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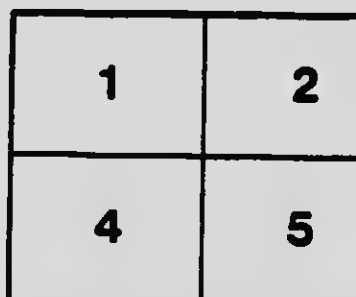
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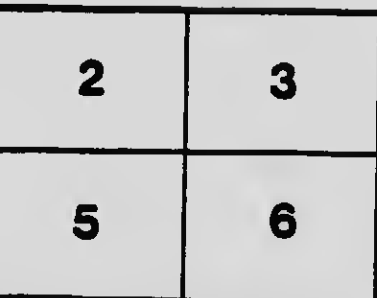
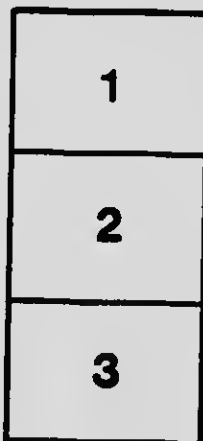
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THE DUTY HOURS

REASONS WHY PROTEST
UNION RIGHTS
SHOULD BE ACTIVE
COMING ELE



REPRINTED FROM THE SENTINEL

GENERAL LEAFLET
OF THE
AMERICAN PROTESTANT

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PROTESTANTS AND PRO-
TESTANTS SUPPORTERS
ACTIVE IN THE
ELECTION



SENTINEL OF SEPTEMBER 10

THE DUTY OF THE HOUR

The general election which is shortly to be held is of more than ordinary importance to the members of the Orange Association. As citizens they are deeply interested in the good government of the country. They are not unmoved by the evidences of looseness and dishonesty which have been produced during the last two sessions of Parliament. But for them the supreme issue is the Autonomy Bills of 1905. This will be the first opportunity to express their condemnation of the coercion of Saskatchewan and Alberta. That obnoxious measure was conceived in secrecy and forced through Parliament by the most discreditable methods. Moreover, there seems to be no intention of the party press giving the attention to this question that it deserves. The papers will devote their space and the talents of their editors to the discussion of the extravagance of the Government, and enlarge upon the suspicious transactions which have been exposed. But probably little will be said about the question which to our mind is the one that overshadows all others in its importance.

For these reasons it seems wise that we should devote some space to a plain statement of the case in order that those who are opposed to clerical domination, and support the principle of Provincial rights, may have the facts before them in concise and consecutive form.

The Sentinel takes the ground that in the coming contest it will be the duty of every man who is connected with the Association to take an active part in opposing the return of the Laurier Government. That administration has been guilty of submitting to the encroachments of the Church of Rome in the educational affairs of the two new Provinces, to a degree that has no parallel in the political history of this country. Those who are politicians before they are Orangemen may disagree with our view. There are men in this country who make a religion of their politics. They worship their party and their party leaders. We cannot hope to carry the judgment of such men

when we advocate special activity for the defeat of the present Government.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier led his party to a violation of the constitution and the abandonment of the sound position which it took with regard to the remedial legislation of 1896. In forcing the Autonomy Bills through Parliament he was guilty of an act that was offensive to every man who believes in the doctrine of Provincial rights, or is opposed to clerical interference in the laws of the country. If his course had been dictated with a desire to bring him and his party into direct and acute conflict with the Orange Association it could not have taken a better direction. He placed the Government of the Dominion of Canada, so far as the school legislation of the two new Provinces is concerned, in the hands of the papal delegate, Mgr. Sbarretti.

In 1896 the Association with its whole organization, fought the Tupper Government to a finish because it proposed to coerce the people of Manitoba. We take the ground that the Tupper Government deserved the hostility of the members of the Order. We think the proposed Remedial Bill was indefensible as a question of policy. That being the case, it must be conceded that the Laurier Government has gone farther than ever the Tupper Government proposed to go. Sir Charles Tupper, as Premier of Canada, was acting within the constitution when he proposed to grant remedial legislation to the minority in Manitoba. Sir Wilfrid Laurier has deliberately and flagrantly violated the constitution by forcing Separate Schools upon the two Western Provinces.

