

any Roman Catholic Government in Europe. The sop tendered to the Protestants would have been superfluous had the claim of the Jesuits been real.

There are now left in the Province of Quebec only two or at most three constituencies Protestant in such a sense that their members are not afraid of the Catholic vote. Two members of the Legislature protested. To divide would have been futile, and the Act consequently passed without a division.

But by the time that the Provincial Act reached the Dominion Government public feeling in the British Province of Ontario had been aroused. All Acts of the Provincial Legislatures are subject to the veto of the Dominion Government, to be exercised within a year. It was demanded that the veto should be put upon a Provincial Act which endowed Jesuitism and recognized the authority of the Pope besides contravening the principle of religious equality by the endowment out of public funds of a particular religion, and not only of a particular religion but of an offensively propagandist Order. The leading Liberal and Independent journals opened fire, and a menacing movement commenced in the Orange Order, which for a long time past had been successfully controlled by Government influence and patronage, its Grand Master having been made a member of the Cabinet for that purpose, and had been turned into an ancillary engine of the Tory party.

The Government, to which the support of the French Catholics is indispensable, and which in fact has its basis in Quebec, tried to quell the storm by advising the Governor-General at once to signify his allowance of the Act. This was unconstitutional, since the British North America Act provides that the Acts of the Provincial Legislatures shall lie before the Dominion Government subject to veto for a year, those of the Dominion Legislature are to lie before the Home Government subject to a veto for two years; the time being presumably allowed in each case for petitions and objections to come in, and the longer time being allowed in the case of the Dominion Acts than in that of the Provincial Acts, because the Home Government is less able speedily to inform itself and less easy of access to petitioners. The Governor-General, as it was contended with apparent justice, could have no right to cut short the term of probation, or, in the event of his going out of office before the end of the year, to bar the exercise of the veto by his successor.

This expedient failed, as did the strenuous efforts which were made by the Government to burke opposition in caucus. A resolution demanding disallowance was moved by Colonel O'Brien, member for Muskoka, a strong Conservative and supporter of Sir John Macdonald's Government. A long debate ensued, in which the principal speech in favor of the disallowance resolution was made by Mr. Dalton McCarthy, Q. C., a leading Conservative, while the principal defender of the Act was Sir John Thompson, Minister of Justice and a Roman Catholic. The arguments of the speakers in favor of disallowance were based on the anti-national and illegal recognition of the Pope's authority in the Act, and the character of an Order which had been many times expelled as an enemy of civil government by European communities, Catholic as well as Protestant, and was still under the ban of the British Empire, clauses being pointed against it in the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. It was also contended that the Act was a breach of the religious equality which is a fundamental principle of our polity. In this respect it would appear that the Legislature of Quebec has actually exceeded its jurisdiction, since the list of subjects on which it has power to legislate is set out in the British North America Act, by which these Legislatures are created, and does not include religion.

By the Minister of Justice, and others on that side, it was contended that the Act was purely local and purely fiscal, and consequently within the constitutional jurisdiction of the Quebec Legislature, so that to veto it would be to violate the principle of Provincial self government. Both contentions were manifestly untenable. It was absurd to say that the measure was purely local if it impugned the rights of the Crown and acknowledged the authority of a foreign Power in the country, besides endowing a propagandist Order which, though its headquarters were to be in Quebec, would operate against Protestantism and the supremacy of the civil Government over the whole Dominion. It was equally absurd to call a measure purely fiscal merely because it took the form of money payment when it raised issues which had set the whole Dominion in a blaze. Sir John Thompson was obliged to acknowledge that the preamble to the Act, reciting the settlement with the Jesuits, and receiving it for the pleasure of the Pope, contained matter "not in the best taste"—in other words matter offensive to the Empire and the nation; but he maintained that the language of the preamble was immaterial, and that to take exception to it would be as foolish as to take exception to the title or a headline; to which the answer was that the preamble was the Act, the Act being nothing but a set of operative words giving effect to the settlement embodied in the preamble. The Prime Minister, who perhaps finds it difficult to understand that anybody can really care about a principle, tried to laugh the matter off by telling the old story of the Jew eating his pork-chop in a thunderstorm, but his wit was ineffective. In contending that the exercise of the veto ought to be confined to cases of legislation *extra vires*, he and his colleagues lay under the disadvantage of having recently vetoed an Act of the Manitoba Legislature chartering a local railway,—which was as clearly *intra vires* as anything could possibly be,—on alleged grounds of Dominion policy, because it infringed on the monopoly of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

