

P. P. A. IN ONTARIO.

HISTORY AND PRINCIPLES

—OF—

THE ORGANIZATION.

Charities, Schools and Government Officials—
British Statesmen on Civil Rights—Protestant
Ministers on the new Order—Rev. Principal
Grant of Queen's College, Kingston, on
Justice and Equal Rights for all.

The Body or Order generally known as the Protestant Protective Association, but perhaps better known as the P. P. A., has had its origin in the United States, and from that country it has been transplanted into Canada. An article in the *Toronto Weekly Mail* of November 30th, 1893, and evidently inspired from a friendly source, gives the best known account of the movement and how it came to assume new and distinct titles in each country,—in the United States as the "American" and in Canada as the "Canadian" Protective Association, or the A. P. A. and C. P. A. respectively. The following are pertinent extracts from the *Mail's* article :

"The politicians in the United States unite in declaring that the A. P. A. is a Canadian Society, organized by British residents within the Union, and that its influence is used to defeat the Republican or Democratic party, as the case may be, and to help disunite Americans. In Canada the politicians with equal vehemence affirm that the Society is an importation from the United States, and is controlled by residents in Uncle Sam's territory. Neither statement is correct. The Society operating in the United States was organized by a man born under the Stars and Stripes, who fought all through the Civil War on the side of the North. It was in operation nearly two years before the formation of the Canadian Society."

"The Canadian Protective Association really arose out of the Equal Rights agitation, and has received its greatest support from members of the Orange order, who, rightly or wrongly believed that the Orangemen were being dragged at the heels of a party for the purpose of securing comfortable berths for the most successful wire-pullers. At one time there were joint meetings of the supreme bodies of the Canadian and United States societies, but the sight of the Union Jack and the singing of "God Save the Queen" are said to have disagreed with the United States delegates, and they refrain from attending the meetings of the Canadian Association."

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The P. P. A. President.

In an interview with President Madill of the Canadian P. P. A. published in the *Toronto Globe* of January 31st, 1894, that reverend gentleman said :

“The P. P. A. is entirely a religious movement. There will be no tariff amendment planks in its platform, nor any issues of that kind.”

And again :—“What we want is to meet the solid Catholic vote, in which the old parties stand in such dread, with a solid Protestant vote, which will be able to uphold the politicians who withstand the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, and punish those who bow down before it.”

Government inspection of convents and religious institutions is another of the planks of their platform, President Madill said, and also the abolition of Separate Schools. But meantime the Roman Catholics should be given the ballot, the Separate Schools should have the same text books as the Public Schools, they should be taught by certificated teachers and be under the same system of inspection as Public Schools.

Another of President Madill's grievances is that “the distribution of public money is all in favor of the Roman Catholics. Take this county of Wellington for instance,” he said, “and for every \$100 that is expended in a Protestant institution \$1,000 is given to the Roman Catholics.”

Beyond these statements the President was not prepared to make known the platform of the P. P. A. “We are not supposed to give any information to the press. I think secrecy is a strength to us and that it ought to be kept.”

But in the issue of the *Toronto Weekly Mail* of November 30th, 1893, an “official document” is published which states that “in view of the near approach of the Provincial and Municipal elections a series of questions will be submitted to all candidates, and only those who reply satisfactorily will be supported.” The questions for candidates at the Provincial elections have since been revised and amended, and are given with appropriate comments farther on.

In these test questions no reference is made to the employment of Roman Catholics in Government offices ; but a correspondent of the *Toronto Mail* who appears to be a member of the secret order has made the charge that while in Ontario the Roman Catholics are to Protestants only as one to six, “in the officials that throng the Parliament buildings, the Education Department and other Government offices in Toronto there is one Roman Catholic to every 4.33 Protestants among the servants of the Government.”

The Oaths.

And as a further and concluding statement of the principles of the P. P. A. and the grievances which the Order has been organized to redress, we have the several oaths which every member solemnly promises and swears to keep and observe upon becoming a member.

The first of these oaths is taken in the ante-room of the council, before the candidate is admitted to the inside initiatory ceremony, and is as follows :

“I, _____, do most solemnly and sincerely promise, without any mental reservation or evasion, that I will not reveal anything that I have seen or heard to any person ; that I will not disclose or in any manner make known the name, person or individuality of any member of this Order, either by word, sign or otherwise, whereby the membership of this Order may become known to any person not a member of the same. So help me God.”

