

THE
CLERGY RESERVES.

A

LETTER

FROM THE

BISHOP OF TORONTO,

TO THE

HONOURABLE A. N. MORIN,

COMMISSIONER OF CROWN LANDS.

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LETTER

TO THE HON. A. N. MORIN, COMMISSIONER OF CROWN LANDS,

&c., &c., &c.

SIR,—The prominent position which you have for so many years occupied in the Government of Canada, and the great increase of influence which recent events may confer upon you, induce me to address you on the subject of Church Property, the most important question that is likely to come before the present Session of the Provincial Parliament.

I believe that you are able, with the assistance of your friends and colleagues, to avert any thing like injustice, and to settle for ever this prolific cause of agitation, if taken up in a friendly spirit of conciliation—and deep will your future regret be, should you return to private life without accomplishing so desirable an object which seems so clearly within your power.

So much has been said on the subject of the Clergy Reserves, that I shall be very brief, and confine myself to those points which have not been conclusively met :—

First. It has been so frequently asserted that the majority of the population are in favour of Secularization in its worse sense, that, it is generally believed; and yet no assertion can be more untrue. On Monday, the 13th of March last, the Anti-Reserve Association met in Toronto, representing six Denominations of Christians, comprising as per census of Upper and Lower Canada, 292,294. There are sixteen other Denominations which this Association might claim, and to prevent dispute I willingly resign them. Their aggregate number is 204,399, which added to the six Denominations gives a total of 496,885, or nearly one fourth of the population of Canada which are said to be hostile to Church endowments of all descriptions, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant.

In this enumeration I have omitted the Wesleyan Methodists,

because I should be sorry to consider them hostile, and since they have never spoken out as a body, I take it for granted that they are as Friendly as their great founder would have been.

On the other hand, we have, in favour of Church property and endowments,

Roman Catholics	914,561
Church of England,	268,592
Church of Scotland,	61,589
	<hr/>
Total	1,244,742

Thus, the friends of Ecclesiastical endowments in the Province of Canada, are nearly thrice as numerous as their opponents.

But some may object to placing the Roman Catholics in this category, because they have unfortunately more than once recorded their votes as secularizers—nay, the Catholic Institute of Toronto appears so eager to promote secularization, that at their late meeting, the members very modestly petitioned the Legislature for a share of the spoils of our endowments for the benefit of their separate schools. Yet, in the face of all this, I have advisedly placed the Roman Catholics among our friends; because the danger is common, and they have more than four times as much to lose as we have, and may be induced to direct their attention to the strange and perilous course which they have hitherto adopted. They hold fast their own endowments, as indeed they ought to do; and yet they are at the same time strenuous in their endeavours to destroy those of the Church of England. This monstrous inconsistency cannot be much longer maintained, and if persevered in, must result in the utter destruction of all Church property in Canada.

I am not much surprised that Socialists, or as they are called, the Clear Grits of Upper and the Republicans of Lower Canada, should band together against every kind of Ecclesiastical endowment. And I can even conceive, though not without some difficulty, that they may be joined by those who believe, contrary to holy Scripture and the universal experience of many centuries, that religion ought to have no support except on the volunta-

ry principle,—but I am quite unable to discover the cause which urges you to protect the Roman Catholic endowments while you obstinately advocate the confiscation of those of the Church of England, unless from your hatred of that Church; and because you consider her the great obstacle to the spread of popery through the whole Province. This, Sir, is very dangerous ground. You are, at present, in the ascendant, and most of the dissenters, struck with spiritual and moral blindness, are with you; and we are comparatively alone: but Protestants will not always sleep.

The foregoing enumeration farther proves, that if the three National Churches were to agree in this one single thing, viz.: the protection of their respective endowments, they might be retained peaceably for ages, since their number will always command a majority; whereas, if the Church of Rome persist in her present course, they will, in a short time, be wholly swept away.

Hitherto the rich and splendid endowments of the Roman Catholic Church have been kept in the back ground, and concealed from the eyes of the people; while all the bitterness and odium which the most wicked imaginations could conceive, have been poured on the defenders of the wretched pittance of her original endowment, which now remains to the Church of England. But this must no longer be permitted; both properties rest on the same foundation; and both will sooner or later share the same fate.

It is not my intention to proceed to an exposition of the falsehoods of the manifesto already noticed, more especially as its true character has been depicted by one more accustomed to such work, and better acquainted with the peculiar merits and talents of the six Ministers by whom it is signed and put forth, and, though a stern Secularizer himself, he has still some regard for truth and honesty of purpose.

The *Leader*, of the 23rd March, 1854, thus writes: “It does not follow that secularization is to be advanced by misstatements and fraudulent tricks. This is wherein we differ from the manifestoes to concoctors, while they practice petty frauds, which characterise

“diminutive minds, we have the abiding faith, ‘that honesty is the best policy.’” After pointing out many gross misstatements, “we have,” he adds, “scarcely noticed a tythe of the errors, and we advise those who have inadvertently signed such a string of falsehoods to remove their names as soon as possible.”

This is a specimen of the course pursued by the enemies of Ecclesiastical endowments to deceive the people. They feed them with false statements, and thus delude them, until their moral feelings become so blunt and obtuse, that they cease to perceive any turpitude in robbing the Church of God of her just rights. Nor is the reviewer of the manifesto altogether free from his share of moral obtuseness on the subject: for, with ludicrous inconsistency, he applies to this measure of spoliation and sacrilegious robbery, the noble maxim that, “honesty is the best policy.”

