

man would have better success in convincing the Catholics of Essex. Toronto that the Christian Brothers were not entitled to an act of incorporation, than was the Orange Society; and that if incorporation be granted to the Christian Brothers, then it would be right to give the same to the Orange Lodges." It had also been a feature of the session that on more than one occasion the members for Lincoln and South Grey had risen in their places to denounce in strong terms, and very unmeasured language, the conduct of the Rev. Horrocks Cocks, who, so these hon. gentlemen alleged, had in some of his addresses before emigration meetings in Great Britain, made use of expressions with reference to the Catholics of Canada which could only be considered as insulting and offensive; and these hon. gentlemen appeared to take it very much to heart that the Roman Catholics of the Province should have been so insulted; but here was a measure, the passage of which through this House would be a greater insult to the Catholic body than any words or expressions of a hundred such men as Horrocks Cocks, and yet these hon. gentlemen remained discreetly silent since the first stage of this measure, and were now giving their votes and assistance towards placing upon the statute books of this Province a standing insult, if not actual legislative approbation, of a standing menace to the whole Roman Catholic body. Some hon. gentlemen opposite had deemed it a fitting thing to intimate to him that his opposition to this measure would result disastrously to himself; and the hon. member from Lennox had ventured upon a prophecy, of which he (Mr. Fraser) had not quite gathered the meaning or purport. It was open to the interpretation that he might never again return to Parliament, or that, though returning, he would find himself in the unfortunate dilemma of being what the member from Lennox had defined himself to be, "a sheep without a shepherd." However that might be, he (Mr. Fraser) had never hesitated to speak out boldly and fearlessly on this, and on all other matters and measures, and for the results on himself he cared nothing; and it might be as well for hon. gentlemen to understand that they could neither frighten nor deter him by intimating or threatening that he would not return to this House again. He had never been indebted to Orangemen, as a body, for anything but their resentment and most bitter opposition, and were he but to give his personal experiences of this organization, he might be led to say and assert things which would give hon. gentlemen opposite infinitely more reason to accuse him of making inflammatory speeches, but that course he would studiously avoid. It was wrong to accuse him of anything of that kind, and though the supporters of this Bill had in more than one instance continued their habits of intolerance and made inflammatory harangues, he would content himself with using the words and actions of others as reasons for his opposition to this measure; so that to the very fullest he might avoid the charge of attempting to arouse prejudices or feelings in the country on the one side or the other. The grounds upon which he based his opposition to this measure, were in effect that the Society was a secret one, that it was either political or politico-religious, and that its constitution and laws made it plain that its objects were a standing menace and active antagonism to the Catholic population of this Province, and that for all these reasons statutory incorporation of the Association would not only be imprudent but absolutely unwise, and if accomplished could only be regarded in the light of legislative sanction and approbation of an organization which more than once had been condemned by the Imperial Parliament, which had frequently been (to use a mild term) unfavorably criticised by the most eminent English statesmen of all shades and parties politically, and which had been twice refused incorporation by the old Canadian Parliaments. He had already at length given to the House the reply of Lord Palmerston in 1857 to the deputation of Orange officials who then waited upon him with a remonstrance as to the non-appointment of Orange Magistrates. That noble Lord then expressed his opinion very strongly against the continuance of the Orange body, and intimated "that the very foundation on which it rests casts a reflection on the institutions of the Empire that the protection of individuals should be left to the law of the land, the formation of private associations for such a purpose not being consonant with or suitable to the spirit of the times in which we live; and that it was really offensive, as regards the Government and institutions of the country, to say that the general government of the nation was not adequate to protect individuals in their rights." This was the deliberately expressed opinion of Lord Palmerston when leader of his Government, and that continued to be his opinion during all his public career. Before however making further reference to the opinions of Imperial statesmen he (Mr. Fraser) desired to draw the special attention of the House to the fact that the old Parliament of Canada, under the leadership of Robert Baldwin had passed a very stringent measure for the suppression of all Secret Societies; so stringent indeed was it in its terms, that