Other oaths, each one if possible, more solemn and binding than the other, follow at successive stages of the initiatory ceremony, according to the ritual, until the chaplain is reached, when the following oath is administered by that officer :

“I do most solemnly promise and swear that I will not allow anyone a member of the Roman Catholic Church to become a member of this Order, I knowing him to

be such; that I will use my influence to promote the interests of all Protestants everywhere in the world; that I will not employ a Roman Catholic in any capacity if I can procure the services of a Protestant; that I will not aid in building or in maintaining by my resources any Roman Catholic Church or institution of their sect or creed whatsoever, but will do all in my power to retard and break down the power of the Pope; that I will not enter into any controversy with a Roman Catholic upon the subject of this Order, nor will I enter into any agreement with a Roman Catholic to strike or create a disturbance, whereby the Roman Catholic employees may undermine and replace the Protestants; that in all grievances I will seek only Protestants, and counsel with them to the exclusion of all Roman Catholics, and will not make known to them anything of any nature matured at such conferences; that I will not countenance the nomination, in any caucus or convention, of a Roman Catholic for any office in the gift of the Canadian people, and that I will not vote for, nor counsel others to vote for, any Roman Catholic, but will only vote for a Protestant; that I will endeavor at all times to place the political positions of this Government in the hands of Protestants. (Repeat.) To all of which I do most solemnly promise and swear. So help me God. Amen."

It is reported that some changes have been made in the form of the last oath, but it is not yet known what they are outside the lodges of the Order. It is well known, however, that at the Hamilton Convention of the Canadian P. P. A. last winter there was a divided house on the terms of the oath, and it is believed that the new form is more stringent than the old in the attitude of the Order towards Roman Catholics.

The principles of the P. P. A. in relation to Ontario politics are, as far as they go, those of the Opposition or Conservative party as lead by Mr. Meredith, but more positive, extreme and exaggerated. The subjects dealt with in their programme may be grouped under four classes, viz:—(1) As to Charities. (2) As to Schools. (3) As to Government Officials, and (4) As to Civil Rights. And to harmonize this programme with the declaration of President Madill that "the P. P. A. is entirely a religious movement," it must be kept in mind that the Provincial Government is charged with bestowing special favors upon Roman Catholics, at the cost of all other citizens, and at the risk of making Roman Catholic power supreme in the Province. A statement of the facts will show how baseless the charges are.

I.—AS TO CHARITIES.

President Madill of the P. P. A. Order charges that the "distribution of public money is all in favor of the Roman Catholics." In this statement he has particular reference to hospitals and other charitable institutions which receive Government aid; and taking the county of Wellington as an illustration, he says "for every \$100 that is expended in a Protestant institution \$1,000 is given to the Roman Catholics." The foolishness of such an instance is obvious without reference to the official reports or the public accounts; but when it is seen that the hospital at Guelph under Protestant management received aid from the Government last year to the amount of \$2,957.58 while the hospital under Roman Catholic management in the same city received only \$2,739.98, the tenfold exaggeration of President Madill shows what an unsafe guide and leader he must be.

How Aid is Given.

The apportionment of Government aid is made under the provisions of "The Charity Aid Act" of 1874, and all institutions entitled to a grant under its provisions are treated alike. They are provided for under three classes, viz.: (1) Hospitals, (2) Houses of Refuge and (3) Orphan Asylums. The grant of public money to the first of these is made on a basis of twenty cents for each day's actual treatment of every patient in the institution; to the second on a basis of five cents for each day's lodgment and maintenance of an indigent person, and to the third on a basis of one and one-half cents for each day's lodgment and maintenance of an orphan or neglected

and abandoned child—reckoned in each case on the number of inmates in the several institutions during the preceding calendar year. And with the view of encouraging contributions by municipalities and from other sources, the Act also provides that further aid upon the same basis may be given of ten cents to Hospitals, two cents to Houses of Refuge and one and one-half cents to Orphan Asylums; but so as not to exceed one-fourth of the amount contributed from other sources in the preceding year.

Institutions Inspected.

All institutions in receipt of aid under this Act are subject to inspection from time to time by the Inspector of Prisons, who is authorized to make all proper inquiries as to the maintenance, management and affairs thereof, and to particularly satisfy himself by the examination of registers and other means as to the correctness of returns made under the Act, and to report to the Government.

The annual returns for each institution are made by its officers according to forms prepared by the Government. They are verified under oath, and any person who knowingly and wilfully makes or is a party to procuring to be made a false return is liable to a penalty of \$1,000.

The statistics which follow are for all institutions in receipt of Government aid. The authority for them is the Report of the Inspector for the official year ending September 30th, 1893, compiled from the sworn returns made to the Government. In the strict sense there is only one sectarian institution in the Province, the Nicholls Hospital at Peterborough, which by its charter has been established "for the benefit of the Protestant population of the said town." All others, whether under Protestant or Roman Catholic management, admit patients and inmates without distinction of church, race, creed or color.

Statistics of Hospitals: 1893.

—	Protestant management.	Catholic management.
Number of Hospitals	18	14
Patients in Hospitals	8,285	4,107
Protestant patients	7,239	1,005
Catholic patients	1,046	3,102
Days collective stay	258,705	123,630
Cost of food	\$68,333 81	\$31,398 21
Salaries, fuel, light, etc.	\$151,734 16	\$46,194 04
Total maintenance	\$220,067 97	\$77,592 25

In hospitals under Protestant management an average of $12\frac{1}{2}$ of each 100 patients are Roman Catholics.

