far as members from the western part of the country are concerned, it must be absolutely continuous and uninterrupted from the day the session begins until the day of prorogation.

Let us make a comparison with some of the other dominions. Let us take the Commonwealth of Australia, which in population most nearly corresponds to our own Dominion. We find that the indemnity of members in the Parliament of Australia has been fixed during the present year at £1,000, having been raised to this sum only a few weeks ago from £600, the amount previously established. Then we come to the country which, outside of the British Empire, more nearly resembles our own in the mode of living among its people, in the character and activities of those who are sent to Parliament, and in the problems which its legislators must consider and deal with. In the United States of America each member of the House, delegate and resident commissioner receives an annual compensation of \$7,500. This amount has not been increased in recent years; it has been standing at this figure for at least ten years.

I believe that in addition each member, delegate and resident commissioner is allowed a clerk hiring allowance of \$3,200 per annum, for the employment by him of not more than two clerks, who are placed upon the roll of employees at compensation fixed by the members within the limit of the appropriation.

Now, I am perfectly ready to admit, Mr. Speaker, that we must not be guided absolutely by a comparison between conditions in our country and in the United States, because we realize that here in Canada we have per capita a much greater burden of debt than that which, after the conclusion of the war, rests upon the people of the United States. But I do venture to think that the work of the members of this House is as important to the people of this country as is the work of the representatives of the United States in their Congress. I venture to assert that we have as good a class of representation in this country as that which is to be found in the Congress of the United States. And I do not think that we are exaggerating the importance of the work or the responsibilities of members of our Parliament if we conclude that even under the conditions which I have described they are reasonably entitled to at least half of the amount which has been enjoyed for some years by legislators in the United States.

Reference has been made in this House to the different conditions that confront members now as compared with those that prevailed in 1905. The increased cost of living, which rests upon members of Parliament, just as it rests upon every one else in this country, has been so considerable during the past two or three years that up to the 26th day of June we had felt called upon to increase the salaries and allowances of civil servants in this country by way of bonus to an amount not less than \$17,571,723; and that does not include, I believe, any considerable portion of the bonus which has been provided in respect of the present year. Up to the end of the present year, it will probably amount to at least \$25,000,000. This, at all events, is an indication that this Parliament has not only appreciated the burden imposed upon civil servants by the increased cost of living in this country, but has sought to remedy that grievance by very liberal additional allowances beyond the salaries which have been fixed by statute.

It has been suggested in a recent debate that if any provision were made for members of Parliament at the present session it should take the form of a

bonus or allowance. I have considered that question pretty carefully. I have discussed it with my colleagues, and eventually have reached the conclusion that if there is a real grievance in the smallness of the amount of indemnity provided at present it would be best to deal with the matter now, once and for all, and endeavour to fix the indemnity of members of Parliament at a figure which would not need to be disturbed for the next fifteen or twenty years. I really do believe that members, especially those who remain here throughout the session, are not indemnified by the present allowance. For example, a member must either bring his family to Ottawa or he must break up his household for four or five months in the year. In addition, as I have already said, his presence is demanded in Ottawa at a time when his business activities urgently require his attendance at home. Moreover, it is highly important that members of the House of Commons should be thoroughly representative of all elements of the nation and of all its activities. It is difficult to accomplish this under present conditions; and of this I am perhaps more conscious than other members of the House, because on many occasions during the past two or three years I have been approached by members of Parliament who have represented to me that the burdens imposed upon them, and the detriment to their business occasioned by their presence here, were such that they most urgently desired to be relieved of attendance in Parliament, and they hoped that I would acquiesce in their immediate resignation from the House of Commons. They were men whose presence in the House of Commons I believed was of advantage to the people of this country, men who, I believed, were thoroughly representative of the communities in which they lived and the national life which prevailed there.

We expect naturally to have in future more men of the labouring class, more representatives of labour, in this Parliament than we have had in the past. It has been said to me by some representatives of labour that such a man cannot under present conditions afford to come into the House of Commons. I think it is desirable in the interest of labour itself, and in the interest of increased representation of labour, that the present indemnity of members of Parliament should be increased.

I only pause for a moment to refer to the constant demands which are made in this country upon any man who is either a mem-

ber of the Government or a member of Parliament for contributions to religious, benevolent and charitable purposes. These are demands which he cannot very well refuse. I venture to suggest to the hon. members of this House that in some cases these demands in the aggregate amount to a very considerable drain upon the so-called indemnity.

Now I should add—and this is a matter which will come under more direct consideration in committee—that in view of the increased indemnity certain restrictive provisions have been imposed in the Bill, the chief of which is that this increased indemnity will not apply to any member who has not attended for at least three-fourths of the days during which the House has been sitting. I believe that to be a very good, a very wise, provision. It will tend to remove some of the evils which have been discussed in Parliament and in the press as well, and I am sure that in committee it will receive the approval of the members of the House.

Now I come to the next, and rather delicate, subject of salaries of ministers. I think this subject should have been dealt with years ago and as far as I am concerned I was quite ready to have it dealt with in 1905 when legislation was passed on the initiation of the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. At that time the only change made was provision for an additional salary of \$5,000 to the Prime Minister. These salaries were fixed at the time of Confederation and they have remained at the same figure ever since. All other salaries and allowances, including the indemnity of members of Parliament, have steadily climbed in the meantime. When ministers' salaries were fixed at \$7,000 in 1867 or 1868 the salary of a puisne judge of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia was \$3,200. Judges' salaries and members' indemnity have advanced in the meantime while the salaries of ministers have not advanced. I think there has been a feeling of reluctance on the part of any ministry to take up the subject and perhaps there was more or less apprehension as to the political effect of such a proposal. I venture to think that the time has now come when the subject should be considered and I have no hesitation in proposing that the question be now taken up, discussed and so disposed of that the salaries fixed may stand for some years to come. Let me read to hon. members from a memorandum which I have in my hand as to the salaries which prevail in other

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parts of the Empire and in the provinces of Canada.

Australia—  
Prime Minister . . . . . £2,900  
Ministers . . . . . 2,450

New Zealand—  
Prime Minister . . . . . 1,600  
Ministers . . . . . 1,000

New Zealand has a population about one-seventh of that of this Dominion.

South Africa—  
Prime Minister . . . . . £3,500  
Ministers . . . . . 2,500

United Kingdom—  
Prime Minister . . . . . 5,000  
Secretaries of State and certain  
other Ministers . . . . . 5,000  
Attorney General . . . . . 7,000  
Solicitor General . . . . . 6,000  
Lord Chancellor . . . . . 10,000

There is a retiring pension for the Lord Chancellor, irrespective of the period for which he has served, of £5,000.

Ontario—  
Premier . . . . . \$12,000  
Ministers . . . . . 6,000

Quebec—  
Premier . . . . . 7,000

Mr. BUREAU: \$12,000.

Mr. FIELDING: It was increased later.

Mr. PROULX: The Premier of Ontario receives \$9,000. The salary was raised to \$9,000 in 1909 and a few years ago it was raised to \$12,000 but the present premier draws only \$9,000.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I do not know what the Prime Minister of Ontario receives or whether he takes any of his salary or not. I was merely referring to the fact that the statutory amount fixed by the Legislature is \$12,000. In the province of Quebec I understand there has been a recent increase in the salary of the premier to \$12,000.

Mr. BUREAU: \$12,000.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: What is the salary of the ministers in that province?

Mr. TRAHAN: \$6,000.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: That is what I have in this memorandum.

Manitoba—  
Premier . . . . . \$6,000  
Ministers . . . . . 5,000

British Columbia—  
Premier . . . . . 7,500  
Ministers . . . . . 6,000

Alberta—  
Premier . . . . . 8,500  
Ministers . . . . . 6,000

Saskatchewan—	
Premier. . . . .	7,500
Attorney General. . . . .	7,500
Ministers. . . . .	5,000
Nova Scotia—	
Premier. . . . .	\$6,000
Ministers. . . . .	5,000

I do not seem to have a memorandum for New Brunswick. The proposal of the Government in regard to the salaries of ministers is as follows: In the first place such amendment is proposed in the law as will make it unnecessary for the Prime Minister to hold any portfolio. He need not be burdened with any portfolio; irrespective of whether he is holding a portfolio or not he will receive a salary of \$15,000 as Prime Minister. Of course if he should hold a portfolio he will not receive any additional salary.

It is proposed to fix the salaries of the ministers at \$10,000 each. That is an increase of about 40 per cent above the amount at which they were fixed half a century ago. I venture to suggest to the House that the salaries now proposed are not unduly large. I believe that a Bank Manager of the second class at the present time would receive \$12,000 or \$15,000. The salary of the general manager of a bank I am afraid is almost beyond my computation, but I imagine it would run up to \$25,000 and \$30,000 in some instances.

An hon. MEMBER: Even \$50,000.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I realize thoroughly that a democracy cannot be expected to compensate its servants upon anything like the basis which prevails in private corporations; but I do think that the increases which I have proposed are pretty moderate and reasonable and I hope the House will approve of the action of the Government in submitting them.

Now that covers pretty nearly everything in the Bill, but there are one or two other features to which I must refer. I have already alluded to our proposal with regard to the salary of the leader of the Opposition; and it is only fair to my hon. friend and fair to the House as well—for me to say that this proposal was placed in the resolution without any communication to him on the subject. I spoke to him afterwards and said that I hoped he would consider that we did not look at the question from a personal standpoint or from any standpoint other than that of the public interest, and that I did not regard it as necessary under the circumstances to speak to him on the subject before coming to a decision.

With respect to the Speaker and the Deputy Speaker these salaries have been reasonably raised in accordance with the general increase that is proposed. The salary of the Speaker is to be increased from \$4,000 to \$6,000, and the same is true of the salary of the Speaker of the Senate. The salary of the Deputy Speaker of the House is to be increased from \$2,000 to \$4,000.

I have endeavoured to place the matter before the House in a businesslike way with a frank expression of my views. I trust that hon. members will assist us with their counsel and advice as to what should be done, and that in the end the House will approve of the measures which the Government have submitted for its consideration.

Hon. MACKENZIE KING (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I have shared the interest of the House in following my right hon. friend in what he has just said in regard to the advisability of increasing the indemnities of members of this House, and also of increasing the salaries of the ministers of the Crown including the salary of the Prime Minister and the allowance made to the leader of the Opposition. Let me say at once that I think a very strong case has been made out by my right hon. friend for an increase of indemnities to members, and an increase in the salaries of ministers. I have always said, when spoken to on this subject, that I thought the amount which is being paid at the present time in the way of indemnities to hon. members of this House is not sufficient to adequately indemnify them, having regard to the increase in the cost of living, having regard to the changed conditions of the times, and having regard more particularly to what the public is entitled to expect of hon. members if they give the time and thought to the public business of the country in a manner which is worthy of it. Had I had the opportunity, when this matter was before the House the other evening, of following my right hon. friend after he spoke, I would have said that I agreed absolutely with the remarks which he made at that time. May I take occasion to read to the House the statement as then made by my right hon. friend and say that I concur in it entirely.

Mr. SPEAKER: If the hon. member wishes to ask the indulgence of the House he has the right to, of course, to do so but I must remind him that I called the hon. member for Laprairie (Mr. Lanctot) to

order for referring to a previous debate on the same subject. There is no objection to the leader of the Opposition referring to that debate but he would not be in order in quoting from it.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I accept your ruling, Mr. Speaker. However hon. members will find the Prime Minister's remarks in Hansard of June 25 and I may perhaps be permitted to give them in substance. My hon. friend thought that in justice to the majority of members of this House the indemnity ought to be increased, but that there were very grave doubts about the wisdom of increasing it at this particular time, and my right hon. friend set forth the reasons which he thought should govern hon. members in deciding upon the time at which any increase ought to go into effect. I agree with the Prime Minister's views as then stated, both as to the indemnity not being sufficient and also as to there being very important reasons why we should consider carefully before having the measure now proposed go into effect at this particular time. I wish to add to what my right hon. friend has said this afternoon, as to the reason for considering an increase in the indemnity that I think the business of this Parliament, and consequently the public interest, is suffering very considerably from the manner in which legislation is being rushed through the House without careful consideration and I know that one reason which actuates the Government in its method of proceeding is that hon. members are finding it impossible to give their time to the work of the House at the sacrifice which it is involving in different directions.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Hear, hear.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I think the indemnity should be sufficient to enable hon. members to come to this Parliament and give all the time that may be necessary to public business.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I think that any indemnity that effects less than that, an indemnity which causes hon. members to lose from the business of Parliament two or three days out of each week, or several days out of each month, or not to give daily the thought and time which ought to be given to public business—that such an indemnity is not an investment to the country but is a distinct loss. I have from the beginning of this session protested against what seems to be a perfectly absurd

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custom of carrying on the business of this House after midnight. When the House meets in the early afternoon and there are sittings also at night, no hon. member can be in proper shape to deal with the large questions that have to be considered here day after day if he has no time whatever for preparation or for a study of the legislation which is before the House. When there are committees meeting in the mornings which hon. members have to attend, when members have correspondence to answer, and are expected to be more or less familiar with public opinion as expressed in the press, I submit that the mornings are needed for these purposes, and that the afternoon and evening sittings of the House ought to be of just such a length as will enable hon. members to deal with public business in a satisfactory way. When it was suggested to change the time of the afternoon sittings from three o'clock to two o'clock, I then expressed the hope that if we sat from two o'clock until six o'clock we might at least adjourn at a reasonable hour in the evening. I have here a record of the hours at which this House has adjourned since we started sitting at two o'clock, and I would like to place it on Hansard, that it may go before the country, and the public judge whether or not it is possible for hon. members to do justice to the business before the House under existing conditions such as these. It was on Friday, June 4, that we started sitting at two o'clock in the afternoon. We sat that night until 11.30. I will read the schedule as it runs from that time on. Here are the hours of adjournment from the time when the sittings commenced at two o'clock in the afternoon.

Monday, June 7, till 12 p.m.; Tuesday, June 8, till 1 a.m.; Wednesday, June 9, till 12.10 a.m.; Thursday, June 10, till 12.35 a.m.; Friday, June 12, till 12.14 a.m.; Monday, June 14, till 12.45 a.m.; Tuesday, June 15, till 12.35 a.m.; Wednesday, June 16, till 12.18 a.m.; Thursday, June 17, till 3.24 a.m.; Friday, June 18, till 11.40 p.m.; Saturday, June 19, till 7.05 p.m.; Monday, June 21, till 12.25 a.m.; Tuesday, June 22, till 2.42 a.m.; Wednesday, June 23, till 1.05 a.m.; Thursday, June 24, till 1.29 a.m.; Friday, June 25, till 2.25 a.m.; last Saturday night, June 26, until midnight, in other words, Sunday morning, and last night, June 28, until 4.30 this morning.

I ask my hon. friends opposite: is it physically possible for any man who has attended these sittings to do justice to any subject which comes up at this particular

moment. We have large and important questions to consider, questions that involve the whole future trend and development of this nation, and I say it is impossible for any member of Parliament to bring a calm judgment to bear upon questions of the day when the business of Parliament is carried on in this manner. The only excuse for that sort of procedure is the circumstance that it is impossible to keep hon. members here without the assurance that the session is going to end in a very few days, and that the strain is going to be only for that short time.

But I ask: where does the reward of public life come in, if it so undermines the health and strength of men that they become absolutely unfitted for its duties and obligations? So I say, Mr. Speaker, I am heartily in sympathy with increasing the indemnity to members but only on this condition, that the business of the country be carried on in a businesslike way and with due regard to what is owing the important questions which come up for consideration, and also to what is owing to the health and well-being of hon. members.

I agree entirely with the view which my right hon. friend (Sir Robert Borden) has expressed about the desirability in the interests of democracy of not making this Parliament a rich man's preserve.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Hear, hear.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I think it is all important that every class of the community should feel that it may elect to Parliament any representative of its class, and that the representative so elected may feel when he comes to this Parliament that he can give his whole time and thought to the work, and that he need not be dependent upon interests of any kind to maintain his position in public life. If there is one thing above another which any man of spirit represents it is the thought of dependence in any form through the difficulties that beset the path of the public man who seeks to give all of his time freely and honestly to the country, and independently of any interests one way or the other. I think it is much in the public interest that in so far as may be possible members of Parliament and ministers of the Crown should be placed in the same position as we have placed judges, where they can be removed from any temptation, and feel free to discharge their duties in an honest and independent manner.

Now, Sir, I wish to repeat what I said when this subject was discussed on a

previous occasion. I think this is a matter which should not be regarded as a party matter. I would be the last man to speak if I thought for a moment that my attitude would be regarded as in any way an endeavour to make party capital. I wish to be understood as saying now what I have said to hon. members on this side of the House whenever we have discussed this matter among ourselves, namely that I thought it was one upon which every hon. member should express his own opinion freely and frankly and that it should not be made a matter of party controversy. It was to enable a full and frank discussion to be made that when the question was discussed the other evening on motion to go into Committee of Supply I made it perfectly clear to the House that I did not regard the matter a party one but hoped hon. members would speak out their minds frankly and openly. Having taken that position at that time, I do not think at the moment that I would be justified now, nor do I think I would be taking an honourable part, if knowing what the discussion has been, I introduced any motion which would cause the matter to be viewed as a party issue. But I wish to say that as a member of this House, I desire to express my mind just as freely as I expect every other hon. member to express his.

My position in a word is this: I think the indemnities should be increased, and that the salaries of the ministers and of the leader of the Government and the allowance to the leader of the Opposition should be increased. I express myself more freely in this because what I say in regard to the salaries of the ministers, I wish to apply equally to the salary of the leader of the Opposition. I think that while these increases are justifiable on the merits of the case, they should not take effect during this Parliament, but should come into effect after a general election, when the country has had an opportunity to return to Parliament members in whom it has confidence under the new legislation as passed.

That, Mr. Chairman, in a word is my position. I wish to repeat that what I say in regard to indemnities and in regard to the salaries of the ministers, and of the Prime Minister, I say equally in regard to the increased allowance to the leader of the Opposition. According to my way of thinking none of these increases should take effect until another Parliament. I believe if that position is adopted by this House that the country will acquiesce in what is

proposed. But I do think the country feels that so far as the present Administration is concerned, it has been far too long in office, that it ought to resign, and that there should be nothing in the way of inducement, even what might presumably be believed to be calculated to encourage this Parliament after the close of this session to remain in existence one hour longer than it is possible for it to do. If hon. members are anxious, or if the ministry are anxious to get the increases which are proposed, I would suggest that as soon as this session is over my right hon. friend take the course which I think he ought to take, and that is advise His Excellency the Governor General to have an immediate dissolution of this Parliament and allow the people to return to this House representatives in whom they have confidence and an administration in whom they have faith and trust.

Hon. T. A. CRERAR (Marquette): I take it that the members of the House have gathered in a more or less general way my attitude on the Bill we are now considering. I desire, however, to re-state, as clearly, briefly and sincerely as I can what my opinion is on the matter under consideration.

In my judgment the Prime Minister in his remarks on the second reading of the Bill has made out a very strong case for an increase in the indemnity and in the salaries of ministers, and I am not for a moment going to dispute the proposition upon its merits. I have had a few years experience as a member of Parliament, I have had almost two years experience as a minister of the Crown, and I therefore speak from some personal knowledge. The fact is that in the western and in the Maritime Provinces in particular, and this also applies to the more remote parts of Ontario and Quebec, the great majority of the members from those districts are here at a financial sacrifice to themselves. I would qualify that somewhat in regard to the members from the more adjacent parts of Quebec and Ontario, for this reason; that a member who is within, say, a night's journey from his home; who is within telephonic communication of his own town or city, can keep an eye upon his business; can to a certain extent supervise the operations that he carries on ordinarily in his business life. But that does not apply to the members from the more remote parts. The Prime Minister has pointed out, and the leader of the Opposi-

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tion has emphasized the fact, that members living at a distance often desire to bring their families to Ottawa. It is a very natural desire, and I speak from personal experience when I say that one of the hardships in connection with public life at Ottawa is the fact that members are very often separated from their families for long periods of time. But while that is all true, and while our present indemnity, compared with that paid by other countries, is low; nevertheless, it seems to me, Mr. Speaker, that the present moment is not an opportune time to make the change, and I shall briefly give my reasons for the opinion which I hold in that respect.

In the first place, we have the financial situation of this country to consider. I have repeatedly, in discussing the Estimates brought before the House, urged that the Government keep this consideration constantly in mind. I believe that for the future welfare of our country the first essential in the financial way is to bring our expenditure within our income; I lay that down definitely, and an expenditure of even half a million or three-quarters of a million, as involved in this proposal, is one to which regard should be given. We have also to keep in mind the condition of unrest that exists. Every one who is familiar with conditions throughout the country to-day must realize that there is a great deal of unrest abroad. That is a natural condition, having regard to the experience through which this country, in common with other nations of the world, has passed during the last six or seven years. Then, we have the question of the returned soldiers. They have made demands for further gratuities. I think the consensus of opinion in this House, and I believe largely in this country, is that these requests cannot be considered because the country cannot stand the thing financially. But nevertheless the condition is there, and I would point out this to hon. members; when the returned man makes a request for a further gratuity he has some claim upon which to base his request. I believe that no monetary compensation can requite the men who went overseas and served there, but when we are in such a position that we have to refuse the requests of these men, somehow I cannot bring myself to accept the point of view that at the same time we should, on the other hand, increase our own indemnities. I would hesitate to do anything that would increase the unrest in the country. I be-

lieve that in the course of a year or two years that unrest will largely have passed away and the people will have settled down to normal conditions of life. Therefore, though I frankly say that in my judgment the indemnity is too low, I think that this question might well stand for another year or two until the conditions to which I have referred have righted themselves. I recognize that it would be a sacrifice to many hon. members to take that course, but we are here as the law-making power of the land and perhaps an example in that respect might have a wholesome effect throughout the country.

I have stated what I think should be done. I may say this further: I have, as opportunity offered, obtained the opinion of people with whom I have come in contact in the various walks of life, in various activities of business. The general opinion expressed has been generally quite definite that the indemnity of members, and particularly the salaries of the ministers, are too low; but I have also heard that expression of opinion qualified in the manner that I have stated. Therefore, I have a good deal of sympathy with the proposal of the leader of the Opposition that if this increase is fixed it should be made applicable not to the present Parliament, but to the next one.

This Parliament has been in existence for three years. It was elected in December, 1917. We had a session in 1918, and two sessions in 1919, and we have one session in 1920. The indemnities which will have been drawn by members for those sessions will total \$10,000, an average of \$3,333 a year. It does seem to me, therefore, that we might well postpone for a year or so the passing into law of this measure. I recognize that the view I am expressing here may not be popular in the House. I find no fault with any hon. member who advocates an increase in indemnity; I am sure that those who advocate it do so honestly. Nevertheless, I claim the same privilege of expressing my own view, and what I have stated here is my frank and honest conviction in the matter.

I have no hesitation in saying that ministers' salaries should be increased, and increased at once. It is a reflection on Canada that the salaries of Cabinet ministers have remained at the same point for the last fifty years. If there ever was a time in the history of this country when we wanted the best and clearest minds in

charge of the administrative business of Government, it is now, but we cannot hope to attract to those administrative services the ablest minds in the country if we pay only an inadequate salary. We must bear in mind the fact that our country is a young country, and I endorse strongly every word that the Prime Minister and also the leader of the Opposition said to the effect that we must guard against the possibility of Parliament being made a rich man's club. We should make it possible for the humblest in the land who have ability and who possess the confidence of their fellow-men to be elected to Parliament and to hold offices in the Ministry. If they are so elected, we ought to make it possible for them to live without sacrificing any of the essentials that are necessary for their livelihood in the responsible positions they occupy.

I do not know that I can add much, Mr. Speaker, to what I have stated. My views, briefly summed up, are these: The indemnities are too low, and I think they should be increased, but I think that the increase should stand over at least until another session; should stand over until the unrest in the country has subsided, until our income is more nearly within our expenditure. If it does, I believe that the proposal will be accepted throughout the country with very little criticism.

Mr. MICHAEL CLARK (Red Deer): Mr. Speaker, I intervene under a kind of moral compunction at this moment in the debate, because I feel that I should exercise a cowardly role if I did not at once express my admiration of the unqualified courage of the Government, my entire agreement with what I take to be the unanswerable case put forward by the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) and my slight want of admiration of what I take to be an illogical and wavering attitude on the part of the two hon. gentlemen (Hon. Mr. King and Hon. Mr. Crerar) who have spoken on this side. With regard to the merits of the case, I do not think anyone could produce figures to prove that the case has no merits, and I am fortunate, in replying to the two speeches which have preceded mine, in not having to convince those two hon. gentlemen that the Prime Minister and I are right in thinking that this is a right thing to do, because they both say the same. They are in absolute agreement with us that what is proposed by the Prime Minister is a proper thing. Well, what is the argument which we have heard from my two hon. friends,

from whom I need not say that I differ with a certain amount of acuteness of pain. Their argument is that this is a proper thing to do, but it is inopportune to do it now. I take it that a reasonable amount of logic would compel those hon. gentlemen to change their views at once to the position that the argument is entirely the other way. If it were a proper thing to do—and I venture to think that the best thinking people in Canada agree to that—then I should say that, as it is in regard to the bodily salvation and preservation of members of Parliament and senators, the argument used in Scripture in regard to the soul's salvation applies, that "now is the accepted time; behold now is the day of salvation."

The argument of my hon. friends that this is an inopportune time would be perfectly correct about a doubtful and unnecessary expenditure; but this is an expenditure which is for no less a purpose than the actual preservation in bodily health and activity and reasonable mental stability and health the highest of His Majesty's lieges who have been chosen to serve in the high capacity of legislators in the Senate and House of Commons of Canada. I repeat as to the inopportuneness of the time, the argument is all the other way.

I want to emphasize that just for a very few minutes. What is the highest and greatest function of Parliament? I take it that due regard to parliamentary history in the Old Country, this country, and the other parts of the Empire would lead one to answer that the very highest duty of Parliament is to provide supplies for His Majesty, as we term it in parliamentary language. And to what purpose do we devote those supplies? We devote them to the service of the public, to the Civil Service, to all manner of expenditures that are familiar to us, and to disbursements to various interests and individuals in the country. It so happens that amongst those individuals are included members of Parliament and senators, and I am not Uriah Heep enough to say that they should be excluded, because they are very human and they discharge functions which have at least some importance; I think the very highest importance in the service of the country.

Supposing we propose, as we are proposing at this session of Parliament, an additional expenditure against which every consideration of economy would prevail just as much as it is said to prevail against the proposition of the ministry on this question. Supposing for instance, we propose to increase the salaries of civil servants. Would my

[Mr. Clark.]

hon. friends come forward and say, on any of the grounds they have presented, that the time is inopportune? I pause for an answer. I venture to think that neither of them would for a moment take that attitude. Supposing an expenditure along any other lines is not only proper but necessary, would either of my hon. friends say that though it is necessary—and they say that this expenditure is necessary; they agree with us in principle—though it is justifiable, it is inopportune; we must not incur it now. I should say that average courage on the part of human beings, unless there is some ulterior motive behind their position—and I am sorry to suggest such a thing,—but the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Crerar) almost laid himself open to the suspicion when he smiled and looked across the House and said: "Now I may not be taking a popular course in this chamber." The inference arose naturally in one's mind—I wonder if it can be in my hon. friend's mind—that by any chance he thought his course would be more popular elsewhere. I do not like to attribute motives, but the inference naturally arose in one's mind. I acquit my hon. friend, of course, of any suspicion on my part, because I know him so well. He is, however, a comparatively inexperienced debater and he lays himself open to a possible suspicion on the part of those who do not know him.

I understand that there is another attitude taken by my two hon. friends; I understood one of them at any rate to say that he would support this; that it was the right thing, but that it should take place only after an election. Why? An election cannot settle the rightness, or the wrongness of the matter. Unless you hold a plebiscite, you cannot tell what the majority of the people of Canada think. It is the responsibility of Parliament to provide supplies for His Majesty for any purpose that is right and proper. What would an election do in the case? I want to put this a little more strongly, and I should like to hear any one who takes the view of

my hon. friends answer me on 5 p.m. this point. An election could not settle the question, and if it came to be a question as to the proper time to do it, I should say that the high moral and courageous course is on the part of men who do it when a Parliament is comparatively near its end. Of course it may be said that when we do this in the last session of Parliament, and especially if we do it according to the suggestion of

my hon. friend—I think the suggestion came only from the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Mackenzie King)—we would occupy a very high moral position. Unfortunately those of us who have committed ourselves to the usual constitutional practice have already deprived ourselves of any opportunity of occupying that high moral position. The only person who can occupy that high position who has spoken up to the present is the leader of the official Opposition, and I can congratulate him on any high moral eminence he attains by that attitude. But in my whole study of constitutional history in regard to proposed legislation I cannot find any such case, and I should be glad if my hon. friend will supply me with cases. He does not answer, so he is apparently in the same position as myself. This proposition of his is an absolutely novel proposition; it is a proposition contrary to the proper discharge of the duties of Parliament. I repeat that an election could do nothing in the matter; we should be no wiser after an election than before. It has even been proposed in some cases that this should not be done until after an election; that it should be done in a first session of Parliament rather than in a last.

I want to make this point in that regard: that the Parliament which votes this indemnity for possibly one session, having served a term, in the case of all of us, and in the case of many of us at great sacrifice, the Parliament which takes the attitude of saying: "We pass this at a time when we can get infinitesimally little advantage for ourselves," occupies a much higher position in every way in the eyes of the country than would people who came fresh from an election and said: "Well, we need more indemnity and we will take good care that we get it, because we shall have it in the first session and those who live will be sure of it for the term of this Parliament." I have tried to deal with every argument my hon. friends have presented, I think the Prime Minister's case is unanswerable, and I support the proposal on its merits, although I might have said a little more on that subject. When I came to this country I was positively shocked to think that I had come from a country where John Burns, who in his youth served before the mast for a pound a week, was able to rise to the position of a Cabinet minister and earn \$25,000 a year, to a country which—I cannot help saying it has been impoverished by the foolish fiscal policy which it has followed, but it could be enriched by a

wiser policy—pays its Prime Minister the magnificent salary of less than one-half of what John Burns, a sailor who raised himself to the position of a Cabinet minister, received. The same thing applies to the salaries of all Cabinet ministers in the Old Country as compared with our own. All the arguments that have been used by the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden), the facts presented, and the general sentiment of the country, are in favour of a large and courageous course upon this question. Personally, although unfortunately I am afraid for my electoral prospects some day or other, I always approach every question on principle and ask myself whether it is right or wrong, and certainly if it is right I always want to take action immediately. I say that even in regard to free trade; if that policy could be established now I would certainly have it put into effect without delay. In regard to the question of indemnity, I support the Government from the bottom of my heart and with a clear conscience, and I leave my electoral fate to my constituents, who after all have not failed to understand me as a half-decent fellow.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE (Quebec East): It is with a certain amount of diffidence that I rise to speak on this subject, which is a delicate one.

Mr. BELAND: Not at all.

Mr. LAPOINTE: A French philosopher—Diderot, I think,—said once that when the artist thinks of money he loses his sense of beauty. This might possibly apply to public men. I have no doubt that it would be more pleasant if this question could be decided by a body quite independent of Parliament, the members of which would not have any direct interest in its decision. Unfortunately, under our system, that cannot be done, and the members of Parliament must settle this question. And they must settle it as any other question, on its merits. This proposed increase in the indemnity is either right or wrong. If it is right we must be in favour of it, and we must be in favour of it now. We must ask ourselves, and every one must ask himself, this question: Is it possible, under present circumstances, for any man who has a standing in his community and has the qualifications and the ability which should characterize a citizen who is deemed worthy to represent a constituency in this House—is it possible for such a man to devote all his time to his public functions and to the study of the numerous and very important questions that arise in this

House and in the country, especially today, when he receives the indemnity that is at present paid hon. members? Is it possible for him to pay conscientious attention to his public duties, with such an indemnity, without seriously impairing the means at his disposal to support his family?

Mr. BELAND: That is the question.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Yes; that is the question, as my hon. friend from Beauce says, and every one seems to be agreed that the indemnity is not sufficient for such a man as I have described. Then why not increase it? Why postpone the solution of this question?

I have read in the press objections to the proposal of the Government, and the critics say that there are members of this House who deserve a larger indemnity than the present one, while there are other members who do not deserve such consideration because they are not diligent in their attendance. Well, is it fair or reasonable that, because of the shortcomings of some, those who are zealous in their attendance should be prejudiced? Parliament, as well as other institutions, have the right to be judged by their best men. Is it right therefore, is it reasonable, to penalize those members who are rendering faithful service to their country, who fulfil their own duties, because forsooth there may be some members who are not scrupulous? I think the question affords its own best answer. I submit that the moment you admit that the members of Parliament who do not properly perform their duties are underpaid, then the system calls for a change, and there is no other solution of the question.

It is said that this is only an indemnity and that members must possess other sources of revenue. Indeed, if members have only their indemnity at the present time to live on it is obvious that they have to look to other sources of revenue and must take some of the time which they should devote to their parliamentary duties for the purpose of looking after their own business, unless they are wealthy and can afford to pay others to look after their private interests. Is it a good thing for the country that Parliament should be composed only of men of the wealthy class? I think every one admits that it is not. But some people say that men can be found who would come here for \$2,500. Indeed, Sir, men can be found who would come here for \$1,000 or for \$500. Is that the type of men that Canada wants as her legislators?

[Mr. Lapointe.]

Mr. BUREAU: Where would the country be?

Mr. LAPOINTE: I quite appreciate the fact that the finances of the country are in a grave condition. But let us look at France. Poor unfortunate France's finances at the present time are in a very serious state.

Mr. BELAND: They are at the lowest ebb.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Yet, in the month of April this year, the Parliament of France increased the indemnity of its members from 15,000 francs to 27,000 francs per annum, or a little over \$5,000 a year, and all the real working men in that Parliament were the most ardent advocates of the increase. I read in the French press comments similar in character to the comments that are now appearing in the Canadian press. But, Sir, after the increase was granted in France every one admitted that it was the only way of properly treating the representatives of the French people and ensuring that they would be able to give adequate time to their parliamentary duties. There may be some force in the argument that this Parliament does not properly represent the people of Canada. It may not please my hon. friends opposite when I say that I believe this Parliament is not representative at the present time of the opinion of the large majority of the people of Canada. I believe that if there was an election this Government would be wiped out. But, Sir, when I was selected as the candidate in Quebec East last fall the large majority of the electors of that constituency believed that this Parliament had no longer a mandate and did not represent the people of Canada but they did not say that they would not select a man to go there because the Parliament was not representative. They elected me for the purpose of coming here to fight the battle of my constituents and of the people and to endeavour to bring about the defeat of the Administration. I am trying to do the best I can. Until this is done this Parliament is the Parliament of Canada. I am not asked to vote for an increase of indemnity for this Parliament. I am asked to vote for an increase of indemnity to the members of the Parliament of Canada, future and present, and so long as we have to suffer the present Parliament—which I hope will not be for a long time—this Parliament will have to be considered as the Parliament de facto. I have nothing more to add except to repeat once more that the moment

you admit that the indemnity is not sufficient and that an increase is desirable, you must increase it. If it is right to grant the increase it is right to grant it now and it should be done now.

Mr. J. W. EDWARDS (Frontenac): Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that the keynote of the whole matter has been touched by the last two speakers and that is the question as to whether the action proposed or suggested by this Bill is right or wrong. If it is right to increase the indemnity it is right to increase it now. If it is wrong to increase the indemnity for this Parliament we have no right to increase it for another Parliament. It is impossible to argue in any other way. It must be dealt with entirely on its merits and if it has merit, justice and fair play behind it, as I believe it has, it should be dealt with now and it should apply to this Parliament. Australia, when it dealt with this question and increased the indemnity of members from \$3,000 to \$5,000, considered it from the standpoint of what was right and proper and having concluded that it was right and proper to increase the indemnity from \$3,000 to \$5,000 the Australian Parliament did not say that the time was not opportune. The Australian Parliament said: "This should be done" and they did it. The provinces of Saskatchewan, Quebec, Alberta and several others have dealt with this matter in the same way. The legislatures of the provinces, which have increased the indemnity of their members considered the question on its merits, I presume, and having come to the conclusion that it was right, proper, fair and just that the indemnity should be increased, they increased it and made it apply to the members then sitting in the House. It seems to me that if any person admits that an increase is necessary or justifiable there can be no good reason for withholding or deferring it. I have not heard it questioned that the indemnity of \$2,500 previous to the war was a just and proper indemnity for the members of this House. The press of the country has never questioned that nor has any person questioned it in this House. If that was true then, and if we admit, as we must admit, that forty or fifty cents would go as far in purchasing power before the war as a dollar will go now, and if the \$2,500 was admitted to be fair when a dollar was worth a great deal more than it is to-day, how can any person argue that the present indemnity is fair and just now? No person has argued that.

The hon. the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Mackenzie King) and the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Crerar) both say that the indemnity is not fair and just at the present time. But the leader of the Opposition says we should not increase this indemnity except to make it apply to the next Parliament. The hon. member for Marquette takes a very peculiar position. He admits that the present indemnity of members and the present salaries of ministers of the Crown are not right, just, and fair, but he takes the peculiar attitude of saying that while he does not favour applying the increase to members who are not getting a fair and just indemnity, he wants the increase applied to ministers at once. That strikes me as a most illogical and peculiar position. What justification has my hon. friend for taking that position? He can speak feelingly of the matter because he occupied the position of a Cabinet minister. What he said was perfectly true. As my hon. friend from Marquette says, if you want the best brains in the Cabinet of the country you must give some encouragement in the way of increased remuneration. We have instances of men who formerly held positions in the Cabinet, and were supposedly men of superior intellect, like the hon. member for Marquette, finding it to their advantage to leave the Cabinet and attend to other business which brought them in more salary. We had the further instance of the hon. member for Leeds (Sir Thomas White), formerly Minister of Finance, who very frankly told the House that he could not carry on at the salary paid to a Cabinet minister. He did what he had a right to do, and he gave up the portfolio of Minister of Finance for a position which brought him a salary more in accord with his attainments and ability I have in mind, Mr. Speaker, a powerful company occupying a very strong position in Canada which not very long ago saw fit to increase the salary of its president from, I think, \$10,000 to \$15,000. They brought the matter before the president and said: "We think you should have an increase in salary." The president of that company did not tell them that he thought they were quite right but that the time was inopportune and that the increase should not apply to the present president, but should only apply to his successor. The president of that company did not take that attitude, but acquiescing in the judgment of those who had the matter in hand that an increase of salary was commendable, he agreed with

them that the increase should apply at once.

I want to mention one or two reasons why I support this increase in the indemnity. The members of the provincial legislatures receive for their services in

sessions of six, eight, or nine weeks \$211,600 a year more than is paid to the members of this House for attending to the matters that come before it. Let me illustrate that by inviting the attention of the House to the following statement:

SESSIONAL INDEMNITIES PAID TO MEMBERS OF THE PROVINCIAL AND DOMINION PARLIAMENTS.

Province.	Number Members of Prov. Par.	Sessional Indem.	Total.	No. Members of H. of Commons at \$2,500 each.	Total.
		\$	\$		\$
Nova Scotia.....	43	1,000	42,000	16	40,000
New Brunswick.....	47	1,000	47,000	11	27,500
P. E. Island.....	30	500	15,000	4	10,000
Quebec.....	80	2,000	160,000	65	162,500
Ontario.....	111	1,400	155,400	82	205,000
Manitoba.....	55	1,500	82,500	15	37,500
Saskatchewan.....	59	1,800	106,000	16	40,000
Alberta.....	58	2,000	116,000	12	30,000
B. Columbia.....	47	1,600	75,200	13	32,500
Yukon.....	..	..	..	1	2,500
	529	.....	799,100	235	587,500

I do not think that anybody would question that the members who sit in the Dominion Parliament have far more complex and weightier questions to deal with than have the members in any of the provincial legislatures; and yet for example, the members from Alberta sitting in this House—representing exactly the same territory and exactly the same population as do the provincial members—are giving to these weightier questions, and for sessions running from four to seven months, for \$30,000 whereas \$116,000 is paid in indemnities to the members of the legislature in that province.

Now, Sir, may I direct the attention of hon. gentlemen for a moment to this fact. There are in the various provincial legislatures 529 members and in this House 235 members. Taking the different provinces, that represents an average of from two to seven members in the provincial legislature representing exactly the same territory and exactly the same people as are represented in this House by one member. For example a federal member from the province of Alberta represents a certain constituency and a certain number of people and for his services receives \$2,500. In the provincial legislature the same territory and the same people are represented in the legislature by five members who re-

[Mr. Edwards.]

ceive for their services \$10,000, although acting in a restricted field as compared to this House and dealing with questions not nearly so weighty as are dealt with here. On the face of it that is not fair; I do not think any person will say for a moment that it is.

Now let me call attention to some further facts. When I entered this House in 1908 I was occupying the position of clerk of Frontenac county. As a matter of curiosity I thought I would make inquiry and see what had been done by that county since that time in regard to the remuneration of the county councillors and county officials and what do I find? I find, Mr. Speaker, that the salary of the county clerk—the position which I formerly held—has been increased since 1908 by 172 per cent, the salary of the county treasurer has been increased by 50 per cent and the salary of the caretaker of the county buildings has been increased by 80 per cent, or an average increase for the three county officials of 90 per cent since 1908 when I entered this House. I also find that the per capita cost of the remuneration of the county councillors for attending the sessions of the county council and for attending committees—which is only for a short time—has increased by one-third, since 1908. How about the per capita cost of

the proposed increase in the indemnity to members of this House? What addition does it make to the cost to the people? This increase, as regards both the House of Commons and the Senate, means 3½ cents per head of the population of the Dominion. Three and a half cents per head of the population, that is what it means—the price of a postage stamp to each individual in the country.

Sir, I want for a moment to pass to another matter. Since this question has been raised in the House—more particularly since it was first introduced a few days ago—certain members of the press in this country have directed their pens in opposition to any increase in the sessional indemnity. In so doing have they been actuated by a sense of fair play? I do not think, Sir, that they have. These writers who occupy the position of reporters in the press gallery have been actuated by a sense of personal spite or pique. They have been disgruntled, in the first place, ever since they were excluded from the corridors of this Chamber. Then something happened in connection with the restaurant and they were further disgruntled over that; and I have it on good authority that they have made a compact, an agreement, amongst themselves whereby they are going to try and get even by abusing and misrepresenting the members of this House on every occasion that pleases them. These are the gentlemen who to-day are endeavouring to tell the members of this House and the people of this country what is right and what is wrong. The attitude of the press! We have such journals as the two Ottawa papers, and several others that I could mention, the Montreal Gazette particularly; they have not attempted to argue this question. They have not attempted to place reason before the people of Canada, as to whether this indemnity should or should not be increased. They have not proposed any reasons for or against; they have simply indulged in editorial abuse in regard to the matter, and that is all that they have done. But what is their attitude? They say that this outrage should not be carried out, that this increase of three and a half cents per head of the population should not be imposed upon the people of this country. What has been the attitude of the press in regard to their own business? They have not hesitated to double the price of their own newspapers—they have not hesitated in regard to that. They have not hesitated to increase their advertising rates—not at all. They have not hesitated to come to this

House and get down on their knees and beg for favours in regard to newsprint supply; they have not hesitated to come to this House and ask members to place them in a privileged position—indeed as they have been placed in a privileged position for years—necessitating the people paying for the carriage of newspapers from one end of Canada to the other at a loss of hundreds of thousands of dollars to the public treasury. These newspapers have not paid their own way in the past yet they have not hesitated to come to this House and beg for favours, regardless of the cost to the treasury of Canada. The Montreal Gazette is assuming for one to criticise the increase in indemnity. In this connection let me tell you what the Montreal Gazette has got out of this country in the last five years. I put a question on the Order Paper a while ago and here is the answer to it. How much do you suppose the Montreal Gazette has obtained from the Government of Canada for advertising and job printing? No less a sum than \$412,341.14. That is what the Montreal Gazette has got out of this country. You can take the Ottawa Journal in the same way. Ever since they moved down to their new building they have had part of that building rented to the Government for Government offices; and I will venture to say that they have obtained in rent from the Government, simply for renting a portion of that building, sufficient to pay the whole cost of the putting up of the structure. These are the people who, through their half-baked reporters in the press gallery, are now endeavouring to tell the people of this country what is right and what is wrong in connection with this matter. But they do not attempt to argue it from the standpoint of right or wrong, or upon the basis of merit or demerit; they discuss it simply from the standpoint of their own personal pique and their desire to get even for some fancied grievance which they have against members of this House.

Now in so far as the matter of an increase in the indemnity is concerned, I want to say this to the leader of the Opposition. My hon. friend took no exception to the proposed increase in the salary of the leader of the Opposition. In that respect his course was perfectly logical because—

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I beg my hon. friend's pardon. I said most distinctly that I thought the increase of salary as respects the leader of the Opposition should not go into effect during the life of this Parliament.

Mr. EDWARDS: Very good, I am coming to that. The hon. gentleman took no exception to the leader of the Opposition getting the amount which is proposed, but he said it should not apply during this Parliament. He also said that this increase should not apply to members of Parliament. Very good. Now, I hold a different view in regard to that, and I have given some of the reasons why I hold that view. I can quite understand my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition holding the view he does, as I can also understand certain other hon. members holding the same view. But they have the remedy entirely in their own hands. If this Bill passes this House—and I believe it will—I shall expect the leader of the Opposition will absolutely refuse to take the increase during the remainder of the term of this Parliament, and that any other hon. gentlemen who share the view held by the leader of the Opposition will also refuse to take this increase until after the next general election. They cannot do otherwise and be consistent.

If my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition takes that course, he will be acting very differently to his predecessor (Mr. McKenzie), because that hon. gentleman last year took advantage of a technicality in the Act to pull down some \$19,000 for himself in the way of sessional allowance and sessional salary. It was never intended that the \$7,000 salary to the leader of the Opposition should apply to each session; it was meant to place the holder of that office on the same basis as a Cabinet minister. But there were two sessions last year, and there being something weak in the wording of the law, my hon. friend from Cape Breton (Mr. McKenzie) took advantage of the technicality and availed himself of the full amount. Well, we will see what the present leader of the Opposition will do. If he is consistent he will not take that increase until after the next election—and I doubt very much if he will take any of it after the next election, because I do not think he will get back here.

Now, so far as I am concerned I am going to give my support to this Bill for the reasons I have stated. I am prepared to go before my electors and give them the reasons why I think this increase should be granted. In fact, only yesterday I was speaking to about 300 of my electors, and the first thing I took up was this subject of increasing the sessional indemnity. I placed before them the reasons why I

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

thought the indemnity should be increased—some of which reasons I have stated here this afternoon—and not a single man uttered one word of dissent or showed disapproval of the course which I said I intended to take in regard to this matter. Of course, I am in a fortunate position, for I represent a constituency composed of exceptionally fine people. Some hon. gentlemen are not so fortunately placed, and consequently they approach this matter with a certain amount of fear and trembling. The hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Crerar) thinks that his people will hardly stand for this increased indemnity to the members of the present Parliament. The leader of the Opposition (Mr. Mackenzie King) takes the same position. Of course, they have got to look at this according as their people will view it. I am looking at it from the standpoint of what I think is right, and knowing that the people of the county of Frontenac are a particularly brainy and sensible lot, I am quite certain they will approve of my course in supporting this Bill.

Hon. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX (Maison-neuve): Belonging as I do, Mr. Speaker, to that small group of members that can plead nearly 25 years service in the House of Commons, I think I am entitled to say a few words on the question. I approach this question without any diffidence. I am here as the trusted representative of the people, and the only question I put to myself when I examined the measure introduced was: whether it is right or wrong.

I have not been canvassed by any hon. member as regards my own private opinion on this subject, but I have no hesitation in stating, Mr. Speaker, that having sat in the House for nearly a quarter of a century, I consider that a member of the House of Commons of Canada is entitled to the amount which is provided for in the present Bill. I have sat long enough in this House to see three increases. When I was elected in 1896 the sessional indemnity was \$1,000, later on it was increased to \$1,500; and later on again it was increased to \$2,500.

Now, Mr. Speaker, you may perhaps think that I am exaggerating—possibly on other matters I do exaggerate at times—but on this issue let me say very frankly that in my humble judgment the purchasing power of the dollar to-day is much less than the purchasing power of the dollar in 1896. As my hon. friend from Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) has just stated, there are no public or private servants in this country who in

the last five or ten years have not seen their salaries or wages doubled and trebled; and I know that we of the House of Commons of Canada, as representatives of the people, have on many occasions during the war and since felt conscientiously obliged to give by way of bonus better remuneration to the public servants of this country. I claim that we are at least just as much public servants as the members of the Civil Service, and if we deemed it our duty to increase their salaries by way of bonus, I believe that it is our duty, as representatives of the people, to treat this question on a par with the similar question as it affected the other branches of the public service.

Now, as was stated, the members of the House of Commons receive an indemnity and not a salary, although the predecessor of the Minister of Finance thought it justifiable—much against my grain I must admit—to include the member's indemnity within the operation of the Income Tax Act. From time immemorial the members of the British House of Commons did not receive a red cent as indemnity. But one must not forget that in England they had leisured classes and men of means, and as a result the administration of the affairs of the people was left in the hands of a small privileged group. But as time went on public opinion decided that by a broader and more liberal franchise the masses of the people should have direct representation in Parliament. Thereupon that great Liberal statesman, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, as Prime Minister, without consulting the people, but gauging public opinion rightly, presented a measure, to which no exception was taken, granting an indemnity to the members of the historic British House of Commons, which since its inception had never known the word indemnity or salary. That was because a new age had come when the masses of the people had a right to send to Westminster their direct representatives. My hon. friend from Red Deer (Mr. M. Clark) alluded a moment ago to the case of John Burns. It was my privilege some years ago to meet John Burns in the city of Ottawa. I remember that in the presence of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Senator Edwards he received a cable from Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. The Balfour administration was tottering and there were rumours of a general election in England. I remember that as he read that telegram he said casually: "Well, this means that I shall be a Cabinet minister within a few

months." Thereupon Senator Edwards remarked: "But you will not be able to accept the salary of a Cabinet minister". Quick as a flash the answer came from John Burns: "The labouring class of England will view with pride the fact that their direct representative is worthy of a salary from His Majesty". Now, Mr. Speaker, with the ignorant it is always easy to arouse prejudices. I think I am quite familiar with public opinion in the nine provinces, but speaking only for the province from which I come I can tell you, Sir, that the people there will look upwards and not downwards in connection with this proposal. No one in his senses in my province will believe that we have been till-tapping. The offence does not now exist in the Criminal Code, but no one with any regard for the public men of this country and for their character; no one, Sir, in my province will believe that we have been committing the offence of till-tapping. We are doing an act of justice for the representatives of the Canadian people, and we are doing it openly. I do not know whether or not I shall ever again be a candidate but my approval of this measure surely would not be an impediment to my being a candidate in any of the sixty-five constituencies of the province of Quebec.

Let us come to the point, Mr. Speaker. Why am I in favour of an increased indemnity to representatives of the people in Parliament? Every one in this House, including the Right Hon. Prime Minister, the leader of the Opposition, and the leader of the third party, admits that the present indemnity is insufficient. Sir, if there is one thing that I have regretted of late it is the fact that there have been so many empty benches while the House is in session. There has been no regular attendance as there was in the old days when the indemnity was sufficient to keep members at Ottawa, to enable them to give their time to matters connected with the administration of the public affairs. For many sessions now I have seen empty seats during sittings of the House, sometimes a practically empty Chamber. I do not say it boastfully, Mr. Speaker, but you know that I am a regular attendant at the sittings of the House, and time and again I have seen the House debate measures when there was hardly a quorum of members in attendance. Why is it that there is not the attendance at the sittings of the House which the people have the right to expect from their representatives? It is because the members of the House are obliged to

earn a living, and with sessions lasting five, six and seven months it is impossible, with the present indemnity, to cope with the situation. I am ready to make far more severe the present riders in the Bill with regard to attendance in order that there may be secured for the House of Commons and thereby for the people of Canada a regular attendance of representatives of the people.

As the member for Quebec East (Mr. Lapointe) said a moment ago, the increase of the indemnity to \$4,000 will give to constituencies the right and the privilege to select the best men as their representatives. There is another reason, and to me it is the foremost reason, why the indemnity should be increased. I have had some experience in public life. I have taken part in election after election, and I am convinced that if there is one thing that I prize; if there is one thing that should be jealously guarded, it is the independence of Parliament. Sir, I do not wish the members of Parliament to be the creatures of big interests. I do not wish the members of Parliament to rely on a party fund coming from mysterious sources. I want the member of Parliament to be independent, as he states himself to be in the oath which he takes when he comes to this House. The increased indemnity will do away for all time to come with the party fund at election times. My hon. friend the leader of the Opposition, on that score, will be the first to benefit by the increased indemnity to members of Parliament as the opposition candidates will stand equal chance with government candidates. I am not lecturing my hon. friend to my left (Mr. Mackenzie King). I am saying, Sir, that this is a move towards freedom of expression of public opinion. The independence of Parliament will be secured by the adoption of this measure. Let us extirpate the corruption which the party fund at a general election engenders, creates and perpetuates. A party gets funds to elect its candidates. The men who contribute to that party fund expect that the members elected, in return for the aid received will do the bidding of those who have paid the election expenses. Sir, I am right in saying that with the increased indemnity the party fund will be a thing of the past and if for no other reason, the people of Canada would approve of the action of Parliament, in that regard.

At Six o'clock the House took recess.

[Mr. Lemieux.]

### After Recess.

The House resumed at Eight o'clock.

### PRIVATE BILLS.

#### THIRD READINGS.

Bill No. 212 from the Senate for the relief of Mildred Euphemia Alsina Martin.—Mr. Douglas (Strathcona).

Bill No. 213 from the Senate for the relief of Arthur John Frankling.—Mr. Fripp.

Bill No. 214 from the Senate for the relief of Nelson Alexander Boylen.—Mr. Douglas (Strathcona).

Bill No. 215 from the Senate for the relief of Mahala Burton.—Mr. Hocken.

Bill No. 216 from the Senate for the relief of Joseph Henry Forbes.—Mr. Boyce.

### SALARIES OF MINISTERS AND INDEMNITY OF MEMBERS.

The House resumed consideration of the proposed motion of Right Hon. Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister, for the second reading of Bill No. 219, to amend the Salaries Act and the House of Commons Act.

Mr. LANCTOT (Translation): Mr. Speaker, I regret very deeply indeed what happened between your honour and myself this afternoon. However I find myself obliged to make another speech which, after all, is not a very disagreeable task, since I happen to be just now the most popular member in the House.

This afternoon the right hon. Prime Minister spoke on Bill No. 219. The right hon. gentleman's speech was not altogether identical with the one he delivered on the 23rd inst. At that time I had reason to believe that the Prime Minister of the country would not bring down this legislation at the end of the session, since he is better apprised than any one else of the complete ruin to which Canada is reduced. However, on June 24, the day following, his party met in caucus. I was not present but I presume that a great many of the Prime Minister's followers must have forced him to bring down this Bill with threats of a general strike in the House of Commons. I am fully persuaded that such is the explanation of the Prime Minister's action in presenting this legislation to Parliament to-day. On June 23 the right hon. gentleman's position on this question was the same as my own; we have heard it stated so often, both in the House and out of it, that we have no money for repairing wharves and for undertaking other necessary public works that it behooves us to practise economy.

For some time past we in this House have been constantly asked to economize and we should be all the more inclined to adapt a policy of thrift since we realize that Canada's position is growing steadily worse.

The right hon. Prime Minister made several comparisons this afternoon to justify this measure. He spoke of the United States where the members of the House of Representatives receive \$7,500 besides the services of paid secretaries. I admit that the members at Washington are well paid; however the Prime Minister omitted to mention that the number of American representatives is far below ours. There are only 436 members of the House of Representatives and 96 members of the Senate, a total membership in Congress of 529 representatives for a population of 105 million people; Canada has 235 members of the Commons and 92 Senators, a total membership in Parliament of 327. There upon our representatives number more than half those at Washington and we have a population of only 8,500,000. That is not all, Mr. Speaker. The United States have 17 billion dollars' worth of outstanding loans to foreign countries; Canada has nothing but debts in foreign countries; even in our own country the Government has not one single paying investment. So the Prime Minister's argument that Canada should pay her representatives as much as the United States pay theirs falls to the ground; we cannot afford to imitate the United States.

The right hon. gentleman spoke of Australia where there are 75 commoners and 36 senators. It is time that Australia pays her representatives one thousand pounds; the fact remains, however, that Australia's economic stress is even greater than our own. You are well aware, Mr. Speaker, that ruin always overtakes those who squander their substance; those who do not want to fall behind are careful what they spend.

Let us suppose, for instance, that Nova Scotia was a member of the Union; her population would entitle her, I believe, to two members of the House of Representatives. She has 16 members in the Canadian House. If she sent two representatives to Washington with a salary at \$9,000 or \$10,000 each, it would amount only to \$20,000; but with representatives in this House, that represents \$44,000 more—because, with the increased indemnity, 16 members will draw \$64,000. Consequently, in proportion to population our representa-

tives cost us six or seven times more than the representatives at Washington.

I must say, Mr. Speaker, that I am rather pleased to address the House tonight. This afternoon I listened to three hon. leaders of this House and to three or four front benchers of my own party and of the Agrarian party. I did not take much stock in the arguments advanced by these hon. gentlemen. I believe that the strongest argument of all will be the cheque for \$3,040 instead of \$1,540, at the end of the session—and I am going to prove it. In the first place, when we discussed this question last week it was stated in the House—it is often stated outside—that if the members of Parliament were better paid the people would find better men to represent them. I am going to answer that argument immediately; I maintain that the facts are just the opposite; and to prove it I need go no further than Montreal. A by-election was held recently in St. James' riding in Montreal; is it not a fact that, with the salary at \$2,500, the voters of St. James' division sent to this House the strongest man they could possibly find in Montreal?

Is it not a fact, moreover, that Mr. Rinfret was opposed by the strongest representative of labour in Montreal?

So, Mr. Speaker, when we are told that a higher salary will ensure the election of better men to Parliament I reply that just the contrary is the case and I have proven it.

Now, even if it be true that an increase in salary is necessary, should this increase be made during the present session? When a business man has hired a clerk in his office for \$2,500 and this clerk comes to his employer three or four days before his year is up and says: "I want an increase of \$1,500 for the work I have done this year," what does the boss say? He says: "That is out of the question. Finish your year and I'll settle with you." Well, that is the position of hon. members in this House, for the present session at any rate. The session is over. It has already come to an end for several, since they have taken their trunks and gone back to their homes. So the argument that members of Parliament should receive more money does not apply to the present session at least, because the session is over, and the amount allowed was \$2,500.

A moment ago I mentioned the case of my hon. friend the member for St. James (Mr. Rinfret); I do not think that, in the course

of that by-election the people were consulted on the question of increasing the indemnity for next session. I do not think they were consulted at any of the by-elections held throughout the country, nor at the general election of 1917. So why should we be told in this House that such and such a thing must be done, else we shall starve to death?

I have been here for 16 years, Mr. Speaker, and I know something about living in Ottawa. It is true that I am rather staid. I do not live at the Chateau Laurier, but I have a good room; I take my meals at the Parliamentary restaurant; my expenses are not very great, and I can go back home with money in my pocket and look after the interests of my constituents as I have always done in the past. If a member wants to live at the Chateau that is his business; I congratulate him on being able to do so. If he can afford it, well and good; the man who cannot afford it does not go there except to meet a friend.

Now, perhaps we shall be told that a member of Parliament cannot live to-day on a salary of \$2,500. I have never believed that to be the case, and I do not believe it yet. We all derive a certain income from other sources over and above our parliamentary indemnity; personally, if I were not content with the \$2,500 I receive for representing the citizens of Laprairie-Napierville, I could easily go back home and the county could send another representative here.

I do not intend to detain the House very long, as I know the Government wants to wind up the session. When this Bill is in committee I am going to move an amendment. I do not expect the House to adopt my amendment; however, I want my remarks to appear in Hansard, so that the people of my riding may know what I said concerning the increases in our indemnity. I have often heard members of Parliament say that we should not be afraid. Far be it from me, Mr. Speaker, to act as I do through fear of my constituents. The past is there to prove that I am not a slave to fear. In my riding of Laprairie-Napierville I have waged such contests as a farmer can; I have defeated some very strong men in four general elections. I do not know what I shall do in the future, but when I am told that a man with an increased indemnity as a plank in his platform could be sure of winning the election in any one of the 65 ridings in Quebec province, all I say is that the task would be too strenuous

[Mr. Lanctôt.]

for any man. Besides, we shall soon have a chance to demonstrate; there will be a general election, if not in one month or six months, then in a year or two years, and the man who wants to come down to my riding of Laprairie-Napierville and tell the voters that my position on this question was false can be a candidate and welcome. Now, certain of my hon. friends on this side of the House have stated several times that the salaries of the ministers in the present Government should be increased, right away. I do not share that opinion. If a company whose business ran into the millions annually had employees who had almost reduced it to bankruptcy, would its directors be inclined to increase the salaries of these employees? For my part, I believe that the Government we have had since 1911, and particularly since 1917, have almost ruined us. For this reason, I am opposed to the increase of the salaries of the ministers. I think that if anything were done they ought to be reduced. But there is another way, as I said a minute ago—a desperate situation calls for desperate remedies—to settle this question of increasing the indemnity, and the others that are submitted to us. Wind up this session, go before the electors, and your humble servant will be glad to discuss with you in the county of Laprairie-Napierville his opposition to all the bad measures proposed by the Government. I would be the last man to vote to ameliorate the position of the gentlemen on the right, and I think that the Liberals commit a grave error in ranging themselves upon the side of these gentlemen on this question; the support they give them can only have the result of encouraging them to keep their positions as long as possible, for they know very well that the verdict of the people will be against them at the next general election. It is because of this that I cannot approve of, and do not like, this alliance.

Mr. HERBERT J. MACKIE (Renfrew North): The hon. member for Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) has rather issued a challenge to any hon. member to dare to differ from the party in power on this question, and so with great deference to the hon. gentleman I may say at once that I shall partially accept that challenge even at the risk of incurring his wrath. I am in favour of this measure in so far as it affects the Prime Minister, the leader of the Opposition, and the Cabinet ministers, but in so far as the increased indemnity to members

of the House of Commons and members of the Senate is concerned, I am very much opposed to it. When we were asked to accept our nominations for Parliament in 1917, we knew quite well the amount of the indemnity, and even had that indemnity been only one-tenth of what it is, I doubt whether one member in this Chamber would have declined the nomination. Some no doubt would have stood up before their electors and told them they were making a great sacrifice in accepting the nomination, while others would have declared that no matter what the indemnity they would accept the nomination from patriotic motives. And what happens now? We have the majority of those same members endeavouring to commercialize that patriotism and that sacrifice. A short while ago we witnessed a bloodless war when there came into vogue the expression "commercializing Christianity," but I think the term is quite applicable to-day in another sense. I have advocated with the support of some members, the advisability of dividing Canada into zones and paying the members from each zone a different indemnity scale, because I believe that those members who live in Ontario and Quebec constituencies near Ottawa who can spend comparatively so much time at home attending to their business should not get the same compensation as members from remote constituencies who seldom get home during a session. This is the hundred and twenty-fifth day since the opening of the session, and during that period this House has been sitting 83 days. Each member is allowed fifteen days' absence, and if you subtract that from 83 you will have 68 days as the actual number of days on which the House has sat, and hon. members living within a night's train journey of Ottawa have had considerable time to spend with their families or to attend to their businesses. I suggested to certain brother members that Canada should be divided into zones, and that all the members residing west of the Great Lakes as well as all members residing east of Gaspé should receive the increased indemnity.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Thank you.

Mr. MACKIE (Renfrew): The other members who can arrive home from Ottawa on Saturday night at nine or ten or twelve o'clock, I think, should wait for an increase until Parliament meets again or until a new Parliament is elected, before pressing the matter. We knew in 1917 when we were elected the cost of living in Ottawa,

and it is no more to-day to the majority of members than it was in the spring of 1918. I know, from good authority, that quite a number of members will go home with a clear profit of \$2,000 from this session, besides having spent 57 days or more at home. While I do not think that the indemnity pays hon. members for their services, I do think it pays them for the time they spend here. There are certain gentlemen in this House, who, if they devoted their full time to their business would undoubtedly be able to secure large returns, but these very same men would come to Ottawa next Parliament if their remuneration were absolutely nothing, because they enjoy the life here and they enjoy the honour that goes with the position.

I wonder if the majority of the members realize that there are at least thirty members of Parliament living within five or six hours' journey of Ottawa. I have consulted with a number and they tell me, what I know is true, that their businesses and occupations have not suffered from their parliamentary service.

Take the Senate; we are going to boost them along too. The tail must go with the hide and it is a fact that we have at least ten Senators residing in Ottawa. They have given up their business in their districts and have come to Ottawa to reside permanently. Perhaps I may be exaggerating but I have been given to understand that such is the case. I doubt if the public will take this proposition as kindly as some members say they will. We are told by the hon. member for Frontenac that he has consulted with his constituents. Unfortunately, I have none of that genial, modest, delightful, inoffensive mannerism that the hon. member for Frontenac has and I fear that I cannot quite make as much headway with my constituents as he says he has already made with his. My constituents will want to know how I stand upon this measure. I am sorry that the members of this House did not follow the wise judgment of our leader and defer the measure.

Much has been said about the press attack on this proposal. I did not leave it to the press and to their writings to guide me in forming my conclusions. I left it to my conscience. Some may smile at the thought that I have a conscience but it is certainly very strong on this question. I am very much opposed to this proposal.

Mr. J. W. KENNEDY (Glengarry and Stormont): Mr. Speaker, with reference to

the measure now under consideration, providing for an increase in the sessional indemnity, I understand that a large number of the members expressed themselves with regard to it on a former occasion when it was discussed in the House.

I wish to avail myself of this opportunity however to make my views known. A great many reasons have been advanced by hon. members in favour of the increase in our statutory indemnity. These reasons have been supported by arguments which appear to me to be well founded but yet I am not in a position either to confirm them or to refute them. I am a new member. This is practically the first session I have attended. I have not been able to take as great a part in the deliberations of this assembly as those who have been here longer and that is one reason why I would feel great hesitancy about attempting to increase my own indemnity. I realize that my position is quite different from that of the vast majority of the members because my constituency is not very far away from Ottawa and I am able to spend the week ends at home. On the other hand, when I accepted the responsibility which my constituents placed upon me, I did so with the full knowledge of the condition and of the indemnity to be allowed. In doing that I feel to all intents and purposes I am under a contract with my constituents to represent them in this House for the remainder of the parliamentary term. I feel that I am in honour bound to abide by that tacit agreement and for that reason I am not able to lend my support to the proposed measure.

Mr. EDMOND PROULX (Prescott): Mr. Speaker, I expressed my opinion in regard to this question of the sessional indemnity some time ago. I was not in the House last week when the subject was discussed by the hon. member for West Peterborough (Mr. Burnham) and others, but I understand by the reports that I read in the newspapers that my right hon. friend the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) had decided that the time was not opportune and that the matter should be left in abeyance. I approved of his attitude, then. I still believe that the time is not opportune and that this matter should be deferred until next election. We may have a general election in the near future. There has been a full discussion of the matter and I would submit that the Government would be wise in not pressing the adoption of this measure but leave it in abeyance and give the electors an opportunity to pass upon it. A

[Mr. Kennedy.]

majority of the members composing this Parliament might be satisfied to leave the sessional indemnity at the present figure. After the last general election in Ontario we noticed that the Premier refused to accept the full salary which had been voted for his office two years ago. He is satisfied to accept \$3,000 less than the salary fixed. Considering also the financial condition of the country I would very much prefer that the matter should not be pressed but that it be left over until after the general election. If that is not the opinion of the majority of the members of this House then I would oppose the coming into effect of the new salaries and indemnities until after the next general election.

Mr. H. A. MACKIE (East Edmonton): If this matter were deferred would the hon. gentleman be willing to make it an issue at the next general election with his constituents and would he be willing to take the position before his constituents that he did not want any increase?

Mr. PROULX: I am very much in the position of the hon. member for Glengarry and Stormont (Mr. Kennedy). I cannot compare my position with that of the majority of the members of this House. I represent a constituency which is close at hand. I can therefore go home quite often and attend to my business. I can do that to a far greater degree than can most of the members of this House. Personally I would be satisfied to continue to serve at the present indemnity, but I cannot say that that indemnity is fair and adequate for the majority of hon. members. For instance, take the case of my hon. friend who has just asked me a question. He lives in the province of Alberta far distant from Ottawa. I certainly could not compare my position to his on this question.

Mr. J. H. SINCLAIR (Guysborough): I should like to avail myself of the opportunity of briefly stating my views on the question before the House, and I regret to say that I differ to some extent from a great many hon. gentlemen on both sides. We have been invited to give a frank expression of our opinion on the matter of an increase in the indemnity and I think it is our duty to do so. I respect the views of those hon. members who differ from me, and I trust they will give me credit for being honest and sincere in my opinions. The responsibility for the proposed legislation, in so far as it relates to the increase of salaries and increase in the indemnities, belongs to the Govern-

ment who have undertaken to place the matter before the House. At the same time all of us have a certain amount of responsibility in connection with it, and when the Government is taking such a step no hon. gentleman should refrain from expressing his views with respect to it. For my part I do not wish to make any political capital out of the proposition for an increase in the sessional indemnity; in fact I was so anxious not to do so that when I learned that this matter was being seriously considered by the Government I wrote to the Prime Minister so that he might learn what my views were before taking the final step. I agree with what has been said to the effect that the indemnity is too small and that a very strong case has been made out for an increase. The only difficulty I have is in giving effect to the increase at the present moment. There are very strong reasons—*notwithstanding* what has been said by the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Clark) and others—why we should hesitate to make this increase applicable to the present Parliament. It is undoubtedly true that there is a certain amount of unrest in the country. We have imposed pretty heavy taxes on the common people within the past few days; we have all been calling out for economy; and we have to return home and face the returned soldiers in our constituencies who have made a claim for an increased gratuity. Whether that claim is a proper one or not, many of the returned soldiers are of the opinion that it is. A great many of these men fought overseas for three or four years at \$1.10 a day and they think that they ought to receive from the country an increased gratuity. I feel rather sensitive about returning home with a cheque representing the increased indemnity in my pocket and having to explain to these men that we were not able to accede to their request. These are some of the difficulties that I have in mind with regard to this question. I must frankly say that my views, to a large extent, coincide with those of my leader (Mr. Mackenzie King). I think we could very properly, at this stage, agree that the indemnity should be increased, but we will escape all the reproaches of the kind to which I referred by making that increase applicable to the next Parliament. Those men who are candidates for election in the next Parliament can then come before the electors and tell them what their views are on this question, and if elected they will have the necessary mandate. That is the way

I feel about this matter, and I thought it only right that I should frankly state my opinions to the House. I have nothing further to say except that I support the course of my leader on this question.

Mr. O. R. GOULD (Assiniboia): I think I would be derelict in my duty if I did not at this time express my views on the question which is before the House. I believe my electors would feel more inclined to criticise me if I remained silent instead of standing boldly up and supporting the resolution as I propose to do. In taking this stand I am co-operating with other hon. members from the province of Saskatchewan who have supported this proposition. The inference to be drawn from their course is that the Saskatchewan members feel themselves big enough men, and sufficiently sure of their ground, and feel that the people appreciate their services to that degree that they are willing to pay them an adequate remuneration for the services they perform, or are supposed to perform, in the House of Commons. It is from the province of Alberta, of which the hon. member for Red Deer is a representative, that the most positive statement upon this question has emanated. The representative of the constituency of Maple Creek (Mr. Maharg) has also taken a very decided stand, likewise other hon. gentlemen. In the case of Assiniboia—while the sentiment may not be as positive—I am co-operating with the representatives from Saskatchewan and Alberta in this matter. Passing to the province of Manitoba we have had an expression of opinion from the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Crerar) but it has not been quite as positive as in the other cases to which I have alluded. The sentiment of the Saskatchewan representatives upon this matter of increased indemnity, to my mind, only goes to prove that the farther west you go the bigger the men. When we come to the province of Ontario we find a certain amount of fear and trembling among some of its representatives; they are five-hundred-dollar men and consequently you get five-hundred-dollar politics.

