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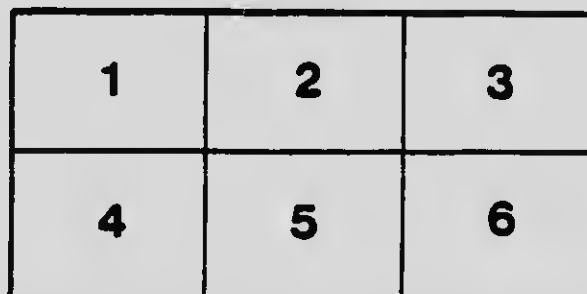
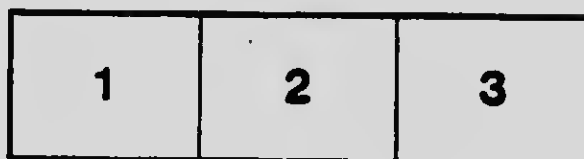
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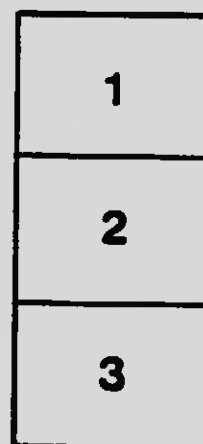
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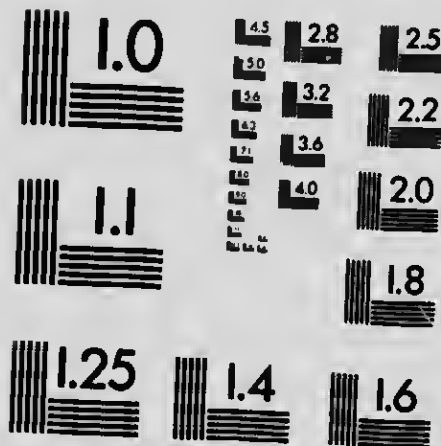
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The Papal Menace

Canada is Threatened
with Papal Rather than
French Domination

BY ROBERT SELLAR

THE SENTINEL PUBLISHING CO., LIMITED, TORONTO.

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It is a Papal not a French Quebec that Menaces Canada.

BY ROBERT SELLAR

There is a disturbing and powerful element at work in the political life of our country of which all are conscious, yet which is rarely alluded to in public. When spoken of, either by the press or on the platform, it is with bated breath and in an apologetic manner. This is the more strange, seeing the subject so gingerly handled is of the highest importance. Our public men will speak by the hour on tariffs, opening of new channels for commerce, developing the resources of the wide country Providence has entrusted to our care, discourse at large on Empire relations, yet will leave the subject in question untouched.

The future peace and prosperity of the Dominion depend on the foundations we are now laying. Are we making sure that the institutions we are now shaping will ensure to coming generations government by the people and for the people, or are we submitting to encroachments which will inevitably lead to Canada being brought subject to a body of ecclesiastics whose sole aim is the aggrandizement of their church? Whatever shackles the working of self-government, whatever threatens to destroy it, calls for the earnest consideration of every lover of Canada. What matters material wealth to Canada, increase of commerce, and population, adding railway to railway, canal to canal, if it is to be ruled not by its people, but by a church? Take a single instance as a test. Is it true or not true, that even at this hour the legislature of Quebec is impotent to work a reform in its school system? It is acknowledged by all to

be defective: members know that it is possible to have every child taught to read and write. Why do they not enact the legislation that will effect that? Because the hierarchy wills otherwise. Claiming to be self-governing, in the foremost subject of its duties, the legislature of Quebec is dictated to by an outside organization. What about Ontario? Is the live question there not merely Separate schools, but French schools? In the Prairie Provinces and those down by the Atlantic is not the voting of public funds to support Catholic schools the most perplexing demand that faces their legislatures? Is it better at Ottawa? Why does a priest representing a foreign government dwell there, and have every bill affecting the interests of the society whose robe he wears, submitted to him for his approval? Is that consistent with self-government? You know Papal aggression is increasing, that concessions once asked as favors are now claimed to be rights, that demands are imperiously made and the people's will overborne. We see a party calling itself Nationalist, growing daily in strength, working to destroy all that is distinctively British in the Province of Quebec. In whose interests does that party exist? Why, when the need for one is so great is a Dominion marriage law not passed?

The centre of this disturbing element is in the Province of Quebec, and to realize the power of that element you must have some idea of its strength. There are 2,500 priests, 25 monastic orders of men numbering 3,000, 65 orders of women with over ten thousand members. Including postulants, there are fully 20,000 men and women under vows to advance the rule of their church. To do so they have wealth that cannot be estimated. The heads of several orders could sign cheques for a million dollars. Greater by far than the number of ecclesiastics, more powerful in extending their sway than their enormous wealth, is the vast body of electors who obey them.

WHAT THE PRIESTS RELY ON.

It is not on musty documents of the past the priests place their reliance for the privileges they claim, but in their hold on the electorate of Quebec. Of the habitants the

people of the other provinces have no adequate conception, for the Catholics they have intercourse with have had the teaching of their Church modified by education, by coming in contact with neighbors of other creeds, and by the insensible effect the reflected light of Protestantism has had upon them. There are counties in Quebec where natives may be found who never saw a Protestant: counties which are Catholic with the exception of one, two, or three families. For instance, the census of 1911 showed that in the county of Bellechasse, out of its 21,141 inhabitants there were only 3 Protestants, in Kamouraska, 12 Protestants to 20,876 Catholics, in Nicolet, 24 Protestants to 30,029 Catholics, in Wright 68 Protestants to 40,263 Catholics. The census showed in the entire Province there were 1,724,683 Catholics and 225,354 Protestants, of whom 180,000 dwell in the island of Montreal, leaving 45,000 only for the remainder of the Province. There was forty years ago a section of that Province, known as the Eastern Townships, which were English and constituted a stronghold of Protestantism. The priests have made what they term "a peaceable conquest" of those townships. At Confederation there were 16 constituencies which could elect Protestants. To-day there is only one, the county of Brome. From earliest childhood the habitants have been taught to regard the priests as another class from themselves—as men selected by God, who are the sole medium of conveying to mankind the salvation wrought by Christ. Believing thus, the priests use them as they may design, a huge mass they can roll in the direction they wish. The priests could not look upon the laity thus were it not that they voluntarily cut the ties which bind society together, crushed the affections which are the noblest attributes of humanity, fled from obligations which at once constitute the units out of which nations are built and which develop in men and women the purest manifestations of self-sacrifice. What is the purpose of this army of twenty thousand unsexed men and women that stands daily on duty in the Province of Quebec? Is it not to extend the power of the Church whose uniform they wear and whose bread they eat? The ambitions of those whom they regard as worldlings, their affections, pursuits, and employ-

ments, they look on as beneath them, their aim is to conquer the world for their ecclesiastical organization, bringing all subject to its sway. A French Quebec the Dominion could contemplate with complacency, because its people would differ from the other Provinces in speech alone: in every other regard they would be in touch with their fellow-subjects. Far different is a Papal Quebec which has been shaped into and is used as the instrument to rule Canada.

THE HABITANT AT HOME.

To the visitor who travels through the parishes of Quebec for the first time, the outstanding feature is the size and number of conventual buildings. In villages, that are a cluster of one-storey houses, he sees a church large enough and costly enough for a city, and nearby massive structures where, he is told, certain orders of brothers or sisters dwell. Whatever route the visitor chooses, road, steamboat, or rail, he meets men and women in uniform that tells of their being members of some clerical order, and in whatever direction he turns his gaze the gleam of a cross is discerned, while the tinkle of convent-bell or the boom of the big church bell breaks on his hearing from dawn to sunset. Passing along the road he is startled by coming on a cross by the wayside, accompanied by emblems of the tortures of the Saviour of the world. Each house he enters, no matter how humble, has symbols of Christ's humiliation and pictures of saints. These are only appearances, yet, like the faint vapor that rises from the summit of an isle of the Indian Ocean, they indicate the unseen, the strange fire that burns beneath. It takes patience and close observation to ascertain the nature of the pervading influence which enthalls this quiet community, and the knowledge of it comes by slow degrees. As it does, the visitor's prepossessions are dissipated. He thought of them as French, as jealously preserving the customs and traditions of the country whence came their forefathers. He finds they know nothing of France, that France has become merely a name, and that neither in spirit nor sympathy have they anything in common with the France of to-day. There is little reading, few newspapers, and fewer books. The books are de-