In hospitals under Roman Catholic management an average of 24 of each 100 patients are Protestants.

The average cost of food for each patient per day in Protestant hospitals is 26.41 cents, and in Roman Catholic hospitals 25.40 cents.

The average cost of salaries, fuel, light, medicines, bedding and all other expenditures on maintenance account except food for each patient per day in Protestant hospitals is 58.65 cents, and in Roman Catholic hospitals 37.36 cents.

The total cost of maintenance for each patient per day in Protestant hospitals is 85.06 cents, and in Roman Catholic hospitals 62.76 cents.

The difference in cost of maintenance occurs almost wholly under the head of salaries, service in Roman Catholic hospitals being very largely gratuitous.

The revenues of hospitals are derived from Government and municipal grants, payments by patients, income of property and investments, and private donations, subscriptions, etc. The following table shows the revenues of hospitals under Protestant and Roman Catholic management respectively from those several sources last year, together with the average for each patient per day :

Sources of aid.	Protestant management.		Catholic management.	
	Total \$.	Cents per day.	Total \$.	Cents per day.
Government aid	71,836 61	27.76	30,102 76	24.35
Municipal grants	67,325 84	26.00	8,741 10	7.07
Patients.....	51,303 01	19.82	19,013 31	15.38
Property and investments.....	28,120 12	10.86	4,548 46	3.68
Donations, subscriptions, etc.	63,549 35	24.56	27,755 04	22.45
Totals	282,134 93	109.00	90,160 67	72.93

For incurables and lying-in cases Government aid is given at the Refuge rate of seven cents per day for each patient, and in Protestant hospitals the average of such patients reckoned in days is 7 per 100, while in Roman Catholic hospitals it is 10 per 100. Hence the lower rate of this aid to hospitals of the latter class.

Municipal grants are not made upon any uniform basis, and the amounts depend on the spirit which animates the municipal bodies. In London, Hamilton and Peterborough no aid is given to hospitals under Roman Catholic management, although these had last year 185 Protestant patients out of a total of 324. The hospitals under Protestant management in the same places received municipal aid to the amount of \$23,993.84. This treatment explains the lower rate of aid received by Catholic hospitals from municipalities ; and as Toronto has this year followed the example of London, Hamilton and Peterborough, a further reduction of aid from this source is inevitable.

Statistics of other Charities : 1893.

The reports on Houses of Refuge, Orphan Asylums and Magdalens are not so full in details as those of Hospitals, and in some cases the statistics of two or more insti-

tutions of each class under the same management are given jointly. In the following table therefore the statistics of the three classes of those Charities are massed :

	Protestant management.	Catholic management.
Number of charities	39	21
Total inmates	3,946	3,655
Protestant inmates	3,567	181
Catholic inmates.....	379	3,474
Days collective stay	580,073	753,322
Cost of maintenance	\$159,422 29	\$133,383.13

In the Protestant Charities the daily cost of maintenance, including food, salaries, fuel, light, bedding, etc., is an average of 27.48 cents per day of inmates, while in Catholic Charities it is 17.70 cents.

The next table shows the sources of revenue of the several institutions, and the average per day for each patient.

Sources of aid.	Protestant management.		Catholic management.	
	Total \$.	Cents per day.	Total \$.	Cents per day.
Government aid	30,011 91	5.17	38,535 03	5.00
All other sources.....	176,305 39	30.39	101,291 98	13.45
Total	206,317 30	35.56	139,827 01	18.45

The revenues of the charitable institutions under Protestant management are thus seen to be nearly double of those under Catholic management. In the case of Houses of Refuge, for which the Report of the Inspector gives the grants made by municipal corporations, the total going to those under Protestant management is \$35,847.88, or 13.95 cents per patient per day, while to those under Catholic management it is \$4,592.72, or only 1.20 cents per day. The Government aid is the only one which deals with all the institutions alike, and the following statement by Inspector Chamberlain fully disposes of any suggestion of unfairness in the distribution of it :

“ So long as the present Act remains in force the department is bound to carry out its provisions. There has been no partiality, no favoritism and no shirking of examinations into records ; *the payments have been strictly made according to the work performed.* If it shall appear that Catholic institutions in proportion to their population are greater in number than Protestant institutions, and that more Catholics in proportion to their numbers, as per the census, are to be found as inmates of them, a partial reason for this may probably be that Catholics coming from Ireland to this country are not so well off as Protestants coming from either England or Scotland, or perhaps Germany, and that it takes many years before their disabilities in this respect are removed. Another reason may perhaps be found in the fact that the Catholic Church as a body and its authorities devote much time and money to the erection and

maintenance of the institutions for the benefit of their people—much more so, it is apprehended, than do Protestant Churches as such. The records however are closely scanned, inspections are frequently and carefully made, and the returns made by the institutions are duly sworn to, and payments are made upon those inspections and upon the sworn returns in all cases to Protestant and Catholic institutions alike.”

