

# The Catholic Record.

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NO. 372

## KINGSTON'S SYMPATHY FOR IRELAND

### The Limestone City Solid for Home Rule—Affairs of the Emerald Isle Fully Discussed.

#### BISHOP CLEARY'S MASTERLY SPEECH.

A meeting was held in Kingston on the 19th to hear a discussion touching the Irish question. There was a vast representation of all classes of citizens in attendance. It was shortly after 8 o'clock when Hon. Dr. Sullivan was nominated as chairman and proceeded to state the objects of the meeting. Surrounding the chairman were the following: Bishop Cleary, Fathers Twohey, Kelly, Twomey and McGrath, Alds. Hart, McDermott, Birmingham, T. H. McGuire, Q. C., Messrs. John Baker, B. O'Byrne, J. Walsh, W. Power, T. Cavanagh, John Smith, J. McManis, P. Browne, R. J. Gardiner, B. Lesby, A. Hanley, O. Tierney, H. Hayden, and J. J. Behan. The chairman hoped that the efforts of Ireland to secure Home Rule would ultimately be crowned with success. He read telegrams from R. T. Walkem, in Toronto, and Hon. John Costigan, regretting their absence. Following these was read a letter from Sir R. J. Cartwright, which appears in another column. The session given under the auspices of the meeting was extremely successful.

Ex-Ald. McGuire then advanced to the front and read for Bishop Cleary the annexed resolution:

"Resolved, That this meeting heartily endorses the sentiments conveyed to the foot of the Throne by the address to Her Majesty proposed on the 20th April, 1882, by the Hon. Mr. Costigan, now Minister of Internal Revenue and member of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada, in which, among other things, the hope was expressed

"That as Canada and its inhabitants had prospered exceedingly under a federal system, allowing to each province of the Dominion considerable powers of self-government, some means (all due provision being made for the maintenance of the integrity of the empire and the rights of the minority) might be found of meeting the expressed desire of the Irish people, so that Ireland might become a source of strength to the empire and that the Irish people, at home and abroad, might feel the same pride in the greatness of Her Majesty's empire, the same veneration for the justice of her rule, and the same devotion to aid and affection for our common flag as are now felt by all classes of the Canadian people.

"And this meeting, adhering to the sentiments of the said address, and while firmly opposed to any movement looking to the disintegration of the British Empire, extends an expression of hearty sympathy to the Irish people in their constitutional struggle for a just measure of local self-government."

The Bishop, on rising to speak, was greeted with loud applause. As an Irishman by blood and birth; as a citizen of this Dominion by adoption; as a loyal subject of Her Most Gracious Majesty, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, he proposed the resolution which had been just read for the acceptance of this most respectable assembly. It had been affirmed already in all its substantial parts by the Parliament of Canada with significant unanimity and solemnity of circumstance in sight of the civilized world. It asserted Ireland's right to Home Rule, and declared that the concession of this right by England would redound to the advantage of Ireland, of Canada and of the Empire. (Cheers.)

Without committing himself to the stereotyped phraseology of the day, which aims in unequalled form the inherent right of every country to speak for itself, he laid down the fundamental truth, applicable alike to all countries and peoples, whether they be independent or dominant or annexed and subject, that all laws, even though they be enacted in a foreign court and proclaimed under seal and sanction of a foreign sovereign, should be formulated upon the lines of the people's wants; their whole purpose, and to Canada's subjects in distant lands, enmeshed to his throne by links of steel. (Applause.) He laid down this other fundamental truth, that the sovereign, whether domestic or foreign, is bound by the dominion of the Supreme Ruler of Kings and peoples to keep in view the good of the people, as the sole end of all legislation, in so much that, should this end be clearly disregarded, the Royal enactments are null and void, and cannot possess the force of law to bind the human conscience. The Bishop challenged all the enemies of jurisprudence in England or elsewhere, to contravene these principles. In fact they are the foreground of British liberty, set forth in the great Charter, which denies to the Sovereign the right to enact laws for the realm, except by and with the advice of the