votional, the newspapers are frivolous and sensational as to secular affairs, devotedly clerical when political or social subjects are referred to. In conversation he finds certain topics are tabooed, and that on many vital subjects there is no independence of word or thought. While politely treated, he comes to feel that under the cover of the courtesy with which he is addressed lurks a strange mingling of pity and suspicion. The belief has been deeply impressed upon the people among whom he mingles, that Protestants are not religious, that their pretended faith is a mere negation, which was invented by Luther, and Luther was inspired by the devil. Taught thus, they pity him as one of the lost. This fundamental fact, that the great body of the population of Quebec are firmly grounded in the belief that Protestants have no religion, and that, if they persevere in rejecting the aid of the priests they are lost, affects more than their personal bearing in coming in contact with non-Catholics, it shapes their politics, colors their opinions of whatever is happening near or far. How has this been brought about? The visitor catches the classes of the elementary school, examines the text-books, and sees how carefully the scholars have impressed upon their infant minds everything the priests desire they should believe, and how they are kept in ignorance of everything they wish withheld. From the wayside school he turns to the college and marks the art of the procrustean beds where the pupils, robbed of their intellectual individuality, and their higher sentiments are forced into the narrow mould of their priestly preceptors. From the college to the convent is a step, and here, amid surface accomplishments, the future women of the Province are imbued with belief in the infallibility of the Church of Rome and the duty of unquestioning obedience to its priests. Passing from these institutions, where the minds and wills of the youth are thus shaped, the observer no longer wonders at the influence the priesthood exercises, the moulding of the youth of a great Province lies entirely in their hands. Talk of passive obedience to Kings. Here is the reality of which Charles I. and his son James dreamt. Talk of espionage. Here in actual service is such a system as Fouche never conceiv-

ed. In the presbytery and the buildings around it is the intellect that thinks for the community, the will that holds and directs its will, the tongue that commands, the eye that sees every detail of their daily lives, the ear to which comes the tattle and the innermost secrets of the dwellers beneath the roofs of each house in the parish. The atmosphere thus created is not national, it is ecclesiastical: it is not French, it is Papal. It is a population trained by the Church of Rome to do the will and advance the interests of the Church of Rome. True the priests exhort the people to be French, and nothing but French. That is merely part of their system to keep them under their thumb. Were the habitants of any other origin they would use the same cry—were they Irish they would tell them to be Irish and nothing else; were they Germans or Poles they would get like advice. In their speaking English, especially in their learning to read English, the priests see danger, and so they reiterate the precept that they are to be first Catholic then French, and that on their continuing to be Catholic depends their being French, and they are made to believe that the Church of Rome is the sole surety of their nationality and their language; that if they leave their Church they lose everything. No pains are spared to keep them isolated from Protestants. The partition-wall is maintained so high that practically there is no social intercourse, no intimate relation permitted. Here, again, the dividing-line is creed, not race, for if the English-speaking neighbor becomes Catholic the priest encourages the freest intercourse. Tho longer the visitor stays and the more intimate he becomes with the people, the more conscious he is of the all-pervading influence of the Church of Rome, how she dominates every concern of daily life, how every interest is made subservient to her interest, how every prejudice is fostered that aids her plans, every cry raised that will bind her followers to her. It may be said all this is true of rural Quebec alone. Let the visitor leave. He is now treading the streets of the city of Quebec. Mark those colossal buildings behind whose barred windows and sentinelled gates are monks, and nuns, and novices by the hundred. At every step he meets a many colored proces-

sion. The legislature is in session; he goes to its place of meeting, and, standing in the corridor, watches the ever-shifting crowd. Here, again, priests mingle in the throng: if there be a measure that interests their Church they are in committee-room and in the galleries of the House. He calls on members of the cabinet, in their ante-rooms, he finds priests or meets them leaving his private room, and wherever they go observes how their opinions are deferred to, their requests granted. Attending the meeting of the City Council he finds like obsequiousness to the requests that come from the archbishop's palace. The Church of Rome owns a third of the real estate of the city, and, therefore, ought to be its largest taxpayer. It pays no tax, yet is insistent on being granted favors at the expense of those who do.

Standing whether in country or city, in presence of conditions so extraordinary, so utterly opposite to what prevail in every other Province of the Dominion, two questions press for answer:

1. How has this come about?
2. Is not the existence of such conditions in a Province that elects sixty-five members of the House of Commons, a menace to the Dominion's continuing to be British in reality, and to its people enjoying free institutions?

CONDITIONS NOT A SURVIVAL OF FRENCH RULE

If you ask a Roman Catholic he assures you what you see is a survival of the French period, that the French, under British rule, in their love of Romanism, have preserved it in every detail as their fathers knew it before the Conquest. Is this true? Is it really so, that the Church of Rome, as it exists to-day in Quebec, is only enjoying the privileges, immunities, and prerogatives it did before Canada became a British possession? This question has a most important bearing on what course our rulers should take with regard to the Church of Rome in Quebec. If it can be proved that Church is only enjoying what was its use-and-wont under the French kings, respect for vested privileges makes the

reformer hesitate. On the other hand, if it can be demonstrated beyond all question from official records of the French period, that the Church of Rome was held in New France subordinate to the State, that she was denied the privilege of being autonomous, that even the details of conventual life and of pastoral work were regulated by the civil magistrate, the question assumes an entirely different aspect, for the reformer knows he has to deal not with privileges inherited from the French period, but with privileges that have had their origin while Quebec has been under the British Crown. He who would hesitate about uprooting institutions that came from another regime, hoary with three centuries, has no hesitation whatever in manfully grappling with them when he has ascertained he has been grossly deceived. In the Tragedy of Quebec there are copious extracts from the edicts, despatches, and letters of the kings of France that leave not a shadow of doubt that the priests did not have the privileges they claim to-day. When Canada was French the King nominated its bishops, its deans, and canons, kept the priests subordinate to him by paying part of their salaries, erected parishes, regulated the religious communities, fixing their number, prescribing their vows, their duties, their dress, and exacted from their real estate taxes for local purposes. Over and above all, the interference of the clergy in civil affairs was sharply resented, and they were confined to their purely spiritual duties. The official orders that came from Paris were that the kings wanted no more monks and nuns in Canada than were needed in hospitals. They would have none who had taken perpetual vows, none who would not engage in nursing the sick, caring for the aged and helpless, or in teaching the Indians. The evidence is consistent and repeated for over a century, that monks and nuns who were to remain immured in cloisters, spending their time in prayer, meditation and penance, were not to be permitted admission into New France. The few convents authorized were ruled not by the bishop or their superiors, but by the King. This control was carried so far that neither bishop nor superior could take in new members: the King fixed their numbers, their location, and even their dress. The King of

France wanted to plant in America a French colony but not a Papal one—he was to be its sole ruler, not the priests. The narrative of events given in the Tragedy of Quebec explains how the situation has been reversed until, to-day, the priesthood and not the State is supreme. The change has been wrought by the army of men and women who were taken from their families in their youth, and in seclusion from the outer world, prisoners to all intents and purposes, had their individuality obliterated and were disciplined into one mould. With that point reached, and fit for service, they are oath-bound to obey implicitly the commands of their superiors, who, with wealth beyond estimate, independent of law, with the Quebec legislature their creature, and the Federal Government standing in awe of them from their holding the balance of power in parliament, these superiors have set about completing their design of becoming the permanent controlling political force of the Dominion.

THE PRIEST IN QUEBEC AND HIS FELLOW ELSE- WHERE

The course pursued by the Church of Rome is very different where it has undisputed sway from what it is where it is in the minority. Those who form an opinion of the Church of Rome in Ontario are judging by the freshly-planted and close-trimmed sapling at their door, of the full grown tree in Quebec they never saw. The attitude, the demeanor, the pretensions of the representatives of the Church of Rome in the two Provinces are widely different. Take, for instance, their relation to politics. In the other Provinces the priests, in a quiet way, influence their people; in Quebec they are to be obeyed. The assumption of supreme authority is the same in all the Provinces, but where Protestants are in the majority it is concealed, it is veiled, it is left as a latent force to be called into activity when the time comes that will permit of its being brought into operation. In Quebec no prudential cause for reserve exists, the cloak is thrown aside, and the claim of the priesthood to supreme rule becomes active and absolute.

Of the French members sent to Ottawa, delightful in manners, well dressed, trained to speak and acquit themselves in public with ease, it is rare to find one who has not attended a church college. The priests have completely in their hands the education of the professional class, a secular college is unknown, and from the lawyers, notaries, physicians they have trained the electors select their representatives. Properly speaking, the Quebec delegation to Ottawa does not represent the people; they are the product of an educational system peculiar to Quebec, are the prepared representatives of the priests, agents to carry out their wishes, and when their interests are to be defended or extended Liberal and Conservative vote as one man. They do not sit as free agents, for if they dared to act as such they would not be re-elected. No Dominion Cabinet is formed without considering the wishes of the bishops, and no Minister retains his portfolio who becomes objectionable to them: no lawyer made a judge for Quebec or the Supreme Court who is not approved by them. Can a department at Ottawa be named where their influence is unknown? In parliament their representatives act on the rule that the way to obtain and hold power is to take advantage of divisions among the Protestants. Oscar Dunn thus defines that course:—

“It is our duty whether in Provincial or Dominion politics to remember that our only hope, and our only safety, lies in being prompt to make alliances with the English factions. By uniting our forces and our votes at Ottawa we can always manage to secure the balance of power. . . . We must be French-Canadians first, Liberals or Conservatives afterwards.”

For French-Canadians read Catholics, as Dunn contemplated no other kind of French-Canadians.