On the Duty of Aiding Charities.

A political pamphlet is hardly the place for enforcing or illustrating the doctrines of the Bible ; but inasmuch as the P. P. A. has entered the political field as “entirely a religious movement,” it is well to recall what that book teaches on so vital a subject as the duty of the State and of the individual towards the needy classes. Three or four extracts will place that duty in clear light.

“If there be among you a poor man of one of thy brethren within any of thy gates in thy land which the Lord thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not harden thine heart, nor shut thine hand from thy poor brother ; but thou shalt open thine hand wide unto him, and shalt surely lend him sufficient for his need, in that which he wanteth. Beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart, saying, the seventh year, the year of release, is at hand ; and thine eye be evil against thy poor brother, and thou givest him nought ; and he cry unto the Lord against thee, and it be sin unto thee. Thou shalt surely give him, and thine heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him : because that for this thing the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thy works, and in all that thou puttest thine hand unto. For the poor shall never cease out of the land : therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt open thine hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor, and to thy needy, in thy land.”—*Deuteronomy, 15 : 7-11.*

“And, behold, a certain lawyer stood up and tempted Him saying ‘Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?’ He said unto him ‘What is written in the law ? ; how readest thou?’ And he answering said ‘Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbor as thyself.’ And He said unto him ‘Thou hast answered right ; this do and thou shalt live.’ But he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus ‘And who is my neighbor?’ And Jesus answering said ‘A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment and wounded him and departed, leaving him half dead. And by chance there came down a certain priest that way, and when he saw him he passed by on the other side. And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side. But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was, and when he saw him he had compassion on him and went to him and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast and brought him to an inn and took care of him. And on the morrow, when he departed, he took out two pence and gave them to the host and said unto him, ‘Take care of him ; and whatsoever thou spendest more, when I come again, I will repay thee.’ Which now of these three thinkest thou was neighbor unto him that fell among the thieves?’ And he said ‘He that showed mercy on him.’ ‘Then,’ said Jesus, ‘Go, and do thou likewise.’”—*Luke 10 : 25-37.*

“When the Son of Man shall come in His glory, and all the holy angels with Him, then shall He sit upon the throne of His glory ; and before Him shall be gathered all nations ; and He shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats ; and He shall set the sheep on His right hand but the goats on the left. Then shall the King say unto them on His right hand, ‘Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world, for I was an hungred and ye gave Me meat, I was thirsty and ye gave Me drink, I was a stranger and ye took Me in, naked and ye clothed Me, I was sick and ye visited Me, I was in prison and ye came unto Me.’ Then shall the righteous answer Him, saying, ‘Lord, when saw we Thee an hungred and fed Thee, or thirsty, and gave Thee drink ? When saw we Thee a stranger and took Thee in, or naked, and clothed Thee ? Or when saw we Thee sick or in prison and came unto Thee ?’ And the King shall answer and say unto them, ‘Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me.’”—*Matthew 25 : 31-40.*

“Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this : To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.”—*James 1 : 27.*

Christianity and the Common Law.

There is nothing sectarian in deeds of kindness to the afflicted, the poor and the fatherless. Hospitals, Houses of Refuge and Orphanages owe their origin everywhere to the pervading spirit of Christianity, and charity is preeminently a Christian virtue. It is a virtue too which the State may fittingly aid when, as in our case, Christianity is a part and parcel of the law of the land, with the recognition of legal equality among all religious denominations declared as a fundamental principle of our civil policy (R. S. O. 1887, cap. 236, commonly known as *The Rectories Act*).

“The Empire to which we belong,” Chief Justice Harrison said in one of his judgments, Justice Armour concurring, (Q. B. Reports, 1878), “owes much of its greatness and influence among the nations of the earth to the profession, practice and propagation of the religion of Jesus Christ. The many colonies of the Empire are growing into importance and power by reason of the love which they bear for Christ and the high morality which He taught and the blameless life which He led.” In answer to the argument that “the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship” assured under *The Rectories Act* should not be confined to the various forms of the Christian religion, he said : “It will require something more than mere general words in an Act of Parliament to compel a Court of Justice in any portion of the Empire to hold that the glory of the Empire is to be tarnished by the removal from its exalted position of Christianity as an integral part of the common law of the country.” And elsewhere in the same judgment the Chief Justice said : “There is nothing in the language of this Act to indicate an intention on the part of the Legislature to dethrone Christianity as a part of the common law of the country.”

On two points then the law is clear and indisputable. Christianity is a part of the common law of this Province, and the legal equality of all religious denominations is a fundamental principle of its civil policy.

If in the promotion of its objects the Government is persuaded that the best results are to be attained by aiding institutions managed by religious or other bodies, all of which have the same legal equality, the public interest requires that the public money should be expended in this way—subject to such regulation and inspection as the Government and the Legislature may in their wisdom see fit to provide.

