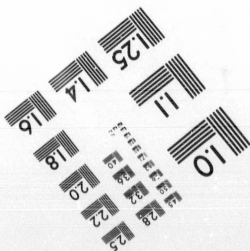
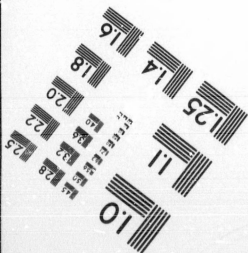
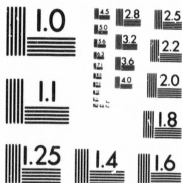


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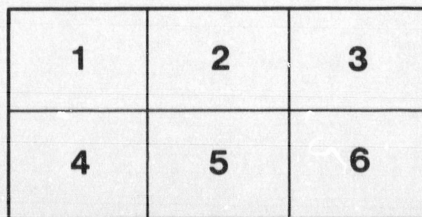
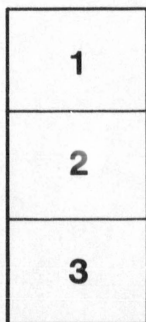
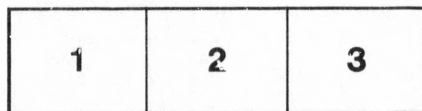
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THE FRENCH CANADIAN

IMPERIUM IN IMPERIO.

A Lecture

on Our Creed

and Race Problem, by

Rev. John Burton, M.A., B.D.

Northern Congregational Church, Toronto.

TORONTO:

THE COPP, CLARK COMPANY, LIMITED.

1887.

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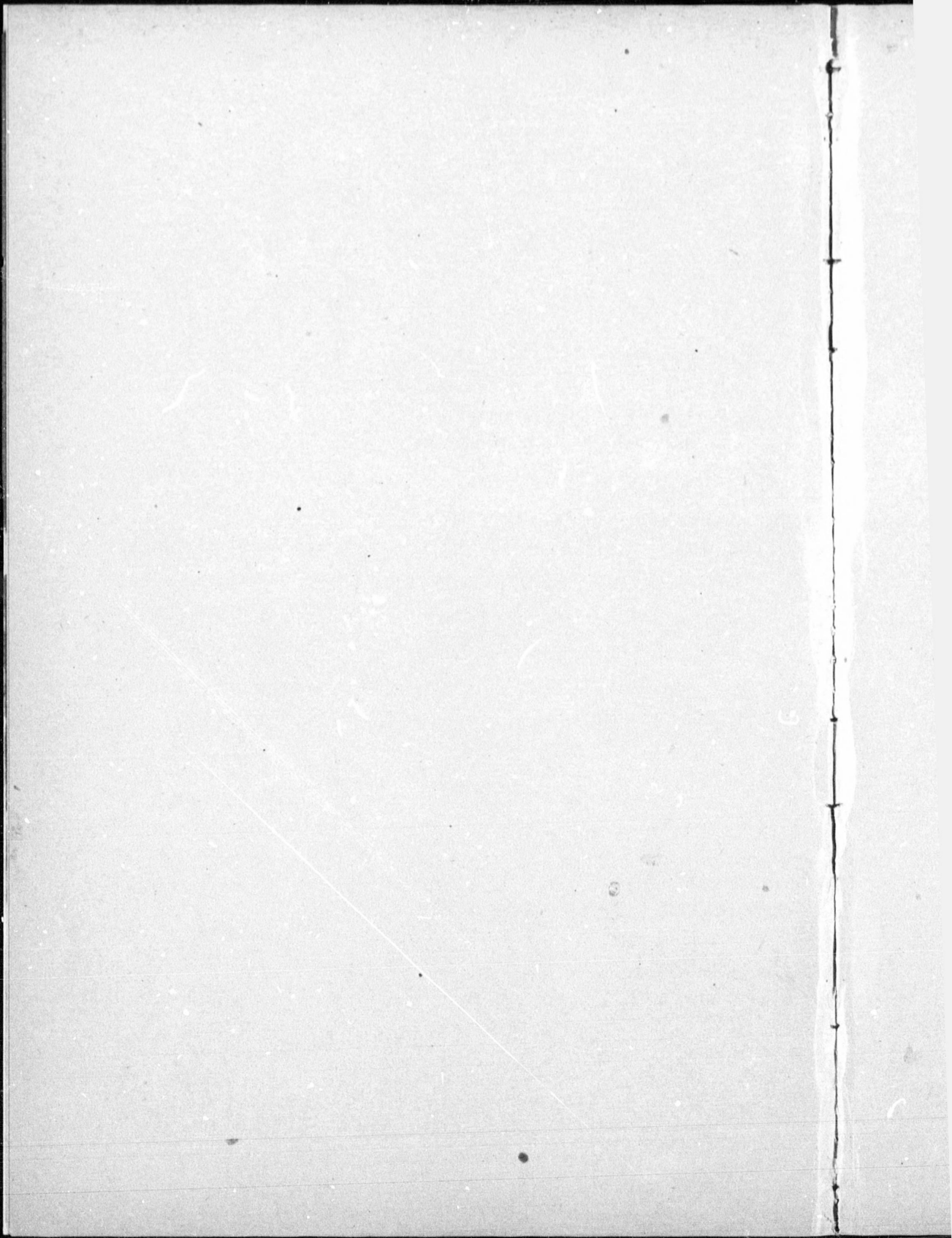
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The following lecture was given to the young men of the Church of which the writer is pastor as a simple statement of a political problem by one who for over twenty years has had no part in party politics. It was given to inform, and to aid in the cultivation of an impartial spirit in looking at questions which unfortunately divide. It is printed with the same purposes in view, for a wider constituency, and in the fear of Him whose only is the supreme right to reign, and whose word is the ultimate arbiter of our differences and disputes. May His blessing not be withheld.