Another adds these words:

“With sixty-five members voting as a unit in the Commons of Canada, any politician of common intellect can control the destinies of the Dominion of Canada.”

WHAT PAPAL QUEBEC IS DOING

Keeping it well in mind that it is not a French but a Papal Quebec with which the Dominion has to deal, let it be asked, What is this Papal Quebec, with its great army of monks, nuns, and priests, doing? I have referred to their obtaining possession of the Eastern Townships, that in them Protestants are fast melting away. Is that all? Will this great army be content with Quebec? The answer could be given in extracts from sermons and pastoral letters. It will save space to take the summary of one of the ablest Jesuits, Father Hamon. In his hand-book on missions, those of New England in particular, he says the movement, begun over forty years ago, to extend the parish system over the Eastern Townships had a larger design than merely expelling their Protestant farmers; it was a necessary step towards the conquest of New England for the Papacy. In the manufacturing centres of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts are hundreds of thousands of French-Canadians, who are separated from their compatriots on the St. Lawrence by a belt of Protestants. Remove that belt and the two branches of Catholics will become one, and what then? I quote the Father's words:

"See what will happen when the French-Canadian race 'shall have completely occupied the space relatively restricted and found between the south shore of the St. Lawrence and the American boundary, that which we call 'the Eastern Townships. It will not probably take more 'than another generation to accomplish this work. Then 'the grand invasion (of the Republic) will commence. . . 'When the French-Canadians shall have arrived in mass at 'the American boundary line, they will find more than 'half a million of their compatriots awaiting them . . . who 'have the Canadian parish organized as absolutely as in 'Quebec, and are very decided, while discharging their 'duties loyally as citizens, to remain, everywhere Roman 'Catholic and French.'"

In speculating on the future of Quebec clerical writers see only two alternatives—*independence or annexation*. None have a word in favor of Britain. Hamon's remarks are worth quoting:

“Two suppositions seem possible: either the Province of
“Quebec will one day have its autonomy, and will become an
“independent nation, or else it will be annexed to the
“United States. Independence or annexation—these are
“the two possible hypotheses. Independent, the Province
“of Quebec would have all the haughtiness and ambition
“of a young nation, its people high-spirited, daring, proud
“of being, at least, the master of their destinies. . . . An-
“nexation would immediately weld together two fractions
“of the same people, separated at the present time by a
“political frontier. Instead of being 400,000 the French-
“Canadians in the United States would form with those of
“Quebec a compact whole of two million souls.”

It may be noted that Eastern Ontario is counted upon to form part of the confidently expected great Catholic Republic. The conquest of Eastern Ontario is now going on, with an advance guard to stake out the Northwest. Just as Frontenac established a chain of forts from Kingston to the Mississippi to take possession of the heart of the continent for France, so Rome has established settlements of French-Canadians from Ottawa to lake Nipissing to control the future avenue by water to the Northwest. Hear again what Father Hamon says:

“None of the obstacles met have checked the settlement
“of the valley of the Ottawa and of the Province of On-
“tario. And yet, for the French-Canadians, is not Ontario
“a country different from theirs, both in religion and lan-
“guage, and even in politics, in that, at least, which relates
“to local interests? In spite of these difficulties, in spite
“of a tenacious English element, hostile to the invasion
“and seeking by all possible means to prevent it, the
“French-Canadian pushes toward the end for which he set
“out. The French-Canadians infiltrate themselves every-
“where in those counties of Ontario which divide it from
“the Province of Quebec, and continue bravely to march
“toward the West. The policy of the Church is to guide
“the movement, plan and forward settlement, establish
“the parish system, the parochial school, and the religious
“and national societies; then, to watch and wait for pro-

"vidential developments, that she may mass and lead the people for the effective overthrow of Protestant error and paganism. . . . The French-Canadian race is God's chosen people to save North America and to restore its population to the bosom of the Church of Rome. Is this a dream? No, it is more: it is an every day issue."

Ponder over these words and see how the extension by the Federal Government of Quebec's northern boundary from the height of land to the Hudson Bay, and how the request of the Grand Trunk Company to extend its line from North Bay to the Pacific was seized to secure the construction of a railway through northern Ontario and Quebec, fall in with the plan of the bishops. Protestant members of parliament, who voted for both, regarding the extension of boundary of no great moment, viewing the change of the line of railway as a mere commercial consideration, may now learn how they were aiding in carrying out designs that were formed in secret conclave.

THE CLERICAL HAND DIRECTS FEDERAL LEGISLATION

To bring home the fact that the priesthood control such laws as affect them, both in the legislatures and at Ottawa, it is not needed to do more than quote their action with regard to the question of what constitutes a valid marriage in Canada. The issue was raised in Quebec by cases coming before the King's courts asking the judges to give civil effect to decrees of the bishops annulling marriages, and the judges accepting these decrees without inquiry and giving the quashing of the marriage legal effect. Most of the unions thus dissolved were on the score of relationship outside the prescribed limits set by the Church of Rome. A man wanting to get rid of his wife goes to his bishop, who appoints a hearing in his canonical court. Both parties are summoned to appear before it and evidence led. Should the evidence bear out the man's assertion that his wife was related to him in a degree forbidden by Church law, the court declares the marriage ceremony he went through a nullity. With the decree to that effect, the man

next goes to his lawyer who appears, in open court before a judge and asks to file a document that reads thus:

Archbishop's Palace, Montreal, November 3rd, 1911.

Re the marriage case of Meunier vs. Blanchet.

Mrs. Anna Meunier,
20 McGregor street, Montreal.

Madam,—

I am directed to announce to you that His Grace, the Archbishop of Montreal, has pronounced a sentence of nullity of marriage in the case that you have submitted.

Yours very truly,

EMILE ROY,
Chancellor.

Imagine the feelings of a woman on receiving such a notice from men whom she was taught are the representatives of Christ.

The judge accepts the bishop's decree, declares the marriage civilly null, and the man leaves the court free to repudiate any liability for the maintenance of the woman whom he pledged to succor until death parted them, and to contract a marriage with some one else. Sometimes, so rarely that only a few cases are on record, the woman revolts at being got rid of in such fashion and asks the Superior Court judge to protect her. Such a case was that of Miss Lapatie, who was married to a man, named Tremblay in 1904 by the parish priest. In 1910 the husband asked that he be released because he was a fourth cousin of his wife. The bishop of St. Hyacinthe issued his decree, declaring the marriage null. Tremblay next applied to the Superior Court at Sorel, to give the decree civil effect. The wife opposed, and it was proved she was ignorant, at the time of the ceremony, that she was related to her husband and that their common ancestor was dead over a century, that he lived in 1780. It was also proved that by paying \$7 the husband could have got a dispensation from

the bishop authorizing their marriage, and that it was still in his power to apply for a dispensation and again go through the marriage ceremony. Her lawyer pleaded if Tremblay had not heart enough and honor enough to do this, the judge should not consider he had any standing before the Court. Judge Bruneau, while acknowledging the force of this, in an elaborate judgment, declared he had no choice but to confirm the bishop's decree. The wife appealed to a higher court, which confirmed the finding of the lower, one judge, a Protestant, dissenting. She lacked the means to go further. Another case may be cited, to show how judgment is obtained by default. Mrs. Meloche was notified her husband had applied to have their marriage declared null on the ground of their being third cousins, and that, unless she appeared at the place of Archbishop Bruchesi on 11 October, 1904, she would be declared in contumacy and the tribunal would pronounce sentence. The woman by advice of her lawyer, did not attend. A decree annulling the marriage issued, and when filed in court was given civil effect, the bench having accepted the ruling of Justice Papineau as axiomatic, that "Marriage in the Roman Catholic Church is a sacrament and a religious bond over which the Superior Court has no jurisdiction." How many marriages have been thus annulled cannot be ascertained, but they are numerous. In the rural parishes marriages have been going on between relatives for generations, so that a family cannot be found that is not related to several. With accurate registers of baptisms and marriages available, evidence can be got when couples wish to separate. Such cases suggest whether the decrees of the bishops are not a disciplinary means of compelling their people to pay for dispensations. Oliver Lachapelle applied for a dispensation to marry his second cousin, and it was granted. Tiring of the union he asked that the marriage be annulled because they were first cousins. He had said at the time of the marriage second cousins, because he saved \$60 by doing so, a dispensation for marriage to a first cousin costing \$100. The marriage was annulled, the woman hid herself in a nunnery. There are other causes accepted by the priests for quashing