This is the policy which the Government of Ontario has pursued for twenty years ; but if it is to be changed at the bidding of a secret and masked organization imported from the United States, some better reason ought to be offered than a feeling of jealousy or hostility against one religious denomination that has long been foremost in doing works of charity among the poor and the afflicted in this country. If a better way can be devised than the scheme of *The Charity Aid Act of 1874*, let some man or party of men be found with the courage to propose it for the consideration of the electors ; but let it be something wiser, nobler and more Christian-like than a scheme to foster sectarian strife and make an end of religious equality for “the defence of the Protestant religion” amongst a people of whom 83 in every 100 are Protestants.

“For modes of faith, let graceless zealots fight ;
His can't be wrong whose life is in the right ;
In faith and hope, the world will disagree,
But all mankind's concern is charity ;
All must be false that thwarts this one great end,
And all of God, that bless mankind, or mend.”

II.—AS TO SCHOOLS.

For a proper understanding of the test questions of the P. P. A. on the schools of the Province, the reader should have before him the provisions made in the Confedera-

tion Act, a statute of the Imperial Parliament, to guarantee the rights of minorities in the several Provinces at the time of the Union. The 93rd section¹ of the British North America Act, provides as follows, viz.:

“In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions:

“1. Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the Province at the Union.”

“2. All the powers, privileges and duties at the Union by law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools, and school trustees of the Queen’s Roman Catholic subjects shall be, and the same are hereby extended to the dissentient schools of the Queen’s Protestant and Roman Catholic subjects in Quebec.”

Now let us examine the test questions propounded by the P. P. A. to candidates for the Local Legislature.

“1. Are you prepared to do all you can to abolish Separate Schools?”

Separate Schools are guaranteed by the terms of Confederation, and the authority to abolish them can only be given by the Imperial Parliament. Abolition of Separate Schools for Roman Catholics in Ontario would necessarily involve abolition of Protestant Separate Schools in Quebec.

“2. Are you prepared to insist that Separate School trustees shall be elected by ballot?”

Roman Catholic Separate Schools have now the same right as Public Schools in cities, towns and villages to elect trustees by ballot. When it is applied to rural Public Schools, it might with propriety be applied to the Separate Schools also; but there is no call for the ballot in rural school sections.

“3. Are you in favor of placing every elector upon the roll as a Public School supporter, subject to his right to appeal therefrom?”

Under the Separate School Act of 1863 every elector has a right to be put upon the roll as a Public School or Separate School supporter, and that right cannot be taken away under the Union Act except by Imperial Legislation.

“4. Are you in favor of one qualification for all teachers of Public or Separate Schools?”

By the Separate School Act of 1863 members of certain teaching orders in the Roman Catholic Church are qualified to teach in a Separate School, and this privilege is guaranteed by the Union Act. With regard to all others the qualifications are the same as for Public School teachers.

“5. Will you insist that the same text books be used in all schools?”

As a matter of fact, with one or two exceptions, the Public School text books are now used in the Separate Schools; but no legislation can interfere with text books required for religious instruction, in which privilege they are protected by the Union Act.

“6. Will you vote that all institutions, whether public or private, educational or benevolent, shall be open to public inspection, and that all institutions receiving public or private aid shall be inspected annually?”

As to the first part of the question and in regard to private institutions, No, except for sanitary reasons; it would be an interference with private rights. As to the second, all institutions receiving Government aid are now inspected annually or oftener.

“7. Will you oppose having any Roman Catholic emblems displayed in Public Schoolhouses, or having Roman Catholic catechism taught in them during school hours?”

It is contrary to the regulations of the Education Department to display any religious emblem in Public School houses. No religious instruction of any kind can be given in Public Schools during school hours, except with the authority of the trustees.

“8. Will you vote for having the Union Jack placed on every school house during school hours?”

Yes; if the people of the school section want it and see fit to pay for a flag. The school law does not prohibit the display of the Union Jack.

III.—AS TO GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

The charge is that in making appointments to office the Government of Ontario shows special favors to Roman Catholics, and that while the latter constitute only one-sixth of the population of the Province, the proportion of Catholics to Protestants in office is as one to 4.33.

The reply to this charge has been given in a return presented last session to the Legislative Assembly, showing the number of Protestants and Roman Catholics in the inside and outside services of the Government, and the amount of salaries paid to them. The following extract is made from this return:

Total population of Ontario, 1891		2,114,321
Of this number there are	1,731,943 Protestants	
	358,300 Catholics	
	24,078 not specified.	
	<hr/>	2,114,321

Catholics are about one-sixth of the total population.

