THE CATHOLIC CONVENTION.

A Life-long Liberal on Grit Treachery and Tergiversation.

Mr. O'Hanly on Irish Representation.

Scathing Denunciation of the Ruling Party.

Some Principles and Pledges that Have been Violated During the past Five Years.

In response to an invitation issued by Mr. John O'Donohoe, a large number of Catholic gentlemen assembled in St. Lawrence Hall on Tuesday afternoon "for the purpose of considering the question of representation in Parliament, and other important matters affecting our interests."

Among those in attendance were Hon. Frank Smith, Messrs. John O'Donohoe, John Shea, J. J. Foy, J. Britton, T. McCrosson (*Tribune*), A. Robertson (*Tribune*), J. J. Mallon (*Tribune*), B. B. Hughes, T. Barry, P. Boyle (*Irish Canadian*), N. Murphy, J. Herbert, J. E. Robertson, P. Ryan, C. P. Archbold, D. O'Connor, G. Evans, M. Ryan, C. McManus, C. B. Doherty, T. Lalor, E. McKeown, Wm. Ryan, Jos. A. Donovan, John Scully, S. Lee, W. Rennie, Thos. Walls, J. McKeown (St. Catharines), F. C. Flannery, John Gray (Prescott), P. Harte (Hamilton), J. L. P. O'Hanly (Ottawa), J. Moran (Hamilton), J. P. McMillan (Guelph), J. A. Welsh (Hamilton), J. G. Lavin (Hamilton.)

At half past two o'clock, proceedings commenced by the election of Mr. Thomas Barry as chairman, and Mr. J. E. Robertson as secretary.

Mr. McCrosson said he desired to take exception to the manner in which the meeting had been called. At the last meeting in May, 1877, a Committee had been appointed to call a future meeting, consisting of Messrs. Merrick, O'Donohoe, McCrosson, Hughes, and another whom he could not name. (Cries of "Name.") This meeting had been informally called by Mr. O'Donohoe, without consultation with the other members of the Committee.

The Chairman called Mr. McCrosson to order. This meeting had nothing to do with any previous one. Mr. O'Donohoe should be allowed to explain the object of convening it.

Some very excited discussion ensued.

The Chairman said if the meeting did not obey his ruling he should resign his position. He ruled that, being called over the signature of Mr. O'Donohoe to attend in that hall, they should hear that gentleman's explanation of the objects of the meeting before anyone else was heard. (Cheers.)

Mr. O'Donohoe said the part which, in connection with the Catholics of this city and the Province, he had taken in the past should, at all events, he thought, merit for him the opportunity of explaining the purpose he had in view when he asked some of his co-religionists and fellow-countrymen to come together. Having acted with them from the time of his arrival in Toronto to that hour, he was able to appeal to them to say if they could point to one public act of his of which they were ashamed. Wherever their interest and his own had been in question, his had been no longer considered. He had surrendered all selfish views with the hope and in the belief of taking an active part in gaining for the Catholics of Ontario the position which he thought, by their numbers, wealth, and intelligence, they were entitled to. The object he had in calling that meeting together was one with which (the correspondence he had showed) the Catholics of the Province were in unision. They longed for the opportunity of meeting together to consider the position in which they were placed and the course which they should take in the coming election. (Cheers.) Every part of the community, except the Catholic body, had its political organization, and it was important that Catholics should from time to time come together and compare notes, review the past, and consider their future course. Since the Catholic League was started they had had various interviews with the heads of parties, and had time and again endeavoured to hold them to their engagements and their promises to that League, whose object was the due representation of the Catholic body. He would postpone his further remarks until the evening, merely stating that no other object was contemplated than the submission to the meeting of questions affecting the general body. Mr. O'Donohoe suggested that Messrs. J. J. Foy, J. L. P. O'Hanly, J. Gray, N. Murphy, and J. O'Donohoe should form a committee to draft resolutions to be submitted to the evening meeting.

Mr. Shea said this was altogether a one-sided affair. There was some deceit at the bottom of it. All that committee was composed of Conservatives who never gave a Reform vote in their lives.

Mr. O'Donohoe said the man there or elsewhere who took him for anything else than a Reformer, as he had ever been, made a great mistake. (Cheers.) It was only by a system of insinuation that these statements had been made, would anyone tell him what he had done which had made him a Conservative. If he could tell him that, it was more than he (Mr. O'Donohoe) knew. (Cheers.)

The resolution was carried, the names of the mover and seconder being added.

The meeting then adjourned till evening.

Shortly before eight o'clock, the meeting was again called to order.

In the absence of Mr. Robertson, Mr. J. J. Foy was elected to act as Secretary.

Mr. Gray then moved, seconded by Mr. Nicholas Murphy,

"That, in the opinion of this meeting no political party should receive the support of the Irish Roman Catholics of this Province, unless such party is prepared to do them full justice in the matter of representation in the Dominion Parliament and the Ontario Legislature, and give them a fair share in the administration of public affairs."

