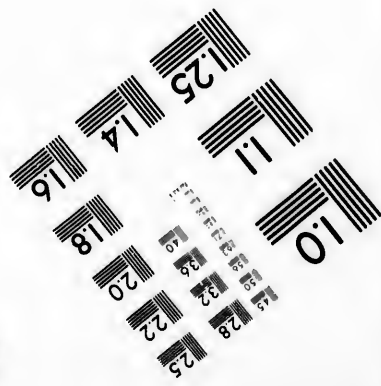
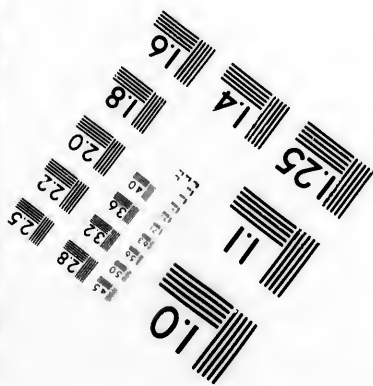
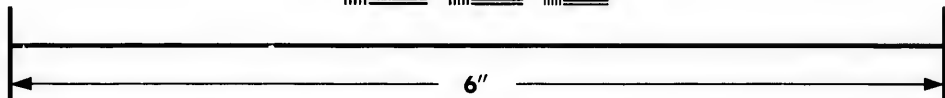
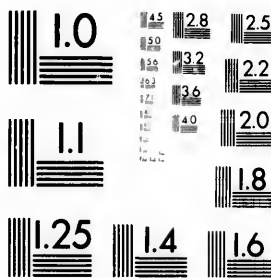


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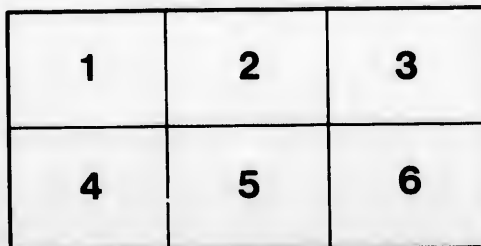
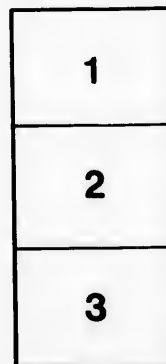
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CANADA AND THE JESUITS.

THE Legislature of Quebec the other day passed an Act authorizing the payment of four hundred thousand dollars (about 80,000*l.* sterling) out of the public funds to the Society of Jesus. The payment was alleged to be paid by way of composition for the lands which, after the suppression of the Order in the last century, had remained in the hands of the Crown, but to which it was assumed that the Order still had a claim. The sum of sixty thousand dollars for Protestant education was tendered as a sop to the Protestants of the Province. The Act formally submitted the settlement for sanction to the Pope, whose authority was thus recognized in Canadian legislation.

This Act affected to be framed with a view to quieting doubts about the title to the estates and the right of the Province to dispose of them. This pretence was baseless, if it was not ironical. The estates had passed to the Province from the Crown impressed with a direction in favour of public education. Into the hands of the Crown they had passed really upon the cession of Canada by France, when only the endowments of the secular clergy were guaranteed by the Treaty, and when the Crown was specially advised by the Solicitor-General, Wedderburne, on a reference to him by the Privy Council, not to allow the Jesuits to retain their estates; but at all events on the suppression of the Order by the Pope in 1773. In stating that they had been confiscated by the Crown the Act stated what was untrue. To suppose that the refoundation of the Order could revive its title to its old estates is preposterous, and the claim would be scouted by any Roman Catholic Government in Europe. The sop tendered to the Protestants would have been superfluous had the claim of the Jesuits been real.

There are now left in the Province of Quebec only two or at most three constituencies Protestant in such a sense that their members are not afraid of the Catholic vote. Two members of the Legislature protested. To divide would have been futile, and the Act consequently passed without a division.

