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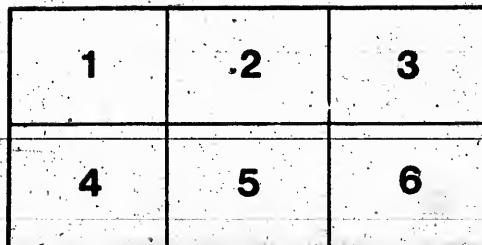
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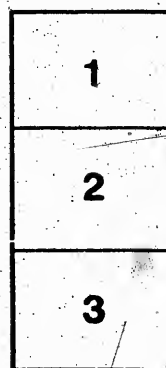
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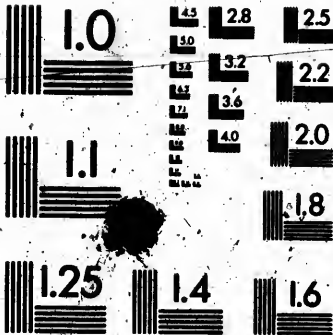
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A
LETTER

TO THE
HONOURABLE E. G. STANLEY, M. P.

ON THE
COMPARATIVE CLAIMS

OF THE
ENGLISH AND SCOTCH CHURCHES
IN CANADA,

TO THE
PROTECTION OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT;

AND
ON THE PROPRIETY OF ESTABLISHING A FUND FOR THE SUPPORT,
THAT IT MAY BE DEEMED EXPEDIENT TO GIVE TO THEM,
FROM A REVENUE ARISING FROM THE RENT OF LAND.

By JOHN RAE.

Montreal:

Printed at the **MONTREAL HERALD** and **NEW MONTREAL GAZETTE OFFICE.**

1828.

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PREFACE.

THE following pages were written and shown to many of the Author's friends, early in the month of February last; but their publication was accidentally delayed until a period, when it seemed not improbable, that ere they could reach Britain, the question might be finally settled by the British Government. It was, therefore, thought better to suppress them, till the result of the proceedings of the late Session of Parliament should be known. The claims of the Church of Scotland having been recognised by a Committee of the House of Commons, the situation of our affairs is somewhat different from what it was, at the time referred to; but as the matters in dispute have not yet been decided by Legislative Enactment, and as the views here taken concerning them, are somewhat different from those generally entertained, it has been deemed advisable yet to publish them. From this delay, the Author has been enabled to corroborate his reasonings and statements, by extracts from the Report of the Committee of Upper Canada, which are subjoined.

GLENGARY, 1st October, 1828.

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LETTER

TO THE

HONOURABLE MR. STANLEY.

Sir,

RELIGION and country are sacred names. The love of them is natural to good men, and is so connected with the best feelings and affections of the heart, that to be wanting in them, throws a shade over the whole character. Unhappy must be the condition, or debased must be the spirit of the man, who can calmly and unresistingly stand by and watch the progress of measures inimical to the interests of either. Unhappy must he be, if the circumstances of his lot have left him no choice, but that of patient endurance; base and debased, if, having the means to avert the evil, he yet wants the will to employ them.

With what sentiments then, can my countrymen, can Scotsmen, regard their present situation in this Province. We leave our native land to come to a British, not an English, Province; and therefore with the assured confidence, that we are there to enjoy equal rights, privileges, and advantages, with those possessed by the natives of any other part of the British Empire. But we find here a party, a powerful, and hitherto an all prevailing party, who tell us a very different tale, who tell us we must submit to bear the burden, and wear the badge of inferiority and subjection.

We have a national Church, and a national form of worship, to which we are sincerely attached. If we adhere to them, we are regarded with the jealousy, and stigmatised with the name, of dissenters. Is a teacher of our persuasion to be appointed? He finds the powerful interest of a dominant religion arrayed against him. Is an university to be established? Men of Presbyterian principles are incapacitated from holding office in it. Our Clergy can perform the mar-

riage ceremony, even among their own flocks, only through the licence of the magistrate; and the very rites of sepulture have been denied us, unless at the purchase of submitting to the ceremonies of a form of worship at variance with our own. Meanwhile, the English styles herself the Established Church, is protected, and her Clergy paid by the British Government, is laying plans for her future aggrandisement and extension at our expense, and has taken possession of a seventh part of the country as her own.

Surprised at the unexpected aspect of affairs, we seek, but seek in vain, for any thing in the circumstances of our country or Church, that ought in reason or justice to have produced it. Were we in truth the natives, as we seem to be thought, of a conquered and degraded Kingdom, of some subject Province of England, though we might bear these things in sorrow, we should yet bear them in silence. But we have been accustomed to think with honest pride, on our past history, and present state, as evincing, that our country is entitled to all the privileges that belong to a free and independent nation. The pages of our earlier annals paint us contending for ages with a nation, warlike and far richer and more powerful than we, yet sinking not under the conflict; and England accustomed elsewhere to conquer, turning at length away with blunted sword and torn banner from our borders. Is there aught in our subsequent history, that has destroyed that equality which the swords of our ancestors were able to maintain in the field? Not, surely, that our rival consented to receive from us a king, or sought to be incorporated with us as a nation. Have we yielded in the contest, since English and Scottish has been lost in British feeling, and since the rivalry that led us to meet opposed in the hostile plain, has been converted into the more generous emulation of who shall best promote the prosperity and glory of the United Empire? Europe answers for us. When her people record those by whom they have been benefited or delighted, what names are more frequent in their mouths than those of Scotsmen? The whole world can witness in our favour. In what corner of it, have not Scottish enterprise, and Scottish valour, contributed to exalt the glory of the British name? Whose were the hardy limbs, whose the firm hearts, that planted the standard of the Empire on the summits of those very cliffs, that now afford shelter and protection to some, who would oppose the just privileges of their sons? The country speaks for itself, and proves, that its existence adds no mean strength to the British Empire, or lustre to the British character. Let the lover of the human kind search the whole globe—where will he find a spot on which his view can rest, with greater pleasure—where will he find, take them all in all, a more intelligent, a more industrious, a more moral, or happy people than in Scotland?

We seek, equally in vain, for any thing in the national worship itself which should cause it to be so depreciated. Were our attachment to it but lukewarm—had it, as unpropitious to the happiness of mankind,

proved itself undeserving the support of those, who might have had the misfortune to have been educated under it;—as the fosterer of sedition, and disloyalty, were it justly regarded with suspicion and jealousy by our rulers;—shame would then shut our mouths, and prevent our advancing aught in its defence. But, on the contrary, we love, we honour our religion—and were it allowed to pride to mingle in such a sentiment, we might well be proud of it. It is the religion of our fathers; that religion, in the cause of which, they toiled and bled; which they raised up amidst suffering and persecution, and left to us as a rich inheritance. Its worth our national character itself speaks, in all that is good and honourable, in which it enters as a vital element. If we are to judge of the tree by the fruit, we need not shrink from a comparison with any Church under the sun. Teachers and taught, alike evince the excellence of the institutions of our own. In learning, in diligence, in virtue, in all those attributes that fit a set of men for becoming the moral and religious instructors of a people, the Clergy of the Church of Scotland are acknowledged to stand pre-eminent. And, if pure religion, the religion of the Bible, that religion which rests in the heart, and displays itself; not in vain parade and empty show, but in subduing evil passions, and training up its votaries to virtue here, and happiness hereafter, exist on earth, it is to be found among the people to whom they minister.

Or, were our relative numbers and respectability small, when compared with those of the rival sect in this country, we should submit even to a compromise of our rights with more patience, and should feel unwilling, that the interests of an inconsiderable part should disturb the harmony of the whole. But what renders the injustice done us the more galling, is the undeniable fact that, were the numbers of Scotsmen and Englishmen, who, in Canada, wish to adhere to their respective Churches, fairly estimated, we shall be found to outnumber and outweigh our opponents in a seven-fold proportion. If, again, we turn to the recorded principles of national union, we find nought in them on which our adversaries can build their extravagant claims; on the contrary, we find a full equality throughout; we find ourselves guaranteed in all rights, privileges, and advantages, which do, or may belong to the natives of the sister Kingdom.

When I reflect on these things, Sir, I am so far from acquiescing in the justice of the charges of heat and animosity which have been brought against us, that I feel we have hitherto exerted a very remarkable forbearance—a forbearance that can only be well explained, from our habits of deliberating with caution, as of acting with energy. Had we longer stood aloof, and allowed our adversaries to follow out their plans without complaint or remonstrance, we had ill performed our parts towards ourselves or posterity. In taking measures to place the question fairly before the Legislature of the Empire, we have done but our duty. Having done so, we have no cause to dread our final success. The British Government has too high a sense

of honour and justice to seek to deprive us of our evident rights; it has too much prudence, by an act of manifest injustice, to do aught to alienate the affections of a loyal and spirited people.

But our opponents seek to place the question on other grounds, and to found it on policy and expediency. Our claims rest on national faith; on solemn treaties; on the fitness of our religion, to lead its followers in that path, which the revealed will of the Deity has marked out as the road to eternal happiness; and doubtful indeed, must any policy be, which would run counter to these firm principles. But, I assert, and I am prepared clearly to prove, that did our claims rest on no other basis than that of simple policy and expediency, every enlightened principle of both would give us a decided advantage over those who oppose us.

Let me then, Sir, solicit your attention to this view of the subject, and let us consider what are the relations of Great Britain and Canada, which, constituting the bond of their political union and government, must therefore regulate the principles on which that government is conducted, and determine the expediency of whatever measure it may be called on to adopt.

A community of interests is the firmest basis of union among Governments, "*idem velle, et idem nolle, cademum firma amicitia est,*" is a maxim as true in regard to states, as parties. It is happily on these grounds that the connection of Great Britain and Canada rests.

Britain, a great manufacturing and commercial nation, abounding in capital, redundant with population, finds her own welfare connected with that of a people, who take from her the products of her manufacturing industry, who offer an asylum to her superfluous population, and who supply her with the raw materials, which she cannot so easily raise within her immediate territories.—We, again, may esteem the prosperity of the mother country our own, while that prosperity sends us the finished productions of human labour far more cheaply than we could manufacture them—while it gives us in return, a market for the produce of our fields and forests, and while it sends capital to the country to enable us to call forth its abundant resources. While these circumstances in the relations of the two countries continue, and it is impossible for us to assign a time, when they shall cease, so long will it be, for the benefit of both to remain under a common government. Capital will then flow more plentifully from the one country to the other, because it will flow far more securely; the commercial relations of the two countries will run no risk of being interrupted, and thence destroyed; and, above all, that lamentable but unavoidable jealousy of separate states, which leads to mutual seclusion and privation, because one will not embrace a good, least it should prove a greater benefit to its rival, can have no place while we form a common people.

To these ties which connect Canada thus intimately with Great Britain, there is added yet this other, that great part of the popula-

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tion of the country is of British descent, and that consequently their manners, feelings, and habits, partake to a certain extent of those of the parent state. While there is no separation of the interests of the two countries, this circumstance must also be allowed most powerfully to cement their union.

These things then—an ultimate connection of interests, a similarity to a certain extent of manners and feelings—are the basis of our union with Great Britain. Besides these, there seems not any other. Force forms not any of our relations with the mother country. We are not held together, either by the necessities of geographical situation, by the right of conquest, or by any other of those compulsory circumstances, which have place in the union of some parts of this great Empire. Ireland is separated from the neighbouring island by but a narrow frith; its destinies must therefore be connected, and must, in a measure, depend on those of its more powerful neighbours.

The bravery of our armies has given us the command of a vast territory in the East Indies, and has put it in our power to adopt what system we please in its government, and to impose on its inhabitants the laws that to us seem best.—The sins of our fathers have put under our controul the unhappy beings who fill the soil of the Western Indies; and while our troops are the instruments that maintain the influence thus acquired, it is fit that we should regulate the concerns of them, and of the masters who keep them to their task, according to our pleasure.

In all these cases, force may, and in some of them it must be employed; but it enters not into the national relations of Great Britain and Canada; nor, I believe, will any one be hardy enough to affirm, that it ought to make a necessary part of the system which connects them.

From these principles, three tests, for determining the relative expediency of protecting the one or the other of the rival sects, may be deduced.

1st. Which form of worship is best calculated to promote the prosperity of the colony?

2d. Which will most effectually diffuse among us British habits and feelings?

3d. Which is most congenial to the state of society that exists in Canada, and therefore least requiring the aid of adventitious power?

1st. The excellency of any religious system, considered merely as a means of promoting the prosperity of society, is chiefly to be estimated by its tendency to restrain offences against the laws, against the state, against morality. If experience then be a fit guide—if from what has been, we may safely infer what is to be—we may form a judgment of the effects likely, in this respect, to flow from the operation of the rival systems in Canada, from those which they have produced, in those parts of the British Empire, where they have been already long established. In England and Scotland, where they exist apart—in Ireland where they are mingled together.

Compared with the population of the two countries of England and Scotland, what then is the relative amount of those offences between man and man, which occur in them, and of which the laws take cognizance?—of murders, of robberies, forgeries, fraudulent bankruptcies, and the long list of criminal delinquencies? What is the amount, estimated in the same manner, of those transgressions which are not directly under the controul of the laws; of licentiousness, of intemperance, of debauchery? What, for instance, compared with their respective population, is the proportion of illegitimate births in the two countries?

