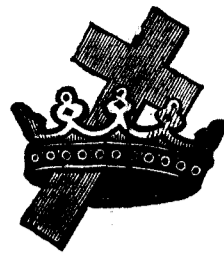


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A DECLARATION

By the Cardinal Archbishop and Bishops
Of the Province of Westminster
on the Government Educational Bill.

I.
The Education Bill now before Parliament has our good will and approval, because it proposes to recognize by statute Voluntary and Christian schools as an integral part of the national system of elementary education. It embodies a Christian principle which, as Catholic Bishops, we must ever assert and maintain. That principle is that Christian parents possess an indefeasible natural right to have their children taught catechetically by approved teachers the definite doctrine of Christian faith and morals. Christianity itself in this country has been imperilled by men who in violation of this right are bent on forcing the whole of our child population into their own narrow system of education. This danger has rendered the statutory recognition of the law of nature upon this subject imperative and urgent.

Many who disbelieve in definite Christianity naturally desire to see instruction in its definite dogmas placed under all possible disadvantages. They hope that a system of undenominational instruction given in Board schools by teachers whose religious belief may not be inquired into and ascertained, will lead by degrees to the dissolution and final disappearance of Christianity as a definite system of faith and conduct from amongst the masses of the English people.

Such hopes appear to us well founded. We are ourselves of opinion that, unless Parliament takes immediate and effective steps to protect the rights and liberties of Christian parents, another quarter of a century will well-nigh complete the de-Christianizing of the great majority of Englishmen. Under cover of the Board school method, considerable progress has been made already in this direction, and signs are not wanting that the process may become more rapid and more pronounced in the near future. A tendency to regard doctrinal Christianity as an old-world superstition, which a more educated and scientific generation will naturally outgrow, unquestionably exists among a section of the Board school teachers, and a section of those who nominate and control them. It is impossible that those who hold such views should be uninfluenced by them in the discharge of their duties. Teachers who hold them will allow them, however unconsciously, to colour their instruction, while protests and appeals will be disregarded by authorities who either share the sentiments of the teachers, or care for none of these things.

The Bill before Parliament, if it becomes law, will arrest this propagandism of indifferentism and unbelief, by recognizing and protecting the natural rights of Christian parents, which we have laid down. In this it has our cordial approval.

We wish that we could pronounce the Bill to be entirely satisfactory in all other respects. We wish that we could welcome it as a National Charter of parental rights in the matter of Christian Education. But the fatal flaw of inequality by which education in Catholic schools is penalized, in our eyes destroys its claim to such a title.

II.
On this subject we have spoken on a former occasion, but we repeat the fundamental principles and facts of the position we take up.

The State professes to hold liberty of conscience as absolutely sacred. The State, at the same time, has decided that it is the legal duty of all parents to have their children educated, and that neglect of that duty is punishable by law. The State, as a logical consequence of this decision, has also declared that gratuitous education is the right of all.

But Catholic education is the only education which can satisfy the Catholic conscience, for Catholics hold that secular and religious education cannot safely be severed.

The State, however, refuses to give Catholics even the secular element of education in their own schools upon equal terms with those which it grants

to Board schools, for education in Catholic schools is not gratuitous. In fact, therefore, the State condemns Catholics, either to accept a gratuitous education which they disapprove, or to pay a penal contribution for an education which they approve. In the first case, the State directly violates liberty of conscience; in the second, it respects liberty of conscience in consideration of a cash payment, but violates its own boast of gratuitous education.

IV.
Under these circumstances, we do not hesitate to call upon those who so loudly declare that "no form of expenditure is more remunerative than that spent on Elementary education" to come to our assistance in Parliament. We call upon those who desire to raise the national education to a high level of efficiency not to allow the Catholic schools, which under exceptional disadvantages, are dealing with over 285,000 children, to be stunted and starved by bidding them depend for their efficiency upon the precarious alms of the needy.