But by the time that the Provincial Act reached the Dominion Government public feeling in the British Province of Ontario had been aroused. All Acts of the Provincial Legislatures are subject to the veto of the Dominion Government, to be exercised within a year. It was demanded that the veto should be put upon a Provincial Act which endowed Jesuitism and recognized the authority of the Pope, besides contravening the principle of religious equality by the endowment out of public funds of a particular religion, and not only of a particular religion but of an offensively propagandist Order. The leading Liberal and Independent journals opened fire, and a menacing movement commenced in the Orange Order, which for a long time past had been successfully controlled by Government influence and patronage, its Grand Master having been made a member of the Cabinet for that purpose, and had been turned into an ancillary engine of the Tory party.

The Government, to which the support of the French Catholics is indispensable, and which in fact has its basis in Quebec, tried to quell the storm by advising the Governor-General at once to signify his allowance of the Act. This was unconstitutional, since the British North America Act provides that the Acts of the Provincial Legislatures shall lie before the Dominion Government subject to veto for a year, while those of the Dominion Legislature are to lie before the Home

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Government subject to a veto for two years; the time being presumably allowed in each case for petitions and objections to come in, and the longer time being allowed in the case of the Dominion Acts than in that of the Provincial Acts, because the Home Government is less able speedily to inform itself and less easy of access to petitioners. The Governor-General, as it was contended with apparent justice, could have no right to cut short the term of probation, or, in the event of his going out of office before the end of the year, to bar the exercise of the veto by his successor.

This expedient failed, as did the strenuous efforts which were made by the Government to burke opposition in caucus. A resolution demanding disallowance was moved by Colonel O'Brien, member for Muskoka, a strong Conservative and supporter of Sir John Macdonald's Government. A long debate ensued, in which the principal speech in favour of the disallowance resolution was made by Mr. Dalton McCarthy, Q.C., a leading Conservative, while the principal defender of the Act was Sir John Thompson, Minister of Justice and a Roman Catholic. The arguments of the speakers in favour of disallowance were based on the anti-national and illegal recognition of the Pope's authority in the Act, and the character of an Order which had been many times expelled as an enemy to civil government by European communities, Catholic as well as Protestant, and was still under the ban of the British Empire, clauses being pointed against it in the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. It was also contended that the Act was a breach of the religious equality which is a fundamental principle of our polity. In this respect it would appear that the Legislature of Quebec has actually exceeded its jurisdiction, since the list of subjects on which it has power to legislate is set out in the British North America Act, by which these Legislatures are created, and does not include religion.

By the Minister of Justice, and

others on that side, it was contended that the Act was purely local and purely fiscal, and consequently within the constitutional jurisdiction of the Quebec Legislature, so that to veto it would be to violate the principle of Provincial self-government. Both contentions were manifestly untenable. It was absurd to say that the measure was purely local if it impugned the rights of the Crown and acknowledged the authority of a foreign Power in the country, besides enjoining a propagandist Order which, though its headquarters were to be in Quebec, would operate against Protestantism and the supremacy of the civil Government over the whole Dominion. It was equally absurd to call a measure purely fiscal merely because it took the form of money payment when it raised issues which had set the whole Dominion in a blaze. Sir John Thompson was obliged to acknowledge that the preamble to the Act, reciting the settlement with the Jesuits, and reserving it for the pleasure of the Pope, contained matter "not in the best taste"—in other words, matter offensive to the Empire and the nation; but he maintained that the language of the preamble was immaterial, and that to take exception to it would be as foolish as to take exception to the title or a headline; to which the answer was that the preamble was the Act, the Act being nothing but a set of operative words giving effect to the settlement embodied in the preamble. The Prime Minister, who perhaps finds it difficult to understand that anybody can really care about a principle, tried to laugh the matter off by telling the old story of the Jew eating his pork-chop in a thunderstorm, but his wit was ineffective. In contending that the exercise of the veto ought to be confined to cases of legislative *extra vires*, he and his colleagues lay under the disadvantage of having recently vetoed an Act of the Manitoba Legislature chartering a local railway, which was as clearly *intra vires* as anything could possibly be, on alleged grounds of Dominion policy, because it infringed on the