Or, to what extent have offences against the state, seditious opinions, principles, actions, combinations to destroy the public tranquillity and established government, prevailed in the southern, compared with the northern part of the Island?

We may safely leave the answer to those questions with our opponents.

Nor will their cause be in the least advanced by a reference to Ireland. There they will find, that obedience to the laws, tranquillity and happiness, have kept equal pace with the progress of the Presbyterian faith.

I am willing to admit, what may undoubtedly be urged, that other causes than the influence of their religious institutions, have operated in enabling the inhabitants of the northern parts of the British Isles, to derive more happiness from their lot, and therefore to be more contented with it, than those of the south. But, with all those admissions, there is a mass of facts remaining, sufficient to show very evidently, that experience does by no means hold forth the Episcopal form of worship, as more fitted than the Presbyterian, to promote the well-being and tranquillity of a British population.* As far then as the mere prosperity of the colony itself is concerned by the relative measures in question, I hold that we have a decided advantage over our opponents.

We have now to consider which of the two measures is best calculated to diffuse among us, in Canada, British habits and feelings. And here, at the first blush of the question, finding Episcopacy the established religion of the most extensive and powerful part of the mother country, I am willing to allow, that we might be disposed to conceive, that as far as religious institutions form the habits and feelings, it were better suited than Presbyterianism to give a British tone to the sentiments and affections of the Canadian population. But this first impression is dissipated by a more attentive consideration. It must be admitted, that it is only so far as Episcopacy prevails in fact and reality, not so far as it is established in form and name; so far as it is seated in the heart, not so far as the outward be-

* I might here advert to the comparative expense which has hitherto attended the two establishments, but they have so often, of late, been contrasted on this point, that I believe it unnecessary.

haviour may be bowed to its observances, that it can in reality be said to enter into the composition of British feeling and character. Now, if, as I believe to be the case, Episcopacy is even in England the religion chiefly of the higher orders; if it is largely dissented from by those in the lower walks of life; and if, even they who, in this class, submit to its ordinances, do so, not so much from choice as from necessity; if so far from being really established in Ireland, the attempt to establish it has been a chief of the real or nominal causes of the discontent and confusion that pervade that unhappy country; if, again, on the other hand, Presbyterianism is in truth and not in form established as the national, I may say, as the sole religion of Scotland, an integral part of the Empire; if, in spite of the very different encouragement which the two have received in Ireland, its votaries there outnumber those of the other Protestant Church; and if in England, the ministry of the pastors, either of the dissenting or established Churches, is beloved and followed by the mass of the people, nearly in proportion as it assimilates itself to the tenets and doctrines of Presbyterianism; if, these things be, as I believe they must be allowed to be, truths—then, surely, it cannot in candour be said, that Episcopacy has any claims very superior to Presbyterianism, to form a constituent part of the British character, or to frame our modes of thinking and acting to a similarity with those, which regulate the habits and feelings of the population of the mother country.

But besides the power which the mere institutions of religion exert in forming the character of a people, there is an influence, apparently less direct, but perhaps more important, which arises from the particular feelings, manners and bias of the Clergy who preside over these institutions. These, from the rank which they hold, and from the respect which is paid to their opinions, give a certain tone and character to the judgments and inclinations of the society with which they mix. If, then, it is desirable that our partialities and affections should in Canada incline towards Britain, it is also desirable that as great a proportion as possible of men placed in the influential station of ministers of religion should be Britons. Dr. Strachan has himself stated that the late Bishop of Quebec found that "gentlemen of education and zeal in his Church, refused to forsake their homes and the endearing associations of early years, to come to so distant and inhospitable a colony."

This statement seems perfectly correct, and hence the proportion of Englishmen, by birth and education, who, in this colony, form part of the English Church, is altogether trifling. The deficiency is supplied, by educating in the colony, native Canadians for the Church, and by making proselytes among the Clergy of other Churches.

On the contrary, the Scotch Clergy of the national Church, are, to a man, Scotsmen; and, from the cheapness of education in Scotland, and the more moderate views of her Clergy, there is no doubt, that suitable encouragement in Canada, would readily attract from

thence, any additional number of Clergymen, of respectable abilities and character, that might be necessary. Now, though it would be both prudent and just, to place the native Canadian on the same footing with these, and although this is a measure, which I am satisfied the Scotch Clergy in Canada are most anxious to bring about, and which I am assured they have every prospect of accomplishing, still it can scarcely be supposed, but that a fair competition would leave a large opening for native Britons to establish themselves in the respectable and influential character of popular Clergymen. These are the men who, perhaps, of all others, have most power to promote that community of habits, feelings and affections, which bind us to the parent country, by the strong ties of mutual sympathy and esteem; and that Church which promises to establish, throughout the colony, the largest proportion of such men, is in a particular manner deserving the protection of government.

I have now, in the third place, to consider which of the two systems is most congenial to the state of society that exists in Canada, and therefore least requires the aid of adventitious power for its support. For, I assume it as a principle that, as our connection with the mother country arises not from any compulsory circumstance, but from the reciprocal benefits that flow from that connection, force does not form any of the bonds of our political union, and must always, when introduced, have a tendency to lessen the stability of that union, and can therefore never, with safety, be brought extensively into action, nor ought ever to be employed but in cases of the most urgent necessity.

I am persuaded that the Church of England is not naturally adapted to prevail in Canada, and that it can only obtain an extensive footing among us through compulsion; whereas that of Scotland is suited to our desires and wants, and requires but little encouragement to spread wide throughout the Colony, and to take firm root among the population of British descent in Canada. To establish the former part of this conclusion, it is not necessary for me to enter into any discussion concerning the suitableness of the present state of that Church, to the people of England. Even admitting that she suits the state of that country, it follows not thence that she is adapted to the order of things in this.

We have seen that there are many circumstances in the nature of things which tend to cement the union of Great Britain and Canada, and the operation of which, if we seek not to establish it on less secure grounds, must long, very long, preserve that union entire. But it cannot be denied, that there are others, and founded in an equally immutable basis, that tend to separate the character of the people of the two countries, and which render institutions and establishments that may be suited to the people of the one, totally at variance with the habits and feelings of those of the other. We shall be satisfied of this truth, if we attend to the different elements of which society is composed in the one country and the other.

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In Britain there is a wide diversity of ranks, arising partly from the vestiges of the feudal system, partly from the immense accumulation of wealth, which successful commerce and manufactures have heaped up. There is a proud and powerful Aristocracy, a persevering and substantial middle class, a lower order, industrious indeed, but needy, and compelled to make their wills bend to their necessities, and submit to the mandates of their superiors. All substantial power is in the hands of the first class—the influence which the others exert, is indirect and precarious. It is widely different in Canada. Here, moderate industry and prudence secure to every man competence and independence. Every man thus feels, that he has power to exert that wish which is natural to all men—to have a voice in what concerns their interest or feelings. Nor is there any thing to keep this natural propensity in check.

Landed property is not of that value, and is not so divided; neither has wealth so accumulated in the hands of a few, or is likely so to accumulate, as to train up a powerful class, who may lord it over those beneath them. We are all here very much on a level; and our conditions and habits are rapidly and inevitably approximating us to that system of liberty and equality, which prevails in that portion of this continent formerly colonised by Great Britain. This conclusion, it is vain for the politician either to deny or regret; let him only endeavour, and let us hope and trust, that we may ever retain kindlier and better feelings for the country of our common origin, than it has been the fortune of events to give to our Southern neighbours.

There is not, in truth, a prouder man than the Canadian farmer. He has no superior; he is not dependent on the assistance, scarcely on the co-operation, of a single individual.

His own land, by the moderate exertions of his own family, supplies him with all the necessaries, and with many of the luxuries of life.

The materials of the house that shelters him, and the fire that warms him, he has found on his own property; the clothing that protects him from the winter cold, and summer heat, has been made from his own flax and the wool of his own flocks, by the hands of his household; the vegetables that supply his table, the animals he slaughters for it, the cider that refreshes his meals, the very sugar that sweetens his tea, and all that variety of fruits, that would attract the most fastidious appetite, are the produce of his own fields, and orchards, and woods. He feels and enjoys those comforts—nor is it the least of the gratification they afford him, that he can contrast them with former privation, and reflect that they are all the fruit of his own exertions. He has raised himself and his family from indigence to abundance, and placed them beyond the fear of future want; he has done so by his own successful enterprise and persevering industry; he is to be excused if these contemplations raise him in his own eyes, until he scarcely thinks there is a wiser or better man in ex-

istence than he. Hence arises a spirit which some would characterise as high and independent, others as self-conceited and self-important, but which, however it might by different people be designated, must be allowed by all to give the possessor a due sense of his own consequence, and to lead him to resist the assumption of every sort of pretension and authority, of which he cannot clearly see the grounds. It is not difficult to perceive, that the feelings which thus pervade our society, and the form which it is assuming among us, are totally opposed to the principles and spirit of the Church of England. A very slight examination of her most prominent features will satisfy us, that she is in fact only suited to a country where there is a wide diversity of ranks—a class powerful enough to govern—a class weak enough to be governed.

She boasts that popular violence had no hand in her reformation; and her present condition well declares, that the people had no vote in determining the form she was to assume; for, it is such as kings and nobles would alone be pleased to bestow. These have divided with her the riches and influence, of which she once had the sole possession; they have purified her of the gross superstition and extravagant pretensions of her parent, but it was no part of their plan to give any influence to the inferior orders: the interests of the people were therefore entirely forgotten, their only part is to pay tithes and listen to him, whom their superiors set over them.

What is the result? If we look into the condition of the Church of England, in England, we shall find its members possessing much curious and elegant learning, men of polished manners and fine feelings; having, in short, all those qualities which are esteemed in the upper walks of life; but taken as a body, though to this as to all other very general conclusions, there must be many exceptions, they will be allowed to be wanting in that simple eloquence and strenuous exertion, which are valued by the body of the people, and which it is necessary that he should possess, who would make an effectual impression on them.—While human nature is human nature, we may rest assured, that he who has been trained up to the prospect of the patronage of men of rank and learning, will seek chiefly to become the fine gentleman and scholar, while he who knows that the success of his future prospects, must be measured by his reputation among the bulk of his hearers as a preacher, and his ability to excite among them religious feelings, will seek chiefly, and therefore most successfully, to acquire the qualities, which characterise a useful and popular preacher—a flowing and commanding eloquence, and a habit of readily expatiating on the truths and promises of revelation. But not only is this state of things little favourable to the growth of eloquence, but it renders that eloquence of a sort, that can only be relished by those of superior rank and refinement. He who understands how to impress his audience with the importance of the truths of revealed religion, will mould his harangue to the habits and conceptions

of those whom he chiefly addresses; as St. Paul himself, when discoursing to a Grecian auditory, did not disdain to quote from one of their own poets.—If seeking to win the attention of men of refinement and taste, whose minds have been trained to contemplate the whole course and operation of nature; to consider the relations of its various parts, and their mutual connections and dependencies—the duties which his condition, as a moral agent, seems to impose on man,—and the beauty and excellence of virtue—he will hold up the gospel as a means of reconciling the conflicting principles of good and evil, with the perfections of the Deity,—as pointing to that virtuous and honourable path, which reason itself indicates, as assuring to those who tread in it, a far more certain and splendid reward, than unaided reason dared to promise: He, again, who addresses himself to those who have had no leisure to devote to those contemplations—who, but for the gospel, would be left to commit, whatever their desires prompted and their opportunities permitted, will enlarge on the guilt of human nature, the boundless love of God, in devising and executing a plan for the salvation of creatures, so fallen and depraved, and, by dwelling on all those topics, which address the heart, rather than the understanding, engage the affections on the side of religion, seek to give it a place in the soul, and raise it up, as a barrier to the approach of surrounding evil.—Thus, in seeking to attain the same end, the preacher will naturally vary his mode according to the condition of those to whom he directs his discourse. But besides this diversity of manner in attaining the end, the end itself is not exactly the same.

Moral delinquencies assume a lighter or darker shade, according to the degree of evil that results from them, and are consequently measured to a certain extent by the rank which the agent holds in society. It has been remarked by a celebrated author, “that in every civilized society, in every society where the distinction of ranks has once been completely established, there have been always two different schemes or systems of morality, current at the same time; of which the one may be called the strict or austere; the other the liberal, or if you will, the loose system. The former is generally admired and revered by the common people: the latter is commonly more esteemed and adopted by what are called people of fashion. The degree of disapprobation with which we ought to mark the vices of levity, the vices which are apt to arise from great prosperity, and from the excess of gaiety and good humour, seems to constitute the principal distinction between those two opposite schemes or systems. In the liberal or loose system—luxury, wanton, and even disorderly mirth, the pursuit of pleasure to some degree of intemperance, the breach of chastity, at least in one of the two sexes, &c., provided they are not accompanied with gross indecency; and do not lead to falsehood and injustice, are generally treated with a good deal of indulgence, and are easily either excused or par-

"done altogether. In the austere system, on the contrary, those
 "excesses are regarded with the utmost abhorrence and detestation.
 "The vices of levity are always ruinous to the common people, and
 "a single week's thoughtlessness and dissipation is often sufficient to
 "undo a poor workman for ever, and to drive him through despair
 "upon committing the most enormous crimes. The wiser and better
 "sort of the common people, therefore, have always the utmost ab-
 "horrence and detestation of such excesses, which, their experience
 "tells them, are so immediately fatal to people of their condition.—
 "The disorder and extravagance of several years, on the contrary,
 "will not always ruin a man of fashion; and people of that rank are
 "very apt to consider the power of indulging, in some degree of
 "excess, as one of the advantages of their fortune, and the liberty
 "of doing so without censure or reproach—as one of the privileges
 "which belong to their station. In people of their own station, there-
 "fore, they regard such excesses, with but a small degree of disap-
 "probation, and censure them either very slightly or not at all."*—
 We must admit these observations to be, in general, just, and to have
 some truth, even when applied to the Professors and Preachers of
 Christianity.

