

# The Gospel Witness and Protestant Advocate

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## "SIRS, YE SHOULD HAVE HEARKENED UNTO ME"

A VALUED correspondent who was a member of Jarvis Street before we became Pastor thirty-six years ago writes us about our trip to Florida, and says:

"I did not know until your return that you drove yourself else I would have advised against it. No, I know it would not likely have availed anything, yet I like doing it, and always get a most gratifying sensation of delight when I re-read Acts 27—"Sirs, ye should have hearkened unto me."

We recall reading early in our ministry a sermon by C. H. Spurgeon on the text: "Thus saith the Lord". Among other things he said: "A 'Thus saith the Lord' is the most fitting word of rebuke for erring saints." It is equally a most fitting word of rebuke for erring politicians, very few of whom, seemingly, have anything saintly about them. But behind the words of our caption there is a most instructive bit of history. The apostle Paul, as a prisoner, was being taken on a ship of Alexandria sailing into Italy. Threading their way among certain islands, unable to take a straight course, "the wind not suffering us" we read: "Now when much time was spent, and when sailing was now dangerous, because the fast was now already past, Paul admonished them, and said unto them, Sirs, I perceive that this voyage will be with hurt and much damage, not only of the lading and ship, but also of our lives. Nevertheless the centurion believed the master and the owner of the ship, more than those things which were spoken by Paul". Later we read "the south wind blew softly". Many people still suppose they have attained their purpose when the south wind blows softly. Why should the centurion pay any heed to the admonition given by a poor preacher in chains? What did he know about meteorology, or navigation? "The master and the owner of the ship" was supposed to be the expert. Notwithstanding "not long after there arose against it a tempestuous wind, called Euroclydon". We cannot pursue the details of the story which is contained in the twenty-seventh chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. But when things had come to such a pass that "all hope that we should be saved was then taken away" the despised counsellor stood forth, and said: "Sirs, ye should have

hearkened unto me, and not have loosed from Crete, and to have gained this harm and loss."

And so the story runs. In Britain, in United States, in Canada, as long as the south wind of appeasement blows softly, men are content to sail on to their doom. When Premier Hepburn let loose a deluge of liquor upon the Province, we endeavoured to arouse people to their danger. But not a single ministerial voice in Toronto was raised in support of our protest. Now that it has waxed worse and worse, and since the Drew Government has so far outdone Hepburn in his iniquity, ministers of all Denominations are alarmed. Now that this liquor Euroclydon has broken upon us, even the supposed master and owner of the ship is alarmed.

The same principle holds in our endeavour to awaken Canadians to the menace of Roman Catholicism in Canada. Ministers are beginning to acknowledge that there are breakers ahead, but in doing so, take pains to make it clear, as one Toronto minister says: "I am no kick-the-pope preacher". They think they can perform an operation without an anaesthetic, and that they can persuade the patient that they are treating him to a dish of ice cream. They would put a stop to evil without offending evil doers. It never has been done; it cannot be done now.

A committee is at work arranging a redistribution of parliamentary seats. The first draft said Quebec would gain 10, Sask. would lose 4, and Manitoba 3. This in a Parliament of 255 members. This arrangement will give the Roman Catholic Church a representation of a solid block of 75 members—only 10 short of one-third of the membership from the Province of Quebec alone. But there are constituencies outside of Quebec which seldom return any but a Roman Catholic member. The Church's colonization scheme is an ecclesiastical system of jerry-mandering. They buy up farms in given districts. The Church owns them, and then they settle Romanists on the farms to work for them. In Ontario wherever there are five such families, they may demand a separate school; and now that the Drew Government provides as much as 95% of the cost, all these little Roman Catholic cells will be served by Roman Catholic schools, and little

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by little Roman Catholic majorities will be built up in electoral ridings, until they have a majority of such ridings who can be depended upon to return only a Roman Catholic member. It won't take very long to accomplish this. Then they will legislate as they like in the interests of the Church, and the Roman Catholic member will know that he will be endorsed by his constituents, the majority of whom obey the voice of the Church. This will be accomplished long before Roman Catholics become an actual majority in the population of this country. And when that day comes Protestants will have to submit to the anti-Protestant legislation, or at long last fight for their liberties. The south wind will not long blow softly. Euroclydon is on its way.

Senator T. A. Crerar in a recent speech suggested "that the Dominion would do well to bring in some of the more than 175,000 Polish troops in Italy and Britain, the majority of whom did not want to return to Poland". These Polish troops are, to a man, Roman Catholics. And it is because the Roman Church has lost ground in Poland that they refuse to return to Poland. We believe Canada greatly needs a larger population, but we shall do well to keep our eye on the Immigration Department.

### The Dominion Provincial Conference

We are not surprised that this conference should have broken down. There has been a good deal of talk about some mysterious "brain trust" that is behind the Dominion proposals. It will have been noted that Mr. St. Laurent, the Minister of Justice, with Mr. Hsley, have been the principal proponents of the Dominion Government's plan. We have no difficulty in identifying the "brain trust". The whole plan is the Sirois Report with certain modifications. Mr. St. Laurent was the solicitor for the Sirois Commission, and as surely as north is north, and south is south, the principal elements of the Sirois Report were dictated by the financial experts of

the Roman Hierarchy. We said at the time it was a proposal to mortgage the whole Dominion in the interests of the Roman Catholic Church. We do not for a moment suppose that British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, or any of the Provinces that have given half-hearted support to the Dominion proposal, really see all that is involved. The opposition of Duplessis of Quebec is a feigned opposition. Were he to approve of the Dominion's proposal, it would create suspicion; but there is not the slightest doubt that Quebec will heartily approve.

We are republishing an article we printed August 9th, 1945, and also once more our Analysis of the Sirois Report contained in an address of January 16th, 1941. We venture to say that there is but a very small fraction of 1% of the people of Canada, or even of political leaders in Canada who are awake to the evils involved in these recommendations. Premier Drew is a politician apparently quite devoid of any religious discernment. We heartily commend him, however, for his refusal to accept the Dominion's proposals. But apparently he is unaware that the same enemy which would rob Ontario through the Ottawa treasury, is robbing the Protestants of Ontario through Premier Drew, in the interests of Roman Catholic Separate Schools. We publish our article of last August, and our Analysis of the Sirois Report of 1941 without apology, and once more we dare to say: "Sirs, ye should have hearkened unto me."

### Roman Catholic Control of Radio

Little by little, like the leopard men of Africa, the Roman Catholic Hierarchy is putting its taloned hands around the throat of the Canadian Broadcasting system. The following news item is significant:

#### CBC Chairman Gets Degree

Quebec, May 8 (CP)—A. Davidson Dunton, chairman of the board of directors of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, received an honorary degree of Doctor in Social Sciences from Laval University. The degree was conferred by Cardinal Villeneuve, Archbishop of Quebec and chancellor of the university.

But that is not all. Radio control has been put under the Ministry of National Revenue, presided over by Catholic Action McCann, better known as the Honourable J. J. McCann, Minister of National Revenue. Dr. McCann is a rabid Roman Catholic layman, wrapped up with "Catholic Action," which is another name for ruthless Romanist aggression. Catholic Action McCann announced in the House of Commons recently that the Government was taking over the principal privately owned broadcasting stations. When questioned in Commons about it he replied, "It is a matter of Government policy." In effect he told Parliament it was none of its business.

We have not the slightest doubt that these are the first steps toward a Government monopoly of radio. Already the air is saturated with Roman Catholic propaganda for which, through Government agencies, by means of taxation, the Canadian public have to pay. Only last week it was announced that the Government was taking over the wave length of CFRB—altogether the best station outside of the 50,000 watt Government stations. Thus all private stations are to be squeezed out of existence, and we may be sure, even as it is now constituted, with a Roman Catholic Chairman of the

Broadcasting Corporation, and a Roman Catholic political head in Parliament, with a solid Roman Catholic block from Quebec, dominating the Liberal Party of yes-men, and opposed only by a spineless Opposition on the part of the Conservative Party, with one or two notable exceptions, and the co-operation of the Socialistic C.C.F. Party, the seven principles of whose platform are five loaves and two fishes, the Roman Catholics will have all their own way on the air. But still Protestants, so-called, sleep on!

### Catholic Action McCann

Catholic Action McCann is established in the National Revenue Department to see that non-Catholics pay taxes, and that Roman Catholics pay none. Incidentally, we ask our readers in the study of the Sirois Report—we say *study*, for it is not enough merely to read it—particularly to note that complaint is made that Quebec falls far behind Ontario in three items particularly: Succession Duties, Income Tax, and revenue from Real Estate. That is easily explained. When Roman Catholics make their wills in Quebec, the priest is always present to see that the Church gets the lion's share, and upon that no succession duties are paid. Revenue from income tax in Quebec is low for two reasons. First, because the Roman Catholic clergy and the personnel, tens of thousands of them, of the Roman Catholic institutions in that Province, pay no income tax. Secondly, because the Church bleeds the people white so that they have little income left. The reason the revenue from real estate is low, is that from one to two billions of dollars'—nearer two than one—worth of the real estate in Quebec is owned by the Roman Catholic Church, and is exempt from taxation.

