66 THE TRU WITNESS'

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WEDNESDAY.....JANUAR 1 20, 1886

THE vacancy created in the registrarship of Carleton, by the death of that staunch and honest Irishman, the late W. H. Waller, has not yet been filled. Among the several names mentioned in connection with the effice, there is one which is specially deserving of commendation, that of Mr. P. J. Coffey, of Ottawa. The Local Government, in whose hands rests the right of appointment, could mot find a man with better or seunder claims to the vacant registrarship. His capacity and menesty are testified to by his fellow citizens, and we hope the Government will not be slow an making an appointment that would be well received on all sides.

ABORBISHOP WALSH, of Dublin, has just given the English Government a very suggestive hint, which they would do well not to ignore or forget. His Grace expressed the hope that England's statesmen would consent to a settlement of the Irish question. But if they refused to yield to constitutional agitation and scorned the tair means employed by the Irish people to urge their rightful demands, then look out for squalls. Archbishop Welsh in the pleinest of terms warned the English Government against bringing about the sad result of desperate men, despairing of securing freedom by constitutional means, having recourse to dynamite and the dagger of the assassin. If John Bull is wise he'll take the hint and govern himself accordingly. If it was anybody else he .wouldn't take a minute to choose between Home Rule or dynamite.

The Montreal Gazette is trying to extract, comfort out of Mr. Biake's London speech. Our centemporary " takes it that he has destroyed the castle of his Rouge allies." The Gazette would take anything it could get in its pretent discress, but we really think it . 46 takes " too much when it tries to put Mr. Blake on record as being opposed to the men who condemn the Government for its maladministration of the North West.

Our esteemed contemporary the Montreal Herald has managed to form a sounder opinion and a more just appreciation of the aim and effect of Mr. Blake's speech. The Herald says that those amongst the members of the Conservative party in Quebec who have really made up their minds to break with the Government will find sufficient encouragemant in Mr. Blake's caudid and cautious utterances, "to lead them to believe that the result of the discussion of North-West matters at the next session of Parliament will be sufficiently grave to justify an drawing together of all whe, from whatever cause, are disentialied with the Government's adminstration of affairs in that Territory."

The annual reports on the state of trade and agriculture in Ireland indicate a revival, which very few expected. The returns for the ;past year show substantial gains in the quantities of the crops gathered. The yield of wheat, oats, barley, rye and potatoes was 135,386 tons greater than in 1884. The increase in flex was 4,916 tons, and in hay :333,320 tons. Of the manufacturing industries only the liven trade is described as being in a bad condition. This is due in a great measure to the increasing foreign competition. The partial stoppage of the linen mills has thrown many operatives out of employment, and they are now counting hopelessly on assistance from the coming Irish Parliament in the way of protection. The reported improvement in crops does not include the western coast districes of Ireland, where there is so much distrees at present, owing to the failure of the herring and other fisheries.

Some of our contemporaries are in the habit of of farring to the men who served in the late . Northwest expeditionary force as "British

belonged to the militia force of the Dominion of Canada., were commanded by Canadian militia officers, and all were paid out of the treasury of the country. England had nothing to do with it. The men who went to the Northwest were Canadian militiamen and not "British soldiers." Men went up there, and planty of them, who would not pull a trigger or England, but who would, and did, risk their lives to preserve law and order in the Dominion. Not that they disliked the half breeds or were thirsty for their gore, but they went to support the law and bring back peace to the land. The very flag they lought under was not the flag of England, but it was the flag of England with the important addition of the Dominion coat of arms quartered on its

HOME RULE OR DYNAMITE.

The Dublin Freeman's Journal says that theBritish Cabinet at its last meeting discussed the propriety of issuing a proclamation declaring the National League an illegal asso-