marriages. For instance, George Normandin, a French-Canadian, was married in Detroit, to Emma F. Williams. For the reason, that the marriage ceremony was performed by a Protestant minister, Archbishop Bruchesi declared there was no union, and Justice Bruneau confirmed his decision, which opened the way to divorce for couples who had been married in the Republic by Protestant clergymen and desired to be separated. A case, however, with no foreign element came before the courts. On the evening of July 14, 1908, a young couple called at the residence of the Rev. Wm. Timberlake, Methodist minister of Montreal, and desired him to marry them. The husband produced the license under authority of the Lieutenant-Governor and both were of age. Seeing no reason why he should not comply with their request Mr. Timberlake married them. The following year the husband, having regretted their marriage, applied to Archbishop Bruchesi to declare it null because the ceremony was performed by a Protestant minister. On November 12, 1909, a decree was handed him, which he filed in court with a motion to have it given civil effect. There being no opposition, the court complied. Shortly afterwards a lawyer appeared on behalf of Mrs. Herbert, who asked that the judgment be reconsidered, alleging she had been prevented from putting in an appearance through deception and threats. She pled for this not only on her own behalf but of the child, a daughter, who had been born, and who, unless the court quashed the judgment it had given by default, would be branded as illegitimate. Judge Charbonneau, Feb. 21, 1912, in an elaborate judgment, which took him an hour-and-a-half to read, upheld the marriage as valid, and declared the decree of the Archbishop to have no civil effect. This, considering the judge is French and a Catholic, astounded the public, and it was expected the Archbishop would appeal. Instead the husband went before a judge and gave notice he would not proceed further, alleging lack of money as his reason. The subtlety of the move was apparent, his desisting would prevent the case going to England and judgment being rendered there as to the validity of canon law. By this time, widespread interest had been aroused and the necessity

was recognized for an authoritative decision as to whether a court of priests could annul marriages. The point was a purely civil one, but, unfortunately, it was treated by the public at large in its sectarian aspect, and there was much declamation in Protestant pulpits about the Papal decree *ne temere* and many wild assertions as to what the Federal Government should do. When Parliament opened a private member had a bill ready that provided that every marriage performed by an authorized person shall everywhere be deemed valid, irrespective of the faith of the persons married or of the celebrant. The bill was challenged by those opposed to it on the point, what does the B. N. A. Act mean by solemnization of a marriage? There was a marked lack of sincerity among the supporters of the bill, who declaimed in a style obviously intended for their constituents, for each one of them knew that the passage of the bill by the Commons meant their party being turned out of office. The first and last duty of a Dominion premier is to keep his party in power, and to this unwritten law Sir Robert Borden was obedient. To pass this bill, which flew in the face of common law and canonical courts, was equivalent to restoring Sir Wilfred Laurier to office. He moved in amendment, that the bill do not now pass, but that a stated case on the points raised by it be referred to the Supreme Court to find out what were the powers of the Dominion Parliament. Five judges heard the argument on the questions submitted. Of these two were essential—was the Dominion Parliament competent to pass the Lancaster bill? Was any marriage, by regularly qualified minister, in the Province of Quebec legal? The court held the bill was beyond the authority of the Dominion Parliament to enact, as to the second question the judges divided according to creed. The two Catholics held a Protestant minister could not marry two Catholics in Quebec; the three Protestants, that he could. The arguments of the counsel brought out the pretensions of the priests that they were absolute in all matters concerning marriage and above parliament. This unsatisfactory finding, which decided nothing beyond that Mr. Lancaster's bill was so poorly drawn that it could not meet the evil it was intended to cure,

quicken the desire to have a pronouncement by England. Security for costs was demanded by the defence. There was hesitation in subscribing, when the Orange Association came forward and lodged \$5,000 to ascertain from the Empire's highest court whether a marriage performed by a Protestant is valid. Judgment has not yet been rendered.

THE LAW THAT IS CALLED FOR

1. The multitude of words and contradictory statements the root of the matter was lost sight of. Let the reader keep steadily in mind, that marriage is a contract, and as a contract, affecting not only the two persons who make it, but prospective children and the inheritance of property, it is imperative the contract be made of public record. To provide such a record is the duty of the State, and necessarily, it must define who are eligible to contract marriage, and make sure they enter into it understandingly and of their free will. With their signing the registration of their contract, the duty of the State ends. The parties to it may, and it is desirable they should, add the sanction of the denomination of which they are members, by a religious ceremony. The confusion of mind that prevails, that marriage depends on the religious ceremony and not on the mutual agreement of the parties to the contract, is responsible for the trouble that exists regarding what is a legal marriage in Canada. When a union contracted in one Province is declared to be no marriage in another, when a marriage by a Protestant minister is set aside by a court of priests, when marriages are declared to be no marriages at all because of conditions and circumstances that the priests have devised, and which they assert to be of vital consequence, it is imperative that the situation be ended by the Dominion Government stepping in and ordaining that in every municipality it shall have an officer, who must be a layman, to keep a register of marriages, and that only such marriages as are recorded by him shall be legal. Of the competency of the Dominion Government to enact such a law there is no question, and by passing such a law it would only be doing what has been done by the Governments of Italy,

France, Great Britain, and other countries, and its adoption would settle the situation in Canada. The Federal Government has no power to dictate what ceremonies shall solemnize marriage, but under Sec. 91 of the B.N.A. Act, it is given authority to define the status, which implies enacting the necessary regulations. The line of demarcation is definite—to the State belongs the marriage in so far as it is a civil contract, to the churches the ceremonies with which it be solemnized. No church has a right to interfere with the State in what it enacts as to marriage viewed as a civil contract; the State none to dictate what the churches may do in the light of its being a union ordained by God.

A couple desirous of being married may have a religious ceremony or none, may discard vows and ring, but they must observe those requirements of the State designed to perfect a legal contract binding on both. It is wasted effort to argue about Papal decrees or what privileges any church may claim. These are beside the question of the right of Parliament to define the most important contract of our social life and to ensure its permanent record. Had the Premier and his ministers held that, as marriage was, in the first place, a civil contract, they were not going to be dragged into controversy over its religious aspect, they would have submitted a measure providing for civil marriage over the breadth of our land. If the Dominion has not reached the point in self-government that would enable it to declare positively what is a valid marriage, what is a binding contract in every Province, in Quebec equally with British Columbia, then it is only the creature of the Supreme Court and the slave of any religious body that defies its authority. For the protection of wronged women, for the succor of innocent children, for clearing doubts as to succession, it is imperative that a civil marriage law be enacted at once. No reform can come before the defining and establishing beyond all question, of that institution on which the homes of our country are built. The politicians who will not pass such a law for fear of what the priests may do to them or their party, are cowards and traitors to home and womanhood. Write it down, that whatever else the Parliament at Ottawa may do, it is its imperative duty to pro-

vide at once, a system for the registration of marriages as civil contracts. That, and that alone, will give a death blow to priestly usurpations and throw a shield over innocent women and children.

WHAT IS CANON LAW?

The frequent mention of canon law conveys no meaning to the majority of the people of Canada. Indeed, it was not heard west of the Ottawa until the frequency of marriage annulments drew attention to this kind of law. In Quebec canon law is a reality, outside that Province it is still a name. The explanation is this—the priests claiming to be a complete society have a code of laws and a court to enforce them of their own. Canon law is an elaborate and minute code, regulating everything pertaining to life and morals, applied by a fixed course of procedure, with voluminous commentaries, and administered by courts appointed by the bishops. This code of laws is left in abeyance where Protestants are in the majority, and in these sections the priests appear as ministers of a purely religious system. Where conditions are favorable, however, canon law is evoked, and the priests in addition to their spiritual duties, assume functions that, elsewhere, pertain to the courts and to the legislature. While it is true that canon law is not openly administered in any of the Provinces outside of Quebec, it is a fact that, what canon law prescribes with regard to schools, is, in an underhand way, being forced upon these Provinces. Without being aware of it, electors who proudly think there is no canon law for them and they would like to see the men who would attempt to bring them under it, are all the time obedient to that law wherever a separate school is established and receives support by reason of any statute of their legislature. There is no part of canon law more emphatic than that which declares the bishops shall have control of schools and their instructors, consequently any government that admits that claim acknowledges submission to canon law. To quote the teaching of the Syllabus of 1870 on that head is sufficient to show what is claimed. I quote from the authorized version in the affirmative: "If anyone says that all the direc-

“tion of the Public schools, in which the youth of a Christian State receives instruction, Episcopal Seminaries being excepted, can and must be confided to the hands of the civil authority; . . . let him be cursed. . . . If anyone says that Catholics can approve a system of education outside of the Catholic faith, and outside of the authority of the Catholic Church, and having for its object, or at least for its main object, only the knowledge of things purely natural and the interests of the social life on this earth, let him be cursed.”—Articles 45 and 48.

These articles the Archbishop of Quebec, in his pastoral regarding the Syllabus, interpreted thus: “The church must have admission to the schools, not only by simple tolerance, but by virtue of its divine mission . . . they stigmatize as a sacrilegious usurpation all civil laws concerning the education of the youth; they say that, by its divine institution, the church must have to itself alone the direction of schools, even in what concerns letters and natural sciences.”—Pastoral letter, 31 May, 1870.

This is the claim, reiterated and reiterated in speech, sermon, and mandement—the education of the child is the inalienable care of the priesthood. The Hon. Mr. Bernier, speaking on behalf of the Archbishop of St. Boniface, defined the scope of the priesthood and of the State:—“It was the duty of the former to guide and supervise and of the latter to supply the material aid necessary.” The clerical organ of the diocese of Montreal, summed up the claim of the priests in a syllogism:—

“The formation of the Christian in the child is the principal work of education;

“The Roman Catholic Church alone has the mission to form the Christian;

“Parents and teachers are lieutenants representative of the Roman Catholic Church from the power conferred upon her by Christ.”