TORONTO, March 26th, 1887.



THE FRENCH CANADIAN

IMPERIUM IN IMPERIO.

For many years the relation to our representative Government, of our fellow citizens of French descent, their ecclesiastical institutions and alien customs, has been an anxiously perplexing question, and is growingly so to thoughtful patriots and to earnest Protestants. It is the design of this lecture to discuss the question by presenting facts rather than by suggesting theories; to indicate the problem to be solved rather than to attempt at this stage a solution. This may seem a graceless task, but a little reflection will show that at this present it may prove a useful one. "Slaves cannot breathe in England; they touch our country and their shackles fall," is now our proud boast. It was not ever thus. In 1834 went forth the word that the chain from every slave in Britain and her colonies should be struck off. But before the edict was passed, and the necessary details of the measure settled, the public conscience had to be aroused to the fact that the holding of a slave either at home or in the colonies was a crime. Once convinced of that, the remedy came. In like manner regarding the French Canadian problem, let it first be impressed—there *is* a problem—let its magnitude be realized, the solution then will be earnestly sought for, not before, and doubtlessly then will be found. That there is a necessity for pressing the fact, that there is a problem, may be made plain by the following extract taken from an editorial in the *Toronto Globe*,

criticizing in a very friendly tone the lecture as first delivered and reported :—

Freedom does not suffer in Canada. Both Canadian races value much that they have in common. Both have been, and can be still further, educated in tolerance and political sagacity by the union. The Roman Catholic clergy are influential ; but their influence is wholly employed, not in attacking Protestantism, but in preserving those privileges for which Roman Catholics particularly value Canada. We do not understand how any Protestant who is attached to Great Britain and Canada can think it advisable to attack Separate Schools in Ontario, or the position of the French Canadians in Quebec. One may wish Roman Catholics were willing to abandon Separate Schools, and French Canadians their language and peculiar institutions. But we say it is far better for Ontario to have Separate Schools than a discontented Roman Catholic population, and far better for the Dominion to stand with the Quebec tithe law, and the official use of the French language, than not to stand at all.

To this we reply : Class legislation is an evil, and the recognition of religious or national castes by the State, adverse to that unity which ought to be the end of our Dominion politics. To establish a distinction which is to be perpetual between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians is to leave a heritage of strife to our children. This especially when it is demanded by a body such as the Roman Curia, which owns no nationality but its own despotism, and which claims the right to overrule all other rule whatsoever. Did the Church of our French-Canadian fellow-citizens keep the tradition of their fathers, maintaining what are known as the Gallican liberties, I should have little to say, but the Church of Quebec is thoroughly under Jesuit teaching, and that means toleration for us as long as expedient, and then — Well, their tender mercies have been ever cruel. For our Parliaments to perpetuate, in such an interest, the division of our children by the Separate school system into practically two hostile classes, and the jealousies of race by the continual recognition of two

languages, is to invite future discord. We are to-day politically, where we were when Confederation loomed up as a mighty cure-all, fast approaching a legislative dead lock. And therefore I say, let the true cause be known and recognized, not in bitterness, but in the free, frank intercourse of those who are determined to perpetuate no root of future bitterness. To illustrate and press this position is therefore our object in this treatise.