I Lord Salisbury and his Tory hounds do anything so foolish and suicidal they will, thereby, give the strongest raison d'etre to dynamite and other avenging associations. The British Government should bear this fully in mind, that if they try to practice any of their fancy and old-time oppression or repression of the National representatives othe National organizations of the Irish people, they will simply make it imperative for Irishmen to have recourse to scientific instead of constitutional methods for the acquisition of their rights. As Archbishop Walsh very plainly put it, the question is being narrowed down to this alternative-either grant Home Rule or be prepared for dynamite. If the entire moral force of the entire Irish nation backed by the sympathy and support of the entire civilized world, cannot persuade Eng land to do the fair and square thing, then moral force has got to be superseded by physical force. As Ireland has no hundred ton guns, no army, no navy, no torpedoes, it is quite evident that the physical force, typifed by these institutions, could not be availed of by the Irish people. What then? Are the Irish people to remain powerless and detenceless and allow themselves to be trampled on like so many worms? Not by any means! Science has advanced too far not to permit of terrible retaliation, with little expense and less effort. The fact that lreland is without ordinary engines of destruction to protect herself will not be accepted by a desperate people as a reason why extraordinary means abould not be employed to bring the enemy to terms. A man to sa v his life uses snything and everything agains his would-be murderer, and nobody finds fault with him. Let England beware and not invite a policy of retaliation which will be more dangerous and destructive than any effort of her army and navy. Let England remember that the world has come to look upon the policy of exterminating a people by oppression and starvation as a greater crime than the use of dynamics by that people to secure food and liberty.

ARCHBISHOPS TACHÉ AND O'BEIEN ON THE REBELLION.

THE Montreal Daily Witness quotes the remarkable judgment passed by Archbishop O'Brien, of Halifax, on the North-West rebellion, its cause and its results, and says :-

"Archbishop O'Brien, of Halifax, tones his eloquent harp to a very different strain from that adopted by the French hierarchy, both in Quebec and in the North-West. W. should presume the latter know more about the Riel matter than His Grace of Halifax.

Our esteemed contemporary is very much mistaken, and its language is very liable to deceive atters.

One would imagine from a perusal of the Witness' comment that Archbishop O'Brien was opposed by the French Canadian Bishops in his views on the rebellion.

That is not the case. to go to excesses in their anger against a consequences, and not one of them has told the faithful that Sir John Macdonald and out if the people see fit to do so, to do. Such a prohibition is not within their obligations, their competence or their right, as Archbishop Taché himself so forcibly put it in what the great Archbishop of the North-West said :-- "Let those who have a vote to give, whether in parliament or on the hust-

Boiliers." We always thought, however, of a citizen will and can never find any rebel province of '98 may be agent that the troops who served in that campaign interference or obstruction of the hands of prought back to a sense of the duty it owes to out of his "designing polities," we can rouse over there in London. Now this kind and that he is prepared to accept and fulfill were simply Canadian militiamen. The only a Catholic Bishop. Consequently their all Ireland at the present crisis. Parnell has throw in the three permits Short and Costi- of lip loyalty we hear too much of in this the task of punishing the men whom the

"duty."

the estimations of the electors, is unfit to chiefly lead to this happy reunion is the Mr. Costigan's letter on page 709. govern the country, and has lost the public confidence.

and events which have no direct relation to the rebellion, while the pronouncement of Archbishop O'Brien is directly on the rebellion itself. Consequently the Daily Witness will have some difficulty in substantiating its silly assertion that His Grace tunes his eloquent harp to a very different strain from that adopted by the French Bishops both in Mr. Parnell has in his mind-a revival of the Quebec and in the North-West. It is a rather notable and significant fact

that the two prelates who pronounced upon the causes of the rebellion have in the clearest and the most emphatic terms declared that the responsibility of it rested, as THE POST has from the very beginning claimed and demonstrated, upon the shoulders of the Government at Ottawa, Archbishop Taché said :-"Stop making use of my name; "to defend the Government.

"They are responsible for the

"blood spilt and for the rebel-

Then, in his manifesto, His Grace wrote --"Minds too superficial alas! or too in terested to take a serious and impartial view of our difficulties, consider that they country is for the National demand unmishave accomplished their duties as citizens by exclaiming: 'Riel is the cause of all the | convinced from my own knowledge that more harm; it was he who did it all; he has than half the Protestant population of Irepaid for it, the country is safe now.' This | land would vote against the present arrangeexplanation is so unreasonable that if it were accepted, we might expect new dis- | be in favor of a settlement of the lines which turbances in the near future. "Therefore, I hope will be adopted by the Irish party." it is deceiving oneself or striving to deceive others, to throw ou one man alone the causes of the misfortunes which we all deplore."