We ask our readers, in studying the Sirois Report carefully, and observe that it proposes that the Dominion Government should take over all provincial debts, and the largest part of the provincial debt of the Province of Quebec is accounted for by the fact that the bonds or debentures on Roman Catholic property are underwritten by the Province of Quebec, and to the extent of that

total, the credit of the Province is impaired. These obligations are to be passed on to the Dominion Government, and are to be a charge upon the Canadian public, Protestants and Jews, and what not. The Roman Church in its very nature and constitution, is a political, economic, and religious parasite, a cancer which means inevitable, ultimate, death to the body politic which harbours it. Yet Protestants refuse to co-operate in the performance of an operation to remove it.

### The Next Dominion Premier

It is reported that Premier King will shortly retire from the premiership. This report is based on the allegation that before the last general election Mr. King announced that it would be the last election in which he would lead the Party. If that be true, and should he live up to his promise, we predict that he will still hold on to office until somewhere near the next election time. But whenever he retires, so far as Canadians of moral and political discernment are concerned, who love freedom, and are loyal to the British connection, he will depart "unwept, unhonoured and unsung"; and future generations, unless a miracle shall soon happen, will execrate the day in which William Lyon Mackenzie King was born.

Whether it will be possible to find anywhere anyone who would render greater service to the Roman Catholic Church in general, and the Jesuit Order in particular, than Mr. King has rendered, it is difficult for anyone to say, but it is predicted that if and when he retires, he will be succeeded by the Honourable Louis St. Laurent, the present Minister of Justice, another conscienceless, ruthless, puppet of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy. And still Canadian Protestants sleep on! People of acute, political hearing and moral, not to say religious discernment, must already hear the distant hum soon to swell into a mighty roar, of a Roman Catholic Euroclydon. And against the coming of that day when "all hope that we should be saved is taken away" we write our answer to the coming storm in advance: "Sirs, ye should have hearkened unto me."

## PROVINCES OF CANADA—BEWARE

(From THE GOSPEL WITNESS of August 9, 1945)

**O**N Monday of this week a conference of all the provincial Premiers of Canada and their Aides, and of the Premier and other Members of the Dominion Government, met at Ottawa in the House of Commons, to discuss matters of provincial, inter-provincial, and Dominion-wide interest. The conference was long-overdue; but it may be assumed that the exigencies of the war have occasioned the delay.

### Analysis of Sirois Report Republished

We republish in this issue our analysis of the Sirois Report, which we described over five years ago as an attempt to mortgage the whole Dominion in the interests of the Roman Catholic Church. And that is exactly what it is. Hence, the caption of this article: Provinces of Canada—Beware!

The Brief of the Dominion Government, significantly, was read by Justice Minister St. Laurent, who was chief

counsel for the Sirois Commission, and who is a Roman Catholic, as was also the late Professor Sirois, of Laval University, the chairman.

The Roman Catholic Church thinks in terms far bigger than the business "cycle" to which the Government's brief refers. It thinks and plans in terms of generations and centuries. The Sirois Report is a long-term plan, to make all the provinces of the Dominion economically tributary to Quebec, and hence the Roman Catholic Church.

### Steal \$100 and Give the Victim An Ice-Cream Cone

The Government's proposal is like that of a man who surreptitiously extricates one hundred dollars, or more, from somebody's pocket, and then, in compensation, treats him to an ice-cream cone. Our fear is that the Provinces may be so eager for the ice cream—perhaps we

should say a sundae with some fruit on top of it—that they will not miss their wallet until it is too late.

### Always An Eye to Quebec

The Dominion Government would give back to the Provinces in return for their provincial surrender of taxing authority \$12.00 per capita annually; and it promises, it will be observed, that while these provincial payments may increase according to an increase in population, or national income, they will not in any case go below the \$12.00 per capita. One does not need to be a very expert economist to see what provinces will profit most largely by the increase in population. This is a plus to the Baby Bonus, for Quebec. Saskatchewan would find its Dominion subsidy decreased by its decrease of population.

### Poor Quebec

The brief contemplates the possibility of some provinces having less revenue from sources still subject to its own taxation, than some others. It provides, we venture to think, to compensate the people of Quebec Province for the wealth stolen from them by the Roman Catholic Church. The Province of Quebec is, potentially, if not the richest, then one of the richest of all Canada's provinces, and yet it is made poor, and reduced almost to bankruptcy because its economic lifeblood is being sucked away by the Roman Catholic horseleech.

### Quebec's Provincial Debt

The Government brief, like the Sirois recommendations, proposes to assume provincial debts. We remind our readers that a very large proportion of Quebec's public debt is accounted for by the Roman Catholic institutions, many of which are up to the eyes in debt, and their bonds or debentures are guaranteed by the Provincial Government, and thus become part of the Provincial debt. And so we are asked to consent to

the assumption by the Dominion Government of Quebec's indebtedness, in order that all the other Provinces may pay for it.

### Premier Drew is Right

THE GOSPEL WITNESS has differed sharply from Premier Drew. We have not approved of his Educational Policy. We do not approve of it now; but we think Premier Drew went to the heart of the matter in the following passage:

"The right to raise funds and control its own financial requirements has been regarded long as the hall-mark of a free legislative body. Any arrangement, therefore, which provided for "centralized collection of the greater part of tax requirements of Provincial Governments and made them the annuitants of a central Government would place those Governments under the control of that central Government and meetings of legislatures would become almost meaningless because of the limitations within which they would be called upon to legislate."

It seems to us that if the Ottawa Government's proposals are accepted, the principal reason for the continuance of the Federal System with its provincial governments, is to leave authority with Quebec to rule the Dominion.

Surely some plan of provincial co-operation with the Dominion Government can be worked out; some way can be found to increase the efficiency of our Federal System, without robbing our Provincial Samsons of their economic locks, putting out their eyes, and making them to grind the Quebec mill, which means the mill of "Holy Mother Church."

Again we urge our readers diligently to study the Sirois Report, and we may without immodesty suggest that our analysis may help them somewhat to an understanding of its complications.

We close this article as we began it: Provinces of Canada—Beware!

## The Religious Aspects of the Sirois Report

### Shall the Dominion Be Mortgaged for the Church of Rome?

Reprint of An Address by Dr. T. T. Shields, Delivered in Jarvis Street Church, Toronto,  
Thursday Evening, January 16, 1941

**R**ELIGION is concerned with, and is inseparable from, the fundamentals of human life. It is a voice which speaks of origins and destinies; and insists that the extent to which obligations growing out of the first are fulfilled, must determine the place of the last. There is nothing relating to the life of the individual, to the life of the primary social unit, the family, nor to society at large, in its national, international, and world relations, that does not, philosophically, rest upon a religious basis. There can be no true concept of morality in any sphere of life from which a recognition of God is excluded; and without a sense of such moral responsibilities as such recognition involves there can be no right human relations anywhere.

This philosophy of human origins and destinies, and their intermediate obligations and responsibilities, is especially true of the Christian religion. Biblical Christianity relates a man in truth and righteousness to God

above him, and to all his neighbours about him, in every sphere and relationship of life. The duty to render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, grows out of our obligation to render unto God the things that are God's.

### Christianity a Way of Life

Christianity was described in New Testament times as a way of life. When Saul of Tarsus was on his way to Damascus, he went armed with authority to "bring them bound unto Jerusalem . . . if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women." No Christian therefore can afford to be indifferent to the constitution of the state under which he lives; and he must ever be on the watch lest the original formulation or later modification of its written principles of life should be of such a character as to render the requirements of Caesar incompatible with his duty to God.

I insist therefore that any theory of statehood which

would ignore, or compromise, or impede, or imperil, the full and free and unfettered discharge of one's conscientious religious duty by subordination of religious to economic considerations, must be opposed. We of the British Commonwealth of Nations are now engaged in a gigantic struggle for the preservation of the liberty—liberty in the broadest sense—of the individual, such liberty as Canadians now proudly and gratefully enjoy. While the state is a divine institution, and its ideal fundamental laws are clearly revealed, any democratic state—which means a state humanly constituted and maintained—like all other human things, will have its imperfections, and will face always the necessity of devising constitutional improvements for its way of life.

#### The British North America Act

The British North America Act was framed to regulate the lives of groups of people widely separated, and spread over a vast and largely unsettled continent. It was framed when means of communication and transportation were in a very primitive state; and when the manner of life of the various groups was largely determined by geographical and circumstantial considerations. Hence the instrument which set up a number of provinces, and provided for the erection of others, which now have grown to the number of nine.

#### Canada a Federal Not a Unitary State

The Dominion, now consisting of nine provinces and a central government, is a federal and not a unitary state. Everyone will recognize that in many respects conditions of life obtaining seventy-five years ago when this federal state was contemplated, obtain no longer. We can sit in our own homes and hear men breathe on the shores of the Atlantic and the Pacific. One can now fly from Halifax to Vancouver in less time than a man could drive to see his neighbour in hard weather, forty or fifty miles away, when Confederation was effected.

Localisms and provincialisms, whether of speech or habit of life, or means and methods of maintenance, which seventy-five years ago were deemed indispensable to the individual's freedom, do not, or need not, now obtain. The improved methods of communication, transportation, and distribution, which science has put in our hands, have broken down many of the walls of partition upon which provincial distinctions at the time of Confederation, were founded. It does not seem reasonable that a population scarcely exceeding the population of Greater London should now require nine Legislatures, with a total of five hundred and eleven members; nine Lieutenant-Governors; and a Federal Parliament with a total membership of two hundred and forty-eight (besides ninety-six senators), to enable us so to behave ourselves as to get along happily together.