2nd. The Act passed on the 9th of May last, by the Imperial Parliament, giving power to the Colony to Legislate on the Clergy Reserves, was brought forward, Ministers say, in the spirit of conciliation; but, as it would seem, not without reluctance, as Lord John Russell declared his regret that the settlement made by the 3rd and 4th Vict. should be disturbed. It had given peace to the Colony for ten years; a peace which would have continued but for unprincipled office hunting, and a desire for reckless innovation. Being a coalition Ministry, which always implies timidity and weakness, they seem to have been driven to the measure by the violence of the address of the Legislative Assembly—and to preserve something of manliness of character, they determined to make a virtue of what they foolishly construed into a case of necessity, and satisfied their conscience by calling it a boon to the Colony. It is, however, right to admit that one of their objects was to remove all grounds of religious collision, in the hope that the power conferred on the Provincial Legislature would be exercised with justice and moderation. So far, the hope was creditable; and through the whole of the proceeding, the Government and their supporters disapprove of secularization or unfair dealing of any kind.

Mr. Peel, on introducing the Bill on Tuesday, 15th February,

1854, does not look forward to alienation or secularization of the property; and contends that it rests on the same footing as the endowments of the Roman Catholic Church: but as the policy of Government is to give the Colonies entire control over all their local concerns, the endowments of both Churches are placed under their control; and he repeats the same words in the debate of the 13th April, and expresses his hope that Canada would continue to be a home for the Church of England, and acknowledged that, in a country so new, she could not cherish and extend her Mission with effect, unless largely endowed by the public.

Mr. V. Smith, though in favour of the bill, would rather that the present settlement by 3d and 4th Vic., chap. 78, should stand.

Sir John Pakington opposed the measure because it would remove the guarantee from the endowment of the Church of England, while it left in force the guarantee on that of the Church of Rome. Whereas at present the one guarantee was as good as the other.

Lord John Russell—would have been glad if the Canadian Government had continued the settlement of 1840—and he doubted whether it was wise in the Canada Parliament to disturb it. But though that was his individual opinion, and it might even be the opinion of the Government, it would not be proper to maintain it against the Canadian Parliament if it wished to deal with the subject.

Lord John Manners—declared in the debate of the 21st March, that the bill would take away from the Churches of England and Scotland in Canada, that protection and those safeguards which were recognised by statute in the case of the Roman Church, and if this was their measure of religious equality, he hoped the House would not sanction it.

Mr. Drummond—stated that the measure was neither more nor less than a measure of Church plunder; and its progress was towards the destruction of all religious establishments.

Mr. Child—was totally opposed to the bill, and exclaimed—shall we shew less zeal in the Propagation of our pure Faith,

than the Pagans for their corrupt worship ? Our fathers were not so lax in the discharge of their duties. They granted the Reserves for the support of the Christian Faith ; and much as he desired to promote self-government, he could not give his assent to a measure which sanctioned, if it did not suggest, what was denounced by the Prophet Malachi—" Will a man rob God ? " Yet ye have robbed me—but ye say, wherein have I robbed thee ? In tythes and offerings. Ye are cursed with a curse for " ye have robbed me, even the whole nation."

Mr. Dering— in voting for the bill, looked with confidence to the religious feelings of the people of Canada, and that they would follow such a judicious course as should, by healing the divisions which had so long unfortunately rent the Colony, secure the blessings of internal peace and tranquillity, and thus contribute to its lasting welfare.

The Duke of Argyle was in favour of the bill ; but as the endowments of the Roman Catholics were as accessible to the Colonial Legislature as the Reserves, he thought they would join the Protestants in resisting secularization.

The Bishop of Oxford—voted for the bill, and called it doing justice ; but when told that he was agreeing to vote for confiscation, he said that he agreed to no such thing. If the question was, will you vote for secularization, no voice would be more distinct, no vote more emphatic than the negation he should give to such a proposition. He did not undervalue what the evil would be, if the Reserves were secularized, that is, confiscated. He saw plainly that consuming such a property upon mere secular matters would be a degree of folly which would be barely equalled by consuming the seed corn of a Colony, which could alone reproduce its future nourishment. He had, therefore, the strongest hope that we should see no such confiscation of the Clergy Reserves.

The Duke of Newcastle maintained that if this measure were passed, the Clergy Reserves would stand precisely on the same footing as the Roman Catholic endowments ; and he was not without hope that the Canadian Parliament would treat the question in the same spirit as their Lordships : and that if the bill

became law, the decision of the Colonial Legislature would not be for the secularization of the Reserves; for their Lordships might look upon this as an axiom, that there was no better security against the abuse of power than responsibility. And if they could shew that the Canadian Legislature would be responsible in the administration of the Reserves, he believed their Lordships would be taking the only and the best security they could take against any undue or improper use of the power which they intrusted to the Colonists.