He said he was glad the task of making any political allusions had not devolved upon him, as he had been asked to give an independent political expression of his views at the amphitheatre next Thursday and Friday evenings. He thought no one present would have any hesitation in endorsing the resolution he had submitted, for under our constitution, guaranteeing civil and religious liberty to all Her Majesty's subjects, Catholics were entitled to the same privileges and rights as any other section in this Dominion, and certainly the right to participate in the legislation, the Government, the legislative and administrative functions of this country was one which any Catholic who had any aspiration to make a history for himself in this country should contend and struggle for in a legitimate and proper manner. Catholics had granted these privileges to Protestants, and he was sure that, when the misconceptions which existed as to the teaching of the Catholic Church were removed, Protestant prejudices against the admission of Catholics to similar privileges would disappear. When the Separate School Bill was introduced into the Parliament of Canada by Mr. Scott, and opposed by men who were Reform leaders to-day, Sir John Macdonald said—"Gentlemen, the principle of civil and religious liberty must be vindicated; the Catholics of Ontario are entitled to the same privileges and rights as the Protestants of Quebec." (Cheers.) And he was followed and endorsed by the late lamented and distinguished John Hillyard Cameron, Grand Master of the Orangemen. It was one of the most sublime, one of the most patriotic acts any Canadian statesman ever performed—one which Catholics should always remember. (Cheers and dissent.)

Mr. McCrosson said the gentleman was not speaking to the resolution.

Mr. Gray said the Catholics of Ontario should raise their voice and use their influence, and demand that the intolerant spirit against them should be crushed out of existence. They had a right to representation in Parliament and in the Legislature, as the Protestants had in Quebec. He moved the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. N. Murphy, in seconding the resolution, said it must commend itself to everybody, no matter what his politics might be. No country could succeed in which every class had not an equally fair share in the representation and in the administration of public affairs. If a certain class turned their backs upon a man because he was a Catholic, an Irishman, a Scotchman, or even an Orangeman, that was wrong. Every person in the community should have his rights, and he (Mr. Murphy) would like to see his Catholic fellow-countrymen throw a little of the love they had for their old land around this new land of their adoption, and be as patriotic for Canada as they were for Ireland. He would like to see them acting in the community, supporting every movement which was for the good of Canada, and taking their proper position in the discussion of public affairs, and their seats in the Legislatures of the country. (Cheers.)

Mr. Peter Ryan moved in amendment,

"That, as Mr. John O'Donohoe, at the meeting held on this day at St. Lawrence Hall, acknowledged that it was called by himself personally, and not as a representative of Catholic opinion, until such time as a representative Catholic will convene a meeting, no definite action can or should be taken."

Mr. Ryan contended that we were living under just laws, that every office was open to Protestant and Catholic alike, on fair and equal terms—the only difference being that Catholics, being in a minority, might not have the same number of offices that Protestants had, but that was a common hardship of minorities. He did not think passing a resolution like that proposed would tend to raise them in the eyes of Protestants. There was no means by which Mr. O'Donohoe could make the Catholic vote a solid vote. Catholics, like others, had their own views and he hoped they ever would.

After much squabbling, the division was taken and the Chairman declared the resolution to be lost, adding, "I don't know who is in the pay of the Government or who is not."