This is the supreme issue of the coming election for the members of the Orange Association. No matter what view a member takes on questions of general policy, we submit that if he is true to the obligation he has taken he must do what he can to bring about the defeat of the present administration. We urge this in no partisan sense, but for the maintenance of those principles upon which the Order is founded, principles which, in the abstract, even Sir Wilfrid Laurier

admits to be sound. We would like to impress upon the minds of our readers the conviction that in the coming contest this one issue should take precedence of all other questions.

Back to 1896.

In order that we may examine Sir Wilfrid Laurier's course on the Autonomy Bills in the right perspective, it is necessary to go back to the school fight of 1896, to show what was the attitude of Sir Wilfrid and the Liberal party when a similar attempt was made to interfere with the educational laws of the Province of Manitoba. Our readers doubtless have it clearly in mind that Sir Wilfrid Laurier was elected as a protest against the remedial legislation of the Tupper Government. He received the support of the members of our Association. He had the assistance of our late Grand Master, Hon. N. Clarke Wallace, who conducted a most vigorous campaign against the Tupper Government. Individually and collectively, by personal effort and official action, the Orangemen of the Dominion of Canada supported Sir Wilfrid Laurier. There was no other reason why they should support a French Roman Catholic for Premier except that he stood for principles which they held dear. They showed that their adherence to principles was superior to personal friendships and party ties. They took the stump, and they canvassed the electorate in the interests of a man and of a party which had laid down most emphatically the principle of non-interference with Provincial rights. In view of what has occurred since, many who supported the Liberal party in 1896 think they made a mistake. We do not agree with that view. Sir Wilfrid Laurier has betrayed them, it is true, but the issue was drawn in a way that made it impossible for the opponents of clericalism to support the Conservative party. The Liberal party stood for Provincial rights, and resisted the attempt of the Roman Hierarchy to control the school laws of Manitoba. Who can forget the fervid oratory of the present Premier when he stumped Ontario against the Remedial Bill? He then had no thought of allowing the bishops to usurp the functions of government, and dictate the terms of federal legislation. In Massey Hall he quoted that striking

phrase which Shakespeare put into the mouth of King John: "No foreign priest shall tithe or toll in our dominions." Alas, he has followed in the footsteps of that ignoble prince, and gone on his knees to the Pope's representative that he may keep the Premiership of Canada, as King John accepted the Crown of England, at the hands of Rome. Throughout that memorable campaign of 1896 all the leading men of the Liberal party—many of whom have since been his Ministers—took equally positive ground against interference with Provincial rights. No man's position on this question was more clearly defined than Sir Wilfrid Laurier's. In 1897 he put himself on record in these words: "I am to-day as firm a believer as I ever was in the doctrine of Provincial rights. I take as much pride as ever I did in belonging to the great party which in the past carried that doctrine to a successful issue; an issue, indeed, so successful that we rank among the advocates of that doctrine to-day the most prominent of the men who opposed it in the past. And when the historian of the future shall refer to the first twenty years of confederation, the brightest page he will have to record will be the page on which he will trace the efforts of the Liberal party to maintain inviolate and intact the liberties and independence of the local legislatures."

What will the historian of the future have to say when he places this fervent declaration of principles beside the Autonomy Bills of 1905? How will he estimate the character of a man who so completely reversed his former attitude? What excuse can he offer for the Premier, his colleagues, and his party, who have condemned such apostasy and assisted in making it effective?

It is impossible in this brief article to do more than direct attention to this unparalleled conduct of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Let our readers think it out for themselves that they may fully apprehend the complete change of base—a change made with no other object than to win the support of the Roman bishops.

The Deal With the Bishops.

The policy of the party and the statements of the leader were so clear cut that there was no fear in the public mind that any attempt would ever

he made to coerce a Province in relation to its school laws while Sir Wilfrid Laurier was Premier of the Liberals held power. This confidence in the integrity of the Government made it impossible to convince the people that a deal was made with the bishops in the early fall of 1904. A report was published in The News, of Toronto, that the bishops had held a conference at Three Rivers, at which an arrangement was made by which they were guaranteed that Separate Schools would be provided for in the bills granting autonomy to the two new Provinces. Archbishop Bruchesi denied the accuracy of this report. Sir Wilfrid Laurier maintained perfect silence regarding it. The Globe did not deny it. A policy of secrecy and silence was adopted which effectually allayed the suspicions aroused. Nobody could believe that a Liberal Government would so completely discredit the whole record of the party. That the compact was made, as reported in The News, was borne out by subsequent events. The exact terms of the bargain is a secret of the Roman Catholic Church. There is ample reason to believe that one of the conditions was that the bills, when presented to Parliament, should have the approval of the papal delegate.

