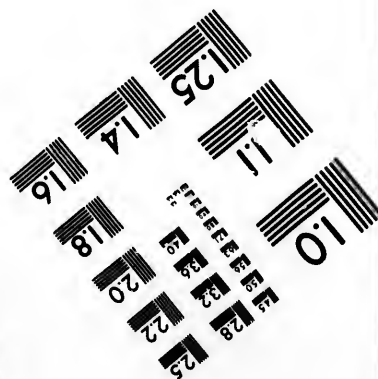
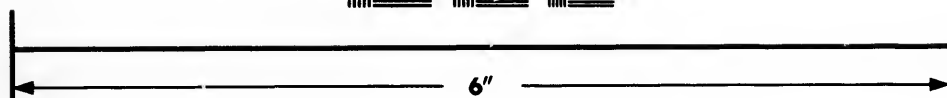
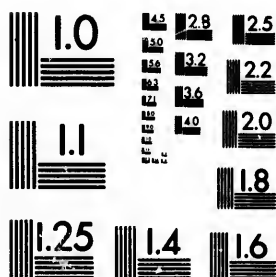


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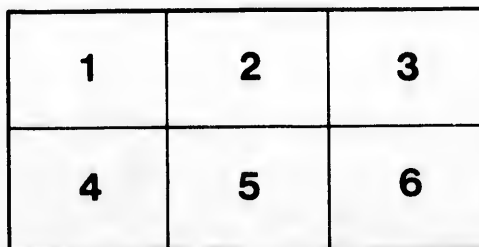
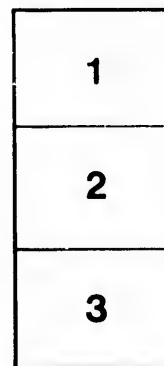
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# The Opposition Platform

AS LAID DOWN BY

W. R. MEREDITH, M.P.P.,

IN HIS SPEECH TO THE

Young Men's Liberal-Conservative Association

AT THE

GRAND OPERA HOUSE, LONDON,

On DECEMBER 16th, 1889.

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The speech delivered by Mr. Meredith before the Young Men's Conservative Association at London on the 16th of December last, laying down the policy of the Ontario Opposition on a number of the leading questions of the day, has attracted greater attention and evoked a more wide-spread interest than any other deliverance of a political leader of late years. In view of the approaching elections it is now issued in this form, confident that the more it is studied the more it will be recognized as the utterance of a leader who is not afraid resolutely to take hold of pressing questions and deal with them on sound principles, at the same time saying not one word that ought to give offence, and making not one proposal that does injustice to any class of the community, but metes out even-handed justice to all. It would be impossible to deal in a single speech with all the points on which the Mowat Government ought to be arraigned, and the speech does not pretend to deal with more than the leading topics; but on these it lays down a platform which will commend itself to every unprejudiced person in the Province. It remains for those who believe this to be the true policy, and desire to see it carried out, to give practical effect to their wishes by their votes.

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# MR. MEREDITH AT LONDON.

## He Puts his Principles Before the Electors of the Province.

[From THE EMPIRE, December 17th, 1889.]

LONDON, Dec. 16.—The greatest demonstration in the political history, not only of London, but of the western counties of the Province of Ontario, took place to-night, when Mr. W. R. Meredith, Q.C., M.P.P., delivered an address in the Grand Opera House here under the auspices of the Young Men's Liberal Conservative Association of London. The spacious hall, together with the double galleries which surround the auditorium, were crowded to their utmost capacity, and literally hundreds of citizens were either unable to gain admittance to the hall or had to stand crushed together in the lobbies during the entire three hours which the meeting occupied. The gathering was representative of the best in the commercial, mercantile, agricultural and general interest of these districts.

### Enthusiastic Reception of Mr. Meredith.

Mr. Meredith on rising to speak received a tremendous ovation, the vast audience saluting him with an enthusiasm characteristic of a London audience. His speech occupied two hours and thirty-five minutes in delivering, and was listened to throughout with an intentness that showed the deep interest the people took in the momentous questions under discussion. There were frequent enthusiastic bursts of applause, the warmest perhaps being in endorsement of the stand the leader of the Opposition took upon the religious questions that are now under discussion.

### MR. MEREDITH'S SPEECH.

The Leader of the Opposition Begins His Excellent Address.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before proceeding to address the observations which I intend to make to-night upon the public questions of the day, permit me to thank my fellow-citizens for the manner in which they have received me here to-night. It is now some seventeen years

since I had the honor of being called to occupy the position of representative in the Local House of the city of London, and I have always received from my fellow-citizens from that time until now the warmest and kindest acts, which I shall never forget till my dying day. (Applause.) I cannot expect, sir, that a public man in the course of a career extending over seventeen or eighteen years, as mine has, will in all things have satisfied all of his constituents, but at all events this I can say: I have endeavored at all times honestly to discharge my duty as the chosen representative of the Conservative party, and according to my light as to what was for the best interests of this province and this country. (Applause.) I am here to-night, sir, somewhat out of the ordinary course, because it has not been the usual thing on previous occasions that I should address my fellow-citizens as I am addressing them to-night, and I have observed in several quarters there has been a good deal said about why I have not spoken and why I am keeping silent. Mr. Chairman, so far as those of my friends are concerned, I think they can trust me that I will speak when the time properly comes that I should speak—(hear, hear)—and for those of my opponents who

### Find Fault that I Did Not Speak.

I have to say they would not find fault if they thought anything was to be gained by my not speaking. I am here to-night to give an account of my stewardship and to tell you some of the reasons why I am of the opinion that the Government which is presided over by Mr. Mowat is not entitled to the confidence of the public of this country. (Cheers.) I have observed that Mr. Mowat has been addressing his constituents, and through them the people of this country upon the public questions of the day, and you seem to have a complete answer to any charges that are now made against this

Government by saying that this Government has been in power for eighteen years, that at the last general election and some previous general elections the assaults that were made upon them by the Opposition were fruitless. Why, Mr. Chairman, if that were a sufficient answer, then none of the great reforms for which the people in the mother country have struggled for year by year would have been accomplished. It is only by constant and persistent pursuit for all that which you believe to be in the interests of the country that ultimately the electorate will displace those who are conducting the affairs of the country in a manner opposed to the interests of the people.

Now, sir, I have to-night to go over a good deal of ground. I have, in the course of the observations which I am to make to you, to trouble you by

#### Reference to the Public Records

and to read to you extracts from the public documents in support of the position I take. I therefore hope, Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen, that in view of the great issues upon which the people of this country are about to pronounce that you will bear with me patiently during the course of the observations which I shall feel it my duty to address to you. Now, I am not going to enter into a discussion of the financial record of the Ontario Government, and if I do not take up their record in that respect and pass observations upon it you are not to assume that it is not because I do not think that with regard to their financial administration of the affairs of this province they have been deserving of the confidence of the people. On the contrary, sir, I am of opinion that in the management of the finances of this country they have shown a reckless disregard for the interests of the people, which has resulted in the

#### Depletion of the Surplus

provided by the late Hon. Sandfield MacDonald and his economical Government, and doing away with a large quantity of timber and other resources of this country, and leaving us a considerable amount to pay on account of railway obligations. I am not going to discuss, sir, to-night general legislation which has taken place in the House, more than to say this, sir, that much legislation in the interests of the people of this country has undoubtedly in the last eighteen years been placed upon the statute book of the Province of Ontario, but I claim, sir, that the little band which I have had the honor to lead since 1879 has had much to do with the modelling of the wise and proper legislation which appears on our statute book of to-day. And, sir, in our opinion, when they claim credit for the enfranchisement of every man living in the

country, when they claim credit for the legislation which has been in the interests of the workmen, I call you to witness—you, the intelligent observers—that the Opposition has been largely instrumental in forcing forward this great measure in the interests of the people of this country. (Applause.) Sir,

**I Arraign the Government of Mr. Mowat.** In respect of its administration of our crown lands and territorial revenues. I will point out to you briefly that a large portion of the revenues of this country derived from our timber lands has been spent by the Administration of Mr. Mowat, and what we, the Opposition, have been endeavoring to do, from time to time, is that these gentlemen, when they are about to dispose of the heritage of the people in respect to these timber limits, should come to the people's representatives in Parliament, and submit their propositions to the judgment of the people, and permit them to pass judgment upon them. But instead of doing that, sir, these gentlemen, forgetting the true principles of liberalism, have announced and have adhered to the policy of themselves determining what shall be done with the timber and resources of this country, and they have insisted on bringing into the market a large quantity of the timber of the country without consulting the people's representatives or taking them into their confidence. The result of this has been that large quantities of the timber upon the north shore of Lake Huron have been forced into the market under the pretence of fostering settlement, and this timber has passed into the hands of speculators to the amount of hundreds of thousands of dollars on the advanced value of those limits, and has practically gone out of the hands of the taxpayers of this country. Also in other portions of the country this same policy has prevailed and the result has been, as I have said, to permit a large portion of the resources of the country in these timber limits, whose value is increasing rapidly from year to year, to pass

#### Into the Pockets of Speculators.

instead of going to public purposes of this Province of Ontario. We have said all along that the timber policy of this Government has been wrong; that the House should be consulted before any large tract of timber was placed on the market, and we have asked, and I venture to appeal to every sensible man—for you are all sensible men here to-night, who have come for the purpose of hearing the observations which I have to make—I appeal to you whether the proposition made at the last session of Parliament by the Opposition that a commission should be appointed for the purpose of

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ascertaining to what extent the timber and mineral resources of the country ought to be applied before we should be asked to enter into large engagements, and before we should be asked to enter on a railway policy. Yet these gentlemen do not know to what extent the timber revenues of the province have gone. I appeal to you that it would be but the act of a sensible, prudent man, such as yourselves would do, in the ordinary every-day concerns of business, to permit the people of the province, by means of a commission, or in some other way, to ascertain to what extent the timber revenue and other resources of the province have been squandered, that we should know how necessary it was for us to husband our resources and say how near we are coming to direct taxation, and in order that we may determine how we are to aid those railway enterprises and those mineral enterprises that are knocking at the doors of the Assembly asking aid and assistance for their development. I think in refusing that commission this Government has acted in a high-handed and improper manner for the interests of the people of the province of Ontario.

I will proceed now, sir, to discuss

#### The Centralization Policy

of this Administration. Ever since this Government has come into power the tendency of its legislation has been bureaucratic, has been to centre in the Parliament at Toronto or in the executive having the confidence of that Parliament all power and authority possessed by the people. I have heard Mr. Mowat on the floor of the House declare that patronage was a nuisance to any Government, but the Government has acted on the policy that patronage should be used. In respect to appointments of various kinds, you recollect how they have seized hold of the appointments of division court clerks and bailiffs, of marriage license issuers, of license inspectors and commissions; how they have taken the control of the educational system into their hands in order that they might stretch out this patronage and power.

Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen,—I venture to say that in this country the first thing to look to and prevent is the getting into office of the young men who are political aspirants. This is the policy which, as the leader of the Opposition, I enunciated at the last session of the Local Legislature; and I endeavored so far as possible to add to that policy that the control of local matters should be left in the hands of the people of the locality in which work was to be done. If that were done, sir, these scandals and references to the conduct of public officials from time to time would not have been made. I also urged the public

interest that the registry office of the City of Toronto, in the County of York, should not be divided in the interest of the office-seekers and friends of the Local Government. Mr. Chairman, I venture to say that the policy of the administration of the day has been to provide means by which their friends and supporters could

#### Fatten at the Public Expense.

I venture to say, and I can prove it, that a policy, such as this, the policy that I have outlined, would tend to remove in a very great measure the possibility of these office-seekers fattening at the public expense, and the first and foremost point in that policy is that as far as possible each locality should have the dealing with and control of its own affairs. (Cheers.)

#### THE LICENSING SYSTEM.

##### A System of Tyranny and Coercion of the Liquor Dealers.

And now I begin to speak of another branch of this subject. I refer to the licensing system. I do not propose to-night to enter as fully into this subject as I shall do upon some other occasion, but I shall endeavor to show, what we all know in regard to that question, and what every constituency knows in regard to that question, that the licensing system is used as a huge means of building up and supporting the Government in power. (Cheers.) We know it is used as a means of terrorizing those engaged in that business. Why, it was only the other day that a reputable journal of Toronto made specific charges against the licensing system and showed that from one end of the country to the other these charges could be truthfully made and supported by evidence incontrovertible. (Cheers.) You may say that these are only assertions, these are charges which you cannot prove, but I want to tell you in regard to this matter and matters which have been lately brought to light, that the charges cannot admit of controversy, and I want to read evidence to you as briefly as possible to show how they can be proved. And I shall read to you first the evidence of the prominent dealers of the City of Hamilton, indicating the way in which the licensing system was used. I shall also refer to two other documents in proof of my position, showing that the licensing system is made use of for the purpose of bolstering up the fortunes of the Government at the expense of the people of this province. Now, sir, there was a certain Mr. Lottridge who brought an action against the *Hamilton Spectator* for libel, and in the course of the investigation which took place in accordance with the powers given to the judge presiding

over the court, Mr. Lottridge was examined and the evidence given to the public for the first time. I am able to give you the sworn statement of Mr. Lottridge, upon which I rely as proving the charge which I made against the Government of the day. Now let us see who Mr. Lottridge was. Mr. Lottridge is the leading partner in the firm of P. Grant & Son. They have a chattel mortgage on about 45 saloons, and there are a considerable number more as customers. Let us see what course Mr. Lottridge took, and what Mr. McKenzie, the license inspector in the City of Hamilton, during the elections of Burns and Walters. Now, it may be said this is only an isolated transaction, but I venture to say that

#### It is the Best Evidence

for the purpose of establishing the position which I take here, because it is the kind of evidence as to which there is no dispute, and what happens in the City of Hamilton, happens in the City of Toronto, in the City of London—perhaps not in the same degree—and elsewhere throughout the Province of Ontario. Mr. Lottridge had been one of the leading Conservatives in the City of Hamilton. This is what he says of himself:

Q. Did you ever tell any person that you were a Conservative, but that your interest in the saloons compelled you to take sides with the Liberal party?

Mr. Teetzel objects to the question and the witness refuses to answer.

Q. Do you object to answer it?

A. I say I did not say what you said.

Q. Did you say anything of the kind?

A. I said something like it.

Q. What was it?

A. I was going where my interests were.

Q. And it was your interest to side with that side?

A. I didn't say that. I said I was going where my interest was.

I have observed recently that Mr. Mowat has been claiming that his Government is conducted on the principle of truth and righteousness. (Laughter.) He is continually reiterating that when he goes upon the public platform. I do not want to say anything disrespectful of him, but I think that I might call to mind the instance of a man, who, some 1800 years ago, made some observation about himself and derogatory to his fellow-men. You recollect the man who thanked God that he was not as other men were. I do not want to be unfair enough to Mr. Mowat to say that there is

#### A Little of the Pharisee

in the statements he makes before the public—(laughter and applause)—but I say this, that if Mr. Mowat would show that his Government is conducted on the principle of truth and righteousness we would be better able to come to a conclusion as to what we think of their conduct, notwithstanding

withstanding his protestations. Now, I wonder was it the principle of truth and righteousness on which Mr. Lottridge changed his politics. Mr. Lottridge said it was his interest to go to the Liberal party. It was either because, by reason of that influence, he could get an unfair advantage of the other men in the trade, or that by reason of that influence he could say what the policy of the Government on this liquor question is to be. Is there any other conclusion that you could come to, in order that it could be to his interest to go with the Liberal party? It was one of these two things. Let us follow it up.

Q. How was it your interest to be on the Liberal side?

Mr. Teetzel objects to this question, as it has nothing to do with the issue, and the answer cannot aid them in discovery.

Q. What interest would suffer of yours, Mr. Lottridge, if you refused to support the Liberal party?

A. I don't think I will answer that question, under the advice of counsel.

You see Mr. Lottridge is very careful, but you can

#### Read Between the Lines.

and can understand what Mr. Lottridge's answer ought to have been if he had given a conscientious one. Well, then, let us see how they did the canvass during that election:

Q. Did you make a canvass before the last election of license-holders? A. Yes, a partial canvass.

Q. Who was with you? A. Mr. McKenzie.

Q. The license inspector? A. Yes.

Q. How many did you canvass? A. I don't know.

Q. Fifty? A. Perhaps so.

Q. Did you go 75? A. No.

Q. That was beyond your limit? A. We may have gone to 50 or 60.

Q. How did you come to go together in the matter? A. I asked Mr. McKenzie to go with me, that was all.

Poor innocent man, he simply asked Mr. McKenzie to go with him.

Q. You asked him to canvass for Burns and Walter? A. I told him I was going to canvass the hotel and saloon men and asked him to go with me.

Q. Did you and Mr. McKenzie canvass anybody else but license-holders? A. No.

Q. You didn't go with the intention of canvassing anybody but license-holders? A. No.

Q. That was your object? A. Yes.

Q. Did you canvass alone, I mean with these particular people? A. Not this election.

Q. Every time you went on a canvass you looked up McKenzie? A. I did.

Q. You didn't happen to run against him? A. No. I used to call for him.

Q. You have got lots of friends who take a strong interest in politics on that side? A. Yes.

Q. And who do canvassing? A. Yes.

Q. To your knowledge? A. Yes.

Q. And with whom you are equally intimate as with McKenzie? A. Yes.

Q. And it didn't strike you to get any of them? A. No.

Q. Did you think it a proper thing for McKenzie to go around canvassing?

Now just bear in mind who the witness was whose conscience would not permit him to answer that he thought it was. He says :

A. I don't know that I should be a judge of that matter.

Q. As a citizen do you? A. I don't want to give an opinion.

Q. Would you do it yourself if you were an inspector? A. Unless I am compelled to answer that question I won't answer it.

Q. You decline to express an opinion upon the propriety of McKenzie making such a canvass as that? A. I don't want to express an opinion.

Q. You asked him to vote for Burns and Walter? A. Yes.

Q. And told him it was to his interest to do so? A. I may have.

Q. And the interest of all liquor dealers? A. No.

Q. Did you ever make this argument that it was the interest of the license holders? A. No. I may have said I didn't see why the liquor dealers didn't support the Reform party.

Q. Were you asked by anybody which side it was the interest of the trade to support? A. I don't remember.

Q. Would you deny it? A. If you tell me any person I would remember. I may have said I thought it was their interest to vote for the Reform party.

Q. And their interest in their business as license holders? A. No. I said I thought it was the liquor interest to support the Reform party.

What a confession to be made in this nineteenth century, that was the interest of the liquor party to support the Reform party! Upon what principles could that be—except that the Reform party were traitors to the best interests of the Province of Ontario and were abusing this power, this licensing system, in the interests of their party!

Q. You will say you didn't go any further? A. No.

Q. You say you didn't say it was the interest of the license holders to support the Reform party? A. I may have said so.

So much for the testimony of Mr. Lottridge as to his conduct, the reason why he changed his politics. And, as to the course of Mr. Mackenzie, license inspector, I have never heard from that day to this that the Reform Government ever said to him: "Mr. Mackenzie, your conduct is highly improper. You were appointed for the purpose of discharging a duty under the license law, and you had no business to go around and with this gentleman, who had himself an influence upon the license holders. You had no business to go about with him for the purpose of influencing men to vote in favor of any political party." But, from that day to this, nothing of the kind has taken place in condemnation, on the part of the Government, of Mr. Mackenzie or his conduct in this respect. I have no doubt they think it was a pretty honorable thing, Mr. Mackenzie doing what he did upon this occasion. Now, let us see if we have not, over Mr. Lottridge's signature, that it was

in the interest of the license holders to support the Reform party. Now, you know, gentlemen, that there is an inspector in Hamilton, and that this inspector makes periodical visits during the year for the purpose of ascertaining whether the law has been carried out by those who are engaged in the trade. Now, it would be very much in the interest of those engaged in the business if they could get a little warning of the time when this inspector was going round, in order that they might put their house in order. One of the casual duties of Mr. Lottridge was getting these men the information. Let me read to you what he sent out as a strictly private communication, dated the 18th June, 1886, to every one of the men who were customers of his brewery: "Dear Sir,—You are hereby notified that there will be a general inspection made next week by the provincial license inspector. Please govern yourself accordingly. Yours truly Strictly Private. (Sgd.) James M. Lottridge." (Laughter.)

Now then we have, too, another evidence under the hand of an official of the Government, of the principle under which they think this license system ought to be conducted. There is a Mr. Manning, who is the chief officer connected with the license branch. On the 14th February, 1889, he wrote this letter. He marks it unofficial, but he signs it chief officer.

PROVINCIAL SECRETARY'S DEPARTMENT,  
CANADA TEMPERANCE ACT DIVISION.

TORONTO, February 14, 1889.  
[Unofficial.]

DEAR SIR.—I am in receipt of your favor of the 8th inst., and in reply thereto, without intention to enter into a controversy upon the points of your letter, I beg to call your attention to the fact that the Ontario Government is the only provincial government that has made any effort to enforce the Scott Act: that I am not concerned to defend their bona fides in the matter and as the matter has been mooted by you I would simply say that a gentleman of considerable influence and position called on me the other day to say that a more rigid enforcement of the Act would be highly injurious to the Mowat Government, and thus we again have the difficulty of pleasing all parties.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant.