Mr. John O'Donohoe, in coming forward to move the next resolution, was received with loud cheers. He said he owed an apology to gentlemen who had come from the country on his invitation, but he should never have invited them had he any anticipation that a scene such as had occurred could have taken place among a community of Catholics in this city. He had heard some one say in the course of the evening that he (Mr. O'Donohoe) had gone Tory. When a man stated that, he ought to be able to point to act or utterance of his to confirm it. He was exactly where he had ever been. He had in early life studied out the platform of the Reform party, and that platform had commended itself to him. He had stood on that platform when few Catholics in Toronto would stand upon it. (Cheers.) He had been standing upon it ever since—he was standing upon it that night, and he intended to stand upon it. (Cheers.) Their agitation and work together had improved the condition of this Province, had given them a Legislature and a Government which was satisfactory to them, because they had if the former the number of their own people to which they were entitled and had in the Government a member of their body. They had just the proportion which in the Catholic League they had contended was their right. That agitation and work had affected both the political parties in this Province. The Reformers, being pressed, elected a certain number of Catholics, and the Conservatives, to show that they could be liberal, returned others, so that, from Reformers vying with Conservative, they had elected nine Catholics to the Legislature. Those who had taken an active part in that agitation had a right to be proud of its fruit. The whole atmosphere of the Province had been improved by it, and in Ontario the state of things was good. But they must do the same thing with the other House. It was their duty to go to work and make the Dominion House just as liberal, and, after examining the case there and remembering all that had occurred in their efforts to get representation there, they would be undeserving of the position they had taken in the commencement and continued, if they did not meet and see if there was nothing to be done to remedy their position in the Dominion Parliament. There were eighty-eight constituencies in this Province, but while the Catholics were between a fifth and a sixth of the population, they had not one representative in the House of Commons. They must press this upon parties, for if they remained perfectly idle neither would take them by the hand to help them to their rights. (Cheers.) Their duty was never to stop until they wrested from all parties their fair share of the representative positions of the country. It was all very well for Mr. Ryan to say he hoped their young men looked for other things, but if he had been a member of Parliament and had the patronage of a county, and knew how many of their young men were asking for positions in the Custom House, or the Post Office, or other Departments, he would feel that there was a great injustice in not having some one to help them to a position. All the public offices in the country were in the hands of the representatives, and any petitions sent to the Minister were so much waste paper. It was a mistake to see anything discreditable in asking for their share of the taxes which they paid, or in desiring to place their young men in public offices. The questions which had brought them together that day were what he was describing to them, and those who had known him since he fought the first battle in Toronto knew that he could not be deterred by fear. The whole western mob had once come to mob him because he was going to move a resolution that it was not fit that members of the Orange body should be in the police force. When the vote came up in the House of Commons for the expulsion of Riel, only himself and one man more from this Province voted against that expulsion. (Loud cheers.) Neither Mackenzie, nor Blake, nor the present Lieut.-Governor, all of whom pressed him, succeeded in inducing him to do it. When he had office and thought he could make another move in the public interest, he did not hold the office, though it was worth a considerable amount in the year, and he was a poor man. (Cheers.) It grieved him excessively to think that, after spending his life in that way, when he called men together in a friendly way, some should come fermented, ready to boil over with passion, to rage without knowing for what. If he said he had changed his position, it would be a different thing, but it ought not to be believed of him until he told the story himself. He was not there to change his position, his platform or his politics—(cheers)—but he was there to show them that Alexander Mackenzie and his Government had changed their politics and their platform and had violated every plank upon which they had ever stood. (Loud cheers and cries of "No.") He would show them that he was true to the platform and the Government were false to it. (Cheers and cries of "No" and "Yes.") The very first plank in that platform was the immorality of coalition Governments. (Hear, hear.) It was one plank on which he had stood with that party. Had Alexander Mackenzie maintained that plank? There was not a shred of it left. Before taking office, Mr. Mackenzie opposed the increase of Ministers' salaries proposed by Sir John Macdonald, but during the last five years, notwithstanding the depressed state of the country, he had not attempted to reduce those salaries. And so with the other planks in the Reform platform. He (Mr. O'Donohoe) was on the platform he was ever on, but to every plank in that platform the Ministry of Alexander Mackenzie had been unfaithful. They had promised civil service reform, but had not attempted to carry it out. Why had they not done as the Joly Government had done in Quebec—reduced the number of civil servants and pared down their own salaries in order to bring the expenditure within the revenue? That was economy, but they found no economy at Ottawa, though there was any amount of hypocrisy there. (Cheers and uproar.) Some people might whisper that John O'Donohoe was disappointed, and was therefore going against the Government. (A Voice—That is it.) If a man wanted favours he never went against the Government. The place-hunter was the man whom they found raising his voice for the Government and making a fuss, and bringing his tail of rowdies with him to a public meeting. (Cheers.) They could always tell the place-hunters. They were as easily seen as black sheep in the whitest flock. (Cheers.) If he had been a place-hunter he could have got the place, if he had been prepared to give up his principles. (Hear, hear.) He did not propose to go minutely into fiscal questions, because they had been fairly dealt with at most of the public meetings, but there was another question to which he would crave their attention as one more particularly referring to themselves. In 1872 they were moving for the purpose of getting representation, and they conferred with the leading political parties—the Conservatives as well as the Reformers—because as the constitution of the Catholic League showed, that body was organized irrespective of party politics. The Reformers then made the most solemn promises that the Catholic body should have not only the share of representation to which their numbers entitled them, but should be represented in the Government when they attained power, and should be part and parcel with them in all the affairs of state. That was what the Catholics were entitled to, because the other portion of the electorate was pretty evenly divided, and the side on which the Catholics, if nearly united, went was sure to succeed. They got the promises of the Reformers in writing, but that was about all the fruit of the interviews. This action was not taken by himself alone, but by Mr. McCrosson, Mr. Hughes, and others. He would read the questions which were put to both the leading men. One was:—

"Are you prepared in good faith to guarantee us, as far as you are able, the support of your party to secure to the Catholics of Ontario their fair representation, according to their numbers, in the Legislature of the Province of Ontario and Dominion of Canada?"

The answer of the leader of the Reform party—because, no matter who was at the head of the Government or at the other end of it, there was no question that Mr. Brown was in fact the Government—was "Yes." Another question was—

"Name the constituencies in which the influence and support of your party would be exerted for the election of eligible Catholic candidates at the approaching election."

The answer was—

"It is impossible to name particular constituencies, but answer to No. 1 meets this amply."

The third point was—

"The Catholic electors are, it is thought, strongest in the following constituencies:—Essex, Kent, South Perth, North Wellington, Cardwell, Ottawa City, East Peterboro, South Grenville, Russell, Carleton, County of Prescott, East Toronto, Welland and Haldimand."