Now, ye Pharisees and hypocrites who are making use of Episcpal documents and Papal Encyclicals to prevent the people of Canada from exercising their rights and accomplish ing their duty in the present crisis of our national life, what have ye to say to that supreme and impartial judgment of a great Catholic Archbishop? And what have ye to say of that noble and eloquent endorsation of the French Prelate of the West by the Irish words of Archbishap O'Brien, and tell us if the Cathetic Church is insensible to the sufferings and wrongs of an oppressed people. even if they only be savages and half-breeds, or if she is not always ready to uphold the cause of kumanity and justice, and appreciate the straggles made for the acquisition of the people's rights.

These are the sentiments and views of Archbishep O'Brien : -

"There is a recent foul stain on our pag echich a partisan prem and interested cabi net ministers care vainty trying to make indelible. In varn ; the sword that wrice in three lustrums stayed the march of land robbers and secured legal recognition of the rights of a people threatened with eatermina tion will never be called accurred.

The epirit of the Church is to day what is has been in all climes and through all ages,against tyranny and oppression and on the side of the weak and oppressed.

HER MATESTY THE QUEEN,

If the Queen of England is not more case ful she may live to hear her throne toppling about her ears. This thing of showing preference to one political party, before another, is a dangerous experiment for her to attempt thus late in her reign. But she did it with Disraeli-and she is doing it with the | using the sympathics of the people in or ser present administration in Britain. She bolstered up "the descendant of the impenitent thief," as O'Connell called the dead Benjamin, and she is now putting her shoulder to the wheel in propping up the doss'atknow-where he stands Salisbury. The people of Great Britain are in no humor for this kind of thing. They want the Queen to obtained by honest trade we would rekeep her hands off-to govern but not to rule. Her strongest claim to the admiration of her British subjects hitherto has been that ske did not interfere in politics. But latterly this signing policians"-might come terril ! he me claim has been disallowed. And by "British to roost. And so they have. They have subjects" we much residents of Great Britain only, and not even all of them. Irishmen are Hon. John Costigan stands before the frish not "Britons," and they may be left out of Catholics of Canada in his true light; steads reckening. But the Prince of Wales plays as he never stood before. With a prohis cards much better than his royal mother. He will not, it is said, dabble in politics on any account. He knows too well that to do people to give him atrength with the Governso might mean the doom of the throne. This ment in order to advance his personal interis the people's age, and Albert Edward understands it As a conctitutional king he may Home Rule resolutions were all "designs" of some day be acceptable, and Great Britain and this most actute of all astate "politicines." Archbishop O'Brien with Archbishop Tache I Ireland might be well satisfied to allow him all was money he wanted and it was money he are the only two prelates who have pro to become one, but as a partizan they would get, and here are the proofs as published by nounced directly and squarely on the merita | not put up with him for an hour. If Her | an in a letter signed "Facts" last evening. of the rebellion. All the other Bishops have Majesty was well advised she would do as her simply alluded to the political agitation and son does—let politics alone. If she doesn't given counsel and warning to their flocks not well, if she doesn't, the people of Great Britain and Ireland will soon have less to pay in 59,000 acres of grazing lands. This will be guilty government. Not one of these Bishops | doweries for her children. There will be one | found in the assetional papers for 1885, No. has discussed the cause of the rebellion or its less market for German beggar princes who 34, page 7." go a wooing, and yet this old world will jog along pretty much as usual, and the stars

ORANGEISM AGAINST HOME RULE. The London Daily News has sent a special his memorable manifecto, which all Canadians | commissioner (Mr. MacDonald) to Ireland to should read and read over again. This is collect data concerning the attitude of the bulk of the Irish Protestants on the question of Home Rule. Mr. MucDonald feels confident and already predicts that the majority ings, weigh all according to their inmost of the moderate "Loyalists," who are now conscience and in the balance of their love | more or less identified with the Orange party, of country, and then let them vote will sooner or later throw in their lot with "according to their convictions; the party of patriotism. Although the "such is their right and their Orange extremists are straining every to admonton, which runs into Victoria, the nerve to embitter the strife, a change Now, what is the right and the duty is working throughout Ulster, and the

constitution of 1782 adapted to present circumstances-will cause less disruption and work more satisfactorily than the federal scheme. When I was urged to offer myself to a constituency as a moderate Home Ruler. and to make an effort to reorganize that section of the party, I refused, as I believe the and the mode of action usually associated with | Irish people for their own selfish ends. that section, I might differ trom Mr. Parnell and his followers on some of their modes of action, but I believe there is no difference between us as to the end we seek. Hence I discountenance in every possible manner anything like opposition to the national candidate on the part of any professed Home Ruler. The takably-not the Catholic alone, but I am ment between England and Ireland, and would

Contrast these temperate and sensible views of an intelligent man with the ravings of the Orange fanatics, and ask which voice will the British Government listen to ?