Lord St. Leonards said, that while defending the rights of the Protestant Clergy, he would strenuously oppose any attempt to destroy the rights of the Roman Catholics, but pass this bill, and you deprive the Protestant Clergy of their property; but it could not deprive the Roman Catholic Clergy of their property without sending a bill over to this country for that purpose; which must lie on the tables of Parliament for thirty days, and might be disallowed by the Crown at any moment within that period. Would their Lordships sit quietly and see the rights of the Protestant Clergy destroyed, while those of the Roman Catholics were preserved. The Roman Catholics were in favour of the measure, because it struck at the property of the Protestant Clergy; but the time would come, when the Canadian Legislature would attack the Roman Catholic tithes and endowments. His Lordship farther observed, that the question before the House was not, whether they were to endow, but whether they were to destroy an actual endowment, which the Church possessed in Canada, and possessed by as good a title as could possibly exist. He voted for 3rd and 4th Vict., while in opposition, as he would again, upon the ground of its being a national settlement.

The Bishop of London said, that the simple proposition on which he proceeded, was, that the Canadian Legislature had no right whatever to deal with the money of the Church, in Canada. Such a right was never given to that Legislature; on the contrary, the maintenance, in fact, of these Clergy Reserves, was one of the conditions of the Canadian Constitution, conceded by this country. The Reserves were a sacred trust, placed in the hands of the Imperial Parliament; and that to permit the alienation of any portion of that Fund, would be a criminal

abandonment of that trust, and a flagitious violation of a sacred compact. Earnestly, then, would he oppose any measure, which went to deprive the Canadian Church of the means with which so much good was effected.

The Bishop of Norwich was in favour of the Bill, because it was the fulfilment of a pledge; but, if the Roman Catholics in the Colony should wantonly oppose the principle of endowment, they would expose themselves to the risk of losing their own endowments. But he did not believe the Canadian Parliament would commit such an unjustifiable act as secularizing the Clergy Reserves. If, indeed, they were unwise and unjust enough to alienate this property, the Church in Canada would have an equitable claim to compensation.

From this brief review of the debates on the recent Clergy Reserves Act, I consider myself authorised to infer—

First, That the endowments for the support of religion in the different sections of the Province, ought not to be dealt with separately, or be confined to those appropriated to the sustenance of a Protestant Clergy, but must also embrace those, which sustain the Roman Catholic Clergy. Both are equally local and domestic; and if the control of the one is to be consigned to the Colonial Legislature, so must the other.

2nd, That the Ministry, as such, did not anticipate the secularization of the Clergy Reserves, at the passing of the Act, nor from the recent declaration of the Duke of Newcastle, do they anticipate such a catastrophe now; and, though Parliaments are said to be omnipotent, they have no right to perpetrate injustice or to trample on their own acts and engagements.

3rd, Had secularization been anticipated, they could not have carried the measure: too many of their adherents, even when supporting them, spoke severely against confiscating the Church property; and had they suspected, that the Canadian Legislature would commit such a flagrant and revolutionary act of injustice, they would have voted against the Bill, and it would have been lost.

On this point the sentiments of all the Members of the Impe-

rial Government are clear, and almost unanimous. They give you and your colleagues credit for honourable intention and fair dealing, and it will neither savour of probity nor good feeling, to disappoint their honest expectations. The Duke of Newcastle stated, very lately, that he neither heard from Mr. Hincks while in England, nor any one else, a word about the secularization of the Clergy Reserves; and that he believed the Church property in no danger of secularization, or, as it is now called, to smooth the iniquity, adjustment.

But on this matter we have still further evidence, and indeed the best possible. Lord Elgin, with the frankness and honor which distinguish a true British nobleman, thus speaks at the great dinner given to his Lordship in London, on the 6th of April last—

“ I have often warned my Canadian friends against doing any thing that might lead the people to suspect, that they were capable of abusing the powers confided to them; and pointed out to them, that if they did not pay the same scrupulous regard to the rights of property, as the people of England, they would bring a blight upon the land, and cause the fair flower of their prosperity to wither to its root. And, what is more, they will bring scandal to one of the best causes ever entrusted to a people; because, I believe, on the success of our Canadian experiment, not only the liberties of many other Colonies depend, but to a greater extent than many suppose, the future greatness and happiness of the Mother Country. It has been said, that the new system of responsible Government, which has happily taken the place of the old Government, gives a triumph to extreme opinion; but my belief is just the contrary of this, and, if the new system is made permanent, I think a more temperate tone will prevail among Colonial Politicians, than has hitherto existed, and will, by and by, take possession of the Colonial press.”

Hence, it is evident, that the Governor General is equally anxious with the Duke of Newcastle, to avert the crime of secularization, as ruinous, morally and politically, to the character of the Province. With such sentiments, we cannot wonder that his

Lordship, in conversing with the Duke of Newcastle, made no mention even of the probability of such a measure, as the confiscation of the Clergy Reserves. Yet, notwithstanding this sound advice, with which, as a Member of Government, you cannot be unacquainted, your proceedings altogether oppose it. Nor do you seem to perceive, that your threats to destroy the Church property, are incompatible with the rights which hold society together, and at variance with the favourite maxim of your party, "to follow in all things the will of the multitude." You have not one third of the population with you, and that the least independent, being in a great measure composed of party men, morally and religiously blind. Yet from noise and tumult, and violent assertion, this disreputable minority appears, to the timid and indolent, irresistible. Of their regard for truth and honesty, we have a notable example in the proceedings of the Anti-Reserve Association, already mentioned; which, in defiance of all that is just and honourable, seeks the gratification of its rabidness, in the sacrilegious spoliation of the Churches: for they are equally ferocious in their opposition to Roman and Protestant endowments; and if some of them profess a sort of outward regard for religion, they make such profession subservient to the destruction of all that promotes Evangelical truth and order.