There is more involved in this matter of Separate Schools than people think. The government that yields to the demands of the priests for Separate schools, thereby recog-

nizes the validity of Papal law and its duty to comply with it. When the demand is made for Separate schools it is regarded by the average elector as a matter concerning the education of the children of his Roman Catholic neighbors and nothing more. It means much more, for the demand for Separate schools conceals the claim that the government yield obedience to canon law.

SEPARATE SCHOOLS

On this ground, the public conscience of Canadians needs to be enlightened—electors shown that it is not a question of expediency to grant Separate schools, but a question that involves their obedience to Papal law and Papal decrees. I would illustrate this by the experience of the English-speaking minority in the Province of Quebec. The spirit of legislation before Confederation was the establishing of schools for the imparting of education in the secular sense of the word. The priests, after Confederation, had this altered by substituting a sectarian basis. A school, under their revised law, had to be either Catholic or Protestant, provision for what were called neutral schools was abolished. These mixed schools, which were not uncommon where English-speaking Catholics and Protestants dwelt alongside in the townships, were made illegal. Had the representatives of the Protestants been alive to the consequences of the change they would have resisted it, and insisted that the two classes of schools be termed Catholic and public. But the kind of Protestants appointed by the government to the Council of Public Instruction were like those chosen as members of the legislature; they were of the stamp who answered the purposes of the priests better than the aspirants from their own colleges. The High Priest did not select a betrayer from among the orthodox. Labeling non-sectarian schools Protestant, gave apparent justification for the existence of Catholic schools while it supplied the priests with their most potent argument with the unreflecting. "You call us bigots," they say when they are pleading for Separate schools in Ontario and the Western Provinces, "but look what we have done in Quebec; there we give Protestant schools for themselves, while you would deny Catholic

schools in your Provinces." Had the correct name been used in Quebec, Public schools instead of Protestant schools, this plausible misrepresentation would not have been possible. The priests knew what they were doing when they labeled Public schools Protestant.

The introduction of the sectarian principle struck a deadly blow at the schools of the Eastern Townships. For two score years, at least, there were schools in the townships before there was any serious effort to found elementary schools in the parishes. This priority it is of importance to bear in mind. When the Act of 1844 began to be enforced, there were schools in every English-speaking settlement. In farming communities the support available for schools is limited. Children cannot be expected to walk over two miles to school, and that radius gives, where farms range from one to two hundred acres, an average of one school to every twenty families. This physical obstacle to a rural population keeping up more than one school has not been taken into account by those who have framed our educational laws. Plant a second school in a district, and one or other has to go out of existence, for there are only sufficient families to support one. A priest goes into a school district in the townships and commands the few Catholic families to dissent and have a Separate school. The loss of their rates impairs the revenue of the old school, and, as time passes, whenever a farm comes for sale, by some unseen direction a Catholic buyer is brought for it, so the revenue grows smaller until the point is reached that it is insufficient, and the door of the old school-house closes for the last time. The townships of Quebec had a system of schools as old as their settlement and as non-sectarian as those of Ontario. They have been undermined by the innovation of confessional schools. It has been officially stated that four hundred have gone out of existence. The beginning of every school year sees more doors unopened. No matter under what pretence Separate schools are introduced into farming sections, the result is to destroy the original schools. It is different in towns and cities, where sufficient support can be got for both. In the country, where there can only be a limited number of families to the

square mile, the priest, when he starts a Separate school, does so with the design of breaking down the one in existence. In her invasion of the English-speaking townships Rome planned to destroy the schools of their founders, and she is killing them slowly and surely. Everybody has met the man who affects to be an oracle in politics, who boasts he is not narrow minded, who despises the bigots who are always introducing subjects that cause heart-burning in a mixed community, and who considers it only fair Catholics should have their own schools. Men who use such language abound in and out of parliament. In doing what they consider justice to the Catholics, they do not reflect they are perpetrating the cruelest wrong on those who are not Catholics, that they were destroying their schools and dooming their children to ignorance. There are respectable Protestant farmers' families in Quebec, whose younger members cannot sign their names, because the priests have shut the schools where they would have been taught the elements of education. Place this fact down as incontrovertible, that in rural districts there is support for one school only, and whoever advocates Separate schools robs those who cannot attend them of the means of getting an education. This one fact condemns Separate schools in an agricultural country like Canada.

PROTESTANTS FORCED TO SUPPORT CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

The demand of the priests is, that the taxes paid by their people shall go to the support of confessional schools and none other—that to take them to maintain even non-sectarian schools is a violation of conscience. They insist that the school tax be divided according to the creed of the taxpayers. The rule is a bad one, but when a legislature adopts it, provision should be made that it be impartially carried out. Whatever money is paid by a Catholic should go to confessional schools, whatever by a non-Catholic to Public schools. If it be a dreadful sin in Catholics to pay a tax to maintain a Public school, how much greater must be the outrage upon the consciences of Protestants to force

them to keep up confessional schools? Singular to say, the priests only recognize conscientious convictions in their own people: that Protestants have any they seem to disbelieve, at any rate, they trample upon them in this matter of school support. The bulk of the commerce and manufacturing of the Province of Quebec is in the hands of Protestants; blot them out and Quebec would be one of the poorest countries in the world. The visitor to Montreal who approaches it by the Lachine canal cannot fail to be impressed by the factories that line its banks and the abounding evidence of manufacturing industry so far as his eye can reach. Coming to the harbor he sees a long line of monster steamships. Turning to the business streets he is impressed by the massive buildings that house banks and those other institutions that trade and commerce require, and when he seeks the residential part of the city he views the palaces where live the men who control these institutions and who own the factories that darken the lower part of the city with their smoke. Ninety out of a hundred of these men are Protestants: of the remaining ten, Jews form a large part. Under the rule laid down by the priests the taxes levied on the properties of these wealthy Jews and Protestants ought to go to maintain Public schools: they do not, the greater part goes to confessional schools, to schools taught by nuns and monks, to enrich convents and other monastic institutions. If the money filched out of the pockets of Protestants was devoted solely to Public schools, there would be a treble tax levied on Catholic ratepayers. Seeing the principle of the statute is, that the school tax be divided according to the creed of those who pay it, how can this be done? It is accomplished by a legal quibble in this way. A Protestant owns a factory. So long as he holds it in his own name, or in the name of a partnership, his rates go to the Public schools. The moment, however, the factory comes to be owned by an incorporated company, a new method is applied. Keeping in mind the principle of the statute, that the tax is to be allotted according to the creed of those who pay it, it would be supposed the school tax of establishments owned by incorporated companies would be divided according to the number of shares held by the Protestants

and Catholics as they appear on their stock books. That would not suit the priests, for a Catholic shareholder is a rarity, so, as regards incorporated companies, they varied the law by enacting that its school tax be divided in proportion to the number of Catholics and Protestants resident in the districts in which the property of the companies is situated. Mark how the priests can change their cry, to suit their own purposes. In the rural districts they preach that it is persecution to take the tax of a Catholic for other than a confessional school, but in city or town it is quite right to compel Protestants to pay taxes to maintain Catholic schools. In the country the taxes must be divided according to the creed of those who pay them, but when it comes to shareholders in the great incorporated companies of Montreal and other manufacturing centres, the school taxes are not apportioned, according to the creed of the shareholders, but of the creed of those who live around their places of business! What difference can incorporating those who manage a factory make in their creeds? Can an act of parliament, whose sole object is facilitating the carrying on of business, change the spiritual status of a man? A Protestant has established, by individual effort and investing of his own money, a large mill. To facilitate carrying it on he incorporates his business under Dominion or Provincial act. Is he less of a Protestant because of his having done so? Yet, by so doing, he loses the right to designate where the school tax levied on his mill shall go, and his taxes are taken to maintain schools whose teachings he condemns. The tenderness of the priests for rights of conscience where the dollars are to be exacted from Catholics, contrasts strangely with their total disregard for the rights of conscience when dollars can be filched by law from the pockets of Protestants. If it be a monstrous wrong to make Catholics contribute towards secular schools, it must be a much greater wrong to compel Protestants to maintain Catholic schools. If the conscience of the Catholic is outraged by his helping to keep up a non-sectarian, a neutral, school, what shall be said of the outrage of forcing Jews and Protestants to support nuns and friars under the name of education? The priests cannot endure neutral schools,

but a neutral panel to provide them with the taxes of Jews and Protestants is an admirable device. Of late there has been a general movement among mercantile firms to become incorporated companies. By the change the greater part of their school tax goes to the Catholic schools. It is within the truth to say that of the capital of these companies nineteen-twentieths is that of Protestants. Catholic firms, where possible, avoid incorporation, and the amount of rates from companies composed of Catholics is a negligible quantity. An estimate, prepared by one who investigated the subject, gives a million dollars yearly as the amount taken from Protestants for the support of Catholic schools. That, I judge, is excessive, but the amount has nothing to do with the principle at stake, which is, that Protestants having investments in banking and insurance companies, commercial and manufacturing enterprises, are compelled by law to support Catholic schools in the Province of Quebec. An ingenious evasion by Catholics of the law, is to name one of the corporation proprietor of the real estate, and from him the company leases.