We do not wish to enlarge upon this aspect of the case further than to point out that long before the dissolution of Parliament in 1904 the main features of the Autonomy Bills were determined. Notwithstanding this, the facts of the conference, and the intention of the Government, were concealed from the electors. They were asked to return a Government which was on the eve of committing an act which every member of the administration knew was a most discreditable—as it was a most important—reversal of a policy which had been approved by the people, without letting them know what was intended. It was not an honest proceeding. It was cowardly. It was not in accordance with British practice, of which we hear so much from the same source. Sir Wilfrid Laurier knew that if his intentions were made public he would be defeated at the polls. To hold office, therefore, he was guilty of false pretences, and secured a renewal of his term of office in a way that was most discreditable.

The Country Astounded.

The elections were held in November, 1904. The House was called together early in the new year. On the 21st of February the bills creating the two new Provinces were introduced. The measure was received by the country with amazement. Men who had trusted Sir Wilfrid because of his former protestations, and his consistent opposition to the coercion of the Provinces, were astonished that he could in so short a period change from an advocate of Provincial rights to a coercionist of the deepest dye. He was condemned by The Globe. That journal defined its position in these words: "The Globe stands for the Provincial rights of Saskatchewan and Alberta. Those rights are created and secured by and under the 'British North America Act. The 'terms and conditions' of their Provincial autonomy must be 'subject to the provisions of this Act.' They can 'have no rights as Provinces that are not expressed or implied in the B. N. A. Acts, 1867 to 1886. They can be deprived of no rights to 'which they are entitled under that Constitution.

"The Globe holds, as has been argued in these columns again and again, that the new Provinces 'now to be created do not come under the Separate School obligation of section 93, clause 1, of the 'B. N. A. Act, and, therefore, they are free under 'the Constitution exclusively to make laws in relation to education, to continue their present system, to modify it or to substitute another for it, 'as their Legislatures shall decide."

There has not been a more emphatic statement of the unconstitutionality of this Act than the words of the chief Liberal organ. The bill was denounced by the Liberal Association of Centre Toronto. The religious press—including The Christian Guardian, The Canadian Baptist, The Presbyterian, and The Canadian Churchman, representing the four greatest Protestant bodies in Canada—were equally emphatic in condemnation of this measure. He was denounced by Rev. Dr. Milligan, Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, who expressed the public mind when he said: "The Premier's policy in the present issue 'had come to him like a clap of thunder from a 'clear sky. It was a direct controversion of the 'attitude taken in 1896. Let there be no restrictions imposed upon the people in the West, but

"one common brotherhood and one common school."

Mr. D. E. Thompson, K.C., a leading Liberal of Toronto, at a mass meeting, declared that "to pass the Autonomy Bills now before Parliament would be a complete reversion of the policy of both the Liberal leader and party." Dr. Goldwin Smith was equally emphatic. Rev. Dr. Carman, General Superintendent of the Methodist Church, and a host of others who had been favorable to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, condemned in the most unqualified terms these bills.

Notwithstanding the tremendous volume of protests uttered from the Atlantic to the Pacific Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Government adhered to their determination. They would listen to nothing but the voice of the bishops of Quebec. It was Quebec against the rest of Canada. It was the Roman Catholic Church against the people of the Dominion. The Premier was deaf to everything except the demands of his compatriots and of his Church. He had made the deal. He was determined to put it through. Evidently that deal provided for a bill that would be acceptable to the representative of the Pope in this country. Before it was submitted to Parliament it had to get the approval of Mgr. *Setti*. It was stated upon the floor of Parliament by Dr. Sproule, whose words were not challenged, that the papal delegate had approved the bill before it was submitted to Council. This made a new record in the politics of this country. Never before had an important measure of this kind required the approval of a representative of the Pope before it was presented for the consideration of the members of the Government. This Italian prelate, who lacked even the qualification of a citizen of Canada, was made the arbiter of the educational liberties of the people of the Provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta.