From all these causes, two sects exist, and must exist throughout
 christiandom. Hot and unreflecting men in each, have applied harsh
 terms to designate their opponents. The name signifies not very
 much; it will, however, be allowed that the Protestant Church, in the
 British dominions, is divided into two parties, and that the Church of
 England is at the head of what Smith calls the liberal or loose sys-
 tem, and is opposed to that which, both from its doctrines, and its
 manner of inculcating them, will ever have most favour with the people.

Such is the Church of England, and with all her imperfections—in
 possessing her share of which, I am by no means disposed to allow
 that she has escaped the lot of all terrestrial things—yet, as the Church
 of England, and when confined to England, I willingly admit that her
 existence produces many beneficial results, and that even her defects
 may be tolerated. Her Clergy form a link, an imperfect one, no
 doubt, but still, one that cannot well be spared between the lower
 and higher orders. They excel in all the gentle and conciliating virtues
 of charity and benevolence—and were the people of England, or even
 Ireland, questioned; though, I believe, they would not assent to their
 being the men whose ministry they preferred to all others—they would
 yet, I am sure, bear willing testimony to their being a race of good
 and benevolent gentlemen, and kind masters, whom they respected
 and loved, who soothed the sufferings of their lot, and aided them to
 bear its hardships without repining or murmuring. And as to the
 pomp and power that wait on the higher order of her Clergy—it may
there, with reason, or at least, with some share of it, be said—the

* Wealth of Nations, B. 5, C. 1.

Church must have, at her head, men of wealth and influence, that she may maintain her rank and estimation among a proud aristocracy—and that, if the body of the people have no choice in their spiritual guides, they may the more readily submit to this, seeing the government of their temporal concerns is held by their superiors.

Yet, even in England, it cannot be denied—that this state of things has raised up against her a very numerous and powerful body, who regard her riches and influence with evident jealousy and envy—that the acknowledged incapacity of her teachers to meet the wants of the people, has caused dissent to prevail, to an extent that alarms her friends, and is only kept within its present limits, by the poverty of those among whom it would else have place. I am, then, utterly astonished, how it could possibly be thought, by any one acquainted with the spirit of that Church, and the character of the population of British extraction in Canada, that she is calculated to take firm root in the soil of this country. I have had little success in my attempt to delineate them, if it be not at once perceived that they are completely opposed. The Church of England is given to pomp and splendour, and the higher orders of her Clergy have all that haughtiness of manner and life, and those aristocratical habits and propensities, which the possession of wealth and power, and the associating with those who do possess them, infallibly create. The British Canadian, again, feels highly his own importance, and is jealous of the least assumption of superior consequence, or of authority for which he cannot see an adequate foundation.

The grounds of the superiority which mere birth, science or learning would claim, he cannot understand, and, therefore, will not admit. He allows the power of wealth but as adding to the enjoyment of the possessor; feeling his own independence, he bows not to the riches of the rich man, he would look on any assumption of superiority on that account as a mere usurpation; an usurpation which could not be too strenuously resisted, or speedily overthrown—and which would be doubly galling to him, were he to imagine, that the means of maintaining it were unjustly drawn from funds, of which he alone ought to have the disposal. Were it possible to suppose that a few of the dignitaries of the Church of England were settled in Canada, and supported at the expense of the Colony, in any thing like the power and splendour, which they possess in England, I am satisfied that they could not be maintained in their situations for many years. To preserve tranquillity in the Colony, it would be absolutely necessary that they should be removed. Hitherto, it is true we have seen but little of that body. Hitherto, that Church has been able to assume but little of that rank and consequence, which she has acquired at home; nor has she yet been able to bear forward the higher ranks of her Clergy, to that commanding station which they there maintain. From the little that we have seen, however, we may form an estimate of what a future day may witness, should the plans of aggrandisement,

which she is now forming, be realized. What then has been the consequence of that union of Church and State—of that ambition to direct the affairs of the one as well as the other—to mingle with the great as companions—and to be men of political importance, which the English Church claims as a right for those at her head—what has been the consequence of this line of conduct in Canada, in the only instance, where there have been both the power and the will to follow it out? Has such conduct been popular—has it conciliated our goodwill and esteem? Could the question be put over the whole Province, I fear there would be but one answer of dissent. On the contrary, it has been universally reprobated, and has excited the most unequivocal marks of public disapprobation and dislike. True it is, the individual in question, may be unworthy of the hostile feelings which the mass of the population entertain towards him—and that, warmly supported by all ranks of the Clergy of his Church, and by his numerous party of friends and followers—he affects utterly to despise them. So, no doubt, might his more wealthy successors. The existence of such feelings, however, proves that such men are very dangerous to the tranquillity of the Country, and to the peaceable rule of the government that supports them.

Nor does the appearance of the Church of England seem better calculated to win our esteem, when we view her in another light.—No form of Church Government can naturally flourish in Canada, which does not give to the people the power of choosing their own pastors. What would be their feelings then, were their pastors appointed as in England? how would a man accustomed to have a voice, at least in all that affects his interests, and believing himself perfectly competent to form a judgment of the preacher, who is best adapted to his wants, bear to be told, Mr. A. is to be appointed, he is brother to Lord B., or he is said to be a man of most gentlemanly and engaging manners, and a great favourite of Bishop C., or even, he is an excellent classical scholar, or an admirable mathematician, and went through all his classes and trials with great eclat? Did the individual possess all the other qualities which his people would deem desirable, yet, I may safely say, that the feelings of jealousy and dislike which his being so appointed, must infallibly generate, would blast his future success, and mar all his utility. But we have seen that the qualities, which the discipline of that Church tends to call forth, are not such as make a preacher successful, and popular, and useful, to the class of people among whom he would have to minister in Canada. They would therefore feel such an appointment as a gross oppression,—an oppression to which they would not long be disposed patiently to submit. Let us recollect that this is no light matter—they feel their need of an efficient preacher—one whose words reach their hearts—whose zeal and industry are indefatigable—who may be able to awaken in their breasts, and in the breasts of their families, a sense of the importance of the things of another world, and to raise them above

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the frailties and sufferings of this. You give them one, who, we shall admit, is learned, respectable and pious, but whose discourses seem to them dry, cold, and unintelligible, and from whose ministry they can reap little either of benefit or delight.

He thinks he has discharged his duty when he has gone over the ritual of his Church, and read a learned and orthodox discourse, and is disposed to lay the blame on the unhappy prejudices of his flock, if they hear him without attention or pleasure. They, again, naturally contrast the feelings with which they listen to him, and the effects on their conduct and happiness, which his labours produce, with the happier results that flow from the ministry of some one whose acquirements are more fitly adjusted to their habits and wants; they feel the great diversity; they impute the cause of it to the preacher; can it be supposed that they would not resent his being placed over them without their consent, as a grievous injury; can it be believed that they would not seek, by all means in their power, to do away with the system that produced it.

The history of the Reformation in Scotland, is the very reverse of that which had place in England. The Church of Scotland was founded on the complete overthrow of superstition and spiritual tyranny, and was raised up amid the principles of civil and religious liberty, when these were in all the vigour which success and recent origin could give them. Its original constitution and form declare the elements from whence it arose. These proclaim freedom within and without—they give to the people the choice of their own pastors, and establish an equality among the pastors themselves. The Clergyman is chosen by those, who are most interested in obtaining one, who may satisfy their wants, and who best knows what their wants are; he looks only to God and his people, and, while he discharges his duty to them, dreads the frown of no superior.

This form of Christianity, so much more simple and less costly than that of Episcopacy, shows, by the condition of the people among whom it prevails, how well it is adapted for the diffusion of genuine religion, and the promotion of general happiness and peace. There can be no question that it is well suited to the state of society in Canada.—Its doctrines have been characterised as calvinistical, austere, puritanical; these terms seem to imply that it is the religion of the people. Accordingly, wherever a similar form has been established, it has commanded their suffrage. Adam Smith remarks that “the Presbyterian Clergy have more influence over the minds of the common people, than perhaps the Clergy of any established Church, and that it is accordingly, only in Presbyterian countries that we ever find the common people converted without persecution, completely, and almost to a man, to the Established Church.”* Its

*. Wealth of Nations, B. 5, C. 1.

original form, giving the election to the congregation, suits our liberal notions. It is indeed true, that this original constitution of our national Church, exists now, generally, only in name, having in reality, been nearly done away with by the preponderating influence of the higher orders, and by the inconveniencies found to arise out of a popular form, from the licentiousness of a people not trained to the use of liberty. In this country, however, it would naturally resume its original spirit, which in Scotland has not been extinguished, but is merely kept in subjection, by a sort of legal ingenuity, the form remaining as of old.

In a word, whether we regard the happy effects, which experience warrants us to draw as resulting from the prevalence of Presbyterianism among a people, or the additional strength of attachment to the Parent Country, which its diffusion would create, or the facility with which it might be spread among us, I see not any other form of Protestantism, that can be at all put in competition with it, and least of all, can that of the Episcopacy of the Church of England.

Experience has hitherto served fully to confirm all that I have advanced. The Church of England protected, and her Clergy liberally paid by the Parent State, has hitherto made but an uncertain and feeble progress—while that of Scotland, under the pressure of the slights and neglects of the powers that be, has been well supported by the people—has obtained a firm hold of their affections, and even in nominal adherents out-numbers her rival. While, so far from the spread of Episcopacy having added to the stock of British feeling, and increased our attachment to the Parent State, it has been only remarkable for the discontent and murmurings, which its progress has excited; it will be found, on the other hand, that wherever the religion of the Church of Scotland has greatest sway, there is the firmest seat of loyalty and devotion to the cause of Britain—there the principles of her government have been held in the greatest respect, and the enemies of her ascendancy, have ever met the most determined opposition.

It has indeed been asserted by the advocates of the Church of England, that the encouragement given to that Church, must create in the people, a feeling of attachment to the Parent Country, and that her actual progress in this country, shews that there is a disposition on the part of our population, to rally themselves under her banners. Both assertions may, without difficulty, be refuted. It would indeed be a phenomenon, unprecedented in history, if the attempt violently to impose a system of religion on a people should conciliate their regard; and no one, who has had an opportunity of observing the spirit which the attempt has generated in Canada, and which now so clearly manifests itself, can, for a moment, believe that this country is likely to form an exception to a general rule. And as for her progress, if we arrange her adherents into classes, and analyse in each the motives that have influenced their choice, we may form an idea of what that has actually been. These classes may be reckoned four:—

1st. Those who may be called her natural followers. The population of English, or of Scotch, or descent, who have preserved their adherence to the Established Church of the Mother Country. This class cannot be numerous, for the proportion of settlers of English birth or descent is but small, and of these many are dissenters. The great body of the Irish, are Roman Catholics.

2d. The second class consists of those who may be called her natural proselytes, because their feelings and principles have made them so. It has been said, that the Church of England, when compared with other forms of Protestantism, is the religion of a gentleman. The remark savours of illiberality; yet, we have seen that the form and doctrines of that Church do, in truth, render it more attractive, than its severe and more rigid rivals, to those whose station in life gives greatest latitude to the pursuit of pleasure, and whose minds the refinements of science and taste have rendered more fastidious. The numbers of this class of her votaries, are determined, by the increase of abundant wealth and refinement; I suspect it must, therefore, be long confined within very narrow bounds.

The next two classes have been produced by the direct operation of wealth and power.

3d. There are men whose religion sits so loose about them, that they change it as a garment, according to the caprice or convenience of the hour;—for these, what is said to be the Established Religion, being the most fashionable, and sometimes the most lucrative, will always have charms. The causes which tend to increase this class, must cease to act, should the Church of England be put on the same footing with that of Scotland.

4th. The fourth class has been formed, and is measured by the direct influence of the Funds which the wealth of the Church, aided by government, enables it so easily—to scatter over the wilds of Canada—the seeds, as it hopes, of an abundant harvest in future.

£200 sterling, a year, is the sum which the Church is enabled to give her missionaries. This certain income, with the prospect of some addition, is fully sufficient, in Canada, to induce respectable men to accept the office. These are placed in the remote and thinly scattered settlements, where the scanty means of the inhabitants have not enabled them to provide for a pastor, and even, though the form of protestantism, which they profess, may not be that which the people would prefer, nor the pastors themselves of the stamp they would desire—they must still, to a certain extent, attract congregations.