As a Roman Catholic, and a native of Canada, you must be as much aware as I am, that since the first settlement of the country till the union in 1840, there existed a courteous and uninterrupted interchange of social amenities between the Members of the Church of England and the Church of Rome; and, although since that event, causes of irritation have grown up, and sometimes estrangements have arisen, yet we have still continued to count your people as friendly to our endowments, as we have hitherto been to yours; and have felt persuaded, that all such causes of irritation might not only be greatly diminished, but effectually removed. But, if you persist in your present course, the two churches, instead of returning to friendly intercourse, will soon be at open war; and the battle between them will be fought on the floor of the Legislature. If this indeed be your policy, I am compelled to confess, that from all appearances you will be victorious; for the most violent enemies of our

Church, although equally violent against yours, will at first assist you, for their plan is, "divide and conquer." These are nevertheless victories, which destroy the conquerors, and yours will be one of them. How you can continue blind to the rise of the Socialist party among yourselves, already in possession of considerable influence, and in close connexion with the enemies of Ecclesiastical endowment in this section of the Province, and eager to destroy them, I cannot conjecture. Certain it is, that your safety, as well as ours, lies in the mutual agreement of the two Protestant Churches with yours, on this vital question of endowment, and on this only, leaving all the other matters free. We cannot lose our property except by Roman Catholic votes; and if we are vanquished, your turn will soon follow; for it will be impossible for you to resist the torrent which a bitter sense of injury will create, and which will in a little time sweep before it all your national and distinctive institutions. It is true, some of your adherents have been heard to say, that they would fight for their endowments, and rather risk a civil war, than give them up. This would be the height of madness; for no longer having the Protestant Churches of England and Scotland to stand with you in the breach, you would soon be overcome by numbers, and your total defeat embittered by the thought, that you might have prevented such a calamity, and blessed the Province with a long period of peace and happiness, had you adopted a truer and more just course of action.

Reflect, Sir, on your high position, and your numerous friends and supporters, and inspire them with justice before it be too late. The national Churches of Great Britain and Ireland have no desire to molest your Church property—on the contrary, they hold it in reverence, because it is dedicated to God's service, but you in return, ought to shew the like regard for theirs.

It is no longer to be concealed, that democracy and infidelity are the two powers which menace religion in every part of the world, wherever opportunity offers. In 1848 they were rampant over the greater part of Europe; nor were they overcome without much bloodshed and extensive misery. And is it not as much our duty to join against them in this country, as it was in Europe. Nor need such co-operation lead to any change in

our religious feelings and principles, for such matters are not involved in our agreement, which is confined to a single and well defined object.

3rd. As regards the construction of the present Ministry, of which you seem to me to be virtually the head, I have no desire to speak reproachfully, much less to sit in judgment, or to search curiously into the motives which guided them, for to their own master they must stand or fall. My object is, conciliation and permanent peace. And this object I must endeavour to promote because of its infinite value, even at the hazard of many repetitions. And it invites me to inquire in the first place how far you are, as a Government, pledged on the question of Church property; and so far as the United Church of England and Ireland is concerned, in what way you may be able, if inclined, to effect an equitable and final arrangement. I begin with dismissing from the inquiry, all vague assertions made by the members of the present administration, previous to their coalition—whether they belonged to or opposed the former Government.

The change of an administration is always accompanied with some alteration or modification of policy. And I take it for granted, that yours is not an exception. Gentlemen who have differed on some important points, can never settle them satisfactorily without something of mutual compromise; and, if so done for the sake of future peace, and without infringing upon substantial justice, or inherent rights, such a guarded respect for each other's views is reasonable, and may be admitted. There are, indeed, many questions so clear and pointed, as to admit of no modification without incurring moral guilt, but a fair and judicious arrangement of the Clergy Reserves does not appear to be one of the number, nor is the present administration pledged to any course except an honourable adjustment.

But we must take care, in coming to a wise conclusion, not to be led away by mere words; which may be used in different senses by different persons, and this without mutual explanations, might produce much confusion, and even fierce contention—as happened to the two knights with the shield, which was gold on the one side and silver on the other. Now, it so happens that the word secularization, which means the conversion of spiritual

appropriations to common use, has been applied in a bad sense to the Clergy Reserves, as implying their absolute confiscation. And this sense having been adopted by the enemies of ecclesiastical endowments, it has obtained very general currency. But the word admits of a good sense, and one much more appropriate to the subject. For example: when A or B purchases one or more Clergy Reserves, and they are turned into Farms, their secularization is complete. But the price paid for them remains with the Church, or the Government, as the case may be, and can be applied to ecclesiastical purposes. In this manner may all the landed property of any Institution, sacred or profane, be literally secularised; but it is not a necessary consequence that the institution should be robbed; if it has lost the land, it possesses its value in the purchase money.