#### The Terms of Reference

I fear I did not study the terms of reference by which the SIROIS, or as it was originally called, the ROWELL COMMISSION, was set up—I am not sure whether they were published or not. But I read of it; and it was my earnest hope that a Commission of honest men of good will would be able to devise such economies in our governmental system as would lift some burdens from Canadian shoulders without in any way jeopardizing such principles of jurisprudence as are indispensable to the unfettered expression of individual life.

#### Report Retains Federal Principle

But I anticipate the later development of my subject by at once removing one matter from the field of discussion. Nothing in the SIROIS REPORT suggests the possibility or advisability of changing the Dominion from a federal to a unitary state. On the contrary, it sets itself unflinchingly against any such change. I need not burden you with quotations, but if the report were adopted, it would leave us with the nine provincial governments and the government at Ottawa. The report does not ask the member of any Legislature to vote for or consent to his being put out of his position.

#### Economy Suggests a Unitary System

One might have supposed that a corporation having nine separate factories, varying in some of their products but fundamentally all doing the same thing, if they were seriously to seek a reduction of the overhead costs, would consider the possibility of closing up some of their factories and amalgamating others, so as to have fewer separate units to heat and light and manage. No commercial or industrial concern, in an endeavour to reduce costs, would think of relieving some of its agencies of a good share of their work, and without reducing salaries or wages, increase its central staff to care for the additional work.

Nine separate Legislatures in the Dominion of Canada constitute a screaming advertisement either of our sectional selfishness or of our crass political stupidity. The nine legislative factories will continue, however, with the blessing of this report—albeit, stripped of some of their functions.

#### Proposed Changes Chiefly Economic

The changes proposed are chiefly economic, and have to do with the rearrangement of sources of revenue, and a re-distribution of the controlling authorities.

#### The Personnel of Commission

And here it may be well to glance for a moment at the personnel of the Commission. No such Commission can possibly become wholly impersonal, or an enlarged business machine. The Commission was made up of four men. In the beginning, the Hon. N. W. Rowell, Chief Justice of Ontario, was selected by the Government as Chairman. Something was done by the Commission under Mr. Rowell's Chairmanship, but his health soon became so unsatisfactory—or at least uncertain—as to compel him to resign. The Commission that did the work and prepared the report consisted of three Professors and one newspaperman. The Chairman was "Joseph Sirois, Esq., LL.D., of the City of Quebec, Notary Public, Professor of Constitutional and Administrative Law at Laval University." The other members were "John W. Dafeo, Esq., LL.D., of the City of Winnipeg, Man.; Professor Alexander MacKay, Esq., Ph.D., Professor of Government, Dalhousie University, Halifax, N.S.; and Henry Forbes Angus, Esq., M.A., B.C.L., Professor of Economics, University of British Columbia, Vancouver."

I hope I shall not be judged unfair if I call your attention to the fact that the Chairman of the Commission was a Professor in the Roman Catholic Laval University. In the preparation of a report like this, hundreds of experts have been employed; and it cannot be regarded as the work of any one man. The mass of statistical information brought together must have been assembled by an army of specialists.

### Instructions in Terms of Reference

The Commission was more than a fact-finding Commission. The final instructional paragraph of the Terms of Reference reads:

"That the Commissioners be instructed to consider and report upon the facts disclosed by their investigations; and to express what in their opinion, subject to the retention of the distribution of legislative powers essential to a proper carrying out of the federal system in harmony with national needs and the promotion of national unity, will best effect a balanced relationship between the financial powers and the obligations and functions of each governing body, and conduce to a more efficient, independent, and economical discharge of governmental responsibilities in Canada."

### Limited to "Carrying Out of the Federal System"

It will be seen therefore that the Commission was to do more than gather evidence: it was instructed to express their opinion in respect to the facts assembled, and really to make recommendations which would involve the reconstruction of the constitutional economic structure of the Dominion.

That was its tremendous task—and that of course, would be involved in the adoption of the Commission's report. It would amount to re-writing a very large part of the British North America Act.

### A Disclosure of Government's Attitude Toward the War

In my judgment, the Ottawa Government, by its very action in calling for a consideration of the report at this time, has made a most painful though unwitting disclosure of its whole attitude toward the war. If one could put upon the discussion of this Report the most charitable and conciliatory construction possible; if it could be assumed that its main factors might, by discussion, be soon resolved into a pattern agreeable to all the Provinces, there would still inevitably be left a residue of contentious matter which, though assuming the existence of the best of intentions, would be bound to provoke such discussions as would separate rather than unite, temporarily at least, some of the political components of the Dominion.

### Two Big Things at Once?

Can it be assumed that the Government consistent with a full-time, "all-out", war effort was yet possessed of a surplus, unoccupied, idle, legislative and executive capacity which would enable it to do two big things at once? Must we not rather conclude that by the very fact that while civilization in general, and the British expression of it in particular, is battling to keep its head above water on the seas, and to cope with billows of flame and man-made earthquakes on land, and protect itself from fire and brimstone dispensed by the prince of the power of the air, the Government of Canada can actually contemplate the leisurely re-writing of the Constitution of the Dominion? Does not that fact itself, I say, proclaim the further fact that the Government of Canada is not yet half awake to the perils of the hour? And because its mind and its hands are but half engaged in the war, it has the disposition and the unoccupied leisure to toy with professorial, academic, doctrinaire theories of governmental science.

### "I Cannot Come Down"

When Nehemiah was so occupied with rebuilding Jerusalem, which had been laid waste by the Babylonian conqueror, that he gave the order, "Let every one with his servant lodge within Jerusalem, that in the night they may be a guard to us, and labour on the day. So neither I, nor my brethren, nor any servants, nor the men of the guard which followed me, none of us put off our clothes, saving that every one put them off for washing", when he was engaged thus in this "all-out" programme to overcome the destructive work of the tyrant, there were those who proposed they should cease from their labour, and meet in conference; to whom Nehemiah sent messengers, saying: "I am doing a great work, so that I cannot come down; why should the work cease, whilst I leave it, and come down to you?"

We may now know how busily occupied the Government at Ottawa is with the war, by its turning aside from its prosecution for the present conference. Had the Prime Minister been properly seized with the horrors that threaten the world, had he ever felt a proper sense of his responsibility for the leadership of the nation in this time of crisis, he would have answered the Sanballots and Tobiahs and Geshems of Quebec by saying, "I am fighting a great fight so that I cannot come down. Why should Canada's war effort cease whilst I leave it and come down to you?"

### Neither Dominion nor Provinces Gave a Mandate to Re-write Constitution

But whether we like it or not, the Report is being discussed—and this, notwithstanding that no Premier nor Legislature of any Province in Canada has received a mandate from the people of the Province to re-write the provincial constitutional provisions of the Dominion Constitution. Neither has the Government at Ottawa, large as is its majority, received any mandate from the people of Canada to re-write the constitution of this Dominion. And such a matter should be contemplated and considered only when the minds of the people as a whole are in such a free and unoccupied condition as to make it possible for them really to understand the far-reaching effects and implications of the changes proposed.

IT IS OF THE VERY ESSENCE OF TRUE DEMOCRACY THAT ITS GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE AN EXPRESSION OF THE INTELLIGENT, CONSIDERED, JUDGMENT OF ALL THE PEOPLE.

### Chairman a Roman Catholic Professor

I return then to a consideration of the personnel of the Commission. Its Chairman is a Roman Catholic professor of Constitutional Law at Laval University. What the religious affiliations of the other members of the Commission may be, I do not know; but the smoking ruins of the devastated neutral countries of Europe proclaim the principle that aggression will always force the hand of inactive neutrality. If anyone suggests that I am unduly suspicious, I remind them of the saying of Premier Godbout that

"A LITTLE HANDFUL OF FRENCH-CANADIANS LED BY M. ERNEST LAPOINTE IMPOSED ITS WILL ON THE COUNTRY."

I must not be blamed when I note that the Committee which appointed Professor Sirois as Chairman of the Commission was composed of the Prime Minister, the Minister of Finance, and the Minister of Justice—M. Ernest Lapointe.

### Adroit Special Pleading

I must confess that I read the Report before troubling to see who the Chairman really was, and whence he came, and quite apart from the influence of his name, I discerned at once that the argument of the report is one of the finest examples of adroit special pleading I have ever read. Before facts are assembled, or economic necessities are considered, the argument is designed to prejudice the mind in a particular direction.

### Quebec the Bar to Union

Perhaps it was necessary to remind us that the greatest difficulty in the way of union in eighteen hundred and sixty-seven was found in Quebec.

In this connection it is noted that "Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, with their acceptance of the English common law, were in agreement on precisely these matters in which each differed so completely from Quebec." (Book 1, p. 34). From this forward it is argued that successive legislative acts "were long understood to be the essential laws for safeguarding the fundamental institutions and ways of life in Quebec."

The real point, of course, in all this argument is that what is called "the way of life" of French Canada was essentially different from that of other parts of the country comprising the new Dominion; and it seems to be assumed that every law was passed with a view to "safeguarding", and therefore by implication, perpetuating, that distinctive difference.

### Conscription 1917 Discussion Dragged In

The fourth chapter declares that "the discussion of conscription and other issues which were so disturbing to national unity over twenty years ago is a delicate matter even at this late date." (Book 1, p. 94). It is also significantly remarked: "At the risk of being misunderstood we have, therefore, felt it imperative that these issues should be recalled, and set out here as objectively and fairly as possible."

It seems to us that if the Commission had especially set out to perpetuate those influences that "were so disturbing to national unity over twenty years ago", it could scarcely have done better.