monopoly of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

In the division thirteen members only—eight Conservatives and five Liberals—voted for Colonel O'Brien's motion. One hundred and eighty-eight, comprising the leaders and the main body of the Liberal Opposition as well as the main body of the supporters of the Government, voted on the other side. The Catholics, French and Irish, were voting, as in duty bound, for the Jesuits and the Pope. The Liberal Opposition took the ground of Provincial self-government. But it is always bidding against the Government for the Catholic vote, and on this occasion it was specially entangled in two ways. In the first place, the Dominion Government being in the hands of the Conservatives, the Liberals had been embracing the most extreme view of Provincial right. In the second place, they had been holding out a hand for party purposes to French sympathy with the rebellion of the French and Catholic Half-breeds under Riel in the North-West. They had not shrunk from protesting against the execution of Riel on the two grounds that he was insane and that his offence was political; the first of which was believed by no human being, while the recognition of the second would put the lives and property of the community at the mercy of any brigand who chose to pretend that his object was not plunder but anarchy or usurpation.

The vote on the Jesuits' Question was controlled by the Catholic influence, much as the votes on the Home Rule resolutions passed by the Dominion and local Legislatures of Canada had been controlled by the Irish vote, and as similar votes on similar resolutions have been controlled by the Irish vote in the United States.

The managers of the party machines on both sides embraced each other, and fondly hoped that the largeness of the majority had stifled in the birth an agitation about a question of principle disturbing to the regular game, and unwelcome to all who look

for support to the Catholic vote. They have found themselves mistaken. The people have for once broken away, for the time at least, from the party machines. They understand that the objections to the Jesuits' Estates Bill are based, not, as the Minister of Justice says, upon the preamble of the Act or upon anything merely technical, but upon the broad right of the Nation, if it be a nation, to forbid the use of public money for the purpose of subverting its civilization and infusing moral poison into its veins. The intention of the framers of the Act, they know, is to have the Pope recognized as lord of the temporalities of a Church which in Quebec is virtually established, levying tithes and other legal imposts; and the determination of the people is that in things temporal the Pope's power shall not be recognized at all. The people know also that the Jesuits' Estates Act is not an isolated measure, but a bold and defiant step in the onward march of ecclesiastical aggression. The agitation, instead of dying out, has given birth to the Equal Rights Association, under the auspices of which a widespread and apparently enthusiastic movement against the endowment of the Jesuits, and against ecclesiastical aggression generally, is now going on. Party in Canada has been strong, as it usually is, in inverse proportion to its reasonableness, and to break its lines at once is very difficult, while the influence of corruption, especially in the form of Government grants for local works, unhappily is very great; yet the machine politicians are having a very bad quarter of an hour.

The Equal Rights Association directs its attention not only to the Jesuits' Estates Act but to the system of separate Catholic schools in Ontario; to the intrusion of the French language and of French ecclesiasticism with it into the public schools of the eastern part of the Province; to the unfair privileges enjoyed by the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec, and to the progress of ecclesiastical aggrandisement and of priestly en-

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encroachment on the civil power, which, ever since the Ultramontane and the Jesuit supplanted the Gallican, have been advancing on all sides.

In its opposition to the encroachments of the Roman Catholic Church the Equal Rights Association may be regarded as an organ of a continental movement; for in the United States the people are rousing themselves to action against the same power which, with legions recruited from the ignorant and half-civilized populations of the Old World, is assailing the fundamental principles of Protestant and Anglo-Saxon civilization. At Boston, where the Irish Catholics are now almost a match in numbers for the children of the Puritan, a great fight about the teaching in the public schools, in which the Catholics were defeated, has been followed by the proposal of an amendment in the Constitution of Massachusetts, prohibiting any grants of public money to sectarian institutions. A grant to Catholic charities, though balanced according to the usual policy of the priest-party by a small grant to Protestant charities, has been thrown out by the Legislature of the State of New York, and it seems as if the channel through which the priests have long drawn public money to a large extent would be closed up for the future. In Illinois a similar reaction against the raids of the Catholic vote on the public treasury begins to appear. Another "irrepressible conflict" apparently is at hand, though this time, it may be hoped, the arbiter will be the ballot and not the sword. Nor is the conflict confined to this continent. Mr. Wise's article in this magazine (July, 1889), shows that it is coming in Australia also. It is coming wherever the Church of the past commands a sufficient force of the children of the past to make war upon modern civilization.