(Signed), F. W. MANNING,  
Chief Officer.

To S. E. McCully, Esq., M.D.

Now let me see what Mr. Manning says in that letter, not highly injurious to the public, but highly injurious to the Mowat Government. So that we have here, sir, a confession over the hand of an officer that this license law is not administered for the purpose of pleasing both parties and in the political interest of the Government of the day. Now then, gentlemen, we had one other testimony from the official records,

one other pretty clear evidence of the way in which this license law has been administered by the government of the day. A return was brought down from the county of Dundas of the convictions that had been made by the Scott Act magistrate of that county, and when the return was brought down it proved this, that about the time the general election was coming on in the county of Dundas, the Scott Act inspectors' mill and the

#### Scott Act Magistrates Mill

was working up to its full capacity; but directly that the elections were understood to come on, and down to the time the elections were over, not a prosecution under the Scott Act took place, and it was not for some months afterwards, and after the time for protesting the election, that the Scott Act mill again went into operation; indicating this, that in the enforcing of this law it was not the public interest that was being served, but the interest of the political party that had the administration of the law in its hands. I know there are differences of opinion among the people of this country as to whether we should have a license law or whether we should have a prohibitory law; but there is no difference of opinion in right-thinking men in all political parties in this country that the drinking habit is a great evil, and that the license law in this country should be carefully looked after, and that the law should be rigidly enforced, and that means ought not to be provided for the young and those addicted to drink to be ensnared into places that are improperly carried on. And any Government that prostituted this important office of administering the license system of the country for the purpose of making political capital have so grave a sin to answer for that I do not think they should deserve the confidence of the people of this country, and they ought to be swept out of existence. (Cheers.) I say, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, that that trade in this country ought, in the interests of temperance, to be in the hands of no political party. I say that it is not right that the enormous amount of money that is invested in the liquor traffic should be at the mercy of the inspectors and commissioners in the interests of the party in power for the time being. I don't care whether it is a Conservative or Liberal Government in power, I say it is not right, it is not fair, it is not just—and I say that instead of leaving these great interests in the hands of the Government of the day to be manipulated by them, and the whole force of liquor interests turned for

**The Purposes of Influencing Legislation.** I say that the proper way to deal with this

question is by non-partisan parties in the localities where law has to be enforced. (Cheers.) Why should the county councils not be entrusted with the appointment of commissions for the purpose of administering this law? Are they not just as respectable and freer from political bias than men appointed by the Government of the day? I want to know why our county councils should not be entrusted with that same duty. And in the great centres of population I want to know why we ought not to elect three commissioners, and the people be charged with the duty of looking after these important interests. I am an old Conservative, sir, but I have great confidence in the people of this country and in the democracy in this our Dominion. (Cheers.) I believe that we cannot too much trust the people of this country, and although they can go wrong at times, that down in the hearts of the people is to be found right and justice, and that

#### The People May be Entrusted

with the administration of the license system. We will have, sir, under the system which I propose, freedom from political partisanship; we would have the license law administered in accordance with the requirements of the locality in which the law prevails, and we would not have the trade at the mercy of the political parties of the country. I appeal to you, sir, and I appeal to the ladies and gentlemen present, whether the license system, as proposed by the Opposition of the Local House, is not more in the interests of the temperance people of this country than the partisan, than the corrupt, than the dishonest administration of the law as it is on the statute book to-day. I happened, in my reading the other day, to find no less an authority in favor of the position which was taken by the Conservative Opposition in the Local House here than the

#### Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

leader of the Liberal party in Great Britain. He was addressing that large gathering in Northampton. What was his position? His position was that the control of licenses should be taken away from the Government of the day and should be placed in the hands of the county councils, the newly-chosen representatives of the people in the county. We have the principle in favor of what we contend pronounced upon; we have the high utterance of the greatest leader of the Liberal party in the United Kingdom also in favor of the position which we take; and upon these grounds, too, I appeal to you, ladies and gentlemen, to support the policy of the Opposition. And let me mention that the reference to the word ladies calls my attention to this fact, there is

a great struggle in certain quarters to give the women the franchise. I am a little afraid to say, with so many ladies in the audience here to-night, that I am opposed altogether to giving the parliamentary franchise to either spinsters, married women or widows. (Loud cheers.) I have percolated in this; but, sir, we do give to the widows and spinsters the right to vote in municipal elections, and what I think is, because I contend the women want the vote for the same reason that Miss Anthony wants it, on the principle of woman's right, that they may be behind the great moral reforms and be able to give their support to measures in the protection of morals and matters of humanity. Now, if we give this licensing power to the county councils and commissioners, chosen directly by the people, and

#### The Women Have the Right

to have their great moral power used for this purpose, we will have an honest administration of the law in the localities, and I think, sir, that it is a strong argument that the power should be taken away from the Administration in which it is now vested. (Cheers.)

### THE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

#### The Evil Results of Partisan Control of its Affairs.

I come now, sir, for a moment or two to the question of the control of our educational system. Every Canadian is proud of the educational system of this province. It is of comparatively recent origin and development. We have a splendid system, although the Government of the day laid their hands upon it. It is a system the superior of which does not exist in any part of this world. Now I say, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, that it was a most unfortunate thing the day that the Education Department was taken from the unpartisan control of a commissioner such as the late Dr. Ryerson was, and placed in the hands of a Minister of the Crown. I don't care how you may choose to do it, the temptation of the party which is in power is to back up their Minister, no matter whether he does right or wrong, and the temptation of the other side is to attack the Minister for the purpose of making a point against the Government, so that by bringing the administration of the Education Department down into politics you have at once all the disadvantages of the party system directed towards the administration of our educational affairs. Why, every one of these troubles in connection with the separate school amendments, about which I shall have something to say to you, has arisen since the change in the law and since a politician was

put at the head of the Department of Education. Every one of these changes

#### Has Taken Place Since Then.

and taken place, I venture to think, by reason, to a large extent, of the change in the methods in which that department was administered. Now there is a great deal said throughout the country about Dr. Ryerson's position with regard to this matter. Mr. Mowat and his friends throughout the country take the ground that Dr. Ryerson himself was in favor of the change from the system under which our educational affairs had advanced to the position in which they were when he conducted them down to the year 1878. They say that when giving up the management of that department he said to the Government that the only way in which this system could be satisfactorily carried on was by placing it under the control of a Minister having a seat in Parliament and responsible to the people of the country. I do not deny that that proposition looks well in theory, but I say that in practice it is an entire mistake, and that the result has been to show that the change from a non-partisan party to the political head has not been in the interests of education, in the interests of the people of this country. Now I want to read

#### What Dr. Ryerson Said

in 1868 on this point, in order that you may see what Dr. Ryerson's view was at that time on that question. He was then suggesting to the Government of the day that there ought to be a non-partisan committee of the House chosen each session for the purpose of considering the educational estimates, for the purpose of considering educational legislation, and in doing so he pointed out in this way what the dangers were of the system which the Government of the day has since followed. He said:

By many thoughtful men this system has been considered more safe, more likely to secure a competent and working head of the department and less liable to make the school system a tool of party politics than for the head of it to have a seat in Parliament and thus leave the educational interests of this country dependent upon the votes of the majority of the electors of one riding.

Now, sir, this language was prophetic. What he pointed out in 1868, as the result of Parliament taking the control of the Education Department and placing it under the hand of a political chief has been demonstrated to-day in the position of this department as seen under the present and the past administrators, and part of the policy of the Opposition is to wipe out this political head of the Department, and to say that the great educational interests of this country should not be recognized in party politics and dragged down—that the



which are the highest duties that any State has to perform, must be raised so that every man, no matter what his politics may be, can unite with his fellow-citizens in perfecting a system of education under which he can bring up his children as worthy citizens and educated men.

I come now, sir, to speak for a moment upon what I claim to be a crying evil in our election law. We have, it is supposed, a ballot for our parliamentary election, and when I say parliamentary, I mean to say for the purpose of elections to the Legislative Assembly. We have a ballot, but

#### We Have Not a Secret Ballot.

We have a ballot by which a man of unscrupulous character has the means of detecting how another man voted if he desires to do so. I say he has the means of knowing how his neighbor's vote has been cast. This ballot has been the means and is made the means of intimidating or influencing many men who would cast their votes differently if they had the freedom of the secret ballot, but they know that the way in which they cast it can be known, that their ballot can be traced, and that it can be ascertained how they voted. Many may be opposed to the principle of the ballot, but I venture to say that nothing has done so much to advance the interests of the great masses of the people as the placing in their hands of the ballot, by means of which they can come up and cast a ballot as the equal of the first men in the land. (Applause.) I say that this system of the ballot, under which it is permitted to investigate the way in which any man votes, which permits that the ballot of any man can be traced, is

#### A Delusion, a Mockery and a Snare.

because it brings in its train the evils and terrors of men being afraid to cast their vote. One plank in the platform of the Conservative party to which I call your attention to-night, and for which I think I have the right of calling for the support of the great masses of the people of this country, is to make this ballot the thing it was intended to be, a secret ballot, by means of which a man can in secrecy cast his vote, which he cannot do under the existing system. That is the practice in Dominion elections, and the evil results which come from the present system in Ontario should be avoided by the adoption of this same principle in regard to Ontario elections. Again and again in the House we have endeavored to impress these views upon the governmental majority, and in respect to them, now, I think we have a right to appeal to the people of the country whether they are going to uphold the views enunciated and upheld by the Government of

this province. Now I come for a moment to the question of

#### Exemptions from Taxation.

This subject has been under discussion in the Province of Ontario, and the Government of the country has tinkered with it and appointed a commission to do something, but it has always backed away from it. Now, sir, in my judgment, a very large amount of the property exempted from taxation ought in all fairness and justice to pay taxes, as the little lot which belongs to the workingman and the wage-earner. (Loud applause.) Long, long ago—and I think it is one of the things for which Reformers of Great Britain and this country have a right to be proud is the separation of the state and the church—(applause)—the interests of the state and the interests of the church have been completely separated, and I say, therefore, that any system of taxation that takes out of my pocket, or out of your pocket, a dollar or ten cents or any other sum whatever against my will and compels me to contribute for the support of any other church is mischievous. A large array of objections can be urged against the connection between the state and the church, and measures which have been adopted in this country should not longer be allowed to remain on the statute book. (Applause.) I say that the property of a church or of the minister ought to be subject to taxation just as that of the merchant or of the richest or poorest man carrying on any business in the country. The