We make a few further quotations:

"Before conscription became a burning political question, there had been marked differences in the ratio of enlistments among the different elements of the population. Naturally enough, the response of the British-born had far exceeded that of the native-born."

### "Naturally Enough"

The words, "naturally enough", indicate the point of view of the writer of this chapter. There is a basic assumption that French Canada was essentially different and separate from the rest of the country—that, indeed, there was no real unity at all. No credit is given for the ready response of the British-born; no criticism is passed respecting the reluctance of French-speaking Canada to do its full share. The difference between the two is simply explained by the words, "naturally enough".

Once more:

"There was a difference between English-speaking Canada as a whole and French-speaking Canada in the response to voluntary recruiting."

### French-Canadian Impeccable

The responsibility of the difference does not lie with the French-Canadians. From the point of view of the Commissioner, the French-Canadians are impeccable. So, to give them a clean bill for their unresponsiveness, the Government is blamed:

"There were serious and exasperating mistakes in the management of recruiting in the Province, mainly through lack of sympathetic appreciation of how a sensitive people cherished their distinctiveness."

This quotation also contains an illuminating phrase: "how a sensitive people cherished their distinctiveness." We have observed a thousand times that people who shirk responsibilities, and justify themselves for evading burdens legitimately their own, invariably assume that they are a "sensitive people", and therefore are entitled to "cherish their distinctiveness." Of course other people may be "sensitive" and "distinctive" too, but the right of others to indulge their sensitiveness, and at the expense of everybody else to cherish their distinctiveness, is never recognized.

### Special Pleading Continues

In apology for this difference, we are told:

"There were basic factors which lay much deeper. The French-speaking Canadians had been established in Canada for centuries."

And yet tens of thousands of them, in all probability, scarcely know the names of their grandfathers; nor whether they were born in Canada or in Europe! But the writer has a cause to plead, and therefore he proceeds:

"Their political connection with France had been severed 150 years before and they had never formed a close sentimental attachment for republican France with its anti-clerical associations."

### The Whole Story Is Out

Now the whole story is out! French Canada had no heart in the last war, because they had no "attachment for republican France with its anti-clerical associations." Which is to say that the basic reason for the detachment was not that they were French, for France was in the war; but that they were primarily clericalists, or otherwise, Roman Catholics.

### Bilingualism Is Added to the Flame

And as though to add fuel to the flame, the writer raises the bilingual bogey respecting Ontario schools:

"In that year Ontario enacted further legislation in support of its separate school policy and the Federal Government declined to disallow it. The dispute over the bilingual school question, as it was called, went on with increasing bitterness, revealing the gaps which divided French-speaking citizens, in feelings and interests, from English-speaking Canada and emphasizing again the difficulty of tolerable accommodation between the two races. On the instance of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a resolution was introduced in Parliament deploring the action of the Ontario Legislature."

### The Voice Laurier's the Hands Lapointe's

We are then informed in a footnote respecting this matter:

"The resolution was actually introduced by Mr. Lapointe and is commonly known as the 'Lapointe resolution'."

### Liberal Party Identified with Quebec

Now a few further quotations:

"The split over the bilingual question foreshadowed the much more serious division on the issue of conscription. The principle of the political cooperation of the two races in the two federal parties had already begun to break down in 1917, because one of the races was being rapidly consolidated behind one of the political parties.

"The dispute over the separate school policy of Ontario embittered the debate on conscription . . . The issue led many into bitter opposition of Canada's participation in the War."

And so, because they were denied an official recognition of the French language in the English-speaking Province of Ontario, many of the French-Canadians opposed Canada's participation in the war! These disputes, it is said,

"inevitably diminished the support which Quebec gave to the supreme objective of the Federal Government."

Again:

"In Quebec, the proposal of conscription met with general opposition."

Again:

"Within the walls of Parliament, the Liberal Party was becoming identified with the Province of Quebec and Parliament itself was dividing on racial lines."

Again:

"Despite passionate opposition the policy of conscription commanded the support of a majority of the people of Canada."

Again:

"The Union Government swept English-speaking Canada while Quebec gave solid support to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's opposition to conscription."

### Everybody to Blame But Quebec

And still the compiler of this Report pursues his argument. Everybody is to blame but the French-Canadians:

"Resentment at the manner in which the Military Service Act was applied in the following year gave an impetus to political action by farmers' organizations and immediately after the close of the War they took advantage of the confusion and weakness in the Liberal Party to enter the political field."

Again it is said:

"Canadians are reluctant to recall the events which reopened old antagonisms and renewed distrust and bitterness between the two races. It is imperative that the distrust and bitterness should be forgotten but it has been necessary to recall the events which provoked them because they have had a deep influence on the subsequent history of Canadian federalism and because they point to certain general lessons about the operation of the federal system in Canada."

The "lesson" presumably is that there must be no conscription in Quebec for the support of extra-Canadian interests. That perhaps is the reason why, as Premier Godbout says, "a little handful of French-Canadians led by M. Ernest Lapointe, dictated its will to the country." And here is more of it:

### Quebec's Isolation Assumed Ineradicable

"The instinctive diversity of Canadian life did not long remain constant to a single conception of ends and means."

Again:

"Canada lacks that homogeneity and this, in turn, limits the extent of collective endeavour which can be

effectively organized under Dominion control."

Surely this is an announcement that there is little use of trying to bring Quebec into line, for it is added:

"This is why Canada is a federal state and must remain so. Deep underlying difference cannot be permanently overcome by coercion."

### Always Quebec! Quebec!

And so throughout it is always Quebec, Quebec!

"The War period strengthened tendencies and opinions already evident in Quebec."

Again:

"Quebec became still further disposed to question any increase in federal power."

Again:

"Quebec became, more than before, a watchful guardian of provincial rights."

### Quebec's Ineradicable Clericalism Prevents Unity

This is enough to illustrate the trend of the argument. The deep-rooted, ineradicable, devotion to clerical, that is, Roman Catholic interests, separates Quebec from the rest of the Dominion, and is assumed to justify her in shirking her full responsibilities as a member of the Federation. And let it be borne in mind that this Report is put forward by the present Government at Ottawa as a basis of national unity!

### A "Church" Report

Noting the drift of population from metropolitan to urban centres both in Ontario and Quebec, it is said that in Quebec this tendency was more pronounced "despite the encouragement to colonize given by the Provincial Government and the Church." Thenceforward we find the Government and the Church generally linked together. Please to observe, "The Church" — not the churches. Not the United Church, not the Anglican Church, nor the Presbyterian Church, nor the Baptist Churches, but "the Church"—spelled with a capital. This Report, put out by a Government Commission, utterly ignores other religious bodies than "the Church", the Roman Catholic Church, which is so closely associated with the Government.

### The B.N.A. Act and Education

It is noted later that the British North America Act secured the Province in control of education:

"The possibility of relieving the consequent growing burden on the provinces and municipalities through substantial federal aid to education was limited if not entirely excluded by latent racial and religious issues."

Please keep that in mind. Someone is contemplating "substantial federal aid to education", but regrets that it was "limited if not entirely excluded by latent racial and religious issues." Anyone of discernment who follows that report through its discussions of economic questions, may easily recognize that the writer never loses sight of his goal.

### To Secure More Money for Quebec

We shall see presently that at least one of the principal objects of the recommendations of this Report is to secure more money for Quebec. Ontario supplies approximately fifty per cent of the Dominion revenue, and a sharp contrast is drawn between Ontario and Quebec. Ontario is as rich as Croesus! Geographically



and in every other way, it is a paradise! Really, one scarcely can read the Report without forming a mental picture of some men surveying a bank from a distance, with their caps pulled down over their eyes, and telling each other that if only they could get in, they might hope for a rich haul. We do not wish to be offensive, but the attitude of the Report toward Ontario is not unlike that of Hitler toward the Russian Ukraine, the gold stored in the banks at Prague, the food supply of the Low Countries, the wealth of France and of the British Empire. Bluecher is reported to have said of Paris, "What a city to sack!" Ontario? What a province to sack!

What of Quebec? Poor Quebec! She is like Pharaoh's ill-favoured kine. "Naturally enough," she will eat up the kine of Ontario, so fat and well-favoured. Ontario is rich, Quebec is poor; therefore we must find some way of transferring some of the wealth of Ontario to Quebec.

#### What Makes Quebec Different?

That, in itself, would not be an evil thing if the wealth of the one and the poverty of the other merely happened. The fact is, the wealth of a country does not consist exclusively in its lakes and rivers, forests and fields and mines: the chief asset of any country is its people; and while the Report makes mention of the "cultural interests" of French Canada, and assumes that the people themselves are different and distinct from all others, it might be supposed that Ontario is inhabited by a mongrel population.