Houses of Parliament. (Cheers.) Now, shall any man, who is not a fit subject for the Asylum or Penitentiary, undertake to say that the bills boisterously and factiously dragged through the arena of party conflicts in Westminster, and finally sent up to the Throne by a majority of English, Scotch and Welsh members, most of whom never saw Ireland and have no concern for her interests, except so far as it affects their political party, are based upon the honest and intelligent consideration of her wants and the remedies most suited to her actual condition and resources? (Loud cheers.) In view of the disastrous results of London legislation upon the agricultural, industrial, commercial, educational, social, and political status of Ireland since the periodic Act of Union, especially if the periodic improvements effected in every department of Irish public life during the previous eighteen years under direction of her native Parliament, although it was then the Parliament of only an eighth of the population, shall it be alleged that Ireland is unreasonable in her demands for the revival of her native Parliament with a fair representation of her people? (Cheers.) The whole substance of her claim is to be allowed to do at home in Ireland what she has an indefeasible right to have done for her either in Westminster or in College Green, and which eighty-five years' experience has proved to be incapable of doing, namely, to give Her Majesty's subjects regarding Ireland's purely domestic affairs, as distinguished from Imperial matters, through an Irish Parliament, qualified alone to give such advice intelligently and usefully and in a manner conducive to Her Majesty's credit and Ireland's benefit, because they alone have practical acquaintance with the conditions of the country, and the relations of class with class, and are chosen by the community at large, and invested with the prestige of public confidence, as fit expositors of the evils to be remedied and the remedies to be applied. (Great cheering.) This is what is termed Home Rule. It is what Canada happily enjoys for her own benefit and the peace of the Empire. (Cheers.) There is no loyalty in asking the British Parliament to concede to Ireland! God forbid that they should seek to encroach upon the smallest title upon the rights of Her Majesty, or anywise detract from her authority, her royal style and dignity and prerogative. (Applause.) They ask only to be allowed to speak to their Queen through their chosen spokesman in reference to their domestic wants, and ask Her Majesty to sanction the legislative remedies they shall recommend to her. (Cheers.) It is a simple case of restitution. The Bishop did not think it necessary to point out to this intelligent audience the whole series of nefarious proceedings whereby Lord Castlereagh with dagger in one hand and gold in the other, induced a small majority of the Irish members to commit national suicide by accepting the Act of Union. The Union was a legal mockery, entitled of itself to no respect from Irishmen and utterly incapable of extinguishing the Charter of the Irish Parliament. (Loud cheering.) The law of justice that lies against the robber towards the robbed is, that he give back to the honest man his own. (Applause.) His Lordship said that Captain Gaskin (who sat before him) would agree that the Catholic clergy spoke the truth, never through fear or favor, betrayed the truth, and once they spoke the truth never took it back. But, even though Castlereagh were a saint enrolled among the canonized, (laughter) the system enacted by the Union is a travesty on the representative form of government guaranteed by the British Constitution; it is a blind drawn between the Queen and her faithful Irish subjects, to prevent Her Majesty from constitutionally ascertaining the true condition of the country and the methods of equitable legislation. Of the 630 members of Parliament in Westminster 105 are nominally from Ireland, that is, about one-sixth of the assembly. Practically, however, the Irish people have only 45 representatives, or thereabouts, the majority of the seats nominally assigned to Ireland being filled by her bitter enemies, the representatives of the English garrison in Ireland, the men of blood and spoliation and penal laws and traditional hatred of the Irish race. This result has been invariably brought about by the gerrymandering of the constituencies, much more by the artfully arranged property qualification which has hitherto excluded three-fourths of the Catholic people from the right of suffrage; and finally by the power of eviction and confiscation, equivalent to the power of life and death, vested by law in the landlords, and employed by them as a weapon of the most potent intimidation, to coerce the farmers into voting for the landlord's nominees in opposition to their conscience, and the interest of their class. Even the ballot, recently introduced, is not sufficient protection against this terrorism. What could 45 Irish members effect in a House where they are only one to thirteen, and where an alien assembly could always find pretext for anti-Irish legislation in the cordial concurrence of the Garrison Party, who pretended to speak also in the name of Ireland? Poor Ireland was ever made to appear as a house divided against itself. No consideration was shown to her representatives, except when the balance of parties rendered their vote casually important and worth being purchased by some little attention to their demands. This is not government on the representative principle: it is not constitutional government. (Cheers.) By the new distribution of seats and the enlargement of the franchise, it is true that Ireland is likely to