This state of things can only have place while the means of settlers are limited; it must cease when their increasing prosperity enables them to provide pastors more suited to their tastes and necessities; it is, in fact, so ceasing;* and it would cease immediately, were the incumbents to be thrown on the unaided resources of the popula-

* Dr. Strachan's Sermon on the death of the late Lord Bishop of Quebec—P: 19.

tion. No candid observer will assert, that the attachment of this class, whose members constitute the main body of her nominal followers, is very strong or secure to the Church, whose ministry, the force of circumstances now leads them to attend.

Thus, then, it appears that the Church of England is naturally contracted within the narrow limits of the first and second classes, and is indebted for the nominal footing she has obtained among the others—not to any qualifications or merits of her own, but solely to the influence of adventitious circumstances. And, with all the aid, which these circumstances have afforded her, it is well known to every one, acquainted with the state of the country, that the ground she occupies among us, is contracted and insecure.

The most conclusive evidence, that can be produced on these points, is that which was given to the select Committee of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada. That Committee examined no less than 51 gentlemen of all parties, on questions arising out of the policy which the Church of England has hitherto successfully pursued in this Province. The result of its labours is highly deserving the attention of all, who are interested in ascertaining the real state and sentiments of the people on religious matters. I select two of these questions, and give a summary of the answers.

Question 4th. Is the tendency of the population of this Province towards the Church of England? Is it spreading over the Province?

Answer, by Elder William Case. I believe but a very small portion of the population (comparatively speaking) is attached to the Church of England. The progress of her establishment is very slow, compared with that of some other denominations. This may arise from various causes—as

1st. From a dislike in the people, to her ceremonies and forms of worship.

2d. From the matter and manner of preaching.

3d. From a want of proper exercise of discipline among her members and professors; and, in some instances, from (as the people consider it) the unchristian-like conduct of her Clergymen.

Answer by the Rev. James Richardson. I believe, from what knowledge I have, that but a small portion of the people of this country are members of the Church of England, compared with some other denominations—and though it has increased in the number of its Churches and Ministers, yet, I believe, it does not increase in its number of members, in proportion to the increase of the population of the Province. To my certain knowledge, many of her members have withdrawn themselves from her communion, and joined themselves to the Methodists.

This may arise from several causes, principally from the want of a christian discipline being exercised, and a dislike to certain practices of some of her Ministers.

Answer by Dr. Dunlop, Warden to the Canada Company:—

In the first part of the question, I would say, certainly not—because, among the Catholics, proselytism is very uncommon. The Presbyterians and Methodists are averse to a set form of worship: and to the former, sponsors in Baptism form a bar to their uniting with the Church of England. I have known more instances than one, when Presbyterians, living at a distance from a Clergyman of their own communion, have attended the Church of England, and even received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, after her form, who came upwards of 80 miles to have their children baptised by a Minister of the Kirk of Scotland.

To the second part of the question, I would say, that the Clergy are spreading over the Province; but that their congregations are not large, nor could they, without assistance, support their Clergy.

James Lyons, Esq., M. P. I am decidedly of opinion, that the tendency of the population of this Province, is not towards the Church of England, and it is not spreading over the Province.

The Honourable Thomas Clark. The tendency of the population of this Province, is not towards the Church of England, the Pastors of which are spreading in the Province.

The Honourable Thomas Baby. I have not ascertained that the tendency of the major part of the population of this Province, is towards the Church of England. There are, already, many English Churches erected in the Province; but, except in our largest towns, I believe they are but thinly attended.

There are forty-four answers given—all in a similar strain, with the exception of—1st., 'The Attorney General of the Province, John B. Robinson, Esq., who states that he has observed that, whenever a pious and kind Missionary of the Church of England is stationed in any populous part of the Province, he speedily acquires a numerous congregation, and that many individuals join it, who were, before, considered as belonging to other religious denominations.' But adds, "How far this might be the case, if such persons had, at the same place, pious and enlightened Ministers of their own, I cannot pretend to say." And further—"The Church of England is rapidly increasing."

This latter assertion is best explained by the answer of John Rolph, Esq., M. P.

If by the "tendency of the population of this Province towards the Church of England," is meant that a greater number, in any given time, become members or communicants of that Church, than of others—I decidedly think there is, at present, no such tendency. But I think the Church of England, as it is called, is increasing—and, in my opinion, from its intrinsic worth and excellence, will increase, if not made an object of jealousy and disgust to christians of all other denominations.

The other exception is that of P. Van Koughnett, Esq., M. P. He states that—"in his own district, (the Eastern,) the tendency to-

wards the Church of England is great. Its members are increasing fast." I am disposed to question the accuracy of that gentleman's statement, both from my own knowledge of that district, and from the general opinion there entertained, that on this point, he has been mistaken.

Question 9th. "What proportion, in your opinion, do the members of the Church of England, in this Province, bear to the whole population?"

Answer by Elder William Case. "If we consider those only as her members, who receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in the Church of England, the proportion of them to the population of the Province, is exceedingly small—perhaps about 1 to 243; but, if we embrace the number composing the congregations of the Church of England as her members, they would bear, in my opinion, the proportion of about 1 to 100 of the whole population of the Province. Estimating the population at 170,000 souls, the proportion of the communicants of the Church of England, to the communicants of other denominations, is, in my opinion, about 1 to 18."

"In about this latter proportion of 1 to 18, the number of her adherents is fixed, by taking the average of the amount given by the others answering the question, some rating them as high as one-sixth, others as low as one-twenty-fifth of the whole population.

Answer by Charles Fothergill, Esq., M. P. "It has always appeared to me, that the Episcopalians, properly so called, are the least numerous of christian denominations in the Province."

Answer by Dr. Dunlop Warden of the Canada Company. "So far as my data go, they are not—they are but limited. I would say from one-tenth to one-eighth."

Answer by P. Van Koughnett, Esq. M. P. "I cannot tell."

By John B. Bobinson, Esq., Attorney General. "I do not know, nor do I think any body else does."

Honourable Thomas Clark. "A small proportion, perhaps one-fifteenth to one-twentieth."

Every one well acquainted with the state of the Protestant population of Canada, must allow that the Presbyterians, if not the most numerous, is one of the most numerous of the sects into which they are divided. It is true, that of the Presbyterians, many are dissenters from the Church of Scotland; but when it is considered that the tenets of both are the same, and that the only ground of separation, is a difference of opinion on the subject of patronage, a question that can never have place in this country, it will appear to be owing to casual circumstances, that any such body exists, and that there can be little doubt that it might easily and naturally be comprehended within the limits of the national Church. On this point, the evidence given to the Committee of the House of Assembly, is also decisive.

The 10th question is—"What denomination of Christians, in this Province, do you think the most numerous?"

The witnesses are here divided between the Methodists and Presbyterians, the majority inclining to the former, but uniformly giving their answers in favour of the one or the other. Indeed, there seems little question that, if left to its unaided resources, this Province would present the same appearance in religious matters, that the United States do. There, I believe, the Methodists form the most numerous sect, and the Presbyterians rank next—the former acting as pioneers, and spreading themselves over all the newly settled countries—the latter coming after them, and gradually gaining ground as the people become able to support regular Preachers. This state of things naturally takes place, where no funds are provided by the State, for the religious wants of those, whose situation prevents them from maintaining Clergymen of education, from their own unaided resources. There the Methodists rapidly diffuse themselves, and though many of them are, of course, devoid of any pretensions to learning, and are actuated merely by a sort of blind zeal—yet, unquestionably their labours are, on the whole, productive of great good. They, however, who are best judges of human nature, will, I believe, agree with me in thinking that the advantages which morality and religion would derive from the state giving moderate support to preachers of a higher order, who would avoid exciting that spirit of fanaticism and delusion, which too often subsides into total apathy, would amply repay the expenses attending the measure. With this support, I believe that Presbyterianism would take the lead of any denomination of Christians in North America.

I conceive that I have now fully proved my third head of argument, and have established, that the feelings of the Protestant population of Canada are as decidedly opposed to the pretensions of the English Church, as they are naturally disposed to yield to the more moderate claims of that of Scotland; and that to give the reins to some church politicians and render the Colony, as they express it, English, by forcing over us a church establishment, like that of England, were a policy no less unwise than dangerous. It has already been acted on to an extent that has alarmed every true friend of Britain, and of Canada, and if persevered in, every succeeding year will, I am satisfied, serve further to demonstrate that it is both impracticable and unsafe. Could we ever suppose its supporters to be ultimately so far successful as to establish it in Canada as the dominant religion, I am persuaded that their triumph would be but of short duration. Let us just carry forward our views a little till the period when the dreams of our sanguine projectors are to be realised. Let the Church of England thrive and prosper among us, let her clergy rule over us, and let them be put in possession of such a portion of the good things of the Land, as may be consistent with her dignity, and with the share she claims in her native England. We shall admit that as a body they might be learned, and respectable; but then, by the constitution of their Church and the care of Government, they would be indepen-

pendent of the people, and therefore feeling, and unavoidably showing, that the opinion of their flock is of little consequence to them, and, as they are men, allowing the besetting sins of power and affluence to have dominion over them.

Would such a body be able to guard against the progress of dissent? If among the needy and pampered population of England it has made alarming progress—if, already, here, we find churchmen complaining, that, “even where Churches are erected, the persons who give regular attendance are so few as generally to discourage the minister, and that his influence is frequently broken or injured by numbers of uneducated itinerant Preachers, who, leaving their steady employment, betake themselves to preaching the Gospel, from idleness, or a zeal without knowledge,”* what would be the case then? Assuredly the number of these would mightily increase, and they would be of a higher order; the increased prosperity of their hearers would call to the station men of more talent and education; their cause would prosper—dissent would advance with rapid strides—and what a scene would the aspect of affairs then present—a clergy supported in affluence, by the resources, of which Government had put them in possession—a people—disliking their Ministry and withdrawing themselves from it.—Such a state of matters could be supported by nothing but absolute force.—The population would demand, that the resources of the country should be expended for the benefit of the country, and not for the support of a clergy, whose labours they neither wanted nor accepted. Government might think itself pledged to support them; discontent and murmuring would arise; confusion would follow; the burden of Episcopacy would be thrown off, even at the risk of casting off along with it, the allegiance to the Mother Country.—Canada is not England; Episcopacy can never be the dominant religion of this Colony.—To imagine that it will be so, to image forth Bishops and Deans and Doctors, in due gradation of dozens and hundreds and thousands,† reposing, in state and security, on the abundant produce of four or five millions of acres, and on the dutiful obedience of the flocks, over, whom they preside, is no doubt a goodly vision to a churchman’s eye—but it is a mere vision.—To attempt to render it a reality, would assuredly at no distant period produce discontent, commotion and separation of interests and affections—perhaps of Governments.

But it may be urged—you draw a picture of things which we never contemplated; we mean not to raise our church to that height of prosperity, which she has attained at home—we mean not to say that her positive advantages ought to be here, what they are in England or Ireland.‡

* Dr. Strachan’s Sermon on the Death of the late Lord Bishop of Quebec, p. 19.

† Dr. Strachan esteems two thousand a very small number.

‡ Letter of the Bishop of Quebec.

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But let me ask you, why thus limit her pretensions? you cannot surely mean to say that she has assumed a rank in those countries to which she is not entitled, and which she ought not to maintain.—You are accustomed to hold her up as a venerated example of all that is faultless in discipline, and perfect in doctrine; and if you have any regard to consistency, you must confess that it would be your wish and endeavour to assimilate her condition in Canada, to that full perfection she has attained in the parent state. The only consistent answer you can give is—“We cannot.” “We know alas! that we are unable to accomplish it.”—The force of this reply I admit; I am at least as well satisfied of its being incontrovertible, as you can be yourselves. But what I assert is, that, as far as is in your power, you will endeavour to compass, what to you seems an end so desirable.—Your prejudices blind you to the danger of the attempt; your personal interests prompt you to it; motives which, with your belief, are blameless, even praiseworthy, hurry you on till you would put to the hazard the tranquillity of the Colony and the interests of the Parent State. It is to the wisdom of the British Government, not to your prudence, that we must look, for *restricting* you to that rank, with which the interests of Britain and Canada alike require, that you should be contented.

Having now I trust shown, that, even setting right and justice altogether aside, and regarding the question as one of expediency, the claims of the Church of Scotland to the support of the British Government, are superior to those of the Church of England, I have proved what I undertook to establish, and I might here conclude. It has, however, been the unhappy, but natural tendency of the overbearing spirit and pretensions of the Church of England, to produce a prejudice in the minds of many, against all church establishments, and to cause many respectable individuals to believe, that it were for the interests of Canada, that no Church should receive more protection than another from the Government of the Country. The near neighbourhood of the United States—which, following up this system, connects not the church establishment with the state, and is yet without question the most prosperous, and is rapidly rising to be one of the most powerful of the Empires of the civilized world—has also much increased the numbers of those, who hold these sentiments. Were this opinion correct, it would at once settle the question, by establishing the propriety of Government's withdrawing its support from both Churches, a measure which they, who hold it, seem to urge. As I cannot, however, acquiesce in this conclusion, you will allow me to state very shortly, the reasons which lead me to dissent from it.