What strange presence is there in Quebec which makes it so different from Ontario? It is more than race or language. What withering blight rests upon Quebec? It is not unique. Wherever the same influences are at work the same contrast appears. Let Lord Macaulay explain, thus:

"During the last three centuries, to stunt the growth of the human mind has been her chief object. Throughout Christendom, whatever advance has been made in knowledge, in freedom, in wealth, and in the arts of life, has been made in spite of her, and has everywhere been in inverse proportion to her power. The loveliest and most fertile provinces of Europe have, under her rule, been sunk in poverty, in political servitude, and in intellectual torpor, while Protestant countries, once proverbial for sterility and barbarism, have been turned by skill and industry into gardens, that can boast of a long list of heroes and statesmen, philosophers and poets. Whoever, knowing what Italy and Scotland naturally are, and what, four hundred years ago, they actually were, shall now compare the country round Rome with the country round Edinburgh, will be able to form some judgment as to the tendency of Papal domination. The descent of Spain, once the first among monarchies, to the lowest depths of degradation, the elevation of Holland, in spite of many natural disadvantages, to a position such as no commonwealth so small has ever reached, teach the same lesson. Whoever passes in Germany from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant principality, in Switzerland from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant canton, in Ireland from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant county, finds that he has passed from a lower to a higher grade of civilization. On the other side of the Atlantic the same law prevails. The Protestants of the United States have left far behind them the Roman Catholics of Mexico, Peru and Brazil. The Roman Catholics of Lower Canada remain inert, while the whole continent round them is in a ferment with Protestant activity and enterprise. The French have doubtless shown an energy and an intelligence which, even when misdirected, have justly entitled them to be called a great people. But this

apparent exception, when examined, will be found to confirm the rule; for in no country that is called Roman Catholic has the Roman Catholic Church, during several generations, possessed so little authority as in France."

#### The Unique Rôle Which the Church Plays

The question is, Is there any essential difference between the hackneyed "cultural" life of Quebec and Ontario? Is there any reason for Ontario's being richer, or Quebec poorer? We begin to see a little more light from such a statement as this:

"The municipal and real property tax situation was particularly complicated by the unique rôle which the Church plays in Quebec. Many functions, particularly in the field of public welfare and education, which are carried out by the local or provincial governments in other provinces are supported by the Church in Quebec. Although the personnel engaged on these services serve for mere nominal pay, there are substantial and unavoidable overhead costs which in the last analysis must be borne by the same incomes that support provincial and municipal taxation. As a result the Quebec taxpayer contributes more for services which in other provinces are largely supplied by the state than is evident from public finance statistics. These costs affect real estate in particular, both directly and THROUGH THE EXEMPTION FROM TAXATION OF THE MAJOR PORTION OF RELIGIOUS PROPERTY."

(*Emphasis Mine.*)

#### Sources of Revenue

What are the sources of revenue? Here is the answer:

"The outstanding feature of the Ontario revenue system is the high yield, both proportionately and absolutely, of real property taxation. This particular source has long been the backbone of Ontario public finance as might be expected from the highly urbanized character of the economy. It is chiefly through real property taxation that Ontario governments have taken advantage of the wealth and income which natural advantages and national policies concentrate in Ontario. In addition, Ontario has been in a particularly favoured position to develop income taxes and succession duties to tap the same taxable surpluses. In the decade ending 1937 Ontario collected \$100 million of total succession duty collections of \$180 million in Canada. In 1937 succession duties and income taxes amounted to \$7 per capita, or nearly one-half the total revenue of the provincial government in Quebec, for example."

Here then are two sources of income for Ontario: tax from real property, and the revenue from Succession Duties.

#### Quebec and Ontario Compared

Let us now make a comparison of the income from real property taxation in Quebec and Ontario. I will not trouble to be exact with the hundreds of thousands—who cares for such small matters anyhow? But here it is: 60½ million dollars revenue in Quebec: 107¾ millions in Ontario. We shall try to explain the difference a little later. Then when we come to Succession Duties, there is also great disparity between Ontario and Quebec. I give you the high and low records in Ontario; the high is 20 million a year, the low 12 million. In Quebec the high is 11 million, the low 3 million. The yield from personal income taxes for provincial purposes is also much higher in Ontario than in Quebec, and the same is true of corporation income tax.

#### Difference in Real Estate Tax Revenue

What is the reason for the difference in the yield from real estate? We will not bother with hundreds

of thousands, but keep to millions. In Ontario exempted property was valued at \$380,000,000; in Quebec, the valuation of exempted property was \$734,000,000. But the \$734,000,000 in Quebec, according to Jean-Charles Harvey, editor of *Le Jour* and former official statistician, does not include property owned by religious orders. In all probability the value of property owned by religious orders, would be as much more, but it is not possible to quote exact figures for the reason that the Quebec law has no authority to obtain any estimation of the value of these properties. They are, indeed, beyond the jurisdiction of the law. It is probably therefore not an exaggeration to say that the exempted religious property of one sort and another in the Province of Quebec has a value of not less than a billion and a half dollars.

No wonder Quebec's income from real estate taxes is so much less than that of Ontario!

#### Difference in Ontario and Quebec Succession Duties Revenue

Once again, the difference between 11 and 20 million, high, and 3 and 8 million, low, for the two provinces is in Ontario's favour. Why the discrepancy? The population of Quebec is somewhat less than that of Ontario, and for argument's sake it might be admitted—though I doubt it—there are fewer great fortunes in Quebec. Unless I am mistaken, there are some very, very big ones roundabout St. James Street!

Again I have no figures, though I should think it would be possible to obtain them by an examination of the court records of wills probated in the Province, but I venture the suggestion that perhaps nowhere in the world does any church profit by bequests left in the wills of the people as in Quebec. It would be interesting to discover just how much money is thus bequeathed to the Church—and of course upon all such bequests no Succession Duties are paid. The Church, not the Government, profits as these estates are left for the saying of prayers for souls in purgatory.

#### Quebec's Department of Colonization

Nor is that all. The Quebec Government has a Department of Colonization. I give this report from the November 26th issue, 1940, of *Le Devoir*:

"Quebec, Nov. 26: Since the beginning of the summer season 1,700 families of colonists have been established in various districts in the Province.

"This is what we learned yesterday at the Provincial Service for the Establishment of Colonists.

"About 1,000 families, which include 5,500 persons, have been sent to the colonization districts under the terms of the Federal Provincial Plan. 700 other families, making a total of 3,800 persons, have been established according to the Provincial Plan . . .

"The number of houses reconstructed has reached 600. In addition, 700 new houses have been constructed. The Government offers a premium of \$250.00 for the construction of each house. In addition, it furnishes, free of charge, plans and blueprints.

"The Department of Colonization has also brought about the construction of 380 barns for the colonists, by means of a premium of \$75.00 per barn in addition to the plans and blueprints furnished without charge.

"In the spiritual realm the colonists have not been forgotten. The Rev. Father Bergeron, missionary colonizer, informed us that the Department constructed 10 churches and 8 presbyteries (priests' houses). The government gives \$3,200.00 per church, and \$300.00 for each

presbytery. It adds \$200.00 when the colony installs a water system in the presbytery."

It is to be observed, therefore, that the Quebec Government is so rich that in one year the Colonization Department had constructed ten churches and eight presbyteries or priests' houses. To each church they had given \$3,200.00, and for the building of each presbytery or priest's house, \$300.00. That is, the Government had given \$32,000.00 for the erection of churches, and \$6,400.00 for the building of priests' houses—and it adds \$200.00 when the colony installs a water system in the presbytery. My surmise is that all eight presbyteries had water systems installed! Which means that during this last year the Quebec Government expended the tidy sum of \$40,000.00 of public money for building these Roman Catholic churches and priests' houses.

I have not heard of the Quebec Government ever making a contribution for the building of a Protestant church, or a Protestant minister's house of any sort.

It is worthy of note also that by this scheme one-third of the amount is paid by the Province of Quebec, one-third assumed by the new colony, and one-third by the Dominion Treasury. Thus all Canadian taxpayers must bear a share of this church and presbytery programme.

#### Further Disparity in Income Taxes

If you look at the income tax returns, you find a disparity there, and discover that in the very large incomes the tax in Quebec for Provincial purposes is only one-third what it is in Ontario. It would seem that it is because so large a proportion of the Provincial income goes into the coffers of the Roman Catholic Church.

#### Dominion to Assume Quebec's Debts

There is another matter to which I direct your attention. This report recommends that the Dominion "assume the larger of either the net debt service of the Provincial Government (that is, of Quebec) or 40 per cent. of the total net debt service of Provincial and municipal governments."

What would that debt involve? The enormous debt, of course, of the City of Montreal, resulting so largely from its horribly corrupt administration:

"All provincial debts (including both direct obligations and those guaranteed by provinces) PLUS THE DEBT OF CERTAIN QUEBEC HOSPITALS AND OTHER CHARITABLE AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS FOR WHICH INTEREST AND AMORTIZATION IS PROVIDED BY SUBSIDIES FROM THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT."

(*Emphasis Mine.*)

#### The Rôle of Religious Institutions

But that is not all. I set out a paragraph from the Report:

"The rôle of religious institutions in Quebec requires special mention for financial reasons, because these bodies have habitually provided educational and welfare services which in other provinces have been for the most part the responsibility of the state. This fact makes comparisons with other provinces particularly difficult, and from some of the submissions made before the Commission it would appear that there are frequent misapprehensions as to the efforts being directed towards educational and welfare services in Quebec. Unfortunately, accurate statistics of the monetary equivalent of the contribution of the Church are not available; for example, most of the personnel are paid only nominal salaries. To allow for this factor the Commission has

assumed that the contributions of religious institutions and the fees paid by pupils and other beneficiaries have brought education and welfare expenditures in Quebec to the national average. In view of other direct estimates of this contribution the assumption does not appear unreasonable, although the amount involved is very large. In the absence of any precise statistics this is the only procedure open, since IT WOULD BE ABSURD TO SUGGEST THAT THE EDUCATIONAL AND WELFARE SERVICES IN QUEBEC ARE INFERIOR TO THOSE IN OTHER PROVINCES TO THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE EXPENDITURE OF PUBLIC FUNDS IN QUEBEC FALLS BELOW THE PER CAPITA EXPENDITURE IN OTHER PROVINCES."

