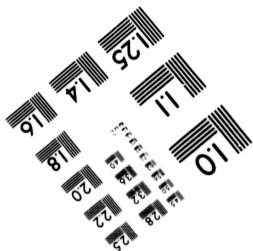
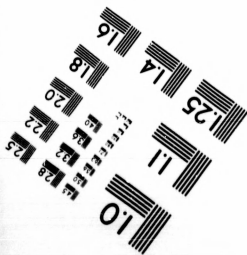
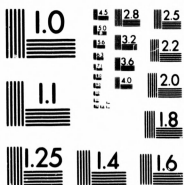


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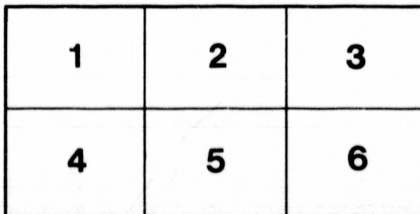
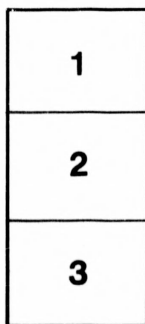
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CORRESPONDENCE
BETWEEN
ARCHBISHOP CLEARY,
OF KINGSTON, AND

W. R. MEREDITH,

Leader of the Ontario Opposition.

ALSO

THE ARCHBISHOP'S REMARKS AT TWEED,
AND HIS
CIRCULAR ON SEPARATE SCHOOLS,
ADDRESSED TO HIS CLERGY.

379-

THE CORRESPONDENCE
BETWEEN HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP-ELECT OF
KINGSTON, AND MR. MEREDITH, LEADER OF THE ONTARIO
OPPOSITION, WHICH TOOK PLACE IN DECEMBER AND
JANUARY LAST, EXCITED SUCH WIDESPREAD
PUBLIC INTEREST, AND THERE HAVE BEEN SO MANY
CALLS LATELY FOR IT THAT IT IS NOW
REPUBLICATED IN THIS FORM, WITHOUT COMMENT,
SO THAT THE PUBLIC MAY DRAW THEIR OWN
CONCLUSIONS. THERE IS ALSO APPENDED
ARCHBISHOP CLEARY'S REMARKS AT TWEED
IN FEBRUARY, AND HIS MORE RECENT AND
STARTLING CIRCULAR TO HIS CLERGY
RESPECTING ROMAN CATHOLICS WHO REFUSE
TO SUPPORT SEPARATE SCHOOLS.

The Cleary-Meredith Correspondence.

The Archbishop Attacks Meredith's
London Speech.

THE PALACE, KINGSTON.

December 18, 1889.

To W. R. Meredith, Esq., Q.C., M.P.P.:

DEAR SIR,—The public journals of this province report you as having made the following reference in your speech on Monday night in the Grand Opera House in London:

I take from a newspaper published in the city of Kingston, addressed, it is true, to the readers of the paper, arising out of matters that engage the attention of the province; the words are used by a newspaper, but to some extent, I apprehend, by the gentleman who presides over the archiepiscopal see of Kingston:

Holding, as we do, the balance of power between the two factions, we are, if only true to ourselves and to the crisis about to come upon us, independent of either, and can dictate the terms upon which one or other shall receive our support.

May I take the liberty of requesting you to inform me and my fellow-citizens of Ontario by what authority you publicly attribute to me the authorship of the foregoing extract from a Kingston newspaper, which you were pleased to interpret to your auditors as revealing "a great danger to the state," "one of the dangers of modern civilization," "one of the greatest evils we have to contend with in parliamentary government," and "against which both parties should cry, 'Unite, unite against a common enemy'?"

I have the honor to be, dear sir,
Yours very respectfully,
† JAMES VINCENT CLEARY,
Archbishop-elect of Kingston.

Mr. Meredith Replies.

TORONTO, Dec. 19.

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, containing a quotation from *The Empire's* report of my recent address to my constituents at London, and requesting me to inform you and your fellow-citizens of Ontario by what authority I "publicly attribute to you the authorship of the extract from a Kingston newspaper," which I read to my audience.

Taking the report as it stands, I do not think it open to the construction you seem to

place on it, or fairly read to do more than indicate the speaker's opinion that the newspaper in question, from its position and surroundings, might not unreasonably be taken to express your sentiments upon the matter in hand, and that certainly was the full extent to which I intended to go, and, as I believe, my words went.

A public man cannot safely, as you know, be held responsible for the verbal accuracy of every line of an extended report of his utterances, however correct, in the main, that report may be.

Limited as I have pointed out, the inference was not, I thought, an unfair one.

The newspaper in question is by many understood to be in your confidence at least, and one would hardly have thought that so important a statement would have appeared in it without your approval, or if it had appeared without that approval, would have been permitted to remain before the public without, at least, some effort on your part to modify, if not to withdraw it.

I am very much gratified to find from your letter to me that you do not approve of the sentiments expressed by the writer of the paragraph in question (for that I take to be your view, else the enquiry you make of me would be an idle one), and I am pleased to find and shall have great pleasure, in justice to you, as well as in furtherance of the principles for which I am contending, in publicly stating in my future addresses that I have the weight of your great authority with, and not against me, on the important question which forms the subject of this correspondence.

I have the honor to be,
Your Grace's obedient servant,
W. R. MEREDITH.

The Most Reverend the Archbishop (elect)
of Kingston, Kingston, Ont.

The Archbishop Again Takes up the
Question.

To W. R. Meredith, Esq., M.P.P.:

DEAR SIR,—I am honored by the receipt of your letter of date 19th inst., and would have replied a day earlier had I not been temporarily disabled by a rheumatic affection congenial to this season.

I accept unhesitatingly your assurance that *The Empire's* report of your speech to your constituents in London is verbally incorrect in making you appear to say, with

reference to an excerpt from a Kingston newspaper, which you most severely censured, "The words are used by a newspaper, but to some extent, I apprehend, by the gentleman who presides over the archiepiscopal see of Kingston."

I likewise take your word implicitly that you meant merely "to indicate your opinion that the newspaper in question, from its position and surroundings, might not unreasonably be taken to express the archbishop's sentiments upon the matter in hand;" which means, I take it, that you hazarded a conjecture, and no more.

Too frequently have the political agitators who are engaged in the present anti-Catholic crusade in Ontario given public utterance to that illogical and unjust and, pardon me if I add, illegal conjecture for the sake of creating odium against the hierarchy. The *Montreal Witness* and the *Ottawa Evening Journal* have recently committed the offence, with a view to bringing me, if they could, into direct antagonism with the newly founded University of Ottawa, its faculty and its patrons. I have not condescended to notice the insolence of those two journals, whose character is so well appreciated by my clerical and lay friends in Ottawa that contradiction of their injurious statements on Catholic subjects, more particularly on episcopal affairs, is deemed unnecessary. But when the same conjecture is delivered in solemn assembly by you, sir, whose reputation for personal integrity and high legal ability is undisputed, and whose masculine uprightness of heart, as your friends love to relate, used to find expression erstwhile in these noble words: "I would rather give up political life altogether than join in any agitation against my Catholic fellow-citizens." I feel bound to signify my respect for your sentiments, even when you err, and by correcting your mistakes prevent repetition.