To this Mr. Brown replied—

"No doubt the Catholics are influential in all these constituencies—so influential, indeed, that in five of them the Reform party have been unable to bring forward candidates for lack of their support. The Reform party has shown its good will by bringing forward Catholic candidates in four of them, and it is certain the union of the Reform and Catholic votes would insure success in nearly all of these."

How had this union been carried out? He (Mr. O'Donohoe) believed that their Scotch friends had some forty-five members of Parliament from Ontario while the Catholics had not one.

Mr. P. Ryan—Are not the Catholics themselves to blame for that?

Mr. O'Donohoe said no; the illiberality of the party with whom they had been working and whom they put into power was to blame. He had spoken and worked in every part of the Province at that time in behalf of that party because he believed in the sincerity of their promises and in their platform, and because he believed he was making a move which would benefit every Catholic in Canada. During all that time no one had any means of knowing what their intentions were except as they expressed them. Believing in their promises and professions, they did everything to join the Catholic body with them but there was no opportunity of testing their sincerity then. Since they had got the Government into their hands they had had a chance of showing their liberality, and they had shown it by leaving the Catholics just where they were. (Cheers.) He was one man whom all the Governments that ever lived could not pull at their tail unless they did justice to the Catholic body. They had dilly-dallied and had left the Catholics without a representative in Parliament or in the Government. The last time Mr. Mackenzie was in Toronto he was in his (Mr. O'Donohoe's) office, still talking about representatives, but the fact was the Government thought the writs would soon be issued, and he (Mr. O'Donohoe) would have no opportunity of showing his opinion of their deceit. (Hear, hear.) On matters affecting the Catholic body and the country they had shown themselves to be one-sided. In the matter of immigration they had filled this country from one quarter of the world to the prejudice of the Catholics. They had favoured their own people leaving the country, and had done nothing to bring them back. Let them listen to the Postmaster-General in Argenteuil—(hear, hear)—appealing to the Protestants of Lower Canada, although Lower Canada acted in a very different spirit of liberality from that exhibited in Ontario. From 65 constituencies in Lower Canada, they sent fifteen Protestants to the House, and in that Catholic Province of Quebec a Protestant was at the head of the Government. Yet the Hon. Mr. Huntington appeled to the Protestants to join the Liberal party to keep down the growth of Ultramontanism. Did Alexander Mackenzie repudiate those sentiments and say "either you or I must leave the Government unless they are repudiated"? No, and those sentiments, which affected all of them, when uttered by a Cabinet Minister, the Government must be held responsible for, unless they repudiated them. A sign of how much the Government party prized them was the fact that at a convention in this city they had brought out as a candidate for Parliamentary honours the only Reformer whom they found going up to vote against a Catholic. (Cheers.) They thought they could not find better evidence of intense hatred to Catholicity than in a Reformer of life standing, who would not vote for him (Mr. O'Donohoe) because he was a Catholic, and now, forsooth, the Catholics were to go and vote for Mr. Galley. Whatever their differences in politics might be, the only true course for them to take was to cast their votes against such a man, no matter what his opponent might be. (Cheers.) To show further what he believed to be the intense bigotry of the Government, he referred to the proceedings connected with the visit of adelegation from a Catholic meeting to Mr. Mackenzie. At a large and influential meeting of representative Irish and other Catholic Liberals from all parts of the Province of Ontario, and from the City of Montreal, supporters of the Dominion Government, at the Marlborough House in this city, on May 24th, 1875, the following preamble and resolution were adopted unanimously on the motion of Mr. Thomas McCrosson, seconded by Mr. James Doyle:—

"1. Whereas, since the concession of Responsible Government to this Colony, the two great political parties, who alternately ruled its destinies, have, in the formation of their governments, recognized the principle of class and sectional representation in the Cabinet; and whilst it is desirable that the sounder system of choosing the Sovereign's Advisers from the best and ablest statesmen of either party during its supremacy should prevail, yet it cannot be gainsaid that the mode hitherto practiced has given pretty general satisfaction; and, therefore, seems to be well adapted for the transition state of a new country, with a heterogeneous population sparsely scattered over a large area, and with ideas and interests necessarily varied, and often apparently conflicting. Indeed, so satisfactory has the trial seemed to be under the union of the two Canadas, that it has been continued under the larger confederation of the British North American Provinces.

"2. And whereas, during this long interval the Irish Catholic Section of our population has been successively represented at the "Council Board" by the Hopourable Messrs. Drummond, Aylen, McGee, Kenny, and O'Connor; and that it is only on two occasions that the leaders of either party ventured to set aside a custom, having from long usage the force of law, viz.:—1st, On the elevation of Mr. Drummond to the Bench, and 2nd, On the retirement of Sir Edward Kenny, and in each case for so short a time that Irish Catholics were led to believe, that the violation was exceptional, and not to be considered as a precedent in the future.