I do not think that there is a member of the present Government, who adopts the bad interpretation of the word secularization; but be this as it may, so sensible was the late ministry of the inconvenience of the word, that adjustment was substituted in the Governor General's speech, and adopted in the House of Assembly by a very large majority. The word adjustment means to put in order; to settle in the right form or way; to make accurate. This allows ample scope, but implies fairness and justice, and evidently excludes any thing mean, niggardly, or disingenuous. Hence, the ministry, by the vote of the Legislative Assembly, seem to me, pledged to an honourable adjustment of the Clergy Reserve question. They can therefore, come forward without party bias, to the just settlement of the question—and united fully in principle, although there may be some latitude in detail.

Thus, a measure fair and honourable to all parties, may be framed without any great difficulty, which shall command a triumphant majority. First, the Conservatives, who, notwithstanding their misfortunes, still muster a formidable Phalanx, would readily give their support to such an arrangement; nor can I hesitate in believing that the Roman Catholics, now fully sensible that it is a common cause, will give you a majority; since, besides their magnificent endowment in Lower Canada, they are entitled by the 3rd & 4th Victoria, to a large interest in the

Clergy Reserves of Canada West, of which, confiscation would deprive them. And singularly blind must they be, if they do not see from the occurrences of every day, that the present supporters of secularization are the most bitter foes of all Churches possessing endowments.

4th. I now proceed to mention what I consider the true method of settlement, and here I would premise, that it must be one which shall carry along with it a friendly conviction of the more intelligent inhabitants of the Province, that it is the best possible arrangement to insure future peace and harmony. It must also be truly final; and we must substitute permanent for life, incumbencies: a treacherous provision, which would gradually waste away the Church in a manner most heartless and degrading, and keep her still in thralldom to the Government, and open to incessant irritation and growing agitation; which skilfully managed, may soon give rise to more bitter religious contests than we have yet encountered.

It was the intention of the British Parliament in 1791, to make ample provision for the maintenance of a Protestant Clergy in Canada, and to place the National Church on an equal footing with that of Rome. How that gracious intention has been frustrated, by neglect and mismanagement, and the pernicious interference of the Provincial Government, will best appear by contrasting the temporal position of the two Churches at the present time.

1st. The average livings of the French Clergy, about four hundred in number, exclusive of those employed in Colleges, Monasteries, and other religious houses, may be taken at £250 per annum; shewing an annual revenue of £100,000 per annum; a sum which represents a capital of at least two millions.

2nd. Various endowments—some of great value, such as the St. Sulpice endowment, covering the whole Island of Montreal, and considered to be worth nearly a million; besides lands, wild and cultivated, to the extent of rather more than two millions of acres, and which are in the aggregate, at the present time, worth at least two millions more; shewing that the endowments, tythes, and other dues of the Roman Catholic Church in Lower Canada

may be fairly taken at a capital of four millions sterling: which at five per cent. would yield an income of two hundred thousand pounds sterling, yearly. I do not mention these particulars as grudging, and finding fault with their largeness; on the contrary, I would not willingly diminish them by one farthing, because they have been dedicated to holy purposes; and even, should we lose our expected endowment by your Roman Catholic votes, I should be most reluctant to meddle with their property; but my abstinence would be of little account, for the moment that Roman Catholic votes dispose of our Church property, and we never can lose it but by their votes, they seal the doom of their own, and make it a mere question of time. And indeed it does seem clear, that if you continue as you have been doing, since 1850, I may say since the Union, it would be absurd to expect that we should possibly submit to the additional injuries which your means thus increased, in comparison to our poverty, may enable you to inflict.

But leaving this bitter contemplation—what can we shew in contrast with your Church property, with two hundred thousand per annum—why, absolutely nothing. Our Church neither has, and never has had, any secure and independent endowment at her disposal; she has not even a ewe-lamb, and has been from the beginning, a mendicant Church. She has been supported by the charity of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts—till 1845 entirely. Since that time the Clergy Reserves, which are in truth her patrimony, but over which she had never any control, not even to prevent their being wasted, have yielded her an annual dribblet, gradually increasing, of one, two and three thousand annually; till last year it amounted to fourteen thousand pounds; the deficiency being made up to £18 or £20,000, the annual expenditure of the Church, by grants from the Propagation Society.

This year it would appear from the Report of the Inspector General, an abstract from which I have just seen, that the Church will be entitled from the Clergy Reserve fund, to £21,658, or a sum, exceeding by a few pounds her present expenditure, but without the means of opening new missions.

And it is at this time, that after waiting in vain 63 years, for

the trust of her patrimony, the Church finds, just as it begins to come to her aid, that it is to be taken from her. That new missions are no longer to be opened: and that the income from her endowment, now equal to her current expenditure, and rapidly increasing, is to be further decreased by robbing the Church piece-meal, by not filling vacancies as missionaries die: and that the whole endowment given by a pious King, is to be diverted from the support and extension of the Church he loved, to be made a source of common state revenue. Such a base and refined case of sacrilege is no where to be equalled in civil or profane history.