In my opinion, several very considerable and substantial advantages arise from the Ministers of Religion being connected with the state, and, in part, supported by it.

1st. Great part of the expense necessarily attending their maintenance may in this way be drawn from sources, which are least burdensome

to society. The Ministers of Religion may be ranked among that class, to which some political economists have given the name of unproductive labourers. The labour of the farmer, the manufacturer, the mechanic, by producing things necessary to man, or by giving those already existing more useful forms, creates the means of maintaining other manufacturers, farmers or mechanics. The labour of the preacher of Christianity, though highly useful, even viewed merely with relation to its political advantages, as a means of instructing the people, has no immediate tendency to create funds, from whence it may be maintained. "Like the declamation of the actor, the harangue of the orator, or the tune of the musician, his work perishes at the very instant of its production." The maintenance therefore of this class is a tax on the common funds of the Society.—Of these funds, the *revenue arising from the rent of land*, seems that, of which the abstraction of a part, *least retards the general prosperity*. Without recurring to the theoretical reasonings, which would establish this conclusion, its correctness will be sufficiently shown, by attending to what occurs, where such an arrangement has place. In Scotland for instance, the Clergy are chiefly paid by the proprietors of land. The sum, which is thus collected, may, perhaps, be nearly £150,000. Now the levying of this sum on them, has little other effect than that of taking from them the means of supplying themselves, with so great a share of expensive luxuries. It perhaps reduces to nearly that amount the quantity of rare wines, or of costly silks, or the number of horses or menial servants, which that class afford, and this is the only evil resulting from it. But were this sum levied on the farmer, manufacturer and labourer, it would have the effect to reduce the accumulation of capital by the two former, and hence the general prosperity of the society; and it would tend to make the latter content himself with a small share of comforts or even necessaries and, by thus sinking him in the scale of social life produce a result, the evil of which, will not now a days be disputed. In England again and Ireland, the Clergy are themselves, to a great extent, proprietors of land; but had the property, they thus hold, not been set apart to the Church, it would have been possessed by the gentry, there being no reason to suppose that it would have gone to the common good of the Society. It would therefore merely have supported a class probably more luxurious and less conciliatory in their manners than those, whom it now maintains. The evil which arises from the church establishment of England and Ireland, if any evil does arise, is not that they hold property so extended, but that they hold it for a purpose, to which they do not apply it—they might have held it by some such service as delivering a dozen pepper corns yearly to the King, and then they would hold it as quietly as any of the gentry; but as it was granted them for the service of instructing the people, if they do not instruct them, or if they do not give them that sort of instruction they wish, the people look on them as possessing riches

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to which they are not entitled, as unjustly holding the reward of the discharge of duties, which others must be paid to perform. Hence dissention, discontent and commotion arise, evils overbalancing the advantage of the expense of the clerical establishment being in a great measure defrayed by the funds, which are most easily spared for the purpose. But it is only to the misapplication of the principle, that any objection can be made; the principle itself is sound; and hence the establishment, on funds arising from the revenue of land, of a body of men, who would truly perform the duties of Christian instructors, would be a real good. Some may doubt, whether the Church of England is a benefit to England, and others may regard her, as of the greatest evil to Ireland; but no one, well acquainted with Scotland, will deny that her Church has been productive of a great share of all that is good and lovely in the land.

2d. An established Church seeks to preserve its respectability, by admitting none to take upon them the Ministry, who have not made a decent progress in learning and science. Hence the general advancement of science and learning is promoted, and the interests of religion and morality do not suffer at the hands of unskilled and injudicious defenders.

3d. A body of men, from education and habit, friendly to the prevalence of peace and concord among mankind, and prompted by interest to avoid all causes of commotion and civil controversy, as endangering an order of things, which secures to them comfort and respectability, seems a useful alloy to the violent operation of those principles, which govern the motions of states, where the chief power is in the hands of the people; such a body, like oil thrown on the stormy waters, calms the turbulence, and diminishes the danger of popular commotion.

I do not think, that the United States can fairly be brought forward, in opposition, as an instance of good, arising from a system which throws the care of religion and its Ministers entirely on the people. Many circumstances, quite unconnected with this, have united their influence, to give to the inhabitants of that extensive country, an unequalled degree of prosperity and power. So far from the want of a religious establishment having proved beneficial, it is, I am persuaded, a defect in the constitution, and has checked the diffusion of concord and happiness. In this opinion I am joined by some of the most liberal and zealous defenders of the rights of mankind.*

The interests of religion and virtue must suffer, when the exertions of their defenders are cramped by the fear of approaching indigence and distress. The ministers of religion ought surely to be preserved from all harrowing anxieties, concerning temporal affairs, and, though removed from the vanities of the world, to be exempted as much as possible from its cares. In the States they are merely the hired ser-

* Mably.

vants of their Congregations, holding their situations from one term of years unto another, and consequently, exposed to be thrown loose upon the world, whenever their own infirmities, or the caprice of their hearers may lead to the belief, that they are less fit than formerly, to discharge the duties of their office. If we take, in conjunction with this, the very limited extent of their incomes (averaging I am assured less than £150 currency per annum) we shall be disposed to allow that they can scarcely possess that independence, or hold that rank in society, which would draw men of education into the ministry, or give full effect to the exhortations they deliver.

Besides, I am led to believe, that the burden of maintaining a well qualified Clergyman, has been felt to be so severe, when it had to be borne chiefly by the poorer classes of society, as in many instances to have kept the people without Pastors, or to have contributed to the appointment of pastors of less respectable acquirements than were to be wished. From these causes, our North American neighbours have, I believe, a greater sprinkling of fanaticism, and are somewhat less moral and less religious, than if the ministers of religion had been connected with the state, and supported by it. They may shortly feel other evils arising from this defect in their constitution. That rivalry of interest and feeling, which every day is increasing, between the sections of their extended empire, must be met by a spirit of mutual forbearance and concession, or must ultimately terminate in the dissolution of the confederacy, and the conversion of that fair portion of the globe into a scene of commotion and bloodshed. The ministers of an established church, forming a bond of connection between the remotest parts of the most extensive dominions, and prompted no less by interest than duty, to maintain that connection, to allay the heats of civil controversy, and to cherish peace and good will among the people, whose devotions they direct, would have been the natural guardians of the unity of their Empire.

For these reasons, I must think, that, in this case, the United States hold forth to us an example, not to be imitated, but avoided; and it seems to me, that the only fit answer, that they can make, who most admire the character and maxims of their legislators, is not, that in this case they have acted wisely, but that they acted, as they were unavoidably compelled to act. At the time of the separation of her North American Colonies from the Mother Country, all controlling power being withdrawn, it was impossible for any one of the numerous rival sects to be raised over all others. It is very different in Canada; this country is in the very act of assuming a form, and the people of acquiring a character. That form and character must, in some measure at least, be determined, by the influence which Great Britain exerts, nor does it seem to me, that that influence can be, in any way, more powerfully and beneficially exerted, than in the formation of those religious establishments, which may be raised up, by its fostering care. In this case, the circumstances of the times, and the principles of justice and sound policy seem to point out one course.

The two National Churches claim with justice the protection of the National Government: it is the interest of that Government to protect them, and there are at present, at its disposal, funds, in my opinion, fully adequate to meet every expense, to which this protection may expose it.

It seems to me that the Clergy Reserves, if put under proper management, would yield a revenue perfectly adequate to this purpose.—Hitherto, it is true, they have been almost entirely unproductive; but I am disposed to ascribe this circumstance to the system, which has been adopted in their management, having been formed, without due regard to the circumstances of the country, and the character of the settlers. Hitherto these lands have been offered to lease, for terms of only 21 years. Now this period, though sufficiently liberal in Great Britain, is altogether too short to meet the views of the Canadian Settler. Those, who seek to occupy wild lands, in this country, have made many sacrifices, and encountered much distress, ere they could even place themselves among us; they are prepared to make still greater sacrifices, and to task their endurance yet more severely, but they bear without repining the hardships and privations, to which they expose themselves, because they regard them as the price they have to pay for ultimate comfort and independence. Were they to give up the hopes of one day securing these to themselves and families, they must look on all they have already done, as thrown away, and would lose the chief incitement to future exertion. It is evident therefore, that leases of uncultivated land, for a term of years of which most, who come with an intention of settling in Canada, have a prospect of seeing a conclusion, at which time were they to accept them, they and their families would be again thrown—unprovided for on the world, are not very likely to be eagerly sought after. Besides this, if any one takes a lot of wild land in Canada, with the intention of living on it, and drawing his subsistence from its cultivation, 21 years is a period in general too short to repay him for his necessary trouble and expense. He must build a house to dwell in, a barn to secure his grain, and stables for his cattle; his lands must be fenced, and perhaps they may require to be drained. These improvements absorb the greater part of the capital, which his yearly labour accumulates, and, at the period when he is just beginning to reap the benefit of them, he is required to surrender them to another. For these reasons, no man of prudence and perseverance will accept of any of these lots, for the purpose of settling upon them; and such of them as are leased, are therefore held by those, who own adjoining farms, and who, by obtaining a lease, can more conveniently pillage these lots, of whatever valuable timber, or other natural productions they contain. Instead however, of leases of 21 years, were these lands offered for terms of 70, 80, or 100 years, I am persuaded that a very large portion of them would, in no long period, be taken up by actual settlers. There is a certain class of settlers to whom such leases would be invaluable.

There are many individuals from Ireland, Scotland, and England, whose finances are exhausted, ere they reach Canada, and who are burdened with large and young families. It is impossible for these men, immediately to pursue, what has probably been their original plan, and directly push into the wilderness. They absolutely require to have previously provided some small sum for the expense of the journey, some necessary tools and utensils, and provisions for themselves and families, until they can reasonably expect to draw subsistence from the land, they come to occupy. To obtain these indispensables, their only resource, in general, is to betake themselves to some town or village, or to its neighbourhood, and then, from what they may be able to save from their wages, to collect a sum sufficient for their purpose. Years are thus inevitably consumed by the emigrant, and very often, ere he has attained his purpose, old age presses on him, or he yields to the temptations to intemperance, which new habits and foreign manners expose him to, or he sets out prematurely, and sinks under the united pressure of severe toil, want, and disease. On the contrary, were these reserves open to him, on terms that he would choose to accept, he might proceed there immediately; his labour though not so constantly in demand would be more liberally paid when required—provisions would be cheaper, and every hour not otherwise occupied might be employed most profitably on his own farm. The possession of any property for the term, I speak of, in arithmetical calculations nearly equivalent to the absolute property; in the estimation of the poor emigrant, it could not be very different; it would provide for himself and for his children's children, and further than this his care and ambition do not commonly extend.

By the calculations of Dr. Strachan, there are at present, in Upper Canada, 18,000 reserved lots of 200 acres each. Of these, many are in parts of the country which are well settled, or are immediately contiguous to them. Were these leases granted for the periods I have mentioned, and were proper means taken to inform those interested, of the existence, situation, and capabilities of the vacant lots, for at present, every thing is ignorance with regard to them, I am persuaded; that, in a few years, a considerable proportion of them would be leased. To make the most moderate calculation, I shall say, that in five or six years, 1500 of these lots would be occupied, by tenants paying an average rent of £5 per lot; this would make a sum of £7,500, from which I shall deduct £1,500 for the expense of management; the remainder, £6,000, would, in my opinion, form a revenue, fully sufficient for all the aid, which a Protestant Clergy, in this Province, will, probably, for some time require, or have a right to expect—and which, properly applied, would be productive of the most important advantages. The good that might result from it, however, would entirely depend on the manner, in which it were expended, as there can be no question that, if misapplied, it would be productive of more evil than benefit.

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Two principles seem to present themselves in determining the manner in which any Clergy should be established; so as to be most useful to the community. They ought to be so far dependant on the people, as to stimulate them to render their labours acceptable—they ought to be so far independant of them, as to give them a respectable station, and to add to the authority of their counsels. The interests of each congregation, more particularly, require the former of these conditions—the general interests of society, the latter.

These principles, in general correct, are especially so, when applied to the Protestant population of Canada, nor do I think, that although a measure, which should embrace them, might be somewhat difficult to form, it would by any means be impracticable. It is chiefly to show this, that I venture to suggest the following schemes.

Each Township in the Province of Upper-Canada, averages about 66,000 acres, giving thus 660 lots of 100 acres each, the usual size of farms. It may be presumed that two Protestant Clergymen will, for a long time, be sufficient to meet the wants of the population of each township. I would, therefore, propose to limit the number to that, and, whenever, in any township, 100, owners, or upwards, of lots of 100 acres, or upwards—each living on their lots, and having cleared, at least, 15 acres on them—came forward and produced proof that a Protestant Clergyman of the Church of England, or of Scotland, was settled among them, and that they paid him the sum of £125 currency—then £125 currency, should be given them from the general fund, arising from the rent of Clergy Reserves. This would secure each Clergyman an income of at least £250 currency, or about £200 sterling—a moderate—and yet, perhaps, a sufficient revenue, as a minimum, in such a country as Canada. A minister thus settled, ought not to be subject to be removed, but by the proper authorities, in the Church of which he might be a member. Further, for every six Clergymen, of either Church, so established in the Province, I would propose that one missionary, travelling from place to place, as he might be directed—by the Bishop, if of the Church of England—by the Presbytery, or Synod, if of the Church of Scotland—should have an allowance of £200 currency, from the general fund. After providing for these objects, any overplus that might remain, should be applied to the purposes of general education. There are said to be about 240 townships actually surveyed; these, were Clergymen placed throughout them, on this plan, would ultimately require 480 settled Ministers, and 80 Missionaries. 480 Ministers, at £125, would amount to £60,000—80 Missionaries, at £200, would require £16,000—altogether £76,000. The whole reserves, in the townships, contain upwards of 2,200,000 acres—and let us suppose that these, when the population of the Province has filled up the townships now surveyed, are rented at only one shilling per acre—this would give a revenue of upwards of £110,000, leaving a balance of more than £34,000 for the expense of collection, &c.; and for the purposes of general education.