(*Emphasis Mine.*)

### Quebec's Indigence Further Explained

This paragraph gives emphasis to a very important consideration. It says:

"Unfortunately accurate statistics of the monetary equivalent of the contribution of the Church are not available; for example, most of the personnel are paid only nominal salaries."

That means the personnel pay no income tax as the personnel in similar institutions in other provinces must do. The priests also, even the "secular" priests receive "only nominal salaries" for the most part, although, in some cases their income from fees is very large. Of their total income they are not required to give account even to their bishop. That being so, in Quebec, where the law and rule of "the Church" is above the state, is it likely they will give an account to the state? As a matter of honour some may, but failing that, "unfortunately, accurate statistics — are not available," hence such tax as priests may pay, if any do, is wholly voluntary, and cannot be compelled.

When the personnel of all these religious institutions are omitted from the income tax rolls it is no wonder that Quebec is poor!

### Debts of R.C. Institutions Transferred to Dominion

I have quoted the Report as speaking of hospitals, and orphanages, and other welfare agencies, which are owned by the Church, against which bonds are held by certain trustees, and guaranteed by the province. The paragraph I have quoted includes these institutions as part of the Provincial welfare equipment. Therefore the debts resting upon these Roman Catholic institutions would be included in the total transferred to the Dominion. The same would apply to the educational institutions; and the debt thus transferred to the Dominion would have to be paid by all the rest of Canada. And fifty per cent. of it would come from the tax-payers of Ontario!

### Are R.C. Institutions "Welfare" or Propaganda Institutions?

Some may object that hospitals and other institutions owned by the Roman Catholic Church are really welfare institutions; but, in fact, the legal ownership by the Roman Catholic Church anywhere, whether it be a hospital, a monastery, a nunnery, an orphanage, a newspaper, a publishing house, a school, or a church, signifies that it is an agency for the propagation of Roman Catholicism; hence the people of this and other provinces would thus be required to help to pay the debt resting upon institutions owned by the Roman Catholic Church; and used by the Church for the exclusive propagation of its faith.

### National Adjustment Grants

The Report further recommends a system of National Adjustment Grants. They are, in principle, what we Baptists might call, in respect to our weaker churches, Home Mission grants; what, I believe, the Presbyterians call grants from their Augmentation Fund. But call it what you will, they are designed to make up the deficit of the annual revenue of the local institution, and thus assist in its maintenance.

We are informed that

In the outline of "Plan I, no conditions are attached to the National Adjustment Grants. They are given when a province cannot supply average standards of certain specified services without greater than average taxation, but the province is free to determine on what services the grants will be spent, or whether they will be used not to improve services but to reduce provincial (and municipal) taxation."

"We do not think it would be wise or appropriate for the Dominion to make grants ear-marked for the support of general education."

### Why Not Ear-marked for Particular Purpose?

These grants are not ear-marked for any particular purpose: they are handed over to the Province, and the Province is left "free to determine" what use will be made of them. That is to say, it can apply the grants to the welfare service; it can apply them to education; or, if it likes, it need not apply them to either, but on the strength of this income, may reduce the taxation of the province—because someone else is paying their taxes for them! That surely is a most extraordinary provision.

### "The Only Exception—Quebec" "Arbitrary Assumption"

But again we find this:

"No province would receive a payment to enable it to improve inferior services if it had chosen to have inferior services in order to tax its residents less severely than the average. The only exception to this general method was in the case of Quebec where the notable work of the Church in the fields of education and public welfare could neither be ignored nor measured in monetary terms. Consequently, in the case of Quebec it was necessary to make the arbitrary assumption that the contribution of the Church brought education and welfare service standards up to the national average."

And so, on the basis of an "arbitrary assumption" without any statistical provincial proof of its accuracy, this "only exception to the general method was in the case of Quebec." It will be observed that an exception is made in the case of Quebec everywhere, and always, in Quebec's favour at the expense of all the other Provinces of the Dominion.

### No Help for Rich Ontario!

But what shall be said of this arbitrary assumption, and of the standard of Quebec services? Poor Ontario comes in for it again, for we are told:

"The per capita expenditures on education and social welfare in that Province (Ontario) are about 10 per cent. above the Canadian statistical average. Even after allowance has been made for the higher costs in Ontario than in some of the other provinces there seems no doubt that the quality of services is well above that of those provided by most other provinces. This high standard can be maintained under Plan I, as it is now, by taxation which is less burdensome than that

which is imposed by other provinces. There is no suggestion that Ontario should not continue to provide these services but there is also clearly no claim for national assistance to maintain these standards."

Thus extravagant Ontario has perhaps two bath-rooms where Quebec has only one, and therefore Ontario is not to get so much as a dollar toward paying the plumber's bill; whereas in Quebec the Government—poor Québec!—provides \$200.00 to put a water system in the priest's house! It will thus be seen that, in order that Quebec should be eligible for the National Adjustment Grants, the fulfilment of the national standard of welfare services is established on the basis albeit of an "arbitrary assumption"; for it is said:

"It would be absurd to suggest that the educational and welfare services in Quebec are inferior to those in other provinces to the extent to which the expenditure of public funds in Quebec falls below the per capita expenditure in other provinces."

#### "Absurd to Suggest"? What Are the Facts?

But what are the facts? Mr. Jean-Charles Harvey, in *Le Jour*, describes his own Province as "the most ignorant Province in the Dominion". The Prime Minister of the Province, Mr. Godbout, levels rather a wholesale criticism against the French Roman Catholic schools of Quebec. He said:

"Our young people ought not be trained until they are twenty years of age by an education that prepares them for nothing unless they wish to become priests."

The notorious Duplessis at once leaped to the defence of the priests, and insisted that no public man had a right to insult them.

#### The Fruits of a R.C. School System

But what are fruits of a school system completely dominated by the Church? We quote from an official Dominion Government publication, "Illiteracy and School Attendance, Census monograph No. 5", based on the 1931 census, as follows: The percentage of illiterate male population ten years of age and over in the two provinces is as follows:

Ontario .....	2.71
Quebec .....	6.21

Startling as the figures are, they do not tell the whole story, as there are many French-Canadians in Ontario, and many English-Canadians in Quebec. Hence the following statistics for the whole of Canada give a truer picture of the fruits of a Roman Catholic school system. The percentage of illiterates in Canada (ten years of age and over):

British races .....	0.88
French .....	6.18

#### Seven Times the Illiteracy Among R.C.s as Among Protestants

This means that French Roman Catholicism produces approximately seven times as many illiterates as are found among those of British extraction, the majority of whom are Protestants.

I quote again from a Quebec report dealing with the rural schools in Quebec, which shows that

"1. More than 30,000 children from 7 to 13 years of age have not attended rural schools at all during the year 1938-39.

"2. Of 282,865 who are enrolled, 16% have been absent, on an average, each day. That is to say, the majority of the pupils have missed about one day per week.

"3. Of a total of 25,133 pupils who did not return to school, 8,453 are enrolled in another institution. There remains, then, 16,680 children who have finally left school some after the fourth year, the others after the 5th, 6th or 7th."

#### Quebec's Education Definitely Inferior

Notwithstanding, the Sirois Report, prepared under the Chairmanship of the Roman Catholic professor of Laval University, insists that it would be "absurd" to assume that the educational system of Quebec is inferior to that of other Provinces.

#### Accrued Deficits Charged to Dominion

And mark, the accrued deficit for all these institutions might, under this Report, be charged to the Dominion, and thus to you and to me. And we should be forced, as tax-payers of Ontario, to pay our share of the National Adjustment Grants to Quebec for an educational system that at best, according to the Premier of Quebec, prepares young people for nothing but to be priests; and at worst, allows them by the thousands finally to leave school at the end of periods from four to seven years. And for the maintenance of this splendid condition, a minimum allowance of \$8,000,000.00 a year is to be made to Quebec, plus the National Adjustment Grants that may be made according to the exigencies of the time when they are made, I believe, for five-year periods.

#### The Dominion To Be Mortgaged for the R.C. Church

The Premiers of all the Provinces, with their staffs, have been brought together at Ottawa to consider this Report. Premier Aberhart did not use too strong a term when yesterday he said that to presume to base national unity upon the adoption of this Report would be nothing less than "diabolical". Can any reasonable man, with this Report before him, doubt that one of the main purposes of the argument of the Commission was that

"A HANDFUL OF FRENCH-CANADIANS, LED BY M. ERNEST LAPOINTE, SHOULD DICTATE ITS WILL TO THE COUNTRY."

Those who see in this Report the action of certain corporations to enhance the value of bonds held against the various provinces, at most, can be only partly right. In our view, that is the least objectionable feature of the Report.

#### Provinces Unavoidably in Default Should Be Helped

If any Province should be in default on its bonds, either in respect to interest or principal, it would be bound to impair in some measure the credit of the whole Dominion. Provinces like Alberta and Saskatchewan particularly, which have suffered so terribly from causes beyond their control, deserve help and ought to have help. The same is true of the Maritimes, insofar as their particular situation, if they are in difficulties, is not of their own creation. Quebec also should be helped if its present condition is due to conditions which Quebec itself could not control. But the indisputable fact is that *the Roman Catholic Church, like a malignant parasite, has fastened itself upon the body of Quebec, and is draining it of the last drop of its blood, reducing it to something little better than an emaciated political skeleton; and the Report appeals to*

(Continued on page 16)

# The Jarvis Street Pulpit

## The Conversion of Saul of Tarsus

A Sermon by the Pastor, Dr. T. T. Shields

Preached in Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto, Sunday Evening, May 19th, 1946

(Stenographically Reported)

"And as he journeyed, he came near Damascus: and suddenly there shined round about him a light from heaven:

And he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?