By the Statute 7 and 8 of George 4th, power was given to the Colonial Government, to sell one-fourth of the whole quantity or six hundred thousand acres; and after paying all expenses attending such sales, the net proceeds to be invested in the public funds. By the 3rd and 4th Vict., c. 78, the remaining eighteen hundred thousand acres were also directed to be sold. This Act also provides for the distribution of the proceeds, as follows: of the six hundred thousand acres, sold under the 7th and 8th Geo. 4, two thirds of the net interest and dividends accruing from the investment of the proceeds of four hundred thousand acres to the Church of England; and one third of the net interest and dividends accruing from the investment of the proceeds of two hundred thousand acres to the Church of Scotland. In regard to the eighteen hundred thousand acres sold, or to be sold under the provisions of 3rd and 4th Vict., the net interest and dividends from investments of the proceeds of all sales of such Reserves, are divided into six equal parts, of which two are appropriated to the Church of England, and one to the Church of Scotland; and the three remaining parts shall be applied by the Governor General of Canada, with the advice of the Executive Council, for the purposes of public worship and religious instruction in Canada. From this, it appears, that if the appropriation had been in Land, one million of acres would have been the endowment of the Church of England; five hundred thousand that of the Church of Scotland—comprehending at the time the whole Church, the disruption not having then taken place; leaving nine hundred thousand to be distributed among all other denominations.

The Church of England, under such distribution, would have acquired an endowment nearly equal in value to one-fourth of the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church in Lower Canada. But as all the lands are sold, or in course of sale, it would be necessary, to satisfy the provisions of the Act, to make over to the Church of England the proceeds of the sale of one million of acres, deducting expense of sales; such to be funded for the benefit and extension of the Church: nor would such sum be found too large for the purpose, nor by any means so large as it would have been, under faithful management. A committee, carefully selected, might be appointed to ascertain, from strict inquiry, the amount of the net proceeds of one million of acres; and this would render such settlement easy. For it would only be necessary to hand it over to the Church, making the regular payment of all the present salaries, pensions, &c., the first charge on the Fund thus created, as ought to be the case under any arrangement that may be adopted.

Another mode of settlement, in virtue of the provisions of the 3rd and 4th Vict., chap. 78, and perhaps more in accordance with the present state of the property, is the following:—The share of the whole endowment belonging to the Church of England, is five-twelfths; to the Church of Scotland two one half-twelfths; and the remainder, four-one half-twelfths, to various other Denominations.

Suppose that the original endowment, 2,400,000 acres, when sold, realised an average of ten shillings per acre, it would produce twelve hundred thousand pounds currency—of which, by the Provisions of the 3rd and 4th Vict., chap. 78, five-twelfths, or five hundred thousand pounds, belong to the Church of England; two and a half-twelfths, or two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, to the Church of Scotland; leaving four and a half-twelfths, or four hundred and fifty thousand pounds, to be divided between the Roman Catholics and Wesleyan Methodists of Upper Canada; because all the other Denominations refuse their respective shares. Unless, indeed, these bodies (as would be more desirable) should so far modify their opinions, as to accept their respective portions, on the condition of expending them for religious purposes; such as, the support of their Theological

Colleges—building places of public worship—residences for their Ministers, &c.; for all of which the fund would afford ample means. And surely this would be a more rational way of spending the money, than to scatter it among Municipalities, where, from its trifling amount, it could do no good.

It is, indeed, much to be feared, that the sums to be divided, from the unscrupulous proceedings of the former liberal governments, as they have been called, will be found far short of those mentioned. But, for such deficiency, there is, alas, no remedy: whatever, therefore, the proceeds still left of all the lands sold may be found to be, these are the proportions by which, according to the provisions of the 3rd and 4th Vict., they must be appropriated.

A third scheme of settlement has been suggested, not perhaps resting so strictly upon the provisions of the 3rd and 4th Vict., chap. 78, but nevertheless simple, and flowing from an anxiety to do substantial justice, in case the sum to be divided should prove far short of what might have been fairly expected, viz.: to the Church of England, two-thirds of the net proceeds of the sales, under the 8th and 9th Geo. 4th, chap. 51, and two-sixths under the 3rd and 4th Vict., chap. 78; and to the Church of Scotland, under the provisions of the same two Acts, half that amount; leaving three-sixths of the proceeds accruing, under the 3rd and 4th Vict., chap. 78, to be divided among other Denominations. This scheme is in accordance with the Act 3rd and 4th Vict., chap. 78, so far as it goes, but apprehends some deficiency; which, nevertheless, ought to be made up by a fair allowance from the Provincial Government, through whose fault it has been occasioned.

Lastly. It has been proposed to purchase from the Church of England, her present annual income from the Clergy Reserves, which amounts for the current year, as the Receiver General reports, to £21,658, and rapidly increasing; and this, at so many years' purchase, say 20, but in the view of giving some compensation for future increase, to add to the twenty 5 years, making in all 25 years' purchase, which amounts to £541,450; thus enabling the Government to get rid at once of all connexion with the Church. And, indeed, this mode of settlement, so conduct-

ed, would deserve some favour, if found consistent with principle and the rights acquired by the two Churches, under the 3rd and 4th Vict., chap. 78. It would relieve the Government from many annoyances, and it would ease, if it did not fully satisfy, the Church of England: because, after providing for her present establishment, a small residue would be left to extend her limits by opening new Missions.

Any of these schemes may be easily modified, so as to become acceptable, if the Government can be induced to treat the question with the same scrupulous regard to the rights of property as the people of England. This, indeed, is the Governor General's advice: and if the power conferred upon the Legislature be abused in this weighty matter, it will bring a blight on the land, and scandal to one of the best causes ever entrusted to a people.

