

which, up to a certain time, had existed between the Court of St. Petersburg and the Sovereign Pontiff at Rome. I will refer to what Mr. Ferry said, in introducing this measure in France for the expulsion of the Jesuits, and I am not going to read it all but just one or two particulars, because I do not care to deal with what may be termed even remotely the religious aspect of the question. I want to treat this simply from the position of State: whether as a matter of statesmanship, as a matter of policy it was proper to have admitted this Act to remain in force, or whether it is not proper and right that this Act should still be vetoed. The measure in the French Chamber, as explained, is chiefly directed against the Jesuits on the ground that "they are the enemies of the state, that their teachings are in opposition to the principles of government, and would suppress all freedom of education." Many other reasons were given against the Jesuits by Mr. Ferry, and the following among the rest. He quoted the decree of the Parliament of 1826 which recites:

"That the edicts by which Jesuits had been banished and dissolved, were founded upon the recognised incompatibility of their principles with the independence of every Government."

Mr. BERGERON. What are you reading from?

Mr. McCARTHY. I am reading from the published report of the debates that took place in Paris at the time of the expulsion of the Jesuits.

Mr. MULOCK. What report is it?

Mr. McCARTHY. It is a condensation of the report of the debates. Mr. Ferry then goes on to say, from the statement of the Archbishop of Paris, Mgr. Darboy:

"That the Jesuits were neither subject to the jurisdiction of the dioceses, nor obedient to the laws of the State."

And further:

"That the State is, in temporal matters, subordinate to the church, and has only the authority which an inferior tribunal possesses, for confirming the sentence of the superior; that in questions of marriage, burial, institutions for charitable purposes, liberty of conscience, and questions of the moral law, the spiritual power may intervene to correct or annul the civil laws."

Further, Mr. Ferry quoted from some passages from public works, showing:

"A detestable hostility to all the laws and institutions of modern society. These works distinctly taught the divine right of kings, and advocated the carrying on of religious wars. They attacked the revolution, and glorified the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; they calumniated Nicker and Targot; they rejected the principle of the national sovereignty, and they taught that France was beaten in the late war because she had deserted the Pope. In these books universal suffrage and trial by jury were denounced as vexatious institutions, liberty of conscience and of worship were condemned, and the liberty of the press was asserted to be a principle that has never been admitted by a wise Government."

Whether those are principles which ought to be endorsed by this Parliament it will be for the House to judge.

Mr. BERGERON. Were they expelled then?

Mr. McCARTHY. Yes.

Mr. BERGERON. But they are there now.

Mr. McCARTHY. The hon. gentleman has perhaps more information than I have on that subject, but that they were expelled is beyond question. I told the hon. member for Bellechasse (Mr. Amyot) that they were expelled more than once from France. They were expelled from France in 1595, at the close of the War of the League. Now, I do think that in the stage of the debate it is not necessary to trouble the House by reading the decree of suppression of the Pope in 1773; but surely if the order has not changed, surely if they have remained as they were, there is ground for interference. I think that it was about the time of their expulsion from France, in 1762, when it was asked of them to change their mode of carrying on operations, and when the answer was: "We must continue to be as we are or cease

to exist." I say that when those things are considered; this evidence of a statement made by the Pontiff with full knowledge of all the circumstances it is impossible to displace; there is no way of getting rid of that evidence. It cannot be impugned by the members of the church of which the Pontiff referred to was a distinguished ornament. It cannot be impugned by any candid person, because the character of Pope Clement was of the very highest order, and he stood conspicuously above his compeers. Now, a list was given—and, therefore, I need not repeat it—of the expulsion of the Jesuits from various countries. It is not to be lost sight of that they were expelled from Germany in 1872. They had been admitted into Prussia by Frederick II, and why were they expelled! It seems to me that the reason for their expulsion is particularly applicable to our position here, for there was in that country a mixed community of Protestants and Catholics. The Jesuits were admitted to this country, the corporation having been dissolved and their having been sent about their business by a decree to which I have referred. And having obtained a foothold in Prussia, what was the result? Let me read:

"But in North Germany they became very powerful, owing to the footing Frederick II had given them in Prussia, especially in the Rhine Provinces; and, gradually moulding the younger generation of clergy after the War of Liberation, succeeded in spreading ultramontane views amongst them, and so leading up to the difficulties of the civil government which issued in the Falk laws and their own expulsion."

Now, Sir, I have done with the extracts which I propose to make upon that subject, and I come to the more important part of the subject under consideration. It may be that all I have said is true, and that yet if this matter—I am arguing it now, of course, upon that theory—was in the legislative competence of the Province, it ought still to remain as law. I venture, Sir, to ask the House seriously to consider the position in which we stand. The worship of what is called local autonomy, which some gentlemen have become addicted to, is fraught, I venture to say, with great evil to this Dominion. Our allegiance is due to the Dominion of Canada. The separation into Provinces, the right of local self-government which we possess, is not to make us less citizens of the Dominion, is not to make us less anxious for the promotion of the welfare of the Dominion; and it is no argument to say that because a certain piece of legislation is within the power of a local Parliament, therefore that legislation is not to be disturbed. By the same Act of Parliament, by which power is conferred upon the Local Legislature, the duty and power—because where there is power there is a corresponding duty—are cast upon the Governor in Council to revise and review the acts of the legislative bodies. The Legislatures are not to be at liberty to run in different directions, to promote in one Province one nationality and one church, and in another Province another nationality and another church, or in any other way to run counter, because such courses must inevitably bring about the dissolution of Confederation. It is not because a Province is kept in check, it is not because its legislation is vetoed, that there is danger to our system. We can impose no law upon a Province; it is merely a negative power which the central Government possesses—a power to prevent evil laws, in the sense which I speak, in the wider field of the Dominion, viewed here from the centre—and this power ought to be, of course, prudently, wisely, but duly exercised when occasion may require. It must be exercised by Ministers who are responsible to this House. To my hon. friend from West Durham (Mr. Blake), we are indebted for the clear recognition of the principle that His Excellency the Governor General, in every act of allowance or disallowance, must find Ministers in this Parliament who have the confidence of this Parliament, and who are willing to accept the responsibility for that act. And that is the safeguard to the Constitution; that is the safeguard which will always make it