"3. And whereas, at the formation of the present Government, Irish Catholic Liberals, of all others, were least prepared to see this principle set aside in their case, whilst conceded to the Maritime Provinces, and to the Protestant minority of the Province of Quebec. They would not murmur at an experimental attempt at introducing the sounder and better system of the indiscriminate selection of Ministers, exclusive of all considerations but fitness; and would not only be quite prepared to run their chance of preferment, and stand aside if they could not from their ranks furnish statesmen equally competent with any other class of the community from which to mould Cabinet Ministers, and bide their time for maturing better material, but would be ready to second all efforts in the direction of introducing so laudable a reform. But they saw with surprise, if not alarm, that the class, of all others, who, in consequence of their meagre representation in Parliament, were necessarily most in want of all the support which a Cabinet Minister could bring them, selected to be the *experimented* of the new policy; and it is difficult to divest themselves of the unpleasant impressions that this very weakness has left them an easy prey to innovation. They expected far different results from the accession to power of the Reform party—an expectation reasonably founded on the avowed professions of that party, on the hopes held out to them by the Reform Convention of 1867, and on the promises of the accredited leaders of the party. Hopes and promises successfully used by Irish Liberals in their efforts to induce their co-religionists to rally to the support of the Liberal banner, and to which, they think, in no small degree is due the triumph of the Reform cause.

"4. And whereas, it is for the consolidation and maintenance of Liberal principles in this country, and to stifle the growing dissatisfaction with the governing party which has yet scarcely found a tongue, as well as to baffle the fair promises of support held out by the Conservatives, rather than from consideration of class or personal aggrandizement that they venture to respectfully remonstrate with the Premier, and point out the necessity of remedying this cause of growing uneasiness while it is not yet too late, and to assure him that nothing short of an Irish Catholic representative in his Cabinet, whose feelings and sympathies have been known to be in accord with the great mass of Irish Liberals, one who possesses their confidence, and whose antecedents are a guarantee for the future, will allay the growing discontent so plainly discernible, and restore that confidence in the promises and professions of the Reform party, which manifestly influenced so large a number of Irish Catholics to give them a hearty and generous support; and which, they think, so essential to the growth and stability of the Liberal party in all the Provinces of the Dominion.

"Be it therefore resolved, that the following gentlemen—[Here follows list of names]—with power to add to their number, be appointed a deputation to proceed, at the call of the Chair, to Ottawa, to lay the foregoing preamble and this resolution before the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie on an early day after his return from Europe."

The deputation waited on the Premier on the 12th March, at Ottawa, and immediately afterwards drew up and signed minutes of the interview. The minutes were signed by Messrs. J. O'Donohoe, J. D. Merrick, R. Nagle, M. Starrs, T. McCrosson and J. L. P. O'Hanly, Mr. Boyle also accompanied the deputation, but the Premier refused to discuss political matters in his presence, and Mr. Boyle therefore withdrew. The Premier also refused to give the deputation a written reply.

Mr. McCrosson said he had objected to Mr. Boyle being added to the deputation, and some gentlemen refused to go with him.

Mr. O'Donohoe said he had not heard of the objections. Mr. Mackenzie had refused to give them a reply to lay before their constituents, those by whom they were appointed. It was disrespect of the worst kind to that body.

Mr. B. B. Hughes—What body?

Mr. O'Donohoe—The body for whom we were acting. They were acting not for themselves but for the large meeting which delegated them. He never knew of a delegation of that kind being treated in such a manner. At the next meeting, however, which was held at the Marlborough House, minutes of the interview taken by the Premier's Secretary were in the possession of Mr. Waller who had come up to oppose them. That was not right. Mr. Mackenzie was a public servant and they were all paying him. When they were in Ottawa, they asked Mr. Waller, who was then Mayor, to accompany them, but he advised them that the best time to go to Mr. Mackenzie would be after the approaching general elections. That would be a very suitable time to attempt to obtain representation. Soon after Mr. Waller, who had given them such disinterested advice, obtained a registrarship. (Hear, hear.) That was the kind of men they had to deal with, and if Mr. Waller were present that night, he would be just as active as some other people were for the same reason. (Cheers.) His opinion of Mr. Mackenzie's discourtesy on that occasion was not, however, unsupported. Before the Marlborough House meeting in 1877, the delegates met and adopted the following report, Mr. McCrosson alone dissenting:—

The deputation appointed by the meeting of Irish and other Liberal Catholics, supporters of the Dominion Government, held at the Marlborough House, Toronto, on the 24th May, 1875, for submitting the deliberations of that meeting to the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie, beg leave to report:

1. That your deputation had by appointment the honour of an interview with Hon. Alexander Mackenzie at his official residence, Ottawa, on the 12th March, 1877.