We give below a few instances of the seditions and murderous talk of the gang that want to rule or ruin :-

Sir John Leslie, in a speech at Glasslough, exhorted all Protestants, in the event of an Irish Parliament being established, to refuse to pay taxes, to refrain from electing sepresentatives to such a Parliament, to disobey its assemblage. He advised the Orangera n not Prelate of the East. Read the following to act rashly. Doubtless, he said, it would be a pleasure to shoot the Catnolics like rate, but it would be wiser for them to reserve their cartridges until their wives and sisters were attacked. At all events, it was imperative that the enen of Ulster should arm them. selves and prepare for the worst.

> "Capt. Maxwell, speaking at Kells, County Meath, denounced the Paraeilites as diabolioal tyrants, who misappropriated their own Hunds and preached murder, robbery, arson, and tresson from morning to night.

> The Rev. Mr. Carter, in his greeches, was more moderate than the laymer. He said he was prepared to support an dresh Parliament if it would solemnly record its allegiance to imperial sule and abjure Papa! aug remacy and

Such sentiments as contained in the above are a diagrace to humshity, and that is why we insist that Orangelsm ought to be squel : hed unmerdially whenever it shows its vile and

"DESIGNING POLITICIANS." The Mon. John Coxtigan said that the spen who had determined to fight the Government over the Riel question were " designing politicians." By that he means men who were to advance their personal ends. Very well A few days after Mr. M. C. Cameron, M P. said that the Hon. John Costigan had r ceived an enormous tract of timber land at \$5 per maile; we replied by heattaking to accept this statement until proof was scrnished. If the lands were joice; but if obtained because John Contigen. was a party man and a minister of the Crewn. her we predicted that these wir is -" decome home with a vengenuoe. Theday the tence of Irish patriotism on his lips he was all the time using the sympathics of the ests. The New Brunswick school question and

-"In July iE82, one month after Sir John was sustained at the polls, Enort, Costigan. Hay and Anderson obtained a lease for

In the same year, and in the same month, the Mon. John Cestigan applied for and got his government are not to be turned will wink away as if they had nothing else north half of sec. 14 township 6, range 19, west of 2nd principal meridian, 324 series of valuable coal land. See sessional papers 1883, No. 36, page 5.

> Still in 1882, but this time in December, and only,a few mouths in office, "John Ryan Costigan, a son of the Minister of Inland Revenue, obtained south half of sec. 17, township 2, range 8, west of 2nd principal meridian, valuable coal lands."

"In 1885, John Costigan," still continues Facts" secured from the Government, of which he was and is a member, a binus of \$490,000 for a railway from Riviere du Loup county he represents. See votes and proceedings for 1885, page 664," and if there is

popular disgust at Orange braggadocio and Aud it must be remembered that these are We have thus shown that the French Moderates into the ranks of the Nationalists How many there were of which we know Bishops have dealt exclusively with incidents | The reasoning, fair minded and intelligent nothing we can only guess. But we know portion of the Protestant community and enough to understand the man at last. We even of the Orange party itself are surely have now proof enough to enable us to see drifting toward Home Rule. Mr. William that he has been "on the make" all the time. Shaw, ex-M.P. from Cork and formerly chief and while pretending to fight the battles of lieutenant of Issac Butt's Home Rule our people, he took very good care to do it in phalanx, speaking as an Irish Protestant, such a way that would enhance his own imsaid recently: "But I think now the plan | portance in order to make him all the more valuable to his Orange chief.