The Canadian Equal Rights Association, however, has to fight two foes in one. It is contending against ecclesiastical aggression and against French nationalism at the same time. The Jesuits' Estates Act is an auda-

cious blow struck not only for Ultramontanism against Protestantism and the civil power, but for French nationality under priestly leadership against British ascendancy. "La Vérité" is the Ultramontane and Jesuit organ of French Canada. In a recent article that journal says.

For us [the French Canadians], confederation was and is a means, not an end. It is a means of enabling us to dwell in peace with our English neighbours, whilst safeguarding our rights, developing our resources, strengthening us, and making us ready for our national future. Let us say it boldly—the ideal of the French Canadian people is not the ideal of the other races which to-day inhabit the land our fathers subdued for Christian civilization. Our ideal is the formation here, in this corner of earth watered by the blood of our heroes, of a nation which shall perform on this continent the part France has played so long in Europe, and which she might continue to play if she would but resume the Christian traditions violently ruptured at the Revolution of 1789. To do that, it is not theoretically necessary that she should become a monarchy again; but it is necessary that she should return to Christ. Our aspiration is to found a nation which socially shall profess the Catholic faith and speak the French language. That is not and cannot be the aspiration of the other races. To say then that all the groups which constitute confederation are animated by one and the same aspiration, is to utter a sounding phrase without political or historical meaning. For us, the present form of government is not and cannot be the last word of our national existence. It is merely a road towards the goal which we have in view—that is all. Let us accept the present state of things loyally; let us not be aggressive towards our neighbours; let us give them full liberty to pursue their particular ideal. But let us never lose sight of our own national destiny. Rather let us constantly prepare ourselves to fulfil it worthily at the hour decreed by Providence which circumstances shall reveal to us. Our whole history proves that it is not to be a vain dream, a mere Utopia, but the end which the God of nations has marked out for us. We have not been snatched from death a score of times; we have not multiplied with a rapidity truly prodigious; we have not wrought marvels of resistance and of peaceful conquest in the eastern townships and in the border

counties of Ontario; we have not absorbed many of the English and Scotch settlements planted among us in order to break up our homogeneity—we have not put forth all these efforts and seen them crowned with success to go and perish miserably in any all-Canadian arrangement.

This is the frank expression of a sentiment which has been gathering strength and taking shape in the French Province during the last quarter of a century.

In 1880 the Abbé Gingras published an address, in which, after the most rampant assertion of the right of the Church to override the civil power, and of the clergy to interfere in elections, together with a thorough-going proclamation of Mediævalism, and an unqualified defence of the Inquisition, there comes (p. 43) a notable passage in relation to the political situation of the French Province. The clergy, says the writer, understand the delicate position in which French statesmen have been placed since the conquest, and that practically it is necessary that they should "resign themselves to a policy of conciliation, more or less elastic." But with union and a common understanding the machine of the Provincial Government, though it has inevitably one of its wheels in contact with the Federal Government, may be worked for Catholic purposes. This is the device which every Canadian statesman, "though he may not inscribe it on his banner, lest he should provoke unjust reprisals, ought to engrave on the inmost fold of his heart." The autonomy of French Canada is all, the Federation is nothing. With the autonomy of French Canada it is necessary for the present to be content, but a grander vista is opened when the proper hour shall strike. The leaders, and the soul of the national enterprise, are the clergy.