2. That at the formal introduction of the members of your deputation, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie objected to the discussion of political subjects of a party nature in the presence of certain members of your deputation, whom he considered unfriendly to his Government. Whereupon Mr. Patrick Boyle, on being satisfied that he was the objectionable party referred to, voluntarily retired. Your deputation cannot but express their deep regret at this unforward incident, and think that Hon. Mr. Mackenzie's conduct was, to say the least, in exceedingly bad taste in refusing to hold communication with Mr. Boyle, in his official capacity as a recognized member of your delegation; and had not Mr. Boyle voluntarily chosen to withdraw, no alternative would have been left your deputation but to retire *en masse*.

3. That on the retirement of Mr. Boyle, the chairman (Mr. John O'Donohoe) commenced by reading the official proceedings constituting your delegation, and the preamble and resolutions unanimously adopted by your meeting for the presentation to Hon. Alexander Mackenzie. After a somewhat protracted discussion the interview was brought to a close by the refusal of Hon. Mr. Mackenzie to give any reply *verbal* or written to the deliberations of your assembly, or the representations of your delegation.

4. Your deputation cannot close this report, the final conclusion of their official labours, without, however, reluctantly informing your assembly that you or I must leave the Government unless they are repudiated"? No, and those sentiments, which affected all of them, when uttered by a Cabinet Minister, the Government must be held responsible for, unless they repudiated them. A sign of how much the Government party prized them was the fact that at a convention in this city they had brought out as a candidate for Parliamentary honours the only Reformer whom they found going up to vote against a Catholic. (Cheers.) They thought they could not find better evidence of intense hatred to Catholicity than in a Reformer of life standing, who would not vote for him (Mr. O'Donohoe) because he was a Catholic, and now, forsooth, the Catholics were to go and vote for Mr. Galley. Whatever their differences in politics might be, the only true course for them to take was to cast their votes against such a man, no matter what his opponent might be. (Cheers.) To show further what he believed to be the intense bigotry of the Government, he referred to the proceedings connected with the visit of adelegation from a Catholic meeting to Mr. Mackenzie. At a large and influential meeting of representative Irish and other Catholic Liberals from all parts of the Province of Ontario, and from the City of Montreal, supporters of the Dominion Government, at the Marlborough House in this city, on May 24th, 1875, the following preamble and resolution were adopted unanimously on the motion of Mr. Thomas McCrosson, seconded by Mr. James Doyle:—

"1. Whereas, since the concession of Responsible Government to this Colony, the two great political parties, who alternately ruled its destinies, have, in the formation of their governments, recognized the principle of class and sectional representation in the Cabinet; and whilst it is desirable that the sounder system of choosing the Sovereign's Advisers from the best and ablest statesmen of either party during its supremacy should prevail, yet it cannot be gainsaid that the mode hitherto practiced has given pretty general satisfaction; and, therefore, seems to be well adapted for the transition state of a new country, with a heterogeneous population sparsely scattered over a large area, and with ideas and interests necessarily varied, and often apparently conflicting. Indeed, so satisfactory has the trial seemed to be under the union of the two Canadas, that it has been continued under the larger confederation of the British North American Provinces.

"2. And whereas, during this long interval the Irish Catholic Section of our population has been successively represented at the "Council Board" by the Hopourable Messrs. Drummond, Aylen, McGee, Kenny, and O'Connor; and that it is only on two occasions that the leaders of either party ventured to set aside a custom, having from long usage the force of law, viz.:—1st, On the elevation of Mr. Drummond to the Bench, and 2nd, On the retirement of Sir Edward Kenny, and in each case for so short a time that Irish Catholics were led to believe, that the violation was exceptional, and not to be considered as a precedent in the future.

"3. And whereas, at the formation of the present Government, Irish Catholic Liberals, of all others, were least prepared to see this principle set aside in their case, whilst conceded to the Maritime Provinces, and to the Protestant minority of the Province of Quebec. They would not murmur at an experimental attempt at introducing the sounder and better system of the indiscriminate selection of Ministers, exclusive of all considerations but fitness; and would not only be quite prepared to run their chance of preferment, and stand aside if they could not from their ranks furnish statesmen equally competent with any other class of the community from which to mould Cabinet Ministers, and bide their time for maturing better material, but would be ready to second all efforts in the direction of introducing so laudable a reform. But they saw with surprise, if not alarm, that the class, of all others, who, in consequence of their meagre representation in Parliament, were necessarily most in want of all the support which a Cabinet Minister could bring them, selected to be the *experimented* of the new policy; and it is difficult to divest themselves of the unpleasant impressions that this very weakness has left them an easy prey to innovation. They expected far different results from the accession to power of the Reform party—an expectation reasonably founded on the avowed professions of that party, on the hopes held out to them by the Reform Convention of 1867, and on the promises of the accredited leaders of the party. Hopes and promises successfully used by Irish Liberals in their efforts to induce their co-religionists to rally to the support of the Liberal banner, and to which, they think, in no small degree is due the triumph of the Reform cause.