But it is better that the Irish Catholics of Canada should know their man. In future he and they will understand each other better. They might have suspected, from the associates he kept, that-all was not well, but now "Facts" are against him, and he will be remembered among our people as one of country has entirely departed from the policy | those "designing politicians" who used the

RIDEAU HALL

Rideau Hall and the Governor-General legs under the people's mahogany. In its at a cost of \$352, many of the taxpayers will think that they are paying a little too much for their whistle. This is a trifle, perhaps, but it is such trifles that make the beg swell and pile the bills of costs against the people's pocketbook. When we see \$8,200 paid one \$1,755 for telephones and telegrams; \$6,925 for travelling expenses; \$1,572 for stationery; \$6,392 for keeping the garden in order, and \$\$5,363 for furniture for sixteen years, we bagin to think that the Governor-General is not badly provided for, and we feel like orders, and generally to boycott the Catholic | having a good all-round constitutional grumble. It would not be so bad if this money was given to a man of the people's choice, but when we consider that the British Government cond us out some of their rag, toy and and bob-tail "noblemen" to govern us in this land, it cannot be wordered if we open the cabinets of our national brain and ask experts in ineanity to take a peep inside and tell us seriously if this country is in its senses. while some little midsummer night cherub, looking down from aloft, will cunningly unite and say: "What fools these mortals

THE "UNION JACK."

Freland will get Home Rule some day. No doubt about that. It may be Grattan's Home Rule; it may be a Federal Home Rule; it may be Home Rule such as we have in Canada, but it will be Home Rule of some kind. Well, when Ireland is settling her Home Rule account with Great Britain, there is the question of the flag to be arranged. The Union was a fraud. All men admit that. Eyron rightly called it "the Union of the shark with its prey," and historians in all dands admit that it was a national swindle and a wrong. Now if the Union itself was a traud the flag that represents the Union must to a fraud too. The people of Ireland did cut consent to the Legislative Union of the two countries. It was forced on them against their will. They never accepted it as a binding engagement, and they have never ceased to protest against it from the day it was made "law" down to the present hour. And if they repudiated having hand, act or part in the transaction so do they repudiate the flag that symbolizes it. The "Union Jack" may, er "law," he the flag of the Irish people. It may float over Dablin Gastle and flutter over the parapets which goard the Cove of Cork, but he fore the British colors are sincerely accepted by the Irisk people they must have the Harp, the Shamrock, or a spot of green some. where worked upon their folds. Here in Canada the "Ucion Jack," or, at least, the British ensign, carries the Dominion coat ofarms along with it-why not the new flag, which will symb lize Home Rule for Ireland and a hearty union with the Empire, carry "The Dear Little Shamrock" clustering on ita bordera?

LIP LOYALTY.

The Witness says that the Queen "acts wisely" in again appearing in public. Her Majesty opening the new Parliament, in the emblazoned pageantry of a royal show, is, according to the Witness, a wise act. Now. let us see where the "wisdom" comes in. The last time the Queen opened Parliament was during Disraeli's term of office. Gladstone then went into power, and the Queen never darkened the doors of the House of Lords during the time the Liberar chief guided the destinies of the Empire. Gladstone's term expires, and a general election is her anxiety for his triumph. When the elections are over the Conservatives retain power. the tottering power of her favorite adminisgration No Government that England ever Liberals are in the ascendant, and yet, in men we would call "British soldiers" were utterances cannot be taken as either a warn- already conquered more than half of the gan got in 1883, to cut timber in the disputed country. It is the "loyalty" of the helot to people have condemned. General Middleton and a few of his staff ing or a prohibition against taking part in the black north and the remainder will come in territory, as can be seen by the sessional his master, The time is past when the Queen There has been a lot of rubbish written

officers. The greater part of the remainder agitation to overthrow a Ministry which, in time. Mr. Macdonald says that what will papers for that year, No. 118, page 2, and is above the frank, but courteous, criticism of the press. When she does wrong, as she often does wrong in spite of all legal fiction to virulence which are rapidly driving the only the public grabs of which we know. the contrary, she is criticized by the English papers, and it is only here that "loyalty" becomes sycophantic in its tone. But it won't do-it won't do.

WHY?