#### True Principle of Taxation

is taxation on property, where you find it, but I don't mean to say, or I don't intend to give the idea, that I would do away with the exemptions on small portions of salaries of workmen now exempt from taxation under the existing law. (Applause.) But, sir, we want a radical change in our system of taxation, for there are many and many exemptions upon the statute book that ought to be wiped out in the interests of the people of this country, and I say that this would have the effect of lessening the taxation upon the struggling classes of our people, who have but little and get but little. (Applause.) I would say, sir, something also upon

#### The Question of Labor Legislation.

And I would say here to my friend Mr. Mowat, that if his Government would not pay so much attention to what they call the question of provincial rights, if they would not enter into so many contests with the central Government, and if they would direct their attention more to the social questions which are at the present time claiming the attention of most legislators,

they would be doing more in the interest of the people of the country. There is a call, sir, on all hands for something to be done to equalize the enormous differences that exist between the rich and the poor. (Applause.) They do not exist to the same extent in this free country of Canada, thank God, as they do in other lands, but they do exist here, and I think one of the highest duties that could be performed by any Legislature would be to pay attention to the question of these relative differences as they exist, and to the improvement of the condition of the workingman. (Applause.) Improvements are needed in the Factory Act, improvements are needed in the Act with regard to injuries sustained by workmen. (Applause.) Much has been done in that direction already. I am glad to see upon the platform a member of the Local House who has been chosen from the ranks of labor, who has distinguished himself upon the floor of the House in his painstaking endeavors to advance the interests of the workingman. (Loud applause.) You have, sir, a demonstration in him of a man taken from the bench worthy to take his seat in the House and intelligently discuss the questions of public policy, and especially those questions which affect the interest of the great masses of the people, with which interests he is most closely identified. This subject and other relations of capital and labor should most earnestly engage the attention of the Legislature to the exclusion of questions which are now made the subject of their attention. I come now to discuss what I may call

#### The Vexed Questions of the Present Day.

I do not know whether what I shall say to-night will please all those who have been my friends in the past. If it does not I shall regret it, but I shall nevertheless discharge my duties according to my conscientious convictions. (Applause.)

#### THE SEPARATE SCHOOLS.

The Various Issues Fully Defined and Discussed.

And first, sir, I want to show why, whenever a question which affects the relations between the Roman Catholic people of this country and their fellow-citizens the Protestants is up for consideration, it cannot be discussed just as a question between Methodists and Presbyterians or Anglicans and Presbyterians. (Cheers.) I want to know why in the discussion of public questions public men whenever called upon to take a particular line should be hounded from one end of the country to the other by shouts of intolerance and the no-Popery cry. I repudiate the foul

accusation made against good men, as good men as stand in this community this day and throughout the country. I ask the people of this country if it is not sufficient to disgust any public man if, when called upon to act on a question affecting the material interests of the country, he cannot do so without being affected by this or that religious body. Now I know of no country under the sun where the rights of the Roman Catholic citizens are more upheld than in this great province of Ontario. There is no office in the state, from the highest to the lowest, that is not open to him and that ought not to be open to him as freely as to any good subject of Her Majesty—there is no office in theory, at all events, if not in practice—that is, in any case, the view of the intolerant majority of the province of Ontario. Look across the border, and see the state of things existing there to-day. There is not a separate school from one end of the United States of America to the other—(loud and prolonged cheers)—yet think what has been done there in the interests of right and justice, blessings which have never been denied to the Roman Catholic people of that country; but we in the province of Ontario have given our Roman Catholic fellow citizens separate schools, which have been

Guaranteed to Them by the Great Charter upon which confederation was built. So I say there are no people in any country under the sun more liberal, more just to this minority, than are the people of the province of Ontario. Now, sir, having said that much, I desire to enter my protest against the line of argument that has been used in certain quarters towards this question. I take from a newspaper published in the city of Kingston, addressed, it is true, to the readers of the paper, but arising out of matters which engage the attention of the people of this province—the words are used by a newspaper, but to some extent, I apprehend, by the gentleman who presides over the archiepiscopal see at 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 the other shall receive our support.

Now, I say I believe that there are hundreds, if not thousands, of our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens who do not subscribe to those views, and who do not feel themselves in a position to bind themselves together in a compact to defeat or work against the two great factions in the state. One of the evils of the Parliamentary system of England to-day was the great danger

to the state arising from a compact minority swaying from side to side and exacting terms in return for its support. Is there not

#### Great Danger to the State

in this solid compact of the minority in the great heat there is between parties, swaying from one side to the other, and exacting from that other what in conscience it could not give without the support of that compact party? I say this is one of the dangers to modern civilization. I say that in the face of such a solid compact both parties should be willing to throw down their arms and cry, "Unite, unite, against a common enemy, for there is danger to the community." (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

Now, sir, I have a right to speak with some emphasis on the subject and can, in the face of my fellow-citizens, say that I have never been an illiberal man; but because I dared at the last general election, when in my humble judgment I thought fit to say that it was a mistake separate schools were established in Ontario, thunderbolts were shot at me from one end of the country to the other by my Roman Catholic friends, many of whom voted against me. However, I have a right to say, and speaking in this audience I do ask, was such treatment fair and just? (Cries of "No," and cheers.) It will be a sad day in this country when any public man cannot express an opinion in this matter without having the power of the great church of Rome hurled against him in the discharge of his duties. (Prolonged cheering.) I repeat what I said at the last election. I say that I think it was a great mistake that separate schools were established in the province of Ontario, and I wish to-day that my Roman Catholic fellow-citizens could see

#### How Much Better It Would Be

if these schools should be done away with. I think there is nothing tends more to foster ill-will and bitterness between young Protestants and young Roman Catholics than to bring them up, as it were, in hostile camps. Would it not be a much better means of making them love one another and of making them respect one another in bringing them up side by side in the one school and at the same desk? (Loud cheers.) Therefore, I say I do regret that ever separate schools were established in Ontario, and I may ask you whether the experience we have had for the last thirty years, for the last twenty-five years, I should say, since the Separate School Act of 1863 was passed, whether the state of matters would not have been better to-day if, instead of being turned out of both public and separate schools, they were altogether turned out of the public schools of Ontario? I make that enquiry in an inoffensive spirit, and simply ask you to com-

pare results and ask yourselves whether the students turned out of the separate schools are any better citizens, any more religious citizens, any more honest men than those who have been turned out of the public schools? (Great cheering.) Now, sir, we have implanted in our constitution the decree that there shall be separate schools, and that decree prescribes that they shall exist on a basis upon which they existed at the time of confederation. We cannot alter that if we would.

#### It was a Compromise

entered into at the time confederation was given to you, but my position is, as was put by the leading men who spoke on the occasion on the passing of the Act of 1863, and while I am ready to afford every facility for the purpose of improving these separate schools in their machinery, their working, and in their development, while I am willing to say that no dollar of the money of separate school supporters shall be taken to support the public schools, and that no dollar of the money of public school supporters shall be taken to support separate schools—yet I do say, holding these views, I would be guilty of treason if I opened the door wider for the admittance of separate schools into Ontario.

One of the sins which I charge at the door of the Government of the day is that they have not been mindful of this high duty which they owe to the people of the country, but have proceeded by legislation in an opposite direction. I observed this morning that the *Globe* newspaper appeals to the Hon. George Brown in support of the position which it and the Mowat Government are taking upon the question. You will observe, if you have read the *Globe*, that in a certain portion of the advice something is omitted. Now, what is omitted are these words uttered by the Hon. Geo. Brown, and which do much to qualify the observations which he made and which are the subject of the *Globe's* article. He said:

I admit that from my point of view this is a blot on the scheme of the House. It is confessedly one of the concessions from our side that had to be made to secure this great measure of reform.

He was referring to the confederation scheme. The great point with the men who were in the House of that day was this, by this Act of 1867 we make a finality of this separate school question and will not be disturbed by it again. It was accepted by the Roman Catholic minority in this Province. Now it seems to me, sir, that a certain high dignitary of the church, who has passed to his long home since, has had

#### An Entirely Erroneous View

of what the Separate School Act of 1863



was, and it is upon his lines that the administration of Mr. Mowat has been legislating since 1876. Let me read to you what that distinguished prelate said upon the election of a school trustee in the City of Toronto, when the present Hon. Timothy Warren Anglin was elected to fill that position. He said:

It is quite erroneous to think that what appertains to the election of separate school trustees is merely a secular matter and does not touch religion. The Christian education of youth is a religious matter, one to be chiefly directed by the clergy and especially by the bishops, who have to answer for the souls of those confined to their care, both parents and children. Now, the election of persons to aid the clergy in their sacred duty of educating youth is a sacred affair.

Upon this proposition which his Grace is about to make I most firmly join issue. He says:

The Church justly and religiously claims the right to define the bounds of her own rights and jurisdiction. Were this in the power of the State the Church would not be permitted always to preach the true Gospel of Christ. Now, we pronounce that the election of separate school trustees is a religious affair, and that each elector must answer before God for his vote. We never tried to control our Catholic people in their votes for purely secular concerns, such as for elections of mayor or of aldermen, or of members of Parliament, etc., but the election of a separate school trustee, being a religious affair, concerning the salvation of souls, it is our duty to interfere and see that proper men are elected. We will conclude as we did in one of our former letters: "Obey your prelates and be loyal to them, for they watch as having to render an account of your souls, that they may do this with joy and not with grief." God will not bless those who disobey their lawful ecclesiastical superiors in sacred matters.

Yours faithfully in Christ,

† JOHN JOSEPH LYNCH,  
Archbishop of Toronto.