I.—A few words as to our stand-point. We believe in Christianity, the Christianity of Christ; for that of the schools we care comparatively little. Christ taught us to pray "*Our Father*,"—and the children of a common father are brethren. It is one of the most difficult works of life to overcome prejudice. We scarce realize the immense step taken in advance of native prejudice when Peter declared at Joppa "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is acceptable to Him." He only stepped, however, into Christian light when he made that confession. Paul, to the novelty loving crowd on Mars hill, declared the same in those words which ring through the ages, "God hath made of one every nation of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." I have no unkind word for the French Canadian. Having lived for two summers among them, my testimony is cheerfully borne to their happy, kindly, virtuous character; inoffensive and simple-hearted, the habitant has my esteem. Nor have I a word to say here against the faith which Fenelon cherished, and in behalf of which Pascal wrote. Nor would I if I could deprive my fellow-citizen of French descent of a single right I claim for myself. I would say ever:—

O, brother man! fold to thy heart thy brother;
Where pity dwells, the peace of God is there;
To worship rightly is to love each other,
Each smile a hymn, each kindly deed a prayer.

Nor am I less a Briton, a Protestant or a patriot, for standing on cosmopolitan ground. Assuredly Tennyson forfeited no such claim because he "dip't into the future, far as human eye could see"—

"Till the war drum throbb'd no longer, and the battle flags were furled

In the Parliament of men, the Federation of the world."

Brotherhood, however, invites honest talk, the openness of confidence, the utterance of the heart, not the smouldering fires of discontent, or a silently growing sense of injustice. If I am right, the truth must win; if wrong, my brethren can put me right, and I ought to rejoice therein; but he like myself should welcome the truth and not repel the searcher.

II.—A simple truism: THE FRENCH CANADIAN IS HERE. According to our last census the population of the Dominion is summed up at 4,324,810. Of these, 108,547 are Indians, 66,583 Africans, Chinese and unknown. This leaves 4,149,680 emigrants from the old lands and their descendants. One-third of this number would be 1,383,227. The census gives 1,298,929 as the number of those of French descent. We are not far from the actual state of things if we say that the French Canadians constitute one-third of the Dominion population. Of these there are in our North-West Territories, 2,896. In Manitoba, 9,949; in Ontario, 102,743; and in the Province of Quebec, 1,073,820. The total population of the Province of Quebec is 1,359,027, leaving a non-French element of 285,207, or the proportion 1 to 4.76, say $4\frac{3}{4}$. How many of the French Canadians are Protestants, we have no means of knowing, but the proportion is so small that it need not enter into our consideration. This is clear, that the French Canadian, with his unquestioned franchise right, forms no inconsiderable factor in our Dominion,

III.—HIS CHURCH IS HERE. This follows inevitably, just as inevitably, as that the Scotchman is here with his presbytery, the Englishman with his bishop. There are 1,170,718 Roman Catholics in the Province, and 1,073,820 of French descent. From the 7,500 Indians and 123,750 of Irish birth or descent, come the greater part of 97,000 Roman Catholics not of French origin. The proportion of French Canadian Roman Catholics to those of other nationalities, must be at least as twelve to one. The Roman Catholic Church in Quebec, therefore, is virtually French Canadian.

Let us digress a moment from Quebec and take a wider range. Of the 4,325,000 that make up our Dominion, 1,792,000 are Roman Catholics, *i.e.*, 350,000 more than one-third of our population is Roman Catholic. As our Government is representative, and the Roman Catholic vote is in emergencies a solid vote, I do not see how, under our present system of party government, any politician can ignore the solid third of the electorate.

It may be here interjected that the Protestant population of Montreal—the most Protestant part of Quebec Province—is as 1 to 4.5 = $4\frac{1}{2}$. (This includes Hochelaga, giving a total population of 180,826). In Quebec city it is as one to ten. THE FRENCH CANADIAN IS HERE, AND HIS CHURCH ALSO.