Why can't a French Canadian or an frish

Catholic be Premier of this Dominion? We

ask the question because people generally appear to think that neither the one nor the other can ever hope to lead a government in this country. And we want to know the reason. Of course, in the public press, we will be told there is no reason, and such a contingency as a French Canadian or an Irish Catholic Pramier is not an impossibility. We hear platitudes about " a fair field," and all the rest. But we know what that means. It means that speech is being used to conceal the thoughts. But speak to any man you meet, British, or even the Freach Canadians and the Irish Catholics themselves. and ask them this question in conversation -costs the country \$174,717 a year. That is a | Why can't so and so, a French Canadian, or nice little bill for a young country to foot lor | so and so, an Irish Catholic, hope to become a vice-regal residence at its political capital. Premier of Canada, and you know what their To be aure there are a few entertainments, answer will be. They will frankly tell you given-an odd tobogganing party makes that no French Canadian or Irish Catholie merry on the grounds, and the members of loan ever be at the head of a government in Parliament are regularly invited to put their this country. They all appear to accept the situation as inevitable and, by doing so, conway that kind of thing is right enough, but tribute to their own humiliation. We grant when three pianos are purchased in one year | that in the exigencies of parties, as now conat a cost of \$2,500, and three more are hired stituted, that it might be difficult for au Irish Catholic to form a government in Canada, but we do not grant the eternal fitness of this state of affairs. Our nation produced the greatest orator that ever stood within the walls of the Parliament in this country, and it may produce his equal as a year for light and fuel; \$135 for newspapers; statesman, without his failings in other respects, to-morrow or the day after. Why. then, should we admit that an Irish Catholic cannot be a Premier here. As for the French Canadians, they have a greater claim, because they have greater opportunities. If we were French we would insist on having a French Canadian Premier, and we would do our best to prevent the exclusion of our people from the highest office in the gift of the people. That is the kind of "backing down" we would show in the present crisis. What may the French Canadians?

HOW THE INDIANS ARE TREATHD.

THE Rev. John McDougall, a missionary among the Indians of the North-West, lets in some very fierce light upon the manner in which the government treats the Indians, He describes the policy of the Indian Department as a "cut-throat one" and denounces the officials for their shameful and immoral lives, some of whom were a disgrace to the lowest barbarism, let alone oivilization. These are frightful charges and show that there must be something terribly rotten somewhere. The Rev. gentleman in the course of his letter writes: "How often we have preached the gospel of patience, have tried to show that the great distance, the lack of speedy transport, the this big country, were some of the reasons why the Government was behind hand. Og course we could not find, nor did we try to find, any excuse for the promises made, but not fulfilled, for the cut-throat policy often exhibited and sometimes enforced by officials of the Indian Department, for the shameful and immoral lives of many of the employes of the same. Some of these were a disgrace to the lowest barbarism, let alone civilization. Nor how could we, when earnestly trying to teach the Indians habite of industry and thrift, be expected to excuse the laziness and incompetency of many sent into the count if to teach the wards of the Government these lessons we have been working for them to acquire for so many years. Moreover, could we be blamed when we telt strongly that something was wrong in a system which allowed such men in its branch of the service. Give us men as Indian Department employes of every grade, who will be true to their country, if not to their God, and who will have manhood enough to refrain from licentiousness and blasphemy and drunkennass and laziness, and on the other cand will have force of character enough to command the respect of all parties, native and foreign. and who will, by precept and example, teach the Indian to develop an independent spirit, which will make him industrious, thrifty and law abiding."

MR. BLAKE'S SPEECH. The Hon. Edward Blake has spoken. His speech is full of promise and of hope for the country, but full of censure and reprobation of the Government's administration of public affairs. Mr. Blake has examined the wounds and the distress from which the country is suffering, and he has placed a mighty grip upon the culprits who have inflicted this suffering upon our young confederation, deterheld. The returns from the different con- mined to bring them to justice and to have scituencies are only half in when the Queen | them punished for their crimes in office. In sends for the Conservative chief, and shows olden days the ministers would have been impeached as traitors to their trust; but in those modern times the penalty for the men although in a minority, and the Queen once | who by their criminal neglect and incapacity more appears in public in order to bolster up | produced the sad results of the rebellion is milder-" too mild," says Mr. Blake, "for such an offence as theirs." This mild penalty, had stood so noticeably between the devil and | which consists in a simple withdrawal of the the sleep sca as the present Government in power they have abused, of the confidence Britain. Without the Parnellites, the they have betrayed, the people are called upon to inflict, and Mr. Blake adds that he face of this fact, we are told that the Queen | will not so far despair of his country as "acts wisely" in letting her subjects under- to doubt the answer made to that call. stand she is a Tory, and that she will only By this he gives us to understand that he any doubt about his having made enough "appear in public" when Tories rule the realizes the full seriousness of the situation,