Little wonder that Mr. Fielding and Mr. Sifton threatened to bolt. The latter resigned his portfolio. The Finance Minister was on the edge of doing the same thing. He could not afford it so well as Mr. Sifton. So Mr. Fielding was persuaded and stayed in the Government. On March 4, 1896, he said: "Only as a last resort, and when every other possible method of settlement has failed can there be any justification for Federal interference in the educational affairs of any Pro-

vince in the Dominion." But he, like his leader, was determined to hold office. He surrendered to the priests, who now hold him under suspicion because he displayed a spark of independence, which was so speedily quenched.

Mr. Sifton might have saved the West. The West had done a good deal for him. Ordinary gratitude would have compelled a man with a high sense of honor to make an effort to protect his country. No man knows better than Mr. Sifton the curse that has been put upon the new Provinces by imposing a Separate School system. He was the chief opponent of the coercion of Manitoba. Every detail of the argument against the proposed iniquity was familiar to him. No man in the House had so much influence with the Western members. Mr. Sifton was the one man who had the strength to lead a successful revolt against the Government's bills. If ever a man had an opportunity to render his country a service that would establish his reputation as a patriot, that man was Clifford Sifton, and the time was March, 1904. For a brief period it was thought he would do so. The Grand Lodge of Ontario West, assembled in Midland, passed a resolution praising him for withdrawing from the Cabinet, expecting (as they had reason to) that this would be followed by active opposition to the bills. To the consternation of the country, he secured a few minor changes in the bill, and then exerted his influence to keep the Liberal following intact. His success was seen in the fact that only one Liberal member of Parliament voted against the Government.

The controversy waged fiercely from February till May. In the midst of the agitation a bye-election was held in London owing to Mr. Hyman being appointed Minister of Public Works. The Autonomy Bills was made the issue and the Government was sustained. The means by which this election was won was afterwards investigated in the Toronto police court. It was shown that the most unblushing corruption was practiced in a wholesale fashion. Every man who could be bought was purchased regardless of price. Votes were treated as merchandise. Leading citizens were implicated, and altogether the foulest character of electoral crookedness ever written in Canada was given to the public through the police court. Where did the money come from?

The Bills Unconstitutional.

Extraordinary efforts were made to have it appear that the bills did not infringe the constitutional rights of the Provinces. Upon this side of the question we need only refer to the opinion of *The Globe*, and the more valuable opinion of the late Christopher Robinson. He was the most eminent Canadian counsel of his day. His knowledge of constitutional law placed him in the very front rank of the legal profession. His high character and standing at the bar was acknowledged in the British as well as in the Canadian courts. Acting for the Association, R.W. Bro. W. D. Macpherson obtained an opinion from him as to the constitutionality of the Acts. This is what he said: "The right of the Dominion Parliament to impose restrictions upon the Provinces about to be formed in dealing with the subject of education and Separate Schools is, I think, not beyond question. This would require more consideration than I have been able yet to give to it, and must ultimately be settled by judicial decision."

"I am asked, however, whether Parliament is constitutionally bound to impose any such restriction, or whether it exists otherwise, and I AM OF OPINION IN THE NEGATIVE. It must be borne in mind that I am concerned only with the question of legal obligation. Whether the Parliament ought to do or should do in the exercise of any power which they possess is not within the province of counsel.

"Such a restriction I apprehend must exist or be imposed, if at all, under the provisions of section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867, and on the ground of their application to the Provinces now to be formed. If that section applies it would seem to require no enactment of our Parliament to give it effect, and, if not, no such enactment so far as I am aware is otherwise made necessary.

"Upon the whole, I am of opinion that section 93 does not apply to the Provinces now about to be established. Its provisions would appear to me to be intended for, and confined to, the then Province and to the union formed in 1867. There is not in any part of the Northwest Territories, as a Province, any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools possessed by any

class of persons, created by the Province, or existing at such union, and a right subsequently established by the Dominion in the part now about to be made a Province does not appear to me to come within the enactment."