After the victory of the Jesuits at Ottawa, a grand national festival was held at Quebec on the day of St. John the Baptist, the national saint of French Canada, in the joint honour of Jacques Cartier, the founder of

French Canada, and Brebeuf, the great Jesuit missionary, a monument to whom was unveiled. At the banquet, Mr. Mercier, who is the Nationalist Premier of Quebec, and as the framer of the Jesuits' Estates Act has received a decoration from the Pope, made a speech in which he preached in impressive terms nationalism and national unity. "To-day," he said, "the Red and the Blue [colours of the two old parties in Quebec] should give place to the Tricolour." It is useless to imagine that we will ever cease to be French and Catholic. This monument declares that after a century of separation from our mother country we are still French. More than that, we will remain French and Catholic." Such was the strain of all the speaking and writing on the occasion. A gallant colonel of militia even hinted at a resort to arms. The Papal Zouaves who took part in the ceremony carried side by side with their own flag a flag which in the days of French dominion had been borne in battle against the British. The greetings of the "French Canadian nation" were cabled to the Pope, and the Vatican in return greeted the French Canadian nation.

Mr. Samuel Adams and his Boston confederates were in too great a hurry with their revolution. Canada had been wrested from the French; they should have waited till it had been made English, as with its poor, simple, and illiterate population of sixty thousand it might easily have been. After the revolt of the Colonies, England was compelled practically to foster French nationality, and at the same time to countenance clerical ascendancy, because it was on the influence of the clergy, who were hostile to the Puritans and afterwards to the French Revolution, that she mainly relied for keeping the people faithful to her standard. She gave the French votes, which they of course used to shake off British ascendancy. Thus Wolfe's victory was cancelled. Not only so, but, where France had only a weakly colony, grew up under the

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

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

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

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

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

proved fatal, and it is not unlikely that his precipitation may make shipwreck of his enterprise in Quebec.

The Church in Quebec is immensely rich, while the people are poor and the treasury is empty. Besides the tithe, which by a strange anomaly on this continent of religious equality she legally levies, and imposes for *fabrique*, she owns not a little of the most valuable land in the Province, and her wealth is constantly growing by investment, for she is active in the financial as well as in the spiritual field. The devotion of the people is guarded by their illiteracy. Ecclesiastical statistics, compiled under ecclesiastical influence, throw not much light on the subject. The journal of Arthur Buies, "La Lanterne", throws more. It gives a letter from a correspondent who, it says, has held high political employment and has lived in a rural district for forty years. This correspondent says that among men of from twenty to forty years of age you will not find one in twenty who can read, or one in fifty who can write. They will tell you that they went to school from seven to fourteen, but that they have forgotten all they learned. This "all"—what was it? We may judge, says the correspondent of "La Lanterne", from the fact that the teachers are for the most part young girls taken from the convents because they are too poor to pay their pupils' fees, and with a salary of from ten to twenty louis a year. Those who have passed any time among the *habitants* confirm this statement, and say that the mayor of a town is not always able to write. The school-books, of which a set is before us, appear to be highly ecclesiastical in spirit and in the economy of the knowledge which they are calculated to convey. No wonder that miracles in abundance are performed at the shrine of Ste. Anne de Beaupré, while they are performed nowhere else upon this northern continent. The antagonism between this civilization and that of British Canada is complete.

The French peasantry of Quebec, if they have little to live on, can live on

little; their Church sedulously preaches early marriage, their women are good mothers, and they multiply apace. Before their increasing number and pressure the British are rapidly disappearing from the Province. In the city of Quebec there are now only about six thousand left. In the eastern townships, once their almost exclusive domain, their numbers are rapidly dwindling, and the Protestant churches are left without worshippers. The Church advances money to the Frenchman to buy the Englishman's farm, which in French hands will become subject to tithe and *fabrique*. The commerce of Montreal is still in Protestant hands, but a Legislature of French Catholics has found its way, by taxing banks and other financial corporations, to the strong-box, just as a Legislature of Celtic Catholics in Ireland would find its way to the strong-box of the Scotch Protestants of Belfast. As matters are now going, the future of the commercial community of Montreal is not free from clouds. If that community has hitherto thought of little but its trade, it will find that without paying attention to questions of public principle trade itself cannot be safe.