Mr. MACKIE (Edmonton): That is a blow in the solar plexus.

Mr. GOULD: That seems rather a bold statement to make, but I have no sympathy with hon. members who, while acknowledging that the indemnity ought to be raised, plead that this is not the opportune time to do it. To my mind that is a very weak argument. Are they asking this Govern-

ment to assume the responsibility for the actions of the next Government? Let the next Government, if they choose, rescind this legislation; they will have an opportunity of doing so. Let the next Government take the responsibility for their own action, just as this House is proposing to do. As I say, such an argument is very weak; and I am surprised that some hon. members who have occupied seats in Parliament for so long a period should attempt to advance such feeble excuses. The only interpretation I can place upon their course is that they see an indirect way of deriving political benefit from it. I do not believe that at any time in our history any individual has been elected or defeated on the issue of the sessional indemnity. I am sure that at the next election the issues will far transcend in importance such a question as a difference of \$1,500 in that indemnity. If not, the people will have very little to debate about. When the question of the increase first came to my notice I availed myself of the opportunity to send not less than one hundred letters to my constituency in order to ascertain their opinion on the subject. Of all the replies which I received only one was in the negative. In that communication the ground was taken that the Government should go to the country and until that time the increase of indemnity should be held in abeyance because the writers did not think the present Government were worth the increase. Should an early appeal to the people be imminent no doubt a delay in carrying out this policy would be proper; but we have already been waiting an indefinite time for the Government to take that course and there is no sign as yet of their doing so. Therefore, I say that no one should ask that his fellowmen should remain in Parliament at a sacrifice—a sacrifice which is acknowledged by those who apologize for not giving immediate effect to the increase as well as by those who support its immediate adoption.

Now, I do not think that I need take up the time of the House any longer. All has been said that can or should be said for or against the resolution. I am sure that the people of the Dominion know this. The official organ from which I have received much of my politics has advocated this increased indemnity for the last six years. I have come down to help change things, if possible. I assume that that is what I am here for. That is why I take this stand on the indemnity question, because that is one of the things we are going to rectify,

[Mr. Gould.]

and I am glad to know that we are going to have a fair unanimity of opinion on this question.

Mr. JACQUES BUREAU (Three Rivers): The House knows very well my views on this matter, Mr. Speaker, but there are a few things I want to correct. Yesterday, when discussing the salaries of the judges, my hon. friends from Laprairie (Mr. Lantot) and Prescott (Mr. Proulx) made the statement that there was collusion between the two parties in this House to pass bad legislation; and to-night my hon. friend from Laprairie, speaking to the question, said that "he had heard two or three of the big cannons of the parties to which he belongs." This leads me to believe that he belongs to one of the parties in this House, and as he sits on our side of the House, I assume that he belongs to one of those bad parties which is in collusion to rob the country. I resent that statement. If that is his position, he must be measuring others by his own yardstick. May I ask my two hon. friends whether in 1905 they were opposed to the increase of the indemnity from \$1,500 to \$2,500?

Mr. BELAND: They were.

Mr. BUREAU: Did they raise their voice against it?

Mr. LANCTOT: Mr. Speaker, in answer to my hon. friend I may say this: in 1904 I had just left my plough in the field to run as a candidate for a seat in this House, and I was not the man that I am to-day. I may say that I did not favour the increase of the indemnity in 1905, nor do I favour it to-day.

Mr. BUREAU: My hon. friend did not favour the increase of the indemnity in 1905. For fifteen years, against his wish, with those strong principles that he advocates and that make him ashamed of both sides of this House, he has kept in his pocket \$15,000 of the people's money, which he claims we robbed, and he robbed with us. Consistency! Why Mr. Speaker, if there is any consistency in the hon. gentleman that \$15,000 ought to be in the coffers of the country. May I exclaim: Consistency, thou art a jewel! Furthermore: Honesty, thou art not a vain word!

I want to show that some of these gentlemen who come here and pose as angels and models of virtue by saying that they do not want the indemnity, have been taking it and using it. There is not a dissident voice in this House as to the desirability and the need of having this indem-

ity. My hon. friend from North Renfrew (Mr. Mackie) admitted that it was necessary, but on one condition—there is always a “but”—divide Canada into zones; let the Western members have \$4,000, and let those who are in close proximity to Ottawa have less. That is a good idea, he thinks. It may be a good idea, but I do not share his views, and every man is entitled to his own views on the question. If it is good for the man who lives west of lake Superior, it is equally as good for the man who lives east of the Ottawa river. What is the difference? We are all on the same footing. Men who live west of lake Superior do not render greater service to their country than men who live east. The western men make greater sacrifices, I admit, as they are away from their families and their business. Every one admits that the principle of the thing is good, and every one says the increase has become a necessity.

The hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Crerar) says: I am willing that the law regulating the increase of the salaries of the ministers should take effect now, but not the law regulating the increased indemnity to members. I must confess that I do not see the logic of the position taken by him and by other hon. members. If the thing is as good as my hon. friend from Red Deer and others say it is, let us put it into force at once. A good thing cannot be placed on the statute book too soon. I have expressed my views on that. I have had occasion, Mr. Speaker—and I say it with all deference, for we do not share the same views—of criticising bad laws that have been placed on the statute book. But when I see a good law going on the statute book I am glad to give it my support.

Now a word en passant. I think I have never complained about statements made by the press, but in this case I think we have been misrepresented. The motives of the gentlemen of the press I do not discuss. It is their business to enlighten public opinion. But I think before they impute motives to others, before they tell us that we should have some self-respect, those gentlemen ought to make a little examination of their conscience. I remember when anxiety was on every face in this country, when we were at the most crucial moment of our history. You talk about returned soldiers who have fought at the Front; I bow to them and they have my admiration; but I remember when the fate of civilization was in the balance; we wanted money, and we wanted men; we had to advertise for loans and we had to advertise for re-

cruits. The papers were full of patriotic sentiments. Did these gentlemen give space in their papers for nothing? We had a return from the Minister of Finance that every advertisement for those loans was paid for. Let the gentlemen of the press examine their consciences and talk about self-respect when they give us an explanation of the reason why, when this country was at that crucial moment of her history, they did not care to refuse the money that was paid to them. I ask the Minister of Finance: have any of those gentlemen paid back that money to the public treasury? I do not know if they have, but the last return that came to the House showed that they had not.

Another point my hon. friend from Laprairie made. He said: if you are not satisfied with \$2,500, stay at home. Why, the country can better afford to lose my hon. friend from Laprairie than it can afford to lose the man who thinks he is worth \$4,000 and who should come to this House and initiate good legislation. We had an example of what my hon. friend's services are worth. On Bill 218 this afternoon he started to argue on Bill 219—an evidence of the deep interest and the close watch he keeps on the legislation that is being considered. He had to apologize for his oversight. If my hon. friend is always off the trail like that, I think he had better give place to a four-thousand-dollar man.

My hon. friend from Frontenac (Mr. Edwards) gave advice to my hon. leader. I think I may state that I know what the position and the intentions of my hon. leader are, and I may tell the hon. member from Frontenac that he may hold his peace, for he certainly will not receive the difference in indemnity if it does not go into the pocket of my hon. leader. I think, Sir, we ought not to try to teach lessons to anybody on this thing. I am going to support the bill in toto. I support the increase of salaries to the ministers because I think they deserve it. If there is anything that I reproach myself for it is that when we were in power we did not tackle this question of increasing the salaries of the ministers. They are very much underpaid as are hon. members also. If I have any objection to urge against the resolution—and I will be candid—it is that the increase of indemnity does not go far enough. I believe that men who sit in this House; men who are willing to work for their country—although that suggestion was challenged when I made it before—ought to get \$5,000. My hon. friend made

a comparison with the United States. He pointed out that while the United States senators are getting \$7,000, plus an allowance for a secretary, the United States has a much larger population than Canada. But that is not a proper comparison to make. Let us make a comparison of the indemnity to members of the Federal Parliament with the indemnity to members of provincial legislatures. The province of Quebec, with eighty-two members, pays its provincial representatives \$2,000, although, as the right hon. leader of the House pointed out to-day, the sessions of the legislature last only four or five weeks—six weeks at the most. That is the proper basis upon which to make comparisons.

Now, I shall say no more. I could say a good deal more, but if I become carried away with the force of my convictions on the subject I shall occupy too long the attention of the House. I take this position conscientiously; it is what I firmly believe; I am ready to stand by it; I am willing to defend my position before any body of intelligent electors. My hon. friend from Laprairie has threatened to take the stump in the province of Quebec and to denounce our attitude on this question. Well, I extend to him a special public invitation to come down to the city of Three Rivers and to the town of Shawinigan, and we will give him a whoop of a reception.

Mr. LANCTOT: Pardon me for a moment, Mr. Speaker. I will say this to the hon. member for Three Rivers: I am willing to go into your county—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order.

Mr. ANDREW McMASTER (Brome): Mr. Speaker, I had intended to postpone the remarks I hoped to make upon this Bill until it got into committee, but some things have been said quite recently in connection with it which make it advisable, I think, for me to say a word at this stage.

I very seldom envy the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden), but I must say I envied him to-day, because he has received fresh light so recently upon a difficult subject. A few days ago I listened to the right hon. gentleman when he stated that he thought that although the indemnities should be raised, the present time was not an opportune time to raise them. I thoroughly concurred in what he said, and I thought that the whole question was settled. I was somewhat interested the other night and to-day to listen to a very

strong speech from him in support of an increased indemnity. What I sincerely regret is that I have not received any information with regard to what led the Prime Minister so completely to change his mind. It is contrary to my nature and certainly to my disposition and desire to be hesitating about a question, and certainly this is a question on which there is so much to be said on both sides that any one who speaks should, I think, be charitable to those who do not take the same position as he does.

Now, I believe, and believe most emphatically, that the indemnity paid to members of this House is too low. The member who honestly carries out his duties in this House is not indemnified by \$2,500. There are some, of course, who pay little attention to the work of the House, but I do not think that those who do their duty should suffer through that fact. The people of Canada should not expect them to do so, because it is the people's fault if those in the House are not of the proper calibre to fulfil their functions as legislators. But there are other considerations, and just for a moment let me briefly touch upon them.

In addressing the House on this occasion I do so in a spirit of the greatest moderation. I differ from others on this question, not on a matter of principle but on a matter of expediency. I know that some of my friends will be shocked at that, because I have endeavoured not to be guided by expediency in what I have done in public life. I hesitate to express my views on this subject, because I know how generous has been the service, how sincere the devotion, how great the ability that has been lavished upon the country by many members who support the Government in this present proposal. But let me answer the argument addressed by the member for Red Deer (Mr. M. Clark). He said: "Now is the accepted time: now is the day of salvation." Might I reply to him in the words of the great apostle that although all things may be just, yet "all things may not be expedient", and that we should be careful to see that even our good be not evil spoken of.

Now, why do I support the view taken by my honourable leader (Mr. Mackenzie King)? I do it for this reason; because although I am thoroughly convinced that the indemnity is too low, the information that I have from the electors whom I represent in this House is to the effect that they would prefer to have an opportunity of discussing the matter before it

[Mr. Bureau.]

becomes law. In other words, they think that this increasing of indemnity should not take place until after a general election. Now, that may be wise or unwise on the part of those electors, but when

9 p.m. the matter is one in respect of which those whom I represent are on one side and I as the proposed recipient of an increase am on the other, it seems to me that in such circumstances I must resolve every doubt against myself. Let me suppose that I am acting on a yearly retainer for a client and under that yearly retainer I have the right if I desire, to raise my own remuneration. I would not like to do so without consulting my client and giving him an opportunity of setting forth his views. It may be a matter of sentiment; it may be quixotic, but so far as I am concerned, glad as I would be to have the money, I do not wish to increase my own indemnity without giving the electors who elected me in the past and whom I hope to go back to in the future an opportunity of making their wishes known.

The member for Red Deer said: "How will an election settle the question?" Well, an election will settle the question in this way. In an election in this country, especially in the rural parts, candidates go from country school-house to country school-house; they mingle freely with the electorate; and every opportunity would be given to the electorate to state to the candidates whether they were in favour of or against an increase in the indemnity. There are two ways in which this might be done. Of course, the best way—and I desire to impress this on the Government—would be to pass the legislation and forthwith go to the people for approval of their legislation in this matter as well as in all matters. That would be one way to do it; the other way would be to have the indemnity become effective after the next general election, when the next Parliament is summoned.

An hon. MEMBER: It was not done that way in 1905.

Mr. McMASTER: That may be. I am not saying that members who do not agree with me are wrong. This is a matter in which honest men, sincere men, unselfish men, may take one side or the other. But I say we must not forget that the financial position of the country to-day is very different from what it was in 1905, and that, therefore, still greater care is required.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: How does that affect the principle?

Mr. McMASTER: I do not know whether it affects the principle, but it affects what you might call the sentimentalities of the situation. The Prime Minister shrugs his shoulders and smiles. He may be quite right; but if he was quite right to-night, he was quite wrong the evening before last. I do not, however, want to discuss this matter with any heat. I quite realize that my view may be mistaken; that those who hold different views from mine may be right; but after all a man has to follow his own instinct in a matter of this sort, and my instinct is to consult my electorate before I raise my indemnity.

Mr. BOYER: By what means will the hon. member consult his electorate?

Mr. McMASTER: By an election. I follow the leader of the Opposition (Mr. MacKenzie King), although this is not a party question at all, in the view that the electorate should have an opportunity of declaring themselves before this legislation goes into effect. There is, however, this consideration which I wish to bring before the House. I am quite convinced by arguments which have been advanced in this debate and also from information that has come to me from other sources, that there are in this House members, especially those who live in remote parts of this country, who absolutely need the money. The cost of living has increased very substantially since we were elected in 1917, certainly since some of us were nominated early in 1917. Under those circumstances I would apply the same principle as has been applied to the Civil Service, and I think it would be proper and fitting that a bonus be granted. I would not be too niggardly in regard to that bonus. Those are my sentiments honestly expressed, I trust, expressed without heat, and with no desire to make political capital nor to hurt the feelings of any one.

Let me close by referring to a remark made by the hon. member for Three Rivers (Mr. Bureau), who reproached an hon. member because, after having been against the last rise in indemnity, that member had taken the larger sum. I do not think that is a just or a generous criticism.

Mr. LANCTOT: There was no opposition at all.

Mr. McMASTER: Whether it was opposed or not I do not think that is a generous or just position. We are here as members of a deliberative assembly; we discuss matters, and the rule is that the

majority must prevail. Therefore, after the majority has decided, it seems to me that it is the proper thing for every one to fall in line and accept the position carried by the majority, unless it is a matter of strong principle against which a man should battle and battle evermore, and I do not believe this question is of that nature. I trust I have submitted these considerations with sobriety and quietness. I do this in a spirit of absolute cordiality with every one; I realize quite frankly that I may be wrong, but I would not have felt comfortable in this debate had I not expressed my views which I honestly and sincerely hold.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Mr. Speaker—

Mr. DEPUTY SPEAKER: Before the Prime Minister addresses the House, it is my duty to advise hon. members that if he does so, he will close the debate. Therefore, if any other hon. member desires to speak, he should do so now.

Mr. FRANCIS N. McCREA (Sherbrooke): Mr. Speaker, I am one of the members who do not speak very much in the House. We have heard a good deal of complaint about hon. members being absent, but it is a question whether, if every one took part in the debates, that would be a benefit or otherwise. If all hon. members did as much talking as some hon. members do whom I have heard complaining about other members not taking part in the debates, instead of being here for four months, we would be here for twelve months. As regards this question of indemnity I do not think it is for me or for any other hon. member to decide whether he is worth the money or not. Having been a member of this House for some nine or ten years, I have come to the conclusion, whether I am re-elected or not, that the position that any hon. member holds as representing a constituency is worth the \$4,000, or, perhaps, even \$5,000. It is not for me to say whether I am capable of filling the position or not; that is for the people I represent when the time comes. We are here to decide questions and to be just to all people. We have voted bonuses to different people employed by the Government, and I think we are equally called upon to decide what is a fair remuneration for members of this House. That does not mean that we contend that individually we are worth that money. It is for the people we represent, when the proper time comes, to say whether we are capable or not of representing them. If

[Mr. McMaster.]

they decide adversely, they may choose somebody else who may come here for less money but my impression is that every man in this House will take his money when the time comes and will be just and honest enough to say that he wants it. I do.

Hon. W. S. FIELDING (Shelburne and Queen's): Mr. Speaker, I discussed this matter at an earlier stage of the proceedings about a week ago, and I do not desire to repeat my views. I rise now only to remark that I regard it as unfortunate that the Government have gathered together in this one Bill three different subjects for decision, and I mentioned that before. One subject is the salaries of senators and members, and another is the salaries of ministers, and I regret the Prime Minister did not present these so that we might vote upon them separately. There is one portion of the Bill that I wish to support for reasons already given, and, therefore, I will vote for the second reading of the Bill, reserving to myself the right to take the proper course in accordance with my views when the Bill comes into committee.

Rt. Hon. Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, if no other hon. gentleman desires to address the House, I should like to say just three or four words. I am very glad to have had this debate which has been carried on in an excellent spirit. Speeches have sometimes been quite warm, but on the whole I think we may congratulate ourselves that some light has been thrown on the subject. The hon. member for Quebec East (Mr. Lapointe) has spoken of his stern determination and effort to defeat the Government; but while he was speaking I could not help thinking of the story of the farmer who was asked how he liked the claret and who said: "It tastes very nice, but I do not seem to be getting any forwarder." The leader of the Opposition (Mr. Mackenzie King) said that the subject should not be discussed in a partisan way, and he did not discuss it in a partisan way, except possibly at the conclusion of his remarks when he expressed that yearning, which is hardly ever absent from his speeches, for a general election. There are in this country some people who have a shrewd suspicion that if there is in this House one man who does not want a general election in the immediate future, it is the leader of the Opposition. We shall, however, I hope, settle the indemnity at an amount at which it may stand until fifteen or twenty years in the

future when my hon. friend will have attained power.

Mr. BUREAU: That is mean.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Just one or two words with regard to some arguments that have been put forward. The hon. member for Renfrew North (Mr. Mackie) has supported another Bill in this House, the Bill with regard to judges, and he is prepared to support the provisions of this Bill with regard to ministers' salaries. But as regards himself, he accepted nomination and election upon a certain basis, and he thinks that basis should not be disturbed during the term for which he was elected. I should like to point out to my hon. friend and other hon. gentlemen who have advanced the same view, that precisely the same argument might be made with regard to judges and ministers. Every one of those judges accepted appointment to the bench at a certain salary, and if the argument which has been put forward is good so far as members are concerned, then it is equally good with regard to judges. It would apply also to ministers, because we all accepted the positions which we now hold upon a certain scale of remuneration. If the argument advanced were carried out in practice it would never be possible for any ministry to make a proposal to the House of Commons for the immediate increase of salaries; any increases would have to be restricted to future judges and future ministries. Some other hon. gentlemen have apparently reached the conclusion that any such question as this should be submitted in some way to the electorate. May I say to my hon. friend from Brome (Mr. McMaster) that he did not very fairly quote me in referring to my remarks of the other evening. What I said to the House was this—I said it this afternoon and I say it again—that before coming to a conclusion in regard to this proposal the House ought carefully and seriously to consider the question as to opportuneness of time. But I said also this afternoon that the question whether this was or was not an opportune time was not in my opinion an absolutely controlling and determining factor. I am inclined, after listening carefully to the debate, to concur in the view of those who have urged that when once you admit that the indemnity of members of this House is too low you have given the whole case away. Not much else remains to be said with regard to it. How do you propose to make this an issue at an election?

Does any hon. gentleman in this country seriously propose that an election should be held in Canada upon the question as to whether members of Parliament ought to be paid an indemnity of \$2,500 or an indemnity of \$4,000? The idea seems to be preposterous. You could not make this an issue at an election. Surely so long as the Canadian people have the vision, the outlook and the intelligence which they possess to-day, and devote their attention to the great issues of public affairs as in the past, they will find some bigger issue at any general election than that which I have just stated. So that you could never make any question of this kind an issue at a general election. In fact, as the hon. member for Red Deer (Mr. Michael Clark) has well pointed out, this is the first occasion in the history of this Parliament when a proposal of this character was postponed until the third session.

Some hon. MEMBERS: The fourth.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Yes, the fourth; one of the sessions, however, was very short. The hon. member for Laprairie and Napierville (Mr. Lanctot) held his peace in the first session after the general election of 1904. At that session, the very first session after a general election, the indemnity of members of this House was increased from \$1,500 to \$2,500.

Mr. LANCTOT: Will the right hon. gentleman permit me a question?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Certainly.

Mr. LANCTOT: In 1905, it is true, the indemnity was increased but there was no opposition to it at all, and I did not offer any opposition myself. The hon. member for Prescott (Mr. Proulx) and I did not put up any opposition at the time, but as I said a while ago, I was not the man then that I am to-day.

Mr. BELAND: If the Prime Minister will pardon me for a moment I should like to say just one word. It is a fact that in 1905 no vote was recorded on the question of raising the indemnity, but during the following session, in 1906, the hon. member for South York proposed that the indemnity be reduced to the former level, and on a vote being taken, the hon. member for Laprairie voted to maintain the indemnity at \$2,500.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: What about the hon. member for Prescott?

Mr. BELAND: He voted for it also.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I am very much obliged to my hon. friend from Beauce (Mr. B eland) for the information which he has just given the House, because I really did not know it was as bad as that. Now, I quite admit, Mr. Speaker, and I repeat what I said the other evening, that there is some condition of unrest in this country. But, on the whole, I believe that the conditions in Canada are more stable and satisfactory than in any other country. You never will reach a period in the history of this country when a proposal of this kind will not excite some interest and invoke some criticism. Therefore, if we are to wait, before taking any action in this matter, until there is absolutely no breath of criticism raised, and no so-called unrest created, the indemnity as it was fixed in 1905 will remain until Parliament is no more. Under the circumstances, I hope the House will give the Bill its second reading and consider its provisions in Committee.

Motion agreed to and Bill read the second time, and the House went into Committee thereon, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 1—salaries of ministers increased.

Mr. FIELDING: I understand that the effect of this section is to make the position of Prime Minister that of a departmental head. Hitherto the Prime Minister held one of the departments, and it seems that we are creating an additional department.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: My hon. friend is quite correct. I have had this matter under consideration for some time and I thought the present a convenient opportunity for this departure. I am convinced that the number of portfolios can and ought to be reduced. I am not in a position to make a definite announcement in regard to that question at the moment, but my hon. friend will remember that two or three sessions ago we obtained the approval of Parliament to legislation which will enable us to accomplish the reduction by Order in Council, that is, so far as the amalgamation of departments is concerned. It is obvious, I think, that some reduction can be made. One of the ministries mentioned in this list is that of the Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, and I hope that such progress may be made in the re-establishment of the soldiers in civil life within a very few years that this department may cease to exist. For that reason we have not included the Parliamentary Secretary of the

[Mr. B eland.]

Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment in this list. That position is not filled at the present time and we do not propose to fill it. Thus, we do not propose to make any provision with regard to it in this measure.

Mr. FIELDING: I do not rise for the purpose of opposing the proposition but simply for information. My recollection is that there is no similar provision in the practice of the Mother Country or of the Dominions. I do not think in those countries the office of Prime Minister is disassociated from that of any other department. We are adopting an entirely new principle in making the office of Prime Minister a department by itself. There is something to be said in favour of relieving the Prime Minister, whose duties are very onerous, from the responsibility of administering another department. The office of President of the Privy Council was created in order that it might fill that bill. But in the meantime, although that portfolio was held by the Prime Minister, the office is held by another member of the Government. While the proposition which my hon. friend presents is entirely original there is some force in it and I am not offering any objection.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: What is proposed here has been carried out in Ontario and also in Quebec, as I am informed. The Prime Minister can hold office without portfolio. Thus the proposal is not absolutely original with us. I should think it ought to work out very well. The Prime Minister has, in the past, been President of the Privy Council particularly during later years. In the early years of Sir John Macdonald's administration he was, first, Minister of Justice and afterwards Minister of Railways and Canals. Sir John Thompson held the position of Prime Minister and Minister of Justice. I must confess that conditions as I have known them during the past nine years strongly indicate that the Prime Minister should be free, if he so desires, from the duties and responsibilities of any department of the Government.

On section 2—First Minister inserted in sections excepting Ministers from disqualification for sitting in House of Commons and allowing exchange of portfolio in certain cases:

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: That merely carries out the previous section by including the Prime Minister as such in the list of those members of the House of Commons who still may be members, notwithstanding

that they hold offices of emolument under the Crown.

Mr. FIELDING: It does not mean that a member of the House taken directly into the office of Prime Minister would be relieved from any subsequent election?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: No.

Mr. FIELDING: He would be in the same position as any other departmental head?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Quite so. It does mean that he is included in the list I have alluded to.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Will you kindly give a more precise explanation of this section, as it refers to another Act?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: My hon. friend knows that except for the provisions of the statute no member of the House of Commons can hold an office of emolument under the Crown. There is a list of those who may hold such office, such as ministers of the Crown, and the Prime Minister, as such, with respect to the enjoyment of his salary, is included in that list.

On section 4—provisions applicable to the present session:

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I should like to explain that the purpose of this clause is the following: Some restrictive provisions are included in later sections of the Bill. The purpose of this section is to declare that the provisions of the Act as now in force shall apply to the present session subject however to the increase of indemnity. To make myself clear let me put it in this way: We have repealed the indemnity of \$2,500 and we have established an indemnity of \$4,000. We have provided however that no person shall be entitled to the indemnity of \$4,000 unless he shall have been in attendance at the House of Commons during three-fourths of the days on which the House has been actually sitting. Some hon. members of this House who have not attended three-fourths of these days would have been entitled to \$2,500, inasmuch as they have attended for more than the thirty-one days required by the existing statute. It was thought unfair to deprive hon. members of the advantage which they would have had under the existing statute. Therefore it is provided by this section that the \$4,000 indemnity, in so far as their attendance is concerned, shall be governed by the provisions of the existing law. I am not quite sure whether I have made it perfectly clear to my hon. friend.

Mr. FIELDING: I think it is quite clear that it is intended, as respects the indemnity of members of the House of Commons and the salaries of the Speaker and Deputy Speaker, to cover the present year, but I am not quite clear as to when it takes effect as regards the salaries of the ministers.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: It will take effect on the day upon which it is passed. It is not retroactive in so far as ministers are concerned.

Mr. FIELDING: But it will apply to this session?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: It will apply to this session so far as the amount of indemnity is concerned.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This brings to my mind a thought I intended to express when I spoke on the second reading. Without commenting one way or the other, I think it is right that the public should appreciate that this section giving an increase in the sessional allowance to this Parliament ought to be considered in relation to what happened last year when there were two sessions. I may be mistaken but I firmly believe that there would not have been any second session if the indemnity had been what is now proposed, and the country at large would have been saved the enormous expense of the second session and the enactment of a good deal of legislation that is of a somewhat doubtful character, if the Government had not felt itself under the obligation of in some way meeting the demand of members to help to provide for the increased cost of living.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I must take the strongest possible exception to what the hon. leader of the Opposition (Mr. Mackenzie King) has said. As far as I am concerned—and I think I know as much about it as any hon. member—there is not the slightest foundation for what my hon. friend has stated. We held that session for the definite purpose which we announced and also for the purpose of passing further legislation which we were unable to pass at the spring session. The Civil Service Amendment Act was passed, the Peace Treaty was discussed, treaties were ratified, legislation of an important character was passed and the session was absolutely necessary.

Mr. LANCTOT: I move,

That clause 4 be struck out and that the following clause be substituted therefor: "This Act, except section 6 thereof, shall not come

into operation until after the day of the return of the writs issued for the next general election of members of the House of Commons of Canada."

Amendment negatived; yeas 41, nays 107.

On section 5—sessional indemnity; deductions for non-attendance.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Why is it that the indemnity is paid to a member in case of illness, only within a limit of ten miles from Ottawa? A member taken ill at Ottawa may require special treatment elsewhere, at Montreal or Toronto?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: The same question arose when I first entered the House. The reason, I imagine, is this: if there were not some limit it would be possible that only a casual illness might sometimes detain an hon. member at his home. It was therefore thought best to provide that the indemnity should be paid only in the event of the illness occurring at Ottawa or within ten miles of the capital. Where a member has been detained at home by serious illness, or sent to a hospital, it has always been the practice to provide by special vote against the deduction which otherwise would be made. That is done at every session of Parliament and the provision is administered under the direction of the Treasury Board.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Provision has been made under this section for the regular attendance of members. While I do not wish to be too arbitrary in such a manner it does seem to me that in the Upper House they have a means of securing a more regular attendance of hon. gentlemen by a system of registration under which the presence of members is recorded at each sitting. I was perfectly sincere this afternoon in giving as one of the chief reasons why I supported this measure the hope of securing a better attendance at the sittings of the House. In the Senate there is an officer who registers the daily attendance of members, and it seems to me that it would be only fair and proper that having given the increased indemnity a better attendance of members should be secured in this House by way of registration.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I do not know what this House may decide in that regard, but I recollect very well that when I was leader of the Opposition, and Sir Wilfrid Laurier was Prime Minister there was a revision of the rules of the House

[Mr. Lanctot.]

and provision was made in the new rules for exactly what my hon. friend has suggested. I am sorry to say that, although Sir Wilfrid Laurier and I united our forces in that regard, we were ignominiously defeated by the majority of the committee, and the rule proposing to accomplish what my hon. friend suggests was stricken out of the report submitted to the House. I am not quite sure that it would be of any great advantage in the House of Commons. At all events, any such provision should be carried out by rule and not by legislation. As a matter of fact, the provision which has been made in the present legislation with respect to attendance is somewhat more drastic than that which has prevailed in the past.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Will my hon. friend explain it?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I will. Section 33 as re-enacted by this Bill is as follows:

A member shall not be entitled to the sessional allowance if he does not attend a sitting of the House of which he is a member on at least three-fourths of the days upon which such House sits; but the allowance for any less number of days shall be twenty-five dollars for each day's attendance.

Formerly it was twenty dollars; it is now twenty-five dollars. Let me illustrate the change in this way. If this House has been in session 84 days, under the present law an hon. member who attended here for perhaps 15 or 20 days could go to his home, and then all the days—Saturdays Sundays and holidays—on which the House did not sit were reckoned in his attendance for making up the 31 days which entitled him to the indemnity of \$2,500, less deductions for absence. Under the present rule, if the House is in session for 84 days, and an hon. member has attended for 60 days, he will be entitled to only \$25 a day, not to the full indemnity of \$4,000.

Mr. BELAND: Hear, hear.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Therefore, under those circumstances any hon. member would be entitled under the proposed amendment to less than he would be entitled to under the present law. Do I make myself perfectly clear to my hon. friend?

Mr. LEMIEUX: Actual sittings?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Yes. In addition, it is provided that the indemnity shall in no case be paid unless the House has been in session for at least 50 days. So while the indemnity is increased

to the amount mentioned, hon. members will bear in mind that the regulation as to attendance is very much stricter than formerly. No hon. gentleman will be entitled to receive his indemnity at the rate of \$4,000 unless he has actually been in his place in attendance on the House for at least three-fourths of the days upon which the House has been sitting.

Mr. BELAND: Would that apply to the present session?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: No. I have already explained that inasmuch as that rule had not been established with respect to the present session it would be unfair to apply it. We let the sessional indemnity of \$4,000 apply, but in respect to the deduction, the number of days attendance, etc., we have left the law as it was before.

Mr. BELAND: In other words, it means that if there are 100 days of actual sittings of the House, a member can draw his indemnity only in case he has attended 75 of the sitting days?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Yes.

Mr. BELAND: Always subject to an eventual deduction of \$20 or \$25 a day beyond the 15 days that he might be absent?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: A deduction of \$25 a day.

Mr. BELAND: But he must have been present on 75 days of the 100?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Quite right. I should also add that the deduction for each day's non-attendance beyond the 15 days has been increased then from \$15 to \$25. Formerly \$15 was deducted for each day of non-attendance beyond 15 days; in future \$25 will be deducted.

Section agreed to.

On section 6—Assistant Clerk given an authority to certify member's statements.

Mr. LEMIEUX: What is the reason for this amendment?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: It is merely for the convenience of members. Sometimes it is difficult to get the certificate by reason of the absence or illness of the Clerk; hence the amendment.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Under those circumstances we should give the very able assistant to the Clerk of the House a proper indemnity.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: That comes up in the Civil Service re-classification.

Mr. BELAND: This is not the place to mention it, Mr. Chairman,—but when may we expect this list to be laid upon the table of the House? Before the session is over?

Mr. ROWELL: I think so. I believe it is in the hands of the Speaker at the present moment.

Bill reported without amendment.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Moved the third reading of the Bill.

Mr. PROULX: Mr. Speaker, I voted for the amendment that the Bill be not made effective until after general election; that amendment did not carry. Therefore, I move seconded by Mr. Lanctot:

That Bill 219 be not now read the third time, but that it be referred back to the Committee of the Whole, with instructions to strike out all the sections thereof with the exception of Section 6.

Mr. SPEAKER: I have grave doubts whether this amendment is in order. In the first place, the principle of the Bill has been adopted, and if the amendment of the hon. member for Prescott were entertained it would be in effect a negative to the principle which has already been approved by the House. There is also the further question, whether it is destructive of the Bill. It is true that it leaves section 6, but that is a very small part of the original Bill. However, without wishing to pass judgment to the prejudice of the hon. member, I shall submit the amendment to the House.

Amendment (Mr. Proulx) negatived on division.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the third time and passed.

#### THE CANADA GRAIN ACT AMENDMENT.

On motion of Sir George Foster (Minister of Trade and Commerce) Bill No. 194 to amend the Canada Grain Act was read the second time and the House went into committee thereon, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 4—persons who cannot be agents to apply for cars:

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I move that clause 4 be struck out.

Amendment agreed to.

Bill reported with amendment, read the third time and passed.

## BOARDS OF TRADE ACT AMENDMENT.

On motion of Sir George Foster (Minister of Trade and Commerce), Bill No. 220, to amend the Boards of Trade Act, was considered in committee, reported without amendment, read the third time and passed.

## RETIREMENT OF MEMBERS OF PUBLIC SERVICE.

House again in committee on Bill No. 120, to provide for the retirement of certain members of the public service, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I mention to the hon. gentleman who is leading the House (Sir George Foster) that the understanding with the Prime Minister was that opportunity would be given to discuss what I may speak of as the Murdock charges with regard to the Board of Commerce? I hope that it will not be left until after midnight. I understood that the matter was to be taken up immediately after the Grain Bill had been dealt with.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The Prime Minister is getting his papers now.

The CHAIRMAN: When this Bill was last before the committee, clause 1 had been adopted and clause 2 was under consideration.

Mr. CALDER: When this clause was under discussion it was suggested that a provision be put in the Bill to the effect that in the case of any official retiring that official should get notice and that he should have the right of appeal to the Civil Service Commission. I suggest that we add a new sub-section to section 2, as follows:

(3) When it is decided to retire any person under the provisions of this Act notice in writing thereof giving the reasons for such retirement shall be sent to such person, and he shall have the right to appeal to the Civil Service Commission, and the Commission, after giving such person an opportunity to be heard, shall make a full report upon the matter to the Governor in Council, and the decision of the Governor in Council thereon shall be final.

Mr. BUREAU: The exception I took when this Bill was last before the committee was not on the ground that men who were being retired had not the right of appeal, but on the ground that under the Bill the man who had reached the age of fifty-nine might be retired and be given a very poor retiring allowance. If a man is over sixty he receives upon retirement something to keep him during the rest of his life, but there are good many men—

[Sir George Foster.]

Mr. CALDER: I have further suggestion to make in regard to that; we will come to it in the next section.

Mr. BUREAU: The amendment proposed by the minister to section 2 is, I understand, that the deputy head shall make the first report with regard to a man whom it is proposed to retire, and shall give him notice. Upon receiving notice, the employee has the right of appeal to the Civil Service Commission. Well, that would be futile, because the Civil Service Commission have already pronounced themselves on the subject, having acted in conjunction with the deputy minister. Do I understand that the employee then has the right of appeal to the Governor in Council?

Mr. CALDER: No, he appeals to the commission. The commission report upon the facts to the Governor in Council, and the decision of the Governor in Council is final.

Mr. FIELDING: The point of my hon. friend (Mr. Bureau) seems to be well taken. The Civil Service Commission are the complainants in the first instance, and if there is a difficulty, the matter is referred back to them; they in the end are to be the court of appeal. Is that not the position?

Mr. CALDER: Yes.

Mr. BUREAU: Furthermore, the report is to be made to the Governor in Council. It is practically the minister who makes the report.

Mr. CALDER: Not the minister.

Mr. BUREAU: The deputy minister; and we all know that generally the deputy makes a report, the minister signs it and whatever the minister says—especially in matters relating to routine or administration of his department, goes, in council.

Mr. CALDER: What would the hon. gentleman suggest instead?

Mr. BUREAU: If you are going to eliminate from the service men on account of age or on account of physical incapacity, such men should be provided for better than they are provided for by this Bill.

Mr. CALDER: The question of compensation is another matter.

Mr. BUREAU: I do not see that this clause offers any remedy to the existing situation, because the same tribunal is handling the matter in different ways. The commission and the deputy head are the

people who make up the list of those who are to be retired. Then the civil servant will have an appeal to the same commission which has already pronounced and passed on his case in conjunction with the deputy minister. Then the deputy minister, who has already passed on the case in conjunction with the commission, makes a report to the minister who submits it to the Governor in Council. It is six of one and half a dozen of the other; it is the same thing.

Mr. CALDER: Does the hon. gentleman suggest that the appeal should be direct to the Governor in Council?

Mr. BUREAU: By the civil servant?

Mr. FIELDING: The Governor in Council is not a body to hear appeals. There might be an appeal to the minister, but you could not very well have an appeal to the Governor in Council.

Mr. CALDER: In the case of the re-classification of the Civil Service, we had a very similar provision to this. The classification was made, salaries fixed and schedules arranged by the Civil Service Commission. If any section of the service or any persons in the service objected to that classification, they appealed to the Civil Service Commission; but the Civil Service Commission, instead of hearing those appeals directly, appointed a board of hearing to hear them. We might make provision in this Bill for a similar board of hearing to be appointed by the Civil Service Commission. You might get over the difficulty in that way.

Mr. FIELDING: If there is to be a tribunal of appeal, it does not seem reasonable that the Civil Service Commission, which has originally made the complaint, shall be the final board of appeal. I have not, however, any further suggestion to offer.

Mr. CALDER: If it be the wish of the committee, we might appoint a special board for that purpose, but I think this matter can very well be left in the hands of the deputy heads and the commission with the right of appeal, and then with a report to the Governor in Council as to all the facts.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. VIEN: It seems to me, as the minister explained this clause when this Bill was previously under discussion, that the greatest safeguard for civil servants will be the deputy head of each department. The commission should not make their report after a simple consultation with the deputy

head; the report should be made jointly with the deputy head, so that, if the report be not unanimous, the deputy head may make a minority report. I should like the report to contain the findings of the deputy head as a safeguard against some shortcomings in the commission. I would suggest to amend subclause (2) by striking out the words "and after consultation" in line 2 of the subclause, and substituting therefor the word "jointly."

Mr. CALDER: I expressed my view to the committee the other day when the Bill was under consideration. Personally, I am inclined to the view that the position as it stands is the preferable one. I doubt very much the advisability of making deputy heads of departments responsible, even jointly with the commission, for retiring officials. As I stated the other day, there is between deputy heads and their officials in many instances a close relation extending over long periods of years, and for that reason my view is that the provision as it is in the Bill should stand. If we give the right of appeal, hon. members may rest assured that the deputy minister, if he thinks a person should not be retired, will make his wishes clearly known and will state his reasons. Therefore, with the right of appeal, there will be protection where an apparent injustice might be done.

Mr. VIEN: With the Bill as it stands, the consultation with the deputy head is purely illusory—

Mr. CALDER: No.

Mr. VIEN:—because the report does not even mention what the findings of the deputy head are, whereas with a joint report, the report would mention that the findings are either unanimous or that the deputy head does not concur in them.

Amendment (Mr. Vien) withdrawn.

Section, as amended, agreed to.

On section 3—notice of retirement:

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: It is provided in subclause (2) that every officer who is retired under the provisions of this Act will be entitled to an annual retiring allowance not exceeding thirty-sixtieths of his average annual salary. Under the Civil Service Superannuation Act, which was passed prior to 1908 and under which several members of the Civil Service have been appointed and have continued to serve, the limit of retiring allowance was thirty-five fiftieths of the annual salary. Does this

clause take away from any one appointed under the provisions of that Act the higher rate of retiring allowance to which he would be entitled, having contributed under that Act?

Mr. CALDER: In connection with clause 6 of the Bill, I purpose moving an amendment that will make it perfectly clear that civil servants who are under the existing superannuation system will not be affected by this Bill.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: That is all right.

Mr. PEDLOW: Will the minister work out the operations of the Bill in the case of a public servant who has been in the service of the Government for sixty-five years and who has been dismissed during the current year with one month's notice and one month's pay.

Mr. CALDER: Has the man already been retired?

Mr. PEDLOW: He is a man who is eighty-two years of age and who has been in the Government service for sixty-five years.

Mr. CALDER: Has he been retired?

Mr. PEDLOW: Yes, during the current year. Will the provisions of this Bill apply to a case of this kind?

Mr. CALDER: No, it is not retroactive.

Mr. PEDLOW: Will no provision be made for such a case, which is a case of serious hardship? This man has been in the public service for sixty-five years. He is now eighty-two years of age and he is left without any means of support. He was employed as slide-master on the Ottawa river and in various other capacities in the service of the Public Works Department during all those years from 1855 up to the present time. He is now retired on one month's notice with one month's salary, after having served the country all these years. Why is it that there is no provision for a case of that kind? I believe it is a deserving case and it should receive the consideration of the Government. A man who has served the country for sixty-five years deserves better treatment at the hands of the Government than dismissal on a month's notice, and if this Bill does not cover a case of that kind it should be made to do so.

Mr. CALDER: Would the hon. gentleman provide not only for those who were retired within the last three months but for those

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

who were retired six months ago, nine months ago, twelve months ago, two, three, four or five years ago, and so on? In other words, where is the line to be drawn? The Bill is not retroactive; it takes the service as it is and says that in future—during this year, for instance—if there are any servants retired these provisions shall apply, but it does not suggest that this provision should be made retroactive. If we make provision for the civil servant to whom the hon. gentleman refers, why should we not go back and make provision for every civil servant who has been retired and who is still living, being over sixty or seventy years of age at the time of retirement? If it is fair to make the Bill apply to a particular individual who happened to be retired two months ago, what about the man who was retired four months ago or five years ago? There is no end to it, if you make it retroactive. You must draw the line somewhere, and it was decided that this Bill should not be made retroactive.

Mr. PEDLOW: What I wanted to know was whether this Bill would apply from the first of the current calendar year or from the first of the financial year of the Government, that is to say, from the first of January or from the first of April of this year, or from the date of the passing of this Bill. This is the point I want to have cleared up. If the Bill is to be effective from the date it becomes law, then I would insist that some special consideration be given to cases such as that which I have called attention to.

Mr. CALDER: How far back would you go?

Mr. PEDLOW: This man was dismissed in April of this year, so that if the provisions of this Bill were made to apply from the first of the current fiscal year it would include such a case, if that case is covered by the Bill. And if it is not covered by the Bill I would press upon the minister the necessity for some special consideration of every case of this kind, because there cannot be many such. This man was dismissed, as I say, on one month's notice with one month's salary, and I should like the minister to take his case into serious consideration. He gave very valuable service in the Department of Public Works and the position he held was very efficiently and capably filled. It proved a revenue-producing office, one of the few instances of that kind in the Government service.

Mr. FIELDING: May I bring to the minister's notice a certain case and ask his

opinion as to how the Bill would apply? It is not necessary that I should mention the name of the official, although I can give it to the hon. gentleman. This man has been in the public service for over 30 years, and recently he has been afflicted with blindness and is of course disqualified from active work. He writes me:

When the retirement scheme became law I foolishly asked to be placed under it, but before the Treasury Board had dealt with the matter I asked to be allowed to withdraw but was refused. I have made several efforts since without any success. If I interpret Bill 120 rightly, I will come under its provisions. I write you to draw your attention to the fact that it is not nearly so liberal a measure as the old superannuation Act. Under Bill 120 you cannot exceed 30-60ths of your salary, while under the old Act the maximum is 35-50ths. The benefit is materially reduced while the cost of living has more than trebled.

I take it for granted that he is not on the superannuation list. He changed from the superannuation list to the retirement. I remember there was a fixed time during which there was allowed the privilege of changing, and I presume he applied within the time and the thing was definitely settled. I do not personally remember the case. This man is an old official, having been thirty years in the Service, and he now feels that the present provision is not very liberal. Has my hon. friend any particular reason for taking the basis of 30-60ths instead of 35-50ths?

Mr. CALDER: Under the old superannuation law, if I remember rightly, the civil servant paid into the fund three or five per cent—I think it was raised to five per cent. A civil servant who has paid into that fund for a period of thirty or thirty-five years is certainly entitled to a higher annual allowance than the civil servant who has never paid anything into the fund, and for that reason the Bill suggests that instead of paying 1-50th, as is done under the Superannuation Act, we should make it 1-60th, for each year of service, and for the same reason the limitation is placed at 30-60ths instead of 35-50ths. The man who, under the old superannuation law, for a long period of years paid into that fund is entitled to greater consideration than the person who has never paid anything at all.

Mr. FIELDING: In this case I take it that he had originally contributed to the Superannuation Fund, but when the Retirement Act was passed, no doubt under the impression that it was an advantage to him to do so, he gave up the old superannuation system and came under the retirement fund.

For a certain class of officials there might be an advantage in the change, but in his case it seems that it was not advantageous. At all events, he regrets it. I have no doubt he contributed to the superannuation fund for some years before he changed to the other.

Mr. CALDER: This Bill does not affect the rights of civil servants in regard to any amount that stands to their credit in the fund.

Mr. FIELDING: They still have that as a saving?

Mr. CALDER: Yes, and they will be entitled to it regardless of the provisions of this Bill. If a civil servant paid for 20 or 25 years into the fund, his payments, plus interest which has accumulated during that time, stands to his credit, and when he retires he is entitled to the full amount, whatever it may be, in addition to what he may be entitled to under this Act. Now, in clause 3 objection was taken the other day—and I am inclined to think rightly so—that there is quite a discrepancy between a man who is retired under the age of sixty years and the man who is retired when he has reached the age of sixty. Under the Bill as it is drafted a civil servant is not entitled to an annuity until he has reached the age of sixty years and has served at least five years. As a result of the discussion which we had the other day I wish to propose to the committee for consideration the suggestion that in place of clause 2 as it stands the first part of the clause should read as follows:

(2) Every officer retired under the provisions of this Act who is not less than forty-five nor more than fifty-nine years of age who has served continuously in the public service for not less than twenty years, and every officer retired under the provisions of this Act who is sixty years of age or over who has served continuously in the public service for not less than ten years—

Then the remainder is as it appears in the Bill. In both of these cases an officer retired would have one-sixtieth of his average salary for the last three years of his service for each year of service that he has given. I a man between the age of forty-five and fifty-nine is retired compulsorily and has served at least twenty years he will be entitled to a consideration of this kind.

Mr. JACOBS: Assuming that his salary was \$1,000, what amount would he receive?

Mr. CALDER: Put it at \$1,200 a year. Taking that as his average salary for the

last three years, if he has served twenty years, he will be entitled to one-sixtieth for each year of service, that will be twenty-sixtieths, or one-third of \$1,200, or \$400.

Mr. PEDLOW: Take the case of a man who has served sixty-five years. What amount would he be entitled to under this provision of the Act if it applied to his case? His average salary for the last three years would be \$900.

Mr. CALDER: Thirty-sixtieths of \$900 would be \$450.

Mr. PEDLOW: Plus \$150?

Mr. CALDER: No, he would be entitled to thirty-sixtieths or one-half of \$900, his average salary for the last three years would be \$900. Then he would be entitled to one half of \$900 or \$450.

Mr. JACOBS: That is practically nothing. If a man were to buy a suit of clothes and a pair of boots it would practically eat up his entire allowance.

Mr. CALDER: What is the hon. gentleman suggesting?

Mr. BELAND: I would propose to amend the section by substituting "twenty sixtieths" for "ten sixtieths" in the 19th line of subsection 2 and by substituting "forty sixtieths" for "thirty sixtieths" in the 23rd line. That would increase somewhat the allowance to a man who would be retired after he had reached the age of sixty-five, had been in the service for forty years and might be considered inefficient for some reason physical or otherwise, and who, though having a family, would be receiving under the section as drawn only half of his salary. Under this amendment he would receive two-thirds. It would cost a little more money but it would do away with a great many hardships which may loom up in the future.

Mr. CALDER: We can scarcely do that unless we go back and revise the Superannuation law as it now stands on the statute books and under which some hundreds of officials will be entitled to certain allowances. The hon. gentleman proposes that the maximum allowance to be provided by this Bill may be two thirds of his salary. Under the existing law where officials have themselves paid into the fund for years they are only entitled to thirty-five fiftieths.

Mr. BELAND: It applies to all.

Mr. CALDER: Does the hon. gentleman suggest that officials that have paid nothing should be placed upon a higher plane than officials who are under the existing law?

[Mr. Calder.]

Mr. BELAND: Then keep them in the Service.

Mr. MOWAT: The trouble is that you are going to have a large number of complaints from men who have been getting about \$1,200 a year. I am inclined to agree with the amendment of the hon. member for Beauce (Mr. Béland). Though it is rather late to change the Government's mind on the point I would point out that this is a sort of clean-up of the old system of appointing men to the Civil Service not because of their ability and not because of their youth but because of their importunity and the importunity of their friends. When we are cleaning up the situation we might as well be generous about it and not turn old employees out on the world without making some provision enabling them to support themselves and families in their declining years. It would almost break the heart of a man with a wife and family if he is not capable of continuing in the Service to give him the small sum provided for in section 3. It is rather late but I would hope yet that my hon. friend would see his way to increasing these amounts. Men who have got in there, not from their own fault but simply because of their frailties and incapacity will be thrown out upon the world, because that is what it amounts to.

Amendment (Mr. Calder) agreed to.

Mr. CALDER: I have another amendment to section 3, and I would suggest that it be added as subsection 5:

In computing the average annual salary of any officer for the purposes of this section such salary shall include the estimated value of any allowance made to such officer for housing, light, fuel or rations as determined by the Governor in Council upon the joint recommendation of the Civil Service Commission and the deputy head of the department concerned.

There are certain officials in the service, like a lighthouse keeper or an Indian agent out on a reserve, who, in lieu of salary are given certain allowances for light, housing, fuel or something of that character, and if a person of that class is retired I think some consideration should be given to an allowance of that kind to which he may be entitled.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. FIELDING: Subsection 4 dealing with the computation of fraction of periods may be all right but I am inclined to think it is not fulfilling the desired purpose. It reads:

In computing the number of years of service for the purposes of this section, if the actual

period of service includes a fraction of a year, the fraction, if equal to or greater than one-half, shall be counted as a full year of service.

If it is less the implication is it shall not be counted at all, and that is the intention. Is it clear as so expressed, or will the officer still get the benefit of the fraction?

Mr. CALDER: That is not the intention.

Mr. FIELDING: I do not think that was the intention. The same question came up many years ago under the Superannuation Act and it was decided—although the law did not say so and that was not the intention—that every fraction of a year was as good as a year.

Section as amended agreed to.

On section 4—Expenditure to be voted.

Mr. CALDER: I find that we have overlooked placing a sum in the Supplementary Estimates to meet any expenditure under this Act. I, therefore, suggest this addition:

Any moneys payable under the provisions of this Act to any officer retired under its provisions shall be paid out of the moneys provided by Parliament for the salary of such officer.

That is, all of these officers are now on salary. Their salaries are provided for in the Estimates and in each case the amount to which any officer shall be entitled on retirement would be less than his salary. So I am suggesting that any amount to which any officer shall be entitled shall be paid out of the moneys appropriated by Parliament for his salary.

Mr. FIELDING: If in any case you are appointing his successor there would be no money available.

Mr. CALDER: No.

Mr. FIELDING: It can only apply where no successor was appointed.

Mr. CALDER: I think that is the intention, because this Bill provides for the retirement of persons whose places are not to be filled, that is its main purpose. If this provision carries then there will be no money left to pay a successor. Therefore I think this is the wiser provision.

Amendment agreed to, and section as amended agreed to.

On section 6—Equalization of payments under different statutes:

Mr. CALDER: To meet the point raised by the leader of the Opposition it is suggested that in the second line after the word "entitled" the words "or eligible"

should be inserted, and after the word "receive" in the same line the words "and is granted"; and that there be added to the end of the section these words:

Provided that the provisions of this Act shall not affect the power to grant to any person any annual allowance which he may be eligible to receive upon superannuation under part 1 of the Civil Service Superannuation and Retirement Act.

Mr. FIELDING: I would suggest amending the clause to make this clear:

Nor shall it affect the right of any officer to any interest he may have in the Retirement Fund.

I know that is the minister's intention but he had better express it.

Mr. CALDER: Yes.

Amendments agreed to, and section as amended agreed to.

On section 7—Annual report of Parliament:

Mr. BELAND: I would suggest to the minister that an addition be made to this clause specifying the number of days within which the report shall be made and laid on the Table. I would therefore advise the addition after the word "commission" of these words "laid within thirty days from the opening day"—then giving the name, age and salary.

Mr. FIELDING: Laid where?

Mr. BELAND: On the Table of the House.

Mr. FIELDING: The report is made to Parliament which includes both Houses.

Mr. CALDER: I think the usual phraseology is something like this: "An annual report shall be made to Parliament within thirty days from the commencement of each session by the Civil Service Commission giving"—and so on.

Mr. BELAND: I move to amend clause 7 by inserting after the word "Parliament" in the 33rd line the words "within thirty days from the commencement of each session."

Amendment agreed to, and section as amended agreed to.

Mr. CALDER: I move to add, as clause 8, the following:

No person shall be retired under the provisions of this Act after the first day of July one thousand nine hundred and twenty-one.

Section agreed to.

On the title:

Mr. PEDLOW: Before you report the Bill, Mr. Chairman, I would suggest that the minister add a clause making provision for the coming into force of this Act at an earlier date than the date on which it is assented to—say the first of January, 1920, or the beginning of the present fiscal year, 1st of April. In making that proposal I may as well admit it is for the purpose of securing the inclusion of the special case I called attention to.

Mr. CALDER: If the door is open I am sure there will not be a member of the House who will not have some particular case that has occurred during the last five years that should be dealt with where some person has been retired. If it is done in one case how are you going to avoid doing it in other cases? If the door is opened at all, if it is opened as respects two, three or five years, there will be no limit at all.

Mr. PEDLOW: According to my experience we very often deal with specific or special cases, and I think I am safe in saying that no other hon. member can produce a case which will at all be similar to the one I have called attention to, where a man eighty-two years of age has been in the Government for a period of sixty-five years—

The CHAIRMAN: Unless the hon. member has an amendment to submit in the form of a clause which he desires to have added to the Bill this discussion is irrelevant. The hon. member is certainly not in order in discussing any specific case at this stage of the proceedings. The question from the Chair is: Shall the title carry. The hon. gentleman would be in order in proposing to add a clause to the Bill, but not otherwise.

Mr. PEDLOW: I was merely asking the minister in charge of this Bill if he would not add a clause to it making provision along the lines I have suggested. If he declines to do so, I have nothing further to say in the matter.

Bill reported as amended, read the third time, and passed.

#### STATE INSURANCE FOR RETURNED SOLDIERS.

The House proceeded to the consideration of the amendments made by the Senate to Bill 195 to provide for the Insur-

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ance of Returned Soldiers by the Dominion of Canada.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON (Minister of Finance): The amendments which I have to draw to the attention of the House are very simple. An amendment was made in subsection (b) of section 2 by the addition of the word "legally" before the word "adopted". So that the section now reads "a child legally adopted". Then the provision as to service has been somewhat extended, and I think it more accurately carries out the intention of the committee. That particular amendment is made to subsection (g) of the same section. Two clerical changes are made in the same section by re-numbering the subsections. In section 5 there is a typographical error which has been corrected, the word "widow" being changed to "widower". Section 6 which deals with the beneficiaries of the fund, has been amplified by adding the following words,— "the insured may apportion the insurance money among them", that is, the beneficiaries—"as he deems fit; but if at his death he is still unmarried or is a widower without children, the insurance money shall, subject to sections 4 and 11 of this Act, fall into and become part of the estate of the insured." A clerical change is also made in section 9, and a further change is made by carrying the word "survivor" into the plural; there is no change in substance whatever. In the same way the word "or" in the ninth section on page 4 is changed to "and"; the change is an improvement. In section 10 the word "basis" is dealt with in the plural. Here again there is no change whatever in substance. Those are the amendments, Mr. Speaker, and I move that they be concurred in.

Motion agreed to.

#### BOARD OF COMMERCE.

##### RESIGNATION OF MR. MURDOCK DISCUSSED ON MOTION FOR SUPPLY.

On the motion that the House again go into Committee of Supply:

Mr. MACKENZIE KING (leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, not for many years has there been levelled against any Government so strong an indictment as that which is contained in the letter of resignation of Mr. James Murdock from the Board of Commerce addressed on June 24th to my right hon. friend the Prime

Minister. Let me reccount to the House the charges made in that communication, and in so doing I would remind the House that these charges have not been made by any hon. member of the Opposition for any political purpose, but have been made against the Government by one of its own appointees who has been serving upon a board which the Government itself created, and who has had an opportunity to form an opinion in regard to the merits of the legislation and the method of its working the like of which could be open to no one except a member of the board.

In his letter Mr. Murdock charges.

1. That the Board has been handicapped for months without a Chairman and without a proper staff.

2. That the majority of the Government are not now and never have been in sympathy with the provisions and intent of the Board of Commerce Act and the Combines and Fair Prices Act.

3. That these Acts were passed merely as the result of temporary alarm incident to the Winnipeg strike and other popular demonstrations when the people demanded some means of controlling profiteers.

4. That as soon as the Acts in question became law, members of the Cabinet at once began to minimize the provisions of these Acts so far as they related to certain businesses.

5. That the Chairman was regarded by certain interests as being "safe and sane"; that is, as being a person upon whom they could depend to protect their unrestricted leeway in taking profits, and as being in sympathy with high prices and against low prices.

6. That the Chairman spent more time in looking after his private affairs in Winnipeg than in attending to Board of Commerce matters.

7. That the Chairman received for revision the brief which counsel for the Crescent Creamery Company was using before the Supreme Court in opposition to the Board of Commerce.

8. That information in regard to the Crescent Creamery Company, and other information sent to Sir George Foster minister of Trade and Commerce while Acting Prime Minister on March 3rd last, was withheld from Parliament and the people.

9. That nothing was done by the Board to affect certain business and financial interests which Judge Robson thought ought to be protected from interference.

10. That Judge Robson's views were well known to several ministers, especially to the Minister of Colonization and Immigration, Mr. Calder.

11. That several ministers secretly sought to thwart the Board's activities.

12. That the Civil Service Commission, acting under suggestion, had handicapped and delayed the Board of Commerce.

13. That certain ministers had tried to protect textile manufacturers from investigation.

14. That a statement of facts as to textiles would have startled and incensed the Canadian public.

15. That reasonable Government co-operation would have enabled the Board to control profiteering.

16. That adequate technical assistance was denied to the Board.

Now, these are extremely serious charges, and are calculated to increase the unrest now prevailing in the country, due to the high cost of living and to a general belief that that high cost of living is to a large extent attributable to profiteering. It was this prevailing public opinion which led the Government in 1919 to enact the Board of Commerce Act and the Combines and Fair Prices Act.

Let me, Mr. Speaker, briefly review some of the circumstances connected with the appointment of this Board. The Board of Commerce derived its powers from two acts passed in the first session of 1919: the Combines and Fair Prices Act, and the Board of Commerce Act. The Combines and Fair Prices Act declared that the Board is empowered and directed to restrain and prohibit the formation and operation of combines; the making of unfair profits upon the necessaries of life; and all such practices as are calculated to unfairly enhance the cost or price of such necessaries of life.

Now, Sir, it is to be noticed in connection with this Act that one of its clauses repealed an Act which has been on the Statutes of Canada since May 4th, 1910, known as the Combines Investigation Act. When I had the honour of being in the ministry of the late Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, I had the privilege of introducing this Act for the investigation of combines, monopolies, trusts and mergers. Under the provisions of the Act any six persons who believed that a monopoly was operating in restraint of trade or that prices were being unduly enhanced, or who had reason to believe that the public interests were being

adversely affected through profiteering had the right to appear before any judge of a High Court and upon making out a prima facie case were entitled to demand a Board of Investigation. Upon that board they were entitled to name a member; the interest affected was entitled to name a member, and the two thus chosen were to select a third, or failing a choice by the two, the third was to be appointed by the Government. The board thus constituted had all the powers of investigating that a court of record would have. That legislation, so long as it was on the statute book, gave to consumers an opportunity at least, where they believed that there was profiteering, to have an investigation made at their own instance, but the present Government in introducing its legislation repealed this Act and substituted as I have said, the measure known as the Combines and Fair Prices Act. In as much as the law of 1910, to which I have referred, was repealed, there was the greater reason why every care should be taken in the interests of consumers to see that the Combines and Fair Prices Act, enacted by the present Administration, should be made as effective and workable as possible. Instead of that, from the time that the board was instituted up to the present, its powers have been thwarted, according to the statements which have been made by Mr. Murdock. One member of the board after the other has retired until to-day the country is faced with the ignominious spectacle of having legislation on the statute book constituting a Board of Commerce which finds no expression in actual practice. Every one of the members of the Board of Commerce has resigned, for causes which reflect anything but credit upon the Administration. So with the practical features of that Act destroyed, as they have been; with the Combines Investigation Act of 1910 taken off the statute book, the consumers of this country, in whose interests and on whose behalf this legislation was enacted, are left without any protection whatever at a time when of all times there is the greatest need for somebody that will be effective in watching the interests of consumers and protecting them against the injustice of profiteers.

The disintegration of the Board of Commerce began with the resignation of Judge H. A. Robson on February 23, 1920. In the correspondence which has been brought down Judge Robson's letter of resignation declares that for various reasons he was out of sympathy with the Act, believing that

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the economic policy of the country should be toward high prices and against low prices. He says, however, that there is a legitimate and useful field for the Board of Commerce, "but that is a matter which required discussion and some recasting of the Act." On February 26, my right hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) then Acting Prime Minister, acknowledged Judge Robson's suggestion "as to what might be done in the way of amendments to make the machinery more

workable and to better effect the  
11 p.m. purposes had in view when the  
Board of Commerce Act was  
passed in Parliament." He thanked Judge Robson for the suggestions that he had made and said that they would be carefully considered by the Government. But there the matter appears to have been allowed to end. We have now reached the last days of this session, and though the Government have brought down a mass of legislation amending previous legislation which they enacted, they have brought down no amendment to this particular Act, an Act which was passed in the interests of the consumers of this country. It is the only outstanding piece of legislation enacted by the Government within the last year or two in respect of which the Government have had no amendment to suggest. By the chairman of the board itself it was pointed out to the Government that if the Act was to be of any service it should be amended during this session of Parliament.

It is to be observed that about the time of Judge Robson's resignation a difficulty had arisen in regard to the jurisdiction of the board. Price Brothers, newsprint manufacturers, appealed from the ruling of the board to the Supreme Court of Canada, and on April 6 the Supreme Court rendered a decision that the Governor General had no authority to confer certain powers and jurisdiction upon the board. Judge Robson's suggestion that the Act was unworkable and needed amendment, coming about the same time as the attack on the jurisdiction of the board afforded the strongest reasons for the appointment of some able successor who would be sympathetic with the law, and who could at least carry on the administration of the board in so far as it might have any power to carry out the duties for which it was appointed. The Government made no effort to appoint such a successor; they simply stood by and allowed the board gradually to peter out.

At the time of Judge Robson's resignation, a letter was sent by Mr. Murdock to the

Government giving his knowledge of the circumstances leading up to the severance of the judge's connection with the Board of Commerce. This letter was withheld from Parliament and the public, and apparently would never have seen the light if Mr. Murdock had not himself published it within the last few days. Hon. members on this side of the House earlier in the session asked that all the correspondence be brought down. They were told that the correspondence was of such a nature that it could not be brought down. Undoubtedly Mr. Murdock, knowing the situation, and feeling exasperated upon seeing the public treated with that kind of indifference by the Administration, made public sufficient of the correspondence to make it necessary for the Administration to disclose all the communications that had passed. Now that they have been laid on the table of the House I think every hon. member will feel that in the public interest this correspondence should have been submitted to Parliament the moment the request was made that that be done.

Later on, on June 16, came the resignation of Mr. O'Connor, due to the meagre help afforded by the Civil Service Commission. This point is also emphasized by Mr. Murdock, and practically admitted by Judge Robson. Finally, on June 24, comes the resignation of James Murdock, the sole remaining commissioner of the board. With Mr. Murdock's resignation the last vestige of protection to the consumer, so far as it can be given by legislation, disappears. It is no doubt inconvenient that the very grave charges which he makes should be published just at the time when Parliament is about to prorogue. That inconvenience, as I have pointed out, is due to the failure of the Government to act vigorously and take Parliament into its confidence four months ago. However inconvenient this disclosure may be at this time, the Government cannot escape the responsibility which is upon it to clear itself in the matter or rest under the charges which Mr. Murdock has made against it. As I have said, these charges are not charges made by hon. members of this side of the House for any political effect; they are charges made by one of the Government's own appointees. Some support of these serious charges is given by the policy of delay and concealment which the Government pursued by its failure to appoint successors to Judge Robson and Mr. O'Connor and by its allowing the board to peter out and disappear.

As soon as Judge Robson's resignation was received several duties were cast upon the Government. It was their duty, first, to reveal to the public all the facts in their possession, and especially Mr. Murdock's letter relating the circumstances under which the resignation took place. If the Government had taken the country into its confidence at the time of Judge Robson's resignation the matter might then have been dealt with by Parliament and it would not have been necessary to bring it up at the last moments of the session. The Government should have amended the law, if amendments were considered necessary, and should have appointed a successor to Judge Robson.

The Government did none of these things; its policy has been one of drift. It has acted as if it did not care whether the legislation establishing the Board of Commerce, its own statutory child, lived or died. It has not declared publicly its agreement with the views of Judge Robson, yet it has acted as if it were secretly in agreement with those views. It would not kill its child, but it was apparently quite willing to allow it to perish from lack of nourishment. It saw commissioner after commissioner resigning, and made no effort to appoint successors or to bring the board up to its proper strength and make it an efficient instrument for checking profiteering. Such a policy, or lack of policy, is the very one that is calculated to increase the unrest now prevailing in the country due to the high cost of living. It leaves on the public mind the impression that something ought to be done; that the Government is unwilling to do it, and yet is afraid to avow its real desires and intentions; and that the Government is secretly on the side of the profiteers. The only way to allay public unrest is to allow and ensure the fullest inquiry into the charges which Mr. Murdock has made. In this connection let me say that it was my intention, had there been time to do so, to move in this House a resolution to this effect. I have it here written out as I had intended to move it:

Whereas all the members of the Board of Commerce appointed to check profiteering and investigate the causes of the high cost of living have tendered their resignations;

And whereas James Murdock, the last remaining member of the Board who resigned recently, has made grave charges against one of his colleagues and also against members of the Government;

Therefore, be it resolved that a Special Committee of this House be appointed with authority to examine witnesses and send for papers and

documents and investigate said charges together with all other matters relating to the administration of the said Board and report to Parliament.

It had been my intention to move this resolution, but last night we were informed by the Minister of Naval Affairs (Mr. Ballantyne), in what, I must confess, I regarded as an arrogant and most inconsiderate manner, that the Government had made up their mind to prorogue Parliament to-day, and that so far as lay in his power, he intended to see that Parliament would be prorogued to-day. If the Government have any intention of this kind, they must use their own methods for carrying it out. But I wish to say to my right hon. friend (Sir Robert Borden) that it is the duty of this Government, before Parliament prorogues, to have a committee of this House investigate these charges which have been made by Mr. Murdock, and the Government for the sake of their own reputation and honour ought to be prepared to keep this Parliament long enough in session to have a committee investigate these charges. If the Government are unwilling to take the responsibility of appointing a committee of the House for this purpose, and prorogue Parliament without so doing, then they must take the responsibility for being unwilling to have those charges investigated and allowing them to remain as they are, the strongest indictment which could possibly be made against an administration. I submit to my right hon. friend that that is the proper course to take. There should be no appointment of any white-washing commission to go over the affairs of some other commission, but a committee of this House should be appointed to fully investigate these charges, which I have already read, and which are as grave as charges can possibly be. To bring in a motion of the kind myself would be to be met by hon. gentlemen opposite with the reply that having heard the statement made by the Minister of Naval Affairs last night, I already knew that the Government had made up its mind to prorogue. If that be the Government's intention, I repeat again that that intention can be carried out only with a determination to stifle altogether investigation into these charges and to allow them to remain as they are without being answered or dealt with in a way that will satisfy the public mind and the public sense of what is right and necessary. If such an inquiry is refused by the Government, the people will be justified in the

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belief that the charges made by Commissioner Murdock are true; that the Government are out of sympathy with their own legislation; that these Acts were passed merely to quiet the alarm caused by the Winnipeg strike and other popular demonstrations, and to make a pretence of controlling profiteers; that the Government have been secretly thwarting the operations of the board and minimizing the effectiveness of their own legislation; that the chairman was appointed and kept in office to protect the big interests in taking excessive profits; and that the Government protected the textile manufacturers in an investigation, the result of which would have startled and incensed the Canadian public.

All these impressions upon the public mind will be strengthened and confirmed if the Government refuse the inquiry which, I believe, should be granted as speedily as possible.

Rt. Hon. Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I think hon. gentlemen will agree that an announcement such as that which has just fallen from the lips of my hon. friend is about the most extraordinary that Parliament has ever listened to. My hon. friend thinks this is a matter of the gravest import, affecting the honour of Parliament and of the Government; more than that, affecting the interests of all the people of this country, touching the question of profiteering. And he does not purpose taking any steps in the matter because the Minister of Naval Affairs (Mr. Ballantyne) told him last evening that the House was going to prorogue to-day. I might sit down after having said that much, but I shall proceed to deal with some of the assertions which the hon. gentleman has made.

In the first place, he apparently has committed himself to the statement, which is made or suggested by Mr. Murdock, that the measures which were passed in the first session of 1919 were not inspired by any sincere desire to remedy existing evils, but were passed for some ulterior purpose described in more or less vague terms. It is perfectly apparent that my hon. friend has not given very careful study to the matter in this and other respects, as I shall show before I conclude. Otherwise, he would have reminded the House that the measures in question are founded upon the results of study and deliberation by a strong and representative committee which sat for five weeks in the first session of 1919 and

which reported to this House that such measures ought to be enacted. If there be any ulterior motive to be found, it must be sought in the deliberations and report of that committee, and not elsewhere. I did not hear any reference to this in the speech of my hon. friend, although if he has given the matter any consideration at all, he must have known the facts. The committee in question was composed of hon. members from both sides of this House, and if my hon. friend suggests any ulterior motive, he is attributing that ulterior motive to many hon. gentlemen on his own side of the House.