The Papal Delegate the Referee.

The part which Mgr. Sbarretti took in the revision of the bills was a feature of the case that should not be lost sight of. From the library of his palace in Ottawa came the draft bill before Parliament had it. The spectacle was seen in the capital of the Premier of the Dominion driving to the home of the papal delegate to consult him before consulting his colleagues. The care that was taken to have the approval of Mgr. Sbarretti left the impression that an important part of the deal made at Three Rivers was that the Pope's representative should be the referee between the bishops and the Government. We ask our readers to consider this situation. Here is a question affecting in a vital way the whole future of two Canadian Provinces. One would suppose that it could be settled by Canadian statesmen. They were assembled in Ottawa. Their views could have been obtained with the utmost despatch. Why call in an Italian prelate to dictate what our Parliament should do? Was there ever a more humiliating incident than this? The men elected by the enfranchised citizens of Canada were compelled to accept from a foreigner a law that was repugnant to nine-tenths of the electorate outside of the Province of Quebec; and, we make bold to say, repugnant to the better judgment of nine-tenths of the representatives in Parliament, excepting, of course, the Quebec delegation.

But that was not all the papal delegate's power. He was able, through the subservience of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, or the terms of the Three Rivers compact, to fix the boundaries of Manitoba. In the erection of the two new Provinces the question of the extension of the boundaries of Manitoba was involved. The Manitoba Government made representations to the Federal authorities, and two of the Ministers visited Ottawa to press the claims of that Province. They met Sir Wilfrid Laurier by appointment on February 16. He asked them to wait for three days. At the end of that period they received a letter from the papal delegate ask-

ing for a conference. They met him. He presented a memorandum providing for the establishment of Separate Schools in Manitoba, and informed Mr. Rogers and his colleague that only upon the acceptance of this arrangement could Manitoba have its boundaries enlarged. The terms were indignantly rejected by the Ministers, and they left for home.

Who gave Mgr. Sbarretti authority to make terms for the adjustment of the boundaries of a Canadian Province? Who could empower him to do this but Sir Wilfrid Laurier? Note, also, that till the present time Manitoba has had no definite answer to its demand for enlargement of its area. This question has been kept in the background dogmatically. It awaits the expected return of the Liberal party to power. Then the gallant little Province will be forced to accept the terms of the papal delegate, or remain as at present constituted. It is an outrage upon the people of that Province which should be resented by the electors of all Canada. Let us ask our readers to consider what Canada is coming to when such questions as those affecting the territorial claims of a Province are submitted to the adjudication of an Italian priest? Is it not getting very close to the exercise of temporal power in this country by the Pope? The Government absolutely subservient to papal authority places the rewards and punishments or continency in the hands of the bishops. Surely this should make us rise with determination to drive from the seats of power and authority the men who have so grossly outraged the basic principles of British policy.

The Premier on the Public Schools.

The attack upon the Public Schools by Sir Wilfrid Laurier when introducing the bills was one of the high lights of the struggle. He called them Godless. All the sins of society in the adjoining Republic were charged against them. The prevalence of crime, the increase in the number of divorces, the political corruption; in fact, every evil that afflicts the body politic eats into the vitals of society were attributed by the Premier to the Public Schools. This most offensive and unwarranted attack was received with a volume of bitter protest that showed the place the Public School holds

in the minds of the people. He had to make a case. It looked as if this part of it had been prepared in the monastic shades of the mother house of the Sulpicians at Montreal. His charges were false, his alleged facts were misstatements, his gibes were as unjust as they were uncalled for.

Attempts to Win Mr. Borden.

It is an open secret that the Church authorities exhausted their influence in a vain attempt to get Mr. Borden and the Conservative party into line in support of the bills. It was rumored that the Conservative leader was offered the Premiership of Canada in succession to Sir Wilfrid Laurier if he would not oppose the measure. His delay in stating his position gave color to the report, and for a time caused the gravest anxiety to the friends of Provincial rights. In the end, however, Mr. Borden delivered a speech which was a masterly treatment of the subject. It placed his party in straight, unequivocal opposition to the bill, and intensified the feeling in the country.