The weak point in the case of the opponents of the Jesuits' Estates Act is that two years ago an Act incorporating the Jesuits was allowed to slip through without protest. The explanation is that the Protestant minority in Quebec is so weak and so thoroughly overborne, that it has been sinking into a state of torpid resignation, while the *British Province* usually takes little notice of anything that is going on in Quebec. The Jesuits' Estates Act seems, however, at last to have aroused the Protestants of Quebec as well as the people of Ontario. Not that it would make any difference with regard to the question of principle if all the Protestants of Quebec, deserting the cause of their own rights and interests, had acquiesced in the Jesuits' Estates Act. The right and duty of the people of the Dominion generally to put a veto on the endowment of

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Jesuitism and the recognition of the Pope in legislation would be the same; and it would be equally necessary to uphold the principle that no religious majority in a Province shall have the power to make war on the religion of the minority by endowing propagandism out of the public purse.

The French Revolution for the time estranged Quebec with its clergy from Old France. But the estrangement is now at an end, and France is recognized as the mother country. France on her part welcomes the returning affection of her daughter, and the old relations, saving the political connection, are renewed.

The history of Canada used in the French schools is a history of French Canada alone. Scarcely does it notice the existence of the British Provinces. In a perfectly national spirit it magnifies the victories of the French in Canada over the British, belittles those of the British, and presents the British in an odious light. It accuses the English of wishing to treat French Canada as they treated Ireland, and ascribes the deliverance of the French to their own patriotic efforts, animated by their religious faith, and seconded by fear of the United States which drove England to concession. It is evidently intended to implant in the heart of the young French Canadian allegiance to French Canada as a separate nation, love of France, and antagonism to the British conqueror.

But the aspirations of the French are not confined to the Province of Quebec. "La Vérité," as we have seen, boasts that they have conquered the eastern townships of Ontario. Politicians of Ontario styling themselves Liberals, but under the influence of the Catholic vote, have helped to open the gate; the French have not only introduced their language into the schools but their ecclesiastical system into the localities, and resistance to them now comes late. Their advance is probably helped by a Protectionist policy, which, applied to a country like Canada, produces commercial atrophy,

and sends many of the best of our British farmers out of the country, thus making room for the Frenchman, who is content with pea-soup while the Englishman requires beef. But into the North-Eastern States of the Union also the French have passed by hundreds of thousands. There are said to be one hundred and fifty thousand in Massachusetts alone. The French priesthood of Quebec scent a danger to faith from this connection, and "repatriation" has been attempted, it is needless to say, in vain. Apparently the lingual and intellectual unity of the continent, on which the unity of its civilization depends, is in jeopardy from the intrusive growth of a French nation. It will not be saved by the statesmanship of American politicians, whose treatment of the Canadian question vies in feebleness, inconsistency, and vacillation with the treatment of the Irish question by their British counterparts. Thus strangely the struggle between the rival races for ascendancy in the New World, which seemed to have been settled forever on the Plains of Abraham, is now renewed in a different form.

The ambition of French nationalism is extended to the Canadian North-West, where there is a population of French Half-breeds under clerical rule, the political power of which during the infancy of the settlement has been sufficient to force bilingualism on the Legislature of Manitoba. But in that quarter there is little hope for the Nationalists. The half-bred population does not increase, and if immigration takes place on a large scale it will soon be overwhelmed.

Till now there have been political parties in Quebec, the *Bleus* or Tories and the *Rouges* or Liberals, connected with the Tory and Liberal parties of Ontario, though in a loose way, and, especially in the case of the *Bleus*, with more of interest than of principle in the connection. But now, in the person of Mr. Mercier, a Nationalist and Ultramontane leader, independent of any Dominion party, has arisen. He calls all good Frenchmen to union on

the ground of nationality. "Cessons nos luttes fratricides, unissons-nous." He says it is time that the Blue and the Red should be blended in the Tricolour. Apparently the people answer to his appeal. He has at all events got power into his hands, and seems likely to hold it.

No one can blame the French for their aspirations, which are natural, or for their attachment to their own mother country, which is natural also. An English colony placed in their circumstances would do as they do except that it would not put itself under priestly leadership and rule. But this does not alter the situation. Imperialism in the case of Canada has two things to accomplish. It has to separate this line of Provinces permanently from the English-speaking continent of which they are the northern fringe, and it has to fuse British Canada and New France into a nation. What chance is there of thus fusing a French Ultramontane theocracy with a community of British Protestants? If, as "La Vérité" says, the ideal of the French Canadian people is not the ideal of the British Canadian, and he is making towards a totally different goal, how is it possible that the two elements should really become partners in the foundation and development of a nation? Where, it may further be asked, is the use of constraining them to make the attempt? What is gained for Canada, for the mother country, or for humanity, by thus forcing or bribing two antagonistic civilizations to remain in quarrelsome wedlock within the same political pale?