There are two grounds upon which this mode of dividing the school tax of companies is defended. One is, that as it applies equally to Protestant and Catholic, it cannot be unjust. Were it a tax for a public purpose, involving no moral element, that would be sufficient justification. Seeing it is a tax to bolster sectarian education, it fails. Does anybody suppose for a moment, that were the majority of corporations composed of Catholics the priests would have ever suggested dividing the taxes drawn from them in the way that is done? The second argument advanced is, that the tax is just, because although the proprietors of the great industrial concerns in the Province of Quebec are Protestants they are interested in the education of their employees. Certainly they are interested in seeing that they get a secular education, and would not object were their taxes used to give them such an education, but it is of the brutality of bigots for the priests to confiscate the school taxes levied on incorporated companies to secure the teaching of the doctrines of their church. In Quebec the government prescribes Catholic schools as the schools of the

Province, and then uses various devices to seize the money of Protestants and Jews to pay for their upkeep. First of all, the State assumed a function that did not legitimately belong to it in designating a certain denomination as the favored church of the Province. It now has gone further, by coercing those who disown that sect and its teaching, to pay to support it. Each dollar levied in taxation or taken from the public treasury for the support of any church or for the teaching of its creed in any school, is not merely tyrannical, it is a violation of the rights of conscience. The priests declaim against taking the taxes of Catholics to maintain Public schools in Ontario and Manitoba as an outrage that cries to heaven for redress, but in Quebec, these same men get the law so shaped that a considerable part of the taxes levied on the real estate, incomes, and capital of Protestants shall go to maintain schools in which are daily taught doctrines abhorrent to them. A mark of a true church must be honesty. Is it honest to demand exemption in the rest of the Dominion for Catholics from supporting non-sectarian schools on the score of conscience, and then cunningly plunder Protestants in the Province of Quebec to maintain Catholic schools? Have Protestants no consciences to be respected? Each session we hear members at Ottawa dwelling on the fairness of allowing Catholics in the Northwest to retain their tax for support of Separate schools: these very members uphold the law in Quebec which seizes the bulk of the tax levied on the real estate, incomes, and capital of Protestants to maintain schools taught by nuns and friars, and strenuously resist a change in that law. I care not who the politicians are who pose as statesmen, I care not who the prelates are who rustle in gorgeous robes and profess to speak as representatives of Christ, I declare their seizing the money of Protestants to maintain their institutions to be more than intolerance, it is robbery.

THE COMING OF THE JEWS.

The influx of Jews into Montreal is going to bring this question to the front. Their appearance raised the point to which school panel their taxes should go. As the priests

would have nothing to do with their children, the legislature enacted that for school purposes Jews were to be classed as Protestants! Half of the scholars in Montreal schools under the charge of the Protestant board are Hebrew, yet a Jew is never appointed by the Government to sit on that board, nor can a young woman whose father is a Jew qualify to be a teacher. No people can be expected to long endure such injustice. The remedy proposed, that they have schools of their own, would be to endorse and perpetuate the sectarian principle, but it is impracticable. Give the Jews separate schools and a separate board of management, and a like favor could not be denied to those who profess allegiance to the Greek church, and the adherents to that church in Montreal are yearly increasing. If all are to have schools of the creed they profess, what would remain but confusion and the reign of illiteracy? There is only one solution, the Public school, which has no sectarian bias, and which Protestant and Hebrew, Greek and Armenian, can support—the school that unifies and does not divide, the school whose purpose is to elevate the children to an equal plane of citizenship, and leaving the creed of each child alone, strives to impart a knowledge of those duties they owe to society and to the State when they grow to be men and women, and that school is the Public school.

It is satisfactory to know that the Dominion has no more ardent supporters of complete separation of Church and State than the Jews.

The air is full of plans to save to the English-speaking farmers of Quebec their schools. In 1906 the Protestant committee of the council of public instruction adopted a motion asking the legislature to levy a small tax on the assessable property of Protestants. It was shown that in that year such property amounted to one hundred and thirty million dollars, and that a tax of five cents on the hundred dollars would yield \$65,000, which would be sufficient to save the schools that were slowly dying. The proposed tax was abominable, being based on the principle that ought to be eliminated, of recognizing creed in public

affairs. Rescue the rates levied on Protestants for the support of Catholic schools, place them in a general fund, and there will be no need to call for aid from the benevolent, for an increased grant from the government, or for the levying of a special tax on real estate owned by Protestants.

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE QUEBEC TOWNSHIPS.

The early days of the townships were full of hope. Each morning work was begun in joyous expectation of plans to be realized. There was activity, progress, life. Periodically there was exultation over what had been achieved: neighbor meeting neighbor to review results, encouraging one another to attempt greater things. The pages in which Bouchette tells of his successive visits to the townships and of their marvellous advancement give a thrill of delight to the reader. A brighter morning no new country could have. How different the picture of to-day! In a few centres there is much industrial activity: Sherbrooke and Granby hum with the revolving wheels of mill and factory, around which cluster the tenements of workers. These are apart from the rural population, and it is with the English-speaking farmer I am concerned. Let us see how he has fared. Here is a concession in which, a few decades ago, in each home was heard the kindly speech of the Lowland Scot; here another where Highlanders predominated; another where Irish Catholics and Protestants dwelt in neighborly helpfulness; another where neatness and taste told of its dwellers being of New England descent. To-day approach one of those homes, and with polite gesture madam gives you to understand she does not speak English. Here is the school the first settlers erected, and which they and their successors kept open with no small denial. Draw near to it and you hear the scholars in their play calling to one another in French. The descendants of the men who cleared these fields of forest and brought them into cultivation have disappeared. The meeting-house where they met for worship stands there on a knoll, with broken windows, and boarded door, dropping to decay. The surrounding acre where they buried their dead, is a mass of

weeds, which defy approach to read the lettering on the stones discerned through the tangle of vegetation. Once in the course of years there is a funeral: a corpse comes by train from some far-distant State, that of one who was once a settler and yearned to rest with her kindred. A vanished race: why did they go? Because the pledged word of a British King and the statute enacted by a British Parliament, were broken and set aside by Canadian politicians in obedience to the ecclesiastics who helped them to office. These acres were meant by the King and Parliament of England to be free land: the blight of servitude to a Church in now upon them.

The situation of the few families who cling to a decaying township settlement is painful. They have seen neighbor after neighbor leave, and French families take their place. The people they visited and who visited them are in the United States, for of those who have left the townships the large majority sought the Republic instead of our Northwest, as if from an instinctive fear that no part of Canada is safe from the power that expelled them. The lack of social intercourse presses on the wife and children; the lack of neighborly helpfulness on the father. A feeling of isolation and loneliness creeps upon them. It is with difficulty services in the church are maintained: were it not for help from home mission funds its door would be closed. A day comes when there are too few families to keep up the school. The father sees the new Catholic one within sight of his door. Will he send his children to it? What is the daily routine of that school? Learning the prayers of the Church, so that the children may be able to follow the service on Sunday; learning the catechism, with such questions as these:

“What is the Church Jesus Christ has established?”

“It is the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman Church.

“Can one be saved outside of the Catholic, apostolic, and Roman Church?”

“No, out of the church there is no salvation.

"What then must one think of *all* those sects which are separated from the Catholic Church?

"One must consider them as so many *human* institutions, and as *false religions*, which only *lead men into error* and which *cannot lead them to God*."

These the questions of a primary class. Take a specimen of those in the more advanced:

"Do you believe that the Holy Church, Catholic and Apostolic, is the only true Church, in which but one baptism is given, and a true remission of all sins?

"I do believe.

"Do you reject and anathematize all heresies against this Holy Catholic Church?

"I anathematize them.

"Who is the visible head of the Church?

"The Pope, who is Christ's vicar on earth and the supreme visible head of the Church.

"Can the Pope, as head of the Church, teach false doctrine?

"No, the Pope is an infallible teacher of all doctrines concerning faith and morals, which he defines, as pastor and teacher of all Christians."

This is the catechism which forms the staple of the course of study with more or less of the three R's during the intervals between it and prayers. The teacher assures the father his children will not be asked to join in catechism or prayers, but he knows from experience they will be involuntarily fixed in their memories by daily hearing. I know an Orangeman, unable from distance to send his children to a Public school, who allowed them to attend the confessional school on an adjoining lot. Everyone of them, from the constant iteration in their hearing, could repeat the little catechism. Then the day comes when the priest is to visit the school, and the scholars join in pre-

paring and decorating a little shrine. The text-books are Catholic, the whole atmosphere of the school is Catholic. The farmer cannot in conscience send his little ones to it, and so the French-Canadian, who has been wanting his farm, gets it, and, a week after he is in possession, a priest comes to see the new acquisition of his church, for it has a joint proprietorship with the habitant in its acres. For the first time a priest drives up the lane lined by maples which the grandfather of the dispossessed Protestant planted, and levies tithes on the yield of fields his great-grandparents redeemed from the wilderness, and which four generations of Protestants have ploughed.