such Societies as the Odd Fellows were included within its provisions, and a petition was presented by the Odd Fellows praying that they might be excluded from the effect of the law then proposed. The Bill itself was styled "An Act for the discouragement of Secret Societies," and went to its third reading on the 4th November, 1843, and was passed by a majority of 55 to 13. In the same session of the same Parliament there was also passed an Act to restrain party processions. Later on the Orange organization asked the same Parliament for an Act of incorporation, and was refused it almost without a dissenting voice, and later still in 1858, a similar attempt to get the sanction of statutory incorporation only passed a first reading by the casting vote of the Speaker, and on the same day in a few minutes afterwards was on its second reading defeated by a large majority within the walls of the very Chamber in which the House was now assembled. Previous to 1858 the Orange body had also sought for incorporation in New Brunswick, and though the measure succeeded in getting through the Legislature then, it was subsequently, and without hesitation, disallowed by the Home authorities. In fact the Attorney General of that Province, then leading its Government, endorsed the disallowance of the measure. Another Provincial Legislature—that of Prince Edward—had also passed, through its various stages, a bill for the incorporation of the Orange body; but that too had never become law, because it had subsequently been disallowed. It was remarkable also that the measure before the Parliament of Canada was, in its terms, the same as that now before the House, and asked for nothing more, apparently, than the power to hold lands and to sue and be sued in a corporate capacity; and precisely the same arguments were then, as now, urged in its favor—that no harm could result from the body being allowed incorporation for these purposes, that its refusal would not weaken the organization, that Catholic bodies had been incorporated, and that therefore it would be unfair, and invidious to refuse like legislation to Orangemen. In fact the arguments offered in favor of the present measure are precisely those used over and over again in the Colonies and elsewhere; and always with the same result that in the end prevailed—the wise judgment that it would not be prudent or defensible legislation to grant any such Act of incorporation. This action of the Provincial legislatures was only in consonance with the previous and subsequent action of the Imperial Parliament and Imperial statesmen. He proposed to quote to the House at some length, the action of the Imperial authorities, and in doing so he would avoid all reference to those portions of the discussion in the English Parliament which might possibly, be-

cause of the serious charges against Orangemen contained in them, be likely to arouse the feelings of hon. gentlemen belonging to the Orange body, and perhaps lead to warm retort and recrimination on both sides. He was anxiously desirous of avoiding any semblance of bigotry or intolerance or harshness in his discussion of this matter, and therefore he intended to confine himself to quotations from Protestant statesmen and Protestant authorities only. In so doing he was sure that the warmest promoters of this Bill would not be fairly able to urge against him any charge of using either improper or unfair arguments. Hitherto he had avoided all reference that could in the slightest be considered as offensive to the religious feelings of any hon. gentleman present. He had always considered this question as not in any sense or in any way one between Protestants as a body, and Catholics as a body, but only one between Orangemen and Catholics, which was an entirely different affair. But though looking upon it in that light, he did not intend to cite against this organization any of those acts in its past history and conduct which all outside of this Orange body, whether Protestant or Catholic, alike condemned. Because were he to cite these things it would immediately be charged to him that he was endeavouring to excite feelings and prejudices and animosities in the country, and that he was appealing to those prejudices rather than to good reason and sound argument. He believed that every well-wisher of his country should strive to allay these feelings, and for his part his discussion of the [measure] would, he hoped be such as would show that he was such a well-wisher. The hon. gentleman then proceeded to draw the attention of the House to the fact that investigations as to the Orange Society had been set on foot as early as 1813, and that a committee had then entered upon "an inquiry into certain illegal societies, called Orange in Ireland;" and on that occasion both Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh concurred in deprecating the existence of those lodges and Societies. A further discussion had arisen in the House of Commons in 1827, and the result of these enquiries and the legislation of the day was, as the hon. gentleman quoted from *Blackwood* that, all these and similar Societies in Ireland were suppressed. But immediately after the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act the Orange Lodges sprang up both in Ireland and England—were subsequently introduced into