As regards the appointment of a chairman, I do not know whether my hon. friend intends to associate himself with the suggestion contained in Mr. Murdock's letter that Judge Robson was selected because it was known that he had a particular outlook with regard to profiteering, high prices and everything of the kind. Does my hon. friend desire to associate himself with that statement? He has not made it very clear to us. After these measures had been passed, the question of the personnel of the Board was a matter of most anxious and prolonged consideration on the part of the Government and particularly on my part, and I take the fullest responsibility for the selection of Judge Robson as chairman. According to the information which was available to me at that time, there was no man in this country who, in point of character, ability and experience in such matters, stood higher than did Judge Robson. The Government believed at that time that at least one member of the Board should be appointed from the provinces of the West. Judge Robson was approached to ascertain whether or not he would accept that position, and at first he absolutely declined it on account of other engagements. Whom did the Government approach next? The next gentleman who was approached by the Government and urged to accept the chairmanship was Chief Justice Mather of the Bench of Manitoba. Is there any one who will believe that we approached Chief Justice Mather with the idea of selecting a man who would assist the profiteers? Judge Mather found himself unable to accept the position. In the meantime, Judge Robson was inclined to reconsider the matter. We approached him again, and he accepted the chairmanship. That is the whole truth from beginning to end with regard to the selection of the chairman, and I venture to think that no more unworthy or more unfounded suggestion was ever made in this Parliament

than that of my hon. friend, if he intended to make it, that the selection of the chairman of the commission was made from any other motive than to serve the public interest. As to the conduct of Judge Robson, if the Government of this country had maintained Judge Robson as chairman of the commission after he had tendered his resignation in view of what had taken place, my hon. friend might have had some shadow of ground upon which to rest his aspersion against the Government. But, as a matter of fact, as soon as the incident took place Judge Robson tendered his resignation and it was accepted. I for one am unable to understand the logical connection between the resignation of Mr. Murdock in the latter part of June and the incident which took place some three or four months previously. If Mr. Murdock was to have taken any action by way of resignation on account of that incident, the time for him to have acted was then and not four months afterwards. At all events, the Government, having appointed Judge Robson in good faith, believing, as we sincerely believed, that he possessed the character, the ability and the experience that would justify his appointment, have no reason whatever to apologize for our action, nor to incur the unworthy suggestion made by my hon. friend with respect either to Judge Robson's appointment or to his resignation. We were not responsible for the course which he took. I am not pronouncing any judgment upon it; we exercised, and could exercise, no control or direction over the members of that commission; they were given a definite and independent status so as to render them absolutely independent of the Government and to enable them to do justice to the people of the country under the provisions of the Act which Parliament had approved.

As to the complaint with regard to the Civil Service Commission, Mr. Murdock has made it a matter of serious complaint that the Government did not free the Board of Commerce from the control of the commission. In conversation with me he especially dwelt upon the fact that by an amendment to the Civil Service Act which became law on the 10th of November, 1919, all boards and commissions of a permanent character carrying on their functions at Ottawa should be subject to the provisions of the Civil Service Act, just as every department of the Government, and the Senate and the House of Commons are so subject. Well, the question arose—it arose during my absence—as to whether or not

the Government was prepared to depart from the principle of the Civil Service Act and to declare that the Board of Commerce alone among all the departments and commissions that were subject to the provisions of the Civil Service Act, should be exempt therefrom. The Government did not see its way clear to take that course. My hon. friend regards the conduct of the Government in that respect as not in the public interest. It is perfectly competent for him, before prorogation, to move a resolution in that respect, and to have the matter tested by the opinion of the House.

The members of the Board of Commerce were certainly desirous of building up a very extensive organization, an organization which would have been attended with a great deal of expense if their views had been carried out. The Government acted along these lines: In the first place, it thought that appointments which the Board of Commerce desired ought to be made under the provisions of the Civil Service Act; second, that only a moderate organization should be built up; and third, that if any experts were desired by the Board of Commerce for the purpose of assisting them in their work, those experts might be very well provided, for the present at least, by the various departments of Government that were able to afford help in that direction. When the Minister of Labour had direction of food control in this country and had to exercise functions comparable to those exercised by the Board of Commerce, he went to the various departments of the Government, obtained men of expert capacity and carried on inquiries by their aid. It was the belief and the suggestion of the Government that a like course might very well be observed for the present by the Board of Commerce.

Now, as to another point. It is not very clear whether the leader of the Opposition desires to associate himself with the suggestion—because it is only a suggestion and not a charge—that the Government attempted to influence or did influence the Civil Service Commission for the purpose of thwarting the efforts of the Board of Commerce. If any hon. gentleman in this House could possess himself of so extraordinary an idea I should be very much surprised. As a matter of fact, from first to last the Government have never sought to influence the Civil Service Commission in that respect, or in any other respect, so far as I am aware. The Civil Service Commission is an independent body. It carries on its work under the provisions of an Act of this Par-

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liament, and I repudiate in the strongest possible terms any charge that the Government ever attempted at any time by suggestion to the Civil Service Commission to influence the action of that body in respect of appointments which the Board of Commerce desired. There is absolutely nothing in that, so far as I am aware, and as I most firmly believe. As a matter of fact, most of the proceedings of the Board of Commerce took place during my absence; but I have been at some pains to inform myself since my return as to what had occurred, and I make the statement which I have just uttered in the fullest possible belief that not one of my colleagues at any time ever attempted to influence the Civil Service Commission in the way suggested.

Then there is a charge, which has been dwelt upon with some unction by my hon. friend the leader of the Opposition, that the Government attempted to interfere in some way with the Board in connection with protests of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. I am informed by my colleagues that the Canadian Manufacturers' Association desired to assert an appeal, under the provisions of the Act, from the decision of the Board of Commerce. They desired to assert that appeal upon the ground that a proposed questionnaire which had been sent out by the Board of Commerce covered too long a period and would entail unnecessary and enormous expense. The representatives of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association came to the Government and were heard by them. It was the opinion of the members of the Government who heard them that no appeal had been properly asserted. The Government so informed them, and explained that their only course was to apply to the Board of Commerce and ask that the matter should be re-heard.

My hon. friend is troubled because the Government did not immediately appoint a successor to Judge Robson. It is perfectly evident that he has not made a careful study of the situation or his comprehension would have been better. Before Judge Robson had resigned, the Board of Commerce desired to have certain questions submitted to the Supreme Court of Canada in regard to their jurisdiction. If I am correctly informed, they themselves drew up the questions which were presented to the Supreme Court for adjudication. They came to the Government and desired that these questions be argued by Mr. O'Connor, a member of the board, and their request was granted. The case was argued by Mr. O'Connor on

behalf of the board and he was also appointed as the representative of the Attorney General of Canada in order that he might have an additional status before the court. The case was taken into consideration by the Supreme Court. I am not quite sure whether it was taken into consideration before Judge Robson resigned or afterward. However, that is not material. But my hon. friend has not taken into account the actual situation. When the case was pending before the Supreme Court of Canada upon a serious question as to whether that board had any legal status or not, how would it be possible for the Government to obtain the services of any man who might within a week, or two weeks, or a month, find that he was chairman of a non-existent board? Would any reasonable man in this House suggest that when the very existence of the board was at stake upon a serious question raised before the Supreme Court, any such man as could be properly selected to fill that position would put aside all other business engagements to accept a status which might be absolutely without existence in two, three or four weeks? The Government reached the conclusion that until the question had been finally determined as to whether or not the board had any authority or the Act was valid, it would be unwise to proceed with the selection of a chairman. That position was left unfilled and the two other members of the board, Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Murdock, proceeded with the work of the commission.

I do not know that there is much else to be said about the charges submitted by Mr. Murdock,—if you could call them charges considering their character; they are exceedingly vague; they speak of thwarting, they speak of suggestions to the Civil Service Commission, they speak of these and other things in a somewhat airy and casual way. I do not see on what the Government would proceed if it proposed to make any such investigation as my hon. friend has hinted at. So far as Mr. Murdock is concerned I believe him to be a perfectly sincere man and a man of a good deal of intelligence. I believe he does really think that the allegations which he has set forth in his letter are true. I think he is of a remarkable temperament, his prejudices are very easily excited, his whole mind seems to be almost completely honeycombed with suspicion of the purpose and intentions of people with whom he has been associated. I talked with him on three or four occasions during the past week in

regard to the matter and I certainly reached the conclusion that he was perfectly sincere and honest in the beliefs which he expressed in the letter, but I reached the equally positive conclusion that there was not a shadow of foundation of evidence upon which he could base those beliefs. I was at some pains to inquire from him as to his reasons and as to the considerations upon which he based his beliefs, but I could not get anything definite or tangible. I finally came to the conclusion which I have stated in the House and which I firmly believe explains the whole matter.

My hon. friend has alluded to the non-production of the correspondence. Judge Robson took the ground with great emphasis and earnestness that the letters, which had been taken from his apartments to his office and opened there in his absence, were wholly private and confidential letters, that the letters in question had not been sent to him with his knowledge or consent, that he regarded them as an impertinence and that the subject had never been discussed between him and the gentleman who wrote the letters. I am not passing any judgment upon the question; I merely inform the House as to Judge Robson's contention. The question for my colleagues was whether these letters and the letter of Mr. Murdock ought to be placed before Parliament in face of the protest of Judge Robson. My colleagues decided to leave the matter until I should return. After some discussion had taken place in the House a day or two ago the question as to the production of the letters was before the Government at the time Mr. Murdock's letter was published. After the publication of that letter there was of course no further question about it. Everything that could be disclosed by the letters had been disclosed by Mr. Murdock's letter and the correspondence was brought down.

My hon. friend has endeavoured to make a point of the repeal of an Act which was passed at his instance some years ago when he was connected with the Department of Labour. Was it while the hon. gentleman was Minister of Labour?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Yes.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I can only tell my hon. friend that probably there never was a more ineffective and useless Act placed upon the statute book in the whole history of this country. If he could point out any occasion when that Act from first to last was of any real service in restraining profiteering or otherwise I should be

very glad to have him do so. The Act was repealed because provisions which were considered more effective were embodied in the legislation of 1919.

Then my hon. friend complains that no amendment to the Board of Commerce Act has been introduced this session. I draw my hon. friend's attention again to the fact that the jurisdiction of this Parliament to enact the legislation has been questioned in the Supreme Court of Canada, and that the Court was equally divided in its judgment. I venture to suggest that if, under those circumstances, we had introduced amending legislation at the present session of Parliament my hon. friend would have been the first to point out the probable futility of that proceeding. What we did do, what we thought best to do, was this: to expedite by every means in our power the final decision of the highest court as to whether that Act is valid or not; and after prorogation we shall take into consideration the further question as to whether—pending the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council—we should make any appointment in the place of the gentlemen who have resigned.

My hon. friend has taken it upon himself to assert that one member, Mr. O'Connor, has resigned from the commission by reason of being thwarted and baffled in his efforts to do justice to the people of this country. I do not know what information Mr. O'Connor may have given to my hon. friend. Certainly in the letter of resignation which he gave to me, and which is attached to the Order in Council brought down and placed on the table of the House, no such reason was assigned. In private conversation with Mr. O'Connor I was informed by him that he had determined to return to the practice of his profession, and that he had also made an arrangement under which he would represent an important financial institution in the United States. Now, that is the whole matter from first to last so far as the Government is concerned.

If my hon. friend, or any other hon. member, desires to make any motion calling for an investigation and putting forward any charge of a specific and definite nature which can be enquired into, he will learn—and learn without any delay whatever—that this Government does not shrink, nor does any member of it shrink, from the fullest and most complete investigation that could be devised into every act of the Government with regard to this Board of Commerce.

[Sir Robert Borden.]

Mr. ANDREW McMASTER (Brome): Mr. Speaker, I shall be very brief in replying to the arguments addressed to the House by the Prime Minister.

First as to the nature of these charges. The Prime Minister has just stated that Mr. Murdock, the gentleman who is responsible for these charges, is a man of high character, absolute sincerity and of very fair intelligence. It is true that he rather damned this gentleman's intelligence with faint praise, but after all it hardly lies in his mouth—nor in the mouth of his colleagues—to do so because Mr. Murdock is a gentleman they appointed to this position at a salary of \$8,000 a year, for the purpose of protecting the consuming public of Canada. Therefore we may say these charges are made by a man whom a few short months ago this Government considered one of the three best men in Canada available for the purpose of forming part of this Board of Commerce. And I wish to stress the point, Mr. Speaker, that these charges—placed before the House through the instrumentality of the leader of the Opposition—are charges which have not been made by that hon. gentleman but by the appointee of the Government to this very important position. The Prime Minister scouted the idea that the Government was anything else but serious in forming the Board of Commerce. Now let me put this example before the House: Suppose there had been a dispute on a school board as to whether they should adopt technical education, let us say, in the high school under their control. Suppose that after discussion it was decided to do so and the majority appointed three teachers on technical education and first one teacher died and he was not replaced, the second teacher died and he was not replaced, and the third teacher finally died or resigned and he was not replaced. Could that school board pretend to the ratepayers that they were really serious in their attempt to have technical education taught in that high school? I do not think they could. The most overwhelming evidence of the lack of sincerity and seriousness of this Government in regard to the Board of Commerce is the fact that they allowed that board to act just as did the ten little nigger boys in the old nursery rhyme who, one by one, disappeared until none were left. In this case also the three judges were allowed to disappear one by one until there were no judges or commissioners left. I see the Minister of Justice doing me the great honour of following what I say care-

fully. I do not know whether the minister has ever decided whether these gentlemen were judges and under his control, or whether they were commissioners with whom he could not interfere. However, call them commissioners or call them judges, it makes very little difference.

The Prime Minister stated that when this appeal was made to the Supreme Court the existence of the board was at stake. That is not my recollection of what was really the issue in the appeal to the Supreme Court. My recollection is that certain powers of the board were at stake. Certain powers of the board were questioned which may have affected, more or less, their activities and their usefulness, but that the board as a board could still have continued no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court was. Therefore it is hardly accurate to state that the existence of the board was at stake; the board could still have gone on. The existence of the board was threatened not by the Supreme Court as much as by the gradual and regular disappearance of its members. If these gentlemen had one Christian virtue, it was the virtue of resignation; they resigned from time to time with striking regularity.

Now let me very briefly and respectfully call the attention of the Prime Minister to the fact that I cannot believe that his argument—which I propose now to bring before the House—is anything else but a non sequitur. He says if the leader of the Opposition finds in the Board of Commerce a want of sincerity and seriousness, or a want of sincerity and seriousness in the Government that appointed the board, he must look to the committee of the House that sat on the question of the high cost of living because that committee, or their recommendations, were responsible for the beginning of the board. Therefore you may as well look—if you want to find sincerity—in that committee. Well, I may be dull, Mr. Speaker, but I cannot follow that reasoning. I see the Minister of Trade and Commerce bowing his head, apparently in agreement, so seemingly he cannot follow that reasoning either. But my hon. friend who leads the Government is hardly right when he says that this Board of Commerce sprang from the committee that investigated the high cost of living as Juno did from the brow of some other god. The Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) can supply the rest of the classical illusion which has escaped my memory for the moment. Because this committee which sat under the able chairmanship of the member for Algoma, had no right to bring in any

definite suggestion when it reported to the House. In proof of that let me quote from Volume 5 of Hansard for the 1st session of 1919, page 4069. I find there the following:

Your committee have been engaged almost continuously from the 5th day of June last to the present date in obtaining all information possible from witnesses and all available sources, but have not yet reached a point in their investigation that would warrant them in submitting final conclusions.

What is also interesting is the fact that when the committee did bring in a report, it was a report which passed the committee by the chairman first voting for it, and then giving a casting vote, so that it was practically a minority report. Therefore, I am afraid that the Prime Minister cannot wish onto this committee the lack of sincerity which is found in the proceedings of the Government.

Then we had from the Prime Minister a panagyric of Judge Robson and Chief Justice Mathers, the first, who after hesitating finally consented to become chairman of the Board of Commerce, and the other judge who was wise enough never to enter upon that somewhat tempestuous sea of judicial activity. The question of Judge Robson's character and Chief Justice Mather's character is not the prime question in this matter. The flattering of these gentlemen does not answer the very important charges made by Mr. Murdock. And then, of course, the Prime Minister followed that course which is generally pursued by the other side when the leader of the Opposition in his fight for the plain people of this country strikes home for us—he is told that he is actuated by unworthy motives. It reminds me of the old saying that those who have a poor case are prone to abuse their opponent's attorney.

Was the board a real success? What was the reason for the board's egregious failure? The board in different places bullied in-offensive bakers and made decisions about the right price for a piece of pie, but I do not know of any profiteer of real importance, any manufacturer who really reaped unjust profits from the crisis through which this country has been passing, who was punished by this board.

And what does the Prime Minister say as to the charge made by Mr. Murdock that there has been interference by members of the Government with the conduct of the Board of Commerce? The Prime Minister says: "I was away at the time. When I came back my colleagues told me that no such thing had ever happened." Well now, did we expect that the able and

venerable Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) when the Prime Minister returned to his native land after an absence of some time, would rush to him, and after greeting him warmly would say to him, "Sir Robert, I have been interfering with the Board of Commerce"? I do not think that we would expect him to do any such thing.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I could not say such a thing.

Mr. McMASTER: He could not say so if he had done such a thing, because it would have been a great tactical blunder. It would have been worse than a crime, it would have been a blunder. Now, what do we come to? Some correspondence was brought down—correspondence which Judge Robson said might be published months ago was only brought down very recently, indeed after several demands for it had been made.

But the Prime Minister ended his defence against the Murdock charges by the old well-worn argument which has been used by this Government until they have acquired a prescriptive right to it by use and wont—the argument of *tu quoque*. He said that an Act for the investigation into combines placed on the statute books of this country years ago through the instrumentality of the leader of the Opposition when Minister of Labour had been an ineffective law. In other words, if my court of commerce has been ineffective I am quite free from blame, because your Act years ago tending towards the same object was ineffective also. Well, had that been true it would have been no argument, but as a matter of fact it is not true. I have had neither the time nor the opportunity to look up all the cases in which this Act for which my hon. leader is responsible was successfully brought into play, but I know in regard to the machinery for making shoes an investigation was held and satisfactory results were obtained under the presidency of Judge Laurendeau of Montreal, 1908 or 1909.

Now, what is the Government going to do with this matter? Here we have got the serious charges made by one of their own appointees. We say that there should be an investigation. We say that the public of Canada are interested in seeing that there is an investigation, and that it is for the Government to grant the same.

Rt. Hon. C. J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): Mr. Speaker, the hon. gentleman who has just resumed his seat (Mr.

[Mr. McMaster.]

McMaster) will pardon me if I suggest that he is not much more accurate in his interpretation of the position with regard to the Board of Commerce under the law than he was in his mythology.

Mr. McMASTER: I appealed to you for assistance.

Mr. DOHERTY: Without being appealed to, I might take the liberty while correcting his mythology of setting him right in his facts and his law. But let us get his mythology out of the way first. I was always under the impression that the Junc whom he spoke of was a Juno whom Jupiter saluted as both his sister and his spouse, and that it was another goddess who sprang full of life from the brow of the master of Olympus. But, I am under something more than an impression that when the hon. gentleman tried to get down from Olympus and take hold of the facts in connection with the Board of Commerce and what he dignifies as the charges of Mr. Murdock, he was just as much out of his reckoning as when he was among the gods and goddesses of Olympus.

The hon. gentleman says that he and I and this House had some trouble at one time in making up our minds what the members of this Board of Commerce were, whether they were commissioners; or, as the hon. gentleman says, judges and, therefore, under my control. It is certainly a new suggestion that because they were judges they would be under the control of the Minister of Justice. The hon. gentleman ought to have given a little thought before he spoke. If there would be one reason in the wide world why they should be absolutely beyond the control of the Minister of Justice or any government it would be found in the fact that they were judges. However, those are just slight inaccuracies.

Let us get down to the question of the situation and what the facts are in regard to the other impossible statements in which the hon. gentleman finds ground for declaring to this House the entire absence of sincerity in the action of the Government. He says the outstanding evidence of that is that the members of the Board of Commerce disappeared like some young niggers of his acquaintance.

Mr. McMASTER: The niggers of the old nursery rhyme.

Mr. DOHERTY: They disappeared one after another, and nothing was done about

it. The hon. gentleman entirely overlooked making any reply to what was pointed out by the Prime Minister, that is, the situation that existed at the time of these resignations, and to state that the existence of the board was not in question in the proceedings that were pending before the Supreme Court. Now it is quite true that that was not the direct question that was put to the Supreme Court, and that at the outset what was submitted was a number of questions bearing upon the powers of the Board of Commerce. And let me point out that this reference to the Supreme Court was made by the Board of Commerce itself,—not because the Government entertained any doubts upon the subject; it was the action of the Board of Commerce doubting its own jurisdiction.

Now, while it is true that the question referred had to do with the powers of the board, the reason why it was suggested that there was doubt of the powers of the board was that it was suggested that there was doubt of the power of this Parliament to pass that Act. While particular sections were dealt with, the considerations necessary to be gone into to determine whether or not this Parliament had that power were such as would necessarily have a wider bearing than in their application to these particular powers. Now, at the time Mr. Justice Robson, having drafted the questions for submission to the Supreme Court, resigned, these questions were pending before the court. As has been pointed out, we selected the man who certainly was most familiar with the Act, the man who was the most devoted believer in its validity, and who in addition was, as I think will be generally considered, a very capable lawyer, to defend the constitutionality of that legislation. At that time it was expected that a judgment would come within a very brief period. But what happened that brought about delay? When these questions came to be considered by the Supreme Court they reached the conclusion that it was not within the functions of the Board of Commerce to refer to them general questions bearing upon their jurisdiction, the constitutionality of the statute, and the extent of their powers. The Supreme Court came to a conclusion that the only right of the Board of Commerce was to submit a stated case. This

12 p.m. caused the delay in the decision. Because, in order to arrive at a decision, there had to be submitted such a stated case. That case was sub-

mitted and resulted but a few weeks ago in an expression of opinion by the judges of the Supreme Court in which opinion they were equally divided. So that we have no opinion of the Supreme Court as to the validity of the legislation in question.

Now, while it is quite true that the question was raised of the validity of particular sections, as I have said, the basis of questioning the validity was the questioning of the power of this Parliament to enact that legislation. Thus a doubt was raised, at the very least, as to the powers of this Parliament in dealing with not only particular sections but with matters concerned with the regulation of trade and commerce, and the definition of powers enabling this Parliament to legislate for the peace, order and good government of Canada. There was also a question whether this legislation could be justified as criminal law. These questions, then, involved a decision of much more far-reaching effect than the determination merely of the validity of particular sections, because they involved the paying down of principles of interpretation of the British North America Act, particularly those of its provisions dealing with powers of this Parliament to legislate upon matters cognate to those dealt with in the statute. That I am right in that expression of opinion is made absolutely clear by the notes in which the judges of the Supreme Court have voiced their opinions. The opinions of the judges differ, but while they necessarily have regard to a particular section, I say without hesitation that they raise questions and determine matters of principle of the most far-reaching kind. I certainly feel—whatever my opinion may be worth—that the legislation is valid, and I have no desire to throw doubt upon any part of it; still, I am forced to concede that if the principles of interpretation laid down by three of those judges are to be accepted it becomes a serious question what was the jurisdiction of this Parliament to pass the major portion of that Act, not merely these particular sections. I will go further and say that they would raise doubts about the powers of this Parliament in connection with matters of trade and commerce which heretofore have not arisen and have not presented themselves to the minds of any persons concerned.

Now, if anything is essential to the effective operation of the Board of Commerce it is that in the exercise of their very extensive powers there shall be no doubt about their authority and that their decisions shall be

accepted by those against whom they may be rendered. Surely the hon. member would not contend that it would be desirable that we should maintain this board in active functioning with practically all its operations subject to attack in the court, and that we should have a large number of cases in which the same questions would be involved, all to be decided?

At the time of the resignation of Mr. Justice Robson, as I have said, the matter was before the Supreme Court. At the time of the resignation of Mr. Murdock, and at the time of the resignation of Mr. O'Connor—which, by the way, has not yet taken effect—we had had the result which made everything more doubtful than it was before; that is, the Supreme Court of Canada had found it impossible to come not merely to a unanimous but even to a majority conclusion as to the powers conferred by the particular sections that were before it, and had laid down principles of interpretation raising most serious questions not only with regard to those powers but with regard, perhaps, to the bulk of the powers conferred in the Act, and going even further than that, in the manner that I have indicated. Would the hon. gentleman suggest that under those circumstances we should be likely to find any competent man willing to undertake the performance of the duties of an office, which might, by reason of an ultimate decision, be so diminished in power—if its powers did not entirely disappear—as to make it, if not non-existent, at all events absolutely valueless? Would he suggest that it would be desirable that we should empower a board to carry on under those circumstances? Does he think that the provocation of such widespread litigation would be conducive to the doing away with any condition of unrest that might arise in the country? I submit to the hon. gentleman's good sense that he must realize, when he comes to look into the facts, that there was only one line of action which could be justified in the light of common sense, and that was, before we proceeded to reconstitute this board which had ceased to exist, that situation being practically simultaneous with the delivering of these opinions, to have first of all the decision of the final court upon the questions that had been raised.

Mr. McMASTER: If this board had really become a court of doubt, would it not have been better to put the poor thing out of pain altogether?

Mr. DOHERTY: Perhaps it would have been better to remove the doubt. Would

[Mr. Doherty.]

the hon. gentleman suggest that a physician, being called in to a patient and making his diagnosis and saying: "Oh, well, your cure is doubtful," should then say: "Let us put him out of pain altogether?" A skilful physician would say: "Let us take the means to cure him," and that is what this Government did. This Government said: "Let us not proceed immediately to destroy the patient, but let us just look to see whether we cannot destroy the doubt."

Mr. McMASTER: Put it in a hospital on a low diet.

Mr. DOHERTY: Possibly that might be a wise course, but I would not undertake to determine that precise question. But these resignations having come in as I say, that of Mr. Murdock within the last week and that of Mr. O'Connor not yet in effect, and the Deputy Minister of Justice being in England to present his petition for leave to appeal, the petition having been prepared, it seemed to us that the part of common sense was to remove the doubt first and to do that as expeditiously as possible. I think, therefore, in so far as the hon. gentleman, in this disappearance of what he is not too complimentarily to them assimilates to the little niggers of the nursery rhyme, finds evidence of insincerity, he is very much beside the mark. And it is rather a peculiar thing to suggest that, because these two gentlemen resigned, an action absolutely free to them, in that there is evidence of the insincerity of this Government. The hon. gentleman imputed to the Prime Minister his having had resort to a tu quoque argument. Let me disabuse him on that subject. High as may be our opinion of hon. gentlemen who sit opposite to us, it is very seldom that their conduct justifies us in saying to them as compared with ourselves: "You're another;" they very seldom reach the height that entitles them to that compliment; and I saw nothing in the speech of the right hon. leader of the House to indicate that he had suddenly been seized with such admiration of the leader of the Opposition as would have led him to say that he was like unto ourselves. The hon. gentleman quite misapprehended the point of the Prime Minister's reference to the legislation enacted at the time when the present leader of the Opposition (Mr. Mackenzie King) was Minister of Labour. The motive of the reference to it was merely to meet the proud boasts of the former Minister of Labour, the present leader of the Opposition who introduced that legislation into

this debate with what might be described as a triumphant flourish of trumpets. He having done that, and seeing that the fact was that that piece of legislation proved absolutely ineffective for the purpose for which it was enacted—and I will deal in a moment with the United Shoe Company, which is the outstanding case which demonstrates the futility of the legislation—it was not unnatural that the Prime Minister should have pointed out the fact, not as comparing it with our present legislation, but as indicating the necessity for new legislation upon the subject, and, perhaps, as disabusing the public mind of the effects that might be produced by the vainglorious protestations of the leader of the Opposition.

The hon. gentleman has heard about the United Shoe Company case, and so have I. I think probably it was the only case that anybody ever heard of in which the much-vaunted Act was brought into play—and I think “brought into play” is a good way to describe it, because it was brought into play and there was held under it an investigation which took a prolonged time, which was presided over by a most distinguished judge, at which numerous witnesses were examined and great expense was incurred. The judge decided that the particular company had been guilty of violations of the Combines Act. The play was over and then the time came for this Act to work—and it did not work; there was not any consequence to the discovery that had been made, and everybody found that they were back just where they were before that legislation was enacted at all. That is, that it was open to them to go into the Criminal Courts under the Criminal Code and institute a prosecution against that company, in which prosecution the report of that commission would not be evidence at all but the complainants would have to begin over again at the beginning and prove their case before that court to the satisfaction of a jury, entirely irrespective of the report of the commission. I have some memory of the time when that Act was only a Bill. It had not even come into play then, and while I do not want to speak too positively, if my memory is correct, when that Bill was going through the House, attention was called to what was expected would be the ineffectiveness of its result. That arm lying useless in the arsenal, it was thought wise to provide another which it was expected would be a more effective weapon, and which, I still

have confidence, will be declared by the ultimate court to be a more effective weapon.

The hon. gentleman's one argument in support of the suggestion—or charge, if you please to give it that name—of Mr. Murdock that there was some interference on the part of the Government with the operations of the board, is that the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) could not have told Sir Robert Borden that he had been interfering. I do not know, myself, what is the force of that argument. The hon. gentleman throughout talked about the “charges” of Mr. Murdock. I wonder if the hon. gentleman read Mr. Murdock's letter, and I wonder if he would himself think it fair to anybody to walk in before any tribunal and call this, “the indictment that is made against you.” Surely he must see that it is practically the opinions, or more correctly the suspicions, of Mr. Murdock. Where does the hon. member find any statement or any act by any member of this Government which constitutes what Mr. Murdock chooses to describe as interference? Surely the hon. member, as a fair man, will realize that it is utterly impossible to put anybody, even though it may be a Government or the members of a Government, on trial upon such a document as that. The Prime Minister has declared the readiness of this Government to take the responsibility of anything in the nature of a charge of any act or of any omission, of anything that anybody can make, to afford opportunities for the most ample investigation.

Mr. ARTHUR BLISS COPP (Westmorland): I desire to say a few words on this subject, which has been thrown into the arena at the 11th hour of the 11th day and which is of so much importance to the people of this country. My right hon. friend who leads the Government (Sir Robert Borden), from what I can gather from his arguments, has apparently taken the ground from the first that the Government was not responsible at all for the appointment of the Board of Commerce, by reason of the fact that the board was established on the recommendation of a committee composed of members from both sides of the House; and he contends that the leader of the Opposition (Mr. Mackenzie King) was rather casting some reflection on hon. gentlemen on this side because for one moment he attempted to criticize the Board of Commerce. As my hon. friend from Brome (Mr. McMaster) has pointed out, the report of

that committee was very far from being unanimous. There was a minority report from those hon. gentlemen of the committee who came from this side of the House, and we on this side were absolutely opposed to the proposition. However, against our wishes, the report was finally brought down and upon it the Board of Commerce, as my right hon. friend says, was established. On the recommendation of that report the board first saw the light of day. Let me inform my right hon. friend that hon. members on this side, so far as I am aware, unanimously opposed the establishment of the board. So far as I am concerned, I never had any confidence in the Board of Commerce, and I never had the slightest idea that the Government intended it to function to the successful prosecution of the profiteers, and to allow it to stand as the vigilant watch-dog between the profiteers and the common consumers of the country. I never believed that the Government intended to allow the board to operate freely, and in a very short time we have had the most positive evidence, from a member of the board itself, which shows us that the board never was allowed to function. Now, who are responsible for this state of affairs if not the Government? They stood in the way of the proper activities of the board and prevented it from carrying on its operations in the interests of the people. My right hon. friend says that the Government are not responsible. But, Sir, the Board of Commerce was appointed by the Government. They were the creatures of the Government, and when the board was appointed my right hon. friend spoke in the most glowing terms in reference to its personnel. Now what does he say? In regard to the last remaining factor of this magnificent board selected by the Government themselves, the Prime Minister says Mr. Murdock becomes excited, gets a little nervous and is not able to concentrate his mind and talk over business matters in a business way. If my right hon. friend has taken that ground to excuse the failure of the Board of Commerce, he still must take responsibility for what they have done or have not done. The main question, however, is this: Was the Board of Commerce a necessity in this country? If so, were the Government responsible for bringing it into existence? If they were, then they must be responsible for the functioning of the board; and lastly, if the board has not operated successfully, the Government must be held accountable

[Mr. Copp.]

to the people for the failure of this body to protect the interests of the common people, and to stand resolutely between the profiteers, the big interests, and the ordinary consumers. I am not here to judge, as my right hon. friend said, between the veracity of Judge Robson and Mr. Murdock or Mr. O'Connor. That is not my duty. I have no insinuations to make with regard to these gentlemen. I know only one member of the board personally, and that is Mr. O'Connor, and I do want to pay him this compliment, that I believe that if he had been given a free hand he would have done something in the interests of the consumers. I believe that, from my knowledge of him. But, Mr. Speaker, we have heard the charges—if we may call them charges,—made by the leader of the Opposition, and we have had an attempted defence by the leader of the Government. We have had another defence—as usual, clear and precise, (as usual), nevertheless unconvincing—by my right hon. friend the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty). But in my opinion, what is more important to the country than any of these arguments is that the actual words of Mr. Murdock should be placed before the people as he has stated his case in the press and as he has written to the Government. I rose more particularly for the purpose of embalming on the records of the House and placing on Hansard the exact text of his letter. I have it here before me, and I have no desire to take up the time of the House, if this letter, as is done in the case of other documents of importance, is allowed, by the unanimous consent of the House, to go on the record without the necessity of my reading it. If hon. members will not give that consent I propose to read it in order that it may appear on Hansard.

Mr. DOHERTY: Put it on, put it on.

Mr. COPP: I am glad that my hon. friend agrees to this suggestion, because I have no desire to read the letter at this late hour.

An hon. MEMBER: You might as well read it.

Mr. BOYS: No, spare us, please.

Mr. COPP: If my hon. friend wants to be spared he ought to take care not to have such things as this happen. If hon. members do not agree to let the letter go on Hansard without my reading it—

Mr. BOYS: We have read it.

Mr. COPP: I can read it again for you if you want me to.

Mr. JACOBS: Your motion is carried.

Mr. COPP: I will not have it carried while they are dissatisfied.

Mr. BOYS: We are consenting.

Mr. COPP: Well, as it is agreed by the House that the letter may appear on Hansard, I shall not make the running comments which I was prepared to make had I read it. In so far as I have been able to gather from the letter it seems that the board was hampered by reason of Judge Robson's friendship with the profiteers. He did not want to interfere with the big interests, who he knew were wards of the Government and always have been.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Will this last much longer?

Mr. COPP: I will continue if you want me to. Let me say to my hon. friend that he is not going to hurry this matter through by sitting back and making sneering remarks at me or other members on this side.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Come to the point, man.

Mr. COPP: Well, will you kindly keep still and allow me to come to the point?

Mr. MEIGHEN: I certainly will if you come to the point.

Mr. COPP: Well, keep still.

The Acting SPEAKER (Mr. Morphy): I do not think it is competent for hon. members to bandy words across the floor.

Mr. COPP: Mr. Speaker, you might call the minister to order.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must remind hon. gentlemen that they must address their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. COPP: I addressed the Chair, Mr. Speaker; my hon. friend was addressing me. To continue, I say that the Chairman of the Board of Commerce was hampered by being mixed up with and interested in the big interests of the country. Therefore, he could not act properly as chairman, is the charge contained in Mr. Murdock's letter as follows:

Text of Mr. Murdock's Resignation.

The text of Mr. Murdock's resignation, dated June 24, and addressed to the prime minister is as follows:

"Supplementing my letters of June 17th and 18th and our brief discussions of Board of Commerce questions June 17th, 21st and 23rd, I hereby resign my position as a member of the Board of Commerce of Canada, to take effect this date.

"My understanding of your position, as gathered from conferences with you and from the fact that no appointments have been made, is that it is not the intention to complete the personnel of the board by appointment at this time nor until the Privy Council has passed upon the status of the act under which the board works. This would appear to me inconsiderate of the rights of the consumers of Canada. There is much work to be done that the board can do with the assistance of a properly chosen and sufficient staff and with the sympathetic co-operation of the government, which the board has not heretofore had. If the board is not to be permitted to do the many things waiting to be done in preventing profiteering and regulating combines against the public interest it would, as stated in my letters of June 17th and 18th, appear to be improper that I should merely draw salary. We have been handicapped for months without a chairman and a proper staff and I am not going to be a party to making a joke of the law with one commissioner alone on the board without quorum authority. The people of Canada expect service for salary, even although your cabinet do not.

"The reasons for my resignation given in this form (which I appreciate, as you and others will, as unusual, in fact possibly unheard of) can be summed up as briefly as possible, and yet at considerable length, as follows:

"I am convinced—

"1st—That the majority of the cabinet, of which you are the honored leader, are not and have never been in sympathy with the provisions and intent of the Board of Commerce Act and of the Combines and Fair Prices Act;

"2nd—That your advisers only recommended to parliament the passage of those acts as the result of temporary alarm incident to the Winnipeg strike and other strenuous demonstrations when the people demanded some means of controlling profiteers;

"3rd—That as soon as the Board of Commerce Act and the Combines and Fair Prices Act were made law by the Parliament of Canada honourable gentlemen prominent in the councils of Canada and members of your cabinet at once began to undertake to minimize, to as great an extent as possible, what they believed to be the unnecessary and unfair provisions of these two Acts when applied to the businesses of those for whom these honourable gentlemen no doubt had first regard;

"4th—That the chairman appointed by your government to the Board of Commerce was regarded by certain interests as being safe and sane in conserving to Canadian manufacturers and other large financial and business interests the generally unrestricted leeway heretofore enjoyed by such interests in the taking of profits, determined alone by the so-called market price and governed by supply and demand, and that he was in full sympathy with high prices and against low prices as he stated in his letter to Sir George Foster of February 23;

"5th—That during the one hundred and forty-five days that I was associated with the chairman as member of this board he spent more time in Winnipeg or en route to or returning from Winnipeg in looking after his private affairs than he did in looking after Board of Commerce matters, and that even during the few days, December 8th to 12th, which the entire board spent in Winnipeg, he was engaged in his private affairs, while the remainder of the board held hearings of the court alone;

"6th—That when Mr. J. B. Hugg, representing the Crescent Creamery Company, Limited,

Winnipeg, felt that he could write, under date of February 18th, 1920, to the then chairman of this board a letter submitting a copy of the Crescent Creamery Company's factum for use before the Supreme Court of Canada in opposition to the case that had been presented by the Board of Commerce to define its status, saying:

"Hon. H. A. Robson, K.C., Victoria Chambers, Ottawa, Ontario.

"Re: Crescent Creamery Co., Ltd.

"Dear Judge:

"I enclose a copy of my factum. This has been revised by Mr. Isaac Campbell. I have sent three copies to Mr. Greene, one for the use of the printer, one to be shown to Geoffrion and the other to be shown to Tilley. I have asked Greene to endeavor to see them when they are in Ottawa or to communicate with them, and if it is possible to have such revisions as they suggest made in the proof when he receives it. I have also told Greene that I have sent a copy to Mr. Osborne, a friend of mine, and that I have asked Mr. Osborne to make any revisions he thinks fit and to immediately communicate them to Mr. Greene for insertion in the proof. My idea is that you, if you have time, will make such revisions as you think fit, if you can graft revisions on to what I have done, and then you will hand your revised copy to Osborne to hand to Greene so that you will not appear to have any connection with the revised proof. Perhaps this procedure is unnecessarily roundabout and if so you can of course give your revisions to Greene direct.—a state of affairs was disclosed which destroyed whatever usefulness the chairman might up to that moment have had;

"7th—That the chairman's two explanations of the transaction, first, that it was to be explained by the fact that Mr. Hugg had formerly been in his office and that they were, therefore, on very close relations with each other, and secondly, that it was 'an unwarranted impertinence by Mr. Hugg, were not sufficient to reinstate him so far as usefulness was concerned.

"8th—That when the former chairman on February 23rd wrote his resignation as a member of the Board of Commerce, promptly after he discovered that I had seen the letter written to him by J. B. Hugg, representing the Crescent Creamery Company of Winnipeg, he then knew that he would be regarded as disloyal to the Board of Commerce and to the consumers of Canada;

"9th—That the people of Canada should have had this and other information contained in the documents sent to the Right Hon. Sir George Foster on March 3rd last;

"10th—That during the entire term of service in which he and I were together connected with the board (in which time it had been impossible to ever get any reasonable co-operative understandings or attention in the matters before the board) nothing was done which could in any way affect the business and financial interests which, in his judgment, should be protected from encroachments upon or interference by the Board of Commerce of Canada;

"11th—That the general view-points and desires of the former chairman were well known by various honourable members connected with your cabinet, and especially by the Honourable Mr. Calder;

"12th—That many of the honourable gentlemen composing your cabinet saw in the former chairman's resignation an opportunity almost beyond their expectations to minimize the activities of the Board of Commerce and to prepare for its demise, and that several of them

[Mr. Copp.]

repeatedly undertook to thwart the board's desired activities by quiet and hidden restrictive opposition since that time;

"13th—That the Civil Service commission has been in the past few months in its relations to the Board of Commerce acting under suggestion, as nothing else can possibly explain the series of handicaps, delays, perversions, and misrepresentations that the Board of Commerce has been confronted with in trying to secure the assistance it requires;

"14th—That on the 28th day of January, 1920, when this board issued a declaration challenging the right of the cabinet to interfere on behalf of the textile manufacturers in the Canadian Manufacturers' Association (they having made representations to the government that it would cost \$1,500,000 to prepare the data asked for by a questionnaire of this board and that it would take weeks to so prepare) certain of your honourable colleagues were prepared to concede the claim made by the textile manufacturers and relieve them from the necessity of complying with this board's requests for information, and that only the public challenge to your cabinet placed in the newspapers by the Board of Commerce prevented the textile firms from being relieved of the requests for data made by this board;

"15th—That later records show that the textile manufacturers had ample reason to struggle desperately to prevent the true facts from being known to this board, and that, if this board could have secured the assistance desired, a statement of the facts and figures disclosed, followed by an order as the result of the analysis of the statements of affairs sent to this board, would have startled and incensed the Canadian public beyond anything that has developed in recent months. This information is still due to the Canadian people when your cabinet renders the ordinary and reasonable assistance necessary to present it;

"16th—That reasonable government co-operation would have made before now, and would even now make, the Board of Commerce splendidly successful in controlling the only too prevalent practices of profiteering and in wringing the water and unfair competition methods out of various combines in Canada.

#### Body Is Necessary.

"From what I have seen since coming to the board I am more than ever convinced of the necessity of such a body as the Board of Commerce. But it is absurd to hope for any effective action by a body which is denied technical assistance. In the United States there is a Federal Trade Commission doing work of the greatest importance. Without its staff of about 500 its usefulness would disappear. The Board of Commerce needs no staff of 500, but it does need a reasonable staff that it can depend is not sent to it by the interests the board proposes to investigate.

"A Board of Commerce is necessary in my judgment for the following reasons:

"(a) Business men living together under the protection of the tariff have got to know each other so well that price-fixing agreements, and all sorts of agreements and arrangements, are the rule rather than the exception. The board has already on file evidence in some scores of cases of such agreements. Not all of these are reasonable or proper. It should not be left to the unfettered will of the businesses interested to fix prices on necessities of life. A board of commerce is needed here.

"(b) Combines which have fastened themselves on the production and distribution of certain essential articles of food, such as canned fruits, have introduced systems of merchandising which are injurious to trade and the consumer and prevent fair competition. A body is required with power to supervise such concerns and prohibit unfair practices.

"(c) The board has discovered that unfair and excessive profits are being taken by certain textile manufacturers, cement companies and other large concerns. It is in the public interest that these investigations thus begun be not stopped at this point, but be continued by a properly qualified Board of Commerce.

"(d) There is reason to believe that sugar is not the only commodity in which speculation to the detriment of the public has taken place. With a proper staff a Board of Commerce can undertake to check or largely reduce speculation in necessaries of life.

"(e) Without a Board of Commerce the public has no organization to watch and protect its interests; while on the other side there is the most complete organization and cross-organization; manufacturers' associations, wholesale associations, retail associations, packers' associations, and hundreds of other associations. The public, unorganized as the sands by the sea, requires a protector against the super-organization of modern business.

"In connection with your suggestion that I continue as a commissioner of the Board of Commerce until the decision of the Privy Council, I feel that the people need and are entitled to some result, now. The light should be let in. I believe your cabinet will devise some means to prevent the Board of Commerce from functioning even should the Privy Council give a favorable decision. My conscience will not permit me to become a high-salaried time-server.

"With the greatest personal respect for you, I apologize for handing copy of this to the press at the same time it is sent to you. I do so as the result of experience and to ensure that the public shall know the facts.

"Will you permit me to add that in my judgment the present position of the Board of Commerce is the result of your unfortunate illness and necessary absence from Canada almost ever since the board was formed. The board during your absence fell under unfortunate influences. Its history would have been quite different if you had been here to care, as you personally have always cared, for its success."

Mr. O'Connor's statement was that the board was interfered with by the Civil Service Commission, another creature of the Government, and that therefore it could not function properly.

The ACTING SPEAKER (Mr. Morphy): I do not think it is within the province of an hon. member to refer to a member of this board, which is practically a court of record, as being a creature of the Government. Such a personal reflection upon a member of the board is entirely out of order.

Mr. COPP: What board do you refer to?

The ACTING SPEAKER (Mr. Morphy): I understood the hon. member to refer to one of the particular members of the board as being a "creature of the Government."

Mr. COPP: I said nothing of the kind; you misunderstood me.

The ACTING SPEAKER (Mr. Morphy): It may be so. I hope it is so.

Mr. COPP: I do not desire to say an unkind word against the board because I do not know any of its members except Mr. O'Connor. I was however referring to the letter written by Mr. Murdock and to the charge which he made, that the Board of Commerce could not function because of the interference of the members of the Government. These are the reasons given by Mr. Murdock for the inability of the Board of Commerce to properly carry out the intentions for which it was created.

Mr. G. B. NICHOLSON (East Algoma): Mr. Speaker, I want to say one or two words in connection with this matter but not out of a desire to go into the question raised by the letter of Mr. Murdock which has formed the basis of the charges, if we wish to characterize them as such, made by the hon. leader of the Opposition (Mr. Mackenzie King. I wish to refer to one remark of the hon. member (Mr. Copp) who has just taken his seat, in reference to what my right hon. friend the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) said in regard to the Government not being responsible for the Board of Commerce. The leader of the Opposition stated that it was manifest that the Government were never sincere in introducing the legislation bringing the Board of Commerce into existence, that it was merely done to meet the emergent situation arising out of the Winnipeg strike and that it was never the intention of those responsible for bringing the Board of Commerce into existence that it should function. The Prime Minister said if that was the case the committee which recommended legislation of this character were in the same position and that they were insincere when they made their report to this House. The hon. member for Brome (Mr. McMaster), in referring to that, read what he would have the House conclude was the report of the committee which investigated the cost of living in regard to the passing of this legislation. He read as follows:

Your committee have been engaged continuously from the 5th day of June last to the present date in obtaining all information possible from witnesses and all available sources but have not yet reached a point in their investi-

gation that would warrant them in submitting final conclusions.

The hon. member for Brome ceased reading at that point and stated: "Even this report was carried by the casting vote of the chairman, who had already voted and it was in reality a minority report." He evidently intended the House and the country to conclude that that was all that was contained in that second report of the cost of living committee. The statement about the chairman and how the report was carried is perfectly correct. The report was drafted and submitted to the committee and the committee was equally divided. The hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) supported the view held by the clerk of the committee that the chairman had the right to give the casting vote. Recognizing the experience of the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's as well as the experience of the clerk of the committee, the chairman, who was myself, accepted that view and did cast a final vote that made it possible to bring in that report. Whether the committee had agreed or not the members of the committee who had gone into this matter thoroughly and were sincere in the work they were endeavouring to do would have brought in the report as a minority report and let the House deal with it.

The hon. member for Brome in referring to this, deliberately left out the part of the report that dealt with this very subject and I will take the opportunity of reading that part to the House. Following up that portion of the report where the committee said that they had not reached the point where they could make a final conclusion, the report went on to say:

There has come to the attention of your committee evidence in regard to undue profits being made on certain commodities. Your committee in order to provide a means by which a recurrence of such may be prevented and that the public may be protected against unfair practices in trade recommend to the consideration of the House and the Government that legislation be enacted at this session of Parliament creating a tribunal with power to investigate mergers, trusts, monopolies or organizations of any kind or nature, which tend to limit facilities for transporting, producing, manufacturing, supplying, storing or preventing, limiting or lessening manufacture or production, or fixing a common price, or a resale price, or a common rental, or a common cost of storage or transportation or preventing or lessening competition in or substantially controlling within any particular district, or generally, production, manufacture, purchase, barter, sale, transportation, insurance, or supply, or otherwise restraining or injuring commerce,

[Mr. Nicholson.]

or unduly enhancing the price of the necessities of life, also with regulative power in connection with discriminations in price between different purchasers of commodities, exclusive purchase and sale arrangements, inter-corporate shareholding and interlocking directorates and unfair methods in commerce.

That was the report of the committee and it did not end, as the hon. member for Brome led the House believe, with the statement that the committee had not reached a point where they could come to any conclusion.

One word with regard to the Board of Commerce itself. The hon. member for Westmorland (Mr. Copp) stated that practically all the members on the other side of the House felt that the Board of Commerce would have no effect. It is a strange thing, that those members, when the measure to bring the Board of Commerce into existence was before the House, voted unanimously for the legislation. Hon. members have referred to the board itself as being composed of creatures of the Government. I am not going to refer to Judge Robson because aspersions have been cast on his character, more than to say that there were a number of members from Western Canada on that committee. That committee, myself included, after consulting with members from Western Canada, expressed the unanimous opinion that if they could secure his honour Judge Robson as chairman of the Board of Commerce they would secure one of the best men that could be found in the Dominion of Canada. Judge Robson has left the board and I am not going to offer any estimate as to his character, but when we come to the other members of the board, those who have been referred to as creatures of the Government, and when these hon. gentlemen are brought face to face with the question, they refer to Mr. O'Connor as an ideal man to be on that board. The leader of the Opposition, the hon. member for Brome and others have expressed themselves in the same way with regard to Mr. Murdock. They have not a word to say in regard to the honesty or intentions of these gentlemen. But I have this to say: that if the committee that recommended this legislation—after making an investigation that went on for five consecutive weeks, after sitting morning, afternoon and night even until one and two o'clock in the morning, hearing the evidence which is contained in the volume which I hold in my hand—if they had any idea of what the Board of Commerce was designed to do, the members of that board, particularly Mr. O'Connor and

Mr. Murdock, totally misapprehended its proper functions. To every witness that appeared before the committee the question was put: "Would it be wise to bring into existence a tribunal of this character and if so what should its character be?" In every case the conclusion was that it should be a board functioning along lines similar to the Board of Railway Commissioners; that, if any citizen of this country had a grievance against another citizen, or against a group of citizens, with regard to matters of trade and commerce, in regard to matters of fair dealing as between man and man in matters of trade, it could be referred to the Board of Commerce and be adjudicated by that board. It was never thought that when the Board of Commerce was created it was to establish an inquisition going up and down this land probing amongst all kinds and classes of people and asking them to do things that were utterly impossible so far as business dealings were concerned. In this connection I want to refer to one document which was issued by the Board of Commerce;—and here let me say that if the Civil Service Commission, upon whom aspersions have been cast in the letter of Mr. Murdock and by certain hon. members who have spoken here, were the means of preventing the Board of Commerce from getting the staff necessary to carry out this part of their plan, then I have a higher regard for the commission than I ever had before. I now hold in my hand a document which was placed in the hands of every retail grocer, of every conceivable character, from one end of the country to the other, coupled with the instructions that it must be filled out and filed with the Board of Commerce monthly upon pains and penalties that the Board of Commerce would inflict. I secured a copy of one of these documents from a lady who keeps a small grocery store in my own town. If the information demanded in that document were to be furnished that lady would have to secure an accountant in connection with her business. Every ounce of commodity that came into that store had to be accounted for; also where it came from, the price, the cost of carriage, to whom it was sold, the price obtained, the spread between the purchasing and the selling price, and all that sort of thing. In the particular place of business to which I refer this woman was doing a trade of perhaps \$10 or \$15 a day, and was doing it all herself. That is the kind of work the Board of Commerce set out to do instead of discharging the duty

that was legitimately before it and which the committee that recommended its coming into existence had expected it would undertake to do.

Now, I have just one further word to say with regard to Mr. Murdock's letter. Mr. Murdock has practically stated that the Government, from the very inception of the board, set itself to resist that board and make it impossible for it to function properly. He has mentioned one member of the Government as being especially active in that regard. Mr. Murdock was acting in a judicial capacity on that board, and I say this to the Government that he should be given the opportunity to substantiate the charges he has made by bringing witnesses before some competent tribunal; and the Government will never be properly vindicated, Mr. Murdock's position will not be what it should be, and the public will not be satisfied, until that is done. I am not going to suggest the means that should be taken to bring that about. The letter was thrown into the House of Commons by Mr. Murdock in what he knew to be the last stages of the session when it was impossible for a Parliamentary Committee to investigate these charges. I say to the Government that it will be well advised if it sets up some tribunal and calls on Mr. Murdock to come forward and produce the facts that will substantiate the charges he has made. If Mr. Murdock is in a position to show to the people of this country that the Government did set itself in opposition to the Board of Commerce, that it did do the things he suggests it did, and if the Minister of Immigration and Colonization (Mr. Calder) has done the things Mr. Murdock says he did, the public has a right to know it; if the minister has not done the things Mr. Murdock alleged the public has an equal right to know it; and I for one urge the Government to take the necessary steps to give Mr. Murdock the most complete opportunity to substantiate the charges he has made.

Mr. O'Connor has been referred to. I do not know that Mr. O'Connor has made any charges. If he has, and if he is in a position to show that any member of the Government—or any one for whom the Government is responsible—has set himself up in an effort to prevent the Board of Commerce from functioning, he should be given the opportunity to let the Government know upon what he bases such charges. I will conclude by saying again that the Government will be well advised to take steps—and take those steps early—to give Messrs.

Murdock and O'Connor the opportunity to substantiate the statements that have been made.

Hon. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX (Maison-neuve): When listening to the Prime Minister I gathered that he rather made light of the very serious charges contained in Mr. Murdock's letter. First of all let me say, Mr. Speaker, that this board was heralded, a year or so ago, as being the tribunal where the common people would find justice. When it was created I remember that very severe criticism was passed by several members of this House upon the measure. However, the Government, especially the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) and the hon. gentleman (Mr. Nicholson, Algoma) who has just taken his seat who presided over the Committee which recommended the appointment of that board, defended with great heat first the creation of the board itself, and then the appointments that were made. The evil which this board was supposed to cure was then very serious, but, Mr. Speaker, one can say without any exaggeration that far from being abated this evil has grown and grown more serious since that time. It is a fact that to-day the high cost of living is the cause of great unrest from one end of the country to the other. If you pick up the press and read its columns you will find that there is a unanimous cry of despair throughout the country; that the cost of living is soaring, and soaring higher, every day; but that no remedy for the cure of the evil is found. The Government appointed that board in order to placate public opinion; and we were told that by the appointment of the gentlemen who composed it profiteers would be called to reason and severe punishment would be meted out to those who were exploiting the consumers. It has been evident, Mr. Speaker, from the first sittings of the board, and from what has since happened that the appointment of the board was simple camouflage. Of this we have had the clear evidence by the revelations which have been made by Mr. Murdock. I am surprised that the Prime Minister should treat with such levity the revelations made by Mr. Murdock. Who appointed Mr. Murdock? He was not appointed by any of the hon. gentlemen sitting to your left, Mr. Speaker. Mr. Murdock was especially selected by the Government as a fit and proper person to sit on that board. I suppose he had to take the oath when acting in that capacity. Before assuming his duties, before hearing evidence, before rendering judgment, I suppose he was under oath. I claim,

[Mr. Nicholson.]

Sir, that the letter which he has written constitutes the most severe and grievous charge that has ever been brought against the Government. Mr. Murdock, after having sat on that board since its inception in order to cure the evils that the people are complaining of, throws up the sponge at last, and in his letter of resignation he declares what in my judgment seems to be only too true. He states under his signature that the board has been handicapped for months without a chairman and without a proper staff; that the majority of the Government are not now, and never have been, in sympathy with the provisions and intent of the Board of Commerce Act and the Combines and Fair Prices Act. Once more I say that I do not understand the way this very serious charge has been treated by the right hon. gentleman.

Mr. Murdock states further that as soon as the Act in question became law members of the Cabinet at once began to minimize the provisions of these Acts so far as they related to certain businesses. Again I say this is a very serious charge against the honour and dignity of the Crown. The members of the Cabinet are representing the Crown and administering for the Crown, and when one of their appointees, the member of such an important tribunal as the Board of Commerce, makes under his signature such a statement I say that that is the most serious charge that can be brought against a minister of the Crown.

I do not know Mr. Justice Robson personally, and I would not accept on his authority the grave charges that are contained in Mr. Murdock's letter. But, Sir, I say that it is in the public interest that they should be investigated at the instigation of the Government. Mr. Justice Robson was appointed by the Government to a very high position as chairman of that board, besides he is a judge, and all judges should be, like Caesar's wife, above suspicion.

I say that not only do these charges reflect against the members of the Cabinet, who were minimizing the provisions of the Act as they related to certain businesses, but that a judge should be accused of tampering with justice is such a serious matter that the Government should at once probe it. The people of this Dominion should not be under the impression that the sacred cause of justice has been desecrated and villified.

Without going into the Crescent Creamery Company incident, there is no question that the bald facts which have been placed

before the people in connection with it are very serious. It is all very well for Mr. Hugg to deny that he intended to influence Mr. Justice Robson. It is all very well for Mr. Justice Robson to say that this letter was not intended to be read by him. But, Sir, the public will not accept such explanations until it is proven clearly and above board that he was not actually influenced. I do not know Mr. Justice Robson. I do not say that he was guilty, but I say that Mr. Murdock's letter is a very serious indictment and that it is the duty of the Department of Justice to see to it that he clears his reputation.

Sir, there is something else which is very serious too, and which shows that the whole question is not so clear as the right hon. gentleman said it was a moment ago. It is the fact that days and weeks ago notices of motion were put on the Order Paper to obtain from the Government the production of the correspondence before the Parliament of Canada. It is the undoubted right of the Commons, as representing the people of Canada, that all the correspondence, all the evidence, all the facts shall be laid on the Table in order that a proper investigation shall be had. I regret, Mr. Speaker, that the hon. Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) is not in his seat. He was here at the beginning of this debate and possibly when he saw that the right hon. gentleman attached so little importance to the charges made by Mr. Murdock, he thought that he might just as well vacate the Chamber. I do not care, and I have never cared, to attack an hon. member in his absence. But I say, Sir, that the right hon. the Minister of Trade and Commerce owes an explanation to the members of this House and to the people of Canada for the petty answer he gave a few days ago,—that it was not in the public interest that that correspondence should be laid on the Table of the House. It shows that our parliamentary institutions have ceased to be what they have always been from time immemorial. Since when in a British Dominion has a minister of the Crown deliberately refused when notice of motion is given to lay on the Table of the House correspondence under the shallow pretext that it is not in the interests of the public that such correspondence should be published? Is it not in the interest of the public, Mr. Speaker, that the public should be made aware, through a communication from one of the judges of the tribunal, that the public had been fooled for months? The circumstances in connection

with this matter show that the Government do not feel safe in their position; that they realize that there is something shady about the business, that there is something rotten in the whole matter. Not in the public interest that the correspondence should be laid on the table of the House? Sir, that is not what the people of Canada think to-day. I know and everybody in this House knows that public opinion in the province of Quebec is just as keen as it is in every other province, but lest I be taken for one who finds his inspiration only in his native province, I shall refer in connection with this matter to public opinion in Ontario. I know that there is a public opinion in the province of Ontario. I have always said that Ontario is still the great historic province in which, after all, there is a sane and intelligent public opinion. I

1. a.m. shall not, simply because the political party to which I belong has been defeated in Ontario, through causes of which we know, refuse to attribute to that province the designation which it deserves—the great province in which there is a sane and honest public opinion. It takes time to move the elector of Ontario. It takes time to move Old Man Ontario, but once he knows the culprits and the guilty parties he proceeds in the right direction in dealing with those culprits and guilty parties. For twenty years the Tory party in Ontario, through a campaign of prejudices with which we are familiar, succeeded in wiping out all opposition. It is true that some renegade Liberals played into the hands of that party, but last winter there was a great wave of public opinion and Mr. Drury came on the crest of that wave. He represents the honest opinion of Ontario; he is the personification of Old Man Ontario, and to-morrow Old Man Ontario will rise to punish the guilty ministers who have been playing fast and loose with the Board of Commerce Act and other Acts connected with it.

I intimated a moment ago, Mr. Speaker, that I would cite the opinion of Old Man Ontario with regard to the action of the Minister of Trade and Commerce in connection with this Board of Commerce scandal—because it is nothing less than a scandal. Is there a better type of Tory organ than the Toronto Telegram? I have long known the proprietor and editor of that paper. He was one of the representatives of the city of Toronto when in 1896 I was

first elected to this House. I refer to John Ross Robertson. Much as I may differ from John Ross Robertson it must be said of his son he has the rugged honesty of his father.

Mr. MEIGHEN: The trouble is, he is dead.

Mr. LEMIEUX: John Ross Robertson is dead, but his spirit liveth and the Tories of Ontario will know that at the next general election. Here is what the Toronto Telegram of Friday, June 25, says of the Minister of Trade and Commerce:

Sir George Foster did not Shine in the Robson Crisis.

North Toronto has good cause to be ashamed of that constituency's responsibility for the parliamentary tactics of Sir George Foster. Sir George Foster stands on almost every platform and calls for sacrifice. Sir George Foster weeps over the degradation of politics. Sir George Foster cultivates a keen sense of other people's duty.

Where was Sir George Foster when the public interest demanded a sacrifice of the petty political advantage that might be won by the concealment of Hugh A. Robson's letter?

Where was Sir George Foster when the Acting Premier of Canada was called upon to permit the publication of all the facts associated with Hugh A. Robson's retirement from the Cost of Living Commission?

Where was Sir George Foster when the Acting Premier of Canada was called upon to prove and practise his own high sense of public duty instead of professing and preaching the obligations of public duty to other people?

Sacrifice, the exaltation of politics, or duty did not dominate Sir George Foster's dealings with Hugh A. Robson. The Acting Premier of Canada protected Mr. Robson with the "miserable palaver of a petifogging plea" to the effect that "it was not in the public interest" to permit the production of the Robson resignation and other documents relating to the crisis in the affairs of the Cost of Living Commission. The Acting Premiership of Sir George Foster was associated with a shameful attempt to protect Hugh A. Robson from the consequences of his own procedure. The signature of Sir George Foster should now be associated with a Foster resignation from the Government of Canada.

That is the opinion of Tory Toronto as represented in this House by the Minister of Trade and Commerce. Tory Toronto, Mr. Speaker, can stand a lot, but the wilful suppression of that correspondence by the right hon. gentleman was too much even for Tory Toronto. Hon. gentlemen opposite may make light of these accusations and dismiss them with a waving of the hand, but I say that in every town, village and hamlet of Canada people hang their heads in shame to-day at the behaviour of the Government in connection with this business. Since the beginning of the war people have wept under its welter and strain; widows have wept when they met their

[Mr. Lemieux.]

little ones at the table three times a day and could not give them that which was necessary to their nourishment.

Many have wept, many are weeping yet. The Government, in order, supposedly, to allay the feelings of the people, in order to make a show, decided to pass an Act creating the Board of Commerce, promising, oh, yes, that a cure would be found for those evils of the high cost of living and the profiteering system which has existed all throughout and since the war. What is the result? A cruel deception. The people have learned through pure accident of how they were fooled. There was on that commission an honest man, a representative of labour. His conscience dictated to him the letter which has been made public and which reveals the whole plot. It has been made public in spite of the Government, in spite of the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster).

Mr. ROBERT LORNE RICHARDSON (Springfield): Mr. Speaker, I cannot afford to allow an occasion of this kind to pass without expressing my views, even although the hour is very late. When the Board of Commerce was appointed, I am quite sure it met with the general approval of the masses of the people of this country. Profiteering had been running rampant for months, and in my judgment that great strike in Winnipeg was to some extent caused by the spectacle of wholesale profiteering. When I reached Winnipeg during that strike, I found practically unanimous opinion amongst not only the better-informed people but all classes, that an effort ought to be made, if not to control prices, at least to limit profits. When, as a result of the high cost of living inquiry and of the general feeling throughout the country, it was decided that a Board of Commerce should be appointed, I repeat, there was a general feeling of satisfaction that something was at last to be done.

The question came up—who should constitute the members of the Board of Commerce? The name of Judge Robson had been mentioned; in fact, I took the liberty of suggesting his name to members of the Government. The judge had said to me a year or two ago that he would like to be identified with some such work as that which was carried on by the Interstate Commerce Commission in the United States. I had remembered that statement, and I recommended Judge Robson very strongly for the position of chairman. I stated then,—and I believe the opinion that I expressed will be endorsed by ninety-nine per cent of the

people of Manitoba,—that if you held a plebiscite in that province to find the ideal man, Judge Robson would have been selected. He had been a very successful practitioner at the bar; he had made a record for himself as judge, and when the Public Utilities' Commission was created in Manitoba, he was selected as commissioner. He made an admirable record in the service of the people in that high office. He resigned because of some reason of his own which I shall not state here, and he went back into the practice of law. When this position offered and I discussed it with him, he said at first that he would accept. A week or two later, he declined and gave out that he would not accept the position, but in another week or so he reconsidered his decision and communicated with me stating that he would be willing to accept the position. I took the liberty of mentioning the matter to the authorities, and as a result probably of that as much as anything else, Judge Robson was appointed to the position. He continued in that office for some months. The work of the Board of Commerce did not seem to be as successful as might have been expected, and finally the judge resigned. I understand the reason he gave for his resignation was that he did not think the Act was a valid one, nor that the powers conferred upon the board by the Act which created it were constitutional. Be that as it may, it is my judgment that a man to whom the country looked as unanimately and as confidently as the country did to Judge Robson, should not have resigned upon that pretext, nor for that reason. If the judge came to the conclusion that the Act was not constitutional and did not confer upon him the necessary powers to make the board as useful as it should be, it was his duty to have so stated the case to the Government and to have asked for additional powers. I felt extremely disappointed when the judge threw the Board of Commerce over, retired from Ottawa and went back to Manitoba.

Having taken as deep an interest in the board as I did, I conferred very frequently with the other members of the board, Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Murdock, and I may say that I formed a very set opinion that these gentlemen were perfectly sincere and desirous to make a success of the work. I have rarely met a man who seemed more thoroughly sincere, who took himself more seriously and was more anxious to be of service than Mr. Murdock. I met both him and Mr. O'Connor quite frequently because the control of newsprint had been

placed in the hands of the board, and for a time I was brought into constant contact with him. I had learned of the Hugg letter; I had also learned that before Judge Robson retired—so these other commissioners informed me—he had made an arrangement with them to resign in a body, and thus put an end to the Board of Commerce. That is the statement that both these other members of the board made to me. They said that they did not suspect Judge Robson at that time; they thought he was acting with perfect sincerity; but when this letter sent by J. B. Hugg, K.C., of Winnipeg was found on Judge Robson's desk, they made up their minds that he was trying to betray the board, and consequently they changed their attitude, decided that they would not resign, but that they would stand loyally by the board.

Mr. JACOBS: Hang together.

Mr. RICHARDSON: I had frequent intercourse with both these gentlemen, and I could see that they were not satisfied because this correspondence had not been laid on the table of the House, especially as it furnished an explanation for partial failure to accomplish as much as was expected. Parliament had called for it; all the circumstances, including the Hugg letter, and the arrangement to secure the resignation of all, had, I understand, been stated in the correspondence, and these two commissioners were dissatisfied; they seemed unhappy; they got the impression, rightly or wrongly, that they were not being properly treated. They believed that if Judge Robson had betrayed the board in the manner that they had suspected and that, to some extent at least, seemed to be revealed by the correspondence, that correspondence should have been made public, and if Judge Robson had done wrong, he should have taken the consequences of his acts. My judgment has always been that the Government made a mistake in not presenting that correspondence to Parliament. It is after all extremely significant that the judge should have appealed to the Government that it would be unfair and an injustice to him to publish the correspondence. I understand that he represented that these men were at enmity with him; that they were actuated by extreme malice, and that he thought under the circumstances it would be unfair that this correspondence should be made public. I am satisfied that the Government had no improper motive in withholding the correspondence. I do not think they had; I

believe they were actuated with the idea that perhaps after all it was not fair to Judge Robson to publish the correspondence. I think they sincerely believed that Judge Robson, who enjoyed such an enviable reputation for honour and probity, had done nothing in connection with the board inconsistent with that fine reputation. I believe the Government entertained that view sincerely. I do not assert that the Hugg letter which is before us is proof that the judge was guilty of any wrong act, but to say the least it is a suspicious circumstance. The Government certainly had no reason that I could ever see for withholding the publication of the correspondence. I repeat that I believe the Government would have been well advised to have laid the correspondence promptly upon the Table of Parliament and let Judge Robson take whatever consequences might follow.

Now, I talked quite frequently with Mr. Murdock, and I cannot help thinking that he did the public a service when, in his resignation, he presented the correspondence to the people of Canada. Mr. Murdock sincerely believes, so far as my judgment goes, that Judge Robson has betrayed the board. I believe that was Mr. O'Connor's view also; and they naturally felt that the Government should have made the correspondence public and sustained the board. When Judge Robson resigned, it is true, a reference was being prepared to the Supreme Court. But so far as the public knew, the constitution of the board was perfectly natural and legal. It was my judgment that, from the public expectation, from the fact that there was so much to do, and the fact that profiteering was still rampant in the land, the Government would have been well advised to appoint immediately a successor to Judge Robson and let the board proceed as far as it was able to. I believe it is still the Government's intention to do that, and it would be a profound mistake if a new board were not appointed. I believe that two or three virile, honourable business men of probity can be secured in this country to continue the work that the Board of Commerce was designed to perform.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Why not appoint Mr. Murdock himself?

Mr. RICHARDSON: So far as my judgment goes, I would say you could not get a better man—

Mr. LEMIEUX: Hear, hear.

[Mr. Richardson.]

Mr. RICHARDSON:—as a member of the board. I would not go so far as to say that he ought to be the whole board, but the impression he left on my mind was that he was a perfectly honourable and sincere man—

Mr. LEMIEUX: Hear, hear.

Mr. RICHARDSON:—who desired sincerely to serve the people in the position he held.