weaken the Garrison Party, and send eighty or more genuine representatives to Westminster. But still Ireland shall remain without an effective voice in the formation of her laws, unless she succeeds in wresting Home Rule from a reluctant foreign legislature. Promises shall be made to her, and some small measure of redress of grievances may possibly be granted to her, from time to time, according to the exigencies of Whigs or Tories. But it never shall be anything like full redress; it never shall be other than occasional relief, fractional and tantalizing. The sum of her evils shall remain without remedy; the legitimate aspirations of her ancient and honored race shall be thwarted as heretofore; her vital interests, educational and industrial, agricultural and commercial, social and political, shall be unrepresented in the laws that shall be framed for her government in a foreign capital. And how could it be otherwise? Analyse the House of Commons, in Westminster, and say, could the 550 English, Scotch and Welshmen, who compose it, be expected to take a lively concern in the affairs of Ireland, who has as many representatives as such chance of fair play, as Scotland or Wales. But it is not so. Scotland had unity with England; she entered the alliance of her own free will, and had ever since been favored and petted and pampered, sometimes after a fashion directly injurious to Ireland. Wales was too stupid to offer resistance. Ireland refused to enter the alliance. She held by her own national identity, and shall never yield her place as a distinct nation, living by her own life. (Great cheers.) Holding up his hand and looking upwards, the Bishop said that, with the blessing of God Almighty Ireland would never have a national unity with England or any other nation. (Loud applause.) The foundations of the earth shall give way, the sun shall lose its light, and Ireland shall never be turned into blood; but Ireland shall never renounce her nationhood—one blood, one race, one religion, one history of joys and sorrows, and noblest sacrifices, of literary glory followed by political darkness, one everlasting cheering. They would never be separated, never identified with any other nation. "We are one nation," he exclaimed, "and can ever become one." The audience cheered vociferously. The speaker, in emphatic tones, pointed out the dualities of Ireland and England because of antagonism of race, antagonism of religion and antagonism of interests. The Sovereign shall, he hoped and prayed, be ever the Sovereign of both peoples; but with equal fervor did he hope and pray that, with unity of Empire and unity of Throne, there shall ever co-exist the dualities of nations, the dualities of kingdoms, the duality of Parliaments, Great Britain and Ireland, bound together by the golden link of the Crown, each pursuing its own destiny in concord with the other. (Great applause.) The antagonism of England to the Irish race is too definite and too persistent in its bitterness to admit of any hope of their ever becoming one people, or of their uniting. They agree to live as distinct nations, each living in accordance with its own ideas, by its own political organization, under the bonds of Imperial unity, represented by the Flag of the Empire. Throughout 400 years England waged a war of continuous invasion upon Ireland; then for 200 years, the conquest being completed, she waged a war of extermination upon her victim, the most cruel and barbarous recorded in the annals of the world's history. In this nineteenth century, although she sheathed the sword and sought to mitigate many of the atrocities of her penal laws, she has held Ireland in bondage still, writing and groaning under the tyranny of the Draconian code of land laws, fiscal laws, political and educational disabilities and forced impoverishment, the unrepented residue of her wicked past; and she will not remedy these monstrous evils in Westminster nor permit Ireland to convolve her own Parliament for the purpose of remedial legislation. The chasm is made wider and deeper by the antagonism of religion. England's most bitter hatred of the faith of St. Patrick's sons is not only written in blood upon her statute-book, but may be seen by friend and foe, throughout the length and breadth of the Holy Isle, in the diabolical machinations and abbeys, the sanctuaries of learning and piety which constituted the former glory of the Irish race, the centres of European civilization, which even in their ruined condition to-day proclaim from tower and transept, arch and tracery window the richness of piety and art that distinguished the Irish Church in the Middle Ages. Yet not in parchment and ruined walls is the record of England's dire persecution of her faith most vividly and enduringly preserved. It is in the hearts and memories of the people. Every city and town and hamlet, every knoll and dell in the four provinces retains the tradition of altars desecrated, of sacrilegious profanations of things most holy, of the murders and the brutal outrages perpetrated in the name of English civilization upon Ireland's priests and other holy ones of her children. You cannot obliterate such traditions as these from a nation's memory. They shall continue to be transmitted from sire to son, and shall perpetuate the chasm between nation and nation, between the conqueror and the conquered, the oppressor and the oppressed, the family who drew blood from the family whose blood has been drawn. (Cheering.) No, it never can be that Ireland should merge her national life in that of England and form with her a political unit. (Loud applause.) How could Ireland expect the voice of her forty or fifty members to receive consideration hearing, especially in regard to educational and other questions intimately connected with religion? It is plainly