Scotland, and very quickly found their way into the regiments of the regular army. The existence of Lodges amongst these regiments was formally brought before the attention of the English Parliament in March of the year 1835 by the member for Kilkenny, who moved for a select committee to inquire into the nature, character, extent and tendency of Orange Lodges, associations, or societies in Ireland. This inquiry disclosed the ramifications of the organization throughout the Army, and was followed by an address from the Commons to the King, and the reply thereto the King made in August of 1835, acknowledging that he had received an address and certain resolutions on the subject of Orange lodges in the army, and saying that he owed it no less to the dignity of his Crown than to the safety of the country and the welfare of the army, to discourage and prevent any attempts to introduce secret societies into its ranks, and that it was his determination to adopt the most effectual means for that purpose. Mr. Fraser then proceeded to call the attention of the House to the subsequent action of the Imperial Parliament on the motion of Mr. Hume, the member for Middlesex, and to the opinions expressed during the course of the debate consequent upon the motion. The debate and everything connected with it, assumed special importance in view of the fact that the Orange Society had then extended to this Province, and that the investigation under Mr. Hume's motion embraced an inquiry into the working, extent and character of the Orange body in this Province. Mr. Hume's motion for a Committee was made on 10th August 1835, and was for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the Orange Lodges in Great Britain and the Colonies. Thus it would be seen two distinct Committees had in 1835 been appointed—one to inquire into the Orange Associations in Ireland, and the other into the similar Associations in Great Britain and the Colonies. The Irish Committee consisted of 27 members, of whom 13 were Conservatives, one or two Neutrals, and the remainder Liberals, and this Committee sat for over five months, but closed without making any report. The other Committee was composed of twenty-eight members, only one of whom was a Catholic, and all of whom were members from either England or Scotland. The facts brought out before these Committees spread over a period of some forty years. The English Committee, as it was styled, examined some eighteen witnesses, only one of whom was not an Orangeman, and he was a Mr. Innis, a member of the Scotch bar, and the other testimony before this Committee was almost entirely composed of extracts from the official correspondence and records of the two Grand Lodges of England and Ireland. He again called the attention of the House to his intention to exclude from his remarks all reference to the various acts, whether of violence or otherwise, proved against the organization in the investigations before these Committees; but he wished the attention of hon. gentlemen to an extract from the proceedings of the Grand Lodge held in Portman Square on the 19th April, 1832, the extract being one from the blue book or appendix containing the proceedings of the Committee. It stated "that with a view to extend the advantages of our excellent institution in Upper and Lower Canada—for the purpose, too, of disseminating its principles far and wide—on the recommendation of the Grand Committee, whose members had examined documents and testimonials of his eligibility, the Grand Lodge have appointed Ogilvie Robert Gowan, Esq., to be the Deputy Grand Master of all the Provinces of British North America, with the dependencies, colonies and settlements belonging, appertaining or adjacent thereto." He (Mr. Fraser) found further that Mr. Gowan was stated as "desirous of being recognised by the Grand Lodge of the Empire, and of being under the cognizance and command of its royal and most illustrious Grand Master, and that he was certified to be not only a sound Protestant and most zealous Orangeman, but worthy in every way of filling the exalted and responsible situation to which he was aspiring." This Mr. Gowan to whom this authority was given appeared by the appendix to have been declared by a Mr. Ryves Baker, the Deputy Grand Treasurer of the Irish Orange Society, to be a man of bad character, and the Grand Lodge of Dublin actually forwarded documents in support of the same opinion, and remonstrated against his appointment by their English brethren on the ground of his moral unfitness and of their own jurisdiction over the Canadas. This was in 1832, and in the letter book of the English Society there was then the entry of a report and communication from the Grand Lodge of Canada, for the year 1834, and from this he (Mr. Fraser) found that there were then 12,853 Orangemen in Canada, divided under 17 county, 40 district and 154 private lodges. He also found from the same appendix that the measure of allegiance of these 12,000 and odd of Orangemen then in Canada was given by a Colonel Blacker, who, on the authority of communications between the Orangemen of the North of Ireland with their brethren in Canada, boasted "that the Orangemen of Canada were then anxiously watching the proceedings of the Government of England towards the Protestants of Ireland; in order to see what part they should take as to assisting England in the preservation of Canada; that in fact their devotion to the British Crown would be regulated by the conduct of the Government in that respect." He drew the attention of the House to these quotations from the appendix in order to show that the Committee