Know, therefore, that the Kingston newspaper referred to by you has no more warrant than any other paper to express my sentiments. It was established independently of me and is conducted without control on my part, as its editorial pages rather frequently proclaim. I have no pecuniary interest in it; I don't know who its editor is; I have not seen a half dozen copies of it within the last six months. I know nothing of the editorial article stigmatized by you, except that a telegram received from Kingston yesterday in reply to my query as to its date, informed me that it appeared on the 25th of last September, whence you may judge of the forensic value of your proof of my responsibility drawn from the fact that the extracted sentence "has been permitted to remain before the public without at least

some effort on the archbishop's part to modify, if not to withdraw it."

Permit me to supply you with a rule for general guidance in matters of this kind. Whenever you see a letter from the archbishop or bishop at the head of a newspaper, especially if the diocesan seal be affixed, approving or recommending it to his flock as the organ of Catholicism in his diocese, or as a reliable exponent of Catholic thought and defender of Catholic rights, then, and then only, are you justified in holding him responsible for its teachings. On the other hand, were I or any other prelate to exercise a rigid censorship over the press, such as you demand, on political topics, or on any other than those directly bearing on faith and morals, although you would, as your letter intimates, applaud our action; many amongst your modern associates would, I am convinced, ring out the loudest denunciations against the Catholic church, and proceed to vilify her from day to day, and from week to week, as the very type of despotism, the enemy of "free thought" and "modern civilization," the citadel of "obscurantism," and all else that would depreciate her before men.

It nowise concerns me whether you have rightly or wrongly interpreted the naked sentence you have produced from the Kingston newspaper. You know as well as I that a sentence withdrawn from its antecedent and subsequent context may be plausibly presented to the public in a sense wholly foreign to the mind of the writer. Perhaps you have heard of the unbelieving preacher who boasted of having read in the Bible that "there is no God"; and truly he was able to point to the assertion in Psalm 13. But he had omitted to quote the preceding clause of the verse which runs thus: "The fool hath said in his heart there is no God." Wherefore, since I have no knowledge of the context preceding or following the short sentence you extracted from the Kingston paper, I am unable to form a prudent judgment as to its meaning. Neither does it appertain to my business in any way whatever. The conductors of the newspaper are, I presume, able and willing to give you due satisfaction.

I may say to you, however, that I believe you have harmed yourself and your cause by the extravagance that pervades the whole course of your London speech—its looseness of assertion, its inconsequence of conclusions, its unrestrained license of denunciation. Yours was not a casual or extemporaneous address. It was, as it was expected to be, a manifesto of the policy of the political party who own your leadership in the House of Legislature and out of it. And yet you allowed party and passion to overmaster your legal mind to such a degree

that, because, forsooth, some unknown person wrote a sentence in a Kingston paper exhorting the Catholic people of Ontario to defend themselves against the ferocious bigots of the "Equal Rights Association," by a judicious choice of the suffrage in withholding their support from any political party that will not guarantee them security in their natural and Christian and constitutional liberties, you dash off with the triumphant interruption, "Is there not great danger to the State in this solid compact of the minority?" You assume as a fact that which the unknown writer exhorts to, and by exhorting, confesses not to have existence. You pronounce it "a danger to modern civilization," and "one of the greatest evils we have to contend with in parliamentary government," and against which both parties should cry: "Unite, unite against a common enemy, for there is danger in the community." This is truly shocking; it is an outrage to Him whose advent to earth you believe to have been heralded by the angelic song, "Peace on earth, good-will to men."

Did the Hon Mr. Mercier or the leader of the Opposition in the Quebec Legislature attempt by any disgraceful method of this kind to catch the votes of the unthinking populace, and influence religious passion against the Protestant minority of Lower Canada, your innate sense of justice and fair play would then, I trow, rise up in revolt against such petty politicians' barbarity, and possibly you might be tempted to charge his crime against his church as a relic of Medievalism and a specimen of the unilluminated morality of that historical period, which the more ignorant of your agnostic friends are wont to facetiously style the "Dark Ages." David, the royal sinner, felt no remorse of conscience over the murder of the brave and faithful officer whose bed he had defiled, till the prophet of God appealed to the unextinguished spark of natural justice in his breast by a parable of infinitely less grievous injury done to one of his peasant subjects. Let Lower Canada be your parable.

Ah! sir, it was unworthy of you, who expect to hold some day or another the office of premier in the ministry of this province, or, this failing you, to mount the bench of justice for the conscientious settlement of claims and disputes between man and man, that you should foment discord and hate amongst her Majesty's subjects, and bid the majority unite in solid compact for the oppression of the minority, whom you have sought to brand with the mark of Cain. Herein you become guilty of all that wickedness imputed by yourself to the unknown author of the Kingston sentence, and you are involved in all your terrible anathemas

pronounced against him. He is unknown, his sentence will pass into speedy oblivion, despite the factitious importance you have striven to attach to it. Your name and your cruel utterance against your Catholic fellow-citizens, than whom there are no better in the land, will be linked together in the mind of this generation, and may their recurrence to memory prompt the prayer, "May God forgive William Meredith."

I remain, dear sir,

Yours very respectfully,

(Signed) JAMES VINCENT CLEARY,
Archbishop (elect) of Kingston.

St. Michael's Palace, Toronto, December,
22nd, 1889.

Mr. Meredith Makes a Vigorous Response.

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 22nd inst. (but only through the public newspapers), and were one content with a superficial reading of it, it would be difficult in the mass of exhortation, instruction and fatherly admonition which it contains, and which reaches its climax when you stay for a moment the torrent of your eloquent invective, to drop a sympathetic tear at the thought of the injury I have done to my cause, to recognize the handiwork of the fiery ecclesiastic, who at the last provincial general election swept Eastern Ontario with his denunciations of the party I had the honor to lead, and exhorting, nay, commanding, those of his episcopal flock to cast their ballots against it.

But it has been impossible for you to conceal entirely your true sentiments or to hide the motive or object of your attack. Else why do you speak of my agnostic friends? Or why do you talk of the "ferocious bigots" of the Equal Rights Association, or falsely charge me with desiring to oppress the Roman Catholic minority, or with seeking by disgraceful methods to catch the votes of the unthinking populace and influence religious passion against the Roman Catholic minority of Ontario, for, mask as you may, that is the charge which you insinuate, though you do not appear openly to make? I can appeal to a lifetime in this community for the answer to the charge of intolerance and bigotry which you insinuate against me, and to the utterances of nearly twenty years of public life as my defence against your calumnious charges. Tried by the same test, can you ask a verdict of acquittal on a like charge from your fellow-citizens? I trow not. They do not—they cannot—forget the cruel, the wanton attack which you publicly made upon the defenceless girls and young women of Ontario, and that, too, that you might make a point against the public school system of this province; nor can they forget the language which you thought fit to use to-

wards your Protestant fellow-citizens when you were addressing a body of Roman Catholic gentlemen connected with an association which had its meetings not along ago in Kingston. Then, too, by what right do you speak of those who are connected with the Equal Rights movement as ferocious bigots? Such language from a politician in the heat of a political harangue could hardly be palliated, but what is to be said of its use by a high dignitary of a great church, not spoken, but written in the seclusion of his study, and when he was penning a charge of intolerance and bigotry against a public man? Think of such language as applied to the recognised leader of the movement, whose position in the church to which he belongs is as high as that of your Grace in your own, and whose every utterance, while he spoke with clearness, against a piece of legislation which a vast majority of his fellow-citizens, whatever view they may entertain of the constitutional question involved, join with him in condemning, was characterized by that broad liberality, generous toleration and true charity towards all men, which should pervade the utterances, not only of a Christian minister, but of a Christian gentleman.