Mr. SAMUEL WILLIAM JACOBS (George Etienne Cartier): It is not my intention at this late hour to deal with the question at any great length. I had intended earlier in the evening to say a few words but other hon. gentlemen have dealt with the subject so much better than I could hope that my task will be comparatively easy. My chief complaint against the Government in this whole matter is that it deliberately suppressed correspondence which was of vital interest to the public, and no proper reason has yet been given by the Prime Minister or by any of the other hon. gentlemen on your right, Mr. Speaker, as to why that correspondence was suppressed. Now, if we look at the correspondence that has been brought down we find that Judge Robson states specifically that he has no objection to the publication of the correspondence,—that is, with reference to the Hugg letter. He has no objection to its publication if the Government sees fit that it should be published. In the face of that, why has the Government seen fit to suppress this correspondence? I say, Sir, that this matter has assumed the proportions of a scandal; and if I mistake not, knowing the mentality of the Government and particularly of the Prime Minister, after contemplating him and his many virtues for several years, we will have a commission of some kind appointed within a very short time to investigate the entire matter. I base this statement on the fact that at the time of the shell inquiry in 1916 the Prime Minister pooh-poohed the allegations made in the House by Mr. Kyte and others, but when he saw how public opinion was shaping throughout the country, a commission was appointed which investigated the matter efficiently and gave satisfaction to the public. I may also point out that within the last week the Prime Minister took a certain stand on the question of indemnity and to-day we see his change of attitude. He is very much in the position of the lady of whom it was said: First she said she wouldn't, then she said she couldn't, then she whispered, "Well,

I'll see." We have now got to that stage where "We'll see." I think that the addresses delivered by the hon. member for Algoma (Mr. Nicholson) and the hon. member for Springfield (Mr. Richardson) will have a determining effect upon the decision to be reached by the Prime Minister in a very short time. What I am particularly surprised at, is the fact that the Government does not seem to realize that we are here in the presence of one of the worst scandals that have been aired within the last four or five years. The Prime Minister, usually a serious-minded man, treated the matter with levity, passing it off with a wave of the hand and a few jokes. And that the Government does not consider the matter as of any grave importance is evidenced by the fact that their chief apologist, in the person of the Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen), has not yet been requisitioned. Now, I feel that the Government certainly does not realize the seriousness of the position. The public had a right to know what the correspondence contained. We had a question on the order paper on several occasions. Once the hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) called for the correspondence, and only last week I myself rose in my seat and wished to know what had become of it. The Prime Minister then said that he would confer with the Minister of Trade and Commerce and that something definite would be arrived at within a very short time and then on the following day we were told that it was not in the public interests that this letter should be published.

Mr. McMASTER: Shame, shame.

Mr. JACOBS: Is it fair to the public that this letter should be suppressed? Is it fair to Mr. Justice Robson? I have the honour of knowing Mr. Justice Robson; I have the honour of reckoning him among my friends; and I feel perfectly confident that he would welcome any investigation that would clear his skirts of this entire affair. Mr. Justice Robson occupied a very high position at the Manitoba Bar. Subsequently he was elevated to the bench and sat on the Court of Appeal for the province of Manitoba. He was then taken from the Court of Appeal and made to fill the position of Chairman of the Public Utility Commission, and finally he was called to this position of Chairman of the Board of Commerce. Now, knowing Judge Robson as I do, I am positive that the Government was doing an injustice to him by attempting

to suppress this correspondence. In his letter of February 23rd—the letter which the Government considers it was not in the public interests to publish—there were two letters—we find this statement, which I shall also later refer to in connection with something I had to say when the board was organized last year. Says Mr. Justice Robson:

A profiteering measure to reach the distributing class, should, in my opinion, be local in its character and be administered locally. Federal machinery cannot reach the grievance effectually throughout all Canada. It seems to me further that the Act actually contains a provision which removes the last chance the consumer had to do anything for himself in reducing the cost of living. There never was before the Act anything to prevent a group of consumers from co-operating in the purchase of necessities.

Mark this interference by the Government with the functioning of this board.

They took their chance of being able to buy. But a declaration of parliamentary policy crept into the Act, and a manufacturer or a wholesaler is not bound to sell to classes who were not accustomed to purchase from such manufacturers and wholesalers. This was designed to head off co-operative movements, which were likely to make progress for the benefit of consumer members and, as I say, restricted a remedy which elsewhere has been of some effect in price control.

That only backs up what members on this side of the House had to say when this board was organized last year in the dying days of the session. We put through this Act on July 4, 1919. We have almost reached the anniversary of it. But by a strange and singular circumstance it seems that the Board of Commerce has been made a sort of Cinderella amongst Acts of Parliament. The last thing we think of is the Board of Commerce and we rush things through. During the last few days of the session of 1919 we rushed this Act through notwithstanding protests received from boards of trade. I placed on Hansard last year at page 4553, volume 1, session 1, 1919, this letter from the Montreal Board of Trade:

The Montreal Board of Trade,

Montreal, July 2, 1919.

Dear Sir,—I am directed to ask for your support of this board's protest against the enactment of legislation creating a Board of Commerce during the last few days of the present session of Parliament, and without the public, who are so vitally interested, being afforded an opportunity to consider the provisions of the Government's proposal.

The following telegram was to-day addressed to the Right Hon. Sir Robert Borden, Premier—  
"Montreal Board of Trade protests most strongly against passage of legislation creating Board of Commerce in closing days of session and without affording the public opportunity

of studying provisions of a measure of such importance. Board urges that Bill be printed and circulated as widely as possible and that consideration thereof by Parliament be deferred till next session."

I am, dear Sir,

Yours truly,

J. Stanley Cook,  
Assistant Secretary.

S. W. Jacobs, M.P.

These are wise words, but no heed was paid to them by the Prime Minister, or the Minister of the Interior who had the Bill in hand. The boards of trade said it was impossible to give consideration to this Bill at the twelfth hour and here we have Mr. Justice Robson, who was chairman of the board, saying:

It seems to me further that the Act actually contains a provision which removes the last chance the consumer had to do anything for himself in reducing the cost of living. When Mr. Murdock stated that this Act was designed to thwart the will of the board and of the consuming public I do not think he was very far wrong.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Where does he say that the Act was so designed?

Mr. JACOBS: I have been referring to Mr. Murdock's letter.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Quite so.

Mr. JACOBS: Mr. Murdock says that, if not specifically, at least in effect. In any event the letter is now in Hansard and my hon. friend no doubt will carefully peruse it before he deals with the question of appointing the commission that I predict will be appointed. Judge Robson says:

A manufacturer or wholesaler is not bound to sell to the classes who were not accustomed to purchase from such manufacturers and wholesalers. This was designed to head off co-operative movements, which were likely to make progress for the benefit of consumer members and, as I say, restricted a remedy which elsewhere has been of some effect in price control.

All the members of the board, before they resigned,—and they all resigned,—agreed that this board was utterly useless and could not function because of inherent defects in the Act under which it carried on. It was born with the germs of death. Surely the Government is not serious in its statement that these charges made by Mr. Murdock are of such a vague and general character as not to deserve recognition at the hands of the Government? I rather fancy that the heavy work we have been through for the last two or three days in our effort to prorogue has probably dulled the intellect and wits of the Government and made them believe that what we are con-

[Mr. Jacobs.]

sidering is a matter of no consequence at all and can be passed off by the Prime Minister with a joke as he attempted this evening.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Would the hon. gentleman be good enough to point out the charge specifically that he says creates a scandal in so far as the Government is concerned?

Mr. JACOBS: I am surprised that my hon. friend should ask a question of that kind. The first scandal that I referred to when I rose was the scandal that the Government suppressed a letter of prime importance to the public in which the honour and integrity of the president of this board is attacked. That is a scandal that ought to be investigated by the Government. The charge has been made by two members of the Board of Commerce that a third member of the board had betrayed the trust that was reposed in him and the Government never thought it was in the interest of the public that the public should know about this. Does the minister not believe that should be investigated. The conduct of Judge Robson in this matter is another thing that should be investigated.

Mr. MEIGHEN: That is one thing. The wisdom or unwisdom of not bringing down this letter under the circumstances may be a question affecting the Government's judgment but I do not think the hon. gentleman would say that it is a scandal.

Mr. JACOBS: I suppose the Government is so far gone that no matter what they do it would not be considered a scandal. They are in such a moribund condition that they care not.

Mr. MEIGHEN: We will see about that.

Mr. JACOBS: Has the hon. gentleman read Mr. Murdock's letter containing a statement to the effect that the Board of Commerce could not function because of the interference of the Government, and does the hon. gentleman say that should not form the subject of an investigation?

Mr. MEIGHEN: That may be, but what is that which constitutes a scandal, assuming that it is true?

Mr. JACOBS: The scandal is that the Government prevented the board from carrying out the object for which it was formed. That is found in Mr. Murdock's letter, a man who is given a very good character to-night by the Prime Minister, who says that he is a man of violent prejudices, but an honest man of fair judg-

ment and altogether quite a proper man to be placed on a board of this kind. Take the letter of Mr. Murdock, read it carefully and see whether Mr. Murdock charges any person with scandal or otherwise. He says it is impossible for the board to function because of the interference of members of the Government. Later on he says:

That later records show that the textile manufacturers had ample reason to struggle desperately to prevent the true facts from being known to this board, and that, if this board could have secured the assistance desired, a statement of the facts and figures disclosed, followed by an order as the result of the analysis of the statements of affairs sent to this board, would have startled and incensed the Canadian public beyond anything that has developed in recent months.

Is that a scandal or does the charge made by Mr. Murdock deserve to be investigated? That is only one of a great many paragraphs in his letter.

Mr. MEIGHEN: What about the charges in regard to the textile trade?

Mr. JACOBS: Surely the minister does not want me to go into the entire question. He knows as well as I do that the textile people were asked to render, or give, a statement to the board in order that the board could find out something about their business. They came here and were represented, if I am not mistaken, by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. They said it would cost \$1,500,000 to obtain that information and, as I understand it, the textile people were absolved from giving any information whatever to the board. Of course that is only one of the matters referred to.

Mr. MEIGHEN: The hon. gentleman does not know what he is talking about.

Mr. JACOBS: Perhaps not.

Mr. MEIGHEN: The Government never interfered in any way at all.

Mr. JACOBS: I certainly did not expect that the minister would admit that they did.

Mr. MEIGHEN: You said that they did.

Mr. JACOBS: I have nothing further, Mr. Speaker, to say on this question. I said before, and I repeat the statement: this is a matter that will certainly receive some consideration at the hands of the Government before many days have passed.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I might venture the suggestion, first, that if hon. gentlemen have no better control of their language than they have shown to-night they deserve a

little attention at the hands of the Government themselves.

Mr. JACOBS: Would the minister permit me to quote the following in answer to a question that he put during my remarks? It is paragraph 3 of Mr. Murdock's letter of resignation:

That as soon as the Board of Commerce Act and the Combines and Fair Prices Act were made law by the Parliament of Canada honourable gentlemen prominent in the councils of Canada and members of your cabinet at once began to undertake to minimize, to as great an extent as possible, what they believed to be the unnecessary and unfair provisions of these two acts when applied to the businesses of those for whom these honorable gentlemen no doubt had first regard;

Mr. MEIGHEN: What does that mean?

Mr. JACOBS: It is one of the morsels I wished to quote.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I am sorry to take up time at this late hour. I did not intend to do so, and had it not been for the most extravagant language of the hon. member who has just sat down, excelled only by the still more reckless words of the hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) I would not have done so.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Based on Mr. Murdock's charge.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Based on Mr. Murdock's charges?

Mr. LEMIEUX: Yes, your appointee.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Both hon. members have referred to the contents of this letter as constituting the gravest charges ever levelled at the heads of public men, or at the head of a government, and each has vied with the other in describing them as scandals of the most awful type. Well, I do not know how any one could listen to the Prime Minister and imagine for a minute that the Government were trying to fight shy of an investigation. Let me say at the outset that the Government are only anxious to get hold of something that we could possibly hang an investigation on; and if the hon. member were commissioned by the Government to dig it out as a lawyer, I think he would have one of the most difficult tasks he ever addressed himself to. I will tell him why I think so. When in the course of his address I asked him repeatedly to put his finger on something that was even a charge or a scandal did he not feel himself hampered by the paucity of his information?

Mr. JACOBS: No, I quoted from the Murdock letter.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Let us just get after this matter and see what there is in it. I will have something to say about an investigation when I am through. This is the first scandal, this is one of the reasons why Mr. Murdock resigned:

That the majority of the cabinet, of which you are the honored leader, are not and have never been in sympathy with the provisions and intent of the Board of Commerce Act and of the Combines and Fair Prices Act;

That is scandal No. 1.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Is that not a charge?

Mr. MEIGHEN: That is the first one.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Is not that a charge of bad faith?

Mr. MEIGHEN: It is said that we are not in sympathy with the provisions of the Act and the hon. member has said he is not in sympathy with it, so he is equally in default.

Mr. LEMIEUX: But it is your action.

Mr. JACOBS: I have not changed my mind, if you have.

Mr. MEIGHEN: This Act was never opposed by any of the Opposition except the hon. member himself. But is it a scandal that men do not believe that an Act is a good Act? As a matter of fact, it is not true. The Act would not be on the statute books if the majority of the Government did not believe in it.

Mr. LEMIEUX: It is easy to camouflage.

Mr. MEIGHEN: The hon. member says it is camouflage.

Mr. LEMIEUX: No, I say it is easy to camouflage.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Well it is the law, so what is the difference? What is the difference whether we believe in it or not? It is there, it is the law of the land.

Mr. BUREAU: Whether you believe in it or not?

Mr. McMASTER: May I interject a question? Would it be the part of sincerity for the Government to place on the statute books a statute that they did not think would serve a useful purpose?

Mr. MEIGHEN: No, but they did think so and it is their Act and it does not make any difference now whether they think so or not.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Mr. Murdock says you hampered the Board all the time.

[Mr. Jacobs.]

Mr. MEIGHEN: We will get to that point later. In the meantime we are analysing scandal No. 1, that the majority of the Government that put that Act on the statute book did not believe in it when, out of the entire House, all supported the legislation except the hon. member himself.

Mr. PEDLOW: I protested against it.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Well if the hon. member will show me his name in the Hansard as calling for a division I will accept his statement. I do not think that even a single clause passed on division. But that is not the point. The fact that—

Mr. PEDLOW: May I interject?

Mr. MEIGHEN: Oh, yes.

Mr. PEDLOW: The minister claims that I did not call for a division. It is not necessary for any hon. member to call for a division in order to place himself on record as being opposed to a measure, is it?

Mr. MEIGHEN: Well, he is not very much in opposition if he does not. That is camouflage, I am afraid. The Government put the statute there and that being so it does not matter what their opinion is about it. As a matter of fact the Government supported that measure through the House, and believed in it or it would not have done so. I do not think it is a very worthy attempt on the part of any hon. member, or in accordance with the rules of Parliament, to question the good faith of another hon. member.

Mr. PEDLOW: Oh, Oh.

Mr. MEIGHEN: The hon. member does not understand that. Perhaps he does not understand good faith.

Mr. PEDLOW: I would not come to you for instruction on that point.

Mr. MEIGHEN: But is it a scandal that an hon. member of this House has an opinion as to the efficacy of the law? Even supposing what is said by Mr. Murdock is true it would only be a thing that hon. members opposite get up and say they are guilty of. Are we to have an investigation to find what the opinions of members of the Government are about a law? Should we appoint a Committee of Parliament? Does any hon. member suggest that we should have a committee to investigate what the opinion of a member of this House is about the law of the land?

Now that is scandal No. 1. Here is scandal No. 2:

"2. That your advisers only recommended to parliament the passage of those acts as the result of temporary alarm incident to the Winnipeg strike and other strenuous demonstrations when the people demanded some means of controlling profiteers."

In other words he says the reason we introduced the legislation was because of alarm on account of the Winnipeg strike. Well, suppose it was? It was not,—but suppose it was? It is pretty hard for me to see why that is a reason for resigning on the part of a member of the Commission who accepted the law after it was passed and became a member of the Board; and it is still more difficult for any man that is out of bedlam to understand how it constitutes a scandal. Really the thing is beyond argument. Should we have an investigation to find out whether or not the Government introduced a measure because it was alarmed on account of the Winnipeg strike?

Mr. JACOBS: Read a little further.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I will take up one thing at a time. I asked the hon. gentleman to tell me what there was in this that constituted a scandal. I suppose we should appoint a Committee of Parliament to find out whether the Government passed the Act because they were frightened by the Winnipeg strike. Well, we did not act as though we were frightened on the occasion of that strike.

This is scandal No. 3:

That as soon as the Board of Commerce Act and the Combines and Fair Prices Act were made law by the Parliament of Canada, hon. gentlemen prominent in the councils of Canada—

I do not know whom he refers to. Does he refer to me?

—and members of your Cabinet at once began to undertake to minimize, to as great an extent as possible, what they believed to be the unnecessary and unfair provisions of these two Acts.

Suppose they minimized them, how would they minimize them? What does he mean?

Mr. LEMIEUX: He knows what he means.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Do you?

Mr. LEMIEUX: Mr. Murdock knows what he means.

Mr. MEIGHEN: That does not help me. How do you minimize a statute? I do not know. Are we to have an investigation to decide whether Sir Henry Drayton minimized some clause of the Combines and Fair Prices Act? Is that really suggested?

Mr. LEMIEUX: My hon. friend takes a poor illustration. When Sir Henry Drayton was president of the Railway Commission he never acted as Mr. Murdock says Judge Robson acted.

Mr. MEIGHEN: That may be. Judge Robson may have done very wrong things. But is that a reason for charging something against the Government?

Mr. LEMIEUX: The common people will know what Mr. Murdock means.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Here is the sentence:

Member of your Cabinet—

I do not know whom he refers to. We will say the Minister of Marine (Mr. Ballantyne) minimized some clause of the Act. But what clause? Now, scandal No. 4.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Are you reading the whole charge?

Mr. MEIGHEN: I am doing so pretty fast. But there is no scandal here as I have always understood scandal both under the late Government and all other governments. This is scandal No. 4, that we have got to investigate:

That the chairman appointed by your Government to the Board of Commerce was regarded by certain interests as being safe and sane in conserving to Canadian manufacturers and other large financial and business interests the generally unrestricted leeway heretofore enjoyed by such interests in the taking of profits, determined alone by the so-called market price and governed by supply and demand, and that he was in full sympathy with "high prices and against low prices" as he stated in his letter to Sir George Foster of February 23.

That the chairman whom we appointed was regarded by certain interests as being safe and sane in conserving to Canadian manufacturers and others high prices. We are asked, in order that the honour of this Government may not be stained, to appoint a commission to investigate whether the chairman was regarded by certain interests as being safe and sane.

Mr. LEMIEUX: The people will understand what Mr. Murdock means.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I understand what he means there.

Mr. LEMIEUX: That Judge Robson was a creature of the Government.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I am trying to discover how that affects the honour of this Government.

Mr. LEMIEUX: There is no difficulty in regard to that.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Why is the hon. member so uneasy?

Mr. LEMIEUX: My hon. friend—

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. The hon. member for Maisonneuve has spoken, and the Minister of the Interior should not be interrupted.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Supposing it is true that some interests regarded Judge Robson as safe and sane, and that he believed in high prices, what intellect on earth would regard that as a charge against the Government or any member of the Government? Or would it be a charge even against Judge Robson? But above all things why is that a reason for Mr. Murdock resigning four months after Judge Robson left the board? I am not impugning Mr. Murdock's honesty. I scarcely know him; I do not think I have spoken to him more than once or twice. I cannot think of his being anything but honest after the encomiums passed on him to-night, nor can I doubt Judge Robson's honour after the great opinion held of him by the hon. member from Montreal. Does the hon. member want to have a board of judges appointed to find out whether somebody else regarded Judge Robson as safe and sane in order that that "scandal" may be forever removed from the Parliament and the Government of Canada?

Mr. LEMIEUX: Mr. Murdock says that Judge Robson was in full sympathy with high prices and against low prices.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Yes. It is just suggested that probably Mr. Jacobs himself considered Judge Robson safe and sane.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I am sorry. It is just suggested that the hon. member for Montreal (Mr. Jacobs) regarded Judge Robson as safe and sane. I do not know what Mr. Murdock's intention was but this conglomeration of words does not constitute anything that you could put your hand on as a charge. I only wish he would be specific.

Mr. JACOBS: Will the hon. gentleman permit me a question? Will he tell the House why the Government refused to

[Mr. Meighen.]

publish the Robson letter, although Judge Robson gave them permission to publish it? Why did they consider that it was not in the public interest to publish it?

Mr. MEIGHEN: I will guarantee that when I get to that question of his the hon. member will wonder why he ever referred to the subject at all. But please do not try to get me off this long list of beatified scandals. I am going to try to cover them first. This is the fifth scandal against the Government.

That during the one hundred and forty-five days that I was associated with the chairman as member of this board he spent more time in Winnipeg or en route to or returning from Winnipeg in looking after his private affairs than he did in looking after Board of Commerce matters, and that even during the few days, December 8 to 12, which the entire board spent in Winnipeg, he was engaged in his private affairs while the remainder of the Board held hearings of the court alone.

Is not that really an awful thing? Just think of a Government that dares to hold office in the face of this grievous charge: That the chairman of the board, while he was in Winnipeg, spent more time on his private affairs than he did in looking after the Board of Commerce business. That is Scandal No. 5.

Mr. JACOBS: That is not a scandal.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I knew he would say that. We are through five of the fifteen now. It may not be creditable to Judge Robson if it is true—I do not know whether it is or not—but how can it reflect on the Government?

Mr. LEMIEUX: He was "playing the game."

Mr. MEIGHEN: But according to the hon. member from Montreal Judge Robson is incapable of doing anything dishonourable. He is a personal friend of the hon. member. But his friend from Maisonneuve suggests that this was all part of the game he was to play in order to defeat the Commerce Act.

Mr. LEMIEUX: That is what Mr. Murdock says.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Does my hon. friend believe so?

Mr. LEMIEUX: I believe that Mr. Murdock is an honest man.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order. This dialogue may be very interesting, but I must remind hon. members that the member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) has spoken. The

Minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) has the floor, and we must have some regard for the rules of the House, even though it is two o'clock in the morning.

Mr. BELAND: Will you kindly require the minister to answer his own questions? He is constantly putting questions to members on this side.

Mr. SPEAKER: It does not follow that hon. members who have already spoken should reply when the hon. gentleman on my right does not put questions to them.

Mr. LAPOINTE: He is a living interrogation point.

Mr. SPEAKER: That is entirely out of order.

Mr. MEIGHEN: You can readily understand my being hungry for information while I am on my feet, Mr. Speaker, when I get so little of it from hon. gentlemen when they are on theirs.

This is scandal No. 6 against the Government,—the most grievous scandal that was ever levelled against any Government in the history of the world!

That when Mr J. B. Hugg, representing the Crescent Creamery Co. Ltd. Winnipeg, felt that he could write under date Feb. 18, 1920, to the then chairman of the Board a letter submitting a copy of the Crescent Creamery Company's factum for use before the Supreme Court of Canada in opposition to the case that had been presented by the Board of Commerce to define its status saying:

Then he quotes the letter, and continues:—a state of affairs was disclosed which destroyed whatever usefulness the chairman might up to that moment have had.

Scandal No. 6 against the Government,—that when Hugg wrote that letter a state of affairs was disclosed which destroyed the usefulness of the chairman and the chairman forthwith resigned. Is that a scandal against the Government? Who committed a scandal?

Mr. JACOBS: Does the hon. gentleman not think that it should be investigated?

Mr. MEIGHEN: That may be. I am not dealing with that now; I will come to it in a minute. But if it were investigated it would have to be an investigation between Mr. Murdock and Judge Robson. There is no charge, no reflection in the world, against the Government. Are we responsible for Hugg's letters to Judge Robson or for Judge Robson's reply to them? So we have not yet come to any scandal so far as the Government is concerned—at least, that my wit can discern.

Well, we will go on to scandal No. 7:

That the chairman's two explanations of the transaction, first, that it was to be explained by the fact that Mr. Hugg had formerly been in his office, and that they were, therefore, on very close relations with each other, and, secondly, that it was "an unwarranted impertinence" by Mr. Hugg, were not sufficient to reinstate him so far as usefulness was concerned.

Well, it is too bad that they were not, especially when he resigned. I do not know what Mr. Murdock is driving at. What had that to do with the Government, or what had it to do with his resigning? Why, Judge Robson did all this and Mr. Hugg did all this away back in February, and Judge Robson resigned in February. What has Judge Robson's conduct prior to his resignation in February to do with Mr. Murdock's duty to the board in the month of June? That has always been a mystery to me. It might have been a reason, if Judge Robson were continued in his position after that was revealed,—it might at least have been a colourable reason for his resignation. But Judge Robson having been off the board for four months,—Mr. Murdock resigns because of something he believes Judge Robson did before. Well, it passes my comprehension, limited though it be, to see what relation that has to the honour or dishonour of the Government. It would require the imagination of a poet.

Now, here is scandal No. 8:

That when the former chairman on February 23 wrote his resignation as a member of the Board of Commerce promptly after he discovered that I had seen the letter written to him by J. B. Hugg, representing the Crescent Creamery Company of Winnipeg, he then knew that he would be regarded as disloyal to the Board of Commerce and to the consumers of Canada.

I suppose we are asked to investigate whether when Judge Robson wrote his letter he knew that he would be regarded as "disloyal to the Board of Commerce and to the consumers of Canada." What is the charge? What is this heinous crime which the Government is alleged to have committed? That Judge Robson when he resigned knew that he would be regarded as disloyal to the Board of Commerce and to the consumers of Canada? Well, even that could not be an accusation against Judge Robson, much less an accusation against the Government, and much less still any reason in the world for resigning. What it has to do with his duties to the board in the premises—well, it passes like something much better,—all understanding.

Now, we come to No. 9:

That the people of Canada should have had this and other information contained in the

documents sent to the Rt. Hon. Sir George Foster on March 3, last.

Now we are at the point; this is the awful indictment—that the people of Canada should have had this letter sooner, and, on that account Mr. Murdock resigned. Well, it was in his power to give the letter to the people of Canada if he wanted to do so. He could have cured this awful evil; why he should, by holding it, make it a ground for his own resignation is more than I can understand. Why should he resign because the Government does not publish something that he himself can publish if he wants to? The hon. member says: "Why did you not publish that letter when Judge Robson permitted you to do so?" But where is his authority for saying that Judge Robson permitted us to do so?

Mr. JACOBS: I think he said so in his letter.

Mr. MEIGHEN: You think so? I want to tell the hon. member something. The only reason in the world the Government had for not publishing that letter was the personal protest of Judge Robson that it should not be published.

Mr. JACOBS: Where is that personal protest?

Mr. MEIGHEN: It is in the hands of the Government; that is where it is.

Mr. JACOBS: I would like to see it.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I do not think there would be any difficulty about seeing it. Anyway, I tell the hon. member that as a fact. What had the Government to fear by publishing this correspondence? What difference did it make to us?

Mr. JACOBS: Will the hon. gentleman permit me to ask him why the personal interest of Judge Robson should weigh against the public interest in a matter of this kind?

Mr. MEIGHEN: That is another question; but that is not what the hon. member said. He said that Judge Robson permitted its publication and that we did him a personal injustice by not publishing it. I tell him that the reason why we did not publish it was found in Judge Robson's personal protest. Whether or not that was a sufficient reason for our taking the course that we did I will discuss later; I am free to admit that it is a more debatable question. Now, I set out to say that the Government had no concern one way or the other as to the publication of the letter. It did not reflect in any way on the Government. It did

[Mr. Meighen.]

reflect on Judge Robson, whether justly or unjustly is open to question; Judge Robson says one thing and Mr. Murdock says another. It reflected on him, but it did not reflect on us; it did not matter to us whether it was known or not known.

Mr. JACOBS: Why does my hon. friend consider and why does the Government consider that it was not in the public interest that that letter should be published?

Mr. MEIGHEN: Could the hon. member not see that that was just what I was proceeding to discuss? I stated that it might be debatable whether the reason for the course we took was sufficient, but that view did prevail with the Government and it prevailed in the face of the clear fact that the Government had nothing to gain one way or the other and nothing to lose one way or the other. When the letter was laid before the Government Judge Robson took the ground—and Judge Robson is a man who was on the King's Bench of Manitoba, placed there by the Laurier Government; he was a good judge. He has been Public Utilities Commissioner in that province for many years, and has served most honourably and acceptably—Judge Robson took the ground that the letter in question had not been authorized by him. He said, in effect: "The publication of that letter would do me a gross and cruel injustice"—I am not pretending to use the exact words—"That letter is an impertinence on the part of Mr. Hugg. I never had any conversation about it; never expected it; never knew anything about it. That letter was taken from me by dishonourable means. If you publish it you do me an injustice." Now, that was the stand he took.

Mr. JACOBS: Where does that appear?

Mr. MEIGHEN: I am putting it in my own language; I cannot remember his exact words, but his statement appears in the telegram. These ideas, however, were clearly beneath the words he used; that is the way he felt about it. Mr. Hugg also made a protest. Now, it did not matter what the personal opinion of the Government might have been or of any member of the Government. We did not feel that we had any right to decide the point with reference to Mr. Hugg's letter to Judge Robson. The prevailing opinion was that inasmuch as its publication might do Judge Robson a cruel injustice—he claimed that it was purely personal and should never have been taken from him—the Government

should not make themselves the instrument of its publication. But Mr. Murdock had the privilege of publishing it. In fact, I had no doubt that it would be published. I knew that Mr. Murdock could publish it at any day, and personally I fully expected that he would. It was not with the idea of concealing it that the Government did not publish it, because it was in Mr. Murdock's hands and could be published; but rightly or wrongly we respected Judge Robson's personal protest that its publication at our instance would be a gross injustice to him. Rightly or wrongly, that was why it was done, be the reason sufficient or be it not.

Now, that is a plain and frank statement of the whole situation. It is open to debate whether as a matter of judgment we should have recognized Judge Robson's protest and request under the circumstances. A very strong case can at least be made out for the attitude that we took, but whether it was right or wrong, how could it be called a scandal?

Mr. JACOBS: You suppressed the letter.

Mr. MEIGHEN: We could not suppress it. It was in Mr. Murdock's hands, so there was no possibility of doing that.

Mr. JACOBS: It was asked for in the House.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Very good, but the motion passed on the understanding that anything that was considered private or confidential in it would not be produced, and the Government, at the request of Judge Robson, took the ground that it should not be the instrument of producing it. I am free to say that good arguments can be adduced that the better judgment would have been to have brought it down. That argument can be made pretty strongly; but even were the judgment wrong, there is no scandal. It would be at the worst only an error of judgment; there cannot be anything else suggested.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Why was the telegram of Judge Robson to the Government requesting that this document be kept confidential not brought down?

Mr. MEIGHEN: It would be said that if the protest were brought down, then, of course, the letter would have to be brought down, because the protest pointed to the letter, and Judge Robson doubtless considered that communication a personal communication. Now that the letter is down, I see no reason in the world why

his telegram should not come down. I remember the telegram very well; I have not seen it since.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Will it be brought down in the afternoon?

Mr. MEIGHEN: I think I can promise that it will be brought down. It was, if I remember rightly, directed to Sir George Foster, Acting Prime Minister.

Mr. JACOBS: Will the hon. member permit me to say that his memory as regards telegrams is better than it was last year.

Mr. MEIGHEN: My hon. friend's remarks are not even pertinent, nor are they clever.

Scandal No. 11 is:

That the general viewpoints and desires of the former chairman—

What they were I do not know.

—were well known by various hon. members connected with your Cabinet and especially by the Hon. Mr. Calder.

That is, they actually knew them, and I suppose we are to investigate whether this terrible, grievous charge is true, that Mr. Calder particularly and other members of the Government actually knew the viewpoints of Judge Robson. It is an awful thing if they did, is it not? Scandal No. 12 is:

That many of the hon. gentlemen composing your Cabinet saw in the former chairman's resignation an opportunity almost beyond their expectations to minimize the activities of the Board of Commerce and to prepare for its demise, and that several of them repeatedly undertook to thwart the board's desired activities by quiet and hidden restrictive opposition since that time.

Quiet and hidden! What would be the method of disproving that? "Quiet and hidden restrictive opposition!" Why, in the first place, there is a law conferring certain powers and imposing certain duties on a board, a law written and planted on the statute books, known to the board when they took office, a law with the operation of which nobody can interfere, a law which they have the courts of the land at their disposal to enforce.

Mr. JACOBS: Under the law the Governor in Council can prevent the acts of the board becoming effective.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Not a single action of the board was ever reversed on an appeal. Certainly we could have acted in that way by sitting in appeal over the judgments of the board, but the fact is undenied that we

never in a single case modified or reversed a judgment of the board. All the board had to do was to take the law and enforce it. A member of the Government was just as powerless as any member of the public to interfere, and if there was interference, all the board had to do was to invoke the process of the law against the interference. Why did they not do that? The Board of Railway Commissioners is in exactly the same position, and I would like to see any member of the Government or any one else undertake to interfere with them! But what is this "quiet and hidden restrictive opposition?" I presume it means dreaming dreams against them or something of that sort. How would anybody succeed in that? How can you put your hand on that and say what you are going to prove and what you are going to disprove? A scandal! Let any hon. member or any one else get up and charge against a member of this Government, any act at all that went to impede the process of that law, and he will not wait very long to have that investigation. Let him tell us what the act is. Let Mr. Murdock do it. If no one is prepared to do it, why use this extravagant language? Why this passion for superlatives? Everything that comes up is the "greatest," "most terrible" thing ever heard of in a Parliament. We hear that times without number. Why not let us in some way measure our language to the facts?

No. 13 is:

That the Civil Service Commission has been—

Another scandal against the Government.

—in the past few months in its relations to the Board of Commerce acting under suggestion, as nothing else can possibly explain the series of handicaps, delays, perversions and misrepresentations that the Board of Commerce has been confronted with in trying to secure the assistance it required.

An hon. MEMBER: Absent treatment.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I suppose, absent treatment. He says: "Because we do not agree with the Civil Service Commission's decisions and its attitude towards us, because the attitude of that commission is so very bad, because there are misrepresentations, perversions and handicaps, because of all that there must have been some suggestion," and that is a scandal. Does the hon. member really think that does credit to Mr. Murdock? Let him read in the board's own report the correspondence between the Civil Service Commission and this board, and I do

[Mr. Meighen.]

not think he will find anything discreditable to the Civil Service Commission in any way. As between the two parties to the argument, he may, perhaps, think the Board of Commerce had the better of the argument. I understand many think the Civil Service Commission were undoubtedly right throughout; but to say that there were these handicaps, misrepresentations and so on is nothing but a libel against the Civil Service Commission. It has nothing to do with us. What does he say that we did? If he will charge that any one here sought to influence the Civil Service Commission against the board, and tell us what he did, neither he, nor any hon. member opposite will wait very long for an inquiry to be granted. So that is scandal No. 13.

Then scandal No. 14:

That on the 28th day of January, 1920, when this Board issued a declaration challenging the right of the Cabinet—

I will abbreviate that. It is this. The Canadian Manufacturers' Association objected to certain regulations issued by the board in the form of questionnaires that had to be answered, and they appealed to the Governor in Council. Mr. Murdock says that if it had not been for the fact that the board exposed the whole thing in the press, the Government would have granted the appeal, and that is a "scandal."

Mr. JACOBS: Pretty serious.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Well, the hon. member is at least a master of irony. A serious scandal that any one should say that if he had not published something in the press, the Government would have done differently from what it did—and he suggests that we ought to appoint a judge to find out whether the members of the Government would have decided differently from the way they did decide. The way we did decide, he says, is all right; but he says: "I have to resign because if I had not exposed the whole thing in the press, you would have decided otherwise." The thing is puerile. Moreover, as the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) tells me, this was decided before the matter was in the paper at all.

Scandal No. 15 is:

That later records show that the textile manufacturers—

This is really a gem.

—had ample reason to struggle desperately to prevent the true facts from being known to this Board, and that if this Board could have secured the assistance desired a statement of the facts and figures disclosed, followed by an

order as the result of the analysis of the statements of affairs sent to this board would have startled and incensed the Canadian people beyond anything that has developed in recent months.

Or to permit a brief paraphrase; the textile manufacturers—this is a charge against the Government—knew that if the board had all the facts, a state of affairs would have been disclosed that would have startled the Canadian people. He says, we do not know all the facts but I know that if we did know them they would disclose a state of things that would startle the people of Canada and incense them. Well, if he did not know them, why did he not get at them and know them? The whole trouble with Mr. Murdock, the whole trouble with the board—and it is the trouble with every department—was that they had not the right to select just the men they themselves put their fingers on at the salaries they themselves wanted to pay. Every minister would like to do that from his own standpoint; he always feels the restriction. But you cannot have patronage and no patronage, and for the life of me I never could see why we should have no patronage in connection with the Railway Commission and everything else and have patronage in this commission. I never could see how we could come and ask Parliament to make that discrimination. And that is the whole trouble with the commission. They thought that they should have had that right; they wanted it. And if any hon. gentleman in this House thinks that they should have had it, let him move the House to that purpose. If we are going to have a Civil Service Commission it must at least preside, in respect of its duties, over all the permanent service of the Government. However, suppose that principle is wrong; suppose that is bad policy. How does it amount to scandal? Suppose the Government is wrong in its whole Civil Service policy; suppose it is wrong that we should have any Civil Service Commission at all and that the Board of Commerce should have been exempt from the provisions of the Civil Service Act, does that supposition constitute a scandal? Is that a charge to be investigated by a judge or a committee of this House? Why, it is merely a criticism by Mr. Murdock of the correctness of the Government's policy in regard to the Civil Service.

And so, we have ended these long fifteen detailed scandals and grave charges that constitute, in the words of the hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux), the most fearful indictment ever levelled

against a Government, in respect of which, he says, the people of Canada, in our towns and villages and townships, are "hanging their heads in shame." Well, do not hon. members recognize that Parliament is entitled to language that at least a little more nearly comports with the facts of the case?

I have ended what I had to say. Let me only add this: I do not think that there are any members of the House who are more anxious that Mr. Murdock should put into concrete form, which a court can actually deal with, anything in the way of an allegation against the conduct of any member of this Administration, than are the sixteen or eighteen members of this Government. I do apprehend that if he does so he will soon find himself in the position of a member of the Ontario legislature who had several changes of mind after he made the faux pas at a picnic in that province. In fact, I think I could describe one or two of these misty formulations in no better language than to call them rather diminutive Hicksisms.

Motion agreed to and the House went into Committee of Supply, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

#### POST OFFICE—OUTSIDE SERVICE.

Salaries and allowances—\$11,199,768.

Mr. FIELDING: Does the minister gravely propose to go on with these Estimates?

Mr. ROWELL: I was about to propose that the committee rise and report progress. I make that motion now.

Progress reported.

On the order being called: Receiving report Committee of Supply,—The Minister of Finance:

Mr. FIELDING: Does the Government seriously propose to continue business at this hour? I do not think it is reasonable.

Mr. ROWELL: I think we had better adjourn. I move the adjournment of the House.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What business will be taken up to-day?

Mr. MEIGHEN: I understood, Mr. Speaker, that we were to have a motion passed by unanimous consent that the House should meet at 11 a.m.

Mr. FIELDING: Oh, no.

Motion agreed to and the House adjourned at 2.25 a.m. Wednesday.

Wednesday, June 30, 1920.

The House met at Two o'clock.

REPORTS AND PAPERS PRESENTED.

Ordinances of the Yukon Territory; return in reference to number of assistant, private and joint secretaries; amount paid to the Montreal Gazette, the Gazette Printing Company, the Montreal Star and the Toronto Globe during 1919-20; the appointment of the Lieutenant Governor of Prince Edward Island; men engaged by the Civil Service Commission; the Military Hospital at Ste. Anne de Bellevue, and societies which have filed copies of policies complying with the provisions of the Insurance Act.

QUESTIONS.

(Questions answered orally are indicated by an asterisk.)

ALLEGED PAYMENTS TO MR. L. G. A. CRESSÉ, K.C.

\*Mr. RINFRET:

1. What was the amount paid to L. G. A. Cressé, K.C., of Montreal, as registrar under the National Service regulations?
2. What was the total amount claimed by said L. G. A. Cressé, K.C., for his services as such registrar?
3. What reductions were made in his memo of account, as originally filed?
4. How many claims were made by sub-registrars employed by said L. G. A. Cressé, K.C., for unpaid salaries and allowances?

Rt. Hon. Mr. SIFTON:

1. The Government has no record or knowledge of Mr. L. G. A. Cressé, K.C., of Montreal, being paid, or making claim, for any amount under National Service regulations.

2, 3 and 4. Answered by No. 1.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON NATURAL RESOURCES, TRADE AND LEGISLATION.

Mr. ARMSTRONG (Lambton):

1. What action, if any, has the Government taken towards accepting the recommendations set forth in the final report of the Royal Commission on the Natural Resources, Trade and Legislation of certain portions of His Majesty's Dominions and presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Majesty in March, 1917, showing that it is not desirable that the operations of the steamship companies carrying passengers and freight between the Dominion of Canada and the United Kingdom should remain longer without some measure of Government supervision?

2. Does the Government intend to give effect to this legislation?

3. What action, if any, has the Government taken to assist the Imperial Government in bringing about government control of ocean car-

[Mr. Fielding.]

riers doing business (or from time to time doing business) between ports in the United Kingdom and ports in the Dominion of Canada?

Rt. Hon. Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister): The Government has endeavoured to give consideration to this matter during recent weeks, but there is no announcement to be made at the moment.

BRANCH RAILWAY FROM VICTORIAVILLE TO ARTHABASCA.

\*Mr. BROUILLARD:

Is it the intention of the Government to build a branch line on the Grand Trunk, from Victoriaville to Arthabasca, a distance of three miles, so that the railway may reach the chief town of the district of Arthabasca?

Hon. Mr. REID (Minister of Railways): The answer to the question is "no."

BOARD OF COMMERCE—JUDGE ROBSON'S CORRESPONDENCE.

On the Orders of the Day:

Rt. Hon. Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister): Mr. Speaker, I understand that in my absence last evening, some hon. gentleman, I think it was the hon. member for George-Etienne Cartier (Mr. Jacobs), made the assertion that my observations in regard to Judge Robson were not borne out by the correspondence laid on the Table of the House. He further stated that no copy of such letters or telegrams as had been referred to had been produced, and he requested that any such communications should be brought down if they exist. In order that the matter may be set at rest now I read the following:

EDMONTON, ALBERTA, March 6, 1920.

The Right Honourable Sir GEORGE E. FOSTER,  
Ottawa, Ont.

I protest against the divulgence in any manner of personal letters sent to me and of my confidential conversations with Cabinet Ministers or others. This applies to communications which may have escaped by unguarded repetition or by miscarriage of letters. Objection extends to letters written by others to you endeavouring to make public confidential and personal communications of above nature.

H. A. ROBSON.

On the 7th March there was received the following telegram:

WINNIPEG, MAN., March 7, 1920.

Right Hon. Sir GEORGE E. FOSTER,  
Acting Premier of Canada,  
Ottawa, Ont.

I most respectfully but most firmly protest against the publication to you or by you of my private letters addressed to Judge Robson personally, which letters miscarried into unauthorized hands and were illegally copied. These letters and all copies thereof are my personal property and I have the right to restrain and

forbid publication thereof. These letters were not invited and were not expected by Judge Robson and publication will place him in a false light and be misleading to all who read them.

(Sgd) J. B. Hugg.

These telegrams constitute the protest that I alluded to in speaking last evening and I desire to say that copies of these communications have been on the Table of the House for several days. They have also appeared in the press. Therefore the hon. gentleman, in stating that such documents were not on the Table of the House was entirely misinformed and quite inaccurate.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION BY MR. EDWARDS—REFERENCE TO THE PRESS.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. J. W. EDWARDS (Frontenac): Mr. Speaker, I rise to a question of privilege to correct what I am forced to regard as a wilfully malicious misrepresentation by this morning's Ottawa Journal and Montreal Gazette of my remarks in this House yesterday. These papers accused me of referring to the press gallery reporters as being "half-baked and half-paid." It is true that I referred to these gentlemen as immature and to the condition of their grey matter as half-baked, but I protest most strongly against being accused of saying that they were half-paid. I made no reference whatever to their pay but whatever the amount may be it would, in my judgment, be excessive.

CANADIAN NAVAL SERVICE—CORRESPONDENCE WITH IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT.

On the Orders of the Day:

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (leader of the Opposition): The hon. the Minister of Naval Service (Mr. Ballantyne) was to bring down the communications that have passed between this Government and the Imperial Government with regard to the Naval Service. When may we expect that correspondence to be brought down?

Rt. Hon. Sir ROBERT BORDEN (Prime Minister): I think it was I who spoke about it. I said that all communications would be brought down excepting such as were of a confidential nature. I have examined the correspondence and I find that it is marked secret. There does not seem to be any reason why it should not be brought down but according to the custom in these

matters the consent of the Home Government will have to be asked before it can be done.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Would that apply to cables sent by this Government to the Home Government?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: A cable in reply to a secret cable is also marked secret. Correspondence sent by this Government in reply to a secret cable is always regarded as being secret and the correspondence is not brought down for that reason. Even a communication not marked "secret" but sent in reply to one marked "secret" would not be brought down for the same reason.

PRINTING COMMITTEE REPORT.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I would like to ascertain from the chairman of the Printing Committee (Mr. Currie) what he intends to do with the second report of the committee which awaits the concurrence of the House. I have a suggestion to make when the motion is made for the adoption of the report?

Mr. J. A. CURRIE: I may say for the information of the hon. member that the report has been already tabled, but one clause in it, I think either clause 5 or clause 6, has been objected to by one of the departments. With the unanimous consent of the House I intend later to move the adoption of the report after I get a corrected copy of it from the Clerk of the Committee.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I want to make a suggestion to my right hon. friend the Prime Minister as regards the composition of the Editorial Committee to whom has been entrusted the decision as to what Government publications shall be printed. That committee consists of Mr. Frederick Cook, Assistant King's Printer, Mr. F. C. T. O'Hara, Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce, and another gentleman. I would like to ask the right hon. gentleman if he does not think that on that important committee concerning the printing of parliamentary documents there should be some person to represent the French speaking minority in this country.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I am entirely in sympathy with what my hon. friend has suggested in that regard, and I shall bring the matter to the attention of Sir George Foster.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I thank the right hon. gentleman; that is entirely satisfactory.

CUSTOMS ACT—PROPOSED EXPORT REGULATIONS.

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE THAT BILL 182 BE NOT PROCEEDED WITH AT PRESENT.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I beg leave to submit the report of the Special Committee appointed to consider Bill No. 182 to amend the Customs Act. The report reads as follows:

Your committee beg leave to present the following as their report:—

Your committee having fully considered the Bill have formed the opinion that it is not expedient that the measure be further proceeded with at the present time.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

On the motion of Sir Robert Borden the report was adopted.

PENSION COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. H. S. BELAND (Beauce): I would like to call attention to the report submitted by the Pensions Committee. Some of the recommendations in that report have been met by the introduction and passage of special Bills, as in the case of pensions and of insurance to soldiers and their dependents. But under the heading of "general" a number of other recommendations were made. Are these suggestions going to be met by the Government? So far as I am aware no legislation has been introduced to meet them. Therefore I would like to know whether provision will be made through regulations by the department concerned?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: In reply to the very proper inquiry of my hon. friend I would point out to him that our first duty was to enact the legislation recommended by the committee. Up to the present time our efforts have been directed to that. My hon. friend will understand that in the endeavour to keep abreast of our work in Parliament there has not been very much opportunity up to the present time—in fact there has been no opportunity—to study the general recommendations to which he alludes and which, I understand, do not demand legislation. I think all the legislation that is necessary has been presented to and has been approved by Parliament. However, it will be the duty of the Government, immediately after prorogation, to consider all of the recommendations of the committee which the hon. member has brought to our attention; to decide what

[Mr. Lemieux.]

may properly be done to carry them out, and the best methods to employ for that purpose.

CLASSIFICATION OF OFFICIALS OF HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On the Orders of the Day:

Hon. Mr. BELAND: I would like to inquire whether the classification of the employees of the House will be tabled so that it may be dealt with by the House before prorogation?

Mr. SPEAKER: I may inform the hon. member that at eight o'clock last evening there was submitted to me by the secretary of the Civil Service Commission what purports to be a tentative list providing for the classification of the officials of the House of Commons, accompanied by a letter in which apparently he asks for my approval, or something to that effect. I wish to inform the House that the stand I take is, that under the law this classification is a matter for the Civil Service Commission and I do not think it would be either competent or proper for me to assume the responsibility for a duty which the law imposes upon them. For that reason, after consultation with the Parliamentary Counsel, I am sending a letter to the Civil Service Commission advising them to that effect, and I hope that in the course of the day they may see their way clear to have the classification ready for submission to the House. The facts are precisely as I have stated.

Mr. JACQUES BUREAU (Three Rivers): Why not let the House deal with its own employees if the commission cannot find a way of classifying them?

PRINTING COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

On the Orders of the Day:

Mr. CURRIE: Before the Orders of the Day are proceeded with I would ask that the House be allowed to return to motions in order that I may move concurrence in the second report of the joint committee on the printing of Parliament. I may say that no obstacle now remains to the adoption of the report and the course suggested will only occupy a short space of time.

On the motion of Sir Robert Borden the House returned to the consideration of motions.

Mr. CURRIE: I move, seconded by Mr. Sexsmith, that the second report of the Joint Committee on the printing of Par-

liament be concurred in with the exception of clause 5 in the report, which has been struck out.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I heartily concur in the report with the rider attached that the Prime Minister and the Government will deem it necessary to add one or two French names to the membership of the Editorial Committee. That committee deals with the printing of blue books, and other reports, and it is fitting and proper that the French speaking minority in this country should be represented on it. A moment ago I stated that I was satisfied with the declaration of the Prime Minister in this respect. Under these circumstances I offer no opposition to the motion for the concurrence in the report.

Mr. CURRIE: In answer to the hon. member I may say that the Printing Committee has nothing to do with the appointment of persons to the Editorial Committee; that matter is entirely in the hands of the Government. When Mr. Taché was King's Printer he was an ex-officio member of the committee, and I suppose that is the reason why a member representing the minority was not formerly appointed to it. I suppose now that Mr. Taché has ceased to be King's Printer the Government will, as the Prime Minister has said, take the matter into consideration; but the Joint Committee of the Houses of Parliament has nothing whatever to do with that.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I understand from the right hon. gentleman that the Government will appoint a member for the minority.

Mr. CURRIE: The Prime Minister speaks for the Government.

Motion agreed to.

#### SPECIAL WAR REVENUE ACT, 1915— SENATE AMENDMENT.

The House proceeded to the consideration of amendments made by the Senate to Bill No. 183 to amend the Special War Revenue Act, 1915.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON (Minister of Finance): Mr. Speaker, the amendments made to the Special War Revenue Act by the Senate are. I think, entirely non-contentious and do not change the effect of the Act as it left this House.

In line 28 on page 4 the words "affixed or" are added to the section dealing with the stamps. The amendment is entirely unobjectionable.

Then hon. members will find a further amendment at page 11, line 10, where the words "and five" are stricken out. The amendment is correct.

On page 13, line 31, a printing error was made by extending the words "by or for the Senate or House of Commons." That error has been corrected. There are no other amendments.

I beg to move concurrence in the amendments.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I hope my hon. friend (Sir Henry Drayton) will not find that the matter which I am going to bring to the attention of the hon. Minister of Customs (Mr. Burrell) is derogatory to the present legislation because I think it is germane to it. The French Treaty expired on the 19th of June. I find that many people have imported goods from France which arrived at Montreal, or Quebec, or Halifax before the 19th. If those goods are delivered later than the 19th, say, in Ottawa or Winnipeg, are they subject to the general tariff, or do they still remain subject to the most favoured nation clause of the French Treaty? I may mention a concrete case. A gentleman ordered some goods in France and they arrived in Montreal on the 17th. The treaty expired on the 19th. The goods were sent to Ottawa, and probably they can not be delivered for two weeks. Is it fair that those goods should be subject to the general tariff?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I may say that I hardly think this discussion is relevant, but I have no objection to giving my hon. friend an answer. We are negotiating upon the subject, and we have expressed a certain willingness, through the Minister of Trade and Commerce—

Mr. LEMIEUX: I am speaking of a concrete case. The ship arrived in Montreal on the 17th; the treaty expired on the 19th; the goods were shipped to Ottawa, but it takes one or two weeks before they can be delivered. Do the Customs authorities claim duty under the general tariff, or under the special tariff?

Mr. BURRELL: Speaking offhand, my impression of the law is that if the goods arrive at the port by the 19th they come under the old tariff.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Although they are delivered later on?

Mr. BURRELL: Speaking offhand, I would say so; but I would not like to make

a positive statement. I will look into the matter.

Mr. McMASTER: I would like to inquire from the Minister of Finance whether we are now discussing an amendment made by the Senate differentiating between custom-made suits and tailor-made suits?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: That was an amendment of this House.

Motion agreed to, and amendments read the second time and concurred in.

#### THE FUEL SITUATION—SENATE AMENDMENT TO BILL 217.

The House proceeded to the consideration of amendments made by the Senate to Bill No. 217 to amend the Railway Act.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: The amendment made by the Senate is along the lines to which I alluded when the Bill went through the House. It is also in line with what was suggested by the hon. member for South York (Mr. Maclean). The Senate have inserted subsection 3, which is as follows:

All orders and regulations made under this section by the board shall have the force of law, and may be varied, extended, or revoked by any subsequent order or regulation; but if any order or regulation is varied, extended, or revoked, neither the previous operation thereof nor anything duly done thereunder, shall be affected thereby, nor shall any right, privilege, obligation, or liability acquired, accruing, or incurred thereunder be affected by such variation, extension, or revocation.

This, coupled with the provisions of the Bill as it passed in the first instance, confers very wide powers on the board. I think those powers are necessary. The board will have power to direct the enforcement of its orders. Moreover, under the present Railway Act the board has power to have any of its regulations or orders made a rule of the Exchequer Court, and thereafter they have force as such.

I may say further that since the legislation went through this House I have had a conference with the Chairman of the Board of Railway Commissioners and two other members of the board. They are making preparations to take up this question actively as soon as the legislation has been finally passed, and I have every confidence that they will give to it the very earnest attention which its importance demands.

I move concurrence in the amendment.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN (South York): In reference to what the Prime Minister has [Mr. Burrell.]

said, I am glad that this legislation has been enacted, which adds considerably to the powers of the Railway Commission in this regard. He also said that in other respects the regulations and orders of the Railway Board can be enforced through the Exchequer Court. But I do wish to add what I have often said before in this House, that the main defect of federal legislation, especially in connection with commissions and other bodies, is that there is no force in it to compel obedience to the regulations and orders which such a commission may issue. We have had a very significant instance of that in connection with the Board of Commerce. That board fell down through lack of the necessary provision in the Act to enforce its decrees. Ever since Confederation we have neglected, in enacting federal laws, to make proper provision for their enforcement. The underlying feature of the progressive legislation passed by the United States Congress is the insertion of a clause giving power to carry the law out. The Attorney General of the United States is given power to enforce many of the laws through the courts, and not through State legislation. We are relying too much upon provincial courts for the vindication of our federal laws. We will have to come to the position taken in the United States; every law that we pass ought to be enforced through a federal court under the guidance and direction of the Attorney General of Canada.

Amendments read the second time and concurred in.

#### SUPPLY.

The House again in Committee of Supply, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

Civil Government—Department of Labour—salaries, \$124,537.50; contingencies, \$35,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Will the minister explain the increase in the item of salaries?

Mr. MEIGHEN: The increases are due, of course, to the increased salaries called for by the classification. There are some new appointments; Dr. Gill, to be in charge of technical education work; Mr. Gerald Brown, reappointed as Assistant Deputy Minister of Labour; Major Howard, Superintendent of Employment Offices, Ottawa, and R. A. Rigg, Superintendent of Employment Offices, Winnipeg.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Has the Government appointed any of its officials in the Labour

Department to represent Canada in the Labour Bureau which was organized as a result of the Peace Conference? I know that Mr. Acland went to the conference in London.

Mr. MEIGHEN: The Minister of Labour is ex officio a member of the Labour body. He sent Mr. Acland to the conference to which my hon. friend refers.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Is it understood that the Government is permanently represented in that Labour Bureau?

Mr. MEIGHEN: Yes.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I notice with pleasure that the Canadian Government and the Labour Department took quite an interest in the development of that Labour Bureau. Washington and Paris also took an interest in the matter, but through the action of the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) as the representative of Canada at the Peace Conference, Canada took a lead in the creation of this international labour organization. Will the Labour Department send only an occasional representative, or will it be permanently represented in that organization?

Mr. MEIGHEN: The Labour Department as such is not represented, but the Dominion is represented in the same sense that other countries are, for a period of three years.

Mr. LEMIEUX: By whom?

Mr. MEIGHEN: There are twelve representatives, eight by the eight chief commercial countries and four by election. Canada is represented at the conference by the Minister of Labour.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Who may depute one of its representatives to attend?

Mr. MEIGHEN: Yes.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I understand that at the Seamen's conference held recently at Genoa, the Government was represented first by Sir George Perley and subsequently by Hon. Mr. Roy, Canada's representative in Paris.

Mr. MEIGHEN: That is right, and by Mr. Desbarats also.

Item agreed to.

Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, \$35,000.

Hon. MACKENZIE KING: Perhaps I may be permitted to take advantage of this opportunity to speak of a matter that relates to industrial disputes. I refer to

the question of pensions due the Grand Trunk Railway employees. When we discussed this matter before, my hon. friend from Perth (Mr. Morphy), referring to the understanding that had been reached between the Grand Trunk Railway Company and its employees, asked whether the promise of the Grand Trunk that the men should be reinstated in their former positions within three months was made in writing. I told my hon. friend that I thought it was, but I had not the documents before me to make a definite statement in the matter, and I pointed out that he would see by a reference to a letter I had written Sir Wilfrid Laurier at the time whether or not the undertaking had been given in writing. I have referred to that letter, which appears on Hansard, and I find that the undertaking was given in writing. I have also looked up some old files, and I now have before me the original memorandum. As this matter is likely to come before the Board of Arbitration I think it would be in the interests of the men to have it of record, and it is perhaps just as well that it should be of record in the proceedings of the House. The dispute between the Grand Trunk Railway and its employees in the train and yard service was settled by the agreement dated Montreal, July 31, 1910. The House will, I am sure, permit me to put on record this settlement which is the one that has already been read in the House.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This is the document:

Re Dispute Between Grand Trunk Railway Company and its Employees in Train and Yard Service.

MONTREAL, July 31, 1910.

By way of settlement of the existing difficulties:

1. The company will put back as soon as possible the men other than those who have been or may be found guilty of acts of violence or disorderly conduct, the understanding being that there is to be no coercion or intimidation used towards the new men.

2. The company will put into effect from May 1, 1910, the rates named in schedule of rates, dated July 18, 1910, those rates to be embodied in the present schedules now in effect on this line, it being understood that those rates shall in no instance effect a reduction in any existing rate.

3. The company will on January 1, 1912, make effective in train and yard service on the Grand Trunk railway the rates of pay and the rules contained in the schedule or agreement on that date in effect on the lines of the Canadian Pacific Railway east of Fort William.

The three above propositions shall apply also to the Central Vermont Railway Company, the said railroad to be substituted for the Grand

Trunk railway, and the Rutland railroad to be substituted for the Canadian Pacific railway wherever the same are used or understood in the above. (In the case of the Central Vermont, by the schedule of rates dated July 18, 1910, is meant the schedule issued by the management of that company since July 1).

(Signed) CHAS. M. HAYS,

President, Grand Trunk Railway System.

Attest,

A. B. GARRETSON,  
Pres. O.R.C.

W. G. LEE,  
Pres. B. of R.T.

For the O.R.C.: Robert Kelley, N. Foy, Ed. L. Sinclair, J. E. Mann. Approved by S. N. Berry, V.P.

For the O.R.T.: John Maloney, J. A. Conner, W. E. Berry, P. A. Hebert. Approved James Murdock, V.P.

After this agreement had been signed by both parties, to prevent any possibility of a dispute arising as to what was meant by the term "as soon as possible," the then President of the Grand Trunk, Mr. Hays, stated that he would be agreeable to giving the words "as soon as possible" the meaning of "within three months."

Mr. MORPHY: That was not in writing.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: That is the point. I have it in writing, and I am going to read the communication to the House. I have one of the original agreements with Mr. Hays' signature.

On July 31, 1910, the late Sir Frederick Borden and myself addressed to Mr. Hays this letter:

MONTREAL, July 31, 1910.

Re dispute between Grand Trunk Railway Company and employees in train and yard service.

Dear Mr. HAYS:—The enclosed document, bearing your own signature and the signatures of the other parties to the present dispute on the Grand Trunk railway, contains the terms of an agreement on the acceptance of which the present strike will be ended. We think that the meaning of all the clauses is sufficiently clear. As, however, some misunderstanding has arisen as to the meaning of the words "put back as soon as possible" in section one, we would say that by "put back" we think should be meant, taken back to their former positions; and by "as soon as possible," a period not longer than three months. If you will give us an undertaking that your company will carry out the terms of this agreement on this understanding we are in a position to give you and the public an assurance that the strike will be immediately terminated.

It is apparent to us that the strike will continue unless you give this undertaking, and realizing how all-important to the interests of the Dominion it is that a speedy settlement should be reached, we feel it is our duty to say, and we are prepared to say, that if at the end of three months time there should be still in your employ any man whom you may have engaged since the strike commenced and retained in virtue of the terms of an engagement at present existing, the Government of Canada will

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

relieve you of such responsibility as you may be under in view of contractual relations by undertaking to find suitable employment for such men.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) F. W. BORDEN,

W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

CHAS. M. HAYS, Esq.,

President, Grand Trunk Railway,  
Montreal, P.Q.

As I explained to the committee the other day the reason for that last clause was that Mr. Hays stated at the time that he had taken on a number of men while the strike was on, and he pretended—it was a mere pretence—that he would be under an obligation to keep those men in the employ of the Grand Trunk. We happened to know that all the men who had been taken on had been taken on on a monthly contract. They were really strikebreakers, and at the end of the month their contract expired. We told Mr. Hays quite frankly that if that was all he was sticking at, the Government would relieve him of his responsibility. The following memorandum was then signed at Ottawa, on authority of Mr. Hays, by Mr. Wainwright the Vice-President. As I explained, after having written that letter to Mr. Hays, I returned to Ottawa. Before leaving Montreal I told Mr. Hays that unless he would give his signature to the undertaking in that letter, or his authority to Mr. Wainwright to sign on his behalf I would announce that the strike could not be settled simply because he was holding back in that way and that he would have to take full responsibility for the continuance of the strike. Mr. Hays then sent Mr. Wainwright to Ottawa with full authority to sign. At that time there were in the city besides myself, Dr. Pugsley and Mr. L. P. Brodeur, as representing the ministry of the day; we all met and the following document in the form of a memorandum was then read over and signed. I have in my hand the original with the signatures of Mr. Wainwright, Dr. Pugsley, Mr. L. P. Brodeur and my own. I might explain that a copy of this memorandum was left with Mr. Hays at Montreal, he was either to sign it in person there or to send Mr. Wainwright to Ottawa with authority to sign it in the presence of the ministers here. That is the reason the word "Montreal" appears upon it. The document reads:

MONTREAL, August 1, 1910.

Memorandum:

Re dispute between Grand Trunk Railway Company and employees in train and yard service.

For the purpose of preventing as far as possible any misunderstanding which might arise

regarding the intent and purport of the letter addressed by Sir F. W. Borden and Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King, to Mr. Chas. M. Hays on July 31, 1910 (a copy of which is attached) it is understood as follows:—

The men will within three months from this date be taken back into service and within that time be placed in their former positions.

If at the end of the three months period there should be still in the train or yard service on the Grand Trunk System, or the Central Vermont railway any men engaged prior to this date and since the strike commenced, and retained by reason of such engagement, the Government of Canada will relieve the company of any responsibility arising under such engagement to the extent of seeing that those men shall be provided with suitable employment at a similar rate of pay for a period of at least sixty days, or be paid such rate of pay for that period.

Authority of president, by  
(Sgd.) WM. WAINWRIGHT,  
2nd Vice-President,  
Grand Trunk Railway System.  
(Sgd.) W. L. MACKENZIE KING,  
Minister of Labour.  
WILLIAM PUGSLEY,  
Minister of Public Works.  
L. P. BRODEUR,  
Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

Mr. MORPHY: I am very much pleased to have the data just read by the hon. gentleman put upon the records of the House. My surprise is that they were not put upon the records of the House long ago. The hon. gentleman says that he has the original letters signed by Mr. Wainwright and other officials of the Grand Trunk railway. I do not know how they came into his possession except it was in his capacity as a minister of the Crown or deputy minister, or in some official way. Had these letters been then placed upon the records of Parliament and of the country things might have been much plainer than they were left at the time. Now that they are on Hansard, I think, with all due deference to the leader of the Opposition and to what he may say about the matter, documents belonging to the country should be in the archives of the country and upon what, I suppose, would be properly termed the official files of this House. Why has the hon. gentleman carried these original documents during all these years since 1910 in his own pocket or desk without placing them upon the records of the House? These documents are valuable as regards the rights of the men, and when the arbitration board is seized with this work, these official documents would naturally be sought for upon the files of the department in question and produced before the Arbitration Board as official documents from those files. I am, however, very thankful that the information has been given by the hon. gentleman,

because I have always had a doubt, and had these documents been produced they would have been of great benefit to the men at the time. A stronger fight could have been made on behalf of the men with the Grand Trunk Board of Management, but for lack of production of these documents, these men have suffered all these years. Nevertheless, I am glad that even at this late date they have at last been produced, and, if I may ask, that they will be officially put upon the departmental files and these files will be produced before the arbitration to show unmistakably the concession to the men under the actual signatures of those capable at the time of binding the Grand Trunk Railway Company, in that way making an absolutely overwhelming case before the Board of Arbitration.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May I explain to my hon. friend in answer to what I think seems a very reasonable point, why those documents were not made public? The understanding was that this phase of the settlement was to be regarded as confidential. That was the understanding between the company and the men.

Mr. MORPHY: Are the letters marked "Confidential"?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: No. Let me explain to my hon. friend. The original agreement that was drawn between the company and the men contained the words "as soon as possible." Sir Frederick Borden and myself were to vouch for the fact that the words "as soon as possible" meant that the men were to be returned to their former positions within three months. We undertook as ministers of the Crown to make the statement publicly, if any dispute ever arose that that was the understanding, and it was to protect ourselves in making this statement that this memorandum was drafted. The memorandum to that extent was a protection to Sir Frederick Borden and myself against any imputation that we had no authority to make that statement. That was all understood and agreed to at the time. Both the men and the company regarded it as quite sufficient that we as ministers of the Crown should state publicly from our places in Parliament that that was the intent and meaning of those words. Had the Grand Trunk carried out their agreement in any decent way, none of this correspondence would have been brought down. It was because they absolutely disregarded many of their obligations in the matter that this whole business has

had to be threshed out again at this time. I shall be only too glad to hand these letters personally to the Minister of Labour or to any one else the minister may suggest. The reason they were on my personal file was that I regarded them as a matter of personal protection, in the event of my word being questioned at any time. It has been questioned by my hon. friend from Perth, and so I have brought down the documents, which I hope will make the situation perfectly clear.

Mr. MORPHY: I quite appreciate the idea underlying the action of my hon. friend, but I hope he will not fail to appreciate the view I take on behalf of the men. Sir Frederick Borden is dead, and had my hon. friend also been dead, and these documents undisclosed for that reason, these men who are seeking rights long deferred would have been deprived absolutely of the most important documentary evidence they could have to clinch and establish their claim. My hon. friend says that he kept these documents in his personal file for his own protection. I would ask him what is his protection, as compared with the failure to do the right thing for the men at the right time? The hon. gentleman will surely agree with me that there was only one place for official documents of that kind dealing with a matter which had aroused antagonism and counter-claims as between the company and the men, and that was upon a departmental file which need not necessarily have been too official, but which would, nevertheless, have kept the records complete in an official sense within the department itself, which never dies. The documents would have been there forever. I appreciate the hon. gentleman's view as to the confidential nature of the letters, but I would also call his attention to the fact that they are not marked "Confidential", and to my mind it is a very dangerous precedent to establish that letters not marked "Confidential" should be treated as confidential and be held for years under cover, away from the light, and where they never would see the light in case of death. The men whose interests are now sought to be safeguarded can be helped more by these documents than anything else in the world, and I am awfully glad that they have at last been brought down, and that the men will have the advantage of them before the Board of Arbitration.

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Let me say in the first place that this is a memorandum, not a letter.

Mr. MORPHY: It is all the same.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: It does not affect the position of the men one bit. The position of the men has always been stated as it is stated in that memorandum. The Grand Trunk Railway Company have never denied that that was the agreement. They have simply refused to put it into force. What we on this side have asked in Parliament is that Parliament should say that the Grand Trunk must put it into force and not take the position that, although it is already in writing, they can do as they please and disregard the purpose of it. I repeat, the interests of the men have not suffered one bit by this memorandum not being made public. It does not add in any particular to what has been all along stated as the terms and understanding on which the settlement was made.

Mr. MORPHY: I dispute that.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I am quite positive of it. The point is this: The understanding as to the men being returned within three months to their former positions has never been in dispute from the time that agreement was drawn to the present. That was the basis of the settlement. The men understood it to be such, and both Sir Frederick Borden and myself stated in Parliament that it was such. There is no doubt about that whatsoever. My hon. friend from North Perth tried to make the point that because there was nothing in writing our word could not be accepted. I think that was a wholly unfair attitude.

Mr. MORPHY: I did not say anything of the kind.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: If my hon. friend did not, I will withdraw the statement, but that was the implication. I maintain that the word of a minister of the Crown or of a member of the Privy Council given in Parliament is just as sacred and binding as any memorandum that may have been made at the time to put beyond question of dispute what was understood by the parties. That is the position I have taken all along. Instead of the interests of the men having suffered, I think my hon. friend will agree that they were doubly safeguarded in every particular.

Mr. CURRIE: I note that this memorandum that the hon. gentleman has produced

is dated August 1, 1920. That must be an error.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: It is a typographical error. It should be 1910.

Mr. CURRIE: I had the honour of bringing this question before the House at the beginning of the session. I might say that I put a motion on the Order Paper so that I could bring this matter before the House, and between the time I put the motion on the Order Paper and moved it in the House constant pressure was brought to bear on me through certain members of labour organizations to prevent the discussion coming up in the House. I do not see why these men should threaten me if I want to bring the matter up in the House. I am very glad I did so, in order that the men may have justice done to them.

I was present in the House when the discussion on the strike took place. The difficulty then was simply this: In the memorandum that was made between the Grand Trunk and the strikers the words were used that the men would be "put back" in their positions. Now the construction placed upon that by the Grand Trunk and their officials was that the men would be put back in exactly their same seniority to each other, but having ceased their employment with the company they had forfeited all their rights to pension. Their construction was that the men should be put back as they were before, but that they had forfeited their rights to pension as they had broken their agreement. Now when that discussion was under way in the House I distinctly recollect the hon. gentleman stating that the facts were just as they are set out in these secret letters that are now made public for the first time. He absolutely made that statement. I have no doubt in the world that he had that letter at the time, and I think in all fairness to the men he should have produced it then, because the effect of not producing it has been very disastrous to the men ever since. They have been disheartened and many of them have suffered considerable financial loss through that fact. The situation was that the vice-president of the Grand Trunk and the minister understood the phrase "put back" to mean that the men would within three months from that date be replaced in their former positions. I recollect my colleague from Simcoe bringing this question before the House at that date and insisting that the Government should refuse to give aid to the Grand Trunk and the Grand Trunk Pacific until such time

as they did justice to the men. It was well within the rights of the ministry of the day and they could very well have brought the Grand Trunk Railway Company up with a round turn because they were knocking at the doors of Parliament every day for further subsidies. On the slightest hint as to the holding up of the subsidies the Grand Trunk would have reinstated the men. Furthermore, this House was a party to these men being dispossessed of their right. We granted a private Bill to the Grand Trunk Railway Company and the company, by virtue of a clause in that private Bill, was enabled to put these men out of court. If the minister had wanted to do justice to the men at that time it would have been very easy to have introduced a clause in the Railway Act, or to have made an amendment to the Grand Trunk Act, compelling the Grand Trunk to reinstate these men in their rights. They did reinstate them in their positions on the road but in so far as their positions on a pension list were concerned, they did not reinstate them and that was far more important to those men who had served thirty or forty years on the road. This is rather belated justice to the men but this document is now introduced by the hon. gentleman no doubt in consequence of his becoming the leader of a great party in this country. I cannot understand why a document of that importance should be kept hidden because had it been presented to the House at the time it would have enabled the House to have insisted upon the Grand Trunk carrying out its contract with these men. I trust that this document having been produced, and the matter having been made plain, there will be no further delay but that the men will get justice when the question comes before the arbitrators.