"4. And whereas, it is for the consolidation and maintenance of Liberal principles in this country, and to stifle the growing dissatisfaction with the governing party which has yet scarcely found a tongue, as well as to baffle the fair promises of support held out by the Conservatives, rather than from consideration of class or personal aggrandizement that they venture to respectfully remonstrate with the Premier, and point out the necessity of remedying this cause of growing uneasiness while it is not yet too late, and to assure him that nothing short of an Irish Catholic representative in his Cabinet, whose feelings and sympathies have been known to be in accord with the great mass of Irish Liberals, one who possesses their confidence, and whose antecedents are a guarantee for the future, will allay the growing discontent so plainly discernible, and restore that confidence in the promises and professions of the Reform party, which manifestly influenced so large a number of Irish Catholics to give them a hearty and generous support; and which, they think, so essential to the growth and stability of the Liberal party in all the Provinces of the Dominion.

"Be it therefore resolved, that the following gentlemen—[Here follows list of names]—with power to add to their number, be appointed a deputation to proceed, at the call of the Chair, to Ottawa, to lay the foregoing preamble and this resolution before the Hon. Alexander Mackenzie on an early day after his return from Europe."

The deputation waited on the Premier on the 12th March, at Ottawa, and immediately afterwards drew up and signed minutes of the interview. The minutes were signed by Messrs. J. O'Donohoe, J. D. Merrick, R. Nagle, M. Starrs, T. McCrosson and J. L. P. O'Hanly, Mr. Boyle also accompanied the deputation, but the Premier refused to discuss political matters in his presence, and Mr. Boyle therefore withdrew. The Premier also refused to give the deputation a written reply.

Mr. McCrosson said he had objected to Mr. Boyle being added to the deputation, and some gentlemen refused to go with him.

Mr. O'Donohoe said he had not heard of the objections. Mr. Mackenzie had refused to give them a reply to lay before their constituents, those by whom they were appointed. It was disrespect of the worst kind to that body.

Mr. B. B. Hughes—What body?

Mr. O'Donohoe—The body for whom we were acting. They were acting not for themselves but for the large meeting which delegated them. He never knew of a delegation of that kind being treated in such a manner. At the next meeting, however, which was held at the Marlborough House, minutes of the interview taken by the Premier's Secretary were in the possession of Mr. Waller who had come up to oppose them. That was not right. Mr. Mackenzie was a public servant and they were all paying him. When they were in Ottawa, they asked Mr. Waller, who was then Mayor, to accompany them, but he advised them that the best time to go to Mr. Mackenzie would be after the approaching general elections. That would be a very suitable time to attempt to obtain representation. Soon after Mr. Waller, who had given them such disinterested advice, obtained a registrarship. (Hear, hear.) That was the kind of men they had to deal with, and if Mr. Waller were present that night, he would be just as active as some other people were for the same reason. (Cheers.) His opinion of Mr. Mackenzie's discourtesy on that occasion was not, however, unsupported. Before the Marlborough House meeting in 1877, the delegates met and adopted the following report, Mr. McCrosson alone dissenting:—

The deputation appointed by the meeting of Irish and other Liberal Catholics, supporters of the Dominion Government, held at the Marlborough House, Toronto, on the 24th May, 1875, for submitting the deliberations of that meeting to the Honourable Alexander Mackenzie, beg leave to report:

1. That your deputation had by appointment the honour of an interview with Hon. Alexander Mackenzie at his official residence, Ottawa, on the 12th March, 1877.

2. That at the formal introduction of the members of your deputation, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie objected to the discussion of political subjects of a party nature in the presence of certain members of your deputation, whom he considered unfriendly to his Government. Whereupon Mr. Patrick Boyle, on being satisfied that he was the objectionable party referred to, voluntarily retired. Your deputation cannot but express their deep regret at this unforward incident, and think that Hon. Mr. Mackenzie's conduct was, to say the least, in exceedingly bad taste in refusing to hold communication with Mr. Boyle, in his official capacity as a recognized member of your delegation; and had not Mr. Boyle voluntarily chosen to withdraw, no alternative would have been left your deputation but to retire *en masse*.

3. That on the retirement of Mr. Boyle, the chairman (Mr. John O'Donohoe) commenced by reading the official proceedings constituting your delegation, and the preamble and resolutions unanimously adopted by your meeting for the presentation to Hon. Alexander Mackenzie. After a somewhat protracted discussion the interview was brought to a close by the refusal of Hon. Mr. Mackenzie to give any reply *verbal* or written to the deliberations of your assembly, or the representations of your delegation.