I cannot leave this part of my subject, without noticing the Earl of Derby's amendment, so characteristic of his noble nature. This amendment to the Bill, offers as moderate a scheme for the final settlement of the Clergy Reserves, as pledged Faith and Power would permit. His Lordship preserves to the Churches of England and Scotland, all proceeds of the Revenues guaranteed to them, and already distinctly appropriated under the 7th and 8th George 4th, chapter 62, and under the 3rd and fourth Victoria, chapter 78, in absolute and permanent possession. But conferring upon the Legislature, the free and unlimited power of dealing with any portion of the Clergy Reserves, not already so appropriated and allotted,—or in other words, giving the two Churches in perpetuity, all that is conferred upon them by the provisions of the 3rd and 4th Victoria, chapter 78, and of which they have been in actual possession fourteen years. But leaving what remains of the land unsold, and not so conferred and appropriated at the passing of the Act, to the future disposition of the Colonial Legislature.

In conclusion, I would observe that the Roman Catholics and Protestants in Canada, are nearly equal in number. They enjoy the same civil rights and privileges, and till now, their spiritual advantages, though greatly preponderating in your favour, have never on the part of the Members of the Church of England,

been made matter of complaint. In Canada, both parties must live, mix in the same society, and vote in the same Legislature. Would it not then be better to live in harmony, and to permit each other to enjoy unmolested, their social rights and comforts, with which they seem in general content, and make no attempt to disturb a state of things with which all appear so well satisfied.

Irregularities will arise from causes over which we have no control; and if instead of exerting ourselves to counteract their evil tendency, we permit selfishness and envy, or the love of mastery to interfere, the real sources of our social happiness will not only be impaired, but may give place to contention, enmity, and disorder. You must not forget, that the population of Canada, will ever be essentially English, surrounded by Colonies inhabited by the same race. Reflect also, on the fact, that our Republican neighbours are Saxon, and from their peculiar institutions and mode of thinking, are unfriendly to all religious Establishments. Hence, every principle of duty and interest directs us to adopt such measures as shall unite more cordially the French and English population of the Province,—and thus by respecting their peculiar manners and habits, to cherish every friendly approximation, while we steadily discourage every attempt to foster jealousy and heart-burnings. You have been received into the national family, and whether at first, willingly or not, here you are, and your position cannot be altered. We are already exceeding you in numbers, and we increase more rapidly; and, in a brief space, we shall be thrice as numerous from emigration and natural causes. While, then, you are in the ascendancy, exercise your power with wisdom and moderation—and do not consent to an act of such grievous oppression as the secularization of our Church property, and which your Roman Catholic votes can either destroy or secure. If from a wicked and wanton exercise of the power recently conferred upon you by the British Parliament, trusting in your integrity and honor, you perpetrate an act so offensive, it will never be forgotten; but will be fatally remembered when we far surpass you in population, and of consequence in the numbers of Representatives, and then the evil you have done to us, will be

returned to you ten-fold, and the besom of bitter retaliation will sweep away your magnificent endowments.

Think not that I take pleasure in such a contemplation; on the contrary, I most earnestly desire to avert such a terrible result, by claiming from you and your countrymen, a wise and upright policy at the present moment. We cannot be spoiled without your active and voluntary concurrence.

Canada is inhabited by two races; and the true policy is to make them as much as possible one people: and to bring this about, nothing unjust should be done to depress the one or unduly to raise the other. A spirit of good will and kindness, should be promoted between them, and the strictest impartiality exercised by their Rulers.

One of the highest duties of Government, and one of the first obligations of humanity, is to diminish or remove, as far as possible, all grounds which might in any way promote future collision or blood-shed, or estrangement, or animosity among its people.

Controversies will indeed sometimes arise, but even those of a religious character, which are often the most bitter and unrelenting, may be kept within reasonable bounds without perilling in any manner the progress of truth; and they may be conducted in a Christian spirit without rancour or personal violence.

No Brownson's or Gavazzi's should be invited to vilify and irritate our people, living in the same Parishes, Villages, Towns, and Cities, and under the same Government. It is our duty to exclude all such incendiaries; or if there be no law to prevent such criminal and offensive intrusion, let us not attend their inflammatory harangues; and hold the civil authorities responsible for the preservation of the peace.

Our liberties, whether civil or religious, are not promoted by itinerant vagrants abusing for hire the Protestants one day, and the Roman Catholics the next. Freedom of speech, and freedom of Divine worship, require not the aid of unprincipled Lecturers going round the Province, and earning their living by sowing the seed of calumny and dissension, falsehood and misrepresentation.

Serious and well-disposed persons feel, that there are certain objects of religious faith and affection, which may be made the subject of calm and rational controversy; but cannot be made the subject of ridicule, without awakening the most exquisite feelings of distress, horror, and indignation. Every true friend of religion, therefore, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, while claiming full liberty of speech, will readily admit that such liberty should be tempered with moderation; and that scorn and reviling, applied to holy things, should be reprobated and put down, from whatever quarter they may come: and that it is the duty of every friend of decency and order to abate the nuisance of those fire-brands, whether stationary or migratory, who think themselves entitled to rouse the bad passions against any one mode of religious belief, since it cannot fail to provoke violent reprisals.