was making actual enquiry into the organization and its objects and tendencies here, and that therefore the subsequent action of the Imperial Parliament, was peculiarly relevant and in fact unanswerable now as an argument against the present measure. Hon. gentlemen could not pretend to say but what Orange lodges of this Province to-day are precisely what they were in 1834, with perhaps this difference, that the oath now administered to the members is made more stringent and precise in its wording. And as they are now what they were then in all essential features, it followed that the action of England's King and England's Parliament adversely to this Association, could to-day be fairly quoted against this Society when now asking legislative sanction to its existence. When Mr. Shiel's motion as to addresses presented to the King from certain lodges was before the English Commons in 1835, Sir Robert Peel, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, said that he had never sought to conceal his opinions upon the subject, and that he had always been of opinion that those who wished for the tranquility and peace of Ireland ought not to set the example of establishing those dangerous associations, and above all that they should avoid language which might tend to keep up the feelings which engendered them. He (Mr. Fraser) wished the House to understand that he had used Sir Robert Peel's exact words, and once for all would say that throughout his remarks to the House, he would say as nearly as possible the exact words of those whose opinions he would cite. This debate on those addresses, however, had reminded him that the hon. member for South Leeds had placed a particular stress upon the fact that the Orange body of Ontario had shortly after the visit of the Prince of Wales to this country presented an address to the Queen at the foot of the throne, but he begged to remind the hon. member from Leeds that no reply had ever been given to that address; and even if such a reply had been given it, would not have been entitled to any weight in this discussion, as would appear clearly from the remarks of Sir Robert Peel, who, in the debate referred to, said "the main question after all was this—did the Crown mean by returning the answer to the addresses presented by the Orange societies, to give any sanction to those societies, or to declare an opinion that exclusive confederacies, whether legal or illegal bound together by secret oaths and declarations, were societies that ought to exist; he (Sir Robert) had no hesitation in saying that by a compliance with a mere matter of form, or by the inadvertent use of an expression, it was not the intention of the Crown or Ministers to encourage any exclusive confederacy, or to imply an opinion that such a confederacy was lawful." At this point the hour for the discussion of private bills had expired, and the debate was adjourned, Mr. Fraser stating that he would have to occupy the time of the House a considerable length.

THURSDAY, MARCH 20.

On Thursday Mr. Fraser resumed the debate by remarking that he hoped anything he had said or anything that he might say would not be received as being intended to create any sectarian or religious feeling. He was sincerely desirous to avoid any personal remarks of his own, which could in the opinion of any, even the most active supporter of the measure, be construed, as being prompted by religious feeling. Before taking up the opinions expressed in the debate in the English Commons he wished to again draw the attention of the House to the action of the Old Parliament of Canada on the Secret Societies Bill in 1843. He had heard this season a good deal about Baldwin Reformers, and not a few of the hon. gentlemen opposite were rather proud at least seemingly so, of their being what they call themselves "Baldwin Reformers." Here was a matter as to which Baldwin had pronounced unmistakably his opinion and his principles; and he, when leader of the Canadian Parliament in 1843, had introduced this measure for the suppression of all secret societies. Three different divisions had been taken in the old Parliament on this secret societies Bill, and the Baldwin Reformers were all to be found on one side, and that in favour of the measure. In the final division on this secret Societies Bill he found voting with Mr. Baldwin and in favour of the Bill such men as Boswell and Cameron—a name-sake of the hon. member for Essex—Toronto, who Mr. Fraser regretted was not following his namesake, but very stoutly stood up for the Orange body. Voting then with Baldwin, he also found Childs and Christie and he (Mr. Fraser) was happy to know that in this House there was also a Christie (the member for North Westworth) also voting in the same way. There was a Cook, too, who supported the Secret Societies Bill, and to-day there was also a Cook (the member for Dundas) unhesitatingly following in the same direction. The names of Daly, Harrison, Hinks, (Sir Francis), Holmes, Hopkins, and Hamilton were also in the division list with