No effort was spared; no plan left untried; no expedient neglected that promised to assist in weakening the opposition to the bills. The Church, with its houndless resources of money and influence, played the game for all it was worth. It won. On May 4, at 1.40 in the morning, the law was enacted in the House of Commons by a vote of 140 to 59, a single Liberal, Mr. McCarthy, of Simcoe, voting against coercion.

The Crime Perpetrated.

The bill was passed. The foes of Provincial freedom had won a great victory. But that was not enough. There was still another line of defence of clerical privilege to erect. This was in the hands of the Premier and the Government. They were afraid to leave their legislation in the hands of the Premier of the Northwest Territories. The political assassination of Mr. Haultain became necessary to complete the transaction. He had enjoyed the confidence of the people of the Territories for fourteen years. The best years of his life had been given to their service. He was the natural, and many thought the inevitable, choice for Premier of one of the new Provinces. But Mr. Haultain had proved intractable. While in Ot-

tawa, during the legislative fight over the bill, he did his best to protect the legal rights of his constituents. The Church could not trust such a man. The bishops wanted a puppet who would do as they said. Thus it was that Mr. Forget was appointed Lieutenant-Governor, and his first act was to call on Mr. Walter Scott to form a government. Then was witnessed the most remarkable general election that has taken place in this country. There was no provision in the Autonomy Bills for the punishment of corrupt practices. Whether this was an oversight or a deliberate omission cannot be established. It is significant, however, that the Scott party seemed to be fully aware of the state of the law. The most barefaced tactics were adopted. In the constituency of Prince Albert the heeled went so far as to count polls which had never been opened, and at which not a single vote was cast. Everywhere throughout the Province the same utter disregard for law and decency prevailed. Added to this was the activity of the Dominion officials, who, by means of threats, where promises were not sufficient, frightened many of the settlers into supporting the Scott candidates. Under these circumstances the first Legislature of Saskatchewan was elected.

This completed the conspiracy against the educational freedom of the West. It was concocted in the monasteries of Quebec. It was carried through by a Roman Catholic Premier. The parties to it included the French bishops, the Dominion Government, and the Liberal party in Parliament.

A Call to Arms.

In view of what we have set out in the foregoing we urge the Orangemen of Canada to make more than an ordinary effort to secure the defeat of the Laurier Government. We take it that the vast majority will vote against the Government

Pass this Pamphlet

Y OF THE HOUR.

l, ho candidates. But that is not enough. If their
con- opposition is to have any effect they must see that
man. the candidates selected by the Opposition are men
they that can be trusted to carry out the principle of
nted Provincial rights. They must resist the attempt
call to force the Tupper and other discredited
Then Remedialists upon the people. It is far better to
ction elect a man who may have less Parliamentary ex-
was perience, but who is straight upon the important
nisb- question of Provincial rights, than to seek the ser-
s an vices of a man like Sir Hibbert Tupper, whose
e es- ability and experience will be surely exerted in the
the interest of the clerical schemers of Quebec.

state This is a fight in which the Orangemen of Can-
were ada can wield great influence. They owe a duty to
t the themselves, and a broader duty to the country in
had this election. For the next two months they
vote should labor unceasingly for the defeat of the
vince Laurier candidates. By argument, by personal
pre- canvass by all the means that are effective in win-
Do- ning their friends to a clear view of their duty,
here they should strive for the end in view. The
f the month of November will see a new Parliament
Un- elected. If it is led by Sir Wilfrid Laurier there
Sas- will be further submissions to clerical influence.
Manitoba will not have her boundaries extended.
The clerical schools will be more firmly shackled
upon the Western Provinces. All this may be
prevented if the Laurier Government is defeated.
Mr. Borden, we are free to admit, has not taken as
strong a position as we could desire. But if he is
elected it will be as a protest against the subserv-
ience of the present Government to the bishops
of Quebec. That will convey a much needed les-
son to the leaders of both parties. Let them
know that there is one thing that the people of
Canada will not condone—the despoiling of the
Provinces at the command of the Hierarchy. Make
that plain by your votes. The Conservative party
was taught that lesson in 1896. The Liberal
party must learn it in 1908 if this country is to
be saved from the curse of clerical domination.

mpHlet to a friend