We are not warranted by the Christian law of love in pouring contempt and abuse on any man's creed, however erroneous it may be, unless it offends against peace and good morals. We may be charitable without unfaithfulness, and defend our own belief without exaggeration, acrimony, or suspicion of motives; and thus patiently to arrive at the truth to be embraced, and the error to be rejected. A good life is more eloquent than language, and practice the best comment upon profession.

In fine, I call upon you, Sir, as the virtual head of the present Government, and the honest men of all parties, to help us in averting the confiscation of the small remainder of our Church Property, with which we are threatened. To her the property belongs, by a title which Lord St. Leonards—a great authority—declares to be as good as could possibly exist; and which, in the present civilized age, no just Government can rudely touch, without loss of character. If, therefore, you proceed to legislate on the subject, let it be in a fair and honourable spirit, to carry out the provisions of the 3rd and 4th Victoria, chapter 78, by making over the endowment it secures to the Church of England forever, and without diminution, that she may, in accordance with the views of that devout monarch who gave it more than half a century ago, apply it to the support of public worship, and

the extension of Christianity, through this vast diocese, for all future time.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient, humble Servant,

JOHN TORONTO.

Toronto, Canada,

20th October, 1854.

POSTSCRIPT.

SIR:—

After my letter had gone to press, I was favoured with a copy of your bill, providing for the confiscation of the Clergy Reserves, and I declare, without hesitation, that it is the most atrocious specimen of oppressive legislation, that has appeared since the days of the French Convention.

Can the members of the United Church of England and Ireland be expected to submit calmly to this monstrous robbery? Is it not intended, by its silent and venomous operation, to undermine and destroy every Parish and Mission in this Diocese? and are not you and your friends already gloating on the prospect of our Churches in ruins; and of their being closed and deserted one after another? And, are you not rejoicing in the hope that the voice of prayer, and praise, and the preaching of the Gospel, will soon cease to be heard in Upper Canada? And that nothing may be wanting, on your part, to hasten this sad state of things, and to satiate your vindictive hatred to the Protestant Faith, you proceed in your intolerance, to the utmost extent of the unhallowed power, recently conferred upon you by a credulous Government, and leave us nothing that you can by any possibility take away.

But gloomy, and, I venture to say, fearful as the consequences are likely to be, should this measure of religious spoliation become law, we do not despair, nor allow ourselves to dread the final result.

We may see, from day to day, our Missions desolate, as their incumbents die, till many have departed in sorrow to the grave; but though, for a time, the ministrations of the Church may, in some places cease, and in many become less frequent, yet so long as we trust in God, help and enlargement will be sent, and restore us to greater strength than ever,—“For the foundations of our Church are upon the Holy Hills, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against her.”

How would you like the treatment, which, in this the day of your arrogant power, you are meting out to us, were the case reversed, and were we to take three-fourths of your endowment of four millions, leaving you the interest of one million to be annually divided among the Ministers of your Parishes, and to return to the public treasury as they perish from grief, and want, and untimely deaths? Would you bear all this patiently?

Before you proceed farther, it may be well to recollect that your tithes and dues, the only portion of your Church Property that has any legal security, are already in jeopardy, and will not long survive the passing of your bill, for it will form a precedent for the pillage of all your Ecclesiastical endowments; and these will be the more easy, as you hold them only on sufferance; although, equal to one-seventh of all your Seignories; for the 14th of George 3rd, still in force, declares, that Religious Communities shall not hold Estates.

It would be premature, at present, to hazard any conjecture as to the measures which the Members of the United Church of England and Ireland, may take, should the bill pass: but when that event happens, I feel persuaded that they will not shrink from their duty.

In the meantime, I leave you a solemn warning, by a Roman Catholic of Lower Canada; which, although it has been already quoted more than once, appears peculiarly well-adapted for the close of this Postscript.

“Think you, (says the writer,) that those who abrogate the law, which gives the Church of England, her rights, will respect that which regards yours? Will they hold sacred that treaty which gives your Church in Eastern Canada, wealth and

“power? When you do this, remember that the Destroyer in
 “his turn, shall perish? The Clergy Reserve question, is the
 “outer-wall that protects your rights; and, against which, now
 “beats, the swelling tide of irreligion, and threatens destruction to
 “all you hold, dear and Holy. It is our duty and interest,
 “therefore, to aid in preserving to the Church of England, her
 “rights. Is there any one so obtuse, as not to understand the
 “import of the fearful denunciation, secularization of the Clergy
 “Reserves! Is it not a declaration of war against all that Catholics
 “hold sacred and holy? What does it mean, but a present and
 “temporary forbearance to the Catholic Church, and future
 “proscription?”

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

JOHN TORONTO.

Toronto, Canada,

21st October, 1854.

After the word "Mission," at the foot of Page 17, read :—

"The most just and proper method of arranging the Clergy Reserves, would be, simply to carry out the provisions of the 3rd and 4th Victoria, Cap. 78, in all their detail, and make over to the parties concerned, their appointed shares.

"The Lands called Clergy Reserves, set apart by the Government of Upper Canada, between 1791 and 1840, when any farther reservations were forbidden, amounted to 2,354,668 $\frac{3}{4}$. For the sake of easy illustration, we shall assume 2,400,000 as the quantity, being only deficient by 45,331, too small to be of any account."