Why, sir, that is what we have been fighting for, and our forefathers have been fighting for in the motherland for years, that while in the realm of religion the Church shall be supreme, in the realm of civil matters the State shall be supreme. (Cheers.) Now, see what are the two cardinal principles in that pastoral delivered in April, 1888. First, that the Church has to define the limits of our jurisdiction, and wherever it shall say to the State, "This matter is in my control," the State must stand aside. The other proposition is that we have not confided to the Catholic laity, as we always supposed, the control of their separate schools, but that they are merely aids to the clergy and bishops in the conduct of those schools and that trustees are practically selected at the bidding of the Hierarchy. If that be so, why go through the farce of electing school trustees at all? Why should not the Hierarchy be entrusted with the appointment of trustees? I speak now upon a matter in which

The Catholic Laity are Interested,

just as the Protestants are interested, in this matter. If this is the true position, then there is no reason in the world why the Catholic Hierarchy should not be trusted with the appointment of the trustees, and not necessitate the expense of having the farce of an election for the purpose of choosing men to conduct the affairs of the separate schools. (Hear, hear.) That is not the Separate School Act of 1863, and no man who was not a traitor to his country would have assented to an Act that involved principles such as these. No man, I say, who was not a traitor to his country would have assented to legislation which admitted the right of the church to define the limits of its jurisdiction and to hand over directly to the Church the control of the educational affairs of any portion of the people of this province. I say it would never have been assented to by any Legislature in this province. What is the theory of the Separate School Act? The

Theory of the Separate School Act

is that any five or more heads of families who conscientiously do not desire to have their children educated in the public school may form a separate school. They elect trustees, who manage the affairs of the school according to the principle with relation to the public school. Not one word from first to last about the church to do this. It is something given to the citizens, and in the legislation there is not one word about the church being entrusted with any power whatsoever. Now that was the concession to the conscientious convictions of the individual citizens, and standing upon that ground is the only ground upon which the separate schools can possibly be defended in this country. Let me ask you for a moment if there is not somewhat of an anomaly. I ask my Catholic fellow-citizens to follow me in this argument and see if I am not justified in taking the ground that there ought not to be separate schools. We have long ago unanimously said there should be no connection between church and state. Our Catholic fellow-citizens were with us in this battle. They said so, too. The very last vestige of church and state is done away with. We, the majority, said that with regard to the Protestant church. What was the principle upon which that rested? That the state could not undertake to be the means of conveying, at the expense of the state, the

Dogmas of Any Particular Religion.

Now what are the separate schools under the present system? Every teacher in them is an officer of the state. They have the powers of the state the trustees have

for levying taxation, and I want to know the difference between a connection between church and state where from the pulpit dogmas are preached, and the school where the dogmas are by the state inculcated at the desks of the school room. Is there any difference in principle? I venture to say, sir, that there is no difference in principle, and I use that simply as an argument why I am justified in taking the ground that I take, that there ought to be no extension of the influence of separate schools, while they should be made as perfect as they can under the existing system. Mr. Mowat says that these amendments that have been made have not been suggested by anybody connected with the church. They have not been dictated. They have not been even suggested. I do not know that Mr. Mowat says that—the *Globe* says that Mr. Mowat says so—(laughter)—because I cannot believe that Mr. Mowat did say so, because whenever the necessity of any change in the separate school law has come up, the invariable answer by those who represent that particular interest in the Cabinet is that no amendment in the Separate School Act ought to be made unless the

#### Separate School Supporters Ask for It.

So that you see the very principle upon which we have been legislating all along, that no changes in the Separate School Act ought to be made unless that demand came from the separate school supporters. Now, let me see. First they say we have done nothing. We have not facilitated the formation of separate schools. Now let me read what is said in the life of Archbishop Lynch, written in his lifetime, and in all probability, I doubt not, from what the book itself says, submitted to his grace for his consideration. The author is speaking of Archbishop Lynch's position in Ontario politics:

It seemed for some time after Confederation that the Ontario Catholics would be obliged to make the best of the imperfect Act of 1863, as there appeared but small prospect that any Legislature elected by the people of that province would be prepared to do anything towards making the measures more effective. The coalition Government of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, the first Government of the new province of Ontario, did not feel disposed to grant any concessions to the Catholic body in the matter of separate schools. A better feeling, however, soon began to prevail among the Protestant majority towards Catholics, which we are bound to say the present Archbishop of Toronto was largely instrumental in bringing about. The people of Ontario at last realized the injustice of admitting the principle of separate schools and yet preventing by burdensome and onerous restrictions their full and free development. The consequence and result of this change in public opinion and in the better and more liberal sentiments of the Protestant majority of Ontario towards their Catholic fellow-citizens, is that the present Liberal Government of

Ontario have been enabled to grant to the Catholic minority of this province all the amendments in the Separate School Act necessary to carry out the spirit and intention of the law. What other Governments could not or would not grant in this respect has been fully and generously conceded by Mr. Mowat's administration. For this reason and for the further and most important reason that the present Liberal Government of Ontario have always shown themselves prepared to treat the Catholics of this province in a fair and equitable spirit, and have recognized the claim of the Catholic minority by giving an important portfolio in the Cabinet to a representative Catholic, the present Archbishop of Toronto, has felt it his duty to give Mr. Mowat's Government such support as a Catholic bishop may consistently without compromising himself by merely political entanglements.

Now, sir, you see what the view of Archbishop Lynch was. You know what his view was of what the Separate School Act was, and he declares there, or in fact it is declared under his hand, that the Mowat Government had passed all the changes in the law that were necessary to the full and free development of separate schools. Yet Mr. Mowat says: "I have done nothing, I have made no changes in matters of that kind that should alter the state of the Roman Catholic schools." Now I want to read you a few statistics for the purpose of showing that Archbishop Lynch, and not Mr. Mowat, is right upon this question. In 1866 there were 161 separate schools in existence. That is the year of Federation as you all know. In the year 1876—which is the expiration of ten years from that time and by a singular coincidence the commencement of the new Ministry of Education, when Mr. Crooks assumed the portfolio of education, and it became a political appointment—in 1876 there were 167, so that in ten years the separate schools had increased only by six. Now take the next ten years. In 1885, under the political head, the separate schools had increased from 167 to 218, while in the previous ten years they had increased only by six. Yet in 1888 they had increased them till they reached 235 in number, and yet Mr. Mowat says he has done nothing to facilitate the establishment of separate schools. There are three or four points upon which I am at issue with the Government of Mr. Mowat upon this question of separate schools. In the first place, I say that this Act by which

#### An Assessor Was Bound to Take the Fact

that a man was a Roman Catholic as *prima facie* evidence that he was a separate school supporter, I say that Act ought not to have been placed upon the statute book, and for this reason the separate school was a concession to the conscience of the individual Catholic, and he should have been left perfectly free to exercise his independence as to whether he would support the separate

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schools, or whether he would not, and I say as a result of that legislation, the result in practice, whatever the strict literal interpretation of the Act may be, and that is a matter now for the consideration of the courts, the result in practice is that, if a man who is a Catholic desires to avoid supporting the separate schools he is bound himself to take the initiative and to appeal from the assessment instead of, as under the old law, leaving him entirely at his own option to support or not to support the separate school. Now Mr. Mowat said the other day at Princeton that when this amendment was before the House a member of the Opposition proposed that the statute should declare that every Roman Catholic should be ipso facto a separate school supporter. That is practically true. That member was Dr. O'Sullivan, who stood on the opposition side of the House, a member of the Roman Catholic faith, but Mr. Mowat did not tell his meeting at Princeton this. He did not tell the people of Ontario that upon that occasion his colleague, Mr. Fraser, pointed out to Dr. O'Sullivan that while it was not expedient to amend the law as he proposed to do, that practically all he proposed by his amendment would be secured by that proposed by the Minister of Education, which is now upon the statute book of this province. I say then

**That Amendment Ought to be Taken Off** the statute books. Mr. Chairman, see what the result of this is. I took occasion, in order to see how this was working in our own city, to communicate with our worthy City Clerk upon the subject. I will read to you his letter as to how the matter is working in the City of London to-day, and it is important to the Catholic separate school supporters, because if Mr. Mowat's contention is correct, then not one of them is entitled to have his taxes go to support the separate schools, and practically the separate schools are without the right to any taxes at all to-day, except the few or the many who before 1885 were supporters of these schools. This is what Mr. Abbott says:

In reply to your letter of this day I beg to state that the habit has been discontinued since that time. The course pursued has been to examine the assessment rolls by a committee from the Roman Catholic separate school board, and the number ascertained in that manner each year.

So that you see, sir, that where they go for the purpose of ascertaining who are the supporters of the separate schools is not to the notice which under the old Act the separate school supporter gave, but to the assessment roll, where he is put down as a supporter whether he be a supporter or not. Now, I say, that in justice to the Roman Catholic separate school supporters, in

justice to the principle upon which this Act rests, that provision of the law ought to be taken off the statute book, and, sir, I proposed in the year 1887 an amendment to the law which would enable any person appealing under the assessment law, if a supporter of the separate schools did not give a notice, to secure that he might be transferred from the column of separate school supporters to that of public school supporters, and that amendment was voted down by the Government of Mr. Mowat and his followers.

Now then another change has been made in the separate school law. I admit that as to this there is a great deal of room for difference of opinion, partly, at all events. By the original Act it was only ratepayers who had the right to direct their taxes to go to support a separate school, and so it happened that where a tenant under an arrangement between himself and his landlord did not pay his taxes, then the tenant, if he happened to be a Roman Catholic, could not apply his taxes to the support of a separate school, nor if he were a Protestant could he apply his taxes to support a public school. In 1874 or 1875 Mr. Crooks introduced an amendment, by which he declared that where property was assessed both for the landlord and tenant that the destination of the taxes should be determined by the religion of the tenant, and that no matter what the agreement between the landlord and tenant might be as to the payment of the taxes, it amounted to nothing. They did not know whether he paid the taxes or not. Where the Catholic is taxed it went to support the separate school, and if the Protestant is taxed it went to the public school. That strikes me as being unfair. It is just as unfair to the Catholic as it is to the Protestant, and I do not see why the landlord shall not have the liberty, then, if he is paying the taxes, to say to what school it should go, and it seems to me that that amendment was not in the public interest. Then, Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, the next amendment was: Under the law formerly

#### **The Separate Schools were Inspected**

by high school inspectors and by public school inspectors under the ordinary law of the land, but after Mr. Crooks came into office a change was made in the method of inspection, and now two inspectors are appointed for the purpose of inspecting the Roman Catholic schools, paid out of the provincial exchequer, and not paid in the way in which the public school inspection is paid throughout the country. That may be a small matter, but it is a matter of unfairness and injustice to the taxpayers or the people of this province. (Cheers.) Why

should not these schools be inspected just in the same way as the public schools of province are inspected? Is there any reason for departing from the original rule? It seems to me they ought to return to that old method of inspecting schools. It would be fair for the Roman Catholics and fair for the Protestants to put them on the same footing in that respect. Then there was

#### Another Change Made in The Law

to which I desire to state my objections. You know that the county councils now appoint representatives upon the high school boards in counties, and city councils appoint representatives upon the high schools in cities. Well, now, six years ago Mr. Ross introduced an amendment in the law by which the Roman Catholic separate school board was authorized to appoint a member upon the high school board. Haven't they the same voice as the Protestants in the election of the city council? Haven't they the same voice in choosing the county council? And why should they have the right to select one member to sit upon the high school board? I believe that in the city of London they have a most excellent representative there, but what we protest against is this class discrimination, this religious discrimination. As reasonably might they say upon the arguments regarding the separate school trustee, because the people of the province did not elect to the Legislature a number of Roman Catholic representatives proportionate to the population, that the Government of the day ought to give seats to the requisite number there. It is not right. It is unjust for the majority to put the minority in an unfair position, and I think it would be something the Roman Catholics themselves would spurn, as being a matter as to which they would not stand side by side on their own feet along with their Protestant fellow-citizens. This is one of the amendments in the law against which I desire to enter my protest. I have only one other matter with regard to the separate schools which I desire to refer to, and that is regarding the