We ask that the normal cost of "maintenance" per child shall be ascertained, either according to counties or districts, or according to a classification of schools, and that that amount, whether drawn from the rates or the taxes, or from both, shall, as a matter of course, follow each child to the school of the parents' choice. We ask for nothing more than substantial equality. Hitherto our appeal for equal treatment has been refused on the ground that our schools are not subject to local control. This pretext has been swept away by the present Bill which introduces a large measure of local control, inspection, and audit. There is, therefore, no reason why the State should not pay the whole cost of "maintenance" in Catholic schools, leaving the cost of their administration and their buildings to be found by voluntary contributions.

V.
The Bill should also be amended in certain other particulars to make it, in our opinion, a satisfactory measure. These amendments will be taken charge of by the Chairman of the Catholic School Committee and a number of experienced gentlemen and members of Parliament, whom we have invited to watch the bill on behalf of the Catholic community as it passes through Parliament.

Finally we record with much satisfaction that Mr. Dillon and the Irish Catholic members, so large a number of whose co-religionists in England are of Irish parentage, have heartily promised their parliamentary support to the needful amendments. With their able assistance we trust that the Bill may be passed in such a shape as to secure the fullest measure of justice to all concerned.

HERBERT CARDINAL VAUGHAN,
Archbishop of Westminster.
† WILLIAM, Bishop of Plymouth.
† JOHN CUTHBERT, Bishop of Newport.
† EDWARD, Bishop of Nottingham.
† EDWARD, Bishop of Birmingham.
† RICHARD, Bishop of Middlesbrough.
† ARTHUR, Bishop of Northampton.
† JOHN, Bishop of Portsmouth.
† JOHN, Bishop of Southwark.
† THOMAS, Bishop of Hexham and Newcastle.
† WILLIAM, Bishop of Leeds.
† JOHN, Bishop of Salford.
† JOHN, Bishop of Shrewsbury.
† WILLIAM, Bishop of Clifton.
† THOMAS, Bishop of Liverpool.
† FRANCIS, Bishop of Ascalon,
Vicar-Apostolic of Wales.

This anxiously awaited declaration of the Catholic Bishops is remarkable, first of all, for its pointed omission of all reference to our QUONDAM allies the members of the Established church. Our interests are practically one with theirs; but, without consultation with us, or warning of any kind, their official spokesman chose a policy of compromise rather than principle, and so made further co-operation impossible. The Archbishop of Canterbury asked for a further dole, and stated that Anglicans were quite competent to go on subscribing privately for the public work of education, and so there came the parting of the ways. We are not content, and shall never be content, to accept a position of inferiority, and we repudiate as no settlement any arrangement which makes

us pay a special fine for conscience sake. The Government may shuffle and and compromise and give "grants in aid," and otherwise follow the timid counsels of Anglicanism, but there is no logical resting place for them until they have touched the bed-rock of principle, and recognized the absolute equality of all the public schools doing the national work of teaching the children of the people. We note with melancholy satisfaction that in the North of England representative Anglicans are demanding an equal share in the rates, but the cry comes too late. Their case was given away when the Archbishop of Canterbury explained that they wanted to go on subscribing, and accepted the position which made their schools dependent on casual alms. We are not so minded. We want this horrible disability which brands our schools as charity schools and condemns them to underpaid teachers and inferior equipment ended once and for all, and that now and at once. We should have been happy if all the supporters of the denominational schools could have presented an unbroken front to the Government and put forward one common demand. That was not to be made impossible by the separate action of the Anglicans—and robbed of the promise of co-operation, the Bishops have been thrown back upon the advantages of isolation. We have no choice now but to find compensation for the unity of action we have lost in the special claims which are exclusively our own. If common fairness to all Voluntary schools is not even so much as asked for, at least we can urge our exceptional claims for exceptional treatment. We point to our poverty, which is something alone among the religious bodies in the land, and to that intensity of conviction, which has so tightened our grip upon our schools that never one has been surrendered. It is no fault of ours, and only a sad consequence of disappointment and broken hopes that we are now driven to compare our own faithfulness with the 900 betrayals of which the Establishment has been guilty. If there had been any sort of loyalty in co-operation the Catholic leaders would have made common cause with the Anglican Hierarchy, and been content to forget how the wealthy and endowed Establishment had shed its schools whenever it became inconvenient to maintain them. As it is, the Catholic Bishops have been forced in spite of themselves to dwell upon our claims for separate consideration, and to remind the world that, though we have managed never to surrender a school, our "paying scholars" are only seven per cent., as against twenty per cent. in the schools of the Church of England.