It is probable, however, that long ere this period could arrive, many changes would take place in the Province, which would render it necessary to modify any plan that might now be formed. I have only made these calculations to show—and for this reason, I have made them very low—that, as far as we can at present discover, the scheme I propose, seems perfectly practicable.

I own, that to me, some such plan would seem to possess many advantages, and not to be exposed to the objections of any party. It affords a prospect of establishing one or both of the Churches, on a firm and extended basis, an event which, I believe, would be of the greatest good to both Canada and Great Britain. It regulates the progress of both, by what each maintains or possesses—of the affections of the people. As far as they possess these, it must be allowed by all, that they ought to be supported—and if they do not possess them, the funds in question go to a purpose of the greatest acknowledged utility. It throws a great part of the burden of supporting the Ministers of religion on a fund, the revenue arising from the rent of land, on which I have endeavoured to show, it is most advantageous for the society that it should fall. By rendering the lands reserved, of advantageous occupancy to many settlers, it removes, in a great measure, the chief objection to their being retained, namely, their being a bar to improvement.

An opinion, I am aware, has gone abroad, that these lands have been of the greatest detriment to the Colony, and that they ought to be sold off by government. I must observe, however, that though, as presently managed, they operate to the prejudice of the Province, the evils arising from them, have been considerably exaggerated from causes which I shall state.

1st. Having been taken possession of by a Church, whose pretensions are very unpopular, they have shared in the odium, with which her exorbitant claims are regarded.

2d. Every one remarks the much less rapid progress that we make, than our American neighbours, in improving and enriching the Country. Truth and candour would lead to the conclusion, that this must mainly arise, from our population not having yet attained that spirit of enterprise, and that knowledge of the best mode of proceeding, which so admirably fit the American, for extracting every possible good from the materials, which nature has spread over the continent. But, the vanity natural to man, throws the blame of any falling off, from his own shoulders, to those of others—and the Canadian cultivator is thus inclined, to accuse the government, as the sole cause of that short-coming, of which, at least, a great share ought to be attributed to himself. Of all the measures of government, that he can conceive to operate to his prejudice—that of reserving a seventh part of the lands unoccupied, most meets his eye, and receives, therefore, its full share of abuse.

3d. Many wish that these lands were brought to the market, as they hope to make advantageous purchases of some of them—and

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such reasonings are of sufficient weight to determine political opinions.

Some such plan as that which I have proposed, would obviate any reasonable objections to retaining them, and I should be sorry, therefore, to see them alienated, as they form the only fund, from which a permanent provision can be made for the Ministers of religion. The Colony would not consent to be directly taxed for this purpose, because many would thus be obliged to pay for the support of those, from whose labours they were not directly benefited. Nor can it be supposed, that the Mother Country will bind herself always to support an extensive religious establishment, in a distant Colony. These lands were set apart for the maintenance of a Protestant Clergy—no measure can be adopted to divert them from this purpose, but must be attended with important effects to Canada, and greatly influence the fortunes of a country, probably destined to contain, through succeeding generations, many millions of intelligent and enlightened freemen. Surely then, before being adopted, its consequences ought to be well weighed—and all its bearings on the future, as well as the present, attentively considered.

It is this deep conviction of the importance of the subject, in every part, that must plead my excuse for having so long trespassed on your attention.

I have the honour to subscribe myself,

Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

JOHN RAE.

The arguments I have brought forward, might be well illustrated, and receive a signal confirmation from what occurred in the Provinces of North America, which were, last century, under the dominion of Great Britain. It was then the policy of government to support the Church of England, and depress other denominations; the result is well known to all versed in the history of the period. Through the kindness of the Rev. Dr. Proudfit, Salem, I have the advantage of giving it in the words of the Rev. Dr. McLeod, New York:—

“I may state,” writes that gentleman, “from recollection, on the authority of the worthy Dr. Rogers, supported by the assent of Dr. Livingston, to the fact that, for some years before the revolutionary war, great excitement existed, on account of the power employed by the Episcopal Church, in this country, in the suppression of dissenters—especially the Presbyterians. The friends of the Church of England, were striving to obtain an American Episcopate—and the Presbyterians endeavoured to present such a complex establishment—an association was formed for the purpose of publishing, from time to time, against the claims of the hierarchy, as injurious to the liberties

of the Colonists. The eloquent Governor Livingston, was the chief writer and editor of these articles; and the controversy certainly prepared the minds of many for the stand, afterwards taken in the revolution, which established the independence of the United States—*Drs. Rogers, Laidly, and Mason, were of the association.*”

We live in more liberal and more enlightened times. I trust our policy will partake of the spirit of the age, and that not acting in opposition to the natural propensities of the people, but on the contrary, founding its operations on these, it will raise up a body of men, a blessing to those, whose devotions they direct, and a firm bond of union between Canada and Great Britain.

NOTES TO MR. RAE'S LETTER.

The author's reasonings on the comparative adaptation of the two Established Churches of England and Scotland, to the state of society in this new world, are strikingly illustrated, and amply confirmed by the actual condition and progress of each in the United States of America. According to *Bristed*, the Clergy of the American Anglo, or Protestant Episcopal Church, might, in 1822, be counted, in round numbers, 300: the Clergy of the Presbyterian Church, since their late junction, 1300, or more than four times the number of the Episcopal Clergy. It is also important to remark, that in doctrine and form of worship, the latter are so assimilated to the Congregationalists and Baptists, that it is by no means improbable, from the superiority or excellence of their Church policy, they may ultimately draw a great portion of these, and even of other denominations, within their pale. The Congregationalists, or Independants, whose Clergy number 1600, have already some appearance of approximating towards the Presbyterian Church. They have their associations, or regular meetings of the Ministers of the District, which are virtually Presbyteries, in which candidates for Holy Orders are tried, and the general interests of the Churches brought under deliberation; and, as the great objections which were alledged against the Presbyterian mode of Church government, and which originally led to the formation of the sect of Independents in England, are obviated by the political constitution of the United States, we may reasonably hope that this body will ultimately coalesce with their Presbyterian brethren. We believe that where differences of doctrine do not exist between them, it is regarded, in general, as a matter of indifference, both by the Clergy and people, to which of the two denominations they attach themselves. However this may be, whether we regard the number, the learning, or the zeal of the Presbyterian Clergy—the unquestionable efficiency of their system of Church government, and its happy adaptation to the condition and feelings of the American people, or the ample funds, and numerous and well endowed establishments

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which they already possess for the edification of their pastors and the advancement of their Church—we must needs wonder at the rashness and ignorance manifested by the Clergy of the English Church in Upper Canada, who, in a document lately published, appear to have asserted that the Presbyterian Church is not fitted for extension out of Scotland. Had these Rev. Gentlemen been a little better acquainted with the state of religion in the neighbouring Country, and especially, with the very remarkable and striking change, which the Episcopal Church has undergone there, we are confident they would have avoided touching on grounds so perilous to their own argument. We hesitate not to affirm that Episcopacy, in the states of America, has departed so far from the constitution and spirit of the Church of England, and approached so near to the characteristic features and principles of Presbytery, that we are warranted to pronounce it more assimilated to the order of the latter, than to that of the former Church. The following extracts from Bristed, will shew that the Bishops of the American Anglo Church are nearly on the same footing as the superintendants, which were appointed in the early periods of the Scottish Reformation; Laymen are admitted into the general and state convention, and the primitive simplicity of the Christian Church is restored, not only by the circumstance of their Bishops officiating as parish Priests, but by the exclusion of that complication of offices and dignities which are found in the Church of England—Archbishops, Archdeacons, Deans, &c., and above all, by the right of electing the Clergyman being vested in the members of the congregation. See Bristed, Introduction, page 23.

“By the fourth article of the constitution of the American Anglo Church, it is enacted, that the Bishop, or Bishops, in every state, shall be chosen agreeably to such rules as shall be fixed by the Convention, which consists of both Laity and Clergy, of that state. And the second canon ordains, that no diocese or state shall proceed to the election or appointment of a Bishop, unless there be, at least, six officiating Presbyters, or Priests, residing therein, and who, agreeably to the canons of the Church, may be qualified to vote for a Bishop; a majority of whom, at least, shall concur in such election.

“At present, there are *nine* Bishops in the American Anglo Church, to wit: of the eastern diocese, including the states of Maine, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, and Rhode-Island; of the states, respectively, of Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, and Ohio. There are two dioceses, the state of Delaware, and the state of North Carolina, which have no Bishops. Every state in the Union may become a diocese, whenever its Protestant Episcopalians are sufficiently numerous, and deem it expedient.

“The whole Church is governed by the General Convention whose power pervades every diocese. It sits regularly once in three years;

but may be specially convened in the interval. It consists of an upper house, composed of all the existing Bishops; and of a lower house, containing a delegated portion of Clergy and Laity from each diocese. The state Conventions are held, for the most part, annually in each diocese, and consist of Clergy and Lay-delegates from every separate congregation. These bodies legislate for their respective dioceses; but their canons must not contradict the constitution of the general Church.

“The liturgy, articles, and homilies of the Anglican Church, are adopted, with some few slight local alterations. No particular revenues are attached to the Episcopate; and the Bishops, generally, are parish Priests, in addition to their bishoprics. But efforts are making, in several dioceses, to raise a Bishop's fund, in order to disengage the diocesan from parochial duty, and leave him at leisure to perform the services that are deemed more peculiarly Episcopal. Archbishops there are none, nor Prebendaries, nor Deans, nor Archdeacons, nor a long list of *et ceteras*, to be found in the Anglican Church; the only orders are three, Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons. The senior Bishop presides in the house of Bishops, during the session of the General Convention.

“The parish Priests are elected, according to the charters of the congregations. Some Churches choose their Minister by the vestry, consisting of persons elected annually by the pew-holders. Others by ballot—the whole congregation voting. The Bishops have no *direct* patronage—no livings in their gift. The Clergy are settled by the choice or call of the people to whom they minister; and the stipend is fixed by compact, between the pastor and the congregation; and the common law enforces the fulfilment of this contract on both sides, whence all undue dependence of the Clergy on the people, is prevented.”

In the scheme which the author has given for the disposal of the Clergy Reserves, though he has made his calculations for the Upper Province, it is to be presumed that a similar plan will suit equally well in Lower Canada. See page 29.

The comparative paucity of crime in Scotland, is a matter of general notoriety. We have not at present beside us, the official return of capital convictions, in the three Kingdoms, for a series of years; but we know that, during the last twelve months, only three were sentenced to death in Scotland, two of which were Irish. See p. 8.

REPORT of the select Committee; to which was referred the Petition of Bulkley Waters and others, entitled, the Petition of Christians of all denominations in Upper Canada; and other Petitions on the same subject; and the Petition of E. W. Armstrong and others.

COMMITTEE:

MARSHALL S. BIDWELL, Esquire, *Chairman.*

PETER PERRY, Esquire,
JOHN MATTHEWS, Esquire,

HUGH C. THOMSON, Esquire,
GEORGE HAMILTON, Esquire.

Ordered by the House of Assembly, to be printed, March, 1828.

To the Honourable the House of Assembly :

The Select Committee, to whom were referred the Petition of Bulkley Waters and others, and various other Petitions of the same tenor, signed by nearly 6000 persons; and also the Petition of E. W. Armstrong and others, submit the following Report:—

The first object of the Committee, was to obtain a correct copy of the letter and chart referred to in the Petitions:—It will be found in the appendix to this Report, marked A. It is dated May 16, 1827, and was addressed by the Honourable and Venerable Dr. Strachan; Archdeacon of York, a Member of the Legislative and Executive Councils of this Province, to the Right Honourable R. J. Wilmot Horton, at that time, under Secretary of State for the Colonies, for the information of Lord Goderich, then at the head of the Colonial Department. It appears to have been intended as a document for the information of his Majesty's government; upon which important measures, on their part, with respect to this Colony, might have been founded.

Before proceeding to the examination of the statements contained in the letter and chart, the Committee directed the chairman to transmit to the Honourable and Venerable Dr. Strachan, a copy of the Petition referred to them, and to inform him, that the Committee would be happy to receive from him, any information upon the matter submitted to their consideration. A copy of the chairman's letter, and of Dr. Strachan's answer, (marked B,) are annexed to this Report. The evidence afterwards received from that gentleman, will be found in the appendix to the minutes of evidence.