4. Your deputation cannot close this report, the final conclusion of their official labours, without, however, reluctantly informing your assembly that Hon. Mr. Mackenzie held out to your deputation not the faintest hopes of conforming to, or even seriously entertaining, the propositions set forth in your proceedings, and which by your meeting was considered of first importance, not only to the interest of your class, but to the consolidation and stability of the Liberal party throughout the whole Dominion. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie told your deputation that he had already done that which your meeting unanimously and in the most emphatic manner declared he has so far failed to do, and thereby undertook to constitute himself a better judge than your meeting of matters which more immediately and directly concerned the political rights of Irish Catholics in Canada. And while the members of your deputation individually, save and except Mr. Boyle, were very courteously received by Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, they are nevertheless in duty and justice to the authority which constituted them bound to add that in their opinion, Hon. Mr. Mackenzie did not give that consideration to the representations embodied in the minutes, which the gravity of the subject and the character of the meeting from which it emanated were justly entitled to from a statesman imbued with a due appreciation of the important interests in his keeping. Indeed, it does appear to your delegation that Hon. Mr. Mackenzie wandered out of his way in intimating to your deputation that he could if he desired get other meetings of Irish Catholic Liberals, and supporters of the Government, equally numerous, equally influential, equally respectable, to endorse his policy, or in other words, to adopt a course the very reverse of your assembly, an assertion, in the opinion of your delegation, entirely unwarranted.

5. Your delegation refrain from making suggestion as to future action, except the broad and fundamental one, Organize! Organize!! They, however, earnestly hope that your meeting before separating, will take energetic action for promoting the union of Irishmen in Canada, the only sure means to secure them practical equality in legislation and administration as enjoyed by the other nationalities, which constitute the population of this country; and they sincerely trust that the Irishmen of Canada will never consent to contract alliance with any political party unprepared or unwilling to treat them on any terms short of absolute equality.

All of which is nevertheless respectfully submitted.

Carried.

J. O'DONOHOE,
Chairman.

Mr. McCrosson dissenting.

That was the history of their interview with Mr. Mackenzie. He asked if that gentleman from the day he took office to the present hour, had disregarded all his promises to them, had treated them with contempt when they called upon him, and in so treating the delegates had treated the whole of the Catholics of Ontario with contempt, would the Catholics of this Province say the conduct of that man and that Government was such as they ought to sustain? (Cries of "No, no," and "Yes.") Let Mr. Mackenzie be decapitated. Let him leave that position. Let them take men who would fulfil their programme, and the fault might cease to be spoken of; but as long as they had been in office they had been as extravagant and as bad as any Government which ever existed in Canada—(cheers)—for of all the jobs ever perpetrated in this country, the blackest and the foulest are the Foster jobs. (Loud cheers.) He was not there as the supporter or the apologist of Sir John Macdonald. He had nothing to say about him or his party. He professed himself as he had ever been, and, he trusted, ever would be—a Reformer. But, if the Government of Ontario acted as had that of the Dominion, much as he respected it and upheld it, he would oppose it as he would oppose to the very last the Administration of Alexander Mackenzie. (Loud cheers.) Let them change their men, take Mr. Mackenzie away, and place a man at the head of affairs who would be true to his principles, and he (Mr. O'Donohoe,) would be found back in their ranks fighting for them; but it would be first necessary for them to repudiate the utterances of their Postmaster-General at Argenteuil, (cheers,) it would be next necessary for them to make on apology for the conduct of their Prime Minister to the Catholic people through their delegation, and next, it would be necessary for them to reform his acts and show that instead of unbounded extravagance they would set out with economy the platform upon which they received support, because, if Ministers could say one thing to a constituency on the eve of an election, and traverse that when in power, where was political immorality to end? Had they no political independence, to say to a Government, "We will dispose of you as of any other servant when you fail to perform your duties?" Would any merchant keep a dishonest or incapable servant rather than look for one who might be better? If such a man there were, he was on a par with those who said, "Keep in Mackenzie and his Government for fear you may get a worse one." (Cheers.) After apologizing for detaining the meeting so long, Mr. O'Donohoe pointed out that this was the only means he had of explaining his position to them. He had received over a hundred letters in response to his invitations, all breathing the same view that something should be done to secure representative positions for the Catholic body. He suggested that in one or two months, when the heat of the political contest was over, another meeting should be held for the purpose of organization. After stating the pleasure he should derive from seeing Messrs. P. Hughes and John O'Connor returned for Niagara and Russell respectively, he concluded by moving the following resolution:—

"1. Whereas the principles of the Reform party, as enunciated through its recognized exponents—conventions, press, and leaders—may be summarized as follows:—

1st. Government by party, or no coalition of opposing political parties.

2nd. Independence of the people's representatives of the power of the "Crown" or Executive.

3rd. The absolute control of Parliament over all public moneys, the utmost vigilance over all appropriated expenditure, a stern prohibition of the practice of unauthorized expenditure by the Executive, and that every sum voted should be for a specific and definite purpose.

4th. Economy and efficiency in the administration of public affairs; 5th. Strict conformity with, and faithful adherence to the theory and practice of the responsibility of Ministers to the people.

"2. And whereas, we believe that principles and professions commended themselves to the good sense of the people, who believed that their practical application would redound to the country's benefit, and with faith in the promises and pledges of their accredited leaders, accorded them a hearty support and generous confidence to enable them to inaugurate and carry them out.

3. And whereas, after five year's trial, with the most ample opportunity ofe giving effect to thes professions and proving their own sincerity, backed by a majority in the House of Commons, unexampled in the constitutional history of this country, all the principles, professions and promises of the Reform party have