Total number of appointees in inside and outside service	1,738
One-sixth of this number would be	290
Total number of Catholic appointees	219
Total number of appointees in the inside service	409
One-sixth of this number would be	68
Total number of Catholic appointees in inside service	71
Total number of appointees in the outside service	1,329
One-sixth of this number would be	221
Total number of Catholic appointees in outside service	148
Total amount of salaries paid in inside service	\$418,003
One-sixth of this amount would be	69,667
Total amount of salaries paid to Catholic appointees in inside service	57,005

The following table gives the number of officials in the several Departments of Government in the inside service, and also the number in various positions in the outside service, classified as Protestants and Catholics:

INSIDE SERVICE.	P.	R. C.
Executive Council and Attorney-General's Department	11	2
Administration of Justice at Osgoode Hall	53	7
Department of Education, Normal and Model Schools, etc.	84	16
Crown Lands Department:		
Inside service	28	5
Outside service	29	5
Public Works Department	20	8
Treasury Department with branches	28	6
Secretary and Registrar's Department with branches	31	6
Department of Agriculture and Agricultural College	32	8
Legislative Assembly	22	8

OUTSIDE SERVICE.

Public Institutions, including asylums and prisons.....	206	39
Division Court Clerks	298	19
Division Court Bailiffs.....	290	41
Sheriffs	41	3
Clerks of the Peace and County Attorneys	43	4
Local Masters in Chancery.....	38	1
Clerks of Court.....	41	3
Registrars of Surrogate Courts.....	39	3
Registrars of Deeds.....	54	9
License Inspectors	83	16
Seventeen Protestants and four Catholics connected with Crown Lands Department paid for the number of days they work and who are not constantly employed.....	17	4
Thirty-one Protestant and six Catholic employees and servants connected with the Agricultural College	31	6
Total.....	1,519	219

And so, out of a total of 1,738 officers of the Ontario Government, only one-eighth are Roman Catholics (that is one to eight, instead of one to 4.33 as alleged), while they count one-sixth of the whole population. Roman Catholics are 17 per cent. of the whole population of the Province; but the offices they hold are only 12½ per cent. of the whole, and the salaries paid to them as far as known (in the inside service and outside public institutions) are only 14½ per cent. of the whole.

IV.—AS TO CIVIL RIGHTS.

The excluding of Roman Catholics from power and place and from all share in Government on account of their religion is not a new thing. It has had a thorough trial in the motherland, and we will give the opinions of British statesmen on the conditions that once existed there :

Duke of Wellington.

The Duke of Wellington, then at head of the Government, when moving the second reading of the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill of 1829, in the House of Lords said, speaking of the state of Ireland: "I am one of those who have been engaged in war beyond most men, and, unfortunately, principally in civil war; and I must say this, that at any sacrifice whatever, I would avoid every approach to civil war. I would do all I could, even sacrifice my life to prevent such a catastrophe. Nothing could be so disastrous to the country, nothing so destructive of its prosperity as civil war; nothing could take place that tended so completely to demoralize and degrade as such a conflict in which the hand of neighbor is raised against neighbor—that of the father against the son, and of the son against the father—of the brother against the brother—of the servant against his master—a conflict which must end in confusion and destruction. If civil war be so bad, when occasioned by resistance to Government—if such a collision is to be avoided by all means possible—how much more necessary is it to avoid a civil war in which in order to put down one portion, it would be necessary to arm and excite the other. I am quite sure that there is no man that now hears me who would not shudder were such a proposition made to him; yet such must have been the result had we attempted to terminate the state of things to which I have referred, otherwise than by a measure of conciliation."—Annual Register 1829, p. 67.

Lord Palmerston.

Lord Palmerston drew a graphic picture of the effects of the penal laws upon Ireland, where, as he said, "they deemed the Catholic a dangerous and ferocious beast of prey, and like a beast of prey, they hunted him out from the pale of civilization, and drove him back to his native fastnesses and wilds." "If" he went on "an ingenious tormentor of the human race had wished to inflict upon a nation the misery of perpetual dissension, what more could he have done than establish that order of things which exists in Ireland—a people, active, sensitive, intelligent, divided into two very unequal portions; separated by the soul-stirring distinction of religious opinions, the small minority invested with civil ascendancy and exclusive political authority; the large majority condemned to exclusion, deprivation and civil degradation. * * If I wished to convince an impartial Englishman of the policy of repealing these laws, I should bid him repair to the south of Ireland; to mix with the Catholic gentry; to converse with the Catholic peasantry; to witness the open and undisguised discontent of the former; to probe to the bottom the more concealed, but not less deeply rankling passions of the latter; to see what a fierce and unsocial spirit bad laws engender; and how impossible it is to degrade a people without at the same time demoralizing them too. But if this should fail to convince him, and his judgment still hung in the balance of doubt, I should then tell him to go among the Protestants of the north. There he would see how noble and generous natures may be corrupted by the possession of undue and inordinate ascendancy; there he would see how men, naturally kind and benevolent, can be brought up from their earliest infancy to hate the great majority of their countrymen with all the bitterness which neighborhood and consanguinity infuse into quarrels, and not satisfied with the disputes of the days in which they live, raking up the ashes of the dead for food to their angry passions; summoning the shades of departed centuries to give a keener venom to the contests of the present age; and as if the reigns of the House of Hanover were not sufficiently fruitful in causes of mutual offence, studiously keeping alive the memory of those unhappy events which afflicted their country in the days of the Stuarts. These things indeed afford a melancholy proof how true it is, that the evil which men do lives after them, and ought to us to be a salutary warning how we give an enduring and permanent existence to the passions and resentments or alarms of the day."—Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. 20, pp. 1246-7.