I suspect they are here to stay. It is a simple problem to solve. The Protestant and non-French population is decreasing steadily in the Lower Province, except in Montreal, where it about holds its own—and the Church plans for all time. To illustrate the last remark, one fact. Thirty years ago Bishop Bourget projected a metropolitan cathedral which should reproduce on a reduced, yet grand scale, that great centre of Papal worship, St. Peter's at Rome. Means were limited, but the work began. Every year witnessed some

little addition to the pile. Progress seemed slow, however; so slow as frequently not to be observed. Two years ago the roof was begun, last year the dome was finished externally. Another quarter of a century may pass before the building is even passably complete. The workmen may be buried, but Rome continues, and her work goes on. She builds for the ages; she has faith to watch and wait, and she yet intends to make Canada her own. St. Peter's at Montreal is but a faint type of the advancing tenacity of her hold which, once taken, *never lets go*.

IV.—THE FRENCH CANADIAN HAS A RIGHT TO BE HERE, AND HIS CHURCH, TOO.

The early English Puritan settlers along the Atlantic coast were sorely perplexed about the Indians, whose hunting grounds and streams were being appropriated by the pale face. To them that grandest and best of all books—the Bible—was a supreme guide; to it they went for guidance. They did no more than hosts of theologians have done, and numbers of sectaries and cranks are doing still, they chose their texts and strung them together after their own fashion; in this case a logical sequence, and here are the steps and conclusion:

Resolved, I.: Ps. xxiv., 1—The earth is the Lord's to give to whom He pleases.

Resolved, II.: It has pleased the Lord that the seed of the saints should thus possess it. Ps. xxv., 13—“His seed shall inherit the earth.”

Resolved, III.: We are the saints, for (Acts ii., 39) “the promise is unto you and to your children.”

Therefore, resolved, that we enter upon our inheritance.

Unless we are prepared thus to assume the victor's rights,

we must concede that the French Canadian is our fellow-citizen in this Dominion, and has a right to be here—with his Church.

We Anglo Saxons are here *by right of conquest*—force. The French Canadian is here *by the right of discovery*. Jacques Cartier, three centuries and a-half ago, with his compatriots, first from European lands, steered up the great St. Lawrence Gulf and River, navigating its intricate channels, exploring its banks; dealing with rare prudence and justice with the natives of the unknown wilds. In an age when the seaman spirit prevailed, the discoverer of Canada found no superior in bravery, skill and generosity. With just pride can the habitant claim Cartier as his own. But discovery is not colonization. Champlain was the virtual founder of the colony—a man of remarkable character. Commanding in presence, of gentle manners, hardy, adventurous, and withal a consistently devout Catholic, he occupies an honorable place in Canadian history. At an assembly of Indian chiefs in Quebec, the orator said to Champlain: “We entirely love you; all that you say is true.” Champlain was no needy adventurer. He had served his country with distinction as he embarked for this dread *terra incognita*. No blush need come to the French Canadian’s cheek as he claims kin with the heroic and first Governor of Canada, Samuel de Champlain. This was the class of Frenchmen who began the work of opening up in these Canadian forests a home for many, and who really laid the foundation of that Dominion which can now be continuously travelled from ocean to ocean, in luxury and ease, along the iron road.

I cannot tarry to speak of early French outposts, where now our cities are: At Frontenac, Toronto, (before it was Little York), Niagara, posts were established by these early settlers; and the Frenchman, La Salle, first of Europeans, floated down the Mississippi from its head water to the Gulf of Mexico. To

the Frenchman belongs the undoubted right of being esteemed Canada's discoverer.

In this discovery his church took an equal share. We may smile at the superstition which made the waters of baptism a passport for heaven to the fierce filthy savages the Frenchman found ; but those early discoverers believed that such they were, and had, what too many enlightened Protestants have not, the courage of their convictions. When we see men—tenderly born and carefully cultured—leaving sunny France knowingly to do battle with the rigours of, to them, an arctic clime—see them through the gloomy winter months travelling during the prevalence of foul epidemic from one infected Indian village to another, “wading through the sodden snow, under the bare and dripping forests,” drenched with rain or blinded by the pitiless storm, entering the wretched huts of disease, dirt and death, simply to perform the religious rite that was to send the sufferer to a brighter home than his dim hunting grounds beyond the western waters,—you must feel that if any have a right to transmit perpetually to their children the result of their toil, the proud, and in many respects as we shall show ere we are done, threatening position held by the Church in Quebec, has not been attained without terrible sacrifice on the part of its children. Read Parkman's volume upon the Jesuits in Canada—of Isaac Jogues in the hands of the fierce Indians, whose children, even in his tortures, he baptized, taking the drop of water his parched lips craved, to send a soul to heaven—of Bressani, an Italian Jesuit, his hands split with knives, burned, bruised, lacerated, torn, finger nails and joints eaten, burned off, one by one ; tortures prolonged, not for hours only, but for days, for weeks, for months ! respited, fed, only to undergo fresh inflictions. Read, sympathize and ponder well whether the Church that produced such children has not some claim on the land which thus, in a measure, was won by their blood.

Believing as I do in religious equality, in liberty of conscience, and in the brotherhood of man, I am not here to vituperate a religious faith. Life, not dogma, is Christ's test of Christianity, and a sincere Roman Catholic is as safe in God's hands as the most orthodox Protestant. We have, I believe, the greater light—let it shine; and being the greater it will outshine the feebler, as the electric arc makes dim the miserable gas with which it is attempted to light our homes and streets. No fault or merit of theirs or ours; they were and are born French Canadian and Papal; we, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant; they are here with us, possessing with an unanimity we have not, a form of religious faith. They have equal rights with us of being here with their Church, for the claims of toilsome discovery and of heroic pioneer settlement is an offset in full against any claim that conquest may possess. As on the fatal plains of Abraham the names, WOLFE, MONTCALM, are graven on the same stone, so must, or ought, Anglo-Saxon and Gaul to live side by side in one national peace and prosperity.

V.—I now come to that which, I confess, is the more unpleasant part of my task. Is there anything threatening our peace or to mar our prosperity in this race and creed foreign to our own? To very many there is, to me among the number, and some points in this direction I propose now to discuss.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM IS MORE THAN A RELIGIOUS FAITH.

It is a compact organization that avowedly only *toleratés* any other power that owns not its supremacy. Over kings and "sects" it claims supreme rule. Presbyter in Milton's day may have threatened to become priest written large; Anglican canons abound in *anathema sits*, but these are almost entirely matters of the past—the Vatican Council and its Syllabus are of yesterday.

And by that Syllabus (whose propositions are astutely put as negatives) are condemned the contention that the Church, *i.e.*, the Roman Catholic, may not employ force; or that in the conflict of law, civil and ecclesiastical (*N.B.*, not moral), the civil law should prevail; or that any other religion than the Roman religion may be established by the State; or that in countries called Catholic the free exercise of other religions may laudably be allowed.

And the Vatican maintains, that "not only in matters belonging to faith and morals, but also in those that appertain to the discipline and government throughout the world," the Pope speaking *ex cathedra* is to be implicitly obeyed.

Semper eadem is the proud boast of the Roman Church, and her claims are only in abeyance to-day. That these claims are not dead letters may be clearly seen from the following extract, taken from the address to the electors of Champlain (February, 1887) by the Nationalist candidate for that district. It is fair to say that he was not elected, but the fact is suggestive that the words were uttered:—

"I shall make it my duty to obey the orders of His Holiness Pope Leo the Thirteenth, which require us to combat the influence of secret societies; and am of opinion that it is not by elevating their coryphées to the highest position in the State that we can fulfil the commands of the Holy Father in this respect. It is clear to me that when the Holy Father says at times it may be expedient, in a country of mixed races, or of mixed creeds, to tolerate things which could not be done away with without precipitating dangers still more serious, he does not mean to include secret societies in this exception, but only the different Protestant sects, since secret societies cannot be called creeds. Without holding absolutely to this interpretation, which is, perhaps, beyond my competence, I nevertheless intend to act upon it, because I believe it to be sound, until directed otherwise by the proper authority. It appears to me that we should not be justified under existing circumstances in declining to combat Orangeism and Freemasonry, especially in the persons of their leaders; for the conditions may never again be so favourable as they are at present."

Let it then be understood that adverse creeds are only *tolerated*. Protestantism *protects* every man in the free exercise of his religious opinions, provided he does not invade the rights of others, or antagonize the State. *There is an immense difference between toleration and protection*, and the avowed principle of the Roman Curia is toleration only, leaving the uneasy feeling that when the opportune time shall arrive, that, which for expediency's sake is meanwhile tolerated, will be prohibited, and, as in France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, stamped remorselessly out. Had Rome at the great Vatican Council disavowed her old claim to supremacy, or even have passed it by in silence, we might have been more at ease; but the old principles were re-affirmed, and her supreme right to reign most unequivocally maintained. Did Roman Catholicism exist, as other sects exist, simply as a religious body, her right to worship, convert or pervert by moral suasion, would be unquestioned; but her claim to state supremacy, and her manifestly aggressive policy, causes us to ask in simple self-defence, What are her intentions? and what are her munitions of war? And have we adequate means of defence?—for attack we repudiate.

Here first is suggested, "What of the sinews of war?" No means are available for summing up the possessions of the Roman Church in Canada. Denouncing all secret societies, Rome is herself the greatest secret society the world contains. Her wealth can only be approximated by outsiders. We shall attempt the task, and as we probably shall err, we shall take care to err on the safe side. Our figures shall be *within* the mark, not over.

Two million one hundred and seventeen thousand one hundred and seventy-nine acres of land belonged to various Roman Catholic corporations at the time of the conquest, and let it be remembered that all such corporations centre at Rome. De-

ducting the Jesuit estates, forfeited when the order was suppressed towards the close of the last century, 1,223,333 acres were theirs in mortmain. By a series of visions and divine revelations the Island of Montreal was secured to the Seminary of St. Sulpice, whose wealth is estimated as in excess of the entire capital and property of the Bank of Montreal. That the Roman Church is a great land syndicate goes without saying. Anticipating civilization in our North-West Territories, she bargains with Indians and Half-breeds for pre-emption rights which she will take care to have respected by-and-by. Bishop Grandin has already secured 6,000 acres in the North-West, and Archbishop Tache thirty-five square miles near Winnipeg for "the Church."

By the federation of the British North American provinces, questions regarding provincial lands are under the control of the Provincial Legislature. As the Jesuits are fast becoming the ruling spirit of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec, it is nothing but what might be expected that their eyes should be on the forfeited estates; and as education in Quebec, other than dissentient, means education under the Church, it is more than likely that that astute and perpetual corporation may again become seized of the coveted property—now indefinitely advanced in value—under the guise of education. Indeed it is a matter of public notoriety that the Ultramontanes, *i.e.*, the Jesuits, are scheming for "compensation" from the Quebec Legislature for these forfeited estates, which simply means in the present bankrupt position of Quebec finances, a fresh draft upon the Dominion treasury, perhaps under the name of "better terms." We have not withheld from the Jesuits their deserved praise, but we cannot forget that the hand of a Jesuit robbed France of her best King (Henry IV.) because he was simply just to his Protestant subjects. Our own Elizabeth would have fallen too, had their plots succeeded; this so-called

society of Jesus virtually kindled the Thirty Years' War, which for that period desolated some of Europe's fairest provinces; nor has their right hand forgot its cunning, for their influence upon a woman, the devout wife of Napoleon III.,—more devout than faithful—brought Germany and France into conflict in 1870, and introduced that armed peace which is Europe's terror at this very hour. They directed the savage cruelties which in Bohemia overthrew Protestantism; their intrigues caused the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, with the extermination from France of the Huguenots. The massacre of St. Bartholomew followed hard upon the visit to the French Court of the general of the order, and William the Silent, the great and noble Prince of Orange, fell beneath the ball of a Jesuit assassin. And yet we are being asked to supply to them the munitions of war, to warm back to life the viper that in return at any moment may play havoc in our homes. That society which Rome herself suppressed, is to be strengthened and enriched at the expense of the colony it would enslave. Are we to permit it?

The late Bishop Strachan in 1854 estimated the amount of capital bearing revenue in possession of the Church in Quebec at \$20,000,000. Taking into consideration the advance in value, and constant acquisition since, \$50,000,000 will not be too much for the estimate to-day. The *Toronto Mail* is likely to be well informed; in an editorial (Jan. 29, 1887) it says: "The Church in Quebec is probably worth, all told, a hundred million dollars." Allowing one-half for church edifices, grave yards, hospital buildings, etc., our estimate of \$50,000,000 as interest bearing capital is a safe one, our only hesitancy being as to whether the entire \$100,000,000 ought not to be taken in, for churches yield revenue in pew rents, which are remorselessly collected; in baptism fees, which range from \$8 to \$20;

masses for the dead and in funerals, according to scenic effect, are valued from \$10 up to \$300.

Then tithes are legally to be collected for the Church. One twenty-sixth of all wheat, maize, rye, barley, oats and peas, has to be delivered threshed and clear at the Presbytery by the children of the Church. I shall attempt an estimate of income, which would be none of our business were it not for the practical application of the supremacy claim already referred to. There are 200,000 Roman Catholic and French Canadian families in Quebec. Dr. Macvicar estimates the value of tithes at \$20 per family. Some well-informed legal gentlemen of Montreal think that it should be estimated at \$40. I have ventured, considering the comparative poverty of very many of the fishing class, to place it \$15. We then obtain the following figures:—

Tithes, 200,000 families, at \$15	\$3,000,000
Interest on \$50,000,000 capital, 6 per cent.	3,000,000
Pew rents, lotteries, fees, purgatory, etc.	5,000,000

Estimated annual income of Church in Quebec... \$11,000,000

The total income of the Presbyterian Church in Canada averages \$1,500,000 annually for *all* purposes, foreign missions included. That Church represents one-fourth of the entire Protestant community, and certainly one-fourth of ecclesiastical wealth. Six million dollars will therefore represent the outside cost of Protestant work among two-thirds of the people of the Dominion; eleven million that of Roman Catholicism among less than one-third. To be equal, the six millions ought to be twenty-two. At the lowest estimate the annual income of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Quebec amounts to nearly one-half of the Dominion revenue; it would not surprise me to learn that it was fully equal. In Toronto the priesthood is so poor that not one of them from the Arch-

bishop downward has an income sufficiently large to be taxed !

In Montreal, according to the assessment roll of 1884, Churches, hospitals, schools, parsonages, are valued thus : Roman Catholic—Churches, \$1,350,000 ; hospitals, schools, &c., \$3,870,000 ; parsonages, \$280,000. Protestant—Churches, \$1,240,000 ; hospitals, schools, &c., \$1,150,000 ; parsonages, \$210,000. Will anybody believe who knows ? Roman Catholic Church property in Montreal, \$5,500,000 ; Protestant, \$2,600,000 ! “ It is naught, it is naught, saith the buyer ; but when he is gone his way, then he boasteth.” Unlike the master, Roman Catholicism pays no tribute to Cæsar, she exacts it the rather.

It is surely a principle of good government that no legislation in favour of one class should be given adversely to the rest. In truth, no government ought to recognize class in legislation. Yet what are the facts ? This organization insists, with the authority of public law and with monies publicly collected, upon educating her children secretly and adversely to the other part of the community. She compels the State to give her what no other body, lay or clerical, enjoys, recognition as a privileged religious caste ; thus perpetuating a division in the civil status of the people.

Nor is this all. The French Canadian Catholic is the subject of a foreign power, The Roman Catholicism of Quebec is notoriously Ultramontane. If you care to enquire, What is Ultramontanism ? the answer is ready. In its mildest form it may be defined by a sentence from an authorized catechism of the Syllabus : “ In sanctioning liberty of conscience and equality of worship, the Church would lose her *raison d'être*, since it is apparent to the whole world that there is only one true religion.” In 1869 Cardinal Antonelli wrote to the Bishop of

Nicaragua regarding freedom of worship and of education, "Both of these principles are contrary to the law of God and of the Church." And in the catechism of the Syllabus already quoted the right to teach error—*i.e.*, what the Church of Rome does not teach—is placed on the same footing as the right to murder and to rob. This is comfort for Protestant ministers. In other words, the preposterous claim is put forth by Ultramontaniam that the Pope is supreme judge in all matters *de fidei*, and with him remains the right to determine what are matters concerning the faith, whether schools, taxes, or national policy.

In brief: We have a compact organization in our midst, possessed of enormous wealth, grasping steadily for more, virtually controlling under our present system of party politics the election for the Houses of Legislatures, Dominion and Provincial, confessing to a nationality foreign to our flag, and under the control—where it is deemed expedient to exercise that control—of an Italian priest and his Jesuit advisers, for all branches of the Papacy centre at Rome, which at the right moment can bring every agency, however diverse, into line.

Have we any cause of present complaint? From our stand-point—Yes. We have adopted the principle of Public Schools. This is just, especially in view of our practical democracy. Yet what do we find? In Quebec the schools are bitterly sectarian, for the Papacy in this relation is the most remorseless of the sects. The Protestant minority, with rights guaranteed on paper, are practically deprived of Public School privileges; by the parish divisions made by the hierarchy and ratified by the Government, the dissentient schools are either made impossible or handicapped effectually. In Ontario we have the Separate School, which not only breaks up the Public School system, but establishes schools where children are

taught to view their Protestant neighbors as heretics, and as given over to uncovenanted mercies. Is this nothing?

The immense estates of the Papal corporations in Quebec being untaxed, impose ruinously unjust burdens upon the remaining property holders, who are largely Protestant.

And the State is perpetuating the existence of a foreign element in our very midst, by means of which Ontario is practically separated from the Maritime Provinces, even more than by distance.

In this connection it is well to say a few words on treaty rights. The terms of capitulation agreed upon between France and Great Britain at the conquest, simply guaranteed to the French, at a time when Roman Catholics were under many civil disabilities according to British law, that the King's "new Roman Catholic subjects may profess the worship of their religion according to the rites of the Roman Church, *as far as the laws of Great Britain permit.*" Were this interpreted according to the letter and the time, there would be few special privileges enjoyed by our French Canadian citizens. It was simply a matter of Roman Catholic emancipation for Canada. Right glad are we that a liberal interpretation has been given to the treaty, but there ought to be no presuming thereon. The spirit of the treaty is broader than its letter, and it accords to the French Roman Catholics *equal* privileges, not special, with his Protestant fellow-citizen. The rest is simply a matter for legislation, and can be changed as any other law is subject to change. The terms of capitulation guaranteed the rights of British subjects to the French Canadian and to his Church. Actually nothing more.

What is to be done?

Let the truth be known. Knowledge is power, and a calm statement of facts will do much to clear the way.

Speak the truth firmly, but in love. Have the courage of honest conviction, but with due regard to the rights of others.

“ We want no triumphs sprung of force,
They stain her brightest cause :
'Tis not in blood that liberty
Inscribes her civil laws.
She writes them on the people's hearts,
In language clear and plain ;
True thoughts have moved the world before,
And so they shall again.

And the truth requires us to say that we can never found a united Dominion so long as we perpetuate under the Constitution natural distinctions and religious castes ; and allow our children to be by law educated under two hostile systems. Never ! Therefore, with tender appreciation of the memories of fatherland and the words the mother taught, the distinction of two languages make must come to an end. So must the vicious system of having a due proportion of Roman Catholic representation. Why not an Agnostic, Plymouthite representation, with every other ? And the anomaly of Separate State Schools must be blotted out if our peace is to be maintained. We must retrace some steps if we would remain united.

The late George Brown saw in representation by population the great catholicon for all these woes, Protestantism being then in the ascendancy. Alas for all systems that govern by mere majorities, without regard to the eternal principles of justice and of truth. We have been enjoying representation by population for about twenty years, and are on the eve of a deadlock more bitter than that which precipitated Confederation, and gave our Lower Canadian Protestant friends over *volens volens* to the absolute control of the Quebec hierarchy. Unless some changes, such as I have indicated, are made, the only other solution will be—dare I utter the word ?—annexa-

tion : for, the race and religious cry having been raised, the demands made by the Roman Curia upon our Government will soon be intolerable. Then will come more serious divisions, and divisions mean—unless the great Republic shall fail—absorption piece by piece into the company of united states. This is not pessimism, but a simple statement of what men unwarped by any political creed know to be inevitable. Of its desirability or otherwise I have nothing to say.

Finally. That this problem may be peaceably, righteously solved, allow me to put in an earnest plea for Christian statesmanship : Christian, not in the sense of the schools and of the creeds, but Christian in the sense of fearing God, working righteousness, and esteeming the lesson of the cross—"It is more blessed to give than to receive," as the guiding star of private and public life. That grand old gospel, that knows no respect of persons, in which there is neither Greek nor barbarian, bond or free ; that knows no party save as the distinction between right and wrong, truth and lies, draws the line, is the true herald of Liberty and Equality ! In that sense we would have Christianity the religion of the State. Roman Catholicism is not Christianity, nor the divisions of Protestantism either—" they are but broken lights of Thee ; and Thou, O Lord, art more than they." Let the Sun of Righteousness shine into hearts, homes, and legislative halls. Then, only then, shall we lay broad and deep the foundation of a Canadian State—free, just, from ocean to ocean, embracing rock and vale, prairie and mountain, in one harmonious whole, giving homes to a people happy, loyal, prosperous, worthy allies of free Britain, and peaceful subjects of a Christian Queen, whom may God preserve long beyond the Jubilee year of a prosperous reign.