Then, how do you justify your attempt to make me an oppressor of the Roman Catholic minority, if not in act, at least in intention? I had thought that you concurred with me in deprecating the advice given to the Roman Catholic minority by the writer of the article in the *Canadian Freeman* to which you referred in your first article; but as your last letter seems to leave that matter in doubt, the people of the province whom you are addressing by means of your own choosing, are entitled to know whether you do or do not approve it, and if no other good results from my correspondence with you, much good will be done to have obtained a clear definition of your view on that subject.

But you say that my proposition to meet such a combination as I suggested involves the oppression of the minority. Granting your premises, I deny your conclusion, and am astonished that in the face of the declaration which I made as to the principles upon which I believed that the Government of this province should be conducted, you should make such a charge.

In this province the Roman Catholic minority has been treated not merely justly, but with generosity, and if, which I do not deny, prejudice exists in some quarters against the Roman Catholics, it is in my judgment due mainly to the policy of the church, which forbids the youth of the country being educated together, and to a system of education which tends to separate from the rest of the community a body of its citizens by creed

lines, as well as to the injudicious and intemperate utterances of men on both sides who do not know, or have forgotten, what civil and religious liberty means.

I have no quarrel with my Roman Catholic fellow-citizens. I have nothing to do with their religious views or opinions, and cannot be drawn into a controversy as to the merits or demerits of the dogmas or practices of their church. I am ready to give to them every right which I enjoy, and I seek to take from them none that I claim for myself; but I am not willing that exceptional privileges should be granted to them, and I protest against and shall use my best endeavors to prevent their utilizing the party system for enabling them, by means of the balance of power, which it is claimed they hold, to dictate their terms to political parties.

As to their separate schools I have nothing to add to what I have said except to say that the principle on which they, in my judgment, rest is that their organization and support depend solely upon the voluntary action of the Roman Catholic citizens, and that the State has, in their creation and for their conduct, committed to its citizens, and not to the hierarchy, the management and control of them. Upon no other ground, and on no other view of their true position, can the existence of them, in a free country, be excused, much less defended.

By the principles which I have laid down my party and myself must be judged, and not by unjust inferences which you, against the whole spirit of it, profess to draw from my language.

You have too long been accustomed when any question affecting, or supposed to affect, the Roman Catholic people of this province was being raised, to see its public men, through fear of the cry which you are now seeking to raise against me, deterred from the efficient discharge of their duty, but I have the satisfaction of believing that whatever effect my declaration of principles may have on my party or myself, and it may be that your forecast of the result may prove correct, for I know the effect of the crusade you seek to preach, those principles must ultimately receive the endorsement by their votes as they do now of the convictions of the people of Ontario, because, as I believe, they have their foundation in the principles of eternal justice, and that without the recognition of them there can be no full development of the principles of civil and religious liberty which have done so much for humanity and for none more than for the Roman Catholic minority of the

great empire of which we form a not insignificant part.

I have the honor to be
Your Grace's obedient servant,

W. R. MEREDITH.

The Most Reverend the Archbishop (elect)
of the Diocese of Kingston.
London, December 27, 1889.

The Archbishop's Warm Rejoinder.

To. W. R. Meredith, Esq., Q.C., M.P.P. :

DEAR SIR,—Last evening's mail brought me the Toronto journals, containing a letter which purports to be your reply to mine, published on Tuesday morning, 24th inst., in the same papers. I confess to disappointment, and some degree of surprise, that after four days of preparation you have failed to produce a single argument in reply to mine, and have found it necessary to substitute angry invective for reasoning, and to scamper off into the limitless regions of space, frothing and foaming with terrible agitation. I sincerely regret having been the innocent occasion of your grievous mental disturbance. But you should remember that you have been the aggressor, and mine has been simply self-defence. Had you not thought fit to make a direct personal attack on me, when addressing the Liberal-Conservative Association in London, you would most certainly have passed without a word of comment on my part. I would have left you and your utterances to the politicians and continued to attend to my ever-pressing official business, probably without reading your speech. If, therefore, you feel hurt, be candid enough to blame yourself.

Although your letter sets no argument before me for consideration, I take note of your eulogy of the Equal Rights Association, whose "ferocious bigotry," poured out in torrents of bubbling vitriol upon the platforms of all the cities and chief towns of the province, is an unction of sweet odor to your soul, as you stand in the centre of your grotesquely combined allies just now.

I also note your reiterated demand on me to muzzle the press when it dares to disagree with your ideas. It may be that in your mental excitement you overlooked the reply given by me to this singular demand in my letter of date 22nd inst. Wherefore, let me repeat it here: "Were I or any other prelate to exercise a rigid censorship of the press, such as you demand, on political topics or on any other than those directly bearing on faith and morals, although you would, as your letter intimates, applaud our action, many amongst your modern associates would, I am convinced, ring out their loudest denunciations against the Catholic church, and proceed to vilify her from day to day, and from week to week, as the very type of 'despotism,' the enemy

of 'free thought' and 'modern civilization,' the citadel of 'obscuration' and all else that would depreciate her before men. It nowise concerns me whether you have rightly or wrongly interpreted the naked sentence you have produced from the Kingston newspaper. You know, as well as I, that a sentence withdrawn from its antecedent and subsequent context may be plausibly presented to the public in a sense wholly foreign to the mind of the writer. Wherefore, since I have no knowledge of the context preceding or following this short sentence you extracted from the Kingston paper, I am unable to form a prudent judgment as to its meaning. Neither does it appertain to my business in any way whatever. The conductors of the newspaper are, I presume, able and willing to give you due satisfaction.