Sir Robert Peel.

Sir Robert Peel, in explaining the provisions of the bill, glanced forward at what he hoped would be its results: "God grant," he said, "that the sanguine expectations of those who for so many years have advised this settlement, may be fulfilled! God grant that the removal of the disabilities that have so long affected our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects may be attended by the desired effect, and assuage the civil contentions of Ireland; that by the admission of the Roman Catholics to a full and equal participation in civil rights, and by the establishment of a free and cordial intercourse between all classes of His Majesty's subjects, mutual jealousies may be removed; and that we may be taught, instead of looking at each other as adversaries and opponents, to respect and value each other, and to discover the existence of qualities on both sides that were not attributed to either!"—Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. 20, p. 778.

Marquis of Anglesey.

The Marquis of Anglesey, who had but recently been Viceroy of Ireland, said: "I will suppose, however, that we are absolutely at war, and that there is a combination of the powers of Europe—no very unlikely contingency—against us. I then say that it would be madness in any administration not to throw 70,000 men immediately into Ireland. I should be sorry, with all the power of steam to convey troops from the continent, and all the advantages which modern science has recently introduced into the art of war, I should be sorry, I say, to see Ireland with so scanty a garrison in time of

war, under the exclusive laws. Let us now, my Lords, take another view of the subject. Suppose this bill to be passed into law by this day month; declare war if you like the next day; and I assert that you will have no difficulty within six weeks, to raise in that country 50,000 able-bodied, and, what is better, willing-hearted men, who will traverse the continent, or find their way to any quarter of the globe to which you may choose to direct their arms. I say, my Lords, that the passing of this bill is worth more to the British empire, far more—and I do not wish to exaggerate—than 100,000 bayonets.”—Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates, vol. 21, p. 260.

Earl Grey.

Earl Grey pointed out that the exclusion of Roman Catholics from political power was in itself an abridgment of their freedom and civil rights. He said: “Without political power there is no security for civil freedom; take away this political power from the people and their civil liberty is at an end; take away this political power from any portion of the people, and of them it may be said in like manner, their civil liberty is gone, with the further aggravation of seeing themselves proscribed as unfit to be trusted with the privileges which belong to their fellow-subjects, and of being exposed to the additional injuries which necessarily result from the jealousy of the more favored classes, and their endeavors to maintain a monopoly of the advantages they enjoy. Of the effects of this we have seen but too much in Ireland. It is this which has operated so injuriously to the peace and happiness of that country, and to the general interests of the empire—dividing a people who ought to be united, into separate factions, continually excited against each other—continually agitated and inflamed, by the mutual fears and animosities which such a state of things, wherever it exists, must necessarily engender.”—Hansard’s Parliamentary Debates, v 21, p. 332-3.

Protestant Opinion in Ontario on the P. P. A.

Intelligent Protestant opinion in this province is opposed to the P.P.A. Following are a few extracts from the many utterances on the question by clergymen of various denominations and others:

Rev. Principal Caven (Presbyterian), Toronto: “It is surely unnecessary to say that Roman Catholics may be good citizens; and that nothing can be more unjust or foolish than the attempt to fasten on them, *en masse*, the reproach of disloyalty, and to exclude them from all places of trust in the state or the community. No such attempt can or should succeed.”—*Toronto Globe*, 16th December, 1893.

Rev. Dr. Langtry (Church of England), Toronto: “There has lately been published in several of our leading newspapers what purports to be a statement under fourteen heads of the principles of the P. P. A., and also what is said to be the oath taken by members on admission into that secret society. I of course have no means of ascertaining the correctness of the one document or the other. It is hard to believe that they are genuine, for while they contain many statements that are unexceptionable, there are several, especially in the oath, that are not only anti-Christian, but barbarous. Fancy a civilized, and I suppose professedly Christian man, at the close of this nineteenth century, binding himself by an oath: ‘That I will not employ a Roman Catholic in any capacity.’ ‘That in all grievances I will seek only Protestants and counsel with them, to the exclusion of all Roman Catholics.’ ‘That I will not countenance the nomination in any caucus or convention of a Roman Catholic for any office in the gift of the Canadian people,’ and ‘That I will not vote for, nor counsel others to vote for, any Roman Catholic.’ This is sectarianism with a vengeance, a doing to others as you would not they should do to you, a returning evil for evil with a completeness that blots out every spark of Christian principle.”—*Toronto Globe*, 16th December, 1893.

Rev. Dr. Withrow (Methodist), Toronto: “The P. P. A. movement is wrong, and I sympathize with *The Globe* in its criticisms on their aims and insidious methods.”—*Toronto Globe*, 16th December, 1893.