Mr. MORPHY: Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN: This discussion is not in order on this item. It is only by unanimous consent that it has been carried on.

Mr. MORPHY. I merely wish to ask the leader of the Opposition if he will place the original documents upon the official file of the department so that they will be official when the Arbitration Board sits upon the question of taking over the Grand Trunk railway.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I have already said that I would send the papers to the Minister of Labour. I shall do so and at the same time I will ask him to make a

point of seeing that they are presented to the board.

To supplement amount provided by statute chapter 21, 8-9 George V, \$100,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What is that item?

Mr. MEIGHEN: The statute referred to is the Employment Offices Co-ordination Act, under which employment offices are established throughout the country. This vote is to carry them on. It supplements the amount provided by statute. It represents a reduction of the vote for the present year of \$50,000. This is regarded as necessary in view of the general outlook of industrial reconstruction.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Items 256 and 257 are really for the same purpose?

Mr. MEIGHEN: Yes.

National Industrial Conference and expenses of commissions arising from 1919 Conference, \$50,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What conference is that?

Mr. MEIGHEN: That is a conference that the minister expects to call this year, of representatives of labour and employers from all over Canada. This conference undoubtedly did very material service last year in bringing about a better understanding between the two sides.

For the organization and development of joint industrial councils, \$15,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What do you expect to be accomplished by that?

Mr. MEIGHEN: The movement for Joint Industrial Councils is one which promises to be of the greatest value to the industrial world by assisting in bringing employers and workmen together. Officers will be needed for the study and investigation of this subject, and to assist in the organization and development of Joint Industrial Councils. Such action is in line with the recommendation of the Industrial Relations Commission which investigated industrial conditions in Canada a year ago.

Administration Employment Offices Co-ordination Act—further amount required, \$25,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This item is really item No. 256 in the Main Estimates:

Administration Employment Offices Co-ordination Act, including maintenance of employment offices in N.B., N.S. and P.E.I., \$75,000.

Item 257:

To supplement amount provided by statute chapter 21, 8-9 George V, \$100,000.

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

And now we have in the Supplementary Estimates another \$25,000. That is going a pretty fast pace.

Mr. MEIGHEN: It does look that way but the deputy minister informs me that the outlook is better than when the original Estimates were prepared, and he is hopeful that they may not require the other two items. This item is different. It is needed to meet an undertaking between the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment and the Department of Labour whereby the two departments were to share the expense of maintaining an employment office at certain points for the benefit particularly of returned soldiers, when, generally speaking, employment conditions would not warrant the maintenance of an office. The work was carried out by the Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment Department and the sum named represents the share of the Department of Labour which is to be paid to the Soldiers' Re-establishment Department.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I would like to again voice the view which we on this side of the House have that the Minister of Labour ought to occupy a seat in this House rather than in the Senate. This is a branch of the public service relating to industrial relations in regard to which there are questions constantly coming up in the House of Commons, and the Government is neglectful of the interest of the country in not having in the House of Commons a minister who can speak for that department.

Mr. MACLEAN (York): When the leader of the Opposition is expressing his opinion on that, let me say that I would like to see more representatives of labour in this House.

Mr. McMASTER: It is very important that the Minister of Labour should be able to come into contact with the opinion of all classes of the community, and I would imagine that they are better represented in this House than in the more leisured and rarified atmosphere of the other place. As a matter of fact, the only qualification that the Minister of the Interior has for representing the Minister of Labour is that he is a hardworking man.

Department of Labour—\$30,000.

Mr. FIELDING: What does that cover?

Mr. MEIGHEN: That is for last year. There are such items in every department every year. They are items of expenditure that occur during the year that are un-

provided for and require to be voted in the subsequent year. I am more familiar with the details of my own department. For example, suppose it turns out that during the year we have an epidemic among the Indians of the North. Well, we have to take care of it. If you do not anticipate you cannot do so. Consequently, it is carried over into the Supplementary Estimates. The present vote carried some items of the kind in relation to the Department of Labour.

Administration Employment Offices Co-ordination Act; further amount required, \$45,000.

Mr. MEIGHEN: These are also items of last year.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: It seems to be an endless chain.

Indian education, further amount required, \$48,000.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Is this for electoral education?

Mr. MEIGHEN: No. The Indians are trained and educated for useful purposes. We seek to keep them as far as possible from under the baneful influence of hon. gentlemen opposite.

Mr. McMASTER: No doubt.

Civil Government—Department of Mines—salaries, \$446,682.50; contingencies, \$6,000.

Mr. PARENT: What is the reason for the increase in this item?

Mr. MEIGHEN: There are two ingredients—one, the statutory increases; and, two, the recent creation of the Explosives Division by the Act of a year or two ago. As the increase altogether is only \$23,000, I presume the statutory increases would account for most of it.

Mr. McMASTER: I do not think we can object to paying good salaries to people who are engaged in the development of our mining industry. I hesitate to bring the matter before the House because I think it was discussed in another place, but it is of absolute importance that the geologists of the Geological Survey should have sufficient inducements held out to them to devote their services for the benefit of the Dominion.

The constituency which I have the honour to represent has had a great deal of help in the development of its mineral resources from the work done by the Geological Survey. We do not hear much about the mineral resources of the Eastern Townships,

but they are of very considerable value indeed.

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): What are they?

Mr. MEIGHEN: Asbestos.

Mr. McMASTER: We have one of the deepest copper mines on the continent. It has been in continuous operation since 1879, which, I understand, is a very long period for a copper mine to be operated. Then we have a copper mine in the county of Brome, which, after having been closed down for a good many years, has been re-started recently, due to the new method of ore extraction, making it possible to operate at a profit. Then I suppose that the asbestos deposits of Black lake, Thetford, Robertson, and the vicinity are known all over the continent.

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): Where is that asbestos refined and finished?

Mr. McMASTER: It is of two sorts. First we have the crude asbestos which is used practically in its native state. Then we have asbestos-bearing rock, which is ground in immense crushers into a sort of flour, and it is exported just the same as the flour my hon. friend from Huntingdon (Mr. Robb) prepares in his mill. Of course, it is not of the same sort; his flour will burn; but asbestos flour will not burn. We produce about 85 per cent of the world's asbestos, and our transportation facilities being quite adequate, we are able to export a great deal of that and so help to pay the interest on our public and private debts. We have all sorts of mineral deposits—among others, graphite, mica and chromite.

But the point I wish to make is that the Geological Survey has been of such immense material assistance to the development of the mineral wealth of Canada, that the good men in that survey should not be allowed to leave the service. But recently at least a third of the staff have accepted engagements with private firms at salaries far above what they were getting in the department. I am told—and I wish to draw this to the attention of the minister—that these men complain not only that their salaries are low, but that in the department they have not got a chance to develop their professional capacity. Of course, I can understand how hard it is for a Government to compete with private enterprise in engaging the services of capable men so far as salaries are concerned; but it does not seem to me that skilled

scientific men who are devoted to their profession, not for the money to be got out of it, but for the opportunity of service to be rendered, should be given a free hand to develop themselves as far as possible in order that they may be satisfied with their positions and give good service to the country.

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): I agree with the hon. gentleman (Mr. McMaster) in what he says about offering due encouragement in the way of salaries to scientifically trained men. Not only have we good men in the service, but our universities and schools of science are turning out these good men. But coming back to the question of asbestos production, in that regard we have practically the same monopoly as we enjoy in this respect to nickel. So far as our nickel is concerned, as a matter of fact until quite recently the entire refining of the nickel was carried on outside this country, and the resultant profits, of course, went to outsiders; and the same thing is true of asbestos. It is high time we had a national policy for the development of these great sources of revenue and work. I hope it will not be long before such a policy is initiated so that we may enlist the help of our geologists, our mining men, our men of business, and our men of capital and enterprise to develop these valuable resources to the fullest extent, and not ship out our raw material for the benefit of the workmen and industries in other countries.

Mr. McMASTER: Let me make one remark the member for South York. He has got that bee in his bonnet—

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): I wish you had too.

Mr. McMASTER: His idea is that it is for the Government to be constantly interfering with industry.

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): Yes.

Mr. McMASTER: That is his idea. It seems to me that it is an absolutely mistaken policy. Let the Government see that justice is done, but let industry have a chance to work out its own salvation.

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): Even in the United States?

Mr. McMASTER: This idea of controlling the export of different things has come before me in a most striking way. For instance, take the embargo on the export of sugar. It has resulted in charges and

[Mr. McMaster.]

counter-charges between sugar refiners, brokers, and merchants, and the whole thing, I think, is most disastrous to the business life of this country. Let the Government act as umpire to see that the game is played fairly; but do let the Government refrain from being the transportation owner, the banker, the joint controller, and the interferer in things which private individuals can do much better for themselves.

Mr. MACLEAN: Good-bye.

Mail subsidies and steamship subventions—Victoria, Vancouver, way ports, and Skagway, steam service between—further amount required, \$12,500.

Mr. FIELDING: I wish again to draw the attention of the minister to what I think is a mistake in the omission from the steamship subsidies of a small grant for the service between Froude's Point and Lockeport. My hon. friend said he had the impression—and on that ground he dropped the item—that this was a ferry service of three quarters of a mile. The service, I have ascertained, is over a route four miles long, and if they have to drive round by the road it is five miles. But the importance of the service is that it is the only link of connection between a large town on the south coast of Nova Scotia and the railway line,—a town that has not the good fortune, so far, to be on the main line. This subsidy is not for the advantage for any private concern. The town of Lockeport, an incorporated town, established this so-called ferry out of its own resources; there has been no profit to any private enterprise, and it is only by these various forms of assistance that the service has been carried on at all. It really amounts to this: if you withdraw the subsidy the town people will have to pay an additional thousand dollars by way of taxation, because they cannot be isolated from the world. I do not know whether the minister intends to bring down any further Estimates, but if not I hope he will take the matter into consideration and be in a position to give the assurance that provision will be made next session for this subsidy. I want to emphasize the fact that this would not be putting money into any private pocket. It is the enterprise of the town. A failure to grant the subsidy means additional taxation of the town people, and the town of Lockeport, like others, has had a great deal of taxation this year already.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I shall be very glad to look into the matter.

Item agreed to.

Mulgrave and Canso—steam service between—further amount required, \$2,000.

Mr. ROBB: Early in the minister's administration of the department, he held out some hope to the shippers that there would be a reduction of insurance rates on the St. Lawrence route. Has anything been done in that direction?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: That is an old and very vexed question, involving a great many considerations. For four or five years before the war negotiations were carried on with a view to alleviating the difficulties existing in this connection. Conferences were held with shipping authorities and insurance companies, but nothing resulted to do away with the disparity that existed. Then the war came and since the war nothing has been done. Before the war broke out a proposal was made that an insurance company be formed in Canada to carry the risk, with a possible guarantee by the Government that losses up to a certain amount would be covered. At one time I had hoped that such an association would be formed, but the war knocked that east and west, as they say, and nothing has since been done. When things get back more nearly to normal I hope that there may be some solution along these lines. I almost despair of a solution along any other line than that of the formation of a good, strong, Canadian company, perhaps aided by—well, I was going to say it, but I cannot do so because my hon. friend (Mr. McMaster) is shaking that wise head of his and I do not want to get into any controversy with him at this late hour. But I hope next year to have some additional information for my hon. friend.

Mr. ROBB: The minister has not abandoned hope of reducing the rates?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: No.

Mr. McMASTER: I greatly regret that I have been the innocent means of depriving the committee of the pleasure of listening to the Minister of Trade and Commerce. But with regard to these subsidies, I would be glad to know that the minister had looked into them all with a view to seeing whether some of them could not be cut out. I am appalled and the people of this country are appalled at the grants and aid which are given to this, that, and the other enterprise. I feel as if Canada was supporting a whole lot of things which really should support themselves.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Now, my hon. friend must remember that a great deal of

what appears to be honest, straightforward criticism is made because the man who criticises does not really know the circumstances. I have been up against these railway steamship subsidies since 1885, during all the time that the Government of which I have been a supporter has been in power. My economical tendencies are well known; if my hon. friend does not believe me let him ask the hon. gentleman who is at this moment sitting by his side (Mr. Burrell), who knows in how many instances I have tried to thwart him, sometimes successfully but oftener not successfully. I have tried my level best to stop duplications and to bring down prices so far as subsidies were concerned. They have been cut down this year to the extent of \$1,200,000—and I have been in hot water a good many times because I have done that.

In fact a little bit of hot water has just now been thrown on me by my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding). If my hon. friend (Mr. McMaster) ever has the extreme felicity and the delicious torture of occupying a governmental position in a department which has to do with these and similar matters, I will compare notes with him ten or twelve years after his experience commences, and I shall be glad to know what he thinks about the matter then.

Mr. McMASTER: I only hope that on the opposite side, should such an occasion arise, I shall have as sincere and honest a critic in my tendency towards economy.

Mr. FIELDING: My hon. friend (Mr. McMaster) has the misfortune to live inland.

Mr. McMASTER: I rise to make a correction. I live on Brome lake in the summer time.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: That is a puddle.

Mr. FIELDING: My hon. friend is a fresh-water man and he has not the flavour of the sea which is, I think, necessary for the proper production of the best elements of mankind. I do not, however, insist upon that view; but an hon. gentleman who lives within easy reach of a railroad—and he is more likely to be troublesome if he has three or four railways running about his place—finds himself very critical about some little expenditure that is required to bring the comforts of civilization to people who live on the seacoast and who have no other means of communication than by sea. Therefore, I cannot expect my hon. friend to appreciate salt water subsidies. But if he would get away from his inland view

and spend more time on the sea-coast, he would see the necessity of some of the people who live on the seashore getting proper means of communication.

Trade and Commerce—to provide for the reimbursement of persons or firms put to loss by the closing of the Grain Exchanges in the summer of 1919, \$20,224.49.

Mr. FIELDING: What is the explanation of this item? Many people lost money last year who would be very glad to have it made good to them.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I will explain this item very briefly. It was touched upon yesterday in the course of our discussion of the Canada Wheat Board. Last year the Grain Exchange in Winnipeg opened and conducted business for six days, and at the end of those six days the Government intervened and the grain exchanges were closed. That closing of the grain exchanges followed upon the adoption by the Government of the policy which it carried out last year of marketing the wheat of the country through the agency of the Canada Wheat Board. During those six days that the grain exchanges were in operation, buyings and sellings took place and contracts were made. All at once the gate was shut, and those buying and selling did not have the advantages or the freedom of the market to carry out their transactions to the end and, consequently, to cover themselves. In the end losses were incurred to the extent of about \$28,000 or \$30,000. The argument put up to the Government was that, as the grain exchanges had been interfered with in their legitimate business and had been stopped in a moment from carrying out those contracts to a conclusion on a free or open market, therefore, they should not be subjected to that loss. The policy of the Government was undertaken with the general good of the country in view, and my opinion was that as, on the whole, the policy was adopted in the interest of the farmer to market his grain, therefore, that expense ought to be a part of the expense of the year in marketing that year's crop. There was, however, a legal objection, and the Canada Wheat Board was debarred from making that payment after adjustment, because of the opinion given by their legal advisers that they had not power to do so under the powers that were given them under the law. Therefore, the Government took the matter up and in justice made an investigation. No commissions were paid; no profits were paid; no brokerages were paid; they all had to meet their losses as

[Mr. Fielding.]

regards that; nothing but actual out-of-pocket losses were paid, and these were carefully investigated by the Canada Wheat Board itself. The losses, as actual losses incurred and paid out, were, after investigation, cut down to about \$20,000, and that amount was promised by the Government to the losers, as that seemed to the Government to be fair and just. This is an item to make provision for that payment.

This year my hon. friend will recollect that in taking permissive legislation as regards effecting a wheat board arrangement the same as last year, which legislation may be put into effect, an amendment was moved making provision in the Bill for just such an adjustment as this if, after the opening of the exchanges, the Government finds it necessary in the interest of the farmers to intervene and to superimpose the work of the Canada Wheat Board. In that event the Canada Wheat Board will have authority to make these adjustments and these payments.

Mr. FIELDING: Where there are buyings and sellings as described by my right hon. friend, there are presumably profits and losses. We apparently make good the losses. Do we get any credit for the profits?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: There were no profits in these transactions.

Mr. FIELDING: The operation of buying and selling generally means profit to somebody and loss to somebody. Under the circumstances, however, I have no objection, and I have no doubt the right hon. gentleman has investigated these matters.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: They were investigated very thoroughly.

Administration of Justice—to provide annual fee to O. M. Biggar K.C., for professional services, \$10,000.

Mr. FIELDING: Will this item be necessary now?

Mr. DOHERTY: It is necessary because in the Estimates of the Department of Secretary of State only \$2,000 is provided for. With this amount we shall have the full salary provided for under the Franchise Act.

Department of Justice—additional amount required for Military Service Branch, \$10,000—additional amount required for Internment Operations, \$50,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Would the minister explain.

Mr. DOHERTY: The additional amount required for the Military Service Branch

is the amount found to be necessary for the purpose of completing the gathering of information for the making of a complete report on our operations. It becomes especially necessary by reason of questions asked in the House, which cover a vast field of details with reference to the enforcement of the Act in different parts of the country. I am in expectation that we will be able to do the work for a little less than \$10,000, but that is the amount estimated to be necessary.

As regards the other item of \$5,000, this is principally for the purpose of refunding to people who were interned moneys that were taken possession of during their internment, and moneys coming to a large number of these men by reason of an allowance of twenty-five cents a day given for their labour, that being the equivalent to what is given to a soldier for doing like work. Without going into details, I may say that the country derived most substantial benefit from the labour that was done in these camps.

Mr. NESBITT: Have we any internment camps going now?

Mr. DOHERTY: No. The entire operations of the Internment Branch are practically completed but for making these settlements, and the whole establishment is under a month's notice to terminate their engagements. It is proposed that these final operations be handed over to the Department of the Secretary of State to be dealt with in connection with other matters dealing with the property of alien enemies.

Mr. LEMIEUX: What is being done with the officers who have been engaged on this work? I understand that several of them were civil servants. Have they been transferred to other departments or have they been dispensed with entirely?

Mr. DOHERTY: They were not civil servants when they came into our employ. They were temporary employees and always so understood it. Their services are being simply dispensed with. We have given them a month's notice.

Mr. FIELDING: I think the hon. gentleman spoke of refunding to these men moneys that had been taken from them. I assume that these moneys, when taken from them, went into the public treasury and were accounted for in due course?

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes. All moneys received went into the treasury.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Is this money paid for service in the internment camps paid to enemies.

Mr. DOHERTY: Yes. Every interned man was an alien enemy, and it was thought right to make that allowance. We would be entitled if we strictly enforced our rights under the Treaty to appropriate all property of alien enemies. We have no greater right to appropriate the property of an enemy who was interned than that of any other alien enemy. As a matter of general policy it is not considered that we should enforce our right as regards alien enemies resident and established in this country, and the great bulk of these interned men at the time of their internment were residents in this country. Large numbers of them were simply let out at the termination of the war, and all those who were considered in any way dangerous were deported to their own country.

Mr. McMASTER: Was there a large proportion deported?

Mr. DOHERTY: No. I cannot say exactly, but I do not think over one-fourth of them were deported, if as much as that.

Mr. JACOBS: There seems to have been a good deal of delay in the payment of these moneys. Many of these men were discharged over a year ago, and in some cases they have not yet been paid. Would the minister explain the reason for the delay?

Mr. DOHERTY: They are being paid just as fast as their claims come in and they can be properly verified. I think there has been considerable delay by reason perhaps of misunderstanding on the part of these men as to their rights and their failure to appreciate that if they would communicate directly with the department and furnish the necessary information their claims would be dealt with as promptly as possible. It has been felt by the officials concerned that in some instances, at all events, it was necessary to be particularly careful with regard to the making of payments to persons who came as agents or representatives, the desire being to make quite certain the money went to the actual beneficiary. I have pressed upon the officers to expedite settlement as much as possible, and they have assured me that that will be done.

Mr. EULER: I wish to bring a case to the attention of the minister. I do so with a certain reluctance, but I feel that a matter of justice is involved. Some weeks ago, in the course of a statement I made, I referred to a man who was interned at Kapuskasing. He was a New Zealander; he had been naturalized in New Zealand something like nineteen years before the war began. He was kept in an internment camp in Canada three or four years, although he was a British subject and had had no trial. After the armistice he was deported, in error. It was not the intention of the Government to deport him, but simply to release him and return him to his home. A protest was made and the man was brought back. That part of it was all right, but the man, I believe, has made a claim on the Department of Justice to be reimbursed for certain losses that were incurred. For instance, he was taken away without any notice and he claims that his goods and chattels disappeared while he was in the camp. He feels that, being a British subject, he is entitled to some compensation. I think that through his solicitor he made a request to the Department of Justice for a hearing, but so far he has not had any response. It seems that as a matter of justice something should be done.

Mr. DOHERTY: I shall look into that myself and see that justice is done. The hon. gentleman speaks of this man as being a British subject. I understand that he was originally a German subject and that he was naturalized nineteen years ago in New Zealand. That naturalization would not make him a British subject in Canada and we had to deal with him as he was. In future we hope that the New Zealand Parliament will pass the necessary legislation to give general effect throughout the Empire to their naturalization. But nineteen years ago all our naturalizations, including naturalization in the United Kingdom, were in the position of being purely local. This is only one instance of the regrettable effect of the situation. We had to treat the man as not being a British subject but whether he is a British subject or not, if he has suffered loss by reason of a mistake or default on the part of any officers of the department, it would seem to me equitable and just that he should have compensation and I shall look into the matter carefully.

Civil Government—Royal Canadian Mounted Police, salaries, \$32,987.50; Contingencies, \$9,000.

[Mr. Doherty.]

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What is the increase of \$5,587.50?

Mr. ROWELL: It is due to the transfer to this office of certain officials who were in the Department of Justice in connection with the Dominion Police, plus two statutory increases.

Mr. FIELDING: Does the Department of Justice item show a corresponding deduction?

Mr. ROWELL: Yes.

Civil Government—Post Office Department—salaries, \$1,006,770; Contingencies, including \$50 to W. Cooch, \$150,000.

Mr. MACKIE (Edmonton): Before that item carries I wish to speak of certain matters concerning the post office at Edmonton. The Civil Service Act, as amended in 1919, second session, section 45, provides for promotions and the section reads as follows:

Promotion shall be made for merit by the commission upon such examination as the commission may by regulation prescribe.

The commission may by such regulation restrict the competition at such examinations to employees, or to employees of a certain class, or classes of a specified seniority and may prescribe what marks may be obtained by such employees for efficiency and seniority. Such marks shall not, however, exceed one-half of the total marks that may be obtained on the examination.

It is clear, Mr. Chairman, from the reading of this section that promotions are to be made upon merit and upon examination, that the examination means an examination upon which marks may be given, that marks are to be given and that by that method merit may be determined. Recently a vacancy was created in the post office at Edmonton by the transfer of the deputy postmaster from that office to the Department of the Inspector of Post Offices at Edmonton. Three people made application for the deputy postmastership, a man by the name of Glendenning, another named Thompson and another named Cryderman. No examinations were set for these people in Edmonton. The deputy postmaster general, the superintendent, Mr. Ross, and the postmaster at Edmonton, Mr. George S. Armstrong, by themselves determined that a man by the name of Routledge, a clerk in the post office at Winnipeg, should be transferred to Edmonton by way of promotion. Mr. Routledge was not in any way subjected to an examination but was merely promoted upon the record that he had in the post office at Winnipeg. I am not taking any exception to the appointment of Mr. Routledge in so far as his efficiency or

ability to fill the position, is concerned. My objection is that the Civil Service Act has been violated and that it is evident that the Civil Service Commission is being imposed upon by the deputy heads and notably in this case by the deputy postmaster general and by the superintendent of post offices, Mr. Ross. It is clear from a return which has been made to the House that the Civil Service Commission is not performing its functions but that it is capable of being influenced by certain powers that be. The first communication I desire to call to your attention in this respect is that to be found on pages 63 and 64 of the return. It is a letter directed to the postmaster at Edmonton, Mr. G. S. Armstrong, by Mr. George Ross, the chief post office superintendent. I shall not read the whole letter because I wish to take as little time as possible with this matter but there are certain portions that I desire to put on record. He says:

You further informed me there is no person now attached to the Edmonton post office capable of undertaking the duties of assistant postmaster and in the interest of the service it will be necessary to bring a man from some other office. You also wrote me to that effect, and I transferred your letter to the Post Office Department.

Further on:

However I am quite prepared to take full responsibility for nominating Mr. Routledge, but I must ask you as postmaster at Edmonton to make such enquiries as you consider necessary and proper to determine whether the enquiries I made are quite satisfactory to you.

—and so forth. Then towards the end of the letter he says:

You may say if you choose that I instructed you to write them—

—that is instructed him to write to the postmaster— or some authority in Winnipeg—

—but I would not go further than these two officers and I would ask that the matter be treated confidentially for the reason that no person except the Deputy Postmaster General and myself know that I have nominated Mr. Routledge to fill the vacancy and I do not want any undue pressure brought to bear even under present conditions until the matter has been settled.

That is the first indication we have of the department communicating with Edmonton—not to ascertain whether there is anybody in Edmonton capable of filling this position, but repeating a conversation that took place between George Armstrong and Mr. Ross himself. Then we pass on to the letter, to be found on page 28 of the return, from Armstrong to Ross. I will not take up the

time of the committee in reading it, but that letter substantially says: Hurry up and make the appointment. Then we come to a letter, on page 59, from the postmaster at Edmonton in connection with Mr. Cryderman, one of the applicants. I would like the committee to take particular notice of this letter by reason of the fact that the department at Ottawa acted upon it.

George Armstrong to Mr. Ross:

March 6th, 1920.

I understand clerk M. R. Cryderman of this Post Office is doing all he can to secure the appointment for himself. However, I beg to assure you that he is entirely unfitted for such a responsible and executive position. His lack of judgment in my estimation debars him entirely from consideration for this appointment. As an example, last Saturday at noon, it became necessary for the clerk i/c General Delivery Department to remonstrate with Clerk Schroeter in one of the wickets for his neglect of duty and careless work, whereupon Clerk Schroeter immediately struck the Clerk i/c, resenting the attitude of Clerk Swaffield in speaking to him. Clerk Cryderman was standing by, witnessing the whole affair, but did nothing whatever to stop the scuffle. Immediately Clerks Parraton and Gregory of the Despatch Department, observing the trouble, rushed forward to separate these clerks, but Clerk Cryderman interfered, telling them to leave the men alone, that they were all right, and that their place was back in their own Department. I have talked this matter over seriously with Clerk Cryderman and have tried to point out to him forcibly that his duty was, when the trouble began, to do everything in his power to separate the men, and put a stop to the row, but Clerk Cryderman feels that he did right in leaving the men alone, which is entirely opposite to my judgment to what should have been done, as I feel that it is the duty of every clerk in the Post Office to do everything in his power to put a stop to any trouble of this kind, and to prevent it, if in his power.

This one action on the part of Clerk Cryderman, to my mind, demonstrates that he is totally unfitted for any such position as that of Assistant Postmaster, and I am giving you this information in order that you may be the better acquainted with this man's ability, should his name be placed before you.

Now, Sir, this is a letter from the postmaster who, in the last four or five years, has been responsible for that post office, notwithstanding the fact that theft after theft has taken place, and notably a theft of \$50,000 some few months ago as a result of which every clerk in the department was under suspicion of having taken that money. I am also informed by detectives who worked on the case that there is just as much evidence against the postmaster himself as there is against any of the clerks. However, the point I want to make is that the man who is responsible for all these things that took place in the post office at Edmonton is the one who tells Mr. Ross

that Mr. Cryderman is not a fit and proper person to become deputy postmaster by reason of the fact that he would not interfere between two men who were fighting. Now that is the whole information given to the Government by the postmaster at Edmonton.

It will be noted, Mr. Chairman, that when the post office clerks struck all over the Dominion the men at Edmonton stuck to their posts. Twice in the course of a year the post office employees throughout the country were on strike whereas the Edmonton men were staying at their posts. Yet this is the kind of treatment that is given to them by the Civil Service Commission and by the deputy head of the Post Office Department.

Then we have in the return a letter from Mr. Ross to Mr. Blondin. The appointment of Rutledge was not being made fast enough and Mr. Ross in effect says to Mr. Blondin: Kindly insist upon the commission making the appointment.

On page 49 of the return is to be found a letter written by Mr. Ross to the Postmaster General to the following effect:

Acknowledging receipt of the Superintendent's letter dated the 3rd inst., file No. 11165, stating that the question of the appointment of Mr. Thomas A. Rutledge, of the Winnipeg Post Office Staff, to the position of Assistant Postmaster at Edmonton is at present before the Civil Service Commission and that the Commission is again being asked what action it is intended to take in the matter, beg to say it is vitally important that the appointment of the Assistant Postmaster at Edmonton be made immediately. If the Commission in its judgment is not agreeable to the appointment of Mr. Rutledge, then may I most respectfully suggest that the Commission name an Assistant Postmaster and appoint him. The Edmonton Office is being semi-disorganized owing to insufficient supervision, such as a capable Assistant Postmaster would be in a position to afford.

Then in further correspondence between the deputy Postmaster General and the commission, the former writes to the latter and states that they should make this appointment. Notably in one letter the deputy Postmaster General says among other things that Mr. Rutledge has a comprehensive experience in post office work. He enjoys good health, he has a good education, is energetic, possesses good executive ability, and will make a first-class assistant postmaster. The post office inspector at Winnipeg and the chief post office superintendent concur in the above views. The postmaster at Edmonton states that—

—there is no person in his office whom he considers is qualified to satisfactorily fill the position in question, and as a result of enquiries

[Mr. H. A. Mackie.]

made states that he does not know of any person whom he could recommend for the position in question in preference to Mr. Rutledge.

Therefore, he says to the Civil Service Commission: You shall appoint Mr. Rutledge.

Then the letter carriers of Edmonton communicated with Dr. Roche, Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, and pointed out the injustice that was being done. In reply the Civil Service Commission told Mr. Campbell, Secretary of that Association at Edmonton, that Mr. Armstrong had stated that there was no person capable of filling the position and that they were appointing the person recommended by the deputy head of the department.

Now, Sir, I need not take up more time reading these communications. I have shown you that: first, the terms of the Civil Service Act have not been respected; that the men in the city of Edmonton applying for this vacancy were not treated even courteously by the department; that the Civil Service Commission was dictated to by the deputy Postmaster General and Mr. Ross; and that in the end Mr. Rutledge, who was not submitted to an examination or test, was transferred to the city of Edmonton to take the place of men, any one of whom, I have reason to believe, could pass the qualifying examination to become deputy postmaster. I call attention to that because it is only one of the cases that have come to my notice through the relation of stories by different members. In Edmonton I submit that there has been absolute neglect by the deputy Postmaster General to treat our men fairly. All that they asked was that the Civil Service Act be respected, that they be given the examination, and that he who obtained a sufficient number of marks should obtain the position.

Mr. ROWELL: I should not like to let the item pass without stating that in the view of the department the postmaster at Edmonton was in no way responsible for the loss of the money referred to. I do not think it would be right, speaking for the Post Office Department here, to permit the implication to go out that after the first investigation the department felt that there was ground for a claim upon the postmaster by reason of the loss of the money referred to.

On the other point, all I can say is that from the standpoint of the Post Office Department and the proper administration of the service, there is no man more competent to express an opinion as to the qualifica-

tions of the officials in the territory under his jurisdiction than Mr. Ross, the post office inspector. The fact is that both the postmaster at Edmonton, and Mr. Ross, as well as the deputy Postmaster General, reached the conclusion that there was no man in the Edmonton post office qualified for the position of assistant postmaster. That being so, the department followed its general practice of recommending to the Civil Service Commission the man in the service whom they considered best qualified. The man so recommended was the chief clerk in the Winnipeg post office.

I believe in all matters of promotion the commission does confer with the deputy head of the department, as is of course quite proper, because the deputy head is posted as to the officials in his department who are best qualified for promotion. I am advised by the commission—I have no personal knowledge of the fact—that in this case they acted, they believe, within the provisions of the Act and appointed the man best qualified for the position.

I recognize that it is quite proper for my hon. friend (Mr. Mackie) to bring the matter to the attention of the House, and I shall be glad to draw the attention, both of the department and of the Civil Service Commission to the representations which he has made here this afternoon.

Mr. MACKIE (East Edmonton): I would like to add that I have no desire to reflect on the deputy Postmaster General, neither have I any desire to reflect on the postmaster of Edmonton, because I have not the evidence before me upon which I can form a judgment. I have been denied that evidence by the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) because, as he stated in the House, it was impossible for me to have the evidence as it might show how the culprit might be detected. I make no reflection upon Superintendent Ross, or upon Mr. Rutledge, who has been appointed. But I do say,—and I have no answer to it—that section 45 of the Civil Service Act provides for the procedure whereby promotions shall be made, and that the Act has been violated.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I am rather surprised that there should be an increase in the civil Government of the Post Office Department, when the Government has thought it proper to appoint, over the heads of the Civil Service Commission, the firm of Griffenhagen and Associates to investigate the department, and when, in the Order in Council appointing that firm, one of the reasons given for justifying the appointment

is that reductions to the amount of several hundred thousand dollars can be made in the department. It is stated also—

Mr. ROWELL: If my hon. friend will permit me, the increase is simply the statutory increase to the staff.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I quite understand that it is the statutory increase. But if the department is to have its staff decreased, there is no necessity for this large figure.

Mr. EULER: Does this item include the pay of the letter carriers?

Mr. ROWELL: No, that will be reached later.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I would like to get an answer from my hon. friend.

Mr. ROWELL: I am sure my hon. friend will appreciate that where a staff is in existence and is entitled to certain salaries, those salaries must be voted and paid. If, as the result of investigation of the department, it is found that the staff should be reduced, then, of course, those men who are relieved of service will not get paid. In the meantime the money must be provided to carry on the service with the present staff.

Mr. LEMIEUX: But in the report which was laid on the table of the House the other day you have the admission on the part of the Government that this department is overburdened with a large number of civil servants, and the reason given for the appointment of the firm I have referred to is that their investigation of the department will enable them to recommend the dismissal of a large number of employees. It is further stated that this investigation will be carried out within a reasonably short time. Therefore, I do not see why you increase the figures this year.

Mr. ROWELL: I am sorry that I cannot add to the answer I have already given to my hon. friend.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Am I to understand then that this report is a sham, and that the Government does not believe the expenditure in the department will be decreased as suggested? Has my hon. friend read the report?

Mr. ROWELL: Yes, I have.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Well what does the report say?

Mr. ROWELL: I may say to my hon. friend that this will be a proper matter for consideration when the item in connection

with the reorganization of the Civil Service comes before the committee. Then the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster), who is responsible for the item, will be able to deal with my hon. friend's question. I submit that this is not the occasion to enter into such a general discussion as my hon. friend has referred to. Let me repeat: this item covers only the salaries of the existing staff of the inside service, plus the ordinary statutory increases to which they are entitled. The vote is necessary if the service is to be carried on. An Act which has already passed this House provides that retiring allowances shall be paid out of salaries, the salary vote; so that it is necessary to have this vote, even if some employees are retired. No one can say what the reduction will be. We would not be justified in reducing the vote at this stage.

Mr. LEMIEUX: It is understood that there will be a general unloading of the staff of the Post Office Department, yet we are asked to vote a larger amount for salaries this year than we voted last year.

Mr. PARENT: Some time ago I directed the attention of the Government to the fact that when a holiday falls on Monday and the mails are not delivered in the cities on that day, the result is that for two days there is no delivery of mail. I am informed that this is a handicap to trade throughout the country, and I have been asked to make this representation to the Government with a view to their remedying the situation.

Item agreed to.

Post Office—outside service—salaries and allowances, etc., \$22,423,143.50.

Mr. NESBITT: There is a good deal of agitation among the rural mail carriers with regard to their remuneration; in fact, they have asked that they be put on a salary allowance. I do not know that I am in sympathy with that suggestion, but in their complaint they say that when they are allowed to resign from their positions and their routes are opened up again, the department sends inspectors around who practically coerce them into submitting a lower tender than will pay them to carry out the work. Does the minister know that this system or theory is carried out by the department? If so, in my judgment it should not be. These men should have a fair opportunity of tendering in the open market and of getting reasonable remuneration for the work they do. If any of them

[Mr. Rowell.]

are forced to carry on under the agreements which they made three or four years ago, they will be out of pocket. We should treat these men fairly, just as we would treat any other human beings.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Will the hon. gentleman state what is the new policy of the department; how many routes there are at present; how many rural mail carriers there are and what is their average salary? Is it intended that the mode of payment shall be changed? The request which has been made on behalf of rural mail carriers in the form of a petition seems, on the face of it, to be very reasonable. I quote the following paragraphs from it:

Ask your legislative body to enact such legislation as may be necessary, or to take immediate steps to grant to us at once, the following requests:

1. That all rural mail contracts be cancelled, and that all rural mail contractors employed by the Government at the present time be immediately placed on a straight yearly salary basis of sixty dollars per mile per year; the same to date from January 1st, 1917, until the present time, and to continue in the future at that rate.

2. That we be granted all statutory holidays with full salary.

3. That we be paid up to date at the end of every thirty days, instead of holding back moneys as under the present arrangement.

I shall not read any further, because I do not wish to detain the committee. But they claim that their time is more valuable to-day than it was some years ago; that the cost of material has at least doubled; that under the present tender system they cannot make both ends meet. I am not ready to say that we should accept in full the demands made by the rural mail carriers, but it does seem to me that some of the claims made in this petition are justifiable under the circumstances. I wish also to be fair to myself, I have advocated a reduction of expenditure of the department. I believe the department went too far in extending the rural mail system, a system which was organized some years ago on a reasonable basis. At that time we were guided by the experience of the United States with regard to rural mail delivery, where a huge deficit had resulted from their expensive operations. We thought it wise, therefore, to limit the service to certain centres and to operate it only under certain conditions. We had that system from 1908 until 1911, when the hon. member for Beauce (Mr. Beland) became Postmaster General. During all that time, with a reasonable rural mail delivery system, the department made both ends meet. But since that time, by

the indiscriminate extension of that system, by giving it to Tom, Dick and Harry, the department is now face to face with a huge deficit, and I do not know how the Government are going to put a stop to rolling millions into that department.

Mr. EULER: I should like to add just a word to what the two previous speakers have said with regard to rural mail drivers. As I understand the matter, they have two chief grievances, both of which seem to be very fairly argued. One is that the pay which is accorded to them is entirely too low, and the other is that they have to wait for an unusually long time, something like three or four months, for their pay.

The conditions under which rural mail drivers are suffering are, of course, the result of what we call the high cost of living, and they have not had the relief that has been given to others in the postal service who are known as civil servants. The rural mail drivers are not, I understand, strictly speaking, civil servants, but they obtain their employment under the contract system. As everyone knows, in the last four years conditions have changed very materially for the worse for all of us as regards living costs. I well remember, two years ago, I think it was, when the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) was acting Postmaster General, when a similar complaint was made on behalf of the rural carriers, he stated that where it could be shown that conditions had become very much worse since the contracts were signed, if proper representations were made, the men could be relieved of their contracts and new contracts could be entered into. I believe something of that kind has been done, but I do not believe it has been altogether general. I understand there are still a good many cases of men who are receiving utterly inadequate remuneration and who have not been relieved of their contracts, in some cases, possibly because they have not had sufficient assurance to go to the Government or, perhaps, to go to the hon. member representing their constituency and ask him to help them out. It has been only those who have had sufficient assurance to try to help themselves who have received relief. I can say from my experience, without casting any criticism upon any official, that where applications have been made on behalf of those who have a grievance, relief has not always been given. A serious condition certainly exists. For example, in the riding which I represent, one rural

driver was obliged to keep two horses, and he gave all his time to the work for a salary of \$1,000 a year or a little more. As a matter of fact, when he figured this out carefully, he found that he had for himself something like \$1.50 a day. It may be stated that he tendered for his contract, and that is true, but I do not believe that in case of contracts with private employers, such employers would, under the new conditions of living, insist in all cases upon their employees living up to the terms of the contract. The Government of Canada might very well grant to these people reconsideration of their contracts. In fact, the condition is such now that the whole subject of rural mail contracts ought to be reviewed, and they ought to be placed on some definite, fair basis. The drivers, I believe, asked for \$60 a mile, and while I am not prepared to say whether that is fair or not, I believe it is not very far from a just figure. In the case which I have just mentioned where the man was receiving a little over \$1,000 a year, he had a route of something over thirty miles. That contract was finally cancelled and new tenders were called for. The lowest of the first tenders that came in was for \$1,800, and the department would not accept that, because they said it was altogether too high. New tenders were accordingly called for, and the result was that the department had to give a contract at \$1,800, which, under the circumstances, I thought was not too high. The Government should review the whole case and make some definite, fair arrangement under which all the men and not only a few will receive remuneration in accordance with their services and in accordance with the self-respect of Canada. Moreover, some change ought to be made in regard to the manner in which the men are paid. Men ought not to be called upon to wait for three or even four months before receiving their cheques.

Mr. SMITH: I should like to commend the action of the Government in connection with their work as regards the rural mail. Whilst I do not altogether agree with the petition of the rural mail carriers, I think many of the points in their petition are in the right direction. My object in rising is principally to point out—and I say this from my knowledge and experience in my calling—that when these men complete their outfit, it is impossible for them at present prices to exist. In my county, I know some of them, serving, perhaps, two routes, have been losing from \$1 to \$2 a day. It might be possible to meet part of their peti-

tion by giving a certain amount per mile to the present mail carriers. I do not say whether \$60 a mile would be right or not, but from my present knowledge, it would not be very much out of the way. I am, however, satisfied on this point, that while the present system of tendering was all right in the old days, it is not right to-day, and the unfortunate part of the matter is that a great deal of work is done, not by young men, but by men up in years who, perhaps, have small families, and it is quite impossible for the work to be done at present prices. In the near future, some new course may possibly be adopted which may be in the interest, not only of the department, but of the rural mail carriers.

Mr. MACKIE (North Renfrew): From information which I have gathered, I should draw the conclusion that each and every member of this House has approached the Postmaster General or someone in authority asking for an increase in the indemnity paid to the rural route delivery people. They have done so at the request of the drivers and probably at the request of many of their constituents, and I doubt if there is a rural constituent who is not in favour of an increase. When the rural constituents and the members approach the Government, what conclusion are we to form as to the obstinacy of the Government or the department in not meeting the wishes of the members?

Mr. BELAND: I should like to support the contention put forward by the hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux), the hon. member for Waterloo North (Mr. Euler) and some hon. members on the other side. The claim of the rural mail carriers is well founded. I do not believe there is a member of this House who has been at liberty to consider the claims of the rural mail carriers who is not convinced that their demands should be supported by every member, and be granted by Parliament. The mail carriers serve their country throughout the whole year practically without a single day's rest, with the possible exception of Sunday. Nothing but force majeure deters them from carrying out the conditions of their contract. In a blinding snowstorm and the worst possible weather they carry the mail and distribute it to the boxes along their route. They ask for \$60 per mile per year. In other words, they ask that the mail carrier who carries the mail, say, ten miles from the post office and back again the

[Mr. Smith.]

same day, should receive \$1,200 a year, that is, twenty miles at \$60 per mile. The man who has such a task to perform has to keep two horses. Is there any man in this House who would consider that too much to pay a man who has to keep two horses and rigs, winter and summer, and give almost his whole time to the work? I do not believe it is too much. It is claimed by the Government that if a contractor is not satisfied with the price he is receiving he may ask the Postmaster General to cancel his contract and new tenders will be called for. But in many cases the mail carrier has been at that job ten, fifteen, twenty, or twenty-five years. He has practically abandoned all hope of engaging in any other occupation, and should he ask for the cancellation of his contract, the possibility exists that someone else not in full possession of all the circumstances and requirements may submit a lower tender and get the contract. The new man afterwards finds himself in a very serious and very precarious position because he has tendered too low. I think the Government should enter into a conference with representatives of the mail carriers from all over the country, and discuss this question with a view to an agreement whereby, without the treasury of the country being robbed, the hardships of these people will be relieved. I agree with all that has been said by hon. members who have spoken on this subject as to the hardships which the mail carriers are enduring patiently in the public service. The only answer that is given by the department is: "They decided to accept the price they are now being paid, so they cannot complain. They can have their contract cancelled if they wish, and new tenders will be called for."

For the reasons I have given I do not think it is fair to expose these men to the risk of losing a contract with the conditions of which they have complied, in some cases, for a quarter of a century.

Mr. RICHARDSON: As there will probably be no vote, I just want to stand up and say that in my judgment I think something ought to be done for the men engaged in rural mail delivery. In my constituency, where the routes are long and the roads bad, the present terms are a great hardship. I would also like to put in a word for the country postmasters, who I think are perhaps the poorest paid officials of the Government.

Mr. PROULX: I wish to associate myself with those who have spoken on behalf

of the rural mail carrier. I think they should be given an increase. I think the maximum price allowed per mile is too low, and especially so during the last few years. I submit that a fair way to deal with the rural mail carriers would be to allow them a sliding scale of increases until their contract expires. They are asking for a minimum of \$60 a mile. I do not think that is too high. I think it should be granted until their contract expires. As my hon. friend from Beauce has said, I do not think it is fair to expose the rural mail carriers to the risk of losing their contract by having new tenders called for. I think it would be a great injustice to the men who have been doing this work for so long. The Government have already granted increases to judges and to themselves and the members of this House, and I trust they will consider this very worthy class of public servants.

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): I think that this whole question should be reconsidered in a very full way, at a conference between some representative of the Post Office Department who is cognizant of the situation and representatives of the rural mail carriers. I believe they have a grievance, and they are at least entitled to a reconsideration of the whole question with a view to finding, if possible, a better basis for the service than now exists. It would take a little time, but the question is worthy of being reconsidered in a broad way, and it should be done promptly so that some relief may be given to these men.

Mr. KAY: I wish to add my voice in support of the pleas that have been made on behalf of the rural mail carriers by hon. members on both sides of the House. There is no question that these men who are faithful servants of the public are to-day, through no fault of their own, carrying the mail in the rural districts at a daily loss. Many of them tendered three or four years ago, when prices were very much lower, and the money they are receiving from the Government to-day is not sufficient to pay for the feed of their horses. I am quite sure that the people of this country do not desire any class of men to work for this Government without fair remuneration, and I would ask that the Government give this matter very serious consideration.

Mr. BOYCE: I wish to support what has been said on behalf of the rural mail carriers. There is no question that they are doing good work for very little return. There is nothing in it for a man who has

to keep a team of horses and drive twenty or twenty-five miles a day and gets only \$600 or \$700 a year. I think they should receive \$1,200 a year at the very least. It is impossible in the winter for a man to carry the mail with only one horse. I do not think the country wants any person to work for nothing and I am sure that if this Parliament fails to do something to increase the remuneration of mail carriers it will do an injustice and it will fail to carry out the wish of the people of the country.

Mr. EDWARDS: I would just like to say a word in regard to the proposition made in the petition for the rural mail carriers for a flat rate of \$60 a mile. I am not going to say that it is too much. I know that in parts of my own county it would be a low price rather than a high one. But let me give an illustration of how that proposition would work out if it were accepted. On a route which was tendered for in a part of the country I represent the present carrier is being compensated at the rate of about \$35 a mile. His tender was only \$3 lower than that of the next man. Suppose you gave the present carrier \$60 per mile, what would those who tendered just a few dollars lower than he did say as to the way they had been treated? Again, the proposal to take it out of the tender system and make a flat rate would necessitate putting it under the Civil Service Commission, letting any person make application for these routes, fixing the price of each route according to mileage, number of boxes, or in some other way, and making a schedule. You must either do it in one way or the other. You either have to ask for tenders, and if you ask for tenders you have to give fair play to the man who was perhaps a dollar or two above the successful tenderer, or else you have to cut out the tender system entirely and allow the Civil Service Commission to appoint these men. Every person knows that within the last six months the prices of feed and materials have gone up. Every man who has entered into a contract as a rural mail carrier in the last year, in view of the increased cost of horseshoeing, hay and oats, should, if he so desires, be allowed to have his contract cancelled.

Mr. ROWELL: The question raised by the hon. gentleman is a very important one and it has received a great deal of consideration at the hands of the department. It will receive still further consideration. The question of whether the contract and tender system which has pre-

vailed in past years should be discontinued and a flat rate contract basis adopted is one involving very many important considerations of public policy. Members will recognize that a flat rate which might in a certain district, depending on the character of the country, be excellent, and perhaps more than fair compensation would not be adequate in a different character of country with natural obstacles to overcome. Therefore it is difficult to consider the question of a flat rate as applied to a country as diverse in its natural characteristics as is the Dominion of Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The old contracts, or all those entered into over five years ago, I understand, have been cancelled and new contracts have been entered into in each case. Most of the contracts now existing are ones that have been in force for a limited period. All these new contracts have been entered into at rates very much higher than the old contracts. On contracts entered into this year more is paid than on contracts entered into last year and on contracts entered into last year more than the year before. The matter will receive the most careful consideration by the department and representatives of the rural mail carriers will be consulted before it is finally decided.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I notice that there is an increase of more than half a million dollars for the mail service. Is that in connection with the rural mail service? Will my hon. friend give the details of that item and also of the item under the head of "Miscellaneous"? I notice an increase in the rural mail delivery of \$1,465,000? Is that due to an increase in the service or to increases in these contracts?

Mr. ROWELL: Both. In answer to my hon. friend (Mr. Argue) who has asked as to the compensation of postmasters in cities and towns I may say that on the 22nd of this month an Order in Council was passed based upon a report of the Civil Service Commission providing for the regrading of these officers and for increased compensation in certain grades. The following statement was sent out by the department to all postmasters under date of yesterday.

Circular to Postmasters—

Post Office Department, Canada.

OTTAWA, June 29th, 1920.

Postmasters are informed that on the recommendation of the Civil Service Commission, an Order in Council has been passed fixing the rates of compensation to be allowed at offices of

[Mr. Rowell.]

grades 1 and 2 formerly designated revenue offices as follows:—

Salary—

50 per cent on first \$1,000 of revenue.

30 per cent on revenue for \$1,000 to \$10,000.

20 per cent on revenue over \$10,000.

A minimum salary of \$60 for offices having a revenue less than \$120.

Rent, Fuel and light—

An allowance based on the revenue of each office according to the scale in force since 1st April 1917. This allowance is not to be paid at offices in Government Buildings or in buildings leased by the Government.

Forward Allowance—

15 per cent on the revenue of all dependent offices for which direct forward duty is performed and 7½ for indirect forward duty, the minimum forward allowance to be \$5 for each dependent office, for either direct or indirect forwarding.

For Night Duty—

An allowance varying from \$20 to \$200 to Postmasters who are required to open their offices before 7 a.m. and to keep them open after 8 p.m. the allowance to be fixed according to the time occupied and the amount of work to be done at each office.

Compensation for the transaction of Money order, Savings Bank and Postal Note Business.

Four cents for each Money Order issued and one cent for each Order paid.

Savings Bank business 2½ cents on every \$100 deposited.

Postal Note Business—one cent for each Postal Note sold.

The salaries and allowances to be paid Postmasters each year shall be calculated on the revenues of their respective offices for the previous year, increases to date from the 1st of April of the year in which the salaries are revised and reductions to take effect from the 1st of October in the same year, but in order that Postmasters may obtain the benefit of the new scale from the 1st of April 1919, the salaries paid for the year 1920-21 shall include arrears for the fiscal year 1919-20 according to the new scale. In cases where the revenue is found to have fallen off in 1919-20 no refunds of the salaries already paid for that year will be demanded.

R. M. COULTER,

Deputy Postmaster General.

My hon. friend will see that we are making substantial increases in the scale of the allowances to postmasters.

Mr. CROTHERS: I am glad to hear the acting Postmaster General say that the matter is to be reconsidered. I understand that there are three or four grades of post offices. We have cases where the revenue amounts to a certain sum. I do not know what that sum is but assuming, for instance, that it is \$30,000 a year, the office is rated as a city office and the postmaster and clerks there are paid on a special scale. In another post office having a revenue within \$1,000 of the other, we will say of \$29,000, the clerks are paid on a different scale altogether and get very much less income although they are doing very much

the same kind of work as those in the other office. That I think is all wrong.

Under another system the postmaster is paid by commission on the work he does. Now I have in mind a case where the postmaster in a town of less than 4,000 inhabitants, who is paid by commission, is getting a very much larger salary than the postmaster in a town of 17,000 inhabitants. That seems to be all wrong too. The postmaster who is paid by commission hires all his own help and naturally he hires the cheapest class he can get. They do not have to pass a Civil Service examination and do not have to be appointed by the Civil Service Commission, as I understand it. So the postmaster in a little town of 3,500 inhabitants, who is paid by commission, draws a very much larger income than a postmaster in a city of 17,000 inhabitants. That, as I see it, is all wrong.

There is still another system if I remember rightly. That is where the postmaster is paid a regular salary of so much per year. I know a case of that kind in a city of about 17,000 inhabitants where the salary is 50 per cent less than it is in a little town of one-quarter of the population where the postmaster is paid by commission. I do not want to take up the time of the committee any longer but I hope that when the Postmaster General comes to look into the matters previously referred to that he will likewise deal with the other cases to which I have drawn attention and place them upon something like a fair and reasonable basis.

Mr. VIEN: Does the statement given by the minister mean that the increases apply only to post offices where the postmasters are paid on commission, or do they apply to all post offices?

Mr. ROWELL: The statement I have read relates solely to post offices where the postmasters are paid on commission.

Mr. VIEN: I note that in this item there is an increase of \$285,000 for salaries. On what basis are these increases worked out?

Mr. ROWELL: That is due to two causes: First, the statutory increase to which the employees are entitled year by year, and secondly, to an increase in the staff in certain post offices, necessitated by the fact that the staff has been put on the basis of an eight-hour day and forty-four hour week. To meet that condition there had to be an increase in the number of employees in those offices.

Mr. VIEN: But that does not really apply to all post offices?

Mr. ROWELL: It applies to all the post offices where the employees are officials of the Government.

Mr. VIEN: It applies then to all post offices enumerated in the schedule under item 340? (Post office—Outside Service, \$22,423,143.)

Mr. ROWELL: Yes.

Mr. VIEN: Then if the minister will refer to some items he will observe these facts: In the city of Edmonton with an expenditure of \$180,000, the increase in salaries is \$19,000; in the city of Victoria with an expenditure of \$118,000, the increase is \$13,000; in the city of Regina with an expenditure of \$117,000, the increase is \$12,000; in the city of Montreal, with an expenditure of \$1,294,000, the increase is \$35,000; and in the city of Ottawa, with an expenditure of \$300,000, the increase is \$35,000. I would like to ask the minister how it is that the city of Ottawa, for instance, is receiving this year an increase in salaries amounting to \$35,000 when the city of Montreal with an expenditure of \$1,294,000 does not receive any more?

Mr. ROWELL: The explanation is simply this: So far as the statutory increases are concerned, they are practically automatic in their operation and they may be larger in one office than in another, due to the fact that a larger number of employees were that year entitled to the statutory increase. If the employees had reached the maximum of their class they would not be entitled to the statutory increase. In any office where there were a large number of employees who had reached the maximum of the class the increase in the Estimates for this purpose would be limited; whereas if there were a substantial number who had not reached the maximum the increase would necessarily be greater. With respect to the second cause for the increase, there are offices where, by reason of the number already on the staff, it was not necessary to appoint so many new men when the hours of work were shortened. It was unnecessary, because they had already such a staff that they were able to adjust the work and carry it on efficiently without making that increase which was necessary in other offices.

Mr. VIEN: I do not fully understand the explanation of the minister. He says the staff in certain cities was sufficient

whereas in other cities it was not. Now take the city of Montreal, with a population of over 750,000, and last year the expenditure was \$1,294,000. As you are all aware the city of Montreal is the commercial metropolis of Canada; it is the head of ocean navigation. Surely there is no city in Canada where the staff of the post office must be kept as efficient as in the city of Montreal. That is shown by the large expenditure amounting, as I have said, to \$1,294,000. The population of Toronto is somewhere in the vicinity of 500,000 and while the expenditure there last year was \$1,166,000, the increase for salaries amounted to \$73,000. On the other hand I fail to understand why in a much larger city, where the business is growing in a far greater proportion, the increase in salaries only amounted to \$35,000. It seems to me that we did not receive the fullest explanation as to the discrepancy between the two increases.

Mr. ROWELL: I do not want to enter into a discussion such as my hon. friend from Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) raised the other evening when he suggested that the number of employees in certain post offices was in his opinion excessive. I think my hon. friend mentioned Montreal and Quebec.

Mr. LEMIEUX: And Toronto, and Ottawa, and other offices.

Mr. ROWELL: I do not pretend at the present time to be able to say in what offices there are surplus employees. But I believe, from the information I have received, that in the Montreal post office there is an adequate staff, and that by reorganization probably it can be substantially reduced. The point to make clear is that there is absolutely the same treatment for all post offices and all employees. The latter get only the increases to which they are entitled under the statute, no more and no less; the additions to the staff in any office are due solely to the change in the hours of work required by reason of the actual work. While it is true, as my hon. friend has said, that Montreal's population is larger than Toronto's, the fact is that the volume of post office business is substantially larger in Toronto.

Mr. VIEN: What is the revenue of the Toronto post office as compared with the Montreal post office? And what is the number of employees in the two offices?

Mr. ROWELL: I will get the information in a minute, but I would rather not

[Mr. Vien.]

delay the House in view of the desire to make progress.

Mr. VIEN: Let the item stand in the meantime.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Is it a fact that a contract has been entered into between the city of Montreal and the department for the enlargement of the post office?

Mr. ROWELL: So far as the department is aware, there is no contract for the enlargement of the Montreal post office.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I notice a little item here of \$15,000 to provide for the expenses of administering the Act respecting annuities for old age. This very important legislation was passed some years ago and the people should be encouraged to take advantage of it. I would like a statement from the minister in charge as to whether there has been a substantial increase in the number of annuitants? This was practically an old age pension scheme, and at the time it was well received by the people.

Mr. ROWELL: I am sure my hon. friend will be gratified to know that at an early stage of the present session—I think probably before my hon. friend had returned from Europe—the Government passed a Bill which was in charge of my hon. friend the Minister of Finance (Sir Henry Drayton), amending the existing act so to enlarge its scope. It provided for an increase in the interest rate and also for an increase in the amount of the annuity that might be purchased. The Government contemplates a very substantial increase in that branch of the work of the department. The number of annuitants is steadily increasing, and as the advantages of the Act become more widely known we anticipate it will be availed of to a much larger extent.

Mr. FIELDING: Following the question of my hon. friend from Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux), will the minister kindly inform us what machinery is being employed to make this system known? Life insurance is generally gathered in by vigorous agents. How are we gathering in these annuitants?

Mr. ROWELL: I am informed that the method adopted is by advertising in the press. Since the new legislation has been put through we have not had an opportunity to consider what further steps should be taken, but I imagine that probably still more active methods will be adopted to make the advantages of the Act known to the people.

Mr. BEST: Allow me to revert to the rural mail carriers to ask a question. In cases where the department decide to release a contractor and ask for tenders is it the fact that when those tenders are received below \$45 a mile they still hold the old contractor to his contract?

Mr. ROWELL: Where a contractor represents to the department that he entered into his contract under conditions which made it impossible for him to foresee the increase in prices which has been so marked in the last year or two, the department authorize the re-advertising of the contract. When tenders come in if the price is such as the department considers fair, then a new contract is awarded. The old contractor himself is at liberty to tender, and if he puts in a price that is considered fair, and it is the lowest tender, he gets the contract. If the department consider the price is beyond what would be reasonable for the Government to pay, they have in their view no alternative in the meantime but to hold the man to his contract, because the mails must be delivered; but in such cases they take the matter up with a view to seeing if an equitable rate can be arrived at. I have no doubt that in a number of cases real hardship has ensued before men have been relieved of their contracts, but the department feel that unless they are to allow the public service to suffer they can take no other course than to hold the old contractor to his bargain until they can get a new contract at a reasonable rate. That, I understand, is the general policy the department pursues.

Mr. BEST: What is the information on which they base their opinion that a tender is too high?

Mr. ROWELL: It is based upon the knowledge and experience of the officer of the department in carrying on this branch of the public service. The general average at present is about \$45 per mile.

Mr. HENDERS: I would like to call attention to the fact that these contracts are for four year periods. I think if the department would issue them for two years it would relieve cases where hardship does arise. The department might consider that suggestion.

Mr. EULER: Will this appropriation cover the increased amounts coming to the mail carriers in the cities? If so, when may these men expect to receive payment?

Mr. ROWELL: That is included in a separate item—a lump sum vote in the Supplementary Estimates covering all branches of the public service. I hope we may dispose of it in a very short time.

Mr. EULER: Will the minister tell us about when payments may be expected? The delay is causing intense dissatisfaction.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I notice—

Mr. EULER: I would like an answer to my question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ROWELL: The Estimate, we hope, will go through to-day. The amounts will then have to be applied to the various branches of the service, but the payments should be made in the very near future. In answer to my hon. friend (Mr. Vien), I may say that the revenue of the Toronto office for the year ending March 31, 1919, was \$4,458,970, and of the Montreal office, \$2,398,185.

Mr. VIEN: What is the number of employees in each?

Mr. ROWELL: I have not the figures here, but I am advised that the number in the Montreal office is in excess of the number in Toronto.

Mr. VIEN: Quebec city has a population of \$100,000 or over; the increase for salaries this year in that office is \$1,200. Ottawa, a city of about the same population, gets an increase of \$35,000. Toronto, a city of 500,000, gets an increase of \$73,000, while Montreal, a city of 750,000, gets an increase of \$35,000. It seems to me that there is no justification for the discrepancy that is indicated by these figures.

Mr. MACLEAN (South York): The explanation may be found in the volume of business.

Mr. VIEN: No, the volume of business is not proportionate to the variations in these figures. I would think that the difference might more reasonably be accounted for by the fact that the cities which get the larger increases are represented in this House by the larger number of hon. members.

Mr. LEMIEUX: There is an item here for the repair of mail bags; also the following item:

For hand stamps, scales, and weights for post offices and for other miscellaneous items of post office charges and equipment.

Are tenders called for these contracts?

Mr. ROWELL: Tenders are called in practically all cases—certainly where the amounts involved are of any magnitude.

Mr. LEVIGUEUR: Who is the parcel post supervisor in the district of Quebec?

Mr. ROWELL: Dr. Fiset.

Mr. LAVIGUEUR: Has he an office in Quebec city?

Mr. ROWELL: I do not think so. I do not think he requires one for his duties?

Mr. LEMIEUX: Where does he draw his salary?

Mr. ROWELL: From the head office, I think.

Mr. LAVIGUEUR: It is reported in Quebec that Dr. Fiset, who was appointed by Order in Council in 1914, has never made any report. Some time ago I put the following questions with regard to Dr. Fiset:

1. In what capacity is Dr. Michel Fiset employed as a public officer?
2. When and by whom was he appointed in his present public charge?
3. Has he submitted a report to the Government? If so, when, and to whom?
4. Has he an office in Quebec city? If so, where is it located?
5. What pay or salary does the said Dr. Michel Fiset receive?

I received the following answers from the President of the Council:

1. Parcel post supervisor.
2. Appointed by Order in Council, dated April 18, 1914.
3. Not to the knowledge of the department.
4. No office supplied by this department.
5. \$2,800 a year.

Mr. McMASTER: What does he do?

Mr. LAVIGUEUR: Nobody knows what he does. He draws a salary but he makes no report.

Mr. VIEN: Will the minister state definitely what Dr. Fiset's duties are?

Mr. ROWELL: I understand that he was originally appointed to promote the general development of the parcel post system. I am not sure that he is able in that capacity to render services in excess of the value of the amount that he is paid. It may be that in the reorganization that office will be dispensed with.

Mr. LAVIGUEUR: Why was such an appointment made in Quebec and not in the other cities?

Mr. ROWELL: There was one such officer in Western Canada, at Winnipeg, I think. He has since died and the office has not been refilled.

[Mr. Lemieux.]

Mr. LAVIGUEUR: Is the department waiting for Dr. Michael Fiset to die before the office is done away with?

Mr. EULER: Has the department any contract with the National Railways for the carrying of mails?

Mr. ROWELL: Yes, very large contracts with the National Railways, as well as with the Canadian Pacific and the Grand Trunk.

Mr. EULER: How do they compare?

Mr. ROWELL: I understand that the Minister of Railways put the information on Hansard the other night. I have not the details here.

Mr. EULER: Is there any intention as contracts expire to favour the National Railways with this business?

Mr. ROWELL: I do not know whether it would be wise at the present time unduly to transfer the service to the National Railways. At present all the railways say that they are carrying the mails at a very substantial loss, and the Railway Commission has reported in favour of an increase in rates which would more than double the amount now paid and involve an additional expenditure of several million dollars. Unless the rates are increased we would be imposing an additional burden upon the Canadian National Railways, in excess of any revenue we would receive from carrying the mails, if we transferred all this business to them.

Mr. EULER: On the other hand, if the rates are increased the Government would be the gainer, would it not?

Mr. ROWELL: I should hope that under those conditions a substantial part of the service would be transferred to the Canadian National.

Mr. LAVIGUEUR: I move, Mr. Chairman, that the item "parcel post supervisors, \$5,800" be struck out. The minister has stated that the supervisor in the West has died and that the office has not been refilled; and I do not see that there is any need for retaining the services of Dr. Fiset in Quebec.

Amendment negatived: Yeas, 17; nays, 29.

Item agreed to.

Post Office—Outside Service—to pay certain railway mail clerks for extra services in connection with checking incoming and outgoing British mails during the winter season of 1919-20; St. John, \$72.75; Halifax, \$49.13; total, \$121.88.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Why has the transfer of British mails at Rimouski been abandoned?

Was there any change in the contract with the steamship companies? Formerly the mails were received during the summer season at Rimouski and despatched to Halifax one way and Montreal the other, for the West. To-day I noticed that the steamers do not stop at Rimouski and the mails are delivered at Quebec by the steamship companies. This delays the delivery of the mails by several hours. At Rimouski we have a complete organization which has existed since Confederation. The Government has built there a pier which has cost the country, I should say, not far from \$500,000, if not more. The Government has dredged the surroundings of the pier; all the mails were delivered there, and passengers going to Europe could come from the Maritime Provinces or from the western provinces on special trains and take the steamer at Rimouski. This has all been changed in the last few years, and now this landing pier is absolutely useless. I should like to let the Government know that the travelling public does not approve of the change, and I protest on behalf of the people of Rimouski against that change.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

Mr. LEMIEUX: No, I want to get some explanation. I have sat in this House since 1911 and on no occasion before have the Post Office Estimates come to be debated except in the dying hours of the session. To the very courteous questions I put to the acting minister, I am entitled to and I want an answer.

Mr. ROWELL: Mr. Chairman,—

The CHAIRMAN: I have no objection to the question being answered, but I must point out to the hon. member for Maison-neuve (Mr. Lemieux) that his question is not strictly in order on the item under consideration.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I beg your pardon. Will you read the item?

The CHAIRMAN: (reading):

Post Office—Outside service—to pay certain railway mail clerks for extra services in connection with checking incoming and outgoing mails during the season of 1919-20:—St. John, \$72.75; Halifax, \$49.13; total, \$121.88.

That certainly has nothing to do with the landing of mail at Rimouski.

Mr. LEMIEUX: It has reference to British mails.

The CHAIRMAN: No discussion is necessary. I have allowed the answer.

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Mr. LEMIEUX: I appeal from your decision.

The CHAIRMAN: I have allowed the answer.

Mr. LEMIEUX: You have ruled me out of order and I appeal from your decision. This refers to British mails, and I am speaking about British mails. I shall have no other occasion on the discussion of the Estimates to get an answer, and I claim that you have no right to bar me out when this is my only occasion to get an answer, and when the Post Office Estimates are not brought before the House until the dying hours of the session. I appeal from your decision.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I am sure the hon. gentleman does not want to go through the mere formality of an appeal when the minister has risen to answer.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Do I understand that I am in order? As I have been ruled out of order, I want to know if I am in order.

The CHAIRMAN: I am afraid the hon. member did not exactly understand the ruling given by the Chair.

Mr. LEMIEUX: It was very clearly given.

The CHAIRMAN: The ruling of the Chair was that, strictly speaking, a question concerning the landing of mail at Rimouski was not in order under this item. The rule of the House is very clear that all discussion on Estimates must be not only relevant, but strictly relevant to the item under consideration. The item under consideration provides for the payment of the small sum of \$121.88 to pay mail clerks at St. John and Halifax, and the chairman reminded the hon. member for Maison-neuve that his question was not in order upon this item although at the same time, he added that he did not desire to prohibit the minister from giving the hon. member a reply. The remark was made for the purpose of calling the attention of the committee to the fact that this was the last day of the session, and that it would be well to keep strictly within the rules in order to expedite the business before the committee. The answer was not ruled out and as the question was allowed, I hope the hon. member will not insist upon an appeal.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I will not insist, but I wish to state the facts so that nobody may be mistaken as regards the decision the chairman has given. I put a question and I claim that this question is absolutely rele-

vant to the item, because the item refers to the sorting of British mails and I asked the minister why it was that the sorting of British mails, which formerly was made at Rimouski, has been abandoned for these two ports. The chairman said that I was out of order. I said: "This is the only opportunity that I have to get an answer to this question." During the session, Mr. Chairman, a delegation came from the county of Rimouski and I was interviewed by that delegation to make representations to the Government that the old service at Rimouski should be reinstated. The Chairman said that I was not in order, but yet he was ready to allow the answer to come from the minister. If it was in order to give an answer, it was in order to put a question, because there could be no answer if there was no question. I will, however, not appeal.

Mr. ROWELL: The answer is a simple one. The reason the department is not now using Rimouski as it was used in the past, is because it has been found more convenient and substantially more economical in the interest of the service to do at Quebec the business which was formerly done at Rimouski.

At Six o'clock the committee took recess.

#### After Recess.

The committee resumed at eight o'clock.

Miscellaneous—Canadian Press, Limited—towards expenses of Imperial News Service, \$50,000.

Mr. ROWELL: I move to strike out the words "Towards expenses of Imperial News Service." This is a clerical error. That description relates to the following item.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Would the minister explain what this item is for?

Mr. ROWELL: This item is but a repetition of a similar item which has appeared in the Estimates for some four years now. The amount is a contribution made by the Government to the Canadian Press, Limited, to ensure an all-Canadian news service. It was represented to the Government some years ago that it was not possible to secure the transmission of telegraphic news from East and West over the large vacant places that exist between certain sections of the country, unless there was some governmental assistance. Prior to that time Western newspapers, particularly, received the larger part of their telegraphic news from the United States.

[Mr. Lemieux.]