#### Text Books of the Separate Schools.

Now, sir, Mr. Mowat has declared that he could not support an amendment that was moved by Mr. Craig in the House declaring that the text books that are in use in the separate schools, except those that deal with matters of religion, should be under the control of the department. He said he could not support a proposition of that kind, because he doubted whether it was out of the power or within the power of the Legislature. Why, sir, by the law which created the separate schools provision is made under which there is ample power given to do this

thing. This is a provision of the original Act regarding Roman Catholic separate schools, so that they and their registers shall be subject to such inspection as may be directed, from time to time, by the chief superintendent of education, and shall be subject also to such restrictions as may be imposed from time to time by the Council of Public Instruction for Upper Canada. You see, therefore, in the terms of the charter for the separate schools a provision is made that they shall be subject to such regulation as shall from time to time be prescribed by the Council of Public Instruction. Do you say that the people of this country will ever consent that a school shall be conducted by any denomination in this country where the books are not subject to revision by those who are charged with the administration of educational affairs, except as to the books which deal with matters of religion? Why, sir, it seems to be one of the fundamental principles on which our school system stands, and I was astonished when Mr. Mowat took that ground, and from the position which he took I appeal to the people of this country whether they will not say that the authorized text books in use in the separate schools, except those used for the purpose of teaching religion, shall be subject to revision just the same as the books used throughout the provinces. (Applause.)

Now, sir, I desire to say a word or two before passing from this subject. It is said that our Catholic fellow citizens do not get

#### A Fair Share of the Appointments

to office, that they are not elected to the Legislature as they ought to be. There may be something in that, but, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, is that any reason why we should alter the whole law of the country? I say that in matters of state the men should be appointed and not the religion. Religion is a matter between a man and his God. We say the state should not know a man except as a citizen, and the only questions when a man presents himself for appointment to office or election by the people are first, is he a good citizen? and second, is he worthy of the position to which he aspires?

I venture to think, sir, that if some of our Catholic citizens would but separate themselves from the line they have been following and take the line of that principle there would be more firm friendliness between the people of one religion and the other in this country, and I appeal to my fellow-citizens of the Roman Catholic faith to join together as citizens and look not at whether men worshipped at this or that altar. As to a difference between men, who, sir, can conscientiously tell in this country

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any man whether he has a right to the freedom of conscientious worship in any religion he may choose? Who knows sufficiently to mark out the boundaries between any faith and another? Under the universe of God men can reach that eternal home beyond the skies, men can reach that abode of rest, by roads which neither priest or presbyter have marked out. (Loud and long continued applause.) In the name, sir, of freedom, in the name of religion, in the name of

#### The Highest Duties of Citizenship,

I protest against looking at the faith which any of our fellow-citizens profess and for any purpose appealing in that way in respect of their citizenship. I say, sir, that it is only by acting on these lines, by leaving men's religion as a matter entirely between them and their God, that we can be a solid and compact people and carry on our affairs as becomes a free people in a free community such as this. (Applause.)

Now, sir, I come to another phase of the question. I suppose it will be said that I have been shouting "No Popery" from this platform to-night. (Cries of "No, no.") I venture to say, and I appeal to every right-thinking man to say, if to-night I have said anything in any way offensive to any man in the Roman Catholic faith, or anything on account of which I cannot look him in the face to-morrow and call him my friend, as I have done before, and as I will do. (Loud applause.)

#### THE FRENCH SCHOOLS.

##### The Policy Which Ought to be Pursued Regarding Them.

Now, sir, there has been a great deal of discussion lately about French in the public schools. Perhaps before discussing the matter you will permit me to go back for a moment as I want to give you another illustration of the way in which my friend Mr. Mowat conducts his affairs upon the principle of truth and righteousness. (Applause and laughter.) He went up to the county of Lambton and there made a speech in which he told the electors that he did know how I was going to get on in the discussion that has taken place on this subject because I had favored Roman Catholics having to do with the selection of books to be used in the public schools. Let us see how he brought in his charge—in the first place—how he conducted this matter. This is what he read or referred to: "With respect to the educational question they would be prepared to formulate their views in a proper way before the session closed, and he hoped the Government would be prepared to meet them. As that question had

been referred to he might say that he recognized the right of Roman Catholics in this country to fair play. Anyone who would adopt another course in this country was not a true Canadian. He recognized the right of the Roman Catholic authorities to give their advice and to make enquiries with respect to what works were used in our high schools or schools in which their children might be taught," and then he stopped. There is a man looking about for the control of the public schools, and advocating aloud that the

#### Roman Catholics Should Dictate

what kind of books should be used in the public schools. But now let me read to you what follows, and what the *Globe* did not print: "But he recognized no more right for the Catholic church than for the Presbyterian, Anglican or any other church in the community, and their wishes should be no more respected than those of any other religious body of representatives making representations to the Education Department." Do you think that Mr. Mowat in that speech dealt fairly with me, or dealt fairly with the audience which he was addressing? I think not. (Applause.) Now, sir, to return to the question of French in the schools. What is the course which Mr. Mowat's Government have taken in this matter? I ask you can anybody say that the English language should not be the language of the country? I ask you, can any state school teach any other language but the English as the language of the schools? (Applause.) But we live in strange times, and extraordinary views are sometimes put forward, and one of these extraordinary views is that in this English-speaking province of Ontario the French language ought to be taught side by side with the English language, and that it would be cruel and intolerant not so to teach it. That is the doctrine which is preached to-day. But, even if a little while ago we might have been more liberal, I think that

#### Some Things that Have Been Transpiring

not far away from here ought to teach us how careful we ought to be about the establishment of a dangerous precedent. Mr. Mowat, by his alliance with Mr. Mercier, has strengthened himself with the old Liberals in the province of Quebec. Who can say that the Parti National has not its birth in the tomb of the Liberal party of Quebec? Now, what have we heard declared, not behind the doors, but upon the house-tops, at the meeting of the St. Jean Baptiste Society in the province of Quebec? Mr. Mercier there told the people of this country that the dream that they were going to build up a great Dominion of a



homogeneous people living under the sceptre of the British crown has been but a "dream," that we don't want to be mistaken, as they will have no part in the work in that way to be accomplished, but they desired to build up in this country a French Catholic nationality, and that as the building increased it would have a peaceful conquest of the province of Quebec and of a portion of the province of Ontario. I say, sir, that when the leader of a great party, controlling the majority of the electors of Quebec, does not hesitate to declare this sentiment it is full time for us to set our house in order to meet the man who makes statements of this sort.

I observe that there has been a kind of spasmodic effort on the part of Mr. Mowat's followers to repudiate Mr. Mercier. But it was largely owing to Mr. Mowat that

**Mr. Mercier Blossomed into Existence** and occupies the position he does to-day. Can Mr. Mercier's position be assured were it not for the position of the Liberal party of Ontario to-day? It seems to me it could not. What was the reason of the existence of this Parti National? Why, when the traitor who had twice rebelled against his country had met the doom to which he was so justly entitled—that man who caused the slaughter of the bravest sons of this country and caused the expenditure of millions of dollars—had the equal and just law of this country executed upon him, those who would make a foundation of revenge for that constitutional exercise of the power of this nation without which it could not have been exercised, are undermining the liberties handed down to us by our forefathers. (Cheers.) What did Mr. Mowat do after that? I do not charge upon him that he sat down in secret in view of subsequent legislation, but met in conclave with Mr. Mercier. What I do say is that he and Mr. Mercier met together and they put their hands to the pulling down of that which is the arch of this Confederation, and without which Confederation cannot live, and declared that radical changes must be made in the constitution of this country—I refer to the veto power framed by great men and placed in the hands of the general Government of this country. I do not stop there, but call to mind the language of Sir George Cartier and the Hon. George Brown and other great leaders of parties who met together, and with whose assistance the great charter of Confederation was made, and ask if that veto power were not placed there for

**Protecting the Minorities** of this country. I say, it is the sheet anchor of Confederation, and without it Confeder-

ation cannot stand. Look at the doctrines of the Liberal party in Ontario and the Liberal party in Quebec. Look at the powers conferred upon these local bodies. According to the view of this man (Mercier) there might be established in Ontario, or in Quebec, a state church. Indeed there is a state church in Quebec, and Protestants might be compelled to establish that church. I say the veto power is essential to Confederation, and must be asserted again because it has been rudely shaken by the events which have taken place. There must be a radical change in the constitution, by which the powers of the local legislatures will be largely limited with respect to those matters dealing with minorities and the establishment of state churches in the different provinces. (Cheers.) Next I take the question of the French language in the schools. I shall point out that we ought, in view of what has taken place in the province of Quebec, not to permit the English language to be excluded from our schools, or any other principle to be recognized than that the teaching in these schools should be English and that French should only be tolerated for the purpose of giving a rudimentary instruction in the English language. Now, Mr. Mowat has been charged throughout the country with breaking the regulations of the department, and has attempted to throw the responsibility upon the late Dr. Ryerson, and he has been quoting to show that the department recognized the French language in years gone by. But

#### **He Only Quotes a Portion**

of what he ought to have quoted. In the quotation which he gave he would lead the public to think that it was always competent for a man who did not understand the English language to become a teacher in the public schools in the French districts of Ontario. This is not so, and never was the law. It has always under the law been necessary that any man should obtain a first, or second, or third-class certificate, and that he should be able to read in the English tongue. Let me read from the record that there might be no mistake about it, and I hope you will pardon me if my observations extend longer than they ought to. (Cries of "Go on, go on," and cheers.) The qualifications of third-class teachers are these: "English language and literature; reading, to be able to read any passage to be selected from the authorized reading books intelligently, expressively and with correct pronunciation; spelling, to be able to write correctly any passage that may be dictated from the reading books; etymology, to know the prefixes and affixes and principal roots." Then it is provided that "in regard to teachers in French or German settlements

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a knowledge of the French or German grammar respectively may be substituted for a knowledge of the English grammar and the certificates to the teachers expressly limited accordingly. The county councils, within whose jurisdiction there are French or German settlements, are authorized to appoint one or more persons (who in their judgment may be competent) to examine candidates in the French or German language. But

**Nowhere Throughout These Regulations** is there any authority given to a teacher who is not able to spell the English language, understands the etymology of English and write a composition in the English language, and so also with regard to the second-class and so also with regard to the first-class certificates. I establish therefore that never has there been, according to the regulations of the department, any authority whatever for the employment or certification of teachers to teach in these schools who were not able to read, write or spell in the English language. Mr. Mowat would lead you to think otherwise. Mr. Mowat said Mr. Ross had in 1885 stimulated the study of English in the schools. Why, sir, for years and years before Mr. Ross became Minister of Education it was part of the regulations of the department that the course of studies should include reading in the English tongue from one end of the province to the other. I read now from the course of study in the regulations of 1879, under which it is provided:

"The programme or course of study for the public schools shall be according to the annexed table so far as the circumstances of the particular schools will allow the same to be followed. But whenever the circumstances require, such modifications of the programme are permitted as thereupon become necessary. It will be the duty, however of the inspector to see that no departures from the programme are made without sufficient cause. First class, reading and English literature, tablet lessons, First Reader, first part; ditto, second part; second-class, Second Reader, third class Third Reader, and so on to the sixth class, which includes critical reading of selections of English literature prescribed for the intermediate examination."