You are pleased to say it is a "calumny" to impute to you the "intention" of oppressing the Catholic minority of Ontario, should you ever succeed in gaining power. This sounds very strange indeed. If there be calumny in the imputation, yourself is the author of it. No words could more clearly than yours express the intention, the design, the passionate determination to oppress your 400,000 Catholic fellow-citizens in the Province of Ontario, if ever you get the power to accomplish it. The most copious division of your London speech is devoted to the multiform assertion of your purpose, and the repetition of the stale old sophisms by which you strive hard to assure your modern allies that you are seriously of a mind with them in regard to it and that they and you are excusable in making war upon the educational rights of the minority of Ontario, guaranteed to them by the constitution, equally and in exactly the same terms as to the minority of the Province of Quebec. And this, you are pleased to say, does not mean "oppression." It is oppression of the worst kind. It is oppression of the dearest religious and civil liberties of a loyal, honest, unoffending people. The Catholic parent has as much right as you, sir, to educate his child for this life and for the next in the light and warmth of religion according to his faith. He does not ask you to pay for his child's education. He pays cheerfully out of his own pocket without legal compulsion, without encouragement from the State to do so. and despite the social discouragements and deceitful artifices of political agitators ever urging him to betray his own conscience, and his child's temporal and eternal interests by the divorce of religion from youthful education. This parental right has been accorded by the God of nature; it is inalienable; no parent can surrender it to you. It is ratified with supreme sanction by the Divine Lawgiver

of the Christian religion, who chose to be a child, and for our example "to grow in wisdom and age and grace before God and men" under the tutelage of the earthly parents assigned to him by his heavenly Father. It was held and exercised by Catholic parents throughout this province before Confederation and before the British North America Act, and was bravely maintained against enemies more powerful than you, and was finally acknowledged by Hon. George Brown and the whole body of dissentients to be an indispensable condition of peace in Ontario, and was accordingly embodied in the Act of Confederation. The peaceful possession and free exercise of this parental right has hitherto been regarded as a sacred treasure that makes our people feel more happy in Canada than they could hope to be in a neighboring country of brighter material prospects for themselves, but of darker surroundings for their children. Have you, sir, ever asked yourself why annexation, so highly favored by some of your modern associates, has never been countenanced by the Catholics of Ontario as a class? It has been my business to make the enquiry and the primary argument against annexation always adduced has been the advantage enjoyed by parents in this country for the religious rearing of their offspring. And you would destroy this strong bond of loyalty, if you could, and rob your 400,000 Catholic fellow-citizens of this priceless civil right, and then coolly turn to me and say you don't consider it "oppression." My dear sir, the same forces that have dragged you gradually down to your present depths would draw you to co-operation in still more grievous acts of oppression whenever the exigencies of your position and the tyranny of your new masters would demand it of you. Religious persecution, once begun, no one can tell where it may stop. The lessons of history on this subject are pregnant with warning. The enactors of the most infamous statutes in the penal code of the Tudors and Stuarts, that now bring a blush of shame to every Englishman's cheek, used to say, as you say to-day, that they did not mean oppression of their fellow-subjects, but only the enforcement of equal rights and rule of conformity. Tell us not, therefore, that you are any longer the liberal-minded gentleman you formerly were; or that you are charitably disposed towards the law-abiding minority of this province in your effort to despoil them of their religious and civil liberties; or that public justice or social peace or the good order of life among citizens, or all these together constitute the principle and motive of your present crusade against the Catholics of Ontario. Lay your hand on your heart and you will feel it unmistakably ;

it is the pulse of despair responding to the throb of ambition.

Your "intention" to oppress, and, in fact, to ruthlessly crush the Catholic minority of this province, is still more forcibly proclaimed in that part of your address to the Liberal Conservatives of London wherein you took unfair advantage of an ambiguous word written by some unknown person in a Kingston paper, and, after odiously interpreting it in a sense suitable to your purpose, hastened to charge it with astounding recklessness of aspersion upon the entire Catholic population of Ontario and to denounce them as a body worthy of universal execration. Hear your own most awful language in reference to that fictitious charge: "Is there not great danger to the state in this solid compact of the minority?" "Danger to the state" has ever been the keynote of penal legislation. Whence the danger? From the "solid compact" of the minority. Now, sir, when you sought to inflame the already excited passions of your auditory by this unworthy appeal you knew full well, every resident in the country knew, that there is no "solid compact" among the Catholics of Ontario such as you described. It has never been heard of by friend or foe, it has not been organized or projected, or in the remotest way suggested in public or in secret. It has existence only in the brain of your patron and preceptor, the *Toronto Mail*, which has excogitated this and many other more wicked theories for its own purposes of malignity against the Catholic community, and has not been ashamed to repeat it hundreds of times in the last three years. From the editor of that journal you borrowed it and to his purposes you have striven to apply it. Your aim was to arouse all the evil passions of the fanatics that hang around the skirts of the two great political parties, and, to lash them into fury, you shouted: "Is there not great danger to the State in this solid compact of the minority? I say it is one of the dangers of modern civilization, one of the greatest evils we have to contend with in parliamentary government." Nor yet enough. Abandoning yourself to uncontrolled fury, you "out-heroded Herod" by your final call for vengeance upon unoffending citizens. Both parties should cry: "Unite, unite against a common enemy." Good God! was it not the most shocking language that ever fell from the lips of any public man—a practical lawyer to boot, and a political leader of many years' standing?

Now, Mr. Meredith, look me straight in the face and say, did you not signify your "intention," should the power at any time be yours, to oppress the loyal, peaceful, industrious, religious Catholic minority. If they be the "common enemy" against whom

both political parties have to fight for their very existence, what can possibly result but oppression, and, if needs be, extinction? If the Catholic minority be a "great danger to the State," does it not become an instant and imperative duty of the State to protect itself by depressing and oppressing them through the agency of penal enactments and divers disabilities? I take the liberty of repeating here what I wrote in this reference to you a week ago:

"Did the Hon. Mr. Mercier or the leader of the Opposition in the Quebec Legislature attempt by any disgraceful method of this kind to catch the votes of the unthinking populace, and inflame religious passion against the Protestant minority of Lower Canada, your innate sense of justice and fair play would then, I trow, rise up in revolt against such petty politician's barbarity. David, the royal sinner, felt no remorse of conscience over the murder of the brave and faithful officer whose bed he had defiled, till the prophet of God appealed to the unextinguished spark of natural justice in his breast by a parable of infinitely less grievous injury done to one of his peasant subjects. Let Lower Canada be your parable."

In conclusion let me add that the loyal Catholic minority of Ontario are not in the least perturbed by your denunciations and threats of oppression. Witness their peaceful attitude, their absolute composure under such grave provocation. They rely on the protection of the God of righteousness; on the stability of the constitution and the finality of our most gracious Queen to the royal charter bearing her sign manual and the royal seal; on the sense of justice and fair play and Christian charity, and public honor, and social peace, that animates the great Protestant majority of the electorate of Ontario in laudable rivalry of the great Catholic majority of Quebec. Three years ago they gave the world a splendid proof of their possession of these virtues, which are the solid basis of national prosperity. Why then should the Catholics of Ontario be alarmed to-day?

I remain, dear sir, yours, very respectfully,

+ JAMES VINCENT CLEARY,
Archbishop (elect) of Kingston.
The Palace, Kingston, Sunday, 29th December, 1889.

Mr. Meredith Strikes Back Again.

