

nominal dominion of Great Britain a French nation in a theocratic form. The French multiplied apace, like all races whose standard of living is low, and the digestive forces of British Canada were far too weak to do with the French element what the digestive forces of the United States had done with the French element in Louisiana. Lord Durham saw the danger. He even let fall the warning words, that the day might come when the English in Canada, that they might remain English, would have to cease to be British; in other words, would have to join the main body of the English-speaking race on the continent to save themselves from French domination. He tried to bring about assimilation by means of a legislative union of the two Canadas. The union totally failed; politics became a bitter conflict between the British and French Provinces, which at last brought government to a deadlock.

From that deadlock an escape was sought by Federation, which was thus, in its main motive and essential character, not a measure of union, but a legislative divorce of British from French Canada. The other British Colonies were brought in. But no real union such as constitutes a nation can be said up to this time to have taken place among them. No Nova Scotian or New Brunswicker calls himself a Canadian. A British Columbian scorns the name. The people of these Provinces are citizens in heart only of their own Province. At Ottawa they act as separate interests. Their support is obtained, to form a basis for the party Government, largely by a system of corruption operating mainly through Government grants to local works. As to Quebec, she is a member of Federation in the same sense in which Ireland would be a member of the United Kingdom if it had a Parliament of its own, and at the same time sent delegates to Westminster. She acts in her own separate interests, and by her compact vote levies tribute on the Dominion treasury, her own being in so bad a condition that she has

already betrayed an incipient tendency to repudiation. She has extorted grants for railways and public works to a very large amount. On one occasion her members stayed outside the House haggling with the Government till the bell had rung for a division, when the Government gave way. The Tory party has in the main retained her support, though much less by party sympathy than by the means already described.

In the meantime in Quebec itself clerical domination has been making way. The substitution of Ultramontaniam for Gallicanism has exalted the pretensions of the priesthood, and at the same time given an impetus to the movement.¹ Ten years ago it excited the alarm of Sir Alexander Galt, who saw that danger impended not only over the rights and liberties of the Protestants, but over the civil rights and liberties of the Catholic laity, and sounded the note of alarm in his pamphlet on Church and State. Now comes the Jesuit, with what Abbé Gingras calls "the flambeau of the Syllabus" in his hand. Employing the Papal policy of the day, master of the counsels of the Vatican, he prevails over the Gallicans and Moderates, over the Sulpicians who vainly struggle against him for the spiritual possession of Montreal, and becomes master of the Church of Quebec. A cosmopolitan intriguer, fettered by no ties of citizenship or political party, acting solely in the interests of the Church and of his Order, he drives on with an almost reckless speed, and is not content without signaling his ascendancy by reclaiming his old estates, trampling the rights of the Crown under foot, and at the same time extorting a legislative recognition of the Pope. The Jesuit has always been more cunning than wise. He hurried James the Second along at a pace which

¹ The best source of information on the subject is Mr. Charles Lindsey's "Rome in Canada: the Ultramontane Struggle for Supremacy over the Civil Power." Second edition; Toronto, 1889.