And he said, Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest: it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.

And he trembling and astonished said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? And the Lord said unto him, Arise, and go into the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do."—Acts 9:3-6.

**T**HE conversion of Saul of Tarsus remains to this day, one of the greatest miracles of all ages. The salvation of any soul is a miracle. It is something which God does. It is a new creation. In conversion the wonders of creation are repeated and God again exercises His creative powers.

In one sense, of course, there is nothing difficult to Almightyness. All tasks are similarly easy to Him to Whose power there is no limit; and yet from the human point of view at least, some conversions seem more difficult than others. Some people are more unreachable than others. Some men seem to have put themselves utterly beyond human help when it seems as though, if they are to be saved at all, they must be saved without human instrumentality and by the direct act of God Himself. I say, it seems to be.

I doubt, however, whether anyone is ever converted without the divine employment of a human instrument somewhere and at some time, though perhaps it may not always be easy to name the instrument or to identify the time. But Saul of Tarsus was a particularly difficult case. I do not suppose that among those who had received Christ, the apostles themselves included, there was so much as one who had any particular hope or at least expectation of the conversion of this proud Pharisee, who was such an enemy of the church of Christ. And yet these verses which I have read to you are the inspired record of the great miracle.

It may be that there is someone here tonight of whose conversion their most intimate friends have long despaired. Someone, perhaps, whose turning to Christ is not expected by anybody. But divine grace has a way of surprising both the subject and the observers of its operation. His Name was to be called Wonderful, and never in anything is He more wonderful than when He exercises His sovereign grace in the quickening into newness of life of one who is dead in trespasses and in sin.

Here is a great scholar, a man of undoubted erudition, a man whose learning was so massive that some said his learning had made him mad. And yet he asks a question, a simple question, as to the identity of the speaker, as to who is the invisible source of such a voice as he had never heard before. Let us glance at this man's history. What do we know of his peculiar unbringing, of his character, of his present religious attitude. In the answer to these questions we too may be led to wonder at this miracle of grace.

### A Man of Great Learning

Here is *a man of great learning, then, to begin with, who is not yet past asking a question.* There are people who are too wise, or think they are, to ask questions. But unless we learn to acknowledge our ignorance and to seek wisdom where wisdom may be found, we shall never be wiser than we are today. I do not know whether we have any great scholars here this evening, or whether we have any who think they are great scholars. There is a vast difference and distinction between the two. It may be, of course, that there are some who rather pride themselves upon their mental capacity, and upon some supposed attainment in the intellectual realm. It is very difficult to teach wise people, difficult for some people to receive instruction.

Saul of Tarsus was not an unlettered man. Nobody ever said of him as they said of Peter and John that he was "unlearned and ignorant." Saul of Tarsus did not belong to the common herd. He was somewhat in the general estimation removed from the ranks of the average. He was a man of trained mind. He had sat at the feet of one of the greatest teachers of his day, and I think there is some reason to suppose that he was regarded as one of the most distinguished scholars of the Gamaliel school. It may be that some men conscious of their limitation would be fearful of approaching one of such reputation for learning; for undoubtedly he knew a great deal; but in all his learning he had been among those whom he had in a later day described as "ever learning and never coming to a knowledge of the truth." In all his studies there was something that had eluded him. He had missed an important element in the knowledge of any truly wise and really learned man. His education was far from complete. It had been, I had almost said one-sided, it had been without any fixed norm or standard. His mind was like a ship without chart or compass, or rudder. I met one such once when I was coming through the Rockies during this recent war. He was in uniform, was a sergeant, a native of British Columbia, a graduate of the University of British Columbia, and then of Oxford or Cambridge, I forget which, and then he had taken a philosophical degree in London. He was a man of very keen mind. As we got into conversation, I soon discovered that he was a man of trained intellect, and we entered upon the discussion of many things. I tried to direct his thought to the subject of

religion, and I discovered that he was very cynical and was entirely without interest in religious matters. He assumed the air of one who was superior to all religious considerations. I gently tried to argue with him, but he turned upon me and said, "I hate your analogies and illustrations. They prove nothing at all." I said, "Are you quite sure?" "Yes, I am," he said, "for my intellectual satisfaction everything must be settled philosophically: on the basis of pure reason; and on that ground," he said, "I confess I have no religion." He thought he was very superior; but he was not. It was quite evident to me that there were vast tracts of truth, worlds of knowledge of the existence of which he had never even dreamed. Such an one, I think, in part at least, was Saul of Tarsus.

#### A Student of the Scriptures

With this difference, *that Saul of Tarsus had been a student of Scripture*. He knew, as few men knew, the text of the Old Testament Scripture. He was a Pharisee, well learned in Holy Writ, perfectly at home among the doctors of the law; and I doubt not that he had come to admire the Scriptures very much, perhaps as an architect admires a great cathedral, impressed with its craftsmanship, with the wonders of its design. He had read Holy Scripture admiringly, certainly not without interest, but it had been to him like a vast temple that was empty. He was among those of whom the Man of Nazareth spoke, "Search the scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me." But Saul of Tarsus had not found life even in the inspired Word. It is quite possible to know the Bible and not be saved, quite possible to be fairly familiar with the letter of Scripture, with the text of Holy Writ, and in an intellectual and perhaps artistic and a half religious way, to be influenced by it. Yet this man had missed the main Theme of Scripture. He had studied it without ever coming to know the great Subject with which the holy text deals. Oh, yes, he had read of the Messiah. Who He was, he did not know. He had read the prophecies of Scripture; and on the basis of them he cherished an expectation of better things to be. But after all his reading of the Scriptures he had never come to know the Author of them.

#### A Very Religious Man

More than that, *Saul of Tarsus was a religious man*. He did not belong to the irreligious. He had reverence for sacred things, as you have too, perhaps. You do not like to hear people speak disparagingly of religion, of the church, or even of its ministers. After all, you say, "I don't know much about it but it is an ideal worth pursuing. It is the best we have. It has not got much for me. I go to church, go with my wife, go because my parents go, or because they used to go, when they were with me; but at all events I am not devoid of reverence." Yet, you are not in any sense a saved person.

There are millions of people attending places of worship today who are utterly without a knowledge of God, or of any experience of His saving grace. I wonder are there some here like that tonight? I would not say a word to dissuade you from continued attendance upon the means of grace. I would not belittle, in the least, your religious interest. Rather would I commend you for it. Yet I remind you that it is possible for any one of us to come very near to the kingdom of God, and

never to enter it. It may be well said of some they are not far from the kingdom of God; but they are outside of it; and to be outside the door may be as fatal as to be in the utmost reaches of the far country. Oh, that religious people were saved!

#### An Ethical Religion

However, he was a man *whose religion was not devoid of some ethical content* and like some professors of religion, his religion had some effect upon his conduct and character. Touching the righteousness of the law he was blameless. His outward character appeared to the casual observer to be without fault. He was in every respect at least externally a righteous man, but oh, so far away from God; indeed his religion led him to an attitude of antagonism toward God. The worst enemies of the religion of the Lord Jesus are religious people. Nothing is more dangerous or more likely to deceive than a clever counterfeit. And it has ever been so that those who stand for God and His truth will meet with dangerous opposition from those who profess some kind of religion of their own. Saul of Tarsus was a religious man; but though not so openly and brazenly so, as was Simon the Sorcerer, his heart was not right in the sight of God. He was still in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity.

#### Something Happened

And then to this strange man who had so many worthy and admirable qualities, something happened. A light shone upon him and a voice called him by name. It was something new. *The light and the voice were both from heaven.*

Now there is a sense in which at the genesis of life, when any soul is converted to God, the same miracle occurs. There is always a supernatural illumination of the mind. There is always a supernatural quickening of the function of spiritual hearing. Not always has it happened as on this occasion when those who journeyed with him heard the voice but saw no man, but the light is there and the voice is heard.

Are there those here this evening, perhaps some student, a man or woman attending university, others who are given to prolonged study and thought on their own account, who in their intellectual wonderings and investigations, while they have found some satisfaction, yet have had a consciousness of non-attainment, of having missed something.

I heard Dr. Jowett once introduce us quite incidentally and unintentionally to his habits of study when he was endeavouring to define a certain counterfeit of true faith. I recall that he said, "I sought"—and I remember his gestures as though he were feeling after something,—"I sought for a word but I could not find one, and then for a phrase, that might express my thought. And," he said, "the nearest I could get to it was this: Faith is sometimes simulated by a kind of agile emotion." Well, I saw how he thought. You in your reading and thinking come to something not clearly defined and you have said, "Ah, but there is something beyond that. I wonder what it is. Why can't I find it?" Really there is a kind of light dawning upon the mind, not clear, but something like the first great streaks of dawn as they uprising beneath the oriflamme of day. The man says, "Where did that light come from? I know there is something beyond but I do not know what it is."