impossible for political or national unity to exist between two peoples divided by such terrible memories of wrong, and such opposite ideas of religion and right. They could never agree as to what constitutes the public good, which is the groundwork of legislation. Here, indeed, in Canada the sons of England and Ireland can shake hands with one another, forgetting the past in the progress and prosperity of this beautiful land of their common adoption. (Sustaining the action to the word, the Bishop amid tremendous applause, called up Captain Gaskin and shook him by the hand.) Here men have not spilled one another's blood for the ascendancy of race or religion, nor have they confiscated the property of any nationality. This is a free land, where men are free to love each other. (Cheers.) After paying a high tribute to English statesmen in general, as men of high honor and truth and patriotism, the Bishop praised Mr. Gladstone for his possession of these qualities in an eminent degree, combined with intellectual brightness unsurpassed by any other man on the earth, and he said that Mr. Gladstone and several high English Statesmen would like to efface the memories of all past injustices and by acts of reparation to Ireland bridge over the gulf that lies between the two nations. This is his aim; and for this he works as far as he can; and does his party to follow him, but said the Bishop, although he may succeed to some degree in hushing up the antagonism of race and religion, there is a third antagonism which he cannot suppress; it is ever living and active, it belongs to the future as well as to the past; it is the antagonism of interests. England is a nation of shopkeepers; trade and markets are her primary object in her dealings with other countries. All else is nothing in comparison with these. She has heretofore deliberately and by express legislation annihilated Irish manufactures, lest Ireland's goods should get a preference in foreign markets or compete successfully with her's. It is to be supposed that an assembly consisting chiefly of sons and grandsons of English shopkeepers shall have the unexampled magnanimity of submitting to the demand of a handful of Irish members for the re-establishment of Irish industries on a footing of perfect equality with their own, or on the principle of protection for a period sufficient to enable them to develop into equal power and production and equal facilities of profitable sale? The speaker next referred to the iniquitous laws made for Ireland by the British Parliament, and said that, notwithstanding the amendments made in them by Mr. Gladstone, they are still so unjust and oppressive that no people on earth would bear with them, except the Irish. Landlords even today possess the power to evict the honest and industrious farmers from their holdings if they fail to pay an impossible rent, and this cruel proceeding goes on every week in the year. Let the land produce a good or a bad crop, the landlord insists on getting an enormous rent, such as, even when the seasons are most favorable and crops are abundant, leaves the farmer without sufficient to feed and clothe himself and his family with decency. Farmers who hold under leases, made when prices of agricultural produce were at their highest, are held bound to those leases at this very day when American and Australian competition have brought down the prices to half and in regard of some products, to a third of what they were valued a few years ago. And if the poor farmer be not able to meet that unexampled demand, the landlord casts him out of home and turns him and his wife and children into a homeless drift upon the world. The Bishop touched upon the Educational laws enacted by England against Ireland and the patent wrong that is done to Irish youth intellectually and morally by excluding them from participation in the endowments bequeathed by their Catholic forefathers for their benefit. He dwelt upon the shameful unfairness of the conditions of University Education as regulated by the law enacted only four or five years ago. Thus the antagonism of interests, more enduring than those of race or religion, must render it always impossible for the two nations to constitute one political unit organized by the laws framed by their representatives in Westminster. If Home Rule be not given to Ireland, for the management of her own internal affairs, it is folly to talk to her of representation, of the law, of respect for London-made law, of the burial of ancient animosities and the future amity of the nations. One nation can never represent the rights of both. One code of agricultural, commercial and industrial laws cannot be the expression of justice to both. Let each nation address the Sovereign through its own Parliament and obtain the Royal sanction for its proper domestic regulations, and then, but not otherwise, shall there be an end of the seven hundred years' war between England and Ireland. (Great applause.) The Bishop in conclusion desired to say one word about the shibboleth of Imperial disintegration. He asked why should Ireland's control of her own domestic affairs involve the same concession made to Canada and Australia, so far from disintegrating, had confessedly acted in consolidating the Empire? If Home Rule did not weaken the bonds of Imperial unity in the remotest parts of the body politic, why should it effect organic dissolution in close proximity to the seat of life? If the colonies that could not be reached by military or naval forces, with out delay of weeks and months, in the event of rebellious disturbances, may be safely entrusted with Home Rule, why should there be special dread of Ireland, whose garrisons shall be manned by British troops and whose coast is almost with in gunshot of the English shores? The Bishop said he never had heard any gentleman of intelligence and recognised truthfulness assert that Home Rule for Ireland