So you will see my statement is amply borne out by the regulations of 1877 and 1878, and in these regulations provision was made that English should be taught in every class in every school in the province of Ontario, and so it was in the regulations which preceded 1878. Therefore,

**Mr. Ross is Not Entitled to Take Any Credit** to himself in moving in the way of teaching English in the schools. In order that you

may have a better appreciation of what he has done towards the English language and English in the schools, how much do you think he said of the English language should be taught in the first and second classes? He said two hours per week. (Laughter.) "Two hours of English per week"—the rest might be all French—and in the other two classes four hours; in all the other classes all the rest might be French. Why, Mr. Ross was not up to the times and not even to the regulations, and yet he and the *Globe* are taking great credit to themselves for what they have done in the way of advancing English in the eastern section of the province. Now, Mr. Chairman, this matter has attracted attention in consequence of the newspapers taking up the cry and publishing the state of matters in the eastern counties. An instance that brought it to the notice of the public was that in L'Orignal the English people had constructed a school, which they controlled. They were driven out by the increase of the French population. These English people were compelled to start a school under the provisions of the "Separate School Act" and begun in the year 1876 and from that time onward. The newspaper press has continued to stamp on the public mind and to clamor against this outrage, which existed in the eastern portion of this province. Now what was Mr. Ross doing at this time? Passing this regulation, which was

#### **Lessening the Amount of English**

that ought to be taught in the school. That is all that can be found in connection with his work. Why, in an important matter such as this was, did he not go down himself into the counties of Prescott and Russell and examine this affair? What do we pay him for? What is the Minister of Education for? Was it not his duty on hearing these serious complaints to investigate; so that from his place in Parliament he would be able to say just how matters stood in that portion of the province of Ontario? He did not go. He sat in his office manipulating the changes by means of which he was increasing his patronage and power, but doing nothing to remedy these evils that were pointed out in the press. I want to read to you two letters which, during that time, passed between Mr. Ross and the assistant inspector in that district in order to show just how careless Mr. Ross was of the duties he had to perform. Mr. Dufort, the French assistant inspector in those two counties, on the 2nd February, 1886, wrote to the Minister of Education:

CURRAN, Feb. 2, 1886.

The Hon. the Minister of Education, Toronto:

SIR,—It is now more than a year ago since I applied to you to have a series of books au-

orized for the French schools of this province, the books recommended having been sent in the meantime and it seems that you have not decided yet. You may object to the reading books, as they contain some of the tenets of the Roman Catholic religion, but your honor will please remark that of all those I examined they contain the least.

Our teachers are at a loss to know which to use, and the result is that all kinds of books are to be found in our schools. By taking at once the matter into consideration you will oblige.

Yours, etc.,

O. DUFORT, Assistant I. P. S.

Upon that Mr. Ross, through his secretary, wrote on the 6th February, after waiting a year:

TORONTO, 6th February, 1886.

DEAR SIR.—With reference to the subject of your enquiry, the Minister sends herewith a copy of the new edition of the school regulations, and on page 81 will be found a list of French books which he has appointed for us, and which he hopes will be satisfactory to you.

Yours, etc.,

ALEX. MARLING, Secy.  
O. Dufort, Esq., Asst. P. S. I. Prescott and Russell, Curran.

Now, I pass on a moment from this—I shall return to it in a moment or two—to call your attention to what took place in the winter of 1886, that was during the last session. If you recollect Mr. Craig, the member for East Durham, brought this matter to the attention of the House. He read from the report of the inspector and brought to the attention of the members of the House information which he had received from different quarters. How was the motion of Mr. Craig met? You will see from this correspondence which I have read that Mr. Ross' new books were being used in the schools which ought not to be used. Does he go down into the district for the purpose of making an examination? No. Mr. Craig said this was an English-speaking province, we have no right in our public schools with the state money to be teaching the French language, at all events.

#### To the Exclusion of the English Tongue.

Gross wrongs are being carried on in the eastern section of the province. In many of the schools where Protestants are, where English-speaking people are, books containing the texts and teachings of the Roman Catholic church are used. He produced a book, which he said was one of those in use and demanded an explanation from the Minister of Education. He asked that some change should take place in the management of those schools. How did Mr. Ross meet those complaints? He got up and talked about the imperial haughtiness of the Anglo-Saxons. He talked about the accident of the victorious arms of Wolfe upon the Plains of Abraham. He talked

about the Highlands and of the old Gaelic tongue. He talked about Wales and other parts of the world, but he never came down to the practical discussion of the question, except to say everything was right in the schools of the east, that nothing was wrong, that the Opposition was endeavoring to stir up sectional and race and religious cries and ought to be hounded out. That is the way Mr. Ross met this charge, this demand upon the part of Mr. Craig for information and an investigation. Mr. Ross might have come a little nearer home. Why, he laughed at the idea of giving instruction in the English tongue in these French schools. He said it was a farce. How could you teach the little tots the English tongue when they did not know a word of English? And the *Globe*, with elephantine wit—(laughter)—talked about the Opposition having talked nonsense on this question. It was all nonsense to make the language of the schools the English tongue. They hooted the Opposition for saying so. That was all the satisfaction we got. If Mr. Ross had turned to page 210, I think, of the regulations dealing with the teaching of the little Indians of the country, he would have seen that it was provided there that the teacher shall have a speaking knowledge of the Indian tongue, but all instruction shall be as far as practicable in the English tongue. How many Gaelic settlements have we throughout this country, all about the country? Who ever heard of teaching the Gaelic language in the schools? The little

Gaelic Children Had to Pick up English as best they could. Who ever heard of establishing for our Italian fellow-citizens, and industrious, frugal citizens they are, teaching in the Italian tongue? They had to come into our schools the same as anyone else. And why should not these people in the eastern portion of the province do the same? (Cheers.) Well, everything was right with regard to these schools. Everything was perfectly right, nothing requiring to be done. Let me take up first what happened. I see that Mr. McCarthy claims the credit for the Equal Rights Association of having forced Mr. Mowat's Government to appoint the commission which was appointed shortly after the session. I do not want to take the credit away from anyone for having brought about this thing. It is sufficient that it was brought about. The commission was appointed in the month of May, 1889, a commission of Mr. Ross' choosing. I do not want to say anything disparaging of this commission, I do not want to say they did not honestly endeavor to discharge their duties, but I think I may, without being guilty of any unfairness to them, say there is evidence on every page

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of this report of their desire, as far as possible,

#### To Shield the Minister of Education

and the education department from blame in the matters with which they are dealing. Let us see what they say. In the first place they say:

Many English parents complain that their children are imperfectly taught by French teachers, whose knowledge of English is too limited to enable them to impart instruction properly in that language.

Then Mr. Ross had said that all the teachers were capable of teaching in the English tongue, that English was taught in every school. What do the commissioners report? "Of the 69 teachers employed in the French schools inspected by us only three had attended the high schools. Taking the proficiency of the French teachers in the use of the English language as the basis of classification twenty-six may be classed as good, twenty as fair and nineteen not competent to teach English with any degree of efficiency." And yet in 27 of these 69 schools there were English pupils who had to be instructed. Then they went on to speak of the kind of text books that were in use in the schools. "General use is made of the French text books authorized by the council of public instruction for the Province of Quebec. Some of these books, such as those on arithmetic, geography and grammar, are authorized by the whole committee of the council consisting of Roman Catholics and Protestants; others, such as the readers and histories, are authorized by the Roman Catholic committee of the council for the Catholic schools of Quebec. As stated elsewhere in this report, books of the first class were authorized for public schools in Ontario in 1868 and 1879. No authorization has ever been given in Ontario to books of the second class." Then they referred to what the books are that are in use. They say: "Whatever features of excellence these books may possess they are authorized and they contain

**Teachings Peculiar to the Church of Rome.** Protestants complained to your commissioners of the use of these books, as it brought their children in contact with religious teachings contrary to their own convictions. By far the most objectionable book from this point of view is an elementary reading book, 'Le Syllabaire Des Ecoles Chretiennes,' which is used in many of the schools. Toussaint's History and the Abrege are written in a spirit, unfriendly to the British Empire and to the development of a patriotism embracing the whole Dominion of Canada. The use of these books should not be continued in the schools." Then they go on to speak of religious exercises in the schools,

and "In 57 schools religious instruction is given during the school hours. In 22 it is given either before or after school, and in eighteen no religious instruction is given. This instruction is given by the teachers from a catechism prepared for children of the Roman Catholic Church. In some of the schools instruction is given from this book for a certain portion of the year to children who are preparing for their first communion. In some of the French text books in use which are elsewhere referred to in this report, the tenets peculiar to the Roman Catholic church are more or less prominently introduced. They were found in many of the schools in the county of Essex, pictures of a religious character, the crucifix and small statues of saints. In two instances in the county of Prescott altars were found in the schools. It was stated these were erected during the month of May for services of a special nature, for the people of the neighborhood who assembled in the school house for evening prayers, as the churches were at a considerable distance from these localities. The prominence given to the Roman Catholic religion in these schools is

#### Objectionable to the English

speaking Protestants generally." Now, then, they go on to say: "The object aimed at in the public schools of the province is to give to the youth attending them such an education in the common branches of knowledge as will fit them to occupy creditably the positions in life they may be called to fill, and this education should be imparted in the English language. Any departure from this rule should be only partial and in accommodation to the peculiar circumstances of certain sections of the country in order that the end sought may thereby be more fully obtained." Now I call your attention, sir, particularly to this. In the report of these commissioners, that thing which had been ridiculed, that thing which had been laughed at by Mr. Ross and the *Globe* newspaper, is a recommendation of the commissioners that education should be imparted in the English language, and in a regulation recently issued Mr. Ross himself provides for it.