SEPARATE SCHOOLS ARE NOT RELIGIOUS.

The Province of Quebec professes to have schools that teach religion, and are therefore claimed to be infinitely superior to those of the other provinces. If by "religion" is meant the imbuing of the infant mind with love to God and man, then the teaching in these schools does not comply with that standard, has no claim to be religious, for their teaching is so uncharitable that the children are made to believe that all mankind outside the Church of Rome are in a state of condemnation. Examine the so-called religious teaching of these schools and it will be found it is not to expand the mind with broad views of the highest of all Truth, or to enrich the affections with the purest conceptions of pity and mercy, but to make bigots, to so cramp the intellect by means of forms and rites, observances and catechism, to smother the natural aspirations of piety by routine prayers, that the children are ensured for life as believers in Papal dogma. There is a short and decisive way of settling the pretence that the scholars of such schools are superior in morals to those from non-sectarian schools, and that is by an appeal to experience. Are those trained in Catholic schools distinguished from their fellows by being less profane, less drunken, less coarse, less immoral, more benevolent, more active in promoting every agency for the betterment of society? What do the statistics of the police and criminal courts tell? Are the bulk of offenders against law, men and women who have got their

education in "godless" or in Separate schools? If the reader is not a resident of Quebec, he cannot make this comparison, but, wherever he lives, he can do so if Italians are the people suggested. The Italians never knew of any other creed than the Papal. For centuries on centuries they and their fathers have been under the tutelage of the priest, who had fullest scope in moulding them to his standard. If the clerical training of youth produces the highest type of manhood, strong in morals, lofty in religious aspirations, bright in intelligence, as the advocates of separate schools are never tired of asserting, how do they explain the Italian as we find him in our communities? Nurtured in the country which is the home and very heart of the Papacy, he ought to be superior to the product of godless schools and heretical temples. Is he? Go ask the municipal officials to whom the care of health and decency is committed. Go ask the police, the judges, the superintendents of charitable institutions or hospital physicians, if there is any class who gives them the same trouble? Are the Austrians, the Hungarians, models of the Christian graces?

Brought to this simple, practical test, of judging priestly training of the young by the lives presented to us of those who have been subjected to its discipline, the assertion of the priests, that their methods insure a moral and religious people, is seen to have not an atom of evidence to support it. Their claim that they have the one infallible means of curing the ills of society, of doing away with ignorance, crime and dissolute living, is contradicted by the palpable evidence of the peoples they have had in hand for centuries in Europe. The charlatan who vaunts his elixir as a specific for diseases which the medical faculty can only relieve, is on a par with the priest who asserts the Separate school will do for the uplift of society what the Public school cannot approach. The Separate school is not religious in the true sense of the word. It is theological—an instrument to engrain into the child's brain the belief that the priest is the sole exponent of Christian doctrine and that all who do not accept what he teaches, will go to hell. To dwarf and narrow the intellect and to foster spiritual pride, no device in civilized

countries equals the Separate school. Are the priests to be permitted to seize our Public schools, supported at the public cost, and shape them to suit their own ends, by drilling the rising generation in the doctrines and practices of a sect—to pervert a public institution into an instrument to suit a denomination? Visitors to rural Quebec note the evidence that meets them of a country behind the age, and, in part, trace the cause to the inefficiency of the schools, for a majority of the people cannot read and only a few write. In the first requirement of the State, giving the people the elements of secular education, the rural schools of Quebec, more than those of any other of the Provinces, have manifestly failed.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE PRIESTS.

When the bishops appear before a legislature, they do not prefer their requests as subjects, but as superior beings, who come with an authority laymen must obey. Liberty rests on the equality of all subjects, and the sovereignty of the popular will as expressed by a free assembly. Because a certain cluster of individuals claim to soar far above the mass, and to be in a distinct and sacred class by themselves, are our public men justified in acknowledging their claim? On what principle, on what authority, does the members of our governments recognize the awful claim, that the ministers of the Church of Rome represent Christ in the world, and therefore, that they can command its resources to be used to keep their followers separate and distinct from those outside her pale? Is the money of Protestants to be taken to maintain institutions that insult them by proclaiming they are unfit to participate with Catholics in their benefits, that their presence would be contamination? A body of men and women set themselves up to be holier than their neighbors, to be possessors of a spiritual unction shared by nobody else, and forthwith demand that the State recognize their exclusive holiness, and assist by money and statute to keep them a separate people. To yield to the demand is to thrust a knife into the principle upon which Britain's government rests, that all her subjects are equal before the law.

CHURCH SCHOOLS LEAD TO A STATE CHURCH.

To give any religious denomination the privilege of Separate schools for their children, means that the State bestows upon that denomination an exclusive privilege, something that cannot be granted any other, for were the government to grant a like concession to other churches Public schools would become impossible. It is only by people of all creeds joining together that schools can be maintained. In an agricultural country like ours, as has been pointed out, the number of children in the average school district is small, and, at the best, the teacher has few pupils. Introduce the principle that a favored sect is to have its own school, and there can be none for the children of other faiths, and so, just because of the religious belief of their parents, that they do not belong to the sect it favors, the State deprives their children of their right to an elementary education. The government that does this demonstrates its preference for one particular church, and gives it special benefits at the expense of members of all the other churches. There is no escaping this plain truth, that Separate schools imply a State church. Are we in Canada to ignore the experience of Europe on this point? With the record before us of the evils that have flowed from State churches, are we going to fall into the same pit? The argument against Separate schools is strong on the ground of expediency, that they defeat the purpose of assimilating the diverse elements of our population and fitting the rising generation for fulfilling the duties called for in a self-governing country, but the argument is tenfold stronger and conclusive to all lovers of liberty, that such action is an interference by the State with the consciences of its people. In our age there is no saying more readily accepted as undeniable than that it belongs not to the government to dictate what shall be the creed of province or dominion, for it is justly held that religious beliefs are beyond and above the functions of the civil magistrate. Whoever gives his assent to this truth, should, in all consistency, set his face as flint against Separate schools, for the two are irreconcilable. If you say the government has no right to enact that a particular church shall be the church of the

province in which you live, what right has it to pick out one church and endow it with favors it denies to all other churches? To recognize Separate schools, implies the recognition of the right of your government to interfere in spiritual matters. Though he may not think so, the elector who submits to the continuance of Separate schools concedes the principle that the State is endowed with the right to judge of spiritual truth, to reward those who come up to the standard it fixes, and to punish those who do not, by placing them under disabilities. This is the principle on which Separate schools rest. Is it not contrary to every conception of liberty of conscience? When the priests unitedly declare it is an essential part of the teaching of the church they represent, that the children of its members be educated apart from the children of other faiths, and demand the government provide Separate schools for them, the answer of the State ought to be, that if they will not eat out of the common dish, and drink out of the common cup, they must provide dish and cup at their own cost—that the State would be going outside its functions to judge creeds and beyond its powers to use funds contributed by the people as a whole to build partition walls and nourish sectarianism. The government places at the disposal of all a train to transport the children of the nation from ignorance to the realm of secular knowledge, and parents who are so exclusive that they will not send their children into the same car with those of their neighbors, ought to be told they must pay for a Pullman out of their own pockets. Once admit religious belief as constituting a claim for exceptional treatment by the government, and where will these claims end? In Quebec, where this claim has been most fully acknowledged and most fully developed, it does not end with the school. The principle of separation is carried into every public institution. There are not only Separate schools and colleges, but separate asylums for the Catholic indigent, the Catholic insane, the Catholic helpless; separate hospitals for the Catholic sick; separate reformatories, and even separate prisons. From the cradle to the grave the government is required

to pay towards keeping the Catholics under the care and tutelage of the priests.

Come to close quarters and ask, Whether this claim of the priests upon the government for exceptional treatment has not two sides? If the conscience of the priest is so tender that he cannot possibly permit the children of his people to attend a secular school, what about the conscience of the Jew or Protestant who sees public money taken to maintain a Catholic school? Have priests alone such tender consciences that the State must bow to them? Is there no assault upon the conscience, when a government takes public money to maintain schools that teach their scholars enmity to those of other creeds? Is not every Separate school subsidized out of the public chest an insult to the convictions of every non-Catholic?

Were Protestants as alive to their convictions and their own self-preservation as the priests, they would not allow a dollar of public money to go to the support of Separate schools. The priest with his *non possumus* should be met with an equally decided reply, that public funds shall not be taken to propagate his creed. Let the priest be given to understand in the most emphatic language, that other citizens have an equal right to have their conscientious beliefs respected and that he is unable to produce a single valid plea to entitle his sect to receive from the government treatment different from that accorded to other sects. Whence does this claim upon the government spring? Is it not from spiritual pride, a pride that rests on the pretence of the priests that their church represents Christ upon earth?

A DECEPTIVE ARGUMENT.