meant separation. He did not mind what newspapers and the lower class of political agitators say upon the subject. They but echo the interested clamours of a party and propagate a senseless cry. But Mr. Gladstone, Lord Salisbury and the great statesmen of England would not utter such a falsehood. He told an amusing story illustrative of the readiness of politicians to abandon their interest to do another, forgetting the past in the progress and prosperity of this beautiful land of their common adoption. (Sustaining the action to the word, the Bishop amid tremendous applause, called up Captain Gaskin and shook him by the hand.) Here men have not spilled one another's blood for the ascendancy of race or religion, nor have they confiscated the property of any nationality. This is a free land, where men are free to love each other. (Cheers.) 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and cheers. When he got upon the platform the chairman said he had allowed a mover and seconder to present a resolution, but he would not permit any one else to speak until it was disposed of. Some in the audience cheered, some groaned, and some cried "Sit down Snook." Mr. Snook maintained his pace, and was finally heard to say that he had an amendment, or whatever they liked to call it, to present. He read it thus:

"That this meeting, having confidence in the Imperial Parliament regarding their own affairs, deem it inexpedient and presumptuous to offer an opinion on the question of home rule for Ireland."

He said that Canada had no right to express an opinion regarding events occurring 3,000 miles away. Derivative cheers followed this expression. "What do we know of the place?" he asked. The next moment, in the confusion, Mr. Snook addressed the Bishop as "His Worship," and the audience was convulsed with laughter. In concluding Mr. Snook said he was sorry to see that the seeds of strife were being sown in the city of Kingston. Mr. J. Jones seconded the motion.

WOULDN'T PUT THE RESOLUTION.

Dr. Sullivan said that undoubtedly these gentlemen were worthy citizens, but he wouldn't put resolutions which were offensive to the meeting and the gentlemen who had called it. He had conceded a great indulgence to them, an indulgence that would probably not have been conceded at any other meeting. He, therefore, ruled the resolutions out of order. He considered his ruling fair and straight. Some in the meeting became somewhat demonstrative, and while the excitement and disorder were at their height the original resolution was put, and declared carried, amid great cheering, a show of hands being taken.

Capt. Gaskin was on his feet several times, yelling, "Mr. Chairman," but he was not heard, and Mr. T. H. McGuire advanced to move the second resolution. Many in the audience began to retire, and Mr. McGuire shouted after them, "I thought Irishmen had pluck enough to hear the story out." The audience cheered, while T. Robinson, wearing a Tam O'Shanter, exclaimed, "You hadn't the pluck to see who were against your resolution." "Oh!" groaned some of the audience as Mr. Robinson pushed his way towards the door.

THE COSTIGAN MOTION AGAIN.

Mr. McGuire presented his resolution:

"Resolved, That this meeting recognizes the fact set forth in the said address to Her Majesty, adopted on the 20th April, 1882, by the Dominion Parliament that Canada while offering the greatest advantage and attractants to the immigrant, does not receive that proportion of emigration from Ireland which might reasonably be expected, owing to a great measure to feelings of estrangement existing in the minds of so many Irishmen towards the Imperial Parliament."

"And this meeting, while not declaring it to be advisable that the Irish people should be urged to emigrate, is of opinion that the granting to Ireland of a just measure of local self-government would dispel those feelings of estrangement, promote a greater degree of mutual confidence, and thereby remove the considerations which at present prejudicially interfere with Irish emigration to Canada."

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A POINT AGAINST GASKIN.

Ald. Birmingham briefly seconded the resolution and made a point in stating that the Costigan resolutions, the same as presented to the meeting, were supported by Sir John Macdonald and Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, men whom Bro. Gaskin delighted to honor. He was glad to think that in Kingston differences of opinion could be discussed without the prospect of broken heads. Years ago there would have been a different state of things. The speaker declared his loyalty to Canada. He would yield to no one in love of country, for it he would give his blood or life, for it he would stand shoulder to shoulder with Bro. Gaskin or Mackenzie, and yet he considered it the privilege of every loyal Canadian to endorse the sentiments of the resolution.

Mr. Jas. O'Reilly, B. A., of Toronto, was enthusiastically cheered. He made a brief address, the chief feature of which was that the Orangemen of Ireland were the strongest supporters of Home Rule, and should it ever be secured to the Protestants of Ireland the Roman Catholics would ever be indebted. The blood of Irishmen spilt in English battles was a sufficient answer to the cry of disloyalty, and with a country feeling the impulses of prosperity he felt that the Irish people would more ably than ever defend the British Empire.

The resolution was carried.

THE RAISING OF A FUND.

Ald. Hartly presented the last resolution:

"Resolved, That recognizing that the constitutional and legitimate method of obtaining for Ireland all requisite legislation is through her representatives in

CONTINUED ON 8TH PAGE.