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ultimo. I do not think a discussion of the merits or demerits of my letter, as containing or not containing arguments relevant to the subject of our correspondence, would be of interest to the public, who must themselves judge as to that from

what is said, rather than from opinions expressed by either party to the controversy, and I do not, therefore, follow you in that discussion further than to suggest that where an accusation is made against a public man of intolerance and bigotry it is not irrelevant to inquire what manner of man his accuser is. My case on this point is unanswered, except where you go out of your way to repeat your opprobrious epithets towards those who are connected with the Equal Rights movement, and by the repetition of them show your desire to fasten the charge of ferocious bigotry upon the leader of the movement. I did not overlook the statement you quote from your letter of the 22nd ult., nor do I fail now to observe the disingenuous way in which you for the second time evade a direct answer to the question whether you approve or disapprove of the position taken in the quotation I made from the article in the *Canadian Freeman*. You must have a not very high estimate of the intelligence of your fellow-citizens when you speak of the request that you should give that answer as a "reiterated demand on 'you' to muzzle the press." Surely it were the part of a courageous, if not a candid, man that you should give the answer, but you dare not give it, because the only answer you could now give would convict you of making a foundationless charge against me. I say the only answer you could give, because I venture to think that even you dare not now endorse the position that both the political parties of this country are mere factions whose quarrels are to be utilized for the purpose of a compact minority (holding the balance of power between them), dictating its terms as the price of its support, and it was such a combination as that and not my Roman Catholic fellow-citizens that I denounced as the common enemy to be met by united action. This you know full well, and yet for the purpose of giving point to your attack you deliberately misstate my position. Fortunately the people of this province are too intelligent to be misled by these unworthy tactics, and they will only recoil on your own head. I do not hesitate to repeat that such a combination created and existing for such a purpose as I have spoken of, could not be tolerated in a free country, or to avow that wherever it is attempted party lines must be obliterated if necessary to meet it, not by oppressive measures, but by a stern resistance against aggression.

Equally foundationless (courtesy forbids my using a stronger adjective) is the charge that I advocated "making war upon the educational rights of the minority of the Province of Ontario, guaranteed to them by the constitution." It is impos-

sible for you in the face of what I have said and written on that subject successfully to mislead even yourself, much less the people of Ontario, and I leave the matter, therefore, with this single observation, that nothing in my judgment is more likely to bring about an agitation for such constitutional changes as may be necessary to permit the abolition of separate schools than the extraordinary pretensions put forward by the hierarchy in certain places with regard to their right to control them, and the intemperate utterance of such too zealous champions as your Grace has proved yourself so often to be. Depend upon it those whose cause you champion will not thank you for the aspersions you put on their country and their loyalty to it when you suggest that though their material interests would be served by annexation to the neighboring republic they are restrained from advocating annexation by a consideration of the advantages with regard to separate schools which they enjoy in Canada. They have, I doubt not, a higher opinion of their country than your Grace seems to entertain, and they will not, I venture to think, thank you for the suggestion that the continuance of their allegiance to it depends upon their retaining the rights they now enjoy with regard to education. Be assured, too, that the covert threat to the majority in Ontario, which the statements to which I have adverted contain, will not deter them from pursuing that course which they believe to be best calculated to advance their country's interest. Inow part from your Grace, congratulating myself on the absolute justice of the principles which I advocate, which stands confessed when you are unable to attack me for any position which I have actually taken, and are compelled to resort to a very vivid imagination for your facts, and having called it to your aid, to a most copious vocabulary for the denunciation of the image you have set up.

I have the honor to be,

Your Grace's obedient servant,

W. R. MEREDITH,

The Most Reverend the Archbishop (elect)
of the Diocese of Kingston, Kingston,
Ontario.

Another Vigorous Letter From His Grace.

To William R. Meredith, Esq., Q.C., M.P.P.;

DEAR SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter published in Friday's issue of *The Empire*. Whilst I experience no small share of satisfaction at your prudent resolve to lay down your arms, I do not forego my right, as complainant against you in the court of public opinion,

to "sum up" the case before I allow you to part from me.

My complaint was that you had publicly attributed to me the authorship of a sentence extracted by you from a Kingston newspaper, which you were pleased to interpret to your auditors as revealing a great danger to the state—"one of the dangers of modern civilization"—"one of the greatest evils we have to contend with parliamentary government" and "against which both parties should cry 'Unite, unite against a common enemy.'" In your reply you asked me to believe that you did not impute the authorship of that sentence to me, inasmuch as *The Empire's* report was "verbally" incorrect in making you appear to say, "The words are used by a newspaper, but to some extent, I apprehend, by the gentleman who presides over the archiepiscopal See of Kingston." I honorably accepted your assurance; and, on your further explanation that you had merely hazarded a conjecture as to my responsibility in the matter, I allowed your imputation to stand as "conjecture and no more." Accordingly I challenged you to justify your public utterance of this "conjecture," declaring it "illogical, unjust and illegal." You made no defence of any kind; and, in view of my counter statement and argument, you abandoned your original charge altogether, never referring to it in any of your subsequent letters; thus you virtually pleaded guilty to an indefensible and unjustifiable attack upon me before my fellow-citizens throughout the province. Pardon me, sir, if I venture to say that according to the laws of honor you are bound to make me an adequate apology.

In your first letter to me (dated December 19) you claimed that I should have censured the newspaper to which you were pleased to attach a most odious meaning, and in each of your subsequent rejoinders you have insisted that I am bound "to approve or disapprove" that sentence, as interpreted by you. Your patron and inspirer, the *Toronto Mail*, and all the small anti-Catholic local sheets that take their cue each morning from its editor joined in full chorus with your demand. Ye seem to have had a previous agreement about it. Now, sir, an all-sufficient reply to you would be, that it is not the practice among gentlemen to answer impertinent questions, more especially when they have been capriciously contrived. But I prefer to deal with you as a lawyer. Having had the advantage of thirty years' study of law and ten years' practice in the judicial application of its principles and methods, I take exquisite pleasure in probing your legal mind and analyzing its operations.

Suppose you were retained as a Queen's counsel in a case, the issue of which depended on your establishing the responsibility of one man for a libel written by another, would you not think it all-important (the question of conspiracy or agency being excluded) to prove definitely three points, viz.: 1st, that the written document in question was a libel in the sense imputed; 2nd, that defendant was privy to the writing or publishing of it; and 3rd, that, although he did not cooperate, he was bound by his office or contract to prevent such publication or order its retraction? You dare not ask a verdict from the jury without plain proof of all and each of these three points. Should you do so, the presiding judge would undoubtedly call you to order in the middle of your speech, or he would point out to the jury how widely you had deflected from the lines of common law and common sense, and would direct them to give their verdict unhesitatingly against you. Let us apply this to your case against me. You persist in claiming that I should, in virtue of my episcopal jurisdiction, "approve or disapprove" the sentence of some unknown writer in a local newspaper which you have thought fit to interpret as revealing a "solid compact of the minority" grievously injurious to the State, "to modern civilization," etc., and if I decline to submit to your unwarranted dictation, I must incur, you say, the responsibility, and all the heinous guilt you have conjured up in support of your warfare against the Catholic minority as the "common enemy." In presence of all the dignified judges and learned lawyers in the land, I respectfully submit that your cause is lost; it is trebly beaten, all three essential conditions of proof, as above stated, being conspicuously non-existent in your argument. For I have put in evidence that (1) I have no knowledge whether the naked sentence withdrawn by you from its antecedent and subsequent context is fairly chargeable with the odious interpretation you have thought it your interest to put upon it; and you have not, despite my reiterated challenge, offered even a simulacrum of proof, or alleged any reason whatsoever in support of your fanciful interpretation! That (2) I have not been privy to the writing or publishing of the sentence brought up by you; that I don't know who wrote it, and that, prior to your production of it at your meeting in London three months after date, I had not seen it or heard anything about it. This statement remains on the record undisputed. That (3), my episcopal office does not extend to censorship of the press on political topics or any other, save those

which bear directly on faith and morals, and that condemnation or approval of your pet sentence does not appertain to my business in any way whatever. Against this my allegation as to the extent of my duty, you have not demurred even by a whisper. Let me now ask you in the hearing of your fellow-lawyers of Ontario whether or not I am bound to accept your interpretation of that isolated sentence and publicly condemn it in order to save myself from social responsibility and all your fancied guiltiness? Don't part from me, if you please, till you settle this question. The public will await your answer with more than ordinary curiosity.