Rev. Dr. Workman (Methodist), Toronto : " I view the P. P. A. with humiliation and surprise. It appears to me as a lamentable manifestation of religious bigotry and sectarian prejudice. I regard the organization as unworthy not only of the name it assumes, but also of the object it avows. * * * Instead of protesting against public abuses, this association sanctions plotting ; instead of protecting personal liberty it proposes to destroy it."—Toronto *Globe*, 16th December, 1893.

Rev. James Grant (Baptist), Toronto : " I speak with the utmost confidence when I say that on historic grounds the Baptist body to a man will be opposed to such an organization. We believe in fair play, and have suffered too much ourselves for our religious beliefs to countenance for a moment any disability resting on any man, whatever his religious opinion may be. * * * I am not only a Baptist, but a Scotchman, and I detest with all the emphasis of my nature a blow below the belt, or a dagger in the dark."—Toronto *Globe*, 16th December, 1893.

Rev. D. C. Hossack, of the Parkdale Presbyterian Church, in a sermon preached 17th December, 1893, said : " If the P. P. A. have a correct opinion of Roman Catholicism, and if they practice diligently the rules of their order, with a few years' training they will be good Jesuits, so similar is their constitution to the errors of the Roman Catholic Church of which they complain. Is this Protestantism ? Is it Protestantism to fight an enemy with his own poisonous weapons ? The P. P. A. propose to fight fire with fire. In doing so they will kindle a flame which, when it once begins to rage, may never be extinguished. The P. P. A. may be satisfactory to its members where they are in a majority, but what is to become of Protestants when they are in a minority ? * * * Once establish the principles of the P. P. A., having it clearly taught to the generations growing into manhood that it is proper to have two great religious and political bodies, and between them a great gulf fixed, and we may well ask what will be the condition of our country when another generation passes away."

Rev. G. D. Bayne (Presbyterian), Pembroke, in a letter published in the Toronto *Globe*, 24th January, 1893, says : " I submit that the devices of the P. P. A. are subversive of true Protestantism, that they can only tend to defeat its objects, and that they cannot be defended on Christian principles. * * * The P. P. A. a means in God's hands ! Where or when is God ever represented as in sympathy with the ways of darkness ? How can God be assumed to be in league with political trickery ? ' Shall a throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee, which frameth mischief by a law ? ' * * * I challenge the P. P. A. to defend their scheme on Christian principles. They cannot do it. It is at variance with the spirit of Christianity, and with the genius of true Protestantism."

Rev. Dr. Grant, Principal Queen's College, Kingston : " I know nothing but that it is a secret society, and that its object is to proscribe Roman Catholics. On both grounds I can have no sympathy with it, except when it is viewed as a protest against a supposed solid Roman Catholic vote. One extreme always begets another, for human nature is prone to the sin of extremes, but I think that there are enough moderate, fair-minded, reasonable men in Canada to make any solid vote the refuge only of the weak and the fanatical. The fact that the organization has, through a combination of circumstances, gained a victory in one constituency, ought not to be enough to make anyone lose his head, or suppose that the sun-dial has gone back fifteen or thirty degrees, and that we are in the dark ages again. The true way to conquer sectarianism is not by more sectarianism, but by more catholicity, more freedom, more independence, more love of country, and more interest in public affairs. It is difficult, however, to speak of a secret organization, because no one can know what its principles or its oaths are, except by newspaper reports, and I think, therefore, that in the meantime the less said about the subject the better. I have every confidence in the people of Canada, in the great mass of Protestants and Roman Catholics alike, that they desire nothing but fair play, justice and equal rights for all."

Should Support Sir Oliver Mowat.

Rev. Dr. Grant of Queen's College, in giving reasons why the people should support the Mowat Government, says : "One more may be added. There can be no doubt that Sir Oliver Mowat stands now for the fair treatment of minorities, and that is the only way to make possible a united Canadian people. Some Protestants seem to be scared now, and they will be ashamed of themselves by-and-by. We Protestants used to be fearless. We used to say that truth was great and would prevail ; that truth needed only a fair field and no favor ; but now some of us seem afraid of the rustling of a leaf. It is fancied that one Roman Catholic in a cabinet can bind half a dozen Protestants, and that a feeble minority can deprive us of our liberties if they get their share of a number of paltry offices. The fears that this scare takes are so extreme that it is impossible for the thing to last any time. For instance, there is not a more typical Protestant in Canada than the Hon. Mr. Gibson. He is straight from first to last, incorruptible, every inch a man, capable, diligent, and an honor to his city. Yet some good men are opposing him because they think him a slave to Rome. They might as well think him the King of the Cannibal Islands. I know the force of prejudice and passion, but it is difficult to believe that many of the intelligent people of Ontario will be carried off their feet by this scare. There are bigots on both sides, but the great mass of our people do not intend to sow dragons' teeth, and the great mass of Protestants have no intention of fighting God's cause with the devil's weapons.