The Committee have examined all the members of the House of Assembly, whose testimony they could obtain, some members of the Honourable the Legislative Council, of long residence, high standing, and large possessions in the Province; various Clergymen of different denominations in York, and its vicinity, and a few other individuals.

From the evidence, it will be perceived that the letter and chart were calculated to produce, in many important respects, erroneous

impressions respecting the religious state of this Province, and the sentiments of its inhabitants. As it seems from Dr. Strachan's evidence, that they were drawn up suddenly from memory; and without the means of reference to sources of authentic information, it is much to be regretted that these circumstances had not been at least hinted in the letter itself, and the more so, when it is considered, that as he stated to the Committee, he had never known the number of members of the Church of England in this Province. The assertions in the letter, that "the people are coming forward in all directions, offering to assist in building Churches and soliciting with the greatest anxiety the establishment of a settled Minister," and that "the tendency of the population is towards the Church of England, and nothing but the want of moderate support, prevents her from spreading over the whole Province," are completely contradicted by the evidence.

Upon this subject, the Committee would remark that the Church of England has always had, in this Province, peculiar advantages. It has been the religion of those high in office, and been supported by their influence, and countenanced more than any other Church, by the favour of the Executive Government. Its Clergymen have had the exclusive right of marrying persons of all denominations indiscriminately. Although, by a Provincial Statute, the Justices of the Peace, in General Quarter Sessions, are empowered, if they shall deem it expedient, to authorise Lutheran and Calvinist Clergymen and Ministers of the Church of Scotland, to marry any two persons of whom one has been, for six months previously to such marriage, a member of the congregation of the Clergyman who performs the ceremony. This right the Clergymen of the Church of England, still exclusively enjoy, notwithstanding that the House of Assembly has for several Sessions successively, by a large majority, passed a bill, (which has not been concurred in by the honourable the Legislative Council) to extend this right to the Clergymen of christian denominations, in this Province generally: the Clergymen of the Church of England have also been liberally supported, and their Churches partly, or wholly built from the funds of a society in England. The solitary disadvantage mentioned by Dr. Strachan, in his evidence before the Committee, of being obliged, for want of a Bishop resident in the Colonies, to resort to England for Episcopal Ordination, has never existed since the Province has had its present form of government—for during all that time, a Bishop has resided at Quebec. Still the number of members of that Church, has not increased in the same proportion as that of several other denominations. These facts confirm the opinion so generally expressed by the witnesses, that the tendency of the population is not towards that Church. The contrary opinion, entertained by a few of the witnesses, may have arisen very naturally from a considerable increase recently in the number of Missionaries of that Church, which, however, ought probably to be as-

cribed to the liberality with which salaries for their support, are furnished by the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, rather than to any strong wish of the people to have Clergymen of that Church settled among them.

In reference to the aid furnished by this society, (from whose funds an annual salary is paid to every Clergyman of the Church of England, in this Province—in Priest's orders, £200 sterling—and in Deacon's orders, £100 sterling,) and as an argument for further assistance, it is said in the letter, "How ineffectual this aid is to supply the increasing necessities of the Colony, has been sufficiently shewn: for the tendency of the population is towards the Church of England, and nothing but the want of moderate support, prevents her from spreading over the whole Province."

According to the concurring testimony of the witnesses, the members of the Church of England, in this Province, in proportion to their number, have at least equal means of supporting their Clergymen with other denominations. The latter have a large number of Clergymen in the Province. Without any aid, therefore, from Great Britain, the members of the Church of England are able, without difficulty, to support as many Clergymen of their Church, as the number of their members requires. If, however, they are not willing to furnish, for this purpose, the same means which other sects furnish for a similar purpose, there can be but little tendency, even among those who are nominally its members, to the Church of England. If they are willing, there can be very little necessity for the aid now received from Great Britain, and much less for any further assistance, unless to carry on a system of proselyting to that Church, the members of other denominations.

The insinuations in the letter against the Methodist Clergymen, the Committee have noticed with peculiar regret. To the disinterested and indefatigable exertions of these pious men, this Province owes much. At an early period of its history, when it was thinly settled, and its inhabitants were scattered through the wilderness, and destitute of all other means of religious instruction, these ministers of the gospel, animated by christian zeal and benevolence, at the sacrifice of health, and interest, and comfort, carried among the people the blessings, and consolations, and sanctions, of our holy religion. Their influence and instruction, far from having (as is represented in the letter) a tendency hostile to our institutions, have been conducive, in a degree which cannot easily be estimated, to the reformation of their hearers from licentiousness, and the diffusion of correct morals, the foundation of all sound loyalty and social order. There is no reason to believe that, as a body, they have failed to inculcate, by precept and example, as a christian duty, an attachment to the sovereign, and a cheerful and conscientious obedience to the laws of the Country. More than 35 years have elapsed since they commenced their labours

in the Colonies. In that time, the Province has passed through a war which has put to the proof, the loyalty of the people. If their influence and instructions have the tendency mentioned, the effects, by this time, must be manifest; yet, no one doubts that the Methodists are as loyal as any of his Majesty's subjects. And the very fact, that, while their Clergymen are dependant for their support on the voluntary contributions of their people, the number of their members has increased, so as to be now, in the opinion of almost all the witnesses, greater than that of the members of any other denomination in this Province, is a complete refutation of any suspicion that their influence and instructions have such a tendency: for it would be a gross slander on the loyalty of the people, to suppose that that they would countenance and listen with complacency, to those whose influence was exerted for such base purposes. The number or relative proportion exactly of the members of the different denominations of christians, in this Province, the Committee have not ascertained. In the answers to the 9th, 10th, and 11th questions, will be found the opinions of the witnesses upon the subject. The most correct and full information will be found in the chart in the appendix, (marked C,) for which the Committee was indebted to Dr. Morrison, and which appears to have been drawn up with great care and accuracy; a chart was also delivered to the Committee, by Dr. Strachan, and will be found in the appendix (marked D).

There can be no doubt, that in addition to the Methodists, there are, in the Province, several denomination of christians, who are more numerous than the members of the Church of England. Besides these, there are probably many other persons who are not attached to any particular Church or form of worship; compared with the whole population, the members of the Church of England, must, therefore, constitute an extremely small proportion. It would be unjust and impolitic to exalt this Church, by exclusive and peculiar rights, above all others of his Majesty's subjects, who are equally loyal, conscientious, and deserving. A Country in which there is an established Church, from which a vast majority of the subjects are dissenters, must be in a lamentable state—the Committee hope that this Province will never present such a spectacle. It is well known that there is in the minds of the people generally, a strong and settled aversion to any thing like an Established Church, and although from the conviction so happily and justly entertained, that his Majesty's government will never adopt a measure so deeply affecting the interests and feelings of the inhabitants of this Province, without the most indulgent consideration of their wishes on the subject, there is less anxiety than would otherwise exist; yet, the apprehension that it was the intention of his Majesty's government to incorporate the Church of England, or any other Church, with the government, as an appendage of the state—and to invest it with peculiar rights or privileges, civil or pecuniary, from which other sects were excluded, would excite alarm

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through the Country, and the actual execution of such a measure, would produce the most general and lasting discontent. There is, besides, no necessity for such an establishment. It cannot be necessary for the security of the government—the loyalty of the people is deep and enthusiastic, and it may be doubted how far it would be improved or increased, by any state establishment of Clergymen. Religious instruction, it is true, will promote and strengthen loyalty, and all other virtues; but no more when communicated by Clergymen of the Church of England, than by those of other sects, and probably less, if they are, or appear to be, political teachers and servants of the state, rather than Ministers of the Gospel. It cannot be necessary for the ends of religion—other denominations, of course, will not be benefited by it, and the Church itself will derive, probably but little, if any real advantage. The piety and religious prosperity of a Church, can gain but little from men who are induced, by secular motives, to assume the sacred functions of the clerical office. In the neighbouring state of New York, as stated by Dr. Strachan to the Committee, where all denominations have, by law, equal rights, the Church is in a respectable and flourishing state. Artificial distinctions between men of the same rank, which have no reference to their merits, as loyal, peaceable, obedient subjects, or to their character for morality and conscientiousness, but merely to their religious opinion, are unjust and impolitic. Men may, and in fact, do entertain the most conscientious objections, either against the particular doctrines or forms of worship, of any given Church, or in general, against the civil establishment of any Church whatever, and its union with the state: if the Church is incorporated with the state, they are compelled by the obligations of conscience to oppose one of the civil institutions of the Country—a part of the government itself. It is in fact, their duty to do so—but by doing so, they become objects of jealousy and suspicion, and in addition to their unjust exclusion from privileges, to which they are as much entitled, as those who are more fortunate, though not more conscientious, and perhaps not more correct in their opinions upon this subject, their very conscientiousness comes, by degrees, to be regarded and treated as a crime. Laws are made to guard against any attempts to injure the establishment. To curtail and counteract their influence, they are excluded from the offices and honours of the state, and subjected to civil disabilities, and thus, in effect, freedom of conscience is legislated against; and religion, the rules and sanctions of which are of an infinitely higher nature, is made to rest upon the precepts and penalties of human laws; at the same time, the harmony and charity, which would otherwise prevail between the members of different sects, are disturbed; and sectarian pride, and intolerance, and animosity, take their place.

Upon this subject, His Majesty's government ought to be fairly and distinctly apprised of the sentiments and wishes of the people, and as the House of Assembly is the constitutional organ to convey

to the throne, their sentiments and wishes, the Committee respectfully submit to the House, the expediency of addressing his Majesty upon the subject.

The chart furnished to the Committee by Dr. Strachan—the evidence of the Rev. Egerton Ryerson—the evidence of Dr. Morrison, and the chart furnished by him—and generally the answers of the witnesses to the 13th and 14th questions, will enable the House to judge how far the ecclesiastical chart, which accompanied Dr. Strachan's letter to Mr. Horton, was a fair and accurate representation of the state of the different denominations of christians in this Province. The expression, "occasional service," as explained by Dr. Strachan, may be applied almost *ad libitum*, and if used in the same manner by the Methodists or other denominations, the places at which they have service, may be multiplied almost indefinitely. It does not appear reasonable to reconcile this explanation, with the note, to the column in the chart containing the names of the Missionaries of the Church of England, which are in those words—"Fifty-eight places where there is regular or occasional service, exclusive of frequent journeys taken by the Missionaries through the new settlements, in their neighbourhood," for upon all these journeys (if service was performed) it must have been, and doubtless was, stated as occasional service.

In the course of their enquiries, the Committee obtained information, which, to their surprise and regret, gave them reason to believe that, to create in the minds of the Indians recently converted under the divine blessing, to the christian religion, an influence unfavourable to their present religious teachers, through whose exertions this change has taken place, the name of his Majesty's government had been used; and even that intimation had been made of an intension to compel them to come under the Church of England. The great and surprising change which has occurred within a short period of time, in the character and condition of large bodies of the Mississauga Indians, is well known; from a state of vice and ignorance, wretchedness and degradation, almost brutal, they have been brought to habits of industry, order, and temperance—a thirst for instruction and knowledge—a profession of the christian religion—and apparently, a cordial and humble belief of its truths, and enjoyment of its blessings. In this change, the Methodists have been chiefly instrumental. They have manifested the most benevolent zeal in accomplishing it; they have sent Missionaries, and established schools among them, which are supported by voluntary contributions, and they are still labouring among them with the same disinterested spirit, and the same surprising encouragement and success; any attempt to interfere with them, or to dictate to the Indians, to what Church they should belong, appeared most unwarrantable; but it was chiefly on account of the intolerant spirit which it indicated, and which, when circumstances permitted, would lead to a similar interference with the

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religious freedom of the various denominations among ourselves, not connected with the Church of England, that the Committee thought it their duty to investigate the subject: they therefore sent for Peter Jones and John Jones, Indians of the Mississagua tribe, to whom they understood such intentions had been communicated; their evidence will be found in the appendix, but ought to be read in connexion with the explanation of the circumstances, which was afterwards given to the Committee, by the Honourable and Venerable Doctor Strachan.

The Committee beg to call the attention of the House, to the subject of the monies which have been collected upon the leases of the Clergy Reserves; these Reserves were set apart by the Imperial Statute 31st. Geo. 3d., Chap. 31, expressly for the support of a Protestant Clergy. Although different opinions have been entertained as to the policy of such a provision, and also as to the meaning of the expression, "a Protestant Clergy," yet there could be no doubt, that the income accruing from them, should be applied in some way to the support of a Protestant Clergy, and to that purpose only. The 37th section of the statute, in express terms, declares that this income shall be applied to this purpose, and no other whatever; but from Dr. Strachan's evidence, it seems that no part of it has ever been so appropriated. The small amount actually received, is also a matter entitled to consideration.