I might, indeed, have formulated a more easy and perhaps more interesting case for your legal decision. Suppose the leader of Her Majesty's loyal Opposition in the Legislative Assembly had identified himself, his party and his political programme, with Mr. Sol. White, M. P. P., and had publicly signified absolute unity of sentiment with that learned gentleman by taking him around the whole circuit of the Province as his lieutenant, and, alter ego, to be the choice speaker and trustworthy exponent of the views of the party of opposition on every platform in the cities and towns of Ontario during the electoral campaign of 1886. When the aforesaid Mr. Sol. White struck out straight for annexation and delivered to the world his manifesto against British connection, was or was not the leader of Her Majesty's loyal Opposition bound to purge himself and his many-colored party from the suspicion of complicity by an early and unambiguous pronouncement of disapproval? I need not expatiate upon the above-mentioned three essential conditions of proof of complicity in their bearing upon this very serious case—especially serious in respect of a Conservative leader. I believe, sir, you have been "consulted" on this particular case ere now. Would you kindly favor the public with the legal opinion you have given as to the Conservative leader's responsibility? Has he been so "disingenuous" as to evade a direct answer? Do, sir, speak out this time.

Before quitting this division of my argument, I feel bound to notice the passage in your last letter wherein you charge me with underrating the "intelligence of my fellow-citizens" when I spoke of your insistence on my official condemnation of a political article in a newspaper as a "demand to muzzle the press" in favor of your policy. Hear me. It is solely to the intelligence and public spirit of my fellow-citizens of Ontario I have been appealing throughout this controversy, which your wanton aggression has forced on me. I

have no party to sustain me; no daily press to huzza for me and vilify my antagonist; no adviser to take counsel with or to aid me by suggestion. I have nothing on earth to rely upon except the inherent righteousness of my people's cause and the honest intelligence of the Protestant majority, whose attention to my feeble utterances I have been compelled to crave, not for my sake, but for the sake of justice and fair play towards their peaceful fellow-citizens constituting the minority, who are denounced as a "common enemy" of Canadian society, and threatened with religious and civil disabilities. Now, sir, let the honest intelligence of the people of Ontario judge between you and me on this last point, as on all the rest. Here are the terms of your demand on me: "One would hardly have thought that so important a statement would have appeared in it (the newspaper) *without your approval*, or if it had appeared without that approval, would have been *permitted to remain* before the public without at least some effort *on your part to modify* if not to *withdraw* it." (The italics are mine). Could a politician speak or write more distinctly in favor of episcopal interference with the liberty of the press? And you further say that I am bound to "approve or disapprove." In fact, sir, there has been nothing in your letters which has surprised me more, as injudicious, impolite and thoughtless writing, than this appeal to hierarchical authority for restriction of the press in this most free country. No newspaper asks for my "approval" before publication; no editor has ever consulted me or solicited my approval. The limits of my spiritual jurisdiction are as well known to the laity as to myself. What appears in a newspaper does not require my "permission to remain before the public." It may remain till Doom's Day, if it awaits my "permission to remain" or the remotest interference on my part "to modify, if not to withdraw it" unless perchance it be directly antagonistic to faith or morals.

Sir, will you kindly grant me permission to halt here? Official business of paramount importance demands my instant attention for a few days? I promise to return as soon as possible to my review of the case between you and me in the court of public opinion. Meanwhile I wish you a happy New year, and have the honor to be

Yours very respectfully,

† JAMES VINCENT CLEARY,
Archbishop of Kingston.

The Palace, Kingston, Sunday, 5th January, 1890.

Mr. Meredith Replies, and Lays Down His Principles.

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,—When I last had the honor of addressing you I supposed, as I still think, that the matters in controversy between us had been so fully discussed that an intelligent public was in a position to pronounce judgment upon them, and that it would be but trespassing upon its indulgence to multiply words in further discussion; but your latest letter leads me to reconsider my decision, and, at the risk of wearying my audience, to make one more effort to bring within the reach of Your Grace's apprehension what has long since been apparent to your fellow-citizens.

It scarcely needed your statement that you had for a period of ten years occupied a judicial position to call attention to the eminently judicial character of Your Grace's mind and utterances; for have we not seen it exemplified in the calm and impartial judgment which you passed upon the Protestant girls and young women of the Province in which you live? Was it not apparent in the opinions which you so recently expressed in Kingston in regard to your Protestant fellow-citizens, and has it not been demonstrated by your utterances with regard to Principal Caven and the thousands of other "ferocious bigots" connected with the Equal Rights movement, to say nothing of the judgment you were pleased to pronounce upon the humble individual who is now addressing you? I must not, however, overlook the quality of humility which your Grace so illustrates by your correspondence, and especially in that portion of it which deals with the disadvantages under which you labor in having no newspaper to champion your cause. Surely so eminent a logician, so distinguished a rhetorician, so erudite a jurist, so excellent a judge and so pre-eminent an ecclesiastic requires no such adventitious aid as the assistance of a newspaper. But, without being deemed impertinent, may I ask your Grace if you are not, in so lamenting, a little unfair to that once great organ of public opinion, the *Globe*, for has it not donned your livery, defended your position and chosen you for its patron, while you delegate me to the lowly position of retainer of my "patron, the *Mail*?"

Pardon this digression, and let me now invite your attention to what are the real issues between us. In my speech at London I quoted from a Roman Catholic journal, published in the city in which you live, which addresses itself especially to those of your flock, and which gave to them and to the Roman Catholic electors of the Province advice as to the action which they should take, based upon the

following statement: "Holding, as we do, the balance of power between the factions, we are, if only true to ourselves and to the crisis about to come upon us, independent of either, and can dictate the terms upon which one or other shall receive our support." This statement, I said, was believed to represent your views. Upon this you addressed to me your first letter, and in reply to it I accepted what I thought was the plain inference from it, your repudiation of the sentiments of the quotation. And not only did I do that publicly, but I promised in my future addresses to remove the impression which my remarks might have produced by telling my audiences that those sentiments were not your Grace's, and that you joined with me in condemning them. Had you no other object in view than to call upon me to put right any erroneous impression that my remarks might have created with regard to your sentiments, the correspondence might have ended there, but this was not your object, as became apparent when you followed up your first letter with another, assailing me violently for having made an attack upon the Roman Catholics and having declared for a policy of oppression of them.—charges, the falsity of which was so evident that they hardly required from me the answer and denial which I gave. Now, the whole point of the matter, so far as the quotation and my attributing to you its sentiments is concerned, is: Was I right in attributing those sentiments to you?