VI.
In view of the inadequacy and the utter want of finality which characterize the financial proposals of the Bill, it is satisfactory to learn that Catholic interests are to be carefully watched during the progress of the measure through committee. It is pleasant also to be told that the Catholic members from Ireland will do their utmost to improve the Bill and to see that it is so amended as to secure for our schools some tolerable approach to justice. And in this connection it is interesting to note the alarm of The Daily News. Our contemporary, with a queer combination of entreaty and threat, urges the Irish members to abandon the cause of the Catholic schools because they happen to be situated in England instead of Ireland. Stress is laid upon the fact that not one constituent of a single Irish member will be affected by the Bill. According to The Daily News, the cause of God's Church upon earth should be nothing to any man—outside his own constituency. Catholicism is treated merely as the religion of a province, and an English or Irish Catholic who should actively assist the cause of religion in France or Belgium would clearly be guilty of most meddlesome interference. Our contemporary has forgotten that, apart from the claim which every Catholic school, wherever situated, has upon the sympathy of every Catholic, the cause of the Voluntary schools in England is essentially an Irish cause. Of the crowds of children in the Catholic schools in England how many thousands owe their faith to their Irish parentage? In doing all they can to safeguard the interests of the Catholic schools of Eng-

land and Wales the Irish members will be looking after the interests of those who have the nearest claim upon them, of their own flesh and blood. If the matter were of less sacred importance it would be comic to notice the righteous way in which the Liberal organ first explains that for itself principle is enough, and then goes on to remind the Nationalist members that "mankind is not always guided by pure reason, and the old-fashioned sentiment that one good turn deserves another survives in many quarters." We have no doubt that this argument was used in perfect good faith and in undoubting trust as to its efficacy—fortunately, this time The Daily News was not addressing Dissenters.—The Tablet.

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THE PREMIER IN WINNIPEG. HE AND "HUGH JOHN" WELCOMED BY THOUSANDS.

His Speech at the Mass Meeting in the Brydon Rink.

The arrival of Sir Charles Tupper and the Hon. Hugh John Macdonald in the city on Thursday evening last was made the occasion for a popular demonstration the like of which had never before been witnessed in Winnipeg. The throng around the depot and throughout the whole length of Main street to Manitoba Hotel was so great that it really seemed as if all the residents of the city had assembled to greet these two distinguished statesmen. As the train pulled into the station cheer after cheer from thousands of throats rent the air and so great was the crush caused by the rush of those who desired to be amongst the first to welcome Sir Charles and "Hugh John" that it was with the greatest difficulty way was made for them to the carriage which was in waiting. When they had gained the vehicle a procession was formed. It was headed by a brass band, next came three mounted marshalls followed by a large number of bicyclists. Behind them came the carriage with the Premier and the Minister of the Interior, escorted by a mounted guard of honor, and then a host of carriages of all descriptions loaded down with cheering occupants and a vast army on foot led by another band. The progress up the street was a continued ovation, the crowds that lined the sidewalks and filled the windows in the houses vying with the processionists in their enthusiastic cheering. On arriving at the Manitoba Hotel, Sir Charles held an informal reception and for some hours was kept busy shaking the hands of his admirers, and throughout the whole demonstration the enthusiasm was maintained. On Friday the two ministers visited the Provincial Conservative convention which was in session at the Lyceum theatre, and in the evening he addressed an immense audience in the Brydon skating rink. There must have been five thousand people present and hundreds were unable to obtain admission. It was the greatest meeting ever held in Winnipeg and when the Hon. Mr. Macdonald and Sir Charles Tupper had finished their speeches practically the whole audience seemed to be of one way of thinking and united in a wild outburst of cheering which augured well for the success of the government candidate here at the next election. Sir Charles Tupper's address was indeed a masterly defence of the Conservative party and a most powerful and effective presentment of their programme for the future. To our readers his remarks on the school question will have the most interest and we therefore give them verbatim:

I intended to say a few words to you in regard to the Manitoba school question, (Applause), but the able speech of my colleague, Hon. Mr. Macdonald, has almost rendered that a work of supererogation. There is another reason why it is not necessary that I should detain you at any great length here to-night; my utterances on the floor of the House of Commons have been scattered abroad by the press. I will not, like a distinguished statesman who shall be nameless on the present occasion, say, I am one of those who use language to conceal my thoughts. A public man who is not prepared to come out openly and above board and face the country in parliament and out of parliament and declare the

inmost sentiment of his mind is unworthy of respect. (Applause). Gross misrepresentation has been used throughout the country. It has been represented that it is a question of separate schools. Why, ladies and gentlemen, it is an insult to any person who has taken the trouble to read the documents that are open to be read by every one, to raise such a question as that. If the present government consisted of men, every one of whom was the bitterest enemy of separate schools, they are bound to adopt and enforce the policy that they have done; otherwise they would be unworthy of their position as men. The members of the government are charged to carry out the constitution. (Applause). As my able friend, the Minister of the Interior has said, when Manitoba became a part of the union, she came in under an act which defined her position exactly; and that act provided that the control of education, legislation in regard to the question of education, should be exclusively in the power of the local legislature of Manitoba; but with this important proviso, it is clear and unmistakable, and says in so many words, she shall have the exclusive right of legislation in regard to schools, provided she does not take away by legislation the rights and privileges that were there enjoyed when she came into the union or were conferred by legislation afterwards. Now, my honorable friend has told you the act of 1871, passed by the legislature of Manitoba, gave to the Roman Catholic minority of Manitoba the advantage, or the privilege, or the right, or whatever you may call it, of having separate schools for the teaching of their children; and my honorable friend has told you that the act of 1890 took away that right. It does not depend upon his statement, although that would be sufficient in any court of law; it depended upon advantages that Canada enjoys, it is an inestimable privilege that she enjoys that when a difficulty arises between a province and the general government we have a court so high, so exalted as to command the admiration of the world, that of the judicial committee of the Queen's Privy Council of England. That is the ultimate tribunal and I say when we have had questions between the government of the province of Ontario and the Dominion of Canada in matters of an acute character, in every case that has gone to that high tribunal, and there have been a score of cases or more, and when a decision of the Privy Council has been given, it has been at once accepted by the government of Canada and the government of every province. (Applause). When this question of the rights of the Roman Catholic minority arose and I will say just here that as one of the fathers of Confederation I was at Quebec when this question first came up—no man took firmer ground in regard to this principle than the late Hon. Geo. Brown, who was known to be one of the most inveterate opponents of separate schools to be found anywhere. But Hon. Geo. Brown said that in the desperate state of Canada the only thing that could save us from utter destruction, the financial ruin caused by the intestine quarrel between Quebec and Ontario, largely growing out of these religious differences—the only thing that could save us was the union of the provinces. In reading the debates we find that Hon. Alexander Mackenzie, as strong an opponent of separate schools as could be found, in the interests of his country, was bound to have that law go into operation. (Applause). If one of the most prejudiced in relation to the question of separate schools adopted that policy, what is to be said when the question arises here? Sir A. T. Galt, one of the distinguished statesmen of Canada, representing the Protestants of Quebec, took his ground in the firmest possible manner when the constitution of Canada was settled; he declared that he would never be a party, but would prevent to the utmost of his power Confederation ever being accomplished unless the Protestants of Quebec were guaranteed by the Constitution that the Catholics of Quebec could not take away their rights. (Applause). All that has flowed from this great Confederation of British North America would have had no existence to-day if that plank of the Constitution of the country had not been placed there with the guarantee that minorities, whether Catholic or

(Continued on page 3.)