Mr. McMASTER: I do not wish to take up the time of the committee at any great length at this hour of the session, but I must emphatically protest against this expenditure of public funds for the purpose of influencing—perhaps I should not put it that way. I will say this: I believe the principle is absolutely unsound. We should have a press in Canada which should not receive any favours whatsoever from the Government in power. Such grants as this are open to the gravest abuse. I say that in the financial condition of our country it is absolutely wrong to expend the sum of even \$50,000 in this way. It is not necessary. The papers of Canada can give the Canadian people the news without help from the Government. The whole tendency of this sort of procedure is to make of the press of the country an organ, not for disseminating public opinion, but for disseminating the opinion which the Government in power desires to have disseminated. I have recently been reading some secret war documents published by the German Republican Government—the telegrams and other communications which passed between the different European Governments before the war broke out—and it is a sad reflection on human nature to see in those communications the statements made that it would be well to spend such-and-such a sum of money to influence public opinion through the newspapers of such-and-such a country. I would ask the Government, if they have any regard for economy—I would appeal again to my hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) to think of his ancient protestations in favour of economy—to cut out this item of \$50,000. It is not necessary and it should not be passed.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: My hon. friend has a most extraordinary conception of the purpose of this vote. It was initiated, in the first instance, by reason of representations made by a delegation representing. I think, nearly all the newspapers of Western Canada. Any one who realizes the physical conditions of this country must know that there is a large area of land almost uninhabited between the eastern part of this country and the western part, and it is in the public interest that the newspapers in the East and in the West should know what is going on in the West and in the East respectively, and that news along that line should be disseminated. The press which appeared before us was absolutely irrespective of party, and the Government has no

more control over the news which is thus disseminated that the hon. member for Brome. It has never thought of attempting to exercise the slightest control. The newspapers themselves would resent any such attempt on the part of the Government, and no member of the Government has, either directly or indirectly, interfered with the expenditure of this money or with the purpose for which it is voted. I went a great deal further than this some years ago. I urged then—I think it was fifteen years ago—that it would pay this country to have four hundred or five hundred miles of telegraph line connecting the East and the West operated by this country without the expense of transmission being charged against the news being carried over it. My reason for that opinion was that I thought it was important, and I still believe it is important, to bridge that four hundred or five hundred miles and to bring the East and West directly into touch and communication with each other. The proposal that I then made was not carried out, but this proposal for making the East acquainted with the ideas and aims and conditions of the West, and to make the West acquainted with the East in the same way, is a proposal which, I believe, is thoroughly deserving of public assistance.

Amendment agreed to.

Canadian Associated Press, \$20,000.

Mr. ROWELL: I move to amend this item by striking out the words "Associated Press," and substituting therefore the word "Press, Limited," and to reduce the item from \$20,000 to \$8,000, making it the same as last year. The Canadian Press Limited has taken over the work of the Associated Press.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Is this item of the same nature as the previous one?

Mr. ROWELL: This item is the continuation of a grant that has been made for a still longer period for the purpose of assisting in the transmission of cable news from the Old Country to Canada. It is entirely under the control of the Canadian Press. A grant has been made for many years for this purpose.

Mr. McMASTER: I wish again to register my protest against this expenditure of public funds. It has been stated that the Government has no control over the Press, that the Press is quite at liberty to transmit

what it desires through this agency. But my hon. friend in charge of this Estimate will not deny that throughout the war the newspapers of this country were dependent in large measure upon legislation passed by this Government to get their raw material, that is, the paper on which they print their news, from the manufacturers at very much less than the commercial rates. Now, cannot my hon. friend see, cannot the House see, the inadvisability of the sources of public information, receiving grants-in-aid from the Government of the day? It seems to me to be unwholesome. It may amuse the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell), he may think it a joke; but there are a lot of people in this country who do not think it a joke. Let us restore to the press of Canada its prestige and the confidence which people had in it years ago. I believe that can only be done if the Press dissociate itself from the slightest possibility of being under obligation to the Government of the day. I had some experience lately in appreciating the attitude of a number of newspapers in this country towards the Government. Their attitude was that it was the Government's business to see that they got the paper for their newspapers. They thought that was the business of the Government, not their own business; so accustomed had they become, apparently, to rely upon the Government. And we know that such an appetite grows on what it feeds on. I protest against this legislation. I know gentlemen are anxious to get home, but if anything I can say will influence them—one of the members from British Columbia shakes his head. No doubt anxiety to get home is the overmastering passion in his mind at the present time. I say that this whole business is vicious and unwholesome and the sooner it is done away with the better. I trust that the President of the Privy Council whom I congratulate on having reduced the item from \$20,000 to \$8,000, will do even better and wipe it out altogether.

Canadian representation at Washington, \$80,000.

Mr. ROWELL: I beg to move to amend that item by substituting for the words "at Washington" the words "in the United States". I do that because the Auditor General thinks that under the present designation the vote might be limited to Washington whereas it includes both the New York and Washington offices.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. FIELDING: Has the minister any further information to give us concerning this item?

Mr. ROWELL: I do not know just what my hon. friend has in view.

Mr. FIELDING: I believe that many hon. members of this House, who are more willing perhaps than I am—although I am not always unwilling—to support the measures which the Government bring down, will join with me in a protest—it may be in silence—against the action of the Government in again endeavouring to commit this Parliament to the very grave and important step which is introduced by this proposal in the absence of any information dealing with the subject. I think it is an amazing situation that the Government should ask Parliament to vote this money in face of the fact that we have not been able to get any information concerning the purpose for which it is asked. I take exception to it from various standpoints. I quite realize that in the carrying on of public affairs it is sometimes necessary to withhold documents from Parliament, I know we have occasions in connection with our public affairs when that is so. But I am afraid this Government is overplaying the part of custodian of confidential documents. We had here last night a long discussion on the Board of Commerce arising out of the fact that the Government had suppressed public documents which really should have been given to Parliament long ago.

Two years ago the ministers returned from the Imperial conference. I have no doubt conferences are useful in a general way, but the only particular feature of that conference that the Government reported to this House, and dwelt upon, was an arrangement whereby a channel of communication was to be opened between the Canadian and Imperial Governments. In times past it has been customary to have the transactions put through the Colonial Office. We were told, and it was represented to be a matter of grave importance, that in future the Prime Minister of Canada was to have the right to communicate direct with the Prime Minister of Great Britain. This was represented to Parliament as being a very grave and important step. After the lapse of two years I thought it might be desirable to find out how far this new privilege had been found useful. Therefore I obtained an Order of the House asking if we might receive copies of whatever correspondence had taken place under this

[Mr. Rowell.]

new arrangement, and the return came down that in that time certain correspondence had taken place but it was confidential and no scrap of it could be laid before Parliament.

Now we have this Washington business. It is a very grave step. On a previous occasion I pointed out that it is nearer to a constitutional change than anything else that has recently occurred, and yet we are asked to commit ourselves to that project without a line of correspondence dealing with the subject. I am strong in my doubt as to the wisdom of the course that is proposed, and whether I agree or not as to the desirability of having representation at Washington I think that almost all hon. gentlemen who listen to me will feel, as I do, that Parliament should long ago have been taken into the confidence of the Government and given to know what all this means. It is on that ground therefore that I protest what has taken place.

But on the merits of the question—I speak for myself alone—I have grave doubts as to the wisdom or value of the proposition. I have had some experience of official transactions between Ottawa and Washington, and I have had considerable opportunity, like other hon. members and irrespective of my own official connection with matters of this kind, of observing what has occurred. I might point out that if any reason exists why there should be a change in the existing system Parliament has never been informed of it. No hon. member can point to a single case that has been presented to us by the Government to indicate that there is any need for a change at all. I think that is a consideration of importance. If difficulties have arisen between the Canadian Government and the American Government, or between the Canadian Government and the Imperial Government, out of the existing order of things, I think it is only fair and reasonable that we should know what these difficulties are in order to justify the steps which it is proposed to take.

There is no intelligent public opinion on this question. In the previous discussion—although I can only be permitted a passing reference to it—it was alleged that many newspapers of the Dominion had viewed this proposal with favour. To some extent that is true, but how could there be any intelligent public opinion on the subject when no information has been given to the House of Commons to show what the object of it is? It cannot be said

that there is any intelligent and well-informed public opinion upon the subject. I have never heard any good reason given calling for this change. We read occasionally in the press that we need something of this sort because of the difficulties of our present system and we are told that if we have any transaction with the Government at Washington we must first send our communication across the water to the Imperial Government. We will send it to the Colonial Office, the Colonial Office will send it to the Foreign Office, the Foreign Office will send it to the Government at Washington and gradually, after the lapse of a long time, our wishes will be made known at Washington. That is the story that is told. That is the only reason that I have ever heard given in the public press or in Parliament for making the change. Is that reason well founded? Does it represent the facts? I say it does not. I say it is a pure dream as to the condition of affairs existing between this Government and Washington. There was a time, no doubt, in the olden days, when things were different, when this circumlocution office could be busily employed in the way indicated. But that time, if it existed at all, was long ago. For many years Canadian foreign affairs have not been dealt with in that way. We have had experience with relations between various governments and as far as my own observation has gone we have never found the slightest difficulty in obtaining communication with a foreign government through the agency of the British Government. The great complaint has been that the Imperial Government has stood in the way of bringing the communications of Canada to the attention of other nations, but it is not within my knowledge or belief that any such cause of complaint exists.

For a number of years we have had the British ambassadors at Washington coming to Canada for consultation. That has been the practice of British ambassadors. Lord Bryce, in a particular degree, carried out that policy. He came to Ottawa once or twice a year and put himself in touch not only with the Government of the day but with public men whom he had an opportunity of meeting, and the result was that Lord Bryce was very well informed on all Canadian affairs. There was no difficulty whatever in the way of having Canadian affairs administered through the assistance of Lord Bryce or the British ambassador at Washington. That was equally true of Sir Cecil Spring-Rice who succeeded him and

who, sad to say, died here in Ottawa. It will be true in lesser degree of other ambassadors. I am not sure whether Lord Reading came to Ottawa; Lord Grey did not, but these gentlemen were only temporary appointments and they were only at Washington a short time. But it is fair to assume that every British ambassador hereafter to be appointed at Washington will in the future deem it his duty to visit Ottawa and put himself in communication with the ministers of the Crown, showing that there is absolutely no need for any new system in order to have Canada properly represented.

Then there is another thought in connection with this matter. It is proposed to have a gentleman at Washington who is to be the representative of Canada, and we are told that when the ambassador is away he will be the representative of Great Britain. Well, I am afraid, Sir, that makes the situation worse rather than better, because while he is representing Canada entirely he will have the responsibility to the Canadian Government and possibly to the Canadian Parliament—though Parliament does not seem to count in these matters I regret to say—but if he is to become, for the time being, British Ambassador then he no longer is responsible to the Government and Parliament of Canada—he must be responsible to the Imperial Government. It seems to me that is a fantastic arrangement, and there will be difficulty in connection with it.

There is another thought that I venture to express. I believe that when any question of real importance arises between Canada and the United States you will have far better representation of Canada's interests if you do not rely upon some gentleman who—I am quoting the words of an eminent Conservative of Montreal in a letter in the press a short time ago describing this arrangement—will be given a desk in the office of the ambassador. I believe that when any real business arises which requires consideration from the Canadian viewpoint it is a very much better arrangement to have a minister of the Crown, fresh from consultation with his colleagues and fully informed of the Canadian position leaving Ottawa in the evening, being at Washington by the next afternoon, and then being in a position to represent the interests of Canada. I am sure he would represent them much more intelligently and much more effectively than any gentleman who has been spending his time around Washington wondering what in the world he was

going to do next. The whole tendency of this arrangement must be to give Canada a representative at Washington who holds a nominal position. The tendency will be that he will fall into a rut, and the rut of officialism we know very often leads to idleness. If there is anything really important to do the Government will—even now, I am sure, send a minister down from Ottawa to do it, and the gentleman who is supposed to represent Canada at Washington will really come to be a person of only nominal power. I do not think, Sir, there is any need of this arrangement at all. I do not think any good can come of it. Canada stands so well now with the British Empire generally, and particularly with the Government in England,—by reason of the splendid service she has given in the Great War—that I can understand the tendency of the British Government to assent to almost anything within, and even beyond, the bounds of reason that the Canadian Government may ask. It is flattering for us to know that that appreciation exists; but I am persuaded in my own mind that if the seasoned officers of the Colonial Office and of the Foreign Office could give us their private thought they would tell us they find in this arrangement a very dangerous experiment indeed.

There is one other thought which is worthy of consideration, and it is the financial one. I do not present that as the main consideration, but it is a consideration to which we should give some weight. At this moment we are on the eve of separating, and members will go home to explain in many instances to their people why they were unable to obtain some particular grant which they desired and to which their constituents attached importance—in one case a public work; in another case a breakwater to protect the fishermen's gear, in another case, dredging, either in the lakes or on the St. Lawrence, to open some harbour; a post office here, a public building there—a score of things which we all would like to have. We have got to go back to our constituencies and explain that although these things cost a few hundred or even a few thousand dollars we cannot afford them now; we have not got the money. It will be more difficult for hon. gentlemen to give that explanation to their constituents when they can be met with the statement that we are spending a large sum of money in creating this kindergarten school of diplomacy at Washington.

[Mr. Fielding.]

I have no objection to the extension of our relations with the United States. I have given many evidences in my public life that I attach the utmost importance to friendly relations with the great republic. I yield to no hon. member in this House my desire to establish such relation; and particularly am I anxious that we establish commercial relations. But I cannot see the necessity or the wisdom of our engaging in this expenditure. Last year \$50,000 was proposed for this purpose, this year it is to be \$80,000; depend upon it next year will be a great deal more. Washington, I believe, is, for persons in official life, the most expensive city in the world; and if we mean to establish at Washington anything which will compare with what we are pleased to call now our increasing status and our greater dignity, it is going to be a very expensive luxury. I do not feel that we need it. We have no information to justify us in doing this. I know there are some members of the House who are of the opinion that it is a great thing to have representation in the foreign courts. I am afraid I am lacking in the enthusiasm which some of them manifest in that way. At all events I strongly represent to you that this is an unnecessary expenditure, it is not a wise expenditure, it is an expenditure which is more likely to get us into trouble than to be of any substantial good.

There is still one further thought that I would like to express. Considering, Sir, that we have no information on the subject, considering that we are going into a blind alley—these are not phrases that are too strong; hon. gentlemen know that they are just as much in the dark on the subject as I am—how far are we going to be obligated by this thing in the future? I am bound to say that in the absence of any information, no Government that arises in the future can be expected to feel bound by any action that this Parliament now takes; and any gentleman who, under these circumstances and in the absence of any knowledge of what we are doing accepts a position at Washington under this arrangement will be obliged to feel that he is taking very great risks. In all earnestness and in all sincerity I represent that I believe this is not only an unwise expenditure from the point of view of the public interest but I believe it is unwise in other respects. No good can come of it but much harm may result.

Mr. ROWELL: One or two observations in answer to my hon. friend. The hon.

member opened his remarks by intimating that after the Imperial Conference of 1918 the only important information given this House was in reference to improved channels of communication. I judge my hon. friend could not have been in the House during the first session of last year when the work of the Imperial Conference of 1918 was reviewed. I have Hansard for that year before me, and no less than forty pages are taken up with a discussion of the work of the Imperial Conference of 1918. Many questions came before that conference touching problems affecting Canada and the Empire as a whole. The resolutions of the conference on these matters were reported to the House and were discussed by hon. members for a period covering some hours. Five sixths of those resolutions were laid on the table together with a printed report of the proceedings of the conference. So much for my hon. friend's reference to the Imperial Conference.

My hon. friend's references to Canadian representation at Washington are as lacking in solid foundation as that respecting the Imperial Conference. My hon. friend says that the House has no information. He declares that no papers are laid on the table. One would think it is not possible to obtain information except from documents. Let us suppose that the whole matter had been one of conference and negotiation between the Prime Minister of Canada and the Prime Minister of Great Britain what documents would there be to lay upon the table? The arrangement would be set forth in the statement which the Prime Minister would make to the House, and in doing so he would impart full information to the House. When my right hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce made the official announcement to the House he gave the substance and the really important features of the understanding and arrangement arrived at. The form of the announcement was agreed upon by both Governments. Does my hon. friend think that the details are a matter of contract and of bargain? That has not been the principle upon which the British constitution has been worked out. There was an understanding, as was stated when the announcement was made to the House—an understanding which was repeated when the matter came up for discussion—that hereafter Canada should be represented at Washington by a minister plenipotentiary appointed by His Majesty on the recommendation of his Canadian

ministers; that that minister should report to and take instructions from the Canadian Government; and that he should carry on his work there in co-operation with the British Ambassador and be a part of the British Embassy. Once you have a definition of the position and status of the Canadian representative, the rest follows as a natural and logical consequence. It would not be possible to define the precise limits of the duties and responsibilities of the Canadian minister. From the very nature of the case the arrangements and the procedure must be flexible. There must be room for development in these relations just as our constitution has developed to meet changing conditions as they arise from time to time. And, further, the arrangement can be modified if necessary to meet new conditions. If the present arrangement does not prove entirely satisfactory, it can be modified. That is clearly understood. My hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce, in the official statement he made to the House, gave the House the terms of the arrangement arrived at, and everything follows as a natural consequence.

Now, my hon. friend says that there is no occasion for such representation. Take the very matter that we have been considering in this House in the last few days—the coal situation—I merely use it as an illustration, showing how closely the two countries must be associated together in matters of trade where their vital interests are concerned. That is a case where we get supplies from the United States. Take another matter, the export of pulp and paper; that is a case where the United States get their supplies from us. Both of those questions are exciting very great interest in the two countries, and they are questions concerning which it is important that there should be no misunderstanding. Both of these questions can be dealt with better by men who understand them, who know all the conditions and who can talk them over as man with man; that is the best means of arriving at a satisfactory solution. I merely mention those two matters to illustrate the class of cases that are constantly arising. Unquestionably it is in the interests of Canada to be represented at Washington by one of her own citizens, who knows Canadian conditions, who is in close touch with the Canadian Government, and who is constantly watching over Canadian interests in order that they may be safeguarded. I submit that this House could not more wisely expend

this amount of public money than by voting this item for Canadian representation at Washington.

Mr. McMASTER: Many years ago an English king endeavoured to promote the marriage of his son with a daughter of the king of Scotland by invading the northern kingdom, and a Scotch nobleman of the time said, that he was not opposed to the match, but he did object to the manner of wooing. Now, that is very much my position in regard to this matter. I have no objection to Canadian national interests being represented at Washington by a Canadian; au contraire, I am very much in favour of it; but I am extremely doubtful of "the manner of wooing"—I am extremely opposed to the manner in which this matter has been introduced.

Some time ago the matter was before the House, and we asked for information, for the papers to be brought down. We were told by the Prime Minister, if I remember aright, that he had examined the documents, and had caused them to be examined by some one else, and that they had both decided that it was not necessary that Parliament should see the documents. Those were very doleful auspices under which to introduce this matter. It has been noticed in the British Liberal press, and the Manchester Guardian has stated, that it is too bad that this move has been attended by such unfortunate circumstances. That is the first objection I have to this Estimate. I wish also to protest emphatically against the wrong done to hon. members in bringing down an Estimate of this importance a few hours before we are supposed to finish the work of the session: It is not fair to hon. members, and it should not be done. There is no objection in my mind to our having a representative at Washington if we can afford it, and that is a question with which I do not propose to take up the time of the House to-night—but I say this: that the man who goes to Washington must be our representative and in the absence of the British Ambassador must not be his locum tenens. I say that is the most dangerous proposal that could be made in connection with this matter.

Let us suppose this case,—and it is not an improbable one; it has happened in the past and may happen in the future—let us suppose there is a divergence of opinion between Great Britain and Canada on some fisheries question, that the British Ambassador is away and the Canadian Ambassador is locum tenens for him. From whom is the locum tenens to take his instruc-

[Mr. Rowell.]

tions? Is he to take them from the British Government and go against the views of the Canadian Government? Or is he to take his instructions from the Canadian Government and go against the views of the British Government whom he is supposed to represent? I protest against this as an unwise provision, and I would think that this matter involving as it does \$80,000, might well remain over until next session. Although I wish to state very frankly that any movement by this or any other government towards a full realization of Canadian nationality will always have my warm and enthusiastic support.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Mr. Chairman, the Estimate appeared last year, and my hon. friend has had something like fifteen months to consider it. Therefore I hardly appreciate his injured feeling in respect to lack of particulars.

Mr. McMASTER: My right hon. friend will admit that this is the first occasion when we have been asked to vote for money. Is it not?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: No. It was voted last year.

Mr. McMASTER: Was the money spent?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: No. My hon. friend has evidently given no more consideration to the Estimate than he has to this question. He has propounded what seems in his opinion to be a very difficult conundrum to answer. He says: Suppose the British Government has one point of view with respect to a particular matter and the Canadian Government has another point of view, what will the Canadian representative do if he is acting as Ambassador? I will answer his question by asking another. Suppose that condition arises when there is a British Ambassador and no one else at Washington, what is the British Ambassador to do?

Mr. McMASTER: The British Ambassador of course will take his instructions from the British Government. But if the British Ambassador is away, and under the proposed legislation our man is there as locum tenens, he will have to follow either the instructions of the British Government or our instructions.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: My hon. friend, I think, is under a complete misapprehension. If he pretends to say that the British Ambassador at Washington ought to follow the instructions of the British Gov-

ernment in respect to a matter of purely Canadian interest when the Canadian Government entertains precisely the opposite view, he takes a position which I am not prepared to accept and which this Government never has accepted. The Canadian representative at Washington, if he were acting in the stead of the British Ambassador, would occupy exactly the same position as the British Ambassador has occupied in the past. In matters of purely Imperial concern he would act under the directions of the Imperial Government; in matters of purely Canadian concern he would consult with and act according to the views of this Government. That is the whole situation.

Mr. McMASTER: May I put a question to my right hon. friend?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Certainly, as many as you like.

Mr. McMASTER: Is it not possible that a question may come up which is of both Imperial and Canadian concern?

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: Certainly, but the position will be exactly the same whether the British Ambassador is there or whether the Canadian representative is acting in his place. My hon. friend has lost his usual logical sense of the fitness of things if he does not see that at once. Now, so far as the observations made by my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) are concerned, I should like to tell him that this is not so new a departure in point of principle as he imagines. How is it different in point of principle from the action of the late administration, Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Government, of which he was a member, in establishing an International Joint Commission which for ten years has dealt with many matters that formerly were settled through diplomatic channels? Has any disadvantage thereby come to this country? Has that occasioned any detriment to the good relations between Canada and the United States? On the contrary, I venture to think that the International Joint Commission has been of the greatest possible advantage to the two countries and has aided in maintaining good relations in respect of matters that might otherwise have led to serious dispute. Moreover, the Government of which my hon. friend was a member gave a somewhat new status to our representative in Paris, and we have acted upon that status. The only thing to which we objected when we came into power was this. We found

Mr. Roy, a very able and capable man, acting in Paris for the Government of Canada and also for the Government of the province of Quebec, and having his salary partly paid by the Dominion and partly by the province. We did not consider that a desirable condition of affairs, so we asked Mr. Roy to resign as representative of the province of Quebec and made good to him the difference in salary. I am bound to say that I believe his service in Paris has been of the greatest advantage to this country. He is in very close touch with the British Embassy there, he has established excellent relations with it and he carries on, in some sense, diplomatic arrangements of a minor character, to the great advantage, I believe, of this country and the maintenance of good relations between Canada and France.

There is another thing that we might take into account. We have had in London for many years an officer called High Commissioner for Canada. He carries on very important negotiations between the Government of this country and the Government of the United Kingdom, being sometimes brought through his instructions into direct communication and relation with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and with the British Cabinet. I do not know that any disadvantage has resulted to any one from that condition of affairs. I believe that the service both of the High Commissioner in London and the Commissaire-Général in Paris has been of advantage to this country. I believe, notwithstanding all that has been said, that the presence at Washington of a Canadian representative will equally be of good service and will promote good relations between the two countries.

I would like to tell my hon. friend that, much as I respect the very able officers in the Foreign Office, in the Colonial Office, and elsewhere in the British service, I should not be prepared to accept their view as to the desirability or otherwise of an arrangement of this character. In such a matter we ought to be able to judge for ourselves; so far as I am concerned I do propose to judge for myself. I should add, however, that so far as I am aware of the opinion of the higher officials of the Foreign Office, they see no objection whatever to this proposed arrangement. I think it perfectly manifest that at some time we must have representation at Washington. About two-thirds or three-quarters of the business of the Embassy

relates to Canadian interests. When we have ten, fifteen or twenty millions of people in this country, are we, in respect of their interests, in respect of their representation at Washington, to say that all these things can be better attended to by other people than by ourselves? Are we to relegate ourselves to a position in the background? I for one do not appreciate that point of view.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My right hon. friend is hardly correct when he says that Parliament voted last year the appropriation which the Government have asked for this year. Last year we voted \$50,000; this year the Government are asking for \$80,000, a difference of \$30,000. I think my right hon. friend will admit that that is quite correct.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I thought my hon. friend would understand that I was referring to the principle of the vote, not to the exact amount of it.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My right hon. friend attaches little importance to the exact amount. For my part every dollar is significant and I propose to move that we strike out the \$30,000 which is being asked this year in excess of what was voted last year. If when this matter was discussed in Parliament last year \$50,000 was sufficient for the purpose of starting this representation at Washington and the money was not used, it ought to be equally sufficient now, particularly in view of the fact that apart from the statement by the Acting Prime Minister we have had practically no information as to what is intended. The principle at stake in this matter is whether or not Parliament is to have a say in regard to our inter-Imperial and international relations. Apparently the Government's policy in these matters is one of secret diplomacy. We were told by the Prime Minister, as the hon. member for Brome (Mr. McMaster) and the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) have pointed out, that the Prime Minister had read over the correspondence, that some other person had read over the correspondence, and that as a result of that reading Parliament was not to be informed one way or the other of what the correspondence contained. That is not, I am sure, a method of carrying on the business of the country which will meet with the approval of the people. Matters of ordinary business as between partners are not carried on simply by understandings; statements and records are kept in which

[Sir Robert Borden.]

is clearly set forth the exact position of the parties. If rumour be correct, my right hon. friend (Sir Robert Borden) may not hold the position of Prime Minister very long; he may be succeeded by one of his colleagues or by some other person who may not have precisely the same views on these matters as he has, or I will suggest another possibility. The Government of which my right hon. friend is the head may not be in office very long; it may be succeeded by a ministry that has views of its own on these questions. Should there not be somewhere in the records of this country, documents which will put beyond question exactly what has been agreed to between the different countries, between Great Britain and Canada or between the United States and Canada, on matters affecting inter-Imperial and international relations? Assume that some future British ministry should dispute the word of a minister in this House or of this Parliament, and the Canadian ministry—not the same ministry which is now in office—were unable to support our present position other than by the statements made in the House. What position would we be in? In these matters, particularly where they are in the nature of departures, or advances, if you wish to call them so, along lines of constitutional or other development, there is the strongest of reasons why we should have in the records of our country documents which will become in time part of the archives of Canada and which may be referred to as bona fide records of what has taken place. This evening we were informed by my right hon. friend in regard to another very important matter, the taking over by Canada of five ships from the Government of Great Britain, that all of that correspondence was secret; that no member of this Parliament could see it; yet we are expected to vote a couple of million dollars to maintain the ships once they are taken over. That is the method of secret diplomacy. It is in accord with the proceedings of the bureaucratic administration; it is not the method of a ministry responsible to Parliament, and unless the ministry is prepared to be responsible to Parliament, I fail to see why Parliament should support the ministry. For this reason I move that the present item be reduced by \$30,000. I think the time has come when there should be an end to monopoly of control of the affairs of Canada by a Cabinet carrying on the country's business in secret councils. The business of the country should be carried on in the open on the floor of this

Parliament in such a manner that the Government will be obliged to take into their confidence not only the members of Parliament but the people of the country whose money they are voting to expend.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I am very glad my hon. friend has made this motion because, in doing so, he acknowledges the principle and objects only to the amount. He leaves the matter, therefore, just where it was last year even if his motion should pass, that is to say, with a vote of \$50,000 for a particular purpose which has the endorsement of this House in its approval of the Estimate. The hon. gentleman has not given a great deal of consideration to the statement made by the Acting Prime Minister some time ago in this House. It was announced at the time, I believe, that the statement was made concurrently in Great Britain and Canada and that it had been agreed upon by, and represented the views of, the two governments. Under those circumstances I do not know why my hon. friend should put forward the contention that it might transpire at some future time that the British statement which was made was a statement Government held a different view. The submitted to the British Government, modified to some extent by them, I believe, and put out with the full concurrence of the British Government and of this Government, both in Great Britain and in this country. Moreover, as regards records, my hon. friend, I hope, does not intend to suggest that I purpose running away with the records, if at any time in the future I should cease to be Prime Minister. He says, "There ought to be records in the country." Well, whatever records there are, will be for any future Government. I do not propose taking them away. They will be there for the inspection of any Government in the future, and that Government will be fully at liberty to bring them down if they obtain the proper consent, or to take such other course as may to them seem fit.

Mr. FIELDING: I put to the Government a question which I thought was a fair and reasonable one. I asked them to state what circumstances had arisen to show that the interests of Canada were suffering at Washington for lack of a representative such as is now proposed. My right hon. friend spoke at great length, but he did not answer that question. I am not surprised that he did not, because I am satisfied no such condition has arisen. My right hon. friend says: "We have a representative at

London and a representative at Paris." True, but they are both 3,000 miles away from Ottawa, and if they were only a few hours' journey away from Ottawa, we probably would have no representative at either London or Paris. It is no argument to say that because we have a representative at Paris so far away, therefore, we must have one at Washington which is virtually next door to us. I notice that the President of the Council (Mr. Rowell) is making a change in the wording of this item. He says that the Auditor General suggested it. I shall not ask my hon. friend to confess, but I shall not be surprised if he got the suggestion from some other quarter, that it might not be the wisest policy to fix the representative at Washington.

Mr. ROWELL: I am very glad to answer my hon. friend. I got no suggestion from any quarter that it was desirable to make a change. When I moved the change, I explained that this item covered the New York office as well as Washington, and the Auditor General thought that if we put in the item "at Washington" that would be open to some question. The New York office is under Washington and, therefore, it is desirable to say, "in the United States" instead of specifically mentioning Washington.

Mr. FIELDING: The hon. gentleman and the Prime Minister both referred to the extensive trade relations we have with the United States. It is quite true that we have extensive trade relations with that country, and it has been part of my mission in life to make those trade relations more extensive. I am not sure that the right hon. gentleman who is now Prime Minister has laboured in that direction. But when my hon. friends speak of the commercial reasons as having any great bearing on this question, I fail to see the force of the argument. I have not seen so much of Washington as has my hon. friend; but to my knowledge and belief Washington is not a great commercial centre, and if we want commercial agents in New York, Boston, Chicago, in any part of the United States where great business interests are centralized, I should very heartily support my hon. friend in saying that we should have additional representatives in those quarters. He said, "Why, have we not the International High Joint Commission"? Yes, having that, and as it is running smoothly, what more do we want in the same direction? "Oh, but," the right hon. gentleman said,—and I took down his words—"we are proposing to adopt

that same proposition that there are certain things in our international relations which can be better done by other people than by ourselves." That was my right hon. friend's statement.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I did not say that.

Mr. FIELDING: Yes, my right hon. friend did say that.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I did not.

Mr. FIELDING: Well, Hansard will tell.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: My hon. friend misunderstood me. I have a right under the rules of the House to state in what sense my words are to be understood, and I did not intend them to be understood in any such sense.

Mr. FIELDING: My right hon. friend has a right to speak of his intentions, but Hansard has a right to speak of his words. We have not been having the affairs of Canada attended to by other people than ourselves in international affairs for many years. We did not have them attended to by other people when Sir John A. Macdonald went as Commissioner to Washington to deal with the fisheries question. We did not have them attended to by other people when Sir Charles Tupper went again and again to Washington. We did not have them attended to by other people when we appointed representatives on the High Joint Commission of which my right hon. friend speaks. We did not have them attended to by other people when two members of the Canadian Government went down to Washington and endeavoured to conduct negotiations there to extend trade with that country at a time when my right hon. friend and his friends did everything they could to strangle that trade.

I do not purpose having any lectures from my right hon. friend as to the extension of trade relations between Canada and the United States. We have no evidence before us that a single thing has arisen to call for this movement. Again I challenge the right hon. gentleman to show that any difficulty has arisen at Washington in our relations with the American Government. This is an entirely unnecessary and wasteful thing. It may be a serious matter. Or it may be that the

9 p.m. most that can happen from it is that the Government will send some gentleman to Washington who will discover that there is nothing for him to do but to occupy a desk in a corner of the

[Mr. Fielding.]

office of the British Ambassador, and when there is any business to be done, the Government will send a man down from Ottawa. My right hon. friend speaks of the coal question and the pulp question which have been before us in the last day or two. I take his illustration of the coal question which is a very serious question to-day. Does my right hon. friend suppose, if we had any chief clerk, or whatever you may choose to call him, sitting at a desk in Washington, the Government would entrust the matter to him, living in Washington and getting the Washington atmosphere for years past? No, the right hon. gentleman would go himself to Washington or would send one of his colleagues—as he is doing now—full of the knowledge of the Canadian policy, full of the knowledge of the Canadian Government, fresh from a consideration of the whole matter. Such a representative would have force and weight at Washington. That is the way the thing has been done in the past, and that is the way in which I want it to be done in the future.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: My hon. friend is under a serious misapprehension when he refers to me as having alluded to commercial relations. I said nothing at all about them. I take the illustration which he has given just now. I can tell him that within the past three and four weeks this country has had very considerable advantage from the fact that there is still at Washington one member of the Canadian War Mission for the purpose of closing up the affairs of that mission at Washington—Mr. Mahoney, with whom we have been in constant touch and communication, and who has rendered us great service, but less service than he could have rendered to this country in that regard if he had been vested with the powers which it is proposed to confer upon a Canadian representative at Washington in the true sense. My hon. friend speaks as if it were the easiest possible thing in the world for ministers during the session of Parliament to leave their place, proceed to Washington and deal with matters of that kind. His experience as minister for fifteen years in this country should have taught him the precise reverse.

I take another illustration he gave. He says our affairs with the United States have been carried on and negotiated by Sir John Macdonald, by Sir Charles Tupper, by himself and Mr. Paterson. If this was done in particular cases of importance what is the difference in principle if this Country maintains at Washington a duly authorized per-

manent Canadian representative to deal with and report upon all matters of importance that come up from time to time? What is the supposed detriment to the public interest? It is all right, says my hon. friend, to do this in particular cases of importance. Is there any reason why it should not be done in all matters of importance, but perhaps of less importance? That is all that is proposed, and I venture to think, notwithstanding the views of my hon. friend, that this proposal will be of real advantage to the people of this country, and that this will be recognized more and more after this representation has been established.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: One expression used by my right hon. friend at this moment will, I think, help to make clear what it is that we so strongly object to in the new proposal. If I understood my hon. friend aright, he intimated that the Canadian representative at Washington would have to take charge of the smaller affairs of Canada as well as the larger affairs. That was about the difference between the representation that is now proposed and the representation we have had in the past. In other words, the Canadian representative under this proposal will have to look after all affairs in a general way. My hon. friend said nothing whatever about the proposal that the representative of Canada at Washington shall act for the time being for the British Ambassador whenever the British Ambassador is absent from Washington. He said nothing about that in his last allusion, although he referred to it in his earlier remarks.

Sir ROBERT BORDEN: I did not think it worth while to repeat what I said before.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Quite so, but I feel it worth while to repeat that, so far as this Parliament is concerned, the majority of its members are, I believe, strongly opposed to any representative of Canada acting as British Ambassador at Washington. I think my right hon. friend has reason to believe that on his own side of the House there are many members who are strongly opposed to any innovation of that kind and certainly every member on this side of the House is unalterably opposed to it.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Question.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I hear some hon. members saying "Question." If they cannot give to public business the attention to which it is entitled, they will just

have to wait, that is all. This is one of the most important public matters we have had to consider in this Parliament for some time, and the people of this country are entitled before a new venture of this kind is launched to understand fully just how far they are being committed. I think my right hon. friend holds to a considerable extent the view that on these international affairs there ought to be agreement as far as possible between both sides of the House, and I think particularly on the question of a Canadian representative at Washington acting as Ambassador for the British Government in the British Ambassador's absence, there ought to have been on the part of the Government some effort to find out whether Parliament was likely to be united on such a project. Parliament is not united. We on this side of the House are unalterably opposed to the proposal. We believe it will lead to difficulties between the Mother Country and this Dominion, and lead to trouble between the United States and Canada. I hope my right hon. friend will construe our desire to cut down this appropriation by \$30,000 as a protest primarily against having the Canadian Minister Plenipotentiary act at any time as British Ambassador in the absence of the British Ambassador.

Amendment (Mr. King) negatived; yeas 32, nays 57.

Information Service, Department of External Affairs, \$15,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What is this item for?

Mr. LAPOINTE: Is this the spy service?

Mr. ROWELL: It is the Information Service in the Department of External Affairs which keeps in touch with London, New York, and Washington, and provides through those offices articles for publication in American and British newspapers relating to Canada and her resources, and the conditions existing here. It also cooperates in furnishing news available in the office in New York and in London.

Mr. McMASTER: Is this a sort of propaganda scheme after the war is over?

Mr. ROWELL: No.

Mr. LAPOINTE: If this has to do with Trade and Commerce, why is it under the Department of External Affairs?

Mr. ROWELL: Because the offices in Washington and New York are under the Department of External Affairs. The High

Commissioner's office is under the Prime Minister, as is External Affairs. This is the Canadian end that keeps in touch with these other offices.

Salaries and Expenses, Passport Office, \$65,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Is not this something new?

Mr. KEEFER: Fortunately I am able to report that there is a surplus in the passport office. We receive more than we pay out. We had a surplus last year of \$9,000.

To provide for Canada's contribution towards the maintenance of the permanent secretariat of the League of Nations, for the year 1920-21, \$200,000.

Mr. FIELDING: Upon what basis is that amount fixed?

Mr. ROWELL: It is based on the estimated cost for the year, or on the Budget which the financial director of the Secretariat of the League of Nations has submitted to and which has been approved by the Council of the League. The estimate was £35,000 for nine months. We put in a lump sum of \$200,000 for the year thinking that with the difference in exchange \$200,000 would cover our full contributions.

Information service, Department of External Affairs—further amount required, \$15,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Is this not a repetition of what the minister has already suggested?

Mr. ROWELL: At the time the original Estimate was brought down it was overlooked that the contract which had been entered into by the Government for the establishment of the Canadian National Pictorial for Canada extended into the present fiscal year, and this is to make provision for the unexpired portion of the contract to the 15th July.

Mr. LAPOINTE: How many moving picture plants is the Government operating at the present time? We voted an amount for the Department of Trade and Commerce for moving pictures the other day.

Mr. ROWELL: The moving pictures for which the House has already voted an appropriation, were no doubt explained by my hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster) and are of great advantage to Canada. This is equally to the advantage of Canada but in a different line. My hon. friend is undoubtedly aware that in all the moving picture theatres of Canada for years the pictures used were those depicting American scenes and Am-

[Mr. Rowell.]

erican national interests. The Government received a number of strong recommendations that an effort should be made to substitute, for the information of our people, Canadian and British scenes. An arrangement was made whereby these have been secured from all parts of Canada and the Government has received expressions from public and patriotic organizations of the strongest approval of the change which has been brought about. The effect of this contract which expires in a few days has been that the American companies whose films now come into Canada have introduced Canadian scenes into their films. Instead of having our young people taught their patriotism from American scenes they are being taught from Canadian scenes. These films are going into the schools in the western provinces and I believe other parts of Canada.

Mr. LAPOINTE: What are the names of the leading moving picture stars who are employed by Canada?

Mr. ROWELL: Canada does not employ any moving picture stars.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Do these films show moving pictures of our ministers?

Mr. ROWELL: No.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Are these films the property of the Dominion Government?

Mr. ROWELL: The films, when produced, are the property of the Dominion Government.

Mr. JACOBS: We have gone into the moving picture business, have we?

Mr. ROWELL: We have been in it for a long time with great advantage.

Mr. JACOBS: They do not show the Government moving fast enough to suit us on this side. If the Americans have now introduced Canadian scenes in order to compete with the Government why should we continue the subsidy any further?

Mr. ROWELL: It is not intended to continue it. This is to provide for the balance of this fiscal year. The contract only extends till the middle of July.

Mr. JACOBS: Then we will be satisfied with the American films?

Mr. ROWELL: No; I hope that after this experience we shall be able to get Canadian moving picture scenes without the assistance of any Government subsidy.

Contribution towards fighting the typhus epidemic in Europe, \$200,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Does that come under the League of Nations?

Mr. ROWELL: This is our contribution toward a campaign which the League of Nations is organizing, as stated by the hon. member for St. Antoine (Sir Herbert Ames) when he was here the other evening. It is a campaign which is essential for the protection and preservation of the health of western nations. Poland and Central Europe are not in a position to combat this disease without governmental assistance.

Mr. FIELDING: To whom do we pay this sum?

Mr. ROWELL: The League of Nations.

Mr. FIELDING: I do not see why it should not be put under the one heading of the League of Nations instead of distributing the payments in this way.

Mr. ROWELL: One vote is a contribution to the expense of carrying on the work of the League of Nations which according to the covenant of the League we are under obligation to make. We are not under any obligation to make this particular contribution. The League of Nations has no right to assess us for it but the League has decided upon a campaign and they propose to put a protecting barrier against this typhus epidemic from the Baltic to the Black Sea. They have asked the nations that are members of the League to contribute. The hon. member for St. Antoine stated that upon looking at the whole matter and considering the relative ability of the nations that are members of the League, this would be about our fair share of the total amount which the League requires to raise. It is purely voluntary and we are under no obligation.

Mr. FIELDING: I have not suggested any objection but I do say that we ought to have all these items voted together, so that the wayfaring man when he reads them may know what the League of Nations is going to cost us. This is going to be an ever swelling item.

Mr. JACOBS: I am in sympathy with this appropriation and I think this Government ought to do even more than it proposes to do by this vote. I rise more particularly to suggest that a part of the appropriation should be turned over to the committee which is at present organized in Canada for this very purpose. Hon. gentlemen are probably aware that a couple of weeks ago the Jewish community of Canada organized

a campaign to raise \$1,500,000. In the United States societies and committees of a similar kind have engaged in the same work and the amount which the United States up to the present has raised is \$35,000,000. I have received a telegram from New York to this effect:

Cable just received indicates English Government London adopted pound for pound rule regarding Jewish war relief and paid to Jewish Relief Committee this week seventy five thousand pounds.

Now, as our Jewish Committee has been formed, and is in touch with the organization in Poland, Ukraina, and other countries in Central Europe, I think it would be only right and just that a portion of this sum should be turned over to us so that we could send it forward on our own account, and in that way the money would be doing the most effective work. I do not know what the League of Nations has done in the matter of getting in touch with organizations in Central Europe who are handling this work, but what I do know is, that during the entire period of the war, and ever since, our committees appointed in various parts of the country have co-operated and have kept the channels open, so to speak, in order that relief might be sent as quickly as possible. I have in my hand a copy of the London Times of Tuesday, May 25, 1920, in which a strong appeal is made to the English public to support these committees, organized for the purpose of sending help to the afflicted in that region. I will read a few sentences from that appeal in order to show the unparalleled situation:

Report from a death centre in the famine area of Europe. "News is just to hand that only those children between three and five can be helped; the mites under three must be abandoned to starvation, for there will not be enough food to go round if these are included."

A terrible problem has been presented to the Relief Commissioners in the Famine Area of Europe. Millions of poor, helpless children are in daily, hourly danger of a cruel death from starvation and disease. There is not enough food to go round. It has been necessary deliberately to select which children shall be saved and which must be left to die.

In all the long history of the human race there has never been so poignant—so truly awful a situation.

The piteous cries and moans of innocent little sufferers are sounding in all directions. Frantic mothers whose emaciated condition precludes the possibility of feeding their infant children stretch forth appealing arms for food and succour to save their loved ones.

2s. will provide a daily dinner for one child for one week.

£1 will feed and clothe a naked starving child.

£2 10s. will take an ailing child to Switzerland, where kindly Foster-Parents are ready to

give it Three months' good food and nurse it back to health.

£100 will feed 1,000 children for one week.

That is the appeal which is made to the civilized world. Now, as I have said before, inasmuch as we have our committees working, and have had them working for the last six or seven years, and seeing that we can reach these very much more promptly, perhaps, than the League of Nations can, I make the appeal that a portion of this money be turned over to our committees. I may say that the chairman of the committee is Sir Mortimer Davis of Montreal and on the committee are men like Mr. Mark Workman., Mr. Lyon Cohen, Mr. David S. Friedman, Mr. M. Markus, Mr. A. J. Freiman and others. They have devoted a very large part of their time to see that contributions shall be made in as large a measure as possible for this very work. Therefore, I submit, Mr. Chairman, that something ought to be done by this Government in the matter of helping in it. The Government of the province of Ontario has contributed, I believe, \$10,000, the city of Toronto \$5,000, and other cities have also contributed various sums. I trust that the appeal that I am making on behalf of these committees will not go unheeded.

Mr. ROWELL: Just one word in answer to my hon. friend. I admit the exceedingly fine work which the committee is doing and the very able and efficient manner in which it is undertaking that work. It is an admirable committee and the work it is doing in the interest of humanity. I should hope that a much more extended appeal for relief shall be made for the people suffering from hunger and disease in Central Europe, and that there may be a much larger response from the public than has hitherto been the case. I am afraid this vote can not be applied in the way my hon. friend has asked, although the Government will take his representations into consideration in connection with the matter. This vote is a contribution toward the fund which the League of Nations is raising for combatting the plague in Europe.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I wish to support the appeal made by my hon. friend (Mr. Jacobs). I have found that in all our appeals to the public for our various institutions, and in cases of emergency, our Jewish fellow-citizens have always been exceedingly generous. Not longer than two or three weeks ago the city of Ottawa was

[Mr. Jacobs.]

called upon to subscribe to a Catholic institution which is of great service to the young ladies of Ottawa and the surrounding territory. I have noticed with pleasure that Mrs. Freiman, of Ottawa, was at the head of the movement and she succeeded by her endeavours and her appeals to the public in obtaining a very large sum indeed. The same thing is witnessed in Montreal. We never appeal in vain to Jewish associations; and I say that in the present instance, where they are doing efficient work in Central Europe, in order to try and stop the plague with which the children of these families are threatened, that certainly we could afford to take a part of this amount and give it to the association referred to by my hon. friend. As to the vote itself, my hon. friend the minister knows that I am in full sympathy with it. Certainly the world is threatened with a very serious plague, and I notice that in the United States the press is acquainting the public with the seriousness of the danger. I do not know, however, if this sum should not be applied by officers of the Immigration Department. We are threatened at our various ports with the coming of infected people, and the Government must take very serious precautions in order to prevent Canada from being affected by any of the plagues which are at present devastating Europe.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I heartily endorse what my hon. friend (Mr. Jacobs) has said on this matter and I hope the minister will give as favourable consideration as possible to the request.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Without adding anything to the remarks of my hon. friend (Mr. Jacobs) I wish also to say that I strongly support his appeal and I hope the minister will see his way clear to accept his suggestion.

To provide for increases in salaries due to the application of the reclassification of the Civil Service, \$6,000,000.

Mr. ROWELL: This is the amount which it is estimated will be required to provide for the increases of salaries in the Civil Service, both Inside and Outside, for the years 1919-20 and 1920-21. My hon. friends will recall that under the Act passed this session the application of the classification is to date back to the 1st of April, 1919. In the Post Office Department alone they will require a very substantial percentage of this vote amounting approximately to \$2,850,000. That will cover amounts due to postal clerks and letter carriers through-

out the country as to which we have already had a certain amount of discussion in this House.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I do not wish to take any exception to the item; at the same time I do not wish it to pass without protesting against the circumstance that the Government asks us at this very late hour of the session to vote \$6,000,000 and placed before us the classification to which it refers only within the last two or three days. I think the Administration should have had its business further under way so that we could have had the necessary information to intelligently discuss this item.

Mr. ROWELL: We cannot proceed faster than the Civil Service Commission. We have been urging the commission to get the classification down as quick as possible.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: What portion of this amount is applicable to the letter carriers?

Mr. ROWELL: The rural mail carriers are working under contract. This applies only to the officials who are in the permanent employment of the Government. I do not know if my hon. friend was in the House this afternoon, but we then discussed the question of the letter carriers on the Post Office Estimates.

Mr. EULER: I would like to bring to the attention of the minister what I consider is a most absurd provision in the regulations. I have before me a communication from a civil servant who finds that his bonus was reduced from \$31 a month—

Mr. ROWELL: If my hon. friend will permit me, this does not deal with the bonus. The Minister of Finance (Sir Henry Drayton) will be dealing with the matter later in the evening on the balance of the vote which was before the House some two or three months ago.

Mr. EULER: I understood the minister to say that the letter carriers were included in this item. That would include the bonus, would it not?

Mr. ROWELL: No. This deals with the increases that come to the letter carriers through re-classification, which is quite apart from the bonus.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Does this item apply to the new salaries under the re-classification of the staff of the House of Commons?

Mr. ROWELL: It does.

Mr. COCKSHUTT: If it does apply in that way, I would like to draw the attention of the minister to the case of the secretary of the Private Bills Committee and the Banking and Commerce Committee. I understood that his salary has been fixed at \$600 less than the salary of similar officers in the House. As chairman of the Banking and Commerce Committee I have found the secretary a very efficient man—I refer to Mr. Todd. I think he should get the same as other men who occupy somewhat similar positions in the House. I would therefore make application on his behalf that his salary be fixed at \$4,000.

Mr. ROWELL: The matter my hon. friend mentions will come up on the House of Commons Estimates. I must ask that this item stand for a moment as a slight amendment is required in the wording of it.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I do not think the minister has laid on the Table of the House the re-classification regarding the House of Commons.

Mr. ROWELL: That is a matter which the Civil Service Commission has taken up with the Speaker. I have not seen the re-classification myself. I will make enquiries and see if it is completed.

Mr. COCKSHUTT: I would like an answer to my question. I understood the Speaker was deputed to consult with the Civil Service Commission, but I believe that has not been done. Mr. Todd is a glaring case of inequality, and I should very much like to see his salary raised to the amount other officers filling similar positions are getting, that is, \$4,000.

Mr. ROWELL: My answer was that that particular matter would come up on the House of Commons Estimates. We are not now voting any particular salary, but out of this sum will be paid all increases that are covered by the re-classification.

Mr. McGIBBON (Muskoka): As I was out of the House earlier in the evening, I would like to inquire what increases are being made to postmasters in towns and villages?

Mr. ROWELL: I answered that question this afternoon. My hon. friend will find it on Hansard in connection with the Post Office Estimates.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police—\$5,850.

Mr. BELAND: What is that?

Mr. ROWELL: I find that in answer to the question put by the hon. member for

Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) in reference to the Mounted Police Civil Government Estimates, I inadvertently conveyed to him a wrong impression. I had in view this particular item when I told him it was to provide for certain clerks of the dominion police who had been formerly in the Department of Justice and were now transferred to the mounted police. The item this afternoon was to cover three particular appointments—one being a constable of the force, who has been in the office here working as a civil servant, and having passed the qualifying examinations he is now transferred to the Civil Government; the others being two temporary clerks who have passed their examinations and whose appointments have been approved.

Militia and Defence—pay of Staff, \$345,600.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I notice that that is the same figure as for last year. Was any money used from the demobilization fund for the purpose of paying the permanent staff last year?

Mr. GUTHRIE: No; I am instructed that it was all paid out of this vote last year.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I suppose that as long as the work of demobilization is not completed there will be need for the same permanent staff as we have had in the last couple of years?

Mr. GUTHRIE: This is the permanent staff irrespective of demobilization. We have at headquarters here some officers who are especially charged with demobilization work and who are still paid out of the demobilization vote. This is the regular staff of the permanent force, and does not include those officers of the Canadian Expeditionary Force who are doing demobilization work exclusively.

Permanent Force—\$6,500,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This is a very large item, and I would like to draw the attention of the committee to the statistics given in the Estimates. In the year 1913-14, the year before the war, the total for the permanent force was \$2,180,000. This year the item is \$6,500,000. That is a tremendous increase. No doubt the permanent force increased considerably during the war, but now that the war is over, unless we are to have a standing army, it is time that we reduced the permanent force. Does the minister not think that it would be possible to cut this item down by at least \$1,000,000?

[Mr. Rowell.]

Mr. GUTHRIE: No, I do not think it would be safe to cut it down, at the present time at all events. The permanent force, as I explained on a former occasion, has not been materially increased. Before the war it was approximately 3,000; I believe that 2,960 was about the average strength. It is now, including officers and men of all ranks, 3,555, so that the increase in all ranks is 555. But there has been a very substantial increase in pay and also in the cost of maintenance. I have been informed by the proper official of the Department that the cost of maintenance of a private soldier in the year preceding the war was \$1.53 per day, and that the cost now is \$3.28, a little more than double the pre-war cost. The increase in the pay of the men accounts for a considerable portion of that increase. Prior to the war the pay of a private was 75 cents a day, with certain allowances which brought it up to 90 cents. It was increased upon the outbreak of war to the Canadian Expeditionary Force rate, which was \$1.10 a day. Since the war new regulations have been introduced and approved by the House increasing the privates pay to \$1.70 a day. This increase, and the increase of 555 men, accounts for the total increase in the vote.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I do not wish to go over the ground that was gone over on a previous occasion, but when we are discussing these Estimates and taking account of what we are to spend on the permanent force, we must also have regard to what we are paying out on account of the Mounted Police, which are really in the nature of an additional permanent force, and on account of naval defence. Expenditure under this head is all part of military and naval expenditure. It is proposed in the estimates the minister has brought down to spend the following amounts: Militia, Main Estimates, \$12,498,506; barracks for permanent force, \$100,000; Air Force, military section, \$800,000; Mounted Police, \$4,674,066; mounted police, supplementary, \$5,850; Mounted Police building, \$500,000; Naval Service, one vote of \$300,000, another of \$1,760,000 and a further supplementary vote of \$600,000, a total of \$20,000,000. These expenditures do not relate to the war at all; there is a further expenditure of over \$170,000,000 on war account, apart altogether from interest on the debt. In addition to that enormous sum the Government propose that we spend this additional amount, of over \$20,000,000. In order that the committee may appreciate what that means, I might point out that the ordinary expendi-

ture of this country out of Consolidated Revenue Fund in the last year of the Liberal Administration, 1910-11, was \$87,770,000 and the total charge upon capital expenditure was \$30,862,000, a grand total of \$118,626,000. In other words, we are asked at this time to vote for military and naval purposes one-sixth of what it cost in the last year of the Liberal administration for all the Civil Government of Canada, the Administration of Justice, penitentiaries, Legislation, Arts, Agriculture, Immigration and Colonization, Pensions, Superannuation, Militia and Defence, Railways and Canals, Public Works,—chargeable to capital and income—chargeable to Mail Subsidies and Steamship Subventions, Naval Service, Ocean and River Service, Public Works, Lighthouse and Coast Services, Scientific Institutions, Steamboat Inspection, Fisheries, Subsidies to the Provinces, Mines and Geological Survey, Labour Department, Department of Indian Affairs, Mounted Police, Government of the Northwest Territories, Government of the Yukon Territory, Dominion Lands and Parks, Miscellaneous, Customs Department, Excise Department, Post Office, Trade and Commerce, Weights and Measures. All the vast expenditures of the whole of the Dominion—the civil service at Ottawa and throughout the country; public works; everything—in the last year of the Liberal Administration was only six times the amount which the Government are asking this year for new military and naval purposes. Sir, I think this expenditure is not justified at a time when the Government are resorting to extreme measures of taxation to raise enough to meet the ordinary running expenses of the country. The time has come when the Government should diminish rather than increase its expenditure on military lines. I move, therefore, that this item be reduced by \$1,000,000.

Amendment negatived; yeas, 25, nays, 49.

Militia and Defence—printing and stationery, \$70,000.

Mr. McMASTER: I suggest that it is unnecessary to send in the trunks of stationery that are furnished to members of the House the very fine ladies' stationery which is always included. A saving could be effected in that regard.

The CHAIRMAN: Order. This item has reference only to stationery in connection with the Militia Department.

Mr. McMASTER: I withdraw my remarks, Mr. Chairman, but my intentions were good.

Mr. GUTHRIE: This item includes pay of caretakers, barrack labourers, messengers for the crews at Halifax, engineers and firemen in the drill halls, and all other civil employees in the district not provided for elsewhere. In 1919-20, this appropriation was \$260,000, and in 1913-14, before the war it was \$198,000. I have all the details, but I shall not give them unless the committee so desires.

Training areas, \$30,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The minister told us the other day that he had land areas worth between three and four million dollars that he did not know what to do with. Could he not use some of those properties for training purposes?

Mr. GUTHRIE: This item is put into the Estimates annually for the purpose of acquiring or renting small pieces of property for extending our ground around our barracks, and more particularly for extensions to rifle ranges. In some years it is not expended at all, but from time to time small pieces of property are acquired at convenient points for drill at local headquarters or for the extension of rifle ranges.

Transport and freight, \$300,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This is a large increase of \$275,000. Is this increase necessary over the expenditure of last year?

Mr. GUTHRIE: The reason for that is that last year there were no camps. I am satisfied that the expenditure will be considerably under the Estimate this year because our camps are going to be very small. This Estimate is put in on the basis of having the old established military camps, but we are not going to have them this year, so I estimate there will be a considerable saving in this item.

Warlike stores, \$400,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: There is an increase in this item of \$400,000. What is the necessity of that this year?

Mr. GUTHRIE: The reason is that last year everything under this head was charged to Demobilization Vote. As a matter of fact, the pre-war vote was some \$300,000 greater than this year's vote. Last year a considerable amount was spent on the same item, but the whole of last year's amount was spent out of Demobilization Vote. The items which make up the amount are: Artillery stores, \$163,500; engineers' stores, \$50,000; medical stores, \$20,000; general, \$456,825; total, \$690,325. But that has been reduced by reason of the

fact that we are not going to have a full establishment either in the militia or in the permanent force. Therefore, we have reduced this item by \$290,325, leaving it at \$400,000, or \$300,000 less than the pre-war vote.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: In view of what the minister has just said, these Estimates are thoroughly misleading. In some cases there is a comparison between this year and last year, and the minister says that the comparison is correct because both items have been paid out of the same appropriation. Now we come to another item and the minister says that last year the amount was paid out of the Demobilization Vote. There should have been something in the Estimates to indicate that some money had been taken from another source; otherwise the House and the country cannot but be completely misled as to the expenditure on military account last year. The same thing has been done in the case of the Naval Estimates,—there we found by comparison that apparently there was to be a saving over what had been spent last year. Then, to our surprise we learned that out of the Demobilization Vote other hundreds of thousands of dollars had been paid, which were not shown on the face of the statement brought down to Parliament. That is no way to treat either Parliament or the country in the matter of the public accounts.

Mr. GUTHRIE: As regards the Militia Department I may say that it has given such full and complete reports that it might be expected that nobody who had time to peruse the reports could make any complaint on the subject. As my hon. friend knows, throughout the war special volumes have been issued from time to time showing the total expenditure and the itemized expenditure in regard to war and showing all the moneys which have been taken by the Militia Department from the Demobilization Vote. The last memorandum on the subject was laid on the table of the House about a month ago. In addition to that there is the annual report of the Militia Council which shows the aggregate vote, but the detailed statement of all our expenditures chargeable to demobilization is fully set forth in most complete form, so that any one who desires to examine it will have the fullest opportunity of doing so, and it is interesting reading as well. I do not think, as regards the Militia Department, there can be much ob-

[Mr. Guthrie.]

jection to the way in which the account has been kept. Last year was treated for the purpose of demobilization as a war year, and expenditure which took place under this head was treated as a war expenditure and was charged to demobilization. This year it has been thought better to charge it to the Militia Department appropriation.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Does my hon. friend not honestly believe that these Estimates, as prepared and presented to Parliament, are misleading to one who is not familiar with the method of book-keeping the department has adopted? Here is a statement giving details for the year 1913-14; then there is a statement for the year, 1920-21; then there is a statement for the year 1919-20, and at the end there is shown an increase or a decrease. Any one looking at the statement would think it means what it purports to mean. If there has been this other method of accounting, there should be something to indicate that.

Mr. GUTHRIE: I do not want to condemn the form in which the Estimates have been placed before the House because I am not responsible for the form, neither is my department. I do not think it is misleading. It would not be misleading with an explanation that it had been spent last year out of Demobilization Appropriation. No hon. member has been misled. Before the Militia Estimates were discussed at all, I took particular occasion to point out to the House apparent discrepancies in order that there might be no misleading, and I specially mentioned the various subjects in which there was no expenditure last year and gave information to the House where any special expenditures was charged last year.

Demobilization, \$38,463,400.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This is an enormous vote for demobilization purposes this year. I think I drew the attention of the Government early in the session to the circumstance that we would like to have a very detailed statement of this particular vote. I hope the minister has it and that he will give it to the House.

Mr. GUTHRIE: Of Demobilization Vote as proposed by these Estimates the following are the items: Pay and allowances, \$1,686,360; dependents' allowances; \$459,540; adjustments, pay and allowances and working pay, \$4,000,000; adjustments, separation allowances, \$250,000; war service gratuities, \$8,500,000; food

and subsistence, \$210,000; drugs and surgical instruments, \$50,000; engineer services, \$550,000; civilian employees, \$1,800,000; transport and travelling, land, \$500,000; transport and travelling, ocean, \$9,000,000; sundries, \$2,000,000. The total of the items I have just read would be \$29,505,900. It was considered, however, that we would get through with \$1,000,000 less, so we have deducted that amount. In addition, there is the amount of \$9,745,000 for overseas demobilization or services overseas. The details of that expenditure are as follows: Overseas pay and allowances, \$62,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Pay and allowances for whom?

Mr. GUTHRIE: For those men yet overseas, who have not yet been demobilized. I gave the exact figures to the House at a former meeting of the committee, but I can give them again in a few minutes. We have still overseas a small number of men, daily becoming less.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Are they in hospital?

Mr. GUTHRIE: No. We have also a detachment of men who were on the Overseas Air Force, which has now been transferred to the Canadian Expeditionary Force, and is now under the control of the Overseas Department.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Would the minister explain this item of \$2,000,000 for sundries?

Mr. GUTHRIE: Yes, in a moment. It should be \$1,000,000 for sundries, as we have deducted \$1,000,000. When we were making up the amount we estimated \$29,505,900 as the total of the items I read a moment ago, but my hon. friend will see the amount is placed in the Estimates as \$28,505,900. We deducted \$1,000,000 from the items for sundries.

Mr. LEMIEUX: What is covered by sundries?

Mr. GUTHRIE: May I continue to give the details of the Overseas Demobilization vote? They are as follows: Pay and allowances, \$62,000; separation allowances, \$8,000; food and subsistence, billeting and rations, \$25,000; rent, water, fuel and light, \$15,000; ordnance services, \$1,000,000; drugs and surgical instruments, \$30,000; engineer services, \$200,000; printing and stationery, \$1,000,000; transport and travelling, by land, \$250,000; telegrams, telephones, postage and sundries, \$155,000; War Office general account, \$7,000,000, making a total of \$9,745,000. That is for over-

seas, and is properly accountable for by Overseas Minister, who we all regret is absent from the House owing to a serious illness.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The minister mentioned \$8,000,000 for war service gratuity. Just what does he mean by that?

Mr. GUTHRIE: It is to provide for the payment of the war service gratuity to Canadians who served in the Imperial army, as authorized by Order in Council 2389, dated December 1, 1919. It is estimated that there was on the 1st April, 1920, unpaid on this account about \$8,000,000. There is a further \$500,000 which is explained by the fact that there will also be many adjustments of the war service gratuity chiefly in respect to officers and men of the Canadian Expeditionary Force who were discharged prior to December 11, 1919, and from whom applications have not yet been received. Applications are still coming in, not very rapidly, but every day we have some from men who were discharged prior to the armistice, and who, under the terms of the Order in Council, may be entitled to the gratuity. Some of them are not, but many of them are. As nearly as we can estimate, it will take \$500,000 to pay the gratuity to these men.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Can the minister set a date when these expenditures on demobilization are likely to cease?

Mr. GUTHRIE: It is hoped by the close of the present year that all demobilization expenditure, so far as the Militia Department is concerned, will cease. We have not a great deal of expenditure other than what is estimated at the present moment. We have only two hospitals in existence, the Orthopædic Hospital at Toronto, where special treatment is given to very difficult cases, and one in Winnipeg. It is hoped that within a reasonable time, probably three or four months, both of these hospitals will be completely closed. Then there is a small class of expenditure that has been going on for some time, particularly in regard to the Records Branch. It may be interesting to the House to know that even at this long distance of time since the armistice, the department is daily receiving an average of 3,500 letters. These communications require answers that involve a great deal of research work, chiefly among the records. They are in regard to innumerable subjects; for instance, pay and allowance, gratuities, graves, decorations, medals and the like. It will be necessary, I imagine, for some considerable time to

come, to maintain a much greater civil staff in connection with the Militia Department than we ever dreamt of in pre-war years. But the demobilization vote, as purely and simply a demobilization vote, will, I think, finish during the present year.

Mr. BELAND: I can understand that large amounts should still be spent on demobilization in Canada, but I fail to understand why one year and five months after the armistice has been signed Canada should expend \$9,000,000 for services overseas. Are there any Canadian troops on the Continent in the occupied regions, or are all these Canadian troops confined to Great Britain? And may I ask what they are doing?

Mr. GUTHRIE: I gave the committee at an earlier stage the exact number of men we still have overseas. I think it is only 200 or 300 men now. We are cutting down the number just as rapidly as we can, and in the near future our establishment of soldiers overseas will be completely demobilized, probably within six weeks' time. It must be remembered that the present item represents our settlement with the War Office in regard to a great many outstanding accounts, especially the per capita charge of nine shillings per man for the maintenance of troops. The amount now asked for overseas demobilization includes all these outstanding items. I regret that I have not the fullest personal knowledge of the transactions. They were conducted entirely by the overseas minister. I have the details of the expenditure if the committee should desire them but I have not a personal knowledge of the transactions. I assume that probably to-day, if we adjourn to-morrow, the Overseas Ministry will come to an end.

Mr. FIELDING: The hon. gentleman has made mention of the Overseas Minister. Have we still such an official? Does Sir Edward Kemp still hold the office of Overseas Minister?

Mr. GUTHRIE: Yes, under the statute the office was created for the war and was to come to an end at the close of the session after the war. I assume that, to-day being the last day of the session, to-morrow he will no longer be Overseas Minister. I may say however that Sir Edward Kemp has written to me from his sick bed that he and his assistants have been engaged in preparing a full and complete report in connection with that ministry which he hopes to submit in the course of a few weeks.

[Mr. Guthrie.]

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Can my hon. friend undertake to say that the moneys which we are voting now for demobilization purposes will be confined to the particular classes that he has mentioned and that no part will be used to supplement appropriations that have already been voted in connection with other items in the Estimates?

Mr. GUTHRIE: I can assure my hon. friend that the money will be expended strictly in accordance with the items which I have given. The Auditor General will see to that. All the expenditure for demobilization is made under Order in Council; it is not within the power of any minister to make it. The details of all such expenditure have first to be approved by the deputy minister, then submitted to council, authorized by Order in Council and finally passed by the Auditor General.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: In connection with other expenditures my hon. friend has stated that certain items were not included in last year's expenditure because they had been paid out of the demobilization vote. I hope he will not again come before the House and say that something that does not appear in this item has been paid out of the demobilization vote.

Mr. GUTHRIE: The distinction is that the expenditures to which my hon. friend refers were expenditures which directly affected the expeditionary force as distinct from the militia. Now the Canadian Expeditionary Force is almost entirely demobilized and within a few months it will be entirely demobilized so that the vote will naturally be chargeable to militia. Last year we had a very considerable Canadian Expeditionary Force and a great many consequential charges. We had a tremendous amount of repairs to do on buildings which we had changed and more or less injured. All of these had to be restored before they were handed back. This expenditure had to be charged to demobilization.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This is a point that I do not press on the minister so much as on the ministry, but I must again protest against bringing down this particular item at this hour and asking Parliament to vote \$38,000,000 after about fifteen minutes' discussion. It is not fair to the country or Parliament that the Government should so arrange its business that no opportunity shall be given for the careful consideration of these very large expenditures.

Mr. GUTHRIE: This item is really made up of fixed charges and I think it is pretty nearly all authorized by special Acts of this House.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Which of these expenditures are especially authorized by an Act of this House?

Mr. GUTHRIE: That item respecting gratuities, for instance, was all incorporated in an Act of this House last session after receiving the report of the Pension Commissioners. Bill No. 10 of last year authorized an expenditure of \$8,500,000 and this is to provide for the expenditure this year. There was \$2,500,000 provided for in the Bill which passed this House with respect to gratuities and pensions as a result of the report of the Committee on Pensions. When this Estimate was made up we did not know what action the committee would take. But we did know that there were certain questions regarding pension and gratuity which would be brought to the attention of the House and in this item of demobilization there is approximately \$2,500,000, or, to be precise, \$2,100,000. It has been deducted from the amount which was recommended by the Pension Committee in this session and which the Minister of Finance would have appropriated for that purpose. His vote in regard to pensions, on the findings, would have been \$2,100,000 greater had it not been for the demobilization vote.

Militia and Defence—Civil Pensions—

Life pension to Robert A. Allen, from April 16, 1919 to March 31, 1920, at \$269.52 per annum, and the difference between that rate and \$120.12 per annum from April 16, 1918 to April 15, 1919.. . . .	\$407 87
Life pension to Ronald Morrison..	330 00
Life pension to Walter Pettipas.. . .	515 90

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What is the explanation of these pensions?

Mr. GUTHRIE: These are pensions granted for injuries received and the amount in each case is based upon what the individual would have received under the Workmen's Compensation law in force in each province.

Air Service, \$250,000.

Mr. DENIS: What is this item for?

Mr. GUTHRIE: This item is a part of the proposed expenditure for the present year and the supplementary item shows really the Main Estimates for that purpose; they had not been thoroughly discussed or prepared when the first Estimates were

brought down. If the committee will turn to the Supplementary Estimates, page 13, they will see a summary of the proposed expenditure in regard to the Air Board. Perhaps I might be permitted, in a few words, to point out what the scope of the proposed operations of the board will be for the current year.