Your refusal to repudiate them, and your evasion of making answer to my question as to whether you do or do not approve of them, I am bound to say, justifies me in returning to my original view, that these sentiments coincide with your own views. You ask why you should any more repudiate the utterances in question than I should those of Mr. Solomon White on the subject of annexation. I pass by your assumption that Mr. White is an advocate of annexation with the single observation that I have it from Mr. White himself that he never did advocate annexation to the United States, but only declared his preference for political union to commercial union, and gave his reasons for so doing. But even if he did what you charge him with, I am not ashamed to acknowledge him my friend, and to say that, in view of his patriotic stand upon the "Riel question," not only I, but his countrymen generally, can afford to forgive him even that vagary were he chargeable with it. But the cases are not parallel, I ventured to point out, for two reasons at least:

1. You claim and assert most rigorously, I am told, your control of those who are of your flock in the domain of faith and morals,

and I judge from some archiepiscopal utterances, which you are doubtless familiar with, that the boundaries of that domain are of a somewhat elastic and shifting character. Now, I assert that the principle of the quotation is distinctly immoral, and hence it follows either that, disapproving it, you were remiss in the performance of your duties, as you proclaim them, in not endeavoring to counteract its influence when it came to your knowledge, at least by warning your flock against it, or you approve of it. You may accept whichever dilemma you choose, and you cannot escape on the pretence that the quotation and the article from which it is taken dealt solely with a political matter, for the fact is not so. On the other hand, I have no control, and do not pretend to exercise any, over Mr. White's utterances. Nor did he assume to speak for my party or to offer it any advice or to direct its action.

2. Those who know Your Grace would certainly, judging by their past experience of you, not be able at once to say in reference to the quotation: "Those sentiments are not the sentiments of the Archbishop of Kingston," but the contrary. While everyone who knows me would not be required to be told that I did not approve of annexation sentiments or that I was loyal to my native land. But the whole purpose of your attack is transparent. You see my platform affords standing ground for Protestant and Roman Catholic alike; that my principles aim not at curtailing the rights of the Roman Catholic citizen, or infringing his liberty of conscience, but that the effect of the adoption of them would be assisting him in resisting the aggression of certain, at least, of the hierarchy upon his rights as a citizen and as a man. The agitation which has begun (unless it be put down) will continue to grow and spread until it shall be recognized from sea to sea, throughout this great Dominion; that while the fullest liberty of conscience shall be accorded to all religious bodies, and to every man, the State shall know and recognize no church as different from or above the other, and that in all his obligations, duties and relations to the State, the citizen's action is not subject to control by or dictation from either priest or presbyter, bishop or pope, or any other ecclesiastic authority whatever—for such a consummation I devoutly wish. Your Grace believes it your duty to oppose its accomplishment. I have no quarrel with you for so doing, but let the weapons which you use be those of honorable warfare, not unfair efforts to misrepresent your opponents, in order that you may lead those with whom a good bishop must necessarily have great influence to believe those opponents to be their enemies,

and enemies of their religion and intolerant bigots, who would take from them the liberties which every freeman in a free country has the right to enjoy. Show to your fellow-citizens that you do not hold the view that the end justifies the means. Face the issue squarely, discuss it fairly, and I am content to abide the result.

I have the honor to be,

Your Grace's obedient servant,

W. R. MEREDITH.

The Most Reverend the Archbishop of the Diocese of Kingston, Ont.

Closing Words From the Archbishop.

THE PALACE, KINGSTON, Jan 12, 1890.

To Wm. R. Meredith, Esq., Q.C., M.P.P.

DEAR SIR,—Having got an interval of rest after severe application to official business during the past week, I have the honor to turn my attention again to you, as in duty bound.

Communications, however, have reached me from various quarters suggesting that I might well allow you to go your way at present, and that generosity towards a vanquished assailant will be appreciated by all high-minded people. I am asked what need is there of proceeding further with the controversy, when you have thrown down your arms and taken to flight. I am also reminded that by adding to your humiliation, through exposure of the remaining fallacies of your last and former letters, I may become chargeable with striking "the man that's down." I am not insensible to the force of these suggestions.

On the other hand, when I consider that the three main passages in your last letter, which I had marked for special criticism in the "summing up" of the case, have been presented by you to the public in the form of bare assertion, bold and reckless, without any semblance of reasoning to support them, it seems hardly worth while to waste valuable time in their confutation. They can do no harm. The humblest intelligence can perceive their emptiness, and as regards two of them, pardon me for saying their childish frivolity and petulance.

Wherefore, sir, I forbear pursuing you with arguments, that now appear unnecessary, in supplement of my review of the controversy between you and me before the court of public opinion.

I have the honor to remain, yours very respectfully,

† JAMES VINCENT CLEARY,
Archbishop of Kingston.

APPENDIX.

Report of Archbishop Cleary's Address at Tweed.

From the Globe, Feb. 7.

TWEED, Feb. 2.—The Archbishop of Kingston came here yesterday from Peterboro', celebrated public mass in our magnificent new Church of St. Carthagh at eight o'clock to-day, and announced that he would hold a special service at two o'clock in the afternoon for prayer and parochial instruction, at which he expected all the Catholics in the districts of Tweed and Stoco would assist, as he had affairs of especial importance to place before them. Accordingly, at the hour appointed the people of Tweed District, and also those of Stoco, to whom Father Fleming had delivered His Grace's invitation at eleven o'clock mass, assembled in full numbers in St. Carthagh's Church. His Grace, after the recital of the Rosary, addressed the large congregation, dealing with several subjects of parochial interest, and giving practical advice concerning the financial affairs of the parish, which, he was pleased to say, were in a satisfactory condition, and would be rendered more easy and cheering by the observance of certain methods which he familiarly proposed and illustrated.

He then directed the attention of his people to the supreme importance of Catholic education for the youth of the parish, declaring that in the present day the everlasting contest between Jesus Christ and Satan, between the Kingdom of God and the "spirits of wickedness in high places" is waged in the school-room, and that this is the battle-ground chosen by the agents of Satan against the Saviour of the souls of our little ones. All the infidels and atheists of France and Italy in Europe, and of the gangrened Republics of South America, and in any whatsoever country the standard of Satan has been erected in opposition to Christianity, have sworn by the evil god never to lay down their arms or to forego any device of iniquity till they shall have banished from God's earth the teaching of God's truth, God's law, God's love, God's impression upon the youthful hearts of the children of the Church during their course of intellectual and moral education in the school room. Well they know that it is only in the school-room children can be reared and trained, moulded and fashioned in mind, and heart, and thought, and feeling to the life-long practices of self-government and sterling freedom in the conduct of their lives throughout the highways and by-ways of the world towards their eternal destiny as the children of God and heirs of