You will see, therefore, that Mr. Ross has come down entirely from the position which he occupied in the House to that which he ridiculed. That proposed by members upon the opposite side of the House he himself makes part of the regulations which he addresses to his inspectors in the eastern portion of the province. Now, then, it may be said, what objection have you to what Mr. Ross is doing? Why are you not content? Is Mr. Ross not amending his way? If he was wrong last session is he not show-

ing that he is willing to amend, and is what he is proposing now not in the interests of the schools of the Province of Ontario? I say no. In the first place I say a man who was so little acquainted with the schools under his charge, whose business it was to know how these schools were, as to make the statement which Mr. Ross made upon the floor of the House during last session is

#### Unfit to be Entrusted

with the management of the educational affairs of the Province of Ontario. (Applause.) He does not understand his duty towards the people of the Province of Ontario, and, therefore, I say he is an unsafe man to be entrusted with the control of the educational affairs of the province. But he has adopted what he calls a bi-lingual series of text books, and he says that is what he intends to stand by. Now, while I admit that whereas in the province there has been a great deal of laxity in the management of our schools in the French districts, there ought to be a good deal of forbearance exercised towards our French citizens. I say the ultimate object should be to establish as the only language of the schools the English tongue. (Applause.) Therefore I am opposed to the use of the bi-lingual series as proposed by Mr. Ross, because the effect of that will be to

#### Perpetuate the Teaching of the French Tongue

in the schools which I think is a thing not to be thought of. Indeed, Mr. Ross does not hesitate to avow that his intention is that the French tongue shall be taught in the schools so long as the trustee shall say so, side by side with the English tongue. Now Mr. Mowat says: "Why, you are not going to proscribe the French tongue!" Certainly no more than we proscribe the French tongue in our courts of justice, than we proscribe it in our Ontario Legislature, than we proscribe it in our municipal bodies. Whoever thought of arguing that there should be the right to use the French tongue in our courts, in the pleadings of our courts, in our municipal bodies, in our Legislature? Whoever thought of that? And will you tell me any principle upon which the teaching of French in the schools can be defended

#### That Does Not Involve the Giving

of the right to use French in those bodies to which I have referred? It seems to me they stand upon the same footing. All that the people of Ontario say is that we are not going, in a state school, conducted with state money, to teach a foreign tongue, especially where we find the people living upon the borders proclaiming they intend by means of this tongue to establish a

French nationality upon this continent. It is something we do not want established, especially in the sense that they propose at all events, for we have higher and greater aspirations. (Applause.) Now, then, I just want to call your attention for one moment or two to what Mr. Ross himself has been doing. I want to show you how careless Mr. Ross is in regard to these French schools. He, as I read you, in 1886 authorized a whole list of French books. He says they were authorized in Quebec by the Protestant committee of the council of public instruction. That, I am in a position to say, is

#### A Statement Without Foundation.

They were not authorized by the Protestant committee of public instruction of the Province of Quebec. Now I hold in my hand one of the books which bears upon its face the approval of Mr. Ross, as being one to be used in the class of mixed schools in which the people of both religions are being instructed. This book is called the syllabaire or spelling book, a French book. I am not objecting to it in this part of my argument because it is a French book. But would you believe it, that in this country, where we are so careful of the rights of our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens that we do not even compel them to take part in exercises which simply deal with the elements of Christianity, with regard to which their bishop is proof, that Mr. Ross has given his approval for use in the kind of schools that I have mentioned to the book which contains upon its face the teaching of the tenets of the Roman Catholic church. I am not quarrelling now with the tenets of the Roman Catholic church. I have nothing to do with them, I have nothing to say at all with regard to them. They have a right to their views as I have a right to mine, but what I do protest against is giving authorization to and putting in the schools where Protestant children are being taught the tenets of the Roman Catholic church which are to be read in these schools, and I venture to say that there is no intelligent Protestant or no intelligent Roman Catholic that does not say that it is an entirely wrong thing. (Hear, hear.)

Now, sir, in this little spelling book what do we find? I don't wonder that these persons object. They do not believe in these doctrines of the church. I say nothing about what these doctrines are. At all events the Protestants do not care to have their children brought into contact with them. I find in this book forms of prayer to the Virgin Mary. I find in this book a form of prayer for the little dead infant, and a form to the guardian angel. This may be all right according to the views of

the church, and they may be the correct views of the matter, but these are not the views entertained by the Protestant children and

#### I Protest in this Province

against the Minister of Education putting this in the authorized book. (Loud cheers.) It is no wonder, sir, when a book of that kind is authorized by the department it is objected to. Further, there is the little book referred to by the commissioners, containing all the ceremonial of the Church of Rome, which is put into these schools where Protestants are, and is in general use there. I don't wonder that Protestants objected to the use of these books there. Mr. Ross cries out: "It is only a cry of 'Wolf, wolf,' there is nothing wrong. These schools do not require investigation. There is no necessity of doing anything. I am doing all and you must trust me." When his own commissioners find this state of things, eventually: French being taught to Protestants, and English being taught in schools in some cases where the teachers did not know the language to teach it, in fact 19 teachers did not understand the language, the tenets of the Romish Church are taught in schools where Protestants are. Yet at the same time when this matter was brought up in the House, those who insisted upon an investigation were insulted. Had it not been that the demands of the Opposition were laughed at, and I don't know whether anything would have been done at the instance of the Opposition to make this partial investigation; in fact, I have no doubt, sir, that when Mr. Mowat found men like Principal Caven and other leading men of the Reform party saying that something was wrong in this matter, then he found it was time to start or he would not have begun this measure at the late day which he did, and for which he does not deserve any thanks from the people of Ontario. I do not want to be

#### Accused of Intolerance or Bigotry.

I do not think I can justly be charged with it. I have endeavored to point out to you from my standpoint where these matters are objectionable in my judgment. I have spoken out plainly and I have told you my sentiments. I do not think there is any savor of intolerance or bigotry about what I have said. I would be the last to carry on a political warfare in this country based upon intolerance and bigotry. As I ventured to say during the last contest, a man who carried on a political warfare on such a basis as this would be an enemy of man and his God. The pages of the history of our country are red with blood, stained with stories of warfare in the name of religion by reason of bigotry and intoler-

ance. Look at the gibbet and stake where many a man for conscience sake died on account of the intolerance and bigotry of past times. I submit that there should be no intolerance or bigotry in this country. The same principle is behind this matter again, but I venture to say in this country it is not intolerance, it is not bigotry for a man to proclaim to his fellow-citizens upon the hustings or elsewhere that he stands by

#### The Doctrines and Religious Liberty

for which his forefathers bled and died. (Loud cheers.) By these principles I stand, and if these principles cause me to fail I am ready to fail, because I could not fail in a nobler or better cause. (Cheers.) I want no rights for myself that I would not give to my Roman Catholic fellow-citizens. I am a Protestant, and Protestantism is the foundation upon which it rests. Equal rights to all, exclusive rights to none. (Loud and prolonged cheers.) For that principle the Roman Catholic fellow-citizen ought to fight as freely as his Protestant fellow-citizen, and it is the principle of right, truth and right, justice and liberty for all that makes a country good and great. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I feel that I have addressed you at greater length than I ought to have done, and I think I have to a considerable extent followed as direct and continuous a course of argument as I ought to have done, considering the magnitude of the questions involved. I have endeavored, however, freely and fairly to

#### Speak the Sentiments of My Mind.

Lessons are to be drawn from these arguments, and I think the conclusions I can properly ask you to draw, and the people of this province to draw, have been stated. Accusations have been made against some of the little band who lead in opposition in the House. It is said that we have no policy, that there are no men there fit to take hold of the affairs of this country. For myself I have nothing to say. I am willing to stand under the aspersions that may be made upon me or my political reputation, but I do protest against the judgments that are made on the men in the House who are upholding my hand against the tremendous odds, to stem the tide of corruption and endeavor to meet the forces of the Government, with its tremendous majority, before us. There are men assisting me there who are deserving of the confidence of the people of this country, and if there is anything more than another that makes me feel the aspersions sometimes made upon members of my party, it is my knowledge that the men who are behind my back are men fitted to occupy the position I hold. These men, I know them to be worthy men, and I know them to be capable men, and in-

stead of these attacks being made by men of the Conservative party, these same men should be standing behind our backs holding our hands and assisting us in the work they are attempting to carry on against such tremendous odds. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I have given you to-night my views upon most of the public questions. I have given them necessarily in a fragmentary way. On these principles I am ready to stand, and I am prepared to fall. I appeal to you, and through you to the people of the Province of Ontario, to say whether these principles are founded on truth and justice, and whether they ought to be the prevailing principles throughout the Province of Ontario. I believe they ought to prevail if we desire to carry on a system of government in accordance with the principles of liberty and unity. We must legislate upon the principles I have attempted to lay down, and I repudiate on my own behalf, and on behalf of every one of those who follow me in the Local House, that there is any intolerance or that anyone desires sectional legislation. It is only proper, however, for a man to stand up and state his views on questions which agitate the public mind. It is only a friend of his country who, when he sees the wrongs of legislation, will stand up and show what these wrongs are. It is easy to shut one's eyes to the evils entering into the body politic, but if you do not point out the evils they cannot be remedied when the proper opportunity arrives. And, sir, I do appeal to the people of this country to value these

things. It is no consequence to me whether I am elected to Parliament or not. (Applause.) I appreciate the honor which my fellow-citizens have done me, but I have no present or personal ends to gain. I have no personal desire to sit upon the right of the Speaker. All I desire to do, and all I have endeavored to do for years—for I have given the best years of my life to the public service—is to discharge my duties honestly and according to my conscience in the interests of my country. (Applause.) I do not mean to say that I have not made mistakes, but I say confidently that at all times and under all circumstances I have had before me but one beacon light, the good of my country and of my Fatherland. (Loud applause, which was sustained for a couple of minutes as the speaker resumed his seat.)

Mr. R. Bayly, Q. C., moved:

That this meeting endorse the platform laid down by Mr. W. H. Meredith, leader of the Opposition in the Ontario Legislature, and pledges him its confidence and support.

The resolution was seconded by Mr. T. F. Kingsmill, and was carried with tremendous enthusiasm. H. E. Clarke, M.P.P., G. W. Monk, M.P.P., A. W. Ingram, M.P.P., and ex-Mayor Boswell, of Toronto, all thoroughly endorsed the stand taken by their leader.

#### Ballot for Separate Schools.

Mr. Meredith moved a vote of thanks to the chairman, and in doing so said that as separate school trustees in Toronto had been agitating to obtain the ballot in their election, he thought the Legislature should pass such a law at its next session.