In the division, thirteen members only—eight Conservatives and five Liberals—voted for Colonel O'Brien's motion. One hundred and eighty-eight, comprising the leaders and the main body of the Liberal Opposition as well as the main body of the supporters of the Government, voted on the other side. The Catholics, French and Irish, were voting, as in duty bound, for the Jesuits and the Pope. The Liberal Opposition took the ground of Provincial self-government. But it is always bidding against the Government for the Catholic vote, and on this occasion it was specially entangled in two ways. In the first place, the Dominion Government being in the hands of the Conservatives, the Liberals had been embracing the most extreme view of Provincial right. In the second place, they had been holding out a hand for party purposes to French sympathy with the rebellion of the French and Catholic Half-breeds under Riel in the North-West. They had not shrunk from protesting against the execution of Riel on the two grounds that he was insane and that his offence was political; the first of which was believed by no human being, while the recognition of the second would put the lives and property of the community at the mercy of any brigand who chose to pretend that this object was not plunder but anarchy or usurpation.

The vote on the Jesuits' Question was controlled by the Catholic influence, much as the votes on the Home Rule resolutions passed by the Dominion and local Legislatures of Canada had been controlled by the Irish vote, and as similar resolutions have been controlled by the Irish vote in the United States.

The managers of the party machines on both sides embraced each other, and fondly hoped that the largeness of the majority had stifled in the birth an agitation about a question of prin-

ciple disturbing to the regular game, and unwelcome to all who look for support to the Catholic vote. They have found themselves mistaken. The people have for once broken away, for the time at least, from the party machines. They understand that the objections to the Jesuits' Estates Bill are based, not, as the Minister of Justice says, upon the preamble of the Act or upon anything merely technical, but upon the broad right of the nation, if it be a nation, to forbid the use of public money for the purpose of subverting its civilization and infusing moral poison into its veins. The intention of the framers of the Act, they know, is to have the Pope recognized as lord of the temporalities of a Church which in Quebec is virtually established, levying tithes and other legal imposts; and the determination of the people is that in things temporal the Pope's power shall not be recognized at all. The people know also that the Jesuits' Estates Act is not an isolated measure, but a bold and defiant step in the onward march of ecclesiastical aggression. The agitation, instead of dying out, has given birth to the Equal Rights Association, under the auspices of which a widespread and apparently enthusiastic movement against the endowment of the Jesuits, and against ecclesiastical aggression generally, is now going on. Party in Canada has been strong, as it usually is, in inverse proportion to its reasonableness, and to break its lines at once is very difficult, while the influence of corruption, especially in the form of Government grants for local works, unhappily is very great; yet the machine politicians are having a very bad quarter of an hour.

The Equal Rights Association directs its attention not only to the Jesuits' Estates Act but to the system of separate Catholic schools in Ontario; to the intrusion of the French language and of French ecclesiasticism with it into the public schools of the eastern part of the Province; to the unfair privileges enjoyed by the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec, and to the progress of ecclesiastical aggrandizement and of priestly encroachment on the civil power, which, ever since the Ultramontane and the Jesuit supplanted the Gallican, have been advancing on all sides.

In this opposition to the encroachments of the Roman Catholic Church the Equal Rights Association may be regarded as an organ of a continental movement; for in the United States the people are rousing themselves to action against the same power which, with legions recruited from the ignorant and half-civilized populations of the Old World, is assailing the fundamental principles of Protestant and Anglo-Saxon civilization. At Boston, where the Irish Catholics are now almost a match in numbers for the children of the Puritan, a great fight about the teaching in public schools, in which the Catholics were defeated, has been followed by the proposal of an amendment in the Constitution of Massachusetts, prohibiting any grants of public money to sectarian institutions. A grant to Catholic charities, though balanced according to the usual policy of the priest-party by a small grant to Protestant charities, has been thrown out by the Legislature of the State of New York, and it seems as if the channel through which the priests have long drawn money to a large extent would be closed up for the future. In Illinois a similar reaction against the raids of the Catholic vote on the public treasury begins to appear. Another "irrepressible conflict" apparently is at hand, though this time, it may be hoped, the arbiter will be the ballot and not the sword. Nor is the conflict confined to this continent. Mr. Wise's article in this magazine (July, 1889), shows that it is coming in Australia also. It is coming wherever the Church of the past commands a sufficient force of the children of the past to make war upon modern civilization.

(To be Continued).