the kingdom of Heaven. The diabolical spirit of hatred of religious education has found its way, unfortunately, into the Province of Ontario. Satan has raised his standard here and has sent forth from the gates of hell his army of demons to propagate his wicked maxims throughout the cities and towns of this Province. Yielding to his influence, the pseudo-Conservative leader has framed his policy and has announced in his hapless London speech that he will run the sword through the Catholic Church and sever the sacred bond of duty and affection and mutual confidence between the Bishops, the chief pastors of the flock of Christ, and the faithful people committed to their care. Now, as in all former ages, the successors of the Apostles devoted their lives wholly and exclusively to the promotion of their people's spiritual and temporal welfare, and to this end they willingly endure untold mental anxieties and fatigue, and are in this country compelled to submit to the obloquy and direct calumny and other persecutions in defence of the rights of the flock, more particularly of the lambs of the fold. It is proposed, however, to set them aside in the matter of education of youth, and to substitute for the divine influence and authority of their Apostolic office the influence and authority of party politicians and the protection of statecraft, and it is expected by the pseudo-Conservative leader that this is what all Catholic parents will conspire with him to accomplish. But, said His Grace, never did that weak-minded gentleman more grievously err, as he was informed even yesterday in the Legislative Assembly by the mover of the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne. Where is there a Catholic priest who is not fully convinced that none could be more unselfishly devoted to their children, more keenly watchful for their welfare, more eager for their literary and moral and religious development of mind than the priest of the parish, and, above all, the bishop of the diocese, who, in imitation of the divine Pastor of pastors, loves indeed his whole flock, but loves with intensest and tenderest charity the little lambs whom he takes in his arms and folds in his bosom? You and I, said the Archbishop, and my people everywhere, and all the Catholic people of Ontario, will prove to that vain politician that he shall not succeed in his effort to set the people against their chief pastors, whom the Holy Ghost has appointed to rule the Church of God and to watch over the Catholic laity as having to render an account for their souls.

What is to be thought of the political leader who, in addressing his followers in

London, denounced the Provincial Government for having permitted the separate schools to increase in number within the last ten years, that is, for having omitted to obstruct and thwart us in doing what we are expressly authorized by the Constitution to do, and the Provincial Government is sworn to protect and defend us in doing? We have done it, by God's blessing, in this diocese of Kingston and all the other dioceses of Ontario, and shall continue to do it, and this very day we shall make a new advance. From this holy place I announce and ordain that you and I will, please God, have a separate school established in Tweed before the end of next summer, and I hereby charge the pastor and the people of this parish to take steps without delay for the erection of a separate school house on the nearest available site to the bridge, to which the children of the village and those resident on either side of the river shall have easiest access.

When we shall have that school house in working order I will proceed to examine how we may establish a separate school among the people of Stoco Island.

Archbishop Cleary's Circular to His Clergy.

THE PALACE,

KINGSTON, 24th FEB., 1890.

To the Very Rev. and Rev. Clergy of the Diocese of Kingston.

DEAR REVEREND FATHER.—Should there be any Catholic ratepayer in a separate school section in your district who, by reason of absence from home or any cause other than a wilful anti-Catholic determination to withhold his taxes from the Catholic school, has not signed the notice to the clerk, you should see that his name be registered as heretofore, on the assessment roll of separate schools supporters. For it is not absolutely certain that every Catholic failing to sign the notice may be assessed for the Protestant schools, although it seems very probable he may. All Catholics ought therefore to be registered as Catholic school supporters in the absence of positive declaration to the contrary, as has been done for the past thirty or more years. This is, moreover, the fair and reasonable interpretation of the wish of every Catholic ratepayer.

If unhappily there be any Catholic ratepayers who, in this hour of conflict between the kingdom of Satan and the kingdom of Christ, deliberately choose to side with the enemy for the gradual destruction of Catholic education in this Province, I hereby charge you, as the pastor of the souls of your people and guardian of the right of Jesus Christ and His Church, to call upon every such ratepayer before the 1st of next

March, and announce to him in my name and authority as his bishop that:

1. His action in this matter is rebellion against the Church, and he comes under the anathema pronounced by the Son of God, "If any man will not hear the Church let him be to thee as the heathen and the publican."

2. That I hereby reserve to myself alone, or, in my absence from the diocese, to the administrator for the time being, all power of absolving such rebellious Catholic from his sins unless he shall have signed a written declaration, or ordered it to be signed by his agent, that he heartily repents of having injured the Church and scandalized his neighbors by his withdrawal of his taxes from Catholic education, and shall have promised to become a supporter of the separate school at the earliest opportunity. On receipt of this declaration in writing any priest of my diocese may absolve him.

3. This reservation of faculties applies to the article of death as firmly as to any other time. The rule that "no case is reserved at the hour of death" signifies that only penitents who at that hour confess a reserved sin, and are heartily sorry for having committed it, and firmly resolve to avoid it in the future, and moreover are willing to repair in the manner prescribed by the church whatsoever scandal their evil action may have given, may be absolved by any priest without awaiting special faculties from the bishop. But neither in life nor in death can a sinner be validly absolved without true contrition for his sins and firm purpose of amendment, and reparation, as far as in him lies, of the injury done by him to individuals or to the church, even in *articulo mortis*, so long as they persist in their rebellious disposition and refuse to sign the written declaration aforesaid, or order it to be signed in their name. And should any of them unhappily die in that state, I hereby ordain that no public mass shall be offered nor any public prayers said for his soul, nor shall his corpse be admitted into the church, nor any bell be tolled for announcement of his death or burial, nor shall it be lawful for any priest to attend his funeral. But if the dying sinner shall have signed the required declaration of repentance, and consequently died in the peace of the church, the pastor is hereby required to read such declaration aloud to the faithful in the church before the funeral mass or absolution of the corpse, and also at mass on the following Sunday, before praying for the soul of the deceased.

4. And it is furthermore required that the pastor shall send such declaration, signed by the penitent, to the bishop of the diocese without delay. Should the sick sinner be unable to sign the declaration, his wife or

any member of his family or the priest may be his agent for the signing of his name, if he have given order for this to be done in presence of one or more witnesses.

5. The pastor of each mission is hereby required to send to the bishop, as soon as possible after the 1st of March, a list of the names of all, should there be any, who have declared against supporting the separate schools.

Dear Rev. Father, I have not deemed it necessary heretofore to make the withdrawal of support from Catholic schools a reserved case, although the other bishops of the province have done so. In the present crisis, however, when Satan has raised a violent agitation against the church, and has chosen the school room for his battle ground, there is exceptional danger to our people, many of whom may be seduced from the path of duty by the misrepresentations of an irreligious press and the cajolery of party politicians, or by personal inducements, supplying pretenses of one kind or another for deserting the cause of Christ and ranging themselves on the side of the enemy.

I confidently hope you will succeed in preventing this evil in your district. If after the 1st of March any of your people be found registered, through neglect or any accident, on the assessment roll of the common schools, see that they protest in the Court of Revision. When sending me the list of renegades mark (X), the names of such as may be reasonably excused on account of the excessive distance of the separate school, or any other fair cause, and state exactly to me the truth or falsity of the excuse.

† JAMES VINCENT CLEARY,
Archbishop-elect of Kingston.

"L'Interprete" Explains what the Circular Means.

The member for Prescott supporting the Mowat Government has in his paper, *L'Interprete*, the following comment on the above circular:

"Archbishop Cleary has addressed a private circular to the clergy of his diocese, in which he energetically condemns the abolition of separate schools, which Meredith and his associates are working for so tenaciously by making it the principal plank of their platform for the coming elections. That is to say, that this circular has the sanction of the truly liberal and generous policy of Hon. Messrs. Mowat and Ross. It declares, it seems, that absolution and Christian burial will be refused to all Catholics who will not pay their tax to the separate schools."