The conflict was sure to come, and it has come. On what field battle will be joined it is not easy to say. The Government, while its organs challenge the people to try the question in the courts of law, itself bars access to the Supreme Court, and has even had recourse in Parliament to most questionable strategy for that purpose. The Equal Rights Association is to have an interview in a few days with the Governor-General, but the Governor-General is a Constitutional puppet

in the hands of his Ministers, with whom, moreover, his own sympathies as an extreme Tory are known to be, and nobody expects the interview to have any practical result. Its chief fruit will probably be exhortations to peace, which, is an excellent thing, but cannot be permanently established without justice. The only lists apparently open for the combatants are the courts of Quebec, in which the Jesuits have brought a libel suit against "The Toronto Mail" for admitting to its columns a document called the Jesuits' Oath. Out of this suit appeals may arise which will bring the question of principle with regard to the incorporation of the Jesuits before superior and impartial courts. The verdict of a Quebec jury in such a case could obviously settle nothing. It would be the verdict of the Jesuits themselves.

In the meantime reflections suggest themselves.

1. Imperial Federationists must surely be sanguine if they think that the difficulty of this French nationality will disappear in Federation. To the French Canadians Imperial Federation or anything that would tighten the tie to Great Britain is an object of abhorrence. They were at first disposed to give the present Governor-General a cool reception because they had been told that he was an Imperial Federationist. In a war with France the hearts of the French Canadians, if not their arms, would be on the enemy's side. Distance is not the greatest of obstacles with which the Federationists have to contend. Australia is inhabited by a single race, and lies in an ocean by herself. How can the same treatment be applied to her and to Canada, divided as she is between two rival races, and at the same time joined to a great continent inhabited by the kinsmen of one of them?

2. Reformers who propose to cut the United Kingdom in pieces and pass it through the wonder-working caldron of Federation will perhaps hesitate for the future to appeal to the triumphant success of Federation in Canada as a proof of the safeness of their

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experiment: not that there would be the slightest analogy in any respect between a union of the North American Colonies under Imperial tutelage and a dissolution of the legislative unity of the British Islands.

3. Those who think that nothing is easier than the creation and operation of a federal union, no matter what the materials may be, or what may be the prevailing tendencies at the time of federation, have also a lesson here set before them. British and French Canada were divided from each other by race and religion; but there was not on the part of the French Canadians towards British Canada anything like the active hatred which has been stirred up among the Irish towards Great Britain. The circumstances in which a political arrangement is made, and the tendencies prevailing at the time of its introduction, require consideration at the hands of statesmen as well as the arrangement itself.

4. We have an inkling in the case of Quebec of the treatment which a Protestant minority would receive at the hands of a Roman Catholic and Celtic Legislature in Ireland. The Jesuits' Estates Act endows out of the public funds, to which Protestants as taxpayers contribute, not only a religious body opposed to Protestantism, but a Society the special and avowed object of which is to destroy Protestantism and to subvert Protestant institutions, as well as to put civil rights and liberties under the feet of the Pope.

5. The fourth reflection is one to which the attention of British Home Rulers is specially called. Their instrument for keeping an Irish Parliament in the traces, and preventing divisions of Legislatures from being followed by dissolution of national unity, is an Imperial veto on Irish legislation. Now this very expedient was tried by the framers of Canadian Confederation. The veto given to the Dominion Government upon Provincial legislation is perfectly general, no limitation of any kind being suggested by