As the committee is aware, last year we passed an Act to establish an Air Board. It so happens that we have in Canada about twelve thousand of the most highly trained military air men, of whom we know, that are to be found in the world. It is not proposed to begin by providing for anything like that number. A paper establishment has been authorized up to 5,000 men including all ranks. The proposal is briefly to recruit, as far as possible, the trained air men that are to be found in Canada to-day for the purpose of retaining their interest in, and sympathy with the work in case in the future it may develop for commercial, scientific or other purposes as well as for military operations. I may say in the first place that we have received from Great Britain a very extensive aeroplane outfit—consisting of aeroplanes, sea-planes and the necessary additional craft—the value of which, I think, amounts to between five and six million dollars. All that equipment is now at Borden which, as the committee knows, is a military training ground. The equipment has been assembled and set up there. In addition to that we are acquiring—as a matter of fact we have acquired or set apart—certain of our own property at Vancouver, British Columbia, as an air station; another property at a place called Morley in the province of Alberta; and another place somewhere in the province of Quebec at or near Lake St. John. These are the only stations which, at the present time, we propose to establish, and in addition a small experimental station at Rockliffe in the city of Ottawa. All we need is to give a limited training to a limited number of air men in Canada to keep their hands and their eyes in. We propose doing this by means of provincial associations. In each province of the Dominion the Lieutenant Governor has undertaken to form a provincial association and to enlist as many air men as he can in the service. We propose to give these men a limited training each year, taking them to one of our training stations there to give them one month's flying amounting to, I think, two hours a day per man. The cost of fly-

ing is considerable, I understand it is about \$6 an hour per man, so it is only proposed to give each man one month's training of two hours' flying per day, and for the present year we propose to limit that to about seventeen hundred men. The objects to be attained by the Air Board are not by any means all military. The expenditure in this item would be about \$800,000 for scientific, for exploration, and for commercial purposes. We think the expenditure justified. We are seeking to make arrangements with the various provinces of Canada, upon some basis satisfactory to both parties, in order to carry out our operations in the more remote parts of the Dominion. We have succeeded so far in making an agreement with only one province—the progressive province of Quebec I am glad to say. The Government of that province has entered into an arrangement with us—on the basis of fifty-fifty so far as expense is concerned—for the establishment of a station in some part of Northern Quebec, near Lake St. John, for the purpose of exploration and scientific work in that province. We hope for great results from this undertaking. As yet it is in its infancy, we do not know what it may produce, but it is believed that the service will be exceedingly valuable for these purposes. We do not propose to enter into commercial flying as a Government undertaking, but we do propose to supervise all flying of that kind and all air routes. We propose to license pilots, to license aircraft, to lay out routes, and to provide the rules and regulations. At the present time we are laying out an air route between North Bay and Winnipeg. The only thing that is necessary in regard to that, I am informed, is to see that we get suitable landing stations, and we are locating these upon Crown lands which will involve no expense. Between Winnipeg and Calgary it is not necessary to have any landing place as one can practically land almost anywhere throughout that flight; but from Calgary on to Vancouver it will be necessary to provide landing places, and I believe suitable sites are being located throughout the mountains. Then from Ottawa eastward to the sea, it is also proposed to lay out flying routes. This is a modern development and we intend to keep up with other nations, and particularly with the United States and with Great Britain. We must do something for the air service, and more particularly as we have in Canada perhaps the highest trained body of air

[Mr. Guthrie.]

men that exists anywhere in the world to-day.

Mr. DENIS: Under what conditions was the equipment, said by the minister to be worth five to six million dollars, acquired from Great Britain?

Mr. GUTHRIE: There were no conditions. It was a free gift to Canada for the purpose of encouraging us in the pursuit of operations in the air.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: At this point I would like to emphasize what was said with regard to the naval expenditures, that if the Government was even considering these large outlays they ought to have submitted them in the Main and not in the Supplementary Estimates. It is not treating Parliament or the country fairly to put an item in the Main Estimates of something like \$250,000 for the Air Service and then in the last two or three days of the session bring down a Supplementary item of \$1,650,000. This is not a matter of chance with the Government, it is a matter of habit—of deliberate design. It has been done in regard to the Air Service, it has been done in regard to the Militia Service, it has been done in regard to the Naval Service. It is a course of proceeding that is highly objectionable and detrimental to the public interest. I think the Government is to be very severely censured for treating Parliament and the country in this way.

Mr. GUTHRIE: I can plead an excuse for the Air Service. We did not know until the first week in May what would be necessary, and it was only about that time that I had the honour of becoming Chairman of the Air Board. It was originally thought that we could do this year's preliminary work with \$250,000. Then the airships were forwarded, and when they reached Canada they had to be set up, a staff employed, and operations begun. So far as we are able to see, the programme in the Supplementary Estimates will be the programme for the year. But it would have been impossible before April to have settled upon this plan or to have brought down the Estimates in the House. Consequently I do not think the Air Board can be blamed in this respect.

Mr. McMASTER: Had the Government no idea when these airships would arrive?

Mr. GUTHRIE: I think some department of the Government must have had information when they would arrive because on their arrival they were forwarded to Borden and set up. The arrangements

were all made ahead of the receipt of the airships.

Mr. McMASTER: When was it decided to accept these airships? Apparently their acceptance is going to impose upon this country a very substantial expenditure.

Mr. BUTTS: And get you up in the air?

Mr. McMASTER: May I say that there is no necessity to get this Government or its supporters up in the air; they are there at present. If they would only come down to earth, stand on the basis of real facts, and look the circumstances in the face, we would not find them in the last days of the session bringing down Estimates running into millions of dollars. But that is by the way. I would respectfully submit to this committee that the acceptance of a gift may entail very heavy responsibilities on the donee, I am very much afraid that the Government has accepted these airships without, so far as I know, taking the Canadian people into its confidence, and now it finds itself at this late hour of the session obliged to come before the House to meet very heavy obligations indeed. It was a splendid thing to have the young manhood of Canada so distinguish themselves in the air at the front, but it would be a sad thing if, in order to keep these young men in the condition of skill which they attained at the front, we should be obliged to incur expenses which the country is really unable to bear. It is not a question, to my mind, for this Government to decide what is desirable. A great number of things may be desirable, if we can afford them. But I do protest against incurring expenditures of millions of dollars and then bringing the matter before us only at this late date.

Mr. GUTHRIE: I assume that when the Bill passed the House last year to establish the Air Board, not only for civil but for military flying, that the House must have considered that we would have some operation under that Act. In answer to my hon. friend's question, I do not think it was determined until the early part of this year to accept this gift from the British Government. But I do know that from the beginning of April until the middle of June these air craft have been arriving in Canada, and we have to take care of them.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: It appears that the British Government has adopted the policy of getting rid of its surplus war material by presenting it to some of the Overseas Dominions in order to reduce the cost

of maintenance. Has our Government adopted any policy of that kind? Has there been any attempt to get rid of our surplus equipment? Or is the policy simply reversed and in this time of peace are we to take over and maintain gifts of surplus equipment?

Mr. GUTHRIE: This, I understand, is all first-class equipment and up-to-date in every respect. If assume that the motives of the British Government in making this gift to Canada were absolutely proper. Our war material which we could not utilize has been disposed of to the best advantage by public tender and competition, and we have realized six or seven million dollars up to the present time.

Mr. LAPOINTE: I agree with my hon. friend from Brome (Mr. McMaster) that all these gifts of war ships and air craft should be accepted by the Parliament of Canada and by nobody else. As my hon. friend said, it means a very heavy expenditure to the country. And it may mean more, especially before this Imperial conference of which so much is said. Among other things this conference next year is going to consider the defence of the various parts of the Empire, on sea, on land and in the air, and the fact that Canada or any other Dominion has accepted gifts from the United Kingdom means that we may be placed in a delicate position to refuse concurrence in plans which will be submitted to the conference by the statesmen of the United Kingdom. The representatives from Canada and the other Dominions should go absolutely untrammelled by the acceptance of gifts or in any other way.

Mr. BELAND: I also concur in the views expressed by my hon. friends from Brome and Quebec East. This is a large expenditure—in round figures two million dollars—for an entirely new experiment in aviation. The hon. minister claims that it will be useful as far as science is concerned. It is very doubtful whether we will derive any benefit from this expenditure, so far as scientific purposes are concerned. As to exploration, it is also doubtful whether we will reap any benefit from the expenditure. The only thing for which I can see it would be of any use to this country would be the protection of our forests against fire. It seems to me that it would require a very small number of aviators to survey the northern regions of this country. Now, as far as military purposes are concerned, the hon. minister claims that some service will be rendered to the country thereby. We

have already gone very far at this session after the war is over, both on military expenditure proper and on naval expenditure. Now, are we going to launch the country on an expenditure for air preparation?

An Hon. MEMBER: No.

Mr. BELAND: I agree with my hon. friend that we should not do it.

Mr. LAPOINTE: He is going to vote for it, though.

Mr. BELAND: For all I know at the next session of Parliament the Government may bring down an Estimate of millions of dollars for underground preparations! The war is over, and the Government should put a stop to these expenditures. If we expend this year two million dollars, what will be asked from Parliament next year? Because these expenditures will not be reduced, they will keep on increasing year after year. That is not practising economy as the Government is asked by the country be used for commercial, scientific, and ex- it is doing. I seriously object to granting this amount of almost \$2,000,000 for aviation in Canada, and if any motion is made to reduce the vote to the extent of two-thirds I shall support it with pleasure.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What my hon. friend (Mr. Béland) has said will, I am sure, appeal to every one as being entirely reasonable. So far as this air service can be used for commercial, scientific, and exploration purposes it should be fostered, but to enter this year, before the work of demobilization is completed, upon an air service for military purposes is the height of absurdity, and I think that these Estimates ought to be reduced by the amount suggested. The amount first brought down in the Main Estimates for air service was \$250,000. Having granted that, it seems to me that we are giving the Government a pretty good sum with which to make experiments, and if we supplement it by voting \$850,000 for civil aviation, that surely is giving the Government all it should ask for at this time. But now we have item 536, a military appropriation for \$800,000—nearly another million for this purpose. We can well afford to dispense with the military end of it this year, I think that we should reduce the total vote for air service by \$800,000. Possibly we can best express our view in that regard by simply voting against the item of \$800,000.

The Air Board—military appropriation—grant to Provincial Air Force Associations, etc., \$800,000.

[Mr. Béland.]

Item agreed to on division: Yeas, 46; nays, 26.

Demobilization—Department of Justice, \$57,500.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Will the minister explain this item?

Mr. DOHERTY: It is to complete expenses in connection with carrying on the internment operations, carrying on the Military Service Act, and other incidental things.

Demobilization—Department of Trade and Commerce, \$105,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: May we hear from the Minister of Trade and Commerce?

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: The amount is required to cover the following: Sale of pig iron which still remains on hand, and expenses, \$100,000; one substitute for an enlisted man, \$1,200; unforeseen expenses, \$3,800. If there are no unforeseen expenses, of course, this amount will not be spent.

Demobilization—Department of Secretary of State, \$50,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What is the explanation, please?

Mr. SIFTON: Expenses of censorship.

Mr. DENIS: Although we are soon to prorogue, it would be helpful if one could hear what the minister says. What is this item for?

Mr. SIFTON: For censorship.

Mr. McMASTER: I did not catch that.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Carried.

Mr. DENIS: I am not ready to submit so soon. I want to know what this item is for.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The minister has explained the item.

Mr. DENIS: I did not hear what he said.

Demobilization—Department of Immigration and Colonization—to provide for the repatriation of soldiers' dependents, \$250,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Will the minister explain?

Mr. CALDER: This vote is required to pay the cost of repatriating dependents who are still in the British Isles. Last year the number of dependents returned was in the neighbourhood of 50,000, including the wives of soldiers and their children. The total cost to date has been \$2,215,000. There are still some dependents in Great Britain;

just what their number is it would be very difficult to ascertain. This Estimate is to cover the amount required for the return of dependents who still remain there.

Item agreed to.

Demobilization—Public Archives—to provide for the cleaning, repairing, transporting and distributing of war trophies throughout the Dominion, including \$2,000 gratuity to Dr. A. G. Doughty, for services in connection with war trophies, \$27,000.

Mr. COCKSHUTT: Is the distribution of war trophies made entirely by Dr. Doughty? What course should be pursued by the municipalities that wish to obtain their share of the war trophies that come to Canada. Applications have been put in from time to time, and some municipalities have received none while others are receiving some. I believe that there should be a fair distribution of the war trophies throughout the whole country; any municipality that desires them should have them to show to their citizens. That seems to me to be a fair proposition.

Mr. SIFTON: They are being distributed by a committee consisting of Dr. Doughty, Colonel Cruikshanks and Sir Edmund Walker.

Mr. ARTHURS: I should like to say a few words with regard to these war trophies. In my constituency we had an unfortunate accident in connection with an exhibition of war trophies when a man was killed by a premature explosion, and I have been endeavouring to secure from the Government some gratuity or acknowledgment or compensation for his family. I should like to know if anything has been done in this connection. I understand Mr. Doughty has made some representations in favour of such a gratuity being granted.

Mr. SIFTON: The matter mentioned by the hon. member is still under the consideration of the Government.

Civil Government—Department of Immigration and Colonization, salaries, \$142,567.50; contingencies, \$35,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Are there any additions to the staff?

Mr. CALDER: There are certain decreases and certain additions. As a matter of fact, there is, on the whole, an addition of ten to the staff. Those ten are minor clerks, and those clerkships are necessary owing to increased work in the department. While the number of immigrants coming to Canada has not been as

great as in pre-war years, there has been thrown upon the department work that we did not have in pre-war days. That is particularly true of work that is now required to be done under the new Naturalization Act. Before a naturalization certificate goes through, the necessary application is made to the department to ascertain just when and where the applicant arrived in Canada, and that also necessitates our keeping a very strict record of all applicants who enter Canada. In addition to that, a very large volume of work has been thrown upon the department, as a result of the war, necessitating a huge correspondence between the department and overseas on account of people residing here whose relatives are in foreign countries. This volume of correspondence has increased very considerably in the last year.

Immigration and colonization—salaries of agents and employees (outside service), \$550,000.

Mr. DENIS: May we have some explanation about this expenditure?

Mr. CALDER: This covers salaries of our staffs in Canada, Great Britain, the European continent and the United States. We are asking for a smaller expenditure this year than last year, because we think we can get along with it. We did not expend the whole amount provided last session. Our expenditures in Canada are roughly divided into two classes. We have what are called our inland agencies, such as at Montreal, Winnipeg, Toronto, Vancouver, Victoria and other inland points where the administration of the immigration law is carried on. In addition to that, we have our boundary inspectors all along the border checking immigration coming in from the United States. If the hon. member wishes particulars as to those items, I can give them to him. The total salary list in Great Britain and Europe is \$93,000, and in the United States, \$67,000. This is an item which, I presume, has been discussed in this House every session.

Mr. LAPOINTE: How many immigrants came into Canada during the last fiscal year?

Mr. CALDER: The number is 117,336, including 59,603 from Great Britain, 49,656 from the United States and 8,077 from all other countries. I will give a few statistics to the committee to show the trend of immigration during the last ten years. During the five years prior to the war our aver-

age immigration was 332,285 per annum. Of that immigration 36.96 per cent was from Great Britain, 36.44 per cent from the United States, and 26.60 per cent from other countries. Taking the five war years, the total immigration was 405,476, or an average of 81,000 during each of those five years, as compared with 332,285 for each of the five years prior to the war. During the war period our British immigration was only 18 per cent of the total, our United States immigration 66 per cent and our immigration from other countries 15 per cent. One would readily realize conditions which brought about that state of affairs. It is interesting to note that last year, the first year after the war, our immigration has increased from 81,000 to 117,000 and of our immigration last year 50.80 per cent was British, as compared with only 18 per cent during the period of the war. Last year 42 per cent of our immigration was from the United States and only 6.88 per cent from other countries. Therefore, the great bulk of our immigration during last year came from Great Britain and the United States, and I am inclined to think that is a condition that is likely to prevail for another year or so.

Contingencies in Canadian, British and Foreign Agencies and general immigration expenses, \$770,000.

Mr. DENIS: I understand that this item and No. 55, salaries of agents, represents the expenditures we make to bring immigrants to Canada. Am I right?

Mr. CALDER: Yes

Exhibitions, \$80,000.

Mr. DENIS: What has Canada been getting for these expenditures on exhibitions for the last three or four years? I am not aware that Canada has participated in any exhibition in that time.

Mr. CALDER: That scarcely represents the situation. Previously, fairly large items were voted by Parliament for some of the larger expositions held throughout the world, at Paris, for instance, Brussels, and San Francisco. These cost very large sums of money, running in some cases into hundreds of thousands of dollars. The class of exhibition work carried on under this vote is more in the nature of small exhibits in Great Britain and in the United States. For instance, we have three small exhibits at three of the most important centres in the United States. We have one small one at the stock yards in Chicago, another in St. Paul, and the third is being

[Mr. Calder.]

established at Kansas city. These three, while they are good exhibits, well located so that a very large number of people see them, are very small and comparatively inexpensive, because the officials of the department are very expert in this work and have succeeded in making a very good exhibit, from the standpoint of immigration, at a comparatively small expenditure. In addition, we showed exhibits last year at state and county fairs in the United States at no less than twenty-seven points. These exhibits are usually shown in a tent or in one of the county fair buildings. Considering the volume of work done and the very good results we get, I consider the cost is very reasonable. In Great Britain, where they have no state and county fairs as we have on this continent, we have travelling exhibits that attend daily fairs over there. These exhibits are shown in tents provided for the purpose. Our experts who have been engaged on this work for a good many years have gathered together some very splendid material for these small exhibits, and I think we are securing very good results.

Mr. DENIS: Who is the present Canadian Commissioner

Mr. CALDER: Mr. Tolmie.

Mr. DENIS: To what influence or recommendation is his appointment due?

Mr. CALDER: He was appointed by the Civil Service Commission. There were two officials in the department who looked for the appointment when Mr. Hutchinson died, Mr. Tolmie and Girardot, I believe. The matter was referred to the Civil Service Commission, and they decided. Whether there was any influence brought to bear or not, I certainly do not know. The matter was left entirely to the Civil Service Commission, who after going into the matter decided that Mr. Tolmie should receive the appointment, and I am inclined to believe myself that they made no mistake. Mr. Tolmie is a young man, vigorous, well qualified, and doing splendid work. I think he is just the right man for the job.

Mr. DENIS: I am not criticising his appointment, but at the same time I do not believe that the Civil Service Commission are making these appointments. My information is that these appointments are made, perhaps through the commission, but on a system of patronage, and that the commission only names or appoints whoever has been recommended to them by the

department—by the Department of Colonization in this particular case.

Mr. CALDER: I must take very serious objection to the statement my hon. friend has just made. If he wishes to leave the impression upon the committee that it was through favoritism or through any influence I exercised on the commission that Mr. Tolmie secured his appointment, if that is his idea, I want to tell him most emphatically he is very much mistaken. If he has any charge to make against any official of the department in so far as using undue influence with the commission is concerned in reference to the appointment of Mr. Tolmie, I think he should state so before the committee.

Mr. DENIS: My charge—and I shall make it next session if I do not now, because I do not want to delay the House unduly at this stage—is that many appointments are being made through the commission which is only acting as a registry office, upon the recommendations of different departments. On the recommendation so made the commission makes the appointment. I am not saying this is so in the particular case of Mr. Tolmie, and I am not criticising his appointment, but I submit that the commission has nothing to do with these appointments, especially to the higher positions, and that patronage is still rampant.

Relief of distressed Canadians, \$6,000.

Mr. PEDLOW: It would be interesting for the committee to know just how this amount, though small in comparison with other items passed this evening, is administered. I see a similar item was passed last year.

Mr. CALDER: This is an item that has been carried in the Estimates for a great many years. Sometimes Canadians abroad become stranded, and an appeal is made to the Government to do something for them. We have had Canadians stranded, for instance, down in the Argentine, as well as some cases in Italy and quite a number in Great Britain. This vote is for the purpose of providing relief to Canadians who are stranded abroad. It is very seldom that the expenditure reaches the amount asked for here. The last time I looked into it we expended something like \$1,000.

Mr. PEDLOW: How much was spent for this purpose last year?

Mr. CALDER: I have not the details with me, but I would imagine it was a small amount.

Expenses under the Canada Temperance Act, \$500,000.

Mr. DENIS: This item calls for some explanation. There was only \$1,000 voted last year.

Mr. SIFTON: This item, and another in the Supplementary Estimates of \$400,000, is for the taking of the vote this fall in connection with the Canada Temperance Act. Applications have been received from Ontario, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Nova Scotia and the Yukon. It is practically a general election that is to be held in connection with it. The whole amount is \$900,000.

To provide for purchase of 650 copies of the Parliamentary Guide, \$1,950?

Mr. DENIS: Amongst whom are these 650 copies of the Parliamentary Guide distributed?

Mr. SIFTON: There is quite a large distribution amongst offices as well as to the Senate and the House of Commons.

Mr. DENIS: The Senate and the House of Commons represent hardly more than 300 copies. Where did the other copies go?

Mr. SIFTON: To libraries, departments and ministers.

To provide for the expenses under the Canada Temperance Act; further amount required \$456,000.

Mr. SIFTON: That is the additional item I referred to.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Is it for the purpose of getting an expression of opinion from the public in some of the provinces as to whether they are for or against the prohibition of the manufacture, importation, and consumption of intoxicating liquors?

Mr. SIFTON: It is to carry out whatever the Act that was passed last year calls for.

The Editorial Committee—to provide for the cost of printing, etc., \$1,000.

Mr. LEMIEUX: This relates to a matter upon which I spoke earlier in the day. I asked the Prime Minister that a French member should be added to the committee. The administration of that branch of the service, I understand, is under the direction of my hon. friend and I would ask him whether he concurs in the Prime Minister's statement upon this question?

Mr. SIFTON: I will do the best I can to carry out whatever promise the Prime Minister made.

To provide for the establishment of an Experimental Station at Swift Current, Sask., \$15,000.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I would like some explanation with regard to this item.

Mr. TOLMIE: I may say there is a large territory in the neighbourhood of Swift Current where farming has been carried on under semi-arid conditions. This runs for a number of miles, east and west of Swift Current, down to the boundary line.

Mr. LEMIEUX: To the American desert?

Mr. TOLMIE: It is on the Canadian side, and it is most important that we establish an experimental station at that point so as to assist the farmers, and to fully inform them as to the best methods of farming under the conditions prevailing in that particular district.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Is not that territory known as the prolongation of the American desert?

Mr. TOLMIE: Yes.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: In connection with this item I would like, for a moment or two, to draw the attention of the committee to the fact that on April 7th I had a notice of motion placed on the Order Paper which is still there. The debate on the motion was adjourned, and I did not have an opportunity of replying to the statements that were made by the minister and others on that occasion in connection with the matter. I would like now for a few minutes to direct the attention of the committee to a statement which was then made in regard to expenditure for experimental farms, to the effect that the outlay for this purpose in the province of Ontario was greater, in proportion to its population, than in any other province. I want to point out that in the province of Ontario, outside of the Central Experimental Farm, there are but two small stations, one at Kapuskasing up in the woods in the North country, and a small tobacco station of 48 acres at Harrow, so that the province does this work itself and pays for it, while the Dominion Government are providing for all the other provinces. That is an absolutely unfair and unjust policy to pursue towards Ontario. Now, there is this item in the Supplementary Estimates for another experimental station in the province of Saskatchewan although there are more experimental farms in that province to-day than there are in the province of Ontario. The statement was made that \$409,979 was

[Mr. Sifton.]

expended for experimental farms in Ontario.

Mr. LAPOINTE: What about Ottawa?

Mr. SUTHERLAND: The Central Farm at Ottawa serves the whole of Canada.

Mr. LAPOINTE: But it is in Ontario.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: It serves the province of Quebec just as much as it does the province of Ontario. Its location shows that it is of more service to Quebec than it is to Ontario. However, the operations of that farm are not directed towards serving any particular province but are intended to serve the whole Dominion. When first established it served the provinces of Quebec and Ontario. To-day a very large proportion of that expenditure is similar to the expenditure that is annually voted for the beautification of the Capital which amounts to about \$160,000 a year. The Central Farm is one of the beauty spots of Ottawa to which people are taken when they visit the Capital. There are twenty-four experimental farms in the Dominion. Three of these are located in the province of Saskatchewan, in which there are also fourteen demonstration farms, whereas there is not one demonstration farm in the province of Ontario, and we are now asked to vote this sum to establish another. There are also thirteen located in the province of Quebec, and yet we have not one in Ontario.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Another case of Quebec domination.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: The total amount expended on experimental farms in Ontario, outside of the Central Farm, last year according to the report of the Auditor General was \$47,968 whereas the expenditure for that purpose in the province of Quebec was \$177,624. Yet hon. gentlemen opposite who come from Quebec are continually bemoaning the injustice that is done to their province. Notwithstanding that expenditure the revenue derived from the farms in province of Quebec only amounts to \$11,271. And this came from the 2,397 acres in the system in that province.

I placed some questions on the Order Paper last April, and I would take this opportunity of referring to them; they were in connection with these experimental farms. I asked what amount was paid for farm labour and what revenue was received from the Central Farm at Ottawa. That question was answered on April 19, as follows: that the expenditure for labour on this farm

of 467 acres amounted to \$106,753, and the revenue was \$109,610. I have taken the trouble to look the matter up in the Public Accounts and instead of the figures contained in Hansard of that date I find that the expenditure for labour was \$120,525, and the revenue was \$26,006 and not \$120,525. During the years of the war when labour was so scarce that it could not be obtained elsewhere there was apparently an abundance of labour on this farm in order to have a beautiful park adjacent to the city of Ottawa. And yet the minister gets up in the House and states that there is a larger expenditure per head for experimental farms in Ontario than in any other province. Well, we have only this small tobacco farm of 49 acres in the county of Essex, 487 miles west of Ottawa; we have also the farm at Kapuskasing, 542 miles to the north, but all of Western and Central Ontario is absolutely neglected in respect to experimental farm work. And now we propose under the Supplementary Estimates, to establish another farm for Saskatchewan but nothing for Ontario. After the debate on my motion was shut off—I will not say by smart practice, but it certainly was by an unusual method and one not often experienced in Parliament, and that motion has remained on the Order Paper until this day. This is the first and only opportunity I have had of referring to the unfair attitude displayed towards Ontario on that occasion. The Provincial Government of Ontario have been compelled to do this work for themselves and now have five provincial experimental farms in that province. But I can say, without fear of contradiction, that the manner in which our Dominion experimental farms have been carried on in the past has been absolutely unfair. Justice has not been shown towards Ontario, while in the province of Quebec there are large numbers of these farms maintained by the Dominion much closer to the central farm than those outlying farms in Ontario where you have an expenditure of \$177,624. The revenues derived from those farms are absolute proof that the methods pursued there do not accomplish the desired results, because it is not all experimental work. I do not suppose for a moment that you could expect to conduct experimental work at a profit without having a heavy expense, but when you have 12,000 acres of land farmed by what are supposed to be our experts, you would suppose there would be a farm somewhere where they could demonstrate

that they are able to put their teaching into practice.

I do not wish to take up the time of the House—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. SUTHERLAND: My hon. friends are very clever in applauding when it suits their purpose, and some of them were just as clever in trying to shut off debate on this question when my motion was before the House on a previous occasion. Some of the same hon. gentlemen are now trying to create a diversion and prevent me making any further reference to this matter. I contend that it was unusual and unfair to permit the statement made regarding Ontario to go unchallenged upon that occasion, and now I want to point out that Ontario has been used unfairly. We contribute one half of the revenue of this Dominion. We have never yet taken exception to expenditure upon experimental farms in any other province, nor do I take exception to-night; and if it is necessary to have experimental farms in that district of Saskatchewan, I am in accord with that policy. But I take exception to the statements on Hansard, and I say again that the policy that has been pursued would have justified cutting out all expenditures of this nature and letting the Provincial Governments conduct this work for themselves where they have control of their own lands. It is a different matter where the Dominion Government controls the natural resources of the province. But there is no justification in the old provinces, where conditions are almost identical, that one province should be discriminated against and another province should be shown favours, as has been the case in the past.

I have in my hand a publication issued by the Department of Agriculture, which will be found in nearly every bank in the rural districts, and in which the location of these farms is shown with an invitation to apply to the director of the nearest experimental farm for any information desired. You will find in the offices of the agents in the Old Land any quantity of literature that the prospective immigrant is anxious to secure, and it is largely compiled from information obtained from the experimental farms. Yet there is practically no information of that kind available regarding the major part of Ontario, except the eastern part. The effect of this on immigration is much greater than most people realize, and I say that this circular which is being distributed in this way con-

taining information regarding the experimental farms is not fair to Ontario now that immigration is beginning again. As this map showing the location of all these farms, will bear out, there is a group of eight or nine of these farms to the east of Ottawa at about the same distance from Ottawa as the little tobacco farm we have in the county of Essex. You would almost think from this pamphlet that Ontario was devoted to growing tobacco and nothing else. In the past we have had to submit to a good deal of discrimination against Ontario by the immigration authorities, and it looks to me as though that policy was going to be continued in view of the circulars that are being distributed all over the country to-day.

I feel that I should apologize to the House for taking up time at this late day—and now—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. SUTHERLAND:—but if it was not for the methods that have been adopted I would not have done so.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Will the hon. gentleman help us to defeat a government that is so unfair to Ontario?

Mr. SUTHERLAND: I have no doubt that if my hon. friend had another opportunity he would do Ontario an even greater injustice than past Governments have done.

Mr. LAPOINTE: It could not be worse.

Mr. BELAND: I think my hon. friend is misjudging the hon. member for Quebec East. Ontario has no better friend than the hon. member for Quebec East, with the possible exception of myself.

Mr. TOLMIE: We will take item 463 next.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Steele): That item has been passed.

Mr. DENIS: These items pass so quickly that the minister himself does not know that they are passed. He has just been made aware by the chairman that an item of \$350,000 for his department has been passed, and he did not know about it. That is a demonstration to the committee and to the country of what kind of work we are doing here.

Miscellaneous—grant to national Dairy Council, \$3,000.

Mr. LANCTOT: Has anything been decided with regard to the capacity of the potato bag, concerning which representations have been made to the minister? I

[Mr. Sutherland.]

understand that many requests have come to Ottawa during the last few years that the standard potato bag be made to contain eighty pounds instead of ninety pounds. The present 90-pound bag is not one of convenient size. Ninety pounds cannot be put in a flour bag, and as bags are expensive it is desired that the weight should be reduced to eighty pounds.

Mr. TOLMIE: A delegation of men interested in the potato business, farmers and dealers, from Montreal, waited on me a short time ago. This matter was discussed and it was decided that we should examine into the advisability of having potatoes sold by weight and that legislation to that effect would probably be brought down at the next session.

Civil Government—Department of Marine, salaries, etc., \$290,810.

Mr. FIELDING: Has the attention of the Minister of Marine been directed to the position of the young gentlemen who have been sent out from our naval colleges and are now serving in Europe? It has been represented to me that the pay of these young gentlemen is very small indeed. It may be said that the pay of the English young men is even lower than that of the Canadians. But we have this to remember that, in most cases, the young Englishmen who go into the navy are sons of wealthy people and the pay they receive is not a very serious consideration, while the young Canadians who enter that service are, as a rule, sons of men who are not wealthy, and if they do not get a reasonable rate of pay, they cannot remain in the service. It has been represented to me, not by the young gentlemen themselves, but by some friends of theirs, that the pay is inadequate, and that some of these young gentlemen have great difficulty in remaining in the service. I only desire to draw the attention of the minister to this matter to see if anything can be done.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: The hon. gentleman is quite correct. The rate of pay for young naval officers and other ratings has been too low; but we have recently revised the scale, and at the present time they are drawing a good deal higher rate of pay than they formerly did. I might also state that Canadian officers who are in the British Navy are on the Canadian naval strength and paid by the Canadian Government.

Civil government—Office of the Conservation Commission, salaries, \$43,450.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Who is chairman of the commission now?

Mr. ROWELL: Senator Edwards is acting chairman.

Mr. LEMIEUX: But who is going to be chairman?

Mr. ROWELL: No decision has yet been reached as regards that.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I would suggest that Senator Edwards be made permanent chairman.

Legislation—House of Commons, \$477,516.25.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Has the report of the classification of the employees of the House of Commons been tabled? We want to know what salaries we are voting for the various officials and employees of the House of Commons.

Mr. SPEAKER: In the absence of the report from the Civil Service Commission, the only thing which could be done was to prepare the Estimate on the basis of last year with the statutory increases. The hon. gentleman has asked if the classification has been sent up from the Civil Service Commission. It has not, and I rather gather from a communication which I received from the Civil Service Commission yesterday that it would be impossible to get it ready to-day.

Mr. LAPOINTE: I know His Honour the Speaker is doing his best to have this matter properly adjusted. On the other hand I do not think it is fair to ask us to vote this appropriation for the salaries of the whole staff of the House of Commons without knowing what the various salaries are.

Mr. BUREAU: As my hon. friend has said, we know the Speaker has done his best and has worked hard to see that those who approached him about the classification of officers of the House of Commons should be satisfied. The report was to be tabled. This is an important matter, because this is the only item wherein there are duplicate offices with an equal standing. The interest I take in this is to know what classification the Civil Service Commission

have made, and if the Civil Service Commission are there to do the work and cannot do it, we shall make a mistake if we pass the item now. We have heard it said in the corridors here by parties who are not civil servants, but who are supposed to know, that there were certain, not classifications,

but apportionments made of salaries where the deputy chief or the under-employee was getting more than his chief. The Civil Service Commission ought not to do that sort of thing. If you want a chief to have authority, he must have the salary which goes with the position, because positions after all are appreciated according to the salary which is paid to the man who occupies the position. I want it distinctly understood that I do not wish to blame the Speaker at all. I know he has put forth every effort; but if the Civil Service Commission cannot do their duties and cannot answer to Parliament, I for one am ready to censure the Civil Service Commission or to vote it out of business.

Mr. McGIBBON (Muskoka): Let us all vote it out of business.

Mr. BELAND: Is it to be understood that this House is of opinion that two officials of this House who, under the new classification, enjoy the same status, will receive the same salary?

Mr. SPEAKER: I do not know whether the hon. gentleman is directing his question to me or not.

Mr. BELAND: To anybody. To the party who should answer.

Mr. SPEAKER: It is only necessary to put the question to have it answered properly. There can be only one answer to it: There ought to be equal pay for equal service. Perhaps I might say generally, with regard to this question of classification, that the Civil Service Commission must assume responsibility for such classification as they prepare for the officers of the House. After they have done so and presented it to the House, it is for the House to determine whether they will or will not agree to it. In the absence of the classification, there was no other alternative for the officers of the House in preparing the Estimate than to put it upon the basis of last year with the statutory increases. While I am on my feet, I should like to say just one word of tribute to the services of a most efficient officer of the House who took superannuation—

Mr. LEMIEUX: Before the Speaker leaves the subject: I understand the classification was sent to the Speaker by the Civil Service Commission and it was returned to the commission. Will it come back during the sitting, or is it abandoned?

Mr. SPEAKER: I think I stated to the House on the Orders of the Day that a ten-

tative scheme of classification was submitted to me. I have read it. I returned it to the Civil Service Commission with a letter explaining the view which I expressed to the House to-day. I have not a copy of the letter which I wrote to the commission, but it was in terms following the idea which I gave to the House to-day, namely that I could not and would not assume responsibility for the classification when the Civil Service Commission were charged with that duty.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Perhaps I am very dense, but the matter is not quite clear to me yet. I understand that the Civil Service Commission sent to His Honour the Speaker a report about the classification of the employees of the House of Commons.

Mr. SPEAKER: It was not a complete report. It only purported, according to the letter which accompanied it, to be a tentative classification.

Mr. LEMIEUX: What is the reason for the commission sending a tentative classification to his Honour?

Mr. BUREAU: Because they do not understand their business.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I am not saying that. They made a classification and sent it to his Honour the Speaker. Was his Honour asking the commission to review that classification before it was finally passed?

Mr. SPEAKER: The view I took was this: If there was any object in sending it to me at all, it was that I should pass upon it. I took the ground that if I was to pass upon it and assume responsibility for it, I should have the authority that went with that responsibility. Not having that authority, I refused to pass upon it. It is a matter now for the Civil Service Commission, and their work is to be reviewed by the House of Commons. I do not think in justice to myself and the duties of my office I could take any other stand.

Mr. BELAND: Under the present statute is it competent for the House to revise so far as salaries are concerned, a classification of the officials of the House made by the commission?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes, their classification is subject to review by the House of Commons. The House must concur in it.

Mr. BUREAU: Here is an extraordinary situation. There has been some parleying about these positions. It has been said that the organization has been submitted to the

[Mr. Speaker.]

Civil Service Commission. Now I understand that by statute the Civil Service Commission is to classify these positions and determine the salaries that shall be attached thereto. Am I right?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

Mr. BUREAU: That is their duty under the statute. Now either they do not understand their duty or they refuse to perform it. If it is their duty to make this classification, it ought to have been laid on the table of the House of Commons, so that if we are to ratify the classification we would know what we were ratifying. I have not read the statute recently, and I am not positive just what obligation in this respect is imposed upon the commission, but if they think it is not their duty to make this classification of their own responsibility, but merely to submit it to the Speaker for his approval and they want the responsibility to rest with him, I for one am quite willing to vote that it does rest with the Speaker. I do not think we ought to be the toys or playthings of the commission. I do not think it is fair for any body of intelligent men who have any respect for Parliament, to say "Gentlemen, trust us. Approve things we have not submitted to you. Approve of our classification and everything will be all right."

Mr. SPEAKER: It must be understood that in passing this vote we are not in anyway ratifying any classification by the commission, because, as already pointed out, these Estimates were prepared upon the basis of last year, plus the statutory increases. In no way do we commit ourselves, by passing this item, to any classification made by the commission.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Yes, but the commission sent its classification to his Honour, because they considered his Honour as the minister in charge of the department of the House of Commons. The House of Commons, so far as its employees are concerned, is considered as a department and the Speaker as the minister of that department. Now I understand that a report was sent by the commission to his Honour for his approval, just as the commission sends reports to the heads of other departments. That is where I differ perhaps from his Honour. I say that having received this report on classification from the commission, his Honour should have laid the report on the table for the House to concur in it or dissent.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think the hon. gentleman is in error. What was submitted was

an unsigned tentative copy of a proposed report. It was not such a document as could be submitted to the House at all. If the House is to be placed in the position of practically classifying the servants of the House, as it would be under that proposed arrangement, we might just as well make a job of it. But the law distinctly says that the Civil Service Commission shall classify the officers of the House of Commons, and I for one—perhaps I am mistaken—refuse to assume responsibility where I am not clothed with the authority which ought properly to go with responsibility. That is the position I take. I am not going to leave myself open to objections not only by hon. members of the House but by the servants of the House, when I have not the authority to remedy their grievances. I am not taking simply my own judgment on the matter. I took the precaution of consulting the Parliamentary Counsel. I was not afforded a great deal of time. The document was only placed in my hands at eight o'clock last night, and the House sat until three this morning, and I was in the Chamber almost continuously from eight until three. During the course of the evening, in such time as he had available, the Parliamentary Counsel took the matter under consideration, and he concurred in the view which I expressed to him at the time, and which I have given to the House.

Mr. BELAND: This is a clear intimation from the Civil Service Commission that they wish us to settle this question of classification so far as the officials of the House are concerned. That is evident from the fact that they have sent this tentative report and have sought the approval of the House. If the session was not going to end to-morrow, or even to-night, I think it would be competent for us to pass immediately legislation in order to take this classification into our own hands. Be that as it may, what is now the position of the officials of the House of Commons? How are they going to be paid during this fiscal year? That is the question. Are they going to be paid the salary they received last year plus their statutory increase, or will they receive the salary which is going to be fixed in the new classification which should be before the House, but which is not?

Mr. SPEAKER: They will be paid, as a minimum, the old salary plus the statutory increase, and if the re-classification

increases the pay of some officers of the staff, as I have no doubt it will, those affected will be paid the increase due. The Act provides that if the classification is not ready in time to be ratified by the House of Commons, it may be ratified by the Governor in Council and it must be brought down to the House at the opening of the next session of Parliament.

Mr. MORPHY: It seems quite clear to me that the Speaker takes ground that is absolutely correct in every respect. I do not know whether this matter was intended to be dealt with by the House. If it was intended that the matter should be dealt with by the House, it does seem to me peculiar that the commission would send something out, have it returned to them, and fail to return it here so that it could be dealt with. I think there is a good deal in the remarks one gentleman opposite made, that the Civil Service Commission may have in their mind the idea of making the members of this House appear ridiculous before the public. It is not a very flattering position for the members of the House to be placed in, and I certainly want to add my protest against the attitude assumed by the commission in refusing or failing to send to the House something that should have been sent.

Mr. BUREAU: "Aux grands maux, les grands remèdes." A desperate situation calls for a desperate remedy. Here is what I feel about this: Either the Civil Service know the law or they do not. If they know the law, they must carry it out. If they do not know the law, they have no business to be there; let them get out. I feel like moving that it be referred back to the appropriation for the Civil Service Commission and that we hold it up till the commission see fit to respect members of Parliament and deposit their classification. If these gentlemen think they can play with this House we should do something to show them that they cannot. Let them understand once and for all that they cannot fool the members of Parliament in the same way that they think they can fool others, and therefore I move that we revert to the Civil Service Commission item.

The CHAIRMAN: The hon. gentleman could only revert to item 31 by unanimous consent and he cannot move that the item be rescinded because it is impossible for the House to vote twice on the same item.

Mr. NESBITT: It appears from what the Speaker has said that next session the

matter will be taken up and gone into. In the meantime we are voting these men the salaries that they have had before and I see no reason why the vote should not go through. On the condition that the Speaker has mentioned to-night that we are not accepting or establishing any report but that we are only voting the salaries and that the question will be taken up next session and dealt with properly, I think the item should be allowed to pass.

Mr. BUREAU: How can we discuss it without having their report?

Mr. NESBITT: We are voting the salaries and they will be paid. Otherwise they cannot be paid, I suppose.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hour is late but perhaps I may be permitted to say a word; I feel that not to do so would be an injustice to a venerable member of the staff of this House who has retired and is receiving his superannuation. I refer to Mr. E. P. Hartney who for forty-eight years has been in the public service. A more efficient officer it would be impossible to find. He is known to the older members of the House and those who know him I am sure will join with me in expressing appreciation of his many years of valuable service to this country, and also in expressing the hope that he may be spared to live for many years in health and happiness to enjoy his superannuation allowance.

Mr. FIELDING: I join very heartily with his honour, the Speaker, in his appreciation of the services of this excellent officer. The older members of the House know him very well. In the very many years in which I was associated in a ministerial capacity with the work of the House I found Mr. Hartney a most highly qualified officer in every way. I am glad that the Speaker has paid this tribute to his good service and that in the name of the House of Commons he has extended our best wishes for his future happiness.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Was he given leave of absence?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes.

Mr. LEMIEUX: For how many months?

Mr. SPEAKER: Six months.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I join in the praise bestowed upon Mr. Hartney. I have known him for twenty-five years and he has prepared many a Bill for me, as he has done for other members. Yet, I must say that we have not followed the same course with another old employee of this Parliament. I

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refer to Mr. DeCelles, C.M.G., one of the Librarians. While Mr. Griffin was given six months' leave of absence, Mr. DeCelles was granted three months' leave. He was in a perfect state of health and quite willing and able to do his work but he was forced to leave and give his position to a younger man. Mr. DeCelles has published one or two books every year during the last five or six years. He was quite hale and hearty, and I do not know why he should have been superannuated, but, being superannuated, it seems to me that after forty-eight years service he should have been given the same leave of absence that was given to his colleague, Mr. Griffin, and to Mr. Hartney.

Mr. SPEAKER: Appointment and superannuation are matters with which the Speaker has nothing to do.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I know, but I am simply calling the attention of the Government to this matter.

Mr. HAY: I would like to ask whether any of these items cover the salaries or wages received by the messengers and members' stenographers.

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, they do.

Mr. HAY: They have been complaining bitterly against the wage which they are receiving, which, I understand, is \$4 per day. Many of them come from a great distance to attend the session and they have to pay their board.

Mr. SPEAKER: There is an item in the Supplementary Estimates specifically for the stenographers and perhaps the hon. gentleman would direct his remarks to that item.

Mr. HAY: And for the messengers?

Mr. SPEAKER: Not for the messengers but for the stenographers.

Mr. HAY: I referred to them particularly.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Before this item passes we must understand where we are and what the position of the employees of the House of Commons will be. We are voting this item on the basis of the old salary. We have voted in the Supplementary Estimates an item of \$6,000,000 to cover increases in salaries due to the application of the reclassification of the Civil Service. I was told that this item included the salaries of the employees of the House of Commons under the new reclassification and that all that will be required will be the concurrence

of the Governor in Council if the report is not tabled before the session is concluded. His Honour the Speaker thinks that this concurrence will be given after the session. In that case I have nothing else to say except that I agree with the members of this House who have protested against the manner in which the House of Commons has been treated by the Civil Service Commission. We have asked, for weeks and weeks, that the report be tabled. They have waited until the last day of the session, and when they have sent in their tentative report it has been sent back to them. The House will prorogue without the members being acquainted with what the report contains. We are voting these salaries without knowing what they are but the work will be done by the Governor in Council instead of by the House of Commons. We have been treated by the Civil Service Commission not only with scant courtesy but with downright contempt, and we must tell that to these gentlemen.

Mr. BELAND: When, in the opinion of His Honour the Speaker, can we expect that the report will be laid before the Governor in Council?

Mr. SPEAKER: Any statement I might make would merely be a guess.

Mr. LEMIEUX: As soon as the House prorogues.

Mr. BELAND: In the meantime the employees are paid their present salaries, and if the Civil Service Commission choose to submit this report for the approval of the Governor in Council in six months from now there is no remedy whatever.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think the re-classification dates back to the first of April last year. In any case, it must be submitted to the Governor in Council and it must be brought down at the next session of Parliament.

Mr. FIELDING: In the meantime it will take effect?

Mr. ROWELL: Just one word. I have reached one of the officials of the commission and he said that at six o'clock the Speaker's message had not arrived. Apparently the letter did not reach the commission; it was mislaid in some way. I do not know how the letter failed to reach the proper official but we shall try to get in touch with the commission to-morrow.

Mr. SPEAKER: The letter was signed late this afternoon and in the natural course

of things would go down very late. I cannot give any further details, other than that the matter was attended to by my secretary.

Mr. BUREAU: The commission ought to be brought to the bar of the House.

Harbours and Rivers, \$4,400,000.

Mr. J. D. REID: This is the item the hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) wished to speak on.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Since the beginning of the session I have had on the Order Paper a question in connection with the construction of a dry dock at St. John, but I have been unable to get an answer to it. A day or so ago I interjected a remark whilst questions were being called, and I understood that the minister would make a statement when the Estimates for these works came before the House.

Mr. J. D. REID: May I say to the hon. member that I obtained the answer to his question this afternoon.

Mr. LEMIEUX: That is fortunate. Will my hon. friend be good enough to read it?

Mr. J. D. REID: Yes. The question was only put on the Order Paper seven or eight days ago.

Mr. LEMIEUX: The first question is: Has the Government granted a subsidy to the St. John Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Co., Ltd.?

Mr. J. D. REID: The answer to that question is: Yes.

Mr. LEMIEUX: The next question is: If so, when was such subsidy granted?

Mr. J. D. REID: By agreement entered into on the 11th of July, 1918, authorized by Order in Council of 22nd of June, 1918.

Mr. LEMIEUX: The third question is: What is the total amount of said subsidy?

Mr. J. D. REID: Subsidy is to be paid half yearly at the rate of 4½ per cent on \$5,500,000 for a period of 35 years.

Mr. LEMIEUX: The fourth question is: What is the estimated cost of the St. John graving dock alone?

Mr. J. D. REID: The company's estimate is \$6,402,000; the estimate of the Chief Engineer of Public Works is \$5,904,000.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Now I would like answers to the following questions:

5. Is the Government aware that bonds are presently being offered for sale to the public with the following paragraph appearing on the back of each bond:

"The Minister of Public Works of Canada has consented to the issue of the First Series of the within bonds totalling \$884,276.50, bearing interest at 5½ per cent per annum, of which this bond is one, and has agreed to pay to Montreal Trust Company, Trustee, for the benefit of the holders of the said Bonds the sum of \$28,599.43 half-yearly on each of the First days of January and July for a period of thirty-five years hereafter making in all seventy payments as a subsidy payable to St. John Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Company, Limited, for work heretofore completed on its Dry Dock at Courtenay Bay, N.B., in respect to which this First Series of Bonds is issued."

6. Is it true that the subsidy granted to the St. John Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Co., Ltd., is sufficient to meet the principal and interest on the total issue of bonds, amounting to \$3,826,272.34 with interest at 5½ per cent?

Mr. J. D. REID: These are the answers to the main questions:

5. The endorsement on bond was approved by Justice Department and is in accordance with subsidy under the Act of Parliament.

6. A present loan of \$3,826,272.34 bearing interest at 5½ per cent per annum, payable half-yearly, could be liquidated in thirty-five years by a semi-annual payment of \$123,750; so much of the balance of the said semi-annual payment as would not be needed for payment of the interest on the outstanding indebtedness being immediately applied to reduce the amount of loan outstanding.

I want to add a few further words. The company sent a form of bond to the Public Works Department, with the endorsement and other requirements, as they wanted it issued to the public. It was sent to the Department of Justice and they reported to the Public Works Department that it was in proper form and there was no objection to it. The bond allowed to be issued will only be to the extent that the Government subsidies payable semi-annually, will, at the end of thirty-five years, have paid off the interest and the principal.

Mr. LEMIEUX: In round figures what will the total amount be?

Mr. J. D. REID: The dry dock will cost in round figures \$6,000,000. The Government will only allow \$3,826,272 of bonds to be issued on which the subsidy will be paid.

Mr. LEMIEUX: That refers to one dry dock. How many dry docks are to be undertaken by the Government under the same subsidy? I see that a dry dock is to be built at Vancouver and another one at Esquimalt. In this connection a question was put on the Order Paper by my

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hon. friend from Guysborough (Mr. Sinclair) to the following effect:

1. Has the Government reached a conclusion on the proposal to build a dry dock at or near the city of Victoria, B.C.?
2. When will the work be commenced?
3. What is the estimated cost?
4. Is it the intention of the Government to build this proposed dry dock as a Government work?

To this the following answer was returned:

1. Yes.
2. As soon as conditions will justify.
3. Between \$5,000,000 and \$6,000,000.
4. Yes.

So it is apparent that as soon as the conditions will justify there will be another expenditure of between five and six millions.

Mr. J. D. REID: About six millions.

Mr. LEMIEUX: When will the construction of that dock be commenced?

Mr. J. D. REID: I have not yet called for tenders for that work, but it is intended to do so within a reasonable time. The work will probably be started within a few months.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I see that an agreement was also made with Coughlan & Sons to build a dry dock in Vancouver under the provisions of the statutes relating to dry docks. Does the Government intend to build a dry dock in Vancouver under the dry dock at Vancouver. If so, what is the estimated cost of the dock to be constructed at Vancouver?

Mr. J. D. REID: The one at Vancouver is a second-class dry dock and will cost about \$3,500,000. The subsidy allowed on that will be about \$2,500,000. In every case the subsidy granted must be paid off in the same way as in the case of the St. John dock.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I do not wish to delay the committee. If it is the settled policy of the Government to build these dry docks I have nothing more to say, but it seems to me that under present conditions the Government ought to be a little more prudent. Because this involves a very large expenditure—\$5,000,000 or \$6,000,000 for the Courtenay Bay works, \$5,000,000 or \$6,000,000 at Victoria, and right opposite at Vancouver another \$3,000,000 or \$4,000,000. Does not my hon. friend think that there is some little exaggeration in this policy of dry dock construction under present circum-

stances? The financial commitments of the country are very heavy, and it seems to me that the Government ought to pause before embarking on such a wild orgie of expenditure. At first I understand it was agreed that there would be only one dry dock—that at Victoria.

Mr. J. D. REID: We are not building one at Vancouver.

Mr. LEMIEUX: But you have just promised it.

Mr. J. D. REID: At Vancouver we are subsidizing a private dock; we are paying only the interest.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I am perhaps using an inapt expression. At all events it means so much money from the public exchequer whether the Government build the dock itself or whether it is built by a private firm. So it makes no difference,—the money comes from the taxpayers. As regards this latest addition to dry dock building, while I have the highest regard for my genial friend the Minister of Agriculture (Mr. Tolmie), I may tell him that in my judgment it was very fortunate for his electors that he was selected as Minister of Agriculture, because he had to appear before them to get re-elected, and, as he did not care to come empty handed, he made some promises, and possibly his re-election was the direct result of those promises. I read from the Victoria Times of Oct. 21st, page 12, an open letter to the electors of Victoria, signed by him.

Late in 1917, shortly after my election, I immediately in conjunction with Mr. McIntosh and Mr. Green began an agitation for the construction of the Esquimalt Dry-dock. At that time, if you will remember, there was considerable talk of reconstruction, and it was considered an appropriate time to begin to apply pressure for the completion of the Esquimalt dry-dock which would not only give employment to a large number of men during the reconstruction period, but would provide and centralize an important industry at Victoria. We were met with a great deal of opposition and soon learned that Vancouver was a strong competitor in the field for the construction of the dock.

My hon. friend knew local divisions. He stood by his old constituency of Victoria, and I do not blame him for that. Surveying the ground around him he saw that Vancouver was a strong competitor and that the hon. member (Mr. Stevens) who is so mad when he has to face the Farmers' party in the House was a very keen competitor. So my hon. friend said to his electors that he thought Vancouver wanted to get the dry dock. He continues in this open letter:

After persistent work, carried on continuously at all hours and at all angles,—

I wonder what were the angles.

—from 1917 to the early summer of 1919 we were able to secure an undertaking from the Government for the construction of this dock. A sum of money was placed in the Estimates for the commencement of the work at the earliest possible moment. This occurred about the end of June, and we immediately began an agitation for the commencement of borings and the preparation of plans and specifications. Shortly after this, Mr. Daly, engineer of the Public Works Department at Ottawa, came to Victoria and commenced operation in Lang's Cove. These borings occupied some time and when they were completed it was found that the construction of the drydock in Lang's Cove would be an exceedingly expensive proposition and that, also, on account of the construction of the Yarrow Wharf, that it would be necessary to remove a large portion of the latter before big ships could enter the proposed dock. With this evidence at hand the Public Works Department did not cease operations, but immediately looked over other available sites in Esquimalt.

I am now in a position to say that subsequent explorations has practically assured a satisfactory site, and have the assurance of the Government that the work of construction will be prosecuted without delay.

This great public work which is a national necessity will provide employment for a large number of men and will prove a great commercial asset to the community.

Yours faithfully,

S. F. TOLMIE.

On the 24th of October, 1919, the minister spoke and he is reported in the Victoria Times of October 25th as follows:

The minister again told of what he had done to secure the building of the outer dock pier, the beginning here of steel ship building, etc.

Speaking of the drydock, he said:

Just before I left Ottawa I went to the Council and said that I wanted to know where I stood on this (drydock) question and the reply was that the Government was going right ahead with the work. If I can't believe that I can't believe anybody.

Well, my hon. friend was right, for the figures in the Estimates show conclusively that he had a strong hand and a strong will, and that he handled his colleagues perfectly well the drydock will go to Victoria. But why should there be such competition between Vancouver and Victoria at the expense of the country? Why two drydocks in that province? One should be sufficient at the present time. Later on, when the national finances are in better shape, I quite understand that Vancouver should receive the favours of the Government.

Mr. J. D. REID: At this late hour of course, I can only briefly mention one or two points. With reference to the question of the drydock at Esquimalt, the hon. member knows that the building of it was settled in 1912. He knows

that the item was in the Estimates, that the money was voted, that the site was purchased, and that it was only by reason of the war intervening that the work did not proceed. Its construction was not undertaken merely on account of that byelection. Now, the reason for subsidizing these docks or engaging in their construction is simply this: we believe that there is a great future for traffic on the Pacific Coast, and that what they should have out there is exactly what the hon. member himself advocated in this House, when he supported the construction of two docks, one at the city of Montreal and one at the city of Quebec. He believed that it would be in the interests of the country to have drydocks at those points, and he was willing to agree to the necessary expenditure for their construction. The Government believe the same thing so far as Vancouver and Victoria are concerned. At present many of the larger vessels do not go there because they think they cannot get the necessary drydock accommodation. The Government believe that the city of St. John has a great future and that it should have a drydock as well as Halifax or Montreal or Quebec. We believe it is in the interests of the country that these facilities should be provided at the earliest possible day.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I agree that the more dry docks we have the more we can develop the shipbuilding industry and the iron and steel industry, and the better it is for the country in general, but expenditure for these dry docks should be made at the proper time, not when the country is—I was going to say, facing financial disaster, but I will not say that—not at a time when we have such heavy commitments. It was quite right and proper for the country to vote a subsidy for a floating dry dock at Montreal at a time when the treasury was overflowing with money; at a time when we had surplus after surplus. But in view of the tremendous figure that the national debt has reached I say it is time to call a halt in expenditure of this kind. I am not seeking to antagonize Victoria or Vancouver, or St. John, or any other port; but I do say that the finances of the country will not permit such a large expenditure as this at the present time.

Mr. FIELDING: In one form or another this dry dock question has been before the country for a long time. I suppose there has been some variation of policy in

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regard to it, but we have settled down in recent years to a policy of subsidies under the general Act. It is some time since I had occasion to read the general Act, but I know that the Government are empowered to pay certain subsidies for a period of years. My hon. friend has spoken of endorsement. I know that the Act authorizes the payment of subsidies, but does it allow the endorsement of bonds?

Mr. J. D. REID: I have not myself read it lately, but my deputy informs me that an amendment to the Act allows endorsement.

Mr. FIELDING: That is a novelty to me. Of course, if the Act authorizes the endorsement of bonds, there is no use in complaining.

Mr. J. D. REID: The Government does not sign an endorsement; it simply consents to the issue. In this case the form of the bond, the form of agreement, and so on, were sent to the Department of Public Works and then to the Justice Department. The report came from the deputy minister. I looked into the matter when the question was raised by the hon. member.

Mr. LEMIEUX: But is there any clause in the statute which authorizes a minister of the Crown to endorse the bonds in the name of the Dominion Government?

Mr. ROWELL: The bonds are not endorsed.

Mr. J. D. REID: As I understand it, there is a clause in the Act which authorizes the Minister of Public Works to give his consent to the issue of a certain number of bonds. The Justice Department say that having got the consent of the Minister of Public Works they have the right to print on the bond a statement that the consent has been given.

Mr. LEMIEUX: My hon. friend may be quite right in saying that the Act authorizes the minister to endorse these bonds.

Mr. J. D. REID: No; to give his consent to the issue of the bonds.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Well, I have here a circular which has been distributed by a firm of brokers, W. A. Mackenzie & Company, 42 King street West, Toronto. It reads:

Principal and interest paid by Dominion of Canada, by semi-annual Subsidy.

We own and offer \$884,276.50 First Mortgages 5½ Serial Gold Bonds, St. John Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Company, Limited.

And so on. And further on it says:

The subsidy paid by the Government of Canada is irrevocable and assigned absolutely to the trustee, The Montreal Trust Company, to meet the interest and principal on these bonds, and this subsidy cannot be diverted, reduced, changed, or in any way dealt with, but is absolutely the property of the holders of these bonds.

Then, as an invitation to the public to buy these bonds, they say:

In addition, the bonds when issued are a first and only mortgage on all the works, plant and equipment of the company. The following paragraph appears on the back of each bond:

"The Minister of Public Works of Canada has consented to the issue of the first series of the within bonds totalling \$884,276.50, bearing interest at 5½ per cent per annum, of which this bond is one, and has agreed to pay to Montreal Trust Company, Trustee, for the benefit of the holders of the said bonds the sum of \$28,599.43 half-yearly on each of the first days of January and July for a period of thirty-five years hereafter making in all seventy payments as a subsidy payable to St. John Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Company, Limited, for work heretofore completed on its Dry Dock at Courtenay Bay, N.B., in respect to which this first series of bonds is issued."

This is signed, in the present case, by the Acting Minister of Public Works, N. W. Rowell. My hon. friend does not deny that?

Mr. ROWELL: As Acting Minister of Public Works I signed the agreement and any other documents in connection with it that were reported upon and submitted to me by the Department of Justice as setting out what the parties were entitled to under their contract.

Mr. LEMIEUX: But the name of my hon. friend appears on the back of each bond, I understand.

Mr. ROWELL: No, certainly not. I did not sign any bonds; I signed the agreement which the Department of Justice reported upon and submitted for signature.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Well, so much the better. I am pleased to hear that my hon. friend did not sign on the back of each bond. From the way this circular reads one would believe that each bond was endorsed by the then Acting Minister of Public Works.

Mr. J. D. REID: Oh, no.

Mr. LEMIEUX: In my judgment it is very much out of place for any firm to issue a circular like this; the name of the Dominion of Canada should not serve as an advertisement for any enterprise. The contract is there; the statute is public law, and it ought to be known by those who subscribe to any of those bonds. I remem-

ber some years ago an issue of the bonds of the Baie des Chaleurs Railway Company was endorsed by the present Minister of Trade and Commerce (Sir George Foster), he at that time being Minister of Finance. The bonds were issued; some of them were sold in London, and after a while, after certain revelations had been made as to the standing of the company and the standing of the gentlemen behind the company, the Government of Canada compelled the then Minister of Finance to withdraw his endorsement. It was advertised in Europe that those bonds that had been endorsed by the Hon. Sir George Foster, then Minister of Finance, were not to be considered as having been endorsed. I remember the case very well. Therefore, it seems to me that the Government should not allow any concern to use the name of the Dominion Government to advertise any issue of bonds.

Mr. FIELDING: It is rather difficult to proceed to discuss this matter without having the provisions of the Act before one. I was at one time very familiar with the Act because I had on more than one occasion to attend to revisions of the Act to meet local conditions. I know the rate was increased, but I have no recollection in my day of any provision as regards actual endorsement, and my opinion is that the word "endorsement" is not the right word to use. If the arrangement is that you state on the back of the bond exactly what the Act provides, I do not think there is any complaint; but the advertisement which my hon. friend (Mr. Lemieux) read a moment ago, for which I suppose the minister will say he is not responsible, contains a statement which I cannot think is in conformity with the Act. It states that the principal and interest of this loan—

Mr. LEMIEUX: Are paid by the Government of Canada.

Mr. FIELDING: I do not think there is any agreement to pay the principal except that a sinking fund may be so applied. My recollection is that we simply made an agreement to pay so many dollars per annum, telling the company they could work that out in any way they liked. If the Act provides for the application of the money in that form, there is no use complaining about the matter. I have no doubt when the Department of Justice are asked to state whether or not this is the form provided by the statute, they will naturally say: "Yes." But as regards the Government doing these things by way of endorse-

ment, I have always regarded that as a great mistake.

The St. John dry dock is to be built under the terms of the Subsidies Act; the Vancouver dry dock is to be built under the terms of the Subsidies Act. What reason is given for not building the Victoria dry dock under the same Act? Why is Vancouver left at the mercy of a commercial proposition which must have some merit outside of the Government's financing, and why do the Government undertake to build a Government dry dock at Vic-

I a.m. toria? We have had all sorts of systems of dry dock construction in bygone days; but it seems to me that, having settled down to a policy of subsidizing dry docks under the general Act, it is difficult to give any good reason why we say to Vancouver: "You shall have your subsidy under the Act if you can construct the dry dock in that way," and say as regards Victoria: "We will construct this as a Government dry dock." Why does the Government apply to Victoria a different method from the one they apply to Vancouver?

Mr. J. D. REID: The policy as regards the construction of the dry dock at Victoria was settled some years ago when we purchased the site. The other dry dock is at Esquimalt where it is used for naval purposes as well, so that the case is a little different. After the Government had decided on constructing the one dry dock on the Pacific coast, a private company came along and they are building a second-class dock, not a first-class dock, at Vancouver, and they asked for a subsidy and it was given. I believe it is in the interest of the country to have the two dry docks, one at Vancouver and the other at Victoria, as vessels pass by Victoria.

Mr. FIELDING: Is there not a dry dock further north at Prince Rupert?

Mr. J. D. REID: That is several hundred miles away.

Mr. FIELDING: But Victoria and Vancouver are not very many hundred miles apart. What I am afraid of is this, the Vancouver dry dock had to be taken up as a commercial proposition with some commercial merit, which would induce people to support it, in addition to the Government aid. In the case of Victoria you are not asked to consider any commercial proposition; the Government are to step in and construct the dock at that point. My hon. friend (Mr. J. D. Reid) says that this

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will be used for naval purposes. Every drydock that is built is to be used for naval purposes. You never had a drydock promoter coming for assistance without setting forth that his drydock was going to serve the British Navy. I am not objecting to the construction of drydocks generally, but I have not seen any reason—except that suggested by my hon. friend (Mr. Lemieux), which I hope is not well founded—why Victoria was not allowed to get her dry dock on the same basis as St. John got hers. "The dry dock question in St. John is a very old one. The hon. member for St. John (Mr. Wigmore), who is at present in the House, will remember very well that the late Mr. George Robertson, a very eminent citizen of St. John, spent half his life trying to get a dry dock there. The Government said to him: "You will have to establish a commercial proposition and have your dock built under the Subsidy Act". But they do not do that as regards Victoria. Why is the Government saying to St. John: "You must do this as a commercial proposition", and to Vancouver: "You must do this as a commercial proposition"; but when they come to Victoria, and an election is on they say: "Oh, that is a different proposition; we will build the dock for you".

Mr. J. D. REID: The hon. member is hardly fair when he says that this is an election proposition. There has always been a dry dock at Esquimalt for naval purposes, and that dock is of no use now on account of the large size of naval vessels. Therefore, this matter was decided in 1912; the dry dock would have been built had it not been for the war, and to leave our naval vessels at Esquimalt without a dry dock would have been most inadvisable.

Mr. FIELDING: St. John has been seeking a dry dock for twenty years, but it has always been met with the answer: "We will give you a subsidy; there it is; that is all we can do for you". I should like to have those docks built wherever they are needed and would be of value in the development of the country. But my hon. friend has shown no reason in the world why he would say to St. John: "There is the Act; you will get the benefit of it", and then say to Victoria: "Never mind the Act; we will build the dock for you anyway".

Public Works—chargeable to income—Royal Canadian Mounted Police buildings, \$500,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Does the minister not think he could dispense with this

building at Ottawa. There seems to be a pretty strong sentiment throughout the Dominion that this is not the right place to have the headquarters of the Mounted Police, and that it is a mistake to build barracks costing half a million dollars for the Mounted Police in Ottawa. Will the minister say whether he thinks this item should stand?

Mr. ROWELL: I explained when the matter came up on my Estimates that this includes not only the buildings here, but the completion of the building at Vancouver. The buildings at Vancouver will cost approximately \$100,000, and the buildings at Ottawa, in round figures, \$400,000. If we can secure other suitable accommodation here we shall not proceed with the building this year, but it may be that we cannot. Therefore, the item should appear in the estimates. I cannot agree with my hon. friend that this is not a suitable place for the headquarters of the Mounted Police. It is the headquarters of the military forces, and is the chief administrative centre of the country for all purposes. I therefore think it is a suitable place.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I have just been looking at the statute and I want to ask the Minister of Public Works a question. The Dry Docks Subsidies Act, 1910, 7-8 George V, Chap. 27, section 3, provides:

No bonds, debentures, or other securities, shall be issued with respect to and as a charge upon any dock until it has been established to the satisfaction of the minister that not less than one million dollars have been spent on the work and the material upon or for such dock.

Has it been established in the case of the St. John dry dock and the Vancouver dry dock that the amount of \$1,000,000 has been expended?

Mr. J. D. REID: It has been established that \$1,600,000 has been expended on the St. John dry dock. As for the Vancouver dry dock, the agreement, if I remember right, has not yet been signed, so of course no bonds can have been issued in that case, and no bonds will be issued until the prescribed amount has been expended.

Mr. WIGMORE: It was not my intention to take up the time of the committee tonight in connection with the St. John dry dock, but I feel I must say a word or two. I have in my possession here a copy of the agreement. There is nothing wrong. This company simply took advantage of the Act that was passed by this House. As the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's said, the people of St. John had been urging the

construction of this work in St. John for a number of years. They have gone on with the work of the harbour construction themselves. They have expended an amount on the harbour of St. John that no other city and no other port in the Dominion has expended. Every cent of money that has been expended in every other port of the Dominion of Canada has been expended by the Dominion Government, but the people of St. John had enough faith in the development and the future of their port to dig down in their own pockets to the tune of about \$3,000,000. I resent very strongly the statements made by the hon. member for Maisonneuve (Mr. Lemieux) on two occasions in this House when criticising the expenditure of money by this Government on the harbour of St. John. He said on one occasion that it was putting money down a sink hole, that a lot of money had been dumped in the Bay of Fundy. So far as I know, there has been no money expended by this Government in the Bay of Fundy for any purpose except the establishment of buoys and aids to navigation. From the 26th of February, when the House met this year, until to-day I have not missed a sitting except for two weeks recently when I was home sick. I have urged on the Government the absolute necessity of spending a certain amount of money for the extension of the breakwater at St. John. That expenditure is absolutely necessary in order to protect the harbour of St. John.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Is that at Courtenay Bay?

Mr. WIGMORE: No, that is another part altogether. I have urged upon the Government the wisdom of making this expenditure. They have seen the necessity for it, and sent down their engineers to make surveys; plans and specifications have been drawn, and tenders were ready to be called for. I was therefore very much surprised recently to find no provision in the Estimates for this extension. In 1917 the Government saw the necessity of making an extension to this breakwater and tenders were called for it that year, but on account of war conditions the project was abandoned. I believe it is one of the most necessary works in the whole Dominion. When you consider that St. John on account of its geographical position,—and I say this advisedly—is the only winter freight port in the Dominion, when you consider its short rail haul, and the growth of St. John, that its exports increased from less than \$7,000,000 in 1900 to \$200,000,000 last year, and that during the last winter season for twelve days from

eight to twelve steamers were lying in the stream waiting for a berth, and that the Dominion Government are spending millions of dollars on their merchant marine, it is no wonder that the people of St. John have faith in the future of their city.

How are we going to accommodate the trade that is going to come to our ports unless we provide facilities? We are spending millions every year on our railways but we are not developing the ports of Canada as they should be developed. Millions are being expended every year in the harbour of Quebec and in the harbour of Montreal; millions are being expended in dredging the St. Lawrence, and millions more will have to be expended every year if the harbour and river are going to take care of the coming traffic. But no provision has been made for winter traffic. The people of St. John have shown their faith in the future by spending their own money, but they cannot go any further. Parliament last year passed an Act enabling the citizens of St. John to place the harbour of St. John under commission. It is necessary to take a plebiscite on that question, and I expect it will be taken in the very near future. I would urge upon the Government to-night as a last resort and especially on the Minister of Public Works, to provide an item of \$300,000 in the estimates this year so that at least a start can be made on the breakwater extension.

There is one thing more I will point out. The St. John Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company have a contract from the Government for the construction of a dry dock in order to take their dredge material out. The Government are paying to them the amount of three cents a yard for a distance of over two and a half miles, or a sum of \$90,000. If this breakwater were extended to-day, the dump for this dredge material from Courtenay Bay would then be within the two and a half miles limit, and the Government would save on that transaction alone \$90,000, which would help to pay the interest on the construction of the dry dock. The reason I am urging this on the Government at this time is not because it would be of benefit to the City of St. John, but because it is a national work that would be of benefit to the whole Dominion. I would urge that an item for \$300,000 at least be passed at this session so that contracts may be called for and the work started at once. Not more than that amount could be spent

[Mr. Wigmore.]

during the balance of this year. I would ask the Minister of Public Works to kindly consider this matter and see that the required amount is placed in the Supplementary Estimates. I had the assurance that this amount would be placed in the Supplementary Estimates.

Mr. LEMIEUX: My hon. friend's word is of course without any question to be accepted. He knows the conditions better than I do. I accept my hon. friend's word about the possibilities of St. John Harbour. But there are some papers published in New Brunswick which are supposed to be informed on conditions in New Brunswick. I read one the other day, the Daily Gleaner, published in the city of Fredericton by James H. Crocket. I think he is a brother of the gentleman of that name who was a member of this House some years ago and who belonged to the same party as my hon. friend. I read in this paper under date of June 17:

If St. John is satisfied with the Courtney Bay exploitation, it need not expect to have the support or countenance of the other sections of the province, who have some respect for the fitness of things. St. John West has been practically beggared in harbour facilities because of reckless waste of public moneys on the east side. The difficulties of to-day are of its own making. The west side has a practical scheme, but naturally the public men of Canada of either party, and of all political parties are disposed to dump the revenue of the whole country into the harbours of one town.