A plausible argument why Separate schools be granted, is that those who ask for them are entitled to their share of the taxes to do with that amount as they see fit. This would be effective, were taxes levied according to creed. Do we pay taxes as Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, or Jews, or do we pay them as citizens? Are there separate cash-boxes in the treasuries of our Provinces and at Ottawa,

labelled with the names of the various churches, into which the taxes are dropped according to the creed of those who pay them? If so, then the members of each denomination might claim what is in their particular box be expended in the way they ask, but as there is no such system, when all taxes go into a general fund, it is foolishness to pretend that any church has a claim upon a particular portion. The taxes are levied for public purposes, to be expended on behalf of the people as a whole, and to divert any part of them from public purposes to pay to any church, is a breach of trust. How could the business of the country be conducted were every dollar of revenue credited according to the creed of the person who paid it, and the government pay it out on the same plan? It would be impossible, yet the Baptist, the Methodist, the Presbyterian, the Anglican, has an equal right with the Catholic to make such a demand. For a section of the population to say, Our standing is different from these, they are only pretended churches, ours is the true Church, is to raise a question with which the civil magistrate has nothing to do.

When a body of people demand that, because of their religious belief they be treated differently from the common herd, is any government justified in recognizing such a claim? The government that does, violates two principles of the civil contract by asserting, (1) that the State is competent to judge religious beliefs, and (2) to grant special privileges to the Church it prefers. Before the people of the Northwest listen to the importunities of those who are demanding church schools, whether Greek, Armenian, Mormon, or Catholic, let them make enquiry as to how such schools work in Quebec.

A PAPAL, NOT A FRENCH, QUEBEC.

Are the conditions that prevail in Quebec a menace to the welfare and liberties of the other Provinces of the Dominion? The reply of the other provinces has been that given by their spokesmen in the press, on the platform, in Parliament, that what the people of Quebec are doing does not concern them—since the Quebec majority so wish it.

Let them stew under priestly rule: we shall mind our own business and leave them alone. That answer takes for granted what is not true, that the priests of Quebec will leave the other provinces alone. They are not doing that, but intriguing and working to establish the Quebec system in every part of the Dominion. From behind their entrenchments in Quebec they carry on the campaign to subjugate the rest of Canada. It is no army of drones that fills the field, and that army is marshalled and directed by the keenest and most daring intellects among us. More dangerous to the common good than its numbers, its discipline, its resources, is the fact that this army is animated, from the lowest to the highest, by the belief that they are the chosen of God, that they are infinitely superior to their fellows who are not of their faith; that they are set apart from them by an unction bestowed by God, communicated to them by their priests in baptism, first communion, and confirmation.

CLERICALISM.

We are so accustomed to seeing the desire to attain power set forth in individuals that we lose sight of its also being the animating spirit in societies—that a body of men may strive as earnestly and sacrifice more to become absolute in control than a Napoleon. When the clergymen of the Church of Rome ceased to be content with attending to their spiritual duties and sought to be a force in the governing of nations does not signify, for it is enough to know that the change took place, and that the priests became a factor in shaping the political policies of the countries in which they dwelt. The name church implies a religious organization, and people dwelling in communities where Catholics are few, regard the Church of Rome as a purely religious body and resent as unbelievable that where it has the power it is more of a political organization; that where conditions suit, the religious feature is used to gain support and give force to the political. An individual tyrant can be dealt with, but what is to be done with a society, comprising tens of thousands of priests sworn to work for the extension of the rule of their society? Men

trained from boyhood to implicit obedience, have been taught to believe every sacrifice they make to render the society to which they have devoted their lives more far-reaching and more powerful, is doing God's will. The people of France long ago drew the distinction between the Church of Rome as a religious system and its perversion by the Ultramontanes into a political party—to the one they give respect, to the other deadly opposition, which they express in their watchword—

THE ENEMY? CLERICALISM.

The French are Catholic, but not Ultramontane. In Ireland there are a growing number who, in observance of all their church's religious teaching, are most zealous, yet who repudiate its interference in politics and would confine the priest to his sacristy. In the United States a great majority, while humbly accepting the doctrines of their church and attending its worship, will not tolerate dictation by the priest in secular affairs. In the French and American Republics, the political feature is subordinated to the religious by the priests; in Quebec there is the proportionate development—intense religious devotion, side by side with despotism in secular rule. That is the ideal condition every priest strives to bring about. Where prudence requires, he conceals his aim, for he has been taught the doctrine of reserve. He is a humble factor in a gigantic system. He seeks nothing for himself, but does what he can to advance the triumph of the society of which he is a member, and that society can work and wait for generations to achieve its purpose. In Canada that purpose is to make its rule absolute from ocean to ocean, and its chosen means to that end is expressed in a single word, Clericalism. As on the continent of Europe, Clericalism is the foe to be fought. If it wins, self-government and British rule are lost.

THE SELF-NAMED NATIONALISTS.

There is in Quebec a body of men who have taken to themselves the name Nationalists, and who affect to be the

successors of Papineau. There is this difference between them and the leader of the rebellion of 1837-8, that he aimed at converting Quebec into a French republic in which democratic ideas could have their fullest development. Bourassa wants Quebec made into an independent state with a clerical government. Papineau was no priest-man; Bourassa is. Papineau scorned to be the tool of the bishops; Bourassa is their willing agent to help on their designs. To regard him as a patriot, anxious to undo the Conquest and make his countrymen what Frontenac desired, the arbiters of North America, is to mistake what he really is—the sort of politician who, when he goes a-visiting, makes a point of being at early mass, who glorifies the priests on every possible occasion; who at high functions lends his eloquence to swell the triumph of priestly ostentation. Were he to don the soutane, he would be a second Father Hamon. Being a layman, outsiders do not place him where he belongs. Were his grandfather, Papineau, to come to life, he would class him with those politicians whom he contemptuously called grown-up altar boys—to bear the priests' robes and tinkle the little silver bell. No layman has gone so far in setting forth the claims set up by the priests—that the French language be placed on an equality with English, that the privileges of the habitants of Quebec be those of Catholics in every corner of the Dominion. He has gone so far as to declare that whatever immunities Protestants have in Quebec are due to the generosity of the Catholics. What is the Province of Quebec that Protestants who live in it are thus spoken of as foreigners? Was it not conquered by Britain and nursed by Britain for a century as a Crown colony? Why, then, should we British in Quebec be scoffed at as inferiors, as tolerated persons who have no inherent claim to the land, and who are permitted by the natives, as a favor, to live in it? No insult uttered by the Nationalists is so great. Quebec is British, and so long as it is British, every British subject who lives in it has no need to beg for favors, much less apologize for his presence. They are in Quebec because they have an equal right to that of any Nationalist, even of those who would ban the language of the Empire and trample on its laws.

So long as the Union Jack flies over Quebec those of English speech and descent are the heirs of all the rights of Britons and are cowards when they become beholden to the majority for the enjoyment of the least of those rights. The sycophants who fawn on that majority for the sake of gain or office, who are effusive in their expressions of gratitude to that majority, have forfeited their title to be called Britons, for they are traitors to that glorious heritage of freedom won by generations of haters of despotism, whether secular or clerical. When the flag of England is lowered, when it is replaced by that of the Sacred Heart or of St. Jean Baptiste, Bourassa and Lavergne may point with complacent vanity to Protestants not being compelled to send their children to be educated by nuns and brothers, and to provision being made for the use of the English language in court and legislature, but not till then. So long as the Province of Quebec is part and parcel of the British Empire, those who are loyal to that Empire will spurn the idea of being beggars for what is theirs by inheritance.

THE HYPOCRITICAL CLAIMS OF THE NATIONAL- ALISTS.

The utterances of the Nationalists in taking credit to themselves as being, in their treatment of the English minority, models of toleration and generosity, are galling. What is the main claim of their church? Is it not, that it, and it alone, is right? Is that tolerance? Does their church not teach that all who have not been baptized in it are lost souls? When a Protestant desires to become a Catholic, is he not required to say:

"I condemn, reject, and solemnly avow as false all the heresies of whatever character, which have been condemned, rejected, and solemnly declared as false by the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church."

Where is the broad-mindedness in this pledge? Or again, who can be a freeman who repeats after the priest:

**"I pledge and confirm by oath my true obedience to
"the Roman Pontiff, the successor of blessed Peter, Prince
"of the Apostles, and the Vicar of Jesus Christ."**

When a Protestant marries a Catholic, where is the impartiality of the priest in exacting from the Protestant a written guarantee that the children, whether boys or girls, be brought up in the Catholic religion? Yet the votaries of a sect whose very essence is bigotry, whose existence depends on the continuance among its followers of the belief that it, and it alone of all the sects is right, which admits of no difference of opinion and tolerates none where it has the power, shower charges of prejudice, narrow-mindedness, dogmatism, persecution, when resistance is made to the undermining of our glorious possession of British self-government.

Reader, stand manfully up for the principle of government by the people and for the people, and fear not to enter into conflict with those who are plotting for government by a church and for a church. Your fathers won in that fight in the Motherland. Shall you not win it in Canada?

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