Baldwin. He wished that the hon. member for Prescott, also a Hamilton, were now following the Hamilton of that day, and not doing so unwise a thing as supporting actively the incorporation of the Orange Institution. Besides those already named there were Killaly, D. McDonald, John Sandfield Macdonald, Melville, Howard, Simpson, Small, Wakefield, Price, Prince and others. The Prince of that day was he believed the father of the present member for Essex, and it was gratifying to him (Mr. Fraser) to now find the son loyally adhering to the opinions of the father, to at least the extent of not encouraging the Orange Society by incorporating that body. Most of those whom he had named from the division list were Baldwin Reformers, and it was not yet too late for a number of the hon. gentlemen present, who called themselves "Baldwin Reformers," to fall into line and recognize the correctness of their old leader's views, and to follow now the vote of their party predecessors on this question. He observed that the hon. member for South Brant, who had been absent from his seat yesterday, was now in his place, and he (Mr. Fraser) desired to draw that hon. gentleman's attention to his statement that if the Orange Association could be said to be a political one, that the House could not for a moment entertain a Bill for its incorporation. He (Mr. Fraser) hoped that before he concluded he would have proved to the satisfaction of the hon. member for Brant that the Society was not only political, but for other reasons was not such an organization as should be receiving the active encouragement of an Act of Incorporation from the House. With these, as it were, desultory remarks, he would proceed with bringing forward the opinions of English statesmen as expressed in the debate in the English Commons to which he referred yesterday, reminding the House that yesterday he had made special mention that the debate in question included within its scope the Orange body now asking for incorporation. Mr. Fraser then quoted from Hansard, showing that in addition to Sir Robert Peel's opinion quoted yesterday, and which he (Sir Robert) had expressed when a member of the English Government, he had also in a subsequent debate of the same year said, that "he was sure it would be for the tranquillity of Ireland, that an end should be put to all the Secret Societies in that country—that the existence of any of them was an evil, inasmuch as it held out a bad example to others—and that his opinion and his wish were not only that an end should be put to all such associations, but he also wished to see the spirit in which they originated, entirely and effectually suppressed." And in the same speech Sir Robert Peel, then the leader of the opposition, expressed his readiness on the part of the Opposition to move and support a motion for an address to His Majesty, praying for the taking of such steps as to the King "might seem most desirable to discountenance all Secret Societies having secret signs and excluding persons on account of difference in reli-

gious sentiments." Lord John Russell, also, when not in Government, and on the debate referring to lodges in the regular army, had stated broadly "that he was an enemy to all secret societies, and if by further inquiry, by the appointment of select Committees, or by any other means, they (the Commons) might be better enabled to get at the nature, the tendency, and the extent of such societies, he for one should readily embrace those means, convinced as he was, that in suppressing all secret societies he should be doing that which would tend most to the harmony of Ireland, and he might say to the peaceful profession of the religious sentiments of every class of His Majesty's subjects in that country." This was the expression of Lord John Russell when he was in opposition and Sir Robert Peel was in power, but very shortly after the Peel Administration went out and Lord Melbourne's Ministry came in, and in that ministry Lord John Russell held the position of Home Secretary. It was under the Melbourne administration that occurred the debate on Mr. Hume's motion, and during that debate Lord John Russell made a lengthy speech, from which he would make a few quotations. Lord John then said—amongst other things—that he must express his strong feeling that the effect of these societies had been injurious to the good government of the country. He (Mr. Fraser) wished to give the House Lord John's exact words and they were these: "The moment you create such societies and organise them into districts and lodges, and so forth, you make a distinction between them and the other parts of the King's subjects, who immediately form into similar societies under some other denomination, and thus institute a perpetual and ever recurring source of quarrelling, discontent and insubordination. It is another evil of these societies, when they unite persons of the lowest order with many of the highest, that the lowest are accustomed to look to those who are high in authority in their own society as the leaders whom they ought to obey, instead of obeying the Crown and the depositaries in whom the trust of the Crown is placed. By sanctioning such societies you do so far weaken the allegiance of the subject that you give him two leaders—you give him two sovereigns instead of one. And while