When I used the expression "sinking money" I used it in company with a good New Brunswicker, Mr. Crocket, who uses an expression much stronger than mine.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Did I understand my hon. friend to state that part of this item was for a Royal Canadian Mounted Police building at Vancouver and part for a barracks at Ottawa?

Mr. ROWELL: Yes.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: How much of it is to be expended at Ottawa?

Mr. ROWELL: The amount is \$400,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I move that the item be reduced by \$400,000. I think it is folly to build a barracks for the Mounted Police at Ottawa at the present time. I cannot understand why the Government should be increasing the Mounted Police, bringing the force East and entering into the construction of these barracks when the tendency should be in the other direction. I move that the item be reduced by \$400,000.

Mr. BUREAU: Why bring the Northwest Mounted Police to Ottawa? Their very name indicates what their duties are. They are a mounted police force whose duty it is to patrol the country where settlement is so sparse that it requires this extra protection. The Mounted Police stand as a corps by themselves. We have always been proud of them, they have done honour to Canada but I do not see why we should maintain the Mounted Police in the East where they are not needed and where the provinces have all the necessary equipment to see that the laws are observed. I do not believe we are improving the corps by keeping them in Ottawa where they can do nothing to serve the purpose for which they were created. The men of the force themselves do not like it. They feel that they are not being treated justly by being brought down here, standing and parading around Ottawa when they could be usefully employed in the West.

Amendment negatived; yeas 16, nays 19.

Mr. FIELDING: I would like to offer a suggestion. I appreciate the difficulty of the Government in dealing with this police question. At the time the Northwest Territories were organized into provinces the need for the police seemed to have disappeared and the Government apparently for that reason brought them East. I agree that they are not fitted for eastern work and I do not think they like it. But in any case it seems to me that they ought to be employed somewhere usefully. My suggestion would be that the Government open negotiations with the western provinces and see if some arrangement cannot be made whereby this very valuable force shall be still employed in the West, the Dominion paying a share—and a liberal share—of the expenditure. I feel so much pride in the record of that splendid body of men that I do not want to see the force destroyed and I would be willing to pay some money to prevent that result. I do not think the Government can go on keeping them in the East and I would hope that the minister would be able to make some arrangement with the western provincial governments to share the expense. If the provinces will not take the force it had better be disbanded altogether but I would not like to see that happen and I think the suggestion is worthy of consideration.

Mr. ROWELL: I quite agree that the suggestion is well worthy of consideration. While I think there is scope and work for the force in the East, there is no doubt

that the force could do a substantial amount of work of the character to which my hon. friend refers with advantage and with a saving to the Exchequer of Canada. Therefore, I think the suggestion is well worthy of consideration, and it will receive the consideration of the Government. The matter has been discussed on various occasions but no conclusion has been reached. The view of the Government is that the force should not be disbanded. I do not say that it should be continuously maintained up to the present strength but that the force should be preserved to Canada at reasonable strength. The conclusion that the Government arrived at was that should the time come when it is not necessary to maintain it as a mounted police force, it should be converted into a cavalry regiment and form one of the units of the Permanent Force of Canada. At the present time the Government does not consider that desirable, and as the situation now stands if you take the Permanent Force and the Mounted Police combined you only have in Canada a force of approximately 5,000 men. Over and above the Dominion Police, that is the maximum strength of the present force in Canada, both Mounted Police and Permanent Force. Now, Sir, if you have a Permanent Force, whether it be the Police or Militia, you must have them stationed somewhere. The Minister of Militia has pointed out that we have no barracks for the Permanent Force, therefore we have got to provide accommodation for them somewhere in Canada. The present view of the Government is that one of those barracks might well be established in Ottawa, and that we might well have at the capital of the country a section of either the Mounted Police or of the Permanent Force. If the barracks are erected and it is decided not to keep the Mounted Police here it would be available for a squadron or company, as the case might be, of the Permanent Force, therefore the item is in the Estimates. As I intimated before, if we can get suitable accommodation this year to carry us through, we will not proceed with the building because we do not want to make any expenditure, if it can be avoided, during the year. But the item, I think, should go through. It is based on sound principles, and it may be necessary to incur the expenditure for the proper caring of the squadron during the present year.

Telegraph and telephone lines—Nova Scotia—\$5,000.

Mr. LEGER: I see no appropriation in the Estimates for the construction of telephone and telegraph lines in the province of New Brunswick, particularly in the county of Kent, and I would like the Government to offer some explanation for the omission. In the Estimates of 1917 there was an appropriation of \$3,000 for the purpose of extending a telephone line from Pointe Sapin to Kouchibouguac in the county of Kent, New Brunswick, which county I have the honour to represent, the distance between the two places being in the vicinity of twenty miles. A telephone line was constructed in the early part of the summer of 1919 from Pointe Sapin to the mouth of the Kouchibouguac river instead of to Kouchibouguac village, the business place for that part of the county, and the general public expected that the proposed line would connect with the telephone system at that place. I find in the Auditor General's reports the following item with reference to the expenditures for that purpose:

Chatham-Escuminac-Sapin Line, extension to Kouchibouguac (\$991.80)—Lachute Shuttle Co., brackets, \$39; W. S. Loggie & Co., 470 cedar poles, \$940; \$979; advertising, \$12.80.

In order to show the committee the great necessity of having a telephone line from Pointe Sapin to Kouchibouguac to connect with the telephone line at that place I will state that Pointe Sapin is on the seashore in the northern part of Kent county about twenty miles from Kouchibouguac, which is the first village to the south and about thirty miles from the town of Richibucto where Pointe Sapin people have to go for a medical man or to transact any other important business. There is a great deal of business transacted there during the summer season and it is the headquarters of the great fishing district. Four or five lobster canning factories, which employ a large number of people, are also located there. Instead of building a line to connect at Kouchibouguac, as it was understood would be done, the Government simply built the said line to the mouth of the river. No connection was established at that place, it merely connected with Mr. Loggie's canning factory. When it was publicly announced that the Government intended to build a telephone line from Pointe Sapin to Kouchibouguac I can assure you that the project was approved of by the general public. I for one was under the impression that the Government would do this, otherwise I would have opposed it. In order to show where I stood in the matter I would

[Mr. Rowell.]

like to read some correspondence which took place between the Minister of Public Works and myself. I am sorry to take up the time of the committee at this early hour of the morning but am doing so because it is imperatively necessary. On June 4, 1919, I wrote to the minister as follows:

Hon. F. B. CARVELL,

Minister of Public Works, Ottawa.

Dear Sir,—Would you be good enough to inform me if it is the intention of the Government to put up this summer a telephone between Pointe Sapin and Kouchibouguac. I understand that Mr. W. S. Loggie had the contract for the hauling of all the necessary poles for the said line and I am now informed that all the poles are on the spot at the present time and I hope that the said line will be completed during the season.

Yours truly,

A. T. Leger.

In reply to the foregoing letter I received this communication:

Ottawa, 5th June, 1919.

Dear Mr. LEGER:

In reply to yours of the 4th inst., it is the intention of the Department to construct the line referred to between Pointe Sapin and Kouchibouguac. The poles were procured during the winter and, I am informed, are now on the ground ready for setting.

Sincerely yours,

F. B. Carvel.

A. T. Leger, Esq., M.P.

This letter did not satisfy me exactly from what I had gathered from the people in that part of the country, so on the 6th of June I wrote again to Mr. Carvell, as follows:

Yours of yesterday regarding telephone line between Kouchibouguac and Pointe Sapin to hand and contents noted. I am pleased to know that this telephone line will be built up this summer.

Now, I would like further information in this matter. Would you be good enough to let me know who has the contract for the procuring or hauling of all the poles for the said telephone line? Were tenders called for, and what prices were paid per piece or per hundred poles?

Sincerely yours,

A. T. LEGER.

In reply I got a letter, dated June 10, from the department, signed by Mr. D. H. Keeley, General Superintendent, in which he stated:

By direction of the hon. the Minister of Public Works I beg to state in reply to your letter of the 6th instant that an advertisement was issued in March 1918, for tenders for the required quantity of poles 640 more or less of cedar 25 feet long and 5 inches across the top; but there was only one tender received (from Mr. L. J. Loggie at \$2.50 per pole), which was considered too high, because there had been pre-

viously received an offer of supply from Mr. P. A. Robichaud at \$2 per pole.

Inquiries were made along the route of the line for poles distributed at the price of \$2 each, and in October, 1918, Mr. J. A. Manzerolle of Lower Sapin was arranged with at that price. Later on however, Mr. Manzerolle, in November, 1918, withdrew his offer, whereupon a similar offer was made by Mr. L. J. Loggie and accepted. The poles have now all been delivered along the route at the price of \$2 each and the work of construction was started on the 2nd inst., under the foremanship of the general repairer for the district, Mr. M. Ramsay, of Chatham, who is to engage hands temporarily along the line as it progresses. The work will likely be completed before the end of July.

Yours faithfully,  
D. H. KEELY,  
General Superintendent.

Now, it will be noticed that the first tender of L. J. Loggie was for \$2.50 per pole, and the next tender was by P. A. Robichaud for \$2 per pole. Later on the department tried to get the poles distributed for \$2 apiece, and a man by the name of Mr. J. A. Manzerolle offered to haul for \$2. But he withdrew his offer. I would like to know why the offer of L. J. Loggie was accepted when Robichaud had previously offered to do the work at \$2 per pole as against the offer of L. J. Loggie of \$2.50.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Is the Mr. Loggie my hon. friend is referring to the hon. member for Northumberland?

Mr. LEGER: No, it is not. The member for Northumberland is W. S. Loggie, to whom I will refer later on. I was a little surprised that Robichaud did not get the contract, and it is still a mystery to me why he did not. Now, Mr. Chairman, you will note that the hon. minister did not mention in his letter that this line was to end at the mouth of the river. He always said it was to go to Kouchibouguac. That is the only place where the business of that district is done. The post office bears the name of Kouchibouguac.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Mr. LEGER: Hon. gentleman will have to learn that name. Many of them I expect cannot write it or spell it, but if they will come to me I shall be happy to do it for them. Now, the minister never mentioned that this line was going to end at mouth of the river, he always said Kouchibouguac, and I believed at the time that he intended to connect with that telephone line. On my return home last July after the end of the session I was informed that the line was built from Pointe Sapin, not to Kouchibouguac, as was expected, but

to the mouth of the river, direct to the W. S. Loggie Lobster Canning Factory—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Shame.

Mr. LEGER: I am sorry that I have to mention the name of an hon. member, but I cannot do anything else in the matter.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: The hon. member for Northumberland?

Mr. LEGER: Mr. Chairman, my hon. friend from Northumberland, Mr. Loggie—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Order.

Mr. LEGER: —has a lobster canning factory at Pointe Sapin, and another factory at the mouth of the Kouchibouguac river, and this line of telephone connects the two factories, and there is no other office along the new line; it does not accommodate anyone else. I will read to the House an extract from a letter which will corroborate what I have just said. The writer states:

—beg to say that the Government telephone (so called) ends at W. S. Loggie's factory and as far as I know is not in any other place on the route. It is nothing more than a private line for W. S. Loggie—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Shame.

Mr. LEGER: (reading)

—it should come up and connect at the post office here.

That corroborates what I have just said. In April last I received the following letter:

KOUCHIBOUGUAC, N.B.

April 12, 1920.

AUGUSTUS LEGER, M.P.,  
OTTAWA, CAN.

SIR,—Knowing your interest in all that pertains to the welfare of your electors, I write to ask you to use your influence to obtain a telephone line for the north side of Kouchibouguac River. The distance between the telephone line from Kouchibouguac village to the line from Loggie's factory is only about three miles. The line from Pointe Sapin to Loggie's factory is of no use to us. "Of course, we understand what it means to Loggie." Could we not have a line connecting these two lines mentioned? We are at a very serious disadvantage by having no telephone and we assure you we will highly appreciate every effort you will make in our behalf to obtain one. I would like to have a telephone in my own house and I am quite willing to do my share of work, such as getting some posts for this line.

Trusting that you will continue to take an active interest in our welfare, I am,

Yours respectfully,

CHAS. WILLIAMS.

After I received this letter I wrote to the minister as follows:

OTTAWA, April 21st, 1920.

Honourable J. D. REID,  
Acting Minister of Public Works,  
Ottawa.

Honourable and Dear Sir,—I have an application from one Mr. Charles Williams, of Kouchibouguac, in the County of Kent, N.B., for an extension of the telephone line from the line now already built by the Government, from Pointe Sapin to the Loggie Company Lobster Canning Factory, at the mouth of the Kouchibouguac river, to the Kouchibouguac village, a distance of about three miles, which extension of line would accommodate a great many people in that district, and also all the people of Pointe Sapin.

Mr. Williams offers to give all the assistance possible by procuring some material for said line, which application I would ask for your most earnest consideration.

An early reply would oblige,

Yours truly.

I will not charge hon. gentleman who was then Acting Minister of Public Works with any deliberate delay; my letter must have miscarried in some way, because I have always found the minister to be very prompt in replying to correspondence. So you will see, Mr. Chairman, that this telephone line was built for the sole purpose of accommodating my hon. friend from Northumberland (Mr. Loggie) at the public expense, and no one else. I am sorry that I have to make such a declaration, but I feel that it is my duty to do so. When the people's money is expended for such a purpose the country should know about it, and I wish also to show to the country that I have been no party to the deal. The Government must take full responsibility for the whole matter. I have asked the Government on different occasions for small grants for river dredging, repairing of wharfs, the buoying of channels, accommodation to fishermen and farmers and the handling of mud fertilizer for their land, but the Government has not responded by meeting the needs of the people. I may say right here that I am informed by a reliable source that it has been reported by the Government inspector for the Chatham district that dredging will be carried on this summer at or near the Loggie lobster factory at the mouth of the Kouchibouguac river,—which would accommodate my hon. friend from Northumberland. But, Sir, the Government seem to have plenty money with which to build telephone lines for private concerns. As I have said, not a word was mentioned in letters received from the minister of his intention to end that telephone line at the Loggie factory at the mouth of the river. Now we understand why the whole matter

[Mr. Leger.]

was not made public before; and this is a course which I condemn. If the Government had built a line to Kouchibouguac and then a short line to the W. S. Loggie Company's canning factory it would not be so bad, but no; they give this private company full accommodation and the general public none. I therefore want some explanation from the Government why this line was built for a private concern, at a cost to the country of thousands of dollars. Why should this line have been built for a rich concern at the expense of the poor people of the country? I would like to know what was the cost of putting up this telephone line. The amount does not appear in the public accounts. I make this matter public because the people of my county are not satisfied with regard to it. The needs set forth by the letter from Mr. Williams, which I read a few moments ago, have met with no response, and I hope that the Government will give some attention to this matter and state why this work was done at the expense of the public to assist a private concern.

Mr. LOGGIE: I want to say first of all that I do not own any lobster factory in Kouchibouguac district. There is nothing in the construction of that line that I know of that is not perfectly regular. Kouchibouguac village has a public telephone and has had such for many years. The district at the mouth of the river that connects with Pointe Sapin did not have any telephones and as it is a very important part of Kent county

2 a.m. as regards the shipping of fresh fish, it was in the public interest that telephone connection should be had with the other portion of the Government line, namely, Escuminac point. There has been a telegraph line between Chatham and Escuminac point for the last thirty or forty years. Recently it has been changed to a telephone line, and it was that line that was connected up with Chatham.

To provide for the purchase of the Lotbinière and the Megantic Railway under authority of Chapter 22, Statutes of Canada, 1916, together with interest at 5 per cent from 1st, April, 1920, \$336,875.

Mr. PARENT: Has this amount been paid to the railway company?

Mr. J. D. REID: We could not possibly pay it until the money is voted.

Mr. FIELDING: Would the minister give us some particulars as to how this sum was reached?

Mr. J. D. REID: The deputy will be here in a few moments. We can let this item stand and come back to it later.

Item stands.

Canadian Government Railways—To provide for payment of expenses in connection with acquisition of the Grand Trunk and associated railway systems—additional amount required, \$400,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: When is the arbitration likely to proceed?

Mr. J. D. REID: The officials are getting all the evidence together. They have been at work for some time. The arbitrators will be appointed within a few days.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Not until Parliament has prorogued.

Mr. J. D. REID: That has nothing to do with it.

Loan to Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada, not exceeding \$25,000,000.

Mr. J. D. REID: I beg to move to amend this item by adding after the word "made" in the eighteenth line the words "for any of the foregoing purposes". The officials tell me that this will make the purpose of the item more clear.

Amendment agreed to.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Why did the minister leave this item of \$25,000,000 to the very last moment? Why was it not brought down in the Main Estimates?

Mr. J. D. REID: We have had auditors at work investigating the Grand Trunk's books to find out just what the situation was, and what money would be required. We could not proceed until the Bill was passed.

Public Works—Generally—Barracks for Permanent Force, \$100,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This is another extravagance. What is this for?

Mr. J. D. REID: The amount is towards the construction of barracks for the Permanent Force. The Department of Militia and Defence in a letter dated July 19, requested that barracks be provided as follows: "Military District No. 2, construction of a two-barrack building at Toronto for two squadrons." Then follows a comprehensive scheme for barracks at a total cost of \$2,202,500. We are not proceeding with all of that, but are just asking for \$100,000 at the present time. That goes to show that they have cut the Estimate down from \$2,202,500 to \$100,000.

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Mr. MACKENZIE KING: It also goes to show that the criticism of the leader of the Opposition has had some effect. The Minister of Militia announced in committee the other day that the Government intended to bring down a Supplementary Estimate for \$2,202,500, but now they are asking for \$100,000. I congratulate the Government on having come to its senses in reducing this item by over \$2,000,000, and I would congratulate them still further if they would cut the item out altogether.

Harbours and Rivers—Nova Scotia, \$54,185.

Mr. SPINNEY: I wish to call the minister's attention to a petition that has been forwarded by the residents of Port Maitland and surrounding district asking for the construction of a breakwater there, which is essential in the prosecution of their fishing. I do not wish to take up time at this late hour in going more fully into the requirements but I would urge that this petition be favourably considered by the Public Works Department. The resident engineer endorsed the action of the residents of that place in making an effort to procure this assistance in order that they may be able to carry on their industry and bring it to its fullest development. I would like to hear some expression from the minister in regard to the carrying out of the work required at that place.

Mr. J. D. REID: We had a petition from the residents of the locality for a new breakwater at Port Maitland. We have one there now but it is not suitable. Owing to heavy expenditures we have decided that we would ask the people to wait for another year for a new breakwater. We are repairing the old one during the present year. The department intend looking into the whole matter and getting an estimate with a view to taking the matter up at the next session of the House.

Lighthouse and coast service—to provide a further amount to pay Government pension to pilot Joseph Eugene Lachance, \$300.

Mr. PARENT: What is the policy of the Government with regard to the payment of pensions to pilots? I understand that a pilot at the age of sixty-five is bound to get out of the service and that he then receives a pension. Has that policy been followed by the Government?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: The Quebec pilotage district is the only one in Canada where pilots get any pension whatsoever. It is an old arrangement that was entered into when Mr. Brodeur was Minister of Marine.

Mr. PARENT: I am aware that in certain cases the department has decided that at the age of sixty-five pilots have to get out of the service, and that in some instances it has given pensions to men of sixty-nine and seventy years of age. I would like to know if there is any definite policy or whether the department can put a man on pension at any age?

Mr. BALLANTYNE: The age at which a man is supposed to be pensioned is sixty-five.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The hon. member for Queen's, P.E.I., (Mr. Sinclair) asked me when this item came up if I would request the minister to be kind enough to send him a copy of all petitions, correspondence, telegrams and recommendations by the officials of the Government or any other persons with regard to the building of a lighthouse at Little Sands, P.E.I., this year. He also asks that the minister shall send him the name and salary of the lighthouse keeper at Little Sands, P.E.I., the date of his appointment, the names of other applicants for the position and the name or names of persons recommending the appointment of the present incumbent.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: Yes, I will be very glad to see that this information is immediately sent.

Purchasing Commission—salaries and contingencies, \$90,000.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: What is that Purchasing Commission?

Mr. J. D. REID: There is the Purchasing Commission. Sir Hormisdas Laporte is chairman and there are two or three members of the commission.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Is it a Purchasing Commission for all the departments?

Mr. J. D. REID: It is a Purchasing Commission to purchase for all the departments. It was organized during the war. Originally Sir Edward Kemp was chairman and there were also on the board Mr. Gault, and Sir Hormisdas Laporte. Now Sir Edward Kemp and Mr. Gault have ceased to be members and there are two other gentlemen in their places.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: This is a War Purchasing Commission?

Mr. J. D. REID: It was the War Purchasing Commission. We do not call it that now, but simply the Purchasing Commission.

[Mr. Ballantyne.]

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The Government introduced a Bill to provide for a Purchasing Commission and the Prime Minister said that he never felt that a Bill was more necessary than this one. Could the hon. gentleman inform us why they did not proceed with the Bill?

Mr. J. D. REID: Hon. gentlemen opposite gave us so much opposition, we did not want to keep the session any longer and we are going to work with the present commission until next session.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This commission has no authority under any Act of this Parliament?

Mr. J. D. REID: The commission can go on by Order in Council and do the same work that it has been doing in the past. Every expenditure made goes through this commission.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Is it not time to get back to the position where commissions will proceed under Act of Parliament instead of by Order in Council? When the Government found it necessary to withdraw the Bill and not proceed with it they ought to stop paying out further money for commissions under the authority of an Order in Council.

Mr. J. D. REID: The commission has so far worked well and proved a success. The matter will be taken up again next session. No harm will be done in the meantime.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: But \$90,000 will be spent.

Mr. J. D. REID: Even under the Bill we would have spent that money.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: It is quite apparent that the Bill would have never passed this Parliament and the Government ought to take note of the attitude of Parliament towards a measure of this kind. It was perfectly obvious that hon. gentlemen on the Government side were just as strongly opposed to the Purchasing Commission as hon. gentlemen on this side. It was made apparent that Parliament was against this policy, so much so that the Government did not dare to proceed with the legislation. It is therefore going beyond the bounds of decency for the Government to propose to perpetuate this commission by Order in Council. I protest strongly against any further expenditure under Order in Council for any Purchasing Commission. If the Government wishes to have a Purchasing Commission let it get authority from

Parliament. If it cannot get that authority it should stop proceeding under Order in Council." I take very strong exception to expending a single five cent piece for the perpetuation of this body.

Mr. LEMIEUX: The Bill seeking to accomplish this purpose has been before the House for three sessions and at none of them has it made any progress. Despite that fact the Government persists in retaining the services of these gentlemen, who act as if they were a department of the Government although they have no Parliamentary authority for doing so. This is playing fast and loose with the traditions of the House.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Certainly it is.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I have the highest regard for Sir Hormisdas Laporte but he, like the rest of us, is bound by the authority of Parliament. Parliament refuses to grant that authority, and the sentiment is pretty general on both sides of the House that whilst this commission, during the war, was in a position to render some service to the State, now that the war is over and normal conditions prevail it has ceased to be of any use. I am therefore surprised to find an item in the Estimates for the purpose of perpetuating the commission. I was not here when this question came up during the present session but I was present when it was discussed last session and the session before. The President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) fathered the Bill and seemed most anxious to have it passed; but he found that the opposition on the Government side was, if anything, more strenuous than on this side. When the President of the Privy Council saw that the Bill was attacked from the right and from the left, from the north and from the south, he allowed it to drop. Nevertheless he is so accustomed to ignore the authority of Parliament that he has inserted an item in the Estimates in order to continue this body in existence. I want to know from the minister how many officers are employed by the commission and what are its functions? How does the commission operate now that the war is over? Where are the offices of the commission, how much do we pay for those offices, what staff is employed by the commission and to whom do they report their activities? We are entitled to know these facts. Are we to vote a large sum of money every session to this commission without having any report of its operations? That

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is simply flaunting the authority of Parliament.

Mr. J. D. REID: I could not, just at the moment, give the hon. member a list of the officers and staff connected with the commission but their names appear every year in the report of the Auditor General, so they can be easily procured. They are practically the same from year to year, although a few changes may take place from time to time as some officials resign and others take their place. The work of the commission has been many times explained; I think the hon. member himself was present when the Prime Minister spoke very strongly of the work of the commission and explained its operations in detail.

Mr. LEMIEUX: He spoke for the Bill.

Mr. J. D. REID: No, when the resolution was up, and explained the operations of the commission. In a word, the commission operates in this way: All the departments must make their requisitions for supplies to the commission which calls for tenders and purchases the needed supplies independently of any department. The sum in the Estimates is for the carrying on of the commission's work. If the amount for salaries and other purposes is not required, it will not be expended. The Prime Minister in his explanation expressed the view—and that is the view of the Government—that the commission effected a very great saving during the war and is still continuing to do good work. It is true there was opposition on both sides of the House when the resolution was introduced, but the Government feel they could not cut it off without having a little time to see whether the good work that the commission has done in the past, and is still doing, should not be continued. Under the circumstances I would ask that the item stand as it is and let the matter come up again at the next sitting and be fully discussed.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I have no doubt that during the war the commission rendered valuable service. The work it performed was in connection with war contracts and every such contract was submitted to its judgment. But the war is long since over; and the Government must have found there was no necessity of maintaining such a war excrescence. Are we going to ignore the authority of Parliament to the extent proposed? Parliament has refused, and rightly refused, to create such a department. The Government wanted not only to create a new department but to place a minister

in charge and have the commission under his authority. Both parties in Parliament considered it was an unnecessary expenditure now that the war is over. In spite of the expressions of opinion that came from both sides the Government now proposes by a round about way to perpetuate the commission which it was the desire of Parliament to abolish. I do not see how we can possibly do that.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: May I ask the minister when the name of this body was changed? If I understand correctly the commission was created by Order in Council during the war and in that Order in Council the title of "War Purchasing Commission" was applied. Now we find in the Estimates an item of \$90,000, not for the "War Purchasing Commission" but simply for the "Purchasing Commission." I ask the minister if the old War Purchasing Commission has been abolished and a new one created?

Mr. J. D. REID: The Order in Council appointing the War Purchasing Commission is the authority under which it is now operating. The omission of the word "War" in the Estimates does not affect the commission or its powers. There is no doubt at all that the commission did excellent work during the war and in the opinion of the Government is still continuing to do so.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: But the opinion of Parliament is against it.

Mr. J. D. REID: The hon. member may think that the proposal would not have carried in the House. My opinion is that it would have. However we were busy with other matters and did not press it. No harm can result from the commission continuing as it is until next session. If the Government had been of the opinion that the non-passage of the Bill would have abolished the commission, it would have put that Bill through. At least it would have submitted it to the House and I am satisfied it would have passed.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Was it not specially provided that this commission was only to be in operation during the war?

Mr. J. D. REID: No.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Not created only for the war?

Mr. J. D. REID: No.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: Is my hon. friend sure of that?

Mr. LEMIEUX: It was created only for the war, because when the Bill was intro-

[Mr. Lemieux.]

duced it was stated by the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden), and especially by the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell), that the work of that commission had been so efficient during the war that it should be maintained now as a department of the Government. We objected to that because we said that while during the war there were so many very large contracts that it required the special attention of men of their ability and experience to see if this or that contract should be awarded, for normal conditions there was an officer in each department who looked after the purchases of his department. I instanced the Post Office Department, the Public Works Department—in fact every department, and I said it was simply surplusage of employees and spending money uselessly to appoint a purchasing commission; and the opposition was so strong from both sides of the House that the Bill was dropped in three different sessions.

Mr. DOHERTY: I think there is a misapprehension on the part of hon. gentlemen who are criticising this item. It is true that the War Purchasing Commission was created by an Order in Council and had in view of special conditions in connection with war purchasing. It is likewise true that a Bill was introduced to constitute a statutory body, to be known as a Purchasing Commission. It is also true that that Bill has not been passed. But the purchasing of supplies for the public service is part of the function of the Government. There is no statutory provision, for instance, for a purchasing agent in each department; he is not created by statute. There is no statutory provision determining through what agencies the purchasing of the Government shall be carried on, and how it shall be supervised. Though there be no such statute, Parliament has voted, together with other salaries, the salaries of the agents departmentally employed to attend to the purchasing. The Government required no statutory authorization for that purpose; and if the Government should in its judgment deem it wise that the whole of the purchasing should be generally supervised, it requires no statutory authorization to provide officers to attend to that supervision. The Government does require to come to this House to have voted the salaries and the expenses of those officers, just as they require to have voted the salaries and expenses of any other officers who, in its judgment, it may consider useful for carrying on that part of its busi-

ness which consists in purchasing those things required to be purchased for the public services. It is purely a matter of administration how you will carry on the purchasing.

An hon. MEMBER: Do not obstruct your own Estimates.

Mr. DOHERTY: It was thought that it might be desirable to create a body to whom special statutory powers would be given to control the purchasing. That plan, for the time being at all events, is not being proceeded with. But that does not withdraw from the Government its responsibility for the purchasing of supplies and its right therefore to take such methods as may seem in its judgment wisest to secure that that purchasing may be most prudently done.

Now, this House is asked to vote the necessary money for a body that shall see that the purchasing operations of all of the departments are so made to fit in with each other as to rebound to the greatest public advantage. It is for the expenses necessary to provide that additional protection and precaution that this House is now asked to pass this vote. It is just as simple as that. This House is not asked for a dollar for any statutory body—for the body which it was in contemplation to create by the bill that was presented to this House.

Mr. BUREAU: I think the reasoning of the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) is absolutely false. This commission was created as a war measure. My hon. friend says that the Government is responsible for the commissions it creates. We have had a very good example of what commissions will do and how the Government will shoulder its responsibility. In anticipation of a report on the classification we were called upon to vote moneys over which Parliament has absolute control, and we are told that the Civil Service Commission was to make that report which would be deposited on the table of the House. It was not deposited, but still we had to vote the money. The proof of the fact that the War Purchasing Commission was a matter of administration is the circumstance that for three successive sessions we have had on the Order Paper a resolution to create, not a war purchasing commission but a purchasing commission. If it is a matter absolutely in the jurisdiction of the Government, why do they come to Parliament for authority?

Mr. DOHERTY: Because it was proposed to create what would be a statutory body. We do not pretend that this purchasing commission to perform the functions that

are indicated is going to be endowed with any statutory powers.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: The hon. Minister of Railways (Mr. Reid) did.

Mr. DOHERTY: I did not have the advantage of being in the House when the Minister of Railways stated his understanding of the position, and I am not called upon to discuss what he said. It has been necessary for me to look into the question of whether the body that we have in mind to employ for the purpose I have pointed out, could be lawfully employed by the Government in the performance of that administrative duty of making purchases. If having fallen to me to look into it I reached the conclusion—and I may say that that view is shared by the law officers of the Crown—that it is quite within the general powers of the Government to take every reasonable precaution to see that the purchasing is properly carried out. The purchasing commission which will carry on in virtue of this vote will not be a body with any statutory powers; it will be in the same position as any other employées who might be charged by the Government with the performance of certain duties at a certain remuneration, and for the expenses of whose operations it is natural and proper that the Government should provide.

Mr. BUREAU: I do not think that the minister's argument is good. The Government is hiding behind the Purchasing Commission just as it is hiding behind the Civil Service Commission, and if we come forward with any criticism we are told that a commission was appointed to protect the public. The members of this commission are not under any department, and the Government say: we are not responsible. Heretofore there has been a purchasing agent in every department. There is no use in voting \$90,000 for the purpose of protecting the Government in whatever misdeeds may be committed in connection with the purchase of supplies.

To provide, by way of advances to Victoria (B.C.) Shipowners Limited, for the construction of four vessels at an estimated cost of \$250,000 for each vessel, not less than 60 per cent of the workmen employed in such construction to be returned soldiers; advances to be made on progress certificates under the supervision of an engineer of the Department of Marine and not to exceed \$175,000 on each vessel. Such advances to be secured by first mortgage on the vessels and to be repayable with interest at the rate of 6 per cent per annum, such interest to be a first charge on the aggregate net operating revenue from the vessels. Also to provide salary of a Government inspector at a rate not exceeding \$250.00 per month, \$703.00.

Mr FIELDING: Surely somebody will give us an explanation of this rather unusual item.

Mr. TOLMIE: When the soldiers came back, 12,000 more returned men located in British Columbia than went away from that province. During 1919 a contract was completed at Victoria for the construction of twenty ships for the French Government. Accordingly a large number of men were released from employment; about 5,000 men, 4,000 of whom were returned soldiers, were out of employment in Victoria city alone. A proposal came from some Victorians that the Government advance \$700,000 for the construction of four ships, lumber carriers of the brigantine type, on condition that the company put up \$75,000 on each ship. The money was to be loaned at the rate of six per cent. The proposal was brought to Ottawa in December, and after very careful consideration, and having particular regard to the fact that there were a large number of unemployed soldiers in that district, it was decided to make the loan. As I have said, the ships are now under construction and it is agreed that at least 250 men will be given employment on each ship. As you are all aware, there is a very great demand for lumber carriers out there, and the freight rate is high—around \$54 a thousand feet, I believe. In 1915 out of fifty-two cargoes of lumber that left the Pacific coast for British ports only two were loaded on the Canadian side, simply because the Americans controlled all the available bottoms. I think, therefore, that these lumber carriers will pay their way very well, and at present the re-establishment of a large number of returned soldiers is being assisted by their construction.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: On what date did the Government decide upon this loan?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: The contract was arranged under Order in Council,—a copy of which I shall be pleased to table, if my hon. friend so desires—passed on the 24th of December, 1919. That was the time when unemployment was, perhaps, at its peak, and when there was a great deal of apprehension with regard to conditions in that part of the country. The hon. member (Mr. Fielding) says that this is an extraordinary item. Well, it is.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What was the date of the by-election in Vancouver?

Mr. TOLMIE: October 27th.

[Mr. Bureau.]

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: I do not think that the election had anything to do with it.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Were any promises made at election time?

Sir HENRY DRAYTON: There were a great many hungry people out there and a great many people out of work. It was an extraordinary act, but an extraordinary situation was being dealt with. The contract was charged against the Demobilization Appropriation Act, 1919, which provided that the money appropriated under it might be used, among other things, for the promotion of trade, industry and transportation facilities, and for the carrying out of any measures deemed necessary or advisable by the Governor in Council in consequence of war. The non-employment of these returned soldiers was certainly one of the results of the war, and certainly the adoption of this course tended to promote trade and industry.

Mr. TOLMIE: Two or three suggestions have been made from the other side tonight which I have been rather sorry to hear. They have been strong hints to the effect that I was elected by some means that were not exactly straight. I want to say that I have lived in that country; I am known out there, and I think I have a very fair reputation, even if I say so myself. I want to say quite clearly that I am not here because I cannot be anywhere else. I am not here to make a living. Any time I cannot come here without doing something that is not straight I will stay on the Pacific coast.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The minister must not take any comments too much to heart; every one has implicit faith in his integrity. But the minister surely knows some of his colleagues well enough to understand that they have an appreciation of elections and their significance which, perhaps, he in his innocence has not gained as yet.

Demobilization—Department of Public Works—completion of construction, rents, etc., \$1,250,000.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This item, I notice, comes under the head of "Demobilization."

Mr. J. D. REID: Yes, it is in connection with military buildings, military hospitals, soldiers' civil re-establishment hospitals, and so on.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: We have already voted sums for soldier settlement, hospitals, and so on; why do the items which the minister has mentioned come under this particular heading?

Mr. J. D. REID: I could not say why. The amount is to settle up contracts for buildings that have been under construction; it is not for new buildings.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: To include expenses for construction in the demobilization vote would seem to be a contradiction of terms.

Public Works chargeable to income—harbours and rivers—British Columbia—Sunnyside—restoration of float, \$3,000.

Mr. J. D. REID: My hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) asked me a few moments ago how we arrived at the valuation of the Lotbinière and Megantic railway. I have now the Act before me. The hon. member will remember that in that Act we agreed to take over three railways, and the Act stated that the value as determined by the Exchequer Court of Canada was to be:

The actual cost of said railway less subsidies and less depreciation, but not to exceed \$4,349,000, exclusive of outstanding bonded indebtedness, which is to be assumed by the Government, but not to exceed in all \$2,500,000.

The way that was made up was this. We were to take over the Quebec and Saguenay, that is, after the judgment of the Exchequer Court had been given, at the maximum value of \$4,019,000, the Lotbinière and Megantic at \$330,000, and then the bonds amounting to \$2,500,000 represented the Quebec and Montmorency railway. We did not take over the Quebec and Montmorency railway, that is, the electric railway, and therefore, that cancelled the \$2,500,000. We took over the Quebec and Saguenay and settled that. That left the Lotbinière and Megantic, and the price we had fixed for that at the time was \$330,000, which is the actual cost to the parties. There were no subsidies granted by the Dominion Government to that railway.

Mr. FIELDING: My question related entirely to the Lotbinière and Megantic railway. The minister says that \$330,000 was the actual cost. Was that fixed by the Exchequer Court?

Mr. J. D. REID: No, it was only by our officials.

Mr. FIELDING: Then there has been no judgment by the Exchequer Court. The minister ought to be able to give us some testimony that this road is worth that

money. My information is that it is not worth the money, and that an excessive price has been paid. I should like the minister to give us some information as to this company. Who are the directors, shareholders and officers of the company?

Mr. J. D. REID: We sent out Intercolonial engineers and staff over the work and had them make a valuation.

Mr. FIELDING: Has the minister any report of that?

Mr. J. D. REID: I presume we have a report in the department. I know the officials were ordered to go over the road and check up the valuation. The money, however, has not been paid yet, and as the hon. member has drawn my attention to the matter, I will see that there is a report as to the valuation before the money is expended.

Mr. FIELDING: Does the minister know who are the gentlemen chiefly connected with this enterprise?

Mr. J. D. REID: The Quebec Light, Heat and Power Company owned the three railways.

Mr. FIELDING: If the information that has reached me is reliable, the minister is paying an extravagant price for the road, and he ought to look well into the values of the road and also into the history of recent transactions in connection with it. When the Government are taking over a property, they might well look into the question of who were the former owners and what price they sold it for.

Mr. J. D. REID: I will do that.

Resolution reported

#### FISH INSPECTION ACT AMENDMENT.

On motion of Hon. C. C. Ballantyne (Minister of the Naval Service), for the House to go into committee on Bill No. 50, to amend the Fish Inspection Act.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This is a pretty late hour in the day's sitting to bring up further business.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: This Bill was before the House some weeks ago and was referred to the Select Standing Committee on Marine and Fisheries. The Government are anxious to get the Bill through, and the committee have reported favourably on it. It is merely a Bill providing for compulsory inspection of fish.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Were the committee unanimous on the Bill?

Mr. FIELDING: I have a rather divided opinion about this Bill. As I remarked at an earlier stage, I know the object of this Bill is a good one in providing inspection, especially in relation to our foreign trade. I have some doubt whether the Bill is satisfactory to the fishermen generally, and that is also a matter of divided opinion. I know that the Bill was the subject of very keen discussion in the committee on Marine and Fisheries at the session of which I was not present; considerable feeling was manifested concerning it, and I think the hon. member for Lunenburg (Mr. Duff) was its principal antagonist. He has gone away, I believe, under the impression that the matter was laid aside, and I am rather sorry if we have to have a division on this now. Although I recognize the object of the Bill is a good one, I think we need some more education amongst our fishermen before they will be prepared to accept it. If the minister wishes to press the matter to-night, I can only press my objection to it on that ground.

Motion agreed to, and the House went into committee on the Bill, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

On section 1—inspection of fish:

Mr. LEMIEUX: In connection with the inspection of fish, I have received several petitions from the Magdalen islands where the inspection of fish is made by gentlemen from Prince Edward Island. As my hon. friend knows, the mackerel of Magdalen islands is a very valuable fish and comes there in large shoals. The people on the islands are anxious that this inspection should be made by one of their own men on the islands, and it seems to me that they are entitled to their own inspector. I do not see why an inspector should be brought from another province for the inspection of fish in the Magdalen islands, and I think the request of those islanders should be granted. I know this matter does not come under this Bill, but I brought it up because we are speaking about fish inspection.

Mr. BALLANTYNE: I shall be glad to bear in mind what my hon. friend says.

Section agreed to.

Bill reported, read the third time and passed.

#### SUPPLY—CONCURRENCE.

The House proceeded to consider resolutions reported from Committee of Supply.

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

Mr. FIELDING: Is the Minister going to go on with concurrence at this hour of the morning?

Mr. J. D. REID: It will only take five minutes.

Mr. FIELDING: Concurrence takes a good deal more than five minutes.

Mr. LEMIEUX: I think we have done a good day's work. Let us adjourn.

Mr. DOHERTY: Gentlemen should not be weary in well doing.

Mr. FIELDING: If the minister wants to go on he can, but I am bound to say that a scandal which has too often occurred—there was a good deal of discussion yesterday about scandal—if there is a scandal in connection with our Parliamentary affairs it is the manner in which during the last few hours of a session a great amount of important public business is rushed through the House and millions of dollars are voted. We ought not to be kept here at his hour doing this business. It is not fair to the House or country. There is only a handful of members present and we might have counted out the House two or three times during the evening. There is no particular reason why the House should prorogue to-day, or to-morrow, or this week. We may be anxious to bring the business to a close, but our first business is to attend to business in an orderly and business like way. When the proceedings of the last few days go out to the people of Canada they will think that though we are getting more indemnity we are not earning it by attending to our business.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: This seems an opportune moment for me to say a few words following the remarks of my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's, protesting against this bringing down of Estimates at the last moment and leaving the discussion of them to the very last hours of the session. This year we twice met the Government in the matter of agreeing to votes on account of the Estimates. If by any accident the Government should be in office next year, I would like them to understand that, so far as the Opposition is concerned, if we are here as an Opposition, we will refuse absolutely to give any votes on account. The Government must be prepared to have its business ready for Parliament to consider early in the session.

## WAYS AND MEANS—THE SUPPLY BILL.

On motion of Sir Henry Drayton, the House went into Committee of Ways and Means, Mr. Boivin in the Chair.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON moved:

Resolved that towards making good the Supply granted to His Majesty on account of certain expenses of the public service for the financial year ending 31st March, 1920, the sum of \$15,875,999.03 be granted out of the consolidated revenue fund of Canada.

Motion agreed to.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON moved:

Resolved that towards making good the Supply granted to His Majesty on account of certain expenses of the public service for the financial year ending 31st March, 1921, the sum of \$321,980,760.61 be granted out of the consolidated revenue fund of Canada.

Motion agreed to.

Resolutions reported and concurred in.

Sir HENRY DRAYTON moved for leave to introduce Bill No. 221 for granting to His Majesty certain sums of money for the public service for the fiscal years ending respectively March 31st, 1920, and March 31st, 1921.

Motion agreed to, and Bill read the first and second time, considered in committee, reported, read the third time and passed.

On the motion of Right Hon. Mr. Doherty the House adjourned at 3.35 a.m. (Thursday).

Thursday, July 1, 1920.

The House met at Two o'clock.

### PARLIAMENTARY COUNSEL.

On the Orders of the Day:

Rt. Hon. Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Minister of Trade and Commerce): Before the Orders of the Day are called I desire to make the following statement:

"In the absence of the Prime Minister, who is necessarily absent for the purpose of meeting His Excellency the Governor General upon his arrival to prorogue Parliament, I desire to make the following explanation as to a certain change in the Bill respecting the Electoral Franchise Act:

'As originally introduced into the House, Section 19 of that Bill provided that the Parliamentary Counsel of the House of Commons should be appointed Chief Electoral Officer and should hold office upon the

same tenure as judges of the Superior Courts. Many sections of the Bill, including this, were the subject of conference between the two sides of the House, and it was desired by the Government to meet as far as possible any views put forward by the members on both sides. As a result of these conferences, a change was made in Section 19 and another provision was substituted for that which proposed the appointment of the Parliamentary Counsel.

'It is due to Mr. Gisborne to say that the change was in no way due to any failure to recognize his conspicuous ability and his remarkable zeal and devotion in the discharge of his duties as Parliamentary Counsel. These qualities, which he has always exhibited in his long and valuable service to the country, are recognized by the Government and also, I believe, by members on both sides of the House. It is thought, however, that this public statement should be made in order that no false impression might be created by the change to which I have alluded.'

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (leader of the Opposition): I would like, on behalf of hon. gentlemen on this side, to supplement my hon. friend's statement by saying that we cordially reciprocate all that has been said with regard to the confidence expressed in Mr. Gisborne, not alone in his character, but also in his integrity and ability.

### TRANSLATION OF FRENCH SPEECHES.

On the Orders of the Day.

Mr. JOSEPH ARCHAMBAULT (Chambly and Vercheres): Mr. Speaker, if I may be allowed to make a statement, there appears on the Order Paper a resolution which stands in my name regarding the immediate translation into English of the French speeches delivered in this House, which resolution was discussed on the 24th of March last. As you know very well each day's edition of Hansard contains the text of those speeches. That is, the English speeches are printed in English, and the French speeches in French. The next day, as a rule, an unrevised edition of Hansard is issued which is wholly French. The English translation of the French speeches does not appear in the revised edition of Hansard until seven or eight months after their delivery. For example the beautiful speech in French of my hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce—then acting Prime Minister—on the open-

ing day of the session has not yet been issued.

Mr. JACOBS: Shame.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: I am sure that all the members of this House would have been happy to read the inspiring words my hon. friend uttered on that occasion. When I proposed the resolution referred to by me a discussion took place and not a dissenting voice was raised against it. The Minister of Trade and Commerce himself was in sympathy with that motion, and at page 728 of Hansard he expressed himself in these words:

I am entirely in sympathy with the idea that these speeches should be translated and at the disposal of the members in a reasonable time; and if it be true that it runs to five, or six, or seven months before these translations appear, that is not a condition of things that ought to be continued. My sympathy then is entirely with the purpose of the motion, but this is a matter which pertains to the management of the translators and the publishing of the debates, and is under the Debates Committee, composed of members of both sides of the House. I am informed that to carry out the exact wording of the motion of my hon. friend is physically impossible. So my suggestion to him is that, having brought the matter before the House, as he has done in a very temperate and full manner, he shall not press his motion to a conclusion; that it stand if he pleases, or that he withdraw it, as may seem best to him, and I will undertake that the matter shall be taken up at once and that we shall come to a conclusion which will be fair and also which will be possible of being carried out.

I followed the advice of my right hon. friend. I went before the Debates Committee, and the chief translator stated before the committee that my proposal was feasible. He made two suggestions: first, that on every Monday the translation of the French speeches delivered during the preceding week should be published with the English unrevised copy; second, that every Monday a special leaflet containing the translation of speeches delivered in French during the preceding week should be distributed. After that meeting I wrote to my right hon. friend and then had an interview with him, and he again expressed his sympathy towards my motion.

I am bringing this matter before the House in the hope that full attention will be given to it, and that during the recess my right hon. friend will consult with the chief translator and the chairman of the Debates Committee in order that this very desirable reform may be put into force at the next session.

Rt. Hon. Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Minister of Trade and Commerce): The sym-  
[Mr. Archambault.]

pathy that I expressed at the time my hon. friend introduced this matter still exists, and after the very flattering and courteous way in which he has referred to a few remarks of mine at the time he introduced his motion, it is only natural that, old as I am—

Mr. BUREAU: Oh, no.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER:—I should feel the stimulus of that praise and that it should serve to keep my sympathy alive during the recess. I hope that before another session those of us who are spared to come back—

Mr. BUREAU: We will all be spared.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER:—will have reached a reasonable and sensible solution of this question. Certainly I feel that in some sense an injury has been done to my English colleagues in that they have not had an opportunity to read the translations of the speeches of their French confreres.

Mr. BUREAU: Hear, hear. So say we all.

#### ESTIMATES AND THEIR DISCUSSION.

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (leader of the Opposition): Might I take advantage of this moment again to suggest to the Government that if by any possibility they should be in office this fall—

Mr. BUREAU: Unthinkable.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING:—they consider the advisability of calling the session at an early date, so that we will not again be confronted with a situation such as we have had on this occasion, of reaching the month of July with a very large proportion of Estimates to be hurriedly passed in the last remaining twenty-four hours. I trust the Government will make a point not only of bringing down its Estimates as early as possible, but of affording early opportunity for a consideration of them. We of the Opposition—if we are still in opposition—will not agree to give the Government any votes on account if that can be avoided. The public interest in these matters must be protected as far as possible.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I may say in answer to my hon. friend (Mr. Mackenzie King) that his remarks are founded on such impossible suppositions, in one case particularly, that it is difficult to come down to any reasonable basis in discussing the subject matter that he has brought to the attention of the House. But the Gov-

ernment, as it always has done, will try and get the session on as early as conveniently possible; and, as it always has done, it will have a body of Estimates ready for the Opposition almost from the time that the House gets into working order.

I am not so sure that my hon. friend—if he has in view the prevention of Estimates being to a certain extent the subject for discussion at or very close to the end of the session—will be very much nearer his goal unless the Opposition mends its ways—and that is something that no Opposition that I have known in my time has done. I noticed a peculiarly strong illustration of that point last week. There is an ineradicable disposition on the part of an Opposition not to come to close quarters on Estimates until the very last moment, and then when there is not very much time left, to plead inability owing to the lateness of the hour to give that close attention which they had threatened.

Mr. BUREAU: No, no.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: What I mean to say is that the Opposition, as I have noted it during my parliamentary career, is disposed to discuss everything else but the Estimates itself until the time comes that the bell is about to ring for the dismissal of the House. For instance, we had most important Estimates before the House on the occasion I refer to—those relating to the Administration of Justice—brought forward by my right hon. friend the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty). They were, in fact, the whole of the Main Estimates of my right hon. friend. In them were embalmed a great deal of good stuff—almost all good I think—but they contained some new propositions which, if I mistake not, had not received very much consideration from the Opposition. What happened? The Estimates were before my hon. friends, and the day was before them as well, but instead of discussing the Estimates on their merits and the principles they involved, two or three hours were taken up in discussing some legal matter which was at the time before a Court in Montreal for decision. And when those two or three hours had passed, my hon. friends forgot all their duties as a lynx-eyed Opposition to see that the Estimates were properly framed and contained nothing that should not be voted,—they forgot all about these things and those Estimates went through, as it is sometimes said, "like greased lightning"; not a word was said with reference to the Estimates them-

selves. Now, that illustrates what may be a necessary fault in an Opposition, but it has so often turned out that way that really there is a good deal of blame to be given to the Opposition for not taking up and discussing when they have the opportunity the Estimates themselves and not a whole lot of extraneous matters. Of course, I do not want, nor have I any wish to shut out the right of hon. members to discuss all grievances—

Mr. BUREAU: You could not.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER:—on the presentation of the Estimates; but as my hon. friend gave me some hints to think about during the vacation, I thought I might just venture in a good-natured way to give him something to think about during his summer holidays.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN (South York): I suggest that we might try out the plan of having the Estimates referred to subcommittees.

Mr. BUREAU: Oh, no; get them in the House and fight them out.

Mr. FIELDING: My own observation, after large experience in dealing with Estimates, both on the ministerial side and in Opposition, does not lead me entirely to endorse all that my right hon. friend has said. He speaks of having a body of Estimates ready from the earliest stage of the session. It is one thing to have a body of Estimates laid before us; it is another thing to have a proper opportunity presented to discuss them. It is the opportunity to discuss the Estimates that has been delayed in many cases. I could give illustrations, but the knocks at the door prevent.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: In other words, my hon. friend has been knocked out.

Mr. FIELDING: Knocked out, but not by the Government.

#### PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.

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

Mr. SPEAKER: His Excellency the Governor General desires the immediate attendance of this Honourable House in the Chamber of the Honourable the Senate.

Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, with the House, went up to the Senate Chamber.

In the Senate Chamber, His Excellency the Governor General was pleased to give, in His Majesty's name, the Royal Assent to the following Bills:

## BILLS ASSENTED TO.

An Act to amend the Inspection and Sale Act.  
 An Act to amend the Admiralty Act.  
 An Act to amend the Northwest Game Act.  
 An Act respecting the Director of Coal Operations.  
 An Act for the relief of Mary Oakley.  
 An Act for the relief of Margaret Elizabeth Cooper.  
 An Act for the relief of Catherine Burfoot.  
 An Act for the relief of Thomas Lindsay Thacker.  
 An Act for the relief of Margaret Henrietta Pettit.  
 An Act for the relief of John William Wallace.  
 An Act respecting the Colonial Investment and Loan Company.  
 An Act to incorporate The Great West Bank of Canada.  
 An Act to amend and consolidate the Acts respecting the British America Assurance Company.  
 An Act to amend and consolidate the Acts respecting the Western Assurance Company.  
 An Act for the relief of Edith Ellen Holmes Austin.  
 An Act for the relief of Ethelbert Gilmour Harris.  
 An Act for the relief of Albert Ernest Wice.  
 An Act for the relief of Peter Sutherland Cowie.  
 An Act for the relief of Roy Bradley.  
 An Act for the relief of Joan Doran.  
 An Act for the relief of Alexander Ross, Junior.  
 An Act for the relief of Jean Mary Sandford.  
 An Act for the relief of John Durose.  
 An Act to incorporate The North West Route, Limited.  
 An Act to amend the Customs Tariff, 1907.  
 An Act to amend the Business Profits War Tax Act, 1916.  
 An Act to amend the Penitentiary Act.  
 An Act respecting the Harbour of Pictou, in Nova Scotia.  
 An Act to amend the Irrigation Act.  
 An Act respecting Dominion Trust Company.  
 An Act to incorporate Reliance Insurance Company of Canada.  
 An Act respecting Maple Products.  
 An Act to amend the Canada Shipping Act (Sick and Distressed Mariners).  
 An Act respecting Canadian National Railways.  
 An Act to regulate the Sale and Inspection of Commercial Feeding Stuffs, Bran, Shorts, Middlings and Chop Feeds.  
 An Act to amend the Railway Act, 1919.  
 An Act for the relief of George Emerson Fox.  
 An Act for the relief of Graziano Bertini.  
 An Act for the relief of William Henry Caswell.  
 An Act for the relief of John Covert.  
 An Act for the relief of Mary Ireland.  
 An Act for the relief of John Daniel Mills.  
 An Act for the relief of Joseph Aimee Wilfred David.  
 An Act for the relief of Richard Simpson.  
 An Act for the relief of Nora Dowle.  
 An Act to amend the Militia Pensions Act.  
 An Act to amend the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Act.  
 An Act to amend The Pension Act.  
 An Act to amend the Post Office Act.  
 An Act to amend the Inland Revenue Act.  
 An Act to amend the Bankruptcy Act.  
 An Act to amend the Yukon Placer Mining Act.

[Mr. Fielding.]

An Act to amend the Civil Service Act, 1918, and the Civil Service Amendment Act, 1919.

An Act to provide for the Settlement of Differences between the Governments of the Dominion of Canada and the province of British Columbia respecting Indian Lands and certain other Indian Affairs in the said province.

An Act respecting The Dominion Fire Insurance Company.

An Act to amend the Indian Act.

An Act for the relief of Muriel Curren Gilmour.

An Act for the relief of Marie Jeanne Yvonne Albertine St. Amour Lallemand.

An Act for the relief of Laurette Estelle Cook.

An Act for the relief of Reginald Muir Barlow.

An Act for the relief of Alfred John Crawford.

An Act for the relief of Frederick Minskip.

An Act for the relief of Charles Henry Foster.

An Act for the relief of Frank Cox.

An Act for the relief of Joseph Dubé.

An Act for the relief of John Donnelly.

An Act to assist Shipbuilding.

An Act to amend The Income War Tax Act, 1917.

An Act to amend The Special War Revenue Act, 1915.

An Act to confirm certain borrowings under The Demobilization Appropriation Act, 1919.

An Act respecting the Election of Members of the House of Commons and the Electoral Franchise.

An Act respecting The Canadian Wheat Board.

An Act to amend The Railway Act, 1919.

An Act to revive and amend The Naturalization Act, 1914.

An Act to amend the Criminal Code.

An Act to amend the Salaries Act and the Senate and House of Commons Act.

An Act for the relief of Mildred Euphemia Alsina Blanche Martin.

An Act for the relief of Arthur John Frankling, otherwise known as John Arthur Holmes.

An Act for the relief of Nelson Alexander Boylen.

An Act for the relief of Mahala Burton.

An Act for the relief of Joseph Henry Forbes.

An Act to amend The Boards of Trade Act.

An Act to provide for the Insurance of Returned Soldiers by the Dominion of Canada.

An Act to provide for the retirement of certain members of the Public Service.

An Act to amend The Canada Grain Act.

An Act to amend the Judges Act.

An Act to amend The Fish Inspection Act.

An Act for granting to His Majesty certain sums of money for the public service of the financial years ending respectively the 31st March, 1920, and the 31st March, 1921.

To these Bills the Royal Assent was pronounced by the Clerk of the Senate in the following words:

In His Majesty's name, His Excellency the Governor General doth assent to these Bills.

Then the Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons addressed His Excellency the Governor General as follows:

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY:

The Commons of Canada have voted Supplies required to enable the Government to defray certain expenses of the public service.

In the name of the Commons I present to Your Excellency the following Bill:

An Act for granting to His Majesty certain sums of money for the public service of the financial year ending the 31st March, 1921.

To which Bill I humbly request Your Excellency's assent.

To this Bill the Clerk of the Senate, by command of His Excellency the Governor General, did thereupon say:

In His Majesty's name, His Excellency the Governor General thanks his loyal subjects. accepts their benevolence, and assents to these Bills.

After which His Excellency the Governor General was pleased to close the Fourth Session of the Thirteenth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, with the following speech:

Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate:

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

In relieving you from further attendance in Parliament, I am happy to recall that your labours during the Session have resulted in many beneficial enactments.

You have given to the Franchise Act the long and careful deliberation which the importance of this measure amply justified. It embodies provisions which should insure the preparation of fair and impartial lists at all future elections.

The liberal increases in pensions which have been granted, the establishment of a scheme of state insurance for returned soldiers, and the further provisions concerning the settlement of soldiers upon the land, have shown your determination to take every practical means of fulfilling just obligations towards those who have rendered to our country such conspicuous service.

In the taxation measures which have been adopted, you have courageously taken into account of a difficult financial situation and it may be confidently expected that they will materially increase the revenues.

You have wisely made provision to continue authority for the supervision of the marketing of the Canadian wheat crops, if events in the world's markets should render this the most advantageous method of protecting the interests of the Canadian people. The exercise of this authority will necessarily receive the most attentive and careful consideration from my advisers.

The measure providing for the control of fuel recognizes the peculiar importance of this

matter in the national economy and the need for insuring supplies to the greatest possible extent.

You have adopted legislation with respect to shipbuilding which should result in the continued employment of many thousands of men hitherto engaged in that and associated industries.

The provision made for the naval service wisely recognizes the importance of preserving a nucleus which can be developed if need should arise.

Provision for the air service has also been made in such a manner as will produce the largest trained personnel consistent with the financial capacity of the country. Because of Canada's peculiar geographical position and features, it is highly important that the possibilities of this new method of communication and transportation should be fully explored. The Air Board will be enabled to watch every new development and to take practical steps in the interests of aerial navigation in the Dominion.

The measure for the education and enfranchisement of Indians constitutes an effective means of enabling these wards of the nation to make further advance to the responsibilities of citizenship.

The settlement of the issues of the war still proceeds, but it is hoped that before another Session the final treaties will have been concluded. After obtaining your approval, the Government have sanctioned on behalf of Canada, the ratification of the Treaty with Bulgaria; the Treaty with Hungary has been signed, but the Treaty with Turkey is still under negotiation.

During the Session, as a result of a Conference between the Government and the Governments of the British West Indian Colonies, an important agreement was concluded with the object of rendering still closer the trade relationships between Canada and these Colonies and of improving the means of intercourse and communication. This agreement will be submitted to you in due course.

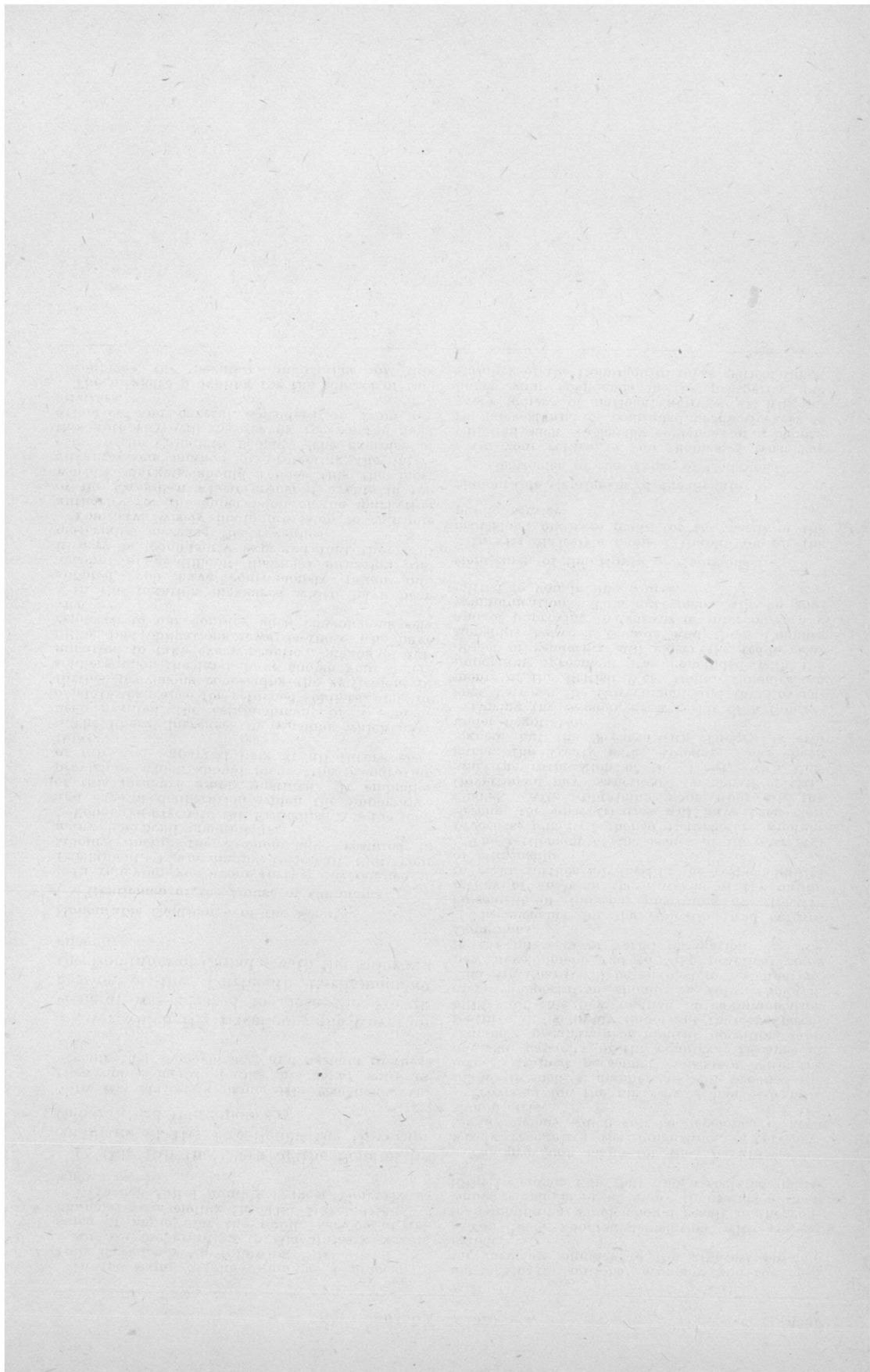
Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

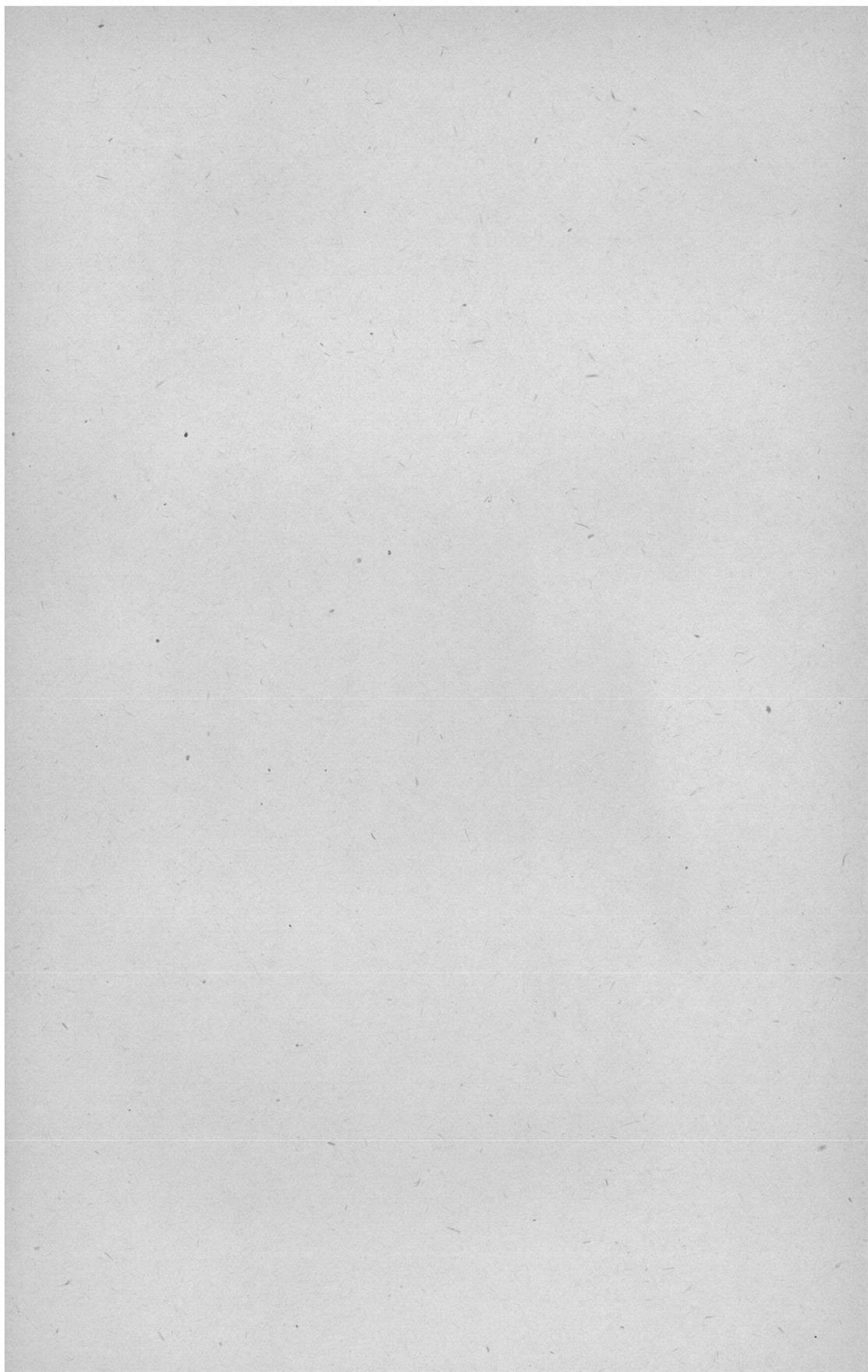
In His Majesty's name I thank you for the provision you have made for the needs of the public service.

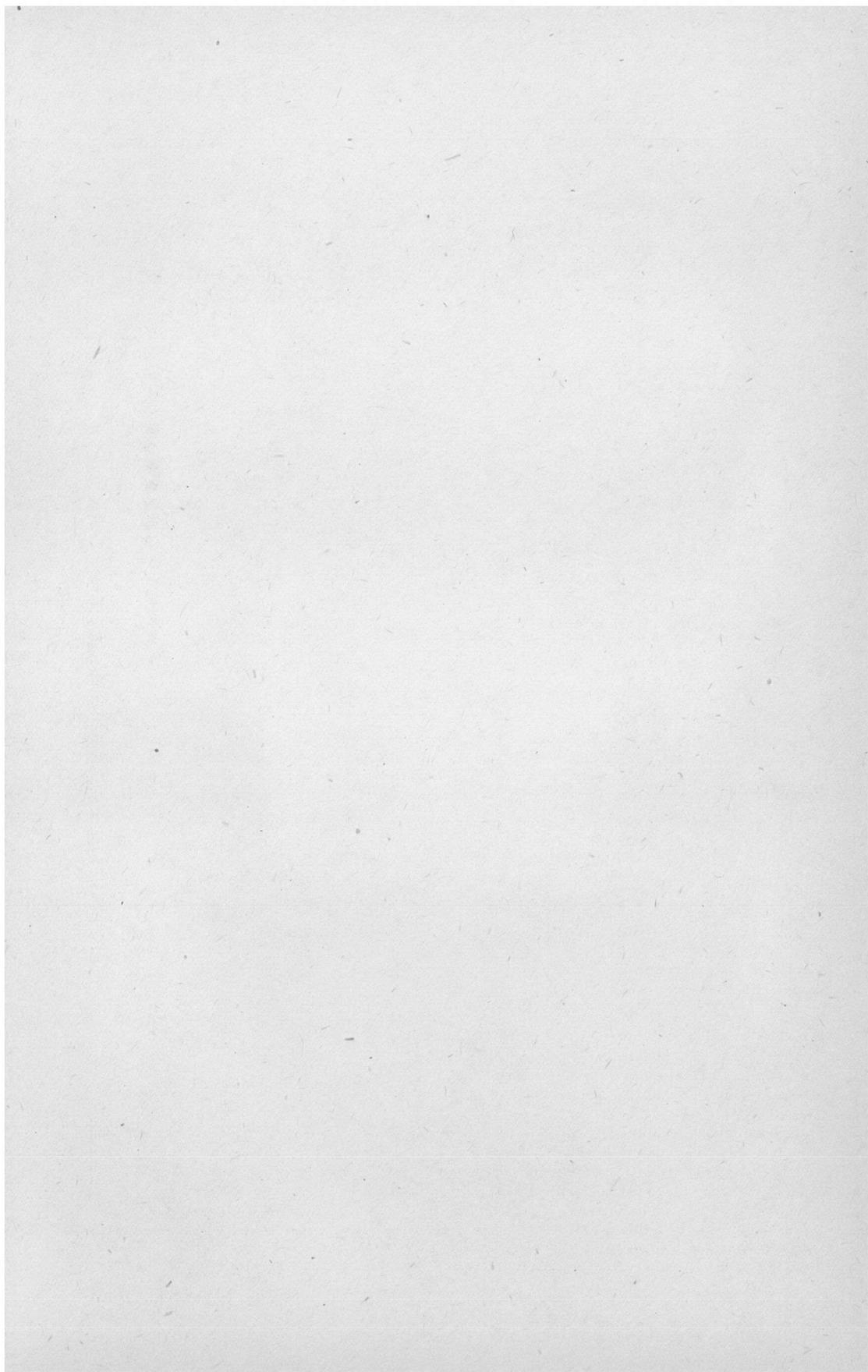
Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate:

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

On your return to your homes, I trust you will find such reassuring evidences of a bountiful harvest and of continued productiveness in every sphere of national activity as will enhance your confidence in the prosperity and stability of the Dominion in these critical times.







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*Abbreviations.*—1r., 2r., 3r.=first, second, or third reading. Admn.=Administration; Amdt.=Amendment. Com.=Committee. Div.=Division. Dept.=Department. Govt.=Government. M.=Motion. Ques.=Question. Ref.=Reference. Rep.=Report. Res.=Resolution. Sec.=Section.

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