the British North America Act; nor can there be any doubt that it was intended to keep the action of the local Legislature in harmony with the general policy of the country, and at the same time to protect minorities of race and religion in the several Provinces. That such was understood to be its object plainly appears from the debates on Confederation in the Canadian Legislature. Mr. Mackenzie, afterwards Premier of the Dominion, adverting to the possibility of injustice being done by a Provincial majority of race, said, "I admit that it is reasonable and just to insert a provision in the scheme that will put it out of the power of any party to act unjustly. If the power that the central authority is to have of vetoing the doings of the local Legislature is used, it will be ample, I think, to prevent anything of that kind." "The want of such a power", Mr. Mackenzie observed, "was a great source of weakness in the United States, and it was a want that would be remedied in the Constitution before very long." The disruption of the American Union by Southern secession was vividly present to the minds of the architects of Canadian Federation, and led them to fear and avoid above all things weakness in the central power. Mr., afterwards Sir John, Rose said, "Now, Sir, I believe this power of negative, this power of veto, this controlling power on the part of the Central Government, is the best protection and safeguard of the system; and if it had not been provided, I would have felt it very difficult to reconcile it to my sense of duty to vote for the resolutions." Opponents of the measure, such as Mr. Dornon and Mr. Joly, in criticizing it took the same view of the power of veto.

One of the ablest and most eminent among the fathers of Confederation was Sir Alexander Galt. Everything relating to the framing of the Constitution was fresh in memory when, in 1876, Sir Alexander published the pamphlet on Church and State, already mentioned, as a warning blast

against the danger with which the civil rights of Protestants and of the laity generally were threatened by ecclesiastical encroachment in Quebec. With regard to the veto he says :

The veto by the Federal Government is the real palladium of our Protestant liberties in Lower Canada. I have already shown that our educational rights are only safe under its shelter, and that our representation guarantee will, some day, "dissolve into thin air" without its exercise. Let me now point out that in the firm but moderate use of this vast power safety may yet be found from the undue encroachments to which both Protestants and Catholics are exposed. But it is negative only, and if the opportunity for its exercise be lost, it is impotent to remedy the evil.

Now mark the result. The Jesuits' Estates Act, by which Protestantism and Civil Right are compelled by an Ultramontane majority to pay for their own subversion, is about as clear and as strong a case as could have been devised for exercising this "vast power" and invoking the protection of this palladium. What follows? The grand safeguard totally fails. Both the political parties alike, in dread of the Catholic vote, shrink from the application of the veto. Not only so, but they in effect give up the political veto altogether. They proclaim that the veto cannot without violating the principle of self-government be exercised except in cases where the Provincial Legislature has exceeded the legal jurisdiction, and when the veto in fact would be superfluous, since the Act would be declared void by a court of law. "Quebec must be allowed to do what she likes with her own." She is at liberty to tax her Protestants if she pleases for the destruction of their own religion. So much for the "vast power", the grand "guarantee", and the "real palladium"!

Would not the very same thing take place so soon as the Irish Parliament did anything calling for the exercise

of the Imperial veto, either in the way of oppression of the Protestant minority or of departure from the policy of the Empire? Would not British parties, dreading the Irish and each other, shrink, as Canadian parties have shrunk, from the use of the power, and under the name of respect for self-government allow timid counsels to prevail? There can be little doubt as to the answer to that question if the party system continues to exist, especially as the Irish vote in Great Britain is large and would of course be arrayed on the Home Rule side. The veto power would prove a nullity, and the separation of Ireland from Great Britain would be virtually complete.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

P.S. August 2nd.—The reception of the petitions against the Jesuits' Estates Act by the Governor-General has now taken place at Quebec. The result was what it was sure to be. His Excellency repeated in substance the speech of the Roman Catholic Minister of Justice, Sir John Thompson, including the somewhat hazardous assertion that the Jesuits in the nineteenth century have always been loyal and quiet citizens. The people might as well have presented their petitions to Apis as to a Governor-General bound to act and speak as he is directed by his constitutional advisers. Apis indeed would have been neutral, whereas His Excellency's personal sympathies have not been concealed. This interview has settled nothing. It was confidently reported that the opinion of the British Law Officers had been taken. This would not have settled much either, even as to the purely legal question which is the least part of the matter. The people would hardly have been satisfied without the judgment of their own Supreme Court.

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