The recent statute of the Imperial Parliament, authorising the sale of a part of the Clergy Reserves, the Committee have not seen, and therefore do not know whether it directs the application of the proceeds to any particular purpose. They have been informed that, according to this statute, a part of these Reserves are to be sold, and the proceeds, after deducting the expenses of the sale, are to be paid into the funds of the Imperial Government, and a certain sum to be appropriated to the improvement of the remainder; assuming that, by a proper application, it could be obtained for the benefit of this Province, it is an interesting question, what use shall be made of it. The people generally desire to see it appropriated in a judicious manner, to public improvement, and to the support of education, upon such principles as will not countenance any distinction on account of religious profession or belief. The House of Assembly, by the bill authorising the sale of these lands, and the appropriation of the proceeds to the purposes of education, passed during the last Session, have expressed their opinion against the policy and practicability of devoting it to the purposes originally intended. With the aid of the monies arising from this source, the Province can undertake many works for internal improvement, by which its prosperity would be greatly promoted, and some of which seem almost indispensable, but which, for the want of means, cannot, without such aid, be attempted. The anxiety of his Majesty's government to advance our interests, assures us of their assent to all our reasonable wishes on the

subject. The Committee are therefore of opinion, that an application should be made, to have this fund placed at the disposal of the Provincial Legislature, in order that it may be applied to the purposes which have been mentioned. As to the remainder of the Clergy Reserves, the Committee, without an examination of the British Statute last alluded to, are unable to say whether the right of directing their sale, remains with the Provincial Legislature, or is by that Statute confined to the British Parliament. In either case, they think that measures should be taken to have them sold, if possible, and the proceeds applied to the same purposes as those which they have recommended, for the avails of that part of which the sale is already authorised.

Upon an examination of the copy of the charter of the University of King's College, transmitted to the House by his Excellency, and referred to them, the Committee find that the following are some of its provisions:—

The Bishop of the Diocese is to be visitor, and as such may disapprove of the bye laws made for the College by the Council, which thereby become void, unless his Majesty, in Privy Council, afterwards reverses this order; the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or person administering the government, is to be Chancellor, the President is to be a Clergyman in Holy Orders, of the Church of England; the Honourable and Venerable Dr. Strachan, Archdeacon of York, is to be the first President, the corporation is to consist of the Chancellor, President; and Scholars of King's College, and is authorised to take and hold real estate, not exceeding the yearly value of £15,000 sterling. The College Council is to consist of the Chancellor, President, and seven other persons, who are to be members of the Church of England, and to sign the 39 articles of that Church: the Council, under certain restrictions, are to make bye laws for the College; one of these restrictions, is that no religious test or qualification shall be required of, or appointed for any persons admitted or matriculated as scholars in the College, except that those admitted to the degree of Doctor in Divinity, shall make the same declarations and subscriptions, and take the same oaths as are required of persons admitted to any degree of Divinity in the University of Oxford. The Chancellor, President, and Professors of the College, and all persons admitted in the College, to the degree of Master of Arts, or to any degree in Divinity, Law, or Medicine, who, from the time of such admission, shall pay the annual sum of 20s sterling, towards the support of the College, are to be members of the convocation. From the message of his Excellency, it appears that his Majesty has been pleased to grant, as an endowment for the University, 225,944 acres of the crown lands, and to appropriate, from the revenues of the crown, the sum of £1000 sterling, per annum, for 16 years, for the erection of the buildings; and also that several of the religious societies in

England, have contributed to the institution, by donations of the money for the purchase of books, and by the foundation of Scholarships for the Missionaries to the Indian Tribes.

From the foregoing abstract of some of the provisions of the charter, the sectarian character and tendency of the institution will be manifest. Dr. Strachan, by whose representations and exertions, in a great measure, the charter in its present shape, seems to have been procured, in a pamphlet, published in London, entitled "An appeal to the friends of religion and literature, in behalf of the University of Upper Canada," distinctly states, that it will be essentially a Missionary College, "for the Education of Missionaries of the Church of England," and as an argument to obtain from the members of that Church, contributions towards the funds of the College, maintains, that the effect of establishing this University, will be ultimately to make the greater portion of the population of the Province, members of the Church of England. That such must be the natural tendency of putting into the hands of that Church, the only Seminary of learning in the country where a liberal education can be obtained, is obvious; but the alarm and jealousy which this very circumstance will produce through the Province, and has, in some measure, already produced, and which will prevent parents and guardians from sending their children to it, will perhaps counteract this tendency, although, at the same time, it will, in an equal degree, limit the benefits which might otherwise be derived from the institution. An University, adapted to the character and circumstances of the people, would be the means of inestimable benefits to this Province. But, to be of real service, the principles upon which it is established, must be in unison with the general sentiments of the people. It should not be a school of political or of Sectarian views. It should have about it no appearance of a spirit of partiality or exclusion. Its portals should be thrown open to all; and upon none who enter, should any influence be exerted to attach them to a particular Creed or Church. It should be a source of intellectual and moral light and animation, from which the glorious irradiations of literature and science, may descend upon all with equal lustre and power. Such an institution would be a blessing to the Country, its pride and glory. Most deeply, therefore, is it to be lamented, that the principles of the charter, are calculated to defeat its usefulness, and to confine to a favoured few, all its advantages. That his Majesty's government could even have contemplated such a limitation of its beneficence—that they could have ever intended to found it upon such terms as must either preclude from its benefits the greater part of those for whom it was intended, or subject them at an age ill qualified to guard against such attacks, to the silent, but powerful influence of a prevailing spirit and regular system of proselytism, no one will believe. They could not have been aware of the insurmountable objections to which, from the circumstances of the country, and the sentiments of the people, some of the provisions

of the charter were liable. They acted undoubtedly under the impression, and with the intention of providing, in the most gracious and liberal manner, an institution much needed and desired by the people. There is, therefore, every reason to believe, that any representations from the House of Assembly upon the matter, will be most favourably regarded. Under this impression, the Committee strongly recommend this subject to the consideration of the House.

As to the right of the University to elect a member of the House of Assembly, the Committee would remark, that there is no law which gives, or (consistently with the Imperial Act 51st, Geo. 3d. Chap. 31, commonly called our Constitutional Act) can give, the right of representation to an University or any other corporation. By that Act, the Province was to be divided into Districts, Counties, Circles, Towns, or Townships, for the purpose of electing members of the House of Assembly, which was to be composed and constituted in the manner therein mentioned; that is, among other things, of persons chosen to represent some of these divisions. The qualifications prescribed for voters in the Districts, Circles, or Counties, differ from those prescribed for voters in Towns. In the former, each voter must be possessed, for his own use and benefit, of lands or tenements; in such County, &c., held in freehold, sief, roture or by certificate, derived under the authority of the Governor and Council of the Province of Quebec, of the yearly value of 40 shillings sterling, or upwards, over and above all rents and charges payable out of, or in respect of the same—in the latter each voter must be possessed, for his own use or benefit, of a dwelling house and lot of ground held in like manner, of the yearly value of £5 or upwards, or, having been resident within the said Town or Township, for the space of 12 Calendar months next before the date of the Writ of summons for the election; must *bona fide* have paid one year's rent for the dwelling house in which he shall have so resided, at the rate of £10 sterling, or upwards.

By the Provincial statute 60th, Geo. 3d, Chap. 2d, it is enacted, that whenever an University shall be organized, and in operation as a Seminary of learning, in this Province, and in conformity to the rules and statutes of similar institutions in Great Britain, it shall and may be lawful for the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or person administering the Government of this Province, for the time being, to declare, by Proclamation, the tract of land appendant to such University, and whereupon the same is situated, to be a Town or Township—by such name as to him shall seem meet, and that such Town or Township so constituted, shall be represented by one member—provided always, nevertheless, that no person shall be permitted to vote at any such election, for a member to represent the said University in Parliament, who, besides the qualification now by law required, shall not also be entitled to vote in the convocation of the said University.

The right of representation cannot exist, until the University is organized, and in operation as a Seminary of learning, and in conformity to the rules and statutes of similar institutions in Great Britain, nor until the buildings for the University are actually erected. It then belongs to the Town or Township, and not to the University. The Town or Township must be a tract of land both appendant to the University, and that on which it is situated. These expressions exclude all tracts of land separated from the University, by lands of other owners, although such separate tracts of land may belong to the University, and all lands which do not belong to the University. The title of it must be vested in the corporation, if it is corporate property, it cannot be a freehold estate of any individual to qualify him to vote upon it as a town elector. No person can have a freehold estate in a dwelling house and lot in the town, but the corporation. That qualification for any person to be a Town elector, cannot exist in the University Town. The right of voting at an election for such Town, must be confined to those, who, besides being entitled to vote in the convocation, shall have resided one year in that Town, and *bona fide* paid rent for the dwelling house in which they shall have so resided, at the rate of £10 sterling, or upwards.

The right of voting will therefore be confined, probably to a very few persons, of whom perhaps the Lieutenant Governor may be one.

With this report, the Committee present to the House, the draft of an address to his Majesty upon the various subjects which have been mentioned, and they respectfully recommend that it be adopted by the House.

All which is respectfully submitted,

MARSHALL S. BIDWELL,

Chairman.

Committee-Room, 15th March, 1828.

The Petition of Bulkley Waters and others, read as follows:—

THE PETITION OF CHRISTIANS OF DIFFERENT DENOMINATIONS IN UPPER CANADA.

To the Commons of Upper Canada, in Provincial Parliament Assembled.

WE, his Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, Christians of all denominations in Upper Canada, beg leave to draw the attention of your honourable House, to the alarming misrepresentations and advice con-

tained in a letter and ecclesiastical chart, which were addressed to the under Secretary of State for the Colonies, for the information of Lord Goderich, on the 16th of May last, by the Honourable and Venerable Dr. Strachan, Archdeacon of York, and a member of the Legislative and Executive Councils of this Province, and printed by order of the House of Commons of Great Britain.

In this communication, his Majesty is informed that the ministers of the different Christian Churches in this Province, unconnected with the Protestant Episcopal Church, "are for the most part from the United States where they gather their knowledge and form their sentiments." The Methodist Preachers are particularly stigmatized with the charge of mixing up sedition with the word of God: And "the other denominations" are represented as having few teachers, and those seemingly very ignorant.

Could it be true, that the Methodist Preachers were rendering, by their influence and instructions, a large portion of the population hostile to our institutions, both civil and religious, the evil would be most alarming: And if the charge be credited, in any degree, by our gracious Sovereign, we feel, with deep regret, how low we must sink in his estimation, and how helpless is our expectation of enjoying his royal confidence. Your Petitioners know no difference between those who preach disaffection, and those who habitually hear it.

We notice with much anxiety in the same document, a disposition expressed and recommended to pursue a policy which shall augment the numbers of the Clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church from 300 to 2000; and, by the addition of wealth, to be shared by no other denomination of Christians, gradually to acquire to themselves, exclusively the superintendance of the education of our children in the public schools. The end of such a system must be ecclesiastical dominion.

It is asserted, with much confidence, by this sworn adviser of the representative of his Majesty, that "the tendency of the population is towards the Church of England, and" that "nothing but the want of moderate support prevents her from spreading over the whole Province."

We have ascertained that a royal charter has been granted for the establishment of an University among us: the principle of which, we have good reason to fear, will be found inconsistent with the unimpaired preservation and maintenance of our civil and religious rights and privileges.

We humbly pray that your honourable House would inquire into the principle upon which an University is to be established among us; so that no power to hold lands or other property be granted to, nor any addition to the number of members composing the House of Assembly made from, or out of, any ecclesiastical or literary body corporate, at whose hands danger could or might be apprehended to the

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constitution, or to our religious liberties; and also that your honourable House would inquire into the truth of the above recited cruel charges and statements, against the ministers and the people, and further to take such steps upon the premises, and to preserve us and our children from ecclesiastical domination, as to your wisdom shall seem fit.

And your Petitioners,
As in duty bound,
Will ever pray.

NOTE.—To this Petition, and others referred to the Committee on the same subject, are attached the names of five thousand six hundred and ninety-seven persons.

THE notes referred to in the body of the Report, the Author has not thought it necessary to subjoin, and has merely given the abstract of the Chart framed by the Committee. Note A, gives the Doctor's Letter and Chart addressed to R. J. Wilmot Horton—B, a copy of the correspondence of the Committee with the Doctor—C, Committee's Chart—and D, a corrected Chart which the Doctor presented to the Committee.

Report.

DENOMINATIONS.	ABSTRACT OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL CHART OF UPPER CANADA.													
	Number of Preachers.	Number born in his Majesty's dominions.	Number born in Foreign Countries.	Number Birth unknown.	Number educated in his Majesty's dominions.	Number educated in Foreign Countries.	Number educated unknown.	Number Naturalized.	Number not Naturalized.	Number of Members or regular Communicants.	Number of Churches or Chapels.	Number of places of regular service.	Number of places of occasional service.	Number of regular hearers.
Methodists.	117	89	37	0	89	28	0	29	*6	9009	66	623	130	39911
Baptists.	45	26	4	15	28	1	16	4	0	1435	3	6	no return.	5740
Episcopalians.	31	11	0	20	10	1	20	0	0	no return.	38	21	30 *	not returned.
Presbyterians.	16	12	2	2	11	3	2	1 un-known.	0	648	22	no return.	no return.	not returned.
Kirk of Scotland.	6	4	0	2	4	0	2	0	0	no return.	no return.	no return.	no return.	not returned.
Methodists & Dunkers.	20	0	20	0	0	20	0	4 un-known.	3	1164	5	no return.	no return.	2383
Western Methodists.	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	50	1	1	no return.	100

* Two of these six not naturalized, have been more than seven years in the Province.

ABSTRACT OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL CHART OF UPPER CANADA.

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