A friend of mine who was a reporter of a certain daily newspaper was deputed to cover certain lectures in Toronto University some years ago, of some world-famous scientists at the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, meeting as guests of the University of Toronto. And he said "I attended a number of lectures in different branches of science dealing largely with the same subject, namely, the determination of sex. And so," he said, "I listened to the lectures, first one, then another, and then another." And he said, "They made their generalizations and their deductions, and each said in effect, the same thing." Toward the end they would say, "Ladies and gentlemen, we have done the best we could, but after all in this science there is something that eludes us, and when we have made our deductions on the basis of our investigations and we expect one result, we get exactly the opposite. And science can go no further." My friend said, "I listened. I was only a reporter. I could not say a word, but," he said, "I wanted to say to one after another of the learned professors, 'Professor, call that elusive something God and be done with it.' But they did not."

#### Something Beyond His Knowledge

But that there was Something or Someone beyond their knowledge all of them knew. And so do you. I doubt whether there are any real infidels, whether in all the world's history there ever was one. The fool has said in his heart, there is no God, and he was a fool when he said it.

I wonder had Saul of Tarsus in his reading of this book ever been like Samuel who waited upon Eli? When it was even time in the empty temple he heard a voice saying, "Samuel, Samuel," and the lad hastened to Eli's side and said, "Here I am for thou calledst me." "No, no," said Eli, "I did not call you. Go and lie down again." He heard the voice the second time and again he came, with the same result, but this time Eli said, "If you hear it again, you make answer, 'Speak, Lord, for Thy servant heareth?'" Many a Samuel have I known who in the reading of Holy Scripture heard a voice and did not know Whose voice it was; or perhaps in the hearing of the sermon heard a voice that was not the preacher's and saw a light that shone upon the sacred page. Are there any such here tonight, not devoid of interest, and not without some realization of the divine, yet groping in the darkness still? Well, what I want you to observe is this, that when this man heard the Voice and saw the Light, he asked this simple question, "Who art thou, Lord?" He knew there was something superhuman. He knew the voice came from above and that the vision was of a light that never was on sea or land.

#### Saul Was Greatly Shocked

I don't suppose any mortal was ever more shocked than was Saul of Tarsus by the answer which he received. His whole life was set in opposition to a man called Jesus Who had been crucified, and Whose deluded followers presumed to say that He was alive. He thought in himself that he ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth. He felt that it was his bounden duty to oppose Christianity at every turn; and to persecute those who professed Him, as deluded fanatics.

#### Scripture Illuminated

Now this light shines and the voice speaks and he answers, "Who art thou, Lord", and ringing down the sky there came the startling answer, "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest." Can you imagine the revelation contained in that answer? Can you imagine the revolution which that answer effected in the heart and life of this proud Pharisee? Someone will say there was nothing about the blood, there was nothing said about the vicarious sacrifice. Ah, but this man knew the Holy Scriptures. He was familiar with the One hundred and tenth Psalm, "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool. The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion: rule thou in the midst of thine enemies. Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power, in the beauties of holiness from the womb of the morning: thou hast the dew of thy youth. The Lord hath sworn, and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek." He knew; but he did not understand it. He knew something of the man of agony of the twenty-second Psalm, exclaiming prophetically, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" But he knew not Who He was. He never dreamed who he might be. He had read as well as the Ethiopian the story of the suffering servant in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, "He is brought as a lamb to the slaughter, and as a sheep before her shearers is dumb, so he openeth not his mouth." He knew the verse, "He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed." He knew that all that related to the Messiah Who was to come, but who could he be? When will He come? Where shall we meet Him, if ever? He knew what the Old Testament said about the suffering Saviour. But it meant nothing at all to him.

#### Saul Never Forgot Stephen

And then one day in the prosecution of his task, he stood as he heard a preacher preach, and that preacher also knew the Old Testament; and he went back to the days of Moses and in a masterly way came down through the Old Testament Scripture until he came to the Man of Nazareth, and when he mentioned Him, they gnashed their teeth and threw stones at him, and as they did, they saw his face change like the face of an angel and a light, oh, a light from somewhere that was not earthly fell upon the martyr's countenance and he cried out, "Behold I see the heavens opened and the Son of man standing at the right hand of God." Then in order to be freer for their task, the enemies of Stephen stripped off their clothes and they threw them down at the feet of a young man called Saul! It is not said that he cast a stone. I should not be surprised if even then he was fascinated by that heavenly Light reflected from the countenance of the first martyr, as he said, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." Then summoning all his strength, he said with a loud voice, "Lay not this sin unto their charge" and with that he fell asleep. Saul of Tarsus never forgot it. And now when he hears out of the heaven that voice saying, "I am Jesus", that light fell not only upon him and upon his heart and intellect, but it flooded the whole field of Scripture. "Oh," he said, "I understand it now."

You see, it was a question of identification. Said the Samaritan woman, "I know."—Ah yes, how proud we

are of knowing something!—"I know," she said, "that Messiah cometh, which is called Christ: when he is come, he will tell us all things." She, too, was startled when the Stranger said, "I that speak unto thee am he." You see, He identified Himself with the Messiah of the Scriptures; and in a flash she knew him and left her waterpot and went away into the city saying, "Come, see a man, which told me all things that ever I did: is not this the Christ?"

"I am Jesus." I think it was with Saul of Tarsus as it was with John Newton, or with John Newton as it was with Saul of Tarsus. You remember the hymn? I wish we had it in our book:

"In evil long I took delight  
Unawed by shame or fear,  
Till a new object struck my sight  
And stopped my wild career.

"I saw One hanging on a tree,  
In agonies and blood:  
He fixed His languid eyes on me,  
As near the cross I stood.

"O never till my latest breath  
Shall I forget that look!  
It seemed to charge me with His death,  
Though not a word He spoke.

"A second look He gave, which said,  
'I freely all forgive;  
This blood is for thy ransom paid:  
I died that thou may'st live'.

"Thus while His death my sin displays  
In all its blackest hue,  
Such is the mystery of grace,  
It seals my pardon too."

Saul of Tarsus saw it all in a moment in the twinkling of an eye, and he addressed the One Who had called him by his name, saying, "Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?" I do not know whether Saul was in the crowd who heard Peter when he said, "Therefore let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ", but the prophecy was all perfectly clear now. The cross was not something to be worn but something to die on, and upon that cross his Saviour had given His life. What then could he say to Him? How could he address Him other than as "Lord"?

#### Nothing Left But to Call Jesus "Lord"

My dear friends, if Jesus Christ died for you, and was buried, and was raised again, as the believers' baptism illustrated this evening proclaimed, and has ascended into heaven and is seated at the right hand of God, there is nothing for you to do but to call him "Lord". Do not waste your adjectives on Jesus. He does not need your eulogy. Bow at His feet and call Him "Lord". Say, "What wilt Thou have me to do?" When the young man Saul had become such an one as Paul the agéd, he declared he was still pursuing the same subject. "I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord: for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung, that I may win Christ."

But how completely did Saul of Tarsus make Jesus Lord? He said, "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, (Once I had taken part with those who threw

stones but not any longer,) but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds, casting down imaginations and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ". Thus he had learned at last that Christ Jesus is the Alpha and Omega, the Alphabet of all languages, the beginning and the end, the first and the last, and crowning Him Lord of all his life, he recognized Him as Lord of his body, Lord of his affections, Lord of his spirit, and Lord of his intellect too. Said he, "I do not allow myself to entertain a thought apart from Christ. May He thus become our Lord, for His Name's sake, Amen.

Let us pray:

We bow before Thee, O Lord, praying the prayer of Saul, Lord what wilt Thou have us to do. Give us grace to be obedient unto the heavenly vision in Jesus' Name, and for His sake.

#### RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF THE SIROIS REPORT

(Continued from page 12)

the other eight Provincial members of the Dominion family to donate a blood transfusion, and generous food supplies, to maintain this parasite still further.

AND THEN THIS SAME MALIGNANT PARASITE STRETCHES OUT ITS TENTACLES, AND THROUGH A "HANDFUL OF FRENCH-CANADIANS LED BY M. ERNEST LAPOINTE," SEEKS TO WRAP ITSELF ABOUT THE VITALS OF THE WHOLE DOMINION—INCLUDING THIS PROVINCE.

#### Why Should Quebec Be Favoured?

And on what ground does Quebec demand these exceptional favours? Her superior loyalty? Her unusual service in peace or in war? The Report tells us she was against us in the last war, and implies she is against us in this. The Report tells us she was against us in the last war on religious grounds: on the same grounds she is against us in this. In the last war she was against republican France because of its "anti-clericalism". In this war, she is against Britain, and for the men of Vichy, and the France to which all privileges of the Church—including the Jesuit Order—have been restored. She was behind in enlistment in the last war: she is behind in this. I can assume only that French-Canadians, left to themselves, would be as loyal as other Canadians of other racial origins; but nothing is clearer to me than that *behind this Report is the cunning of the Roman Hierarchy of Quebec*; and in the insistence of Premier King's chief, Mr. Lapointe, that this Report should be considered now, *there is an attempt, under a specious plea for national unity, to fasten a blanket mortgage on the whole Dominion in the interests of the Church of Rome; thus to compel non-Romanist tax-payers, whether they like it or not, indirectly to contribute to the propagation of Romanism.*

Were I included in the delegation of Premiers, I would move without delay that the Conference close, that the Premiers and their delegates return to their homes; that Premier King and his colleagues be earnestly requested at once to get back to their jobs, and get on with the war. And I would add a pledge for myself, that so far as I could influence others, I would endeavour to inaugurate a movement which would meet such a report as this at any time it may be presented, now or in the future, with the indomitable resolution, "It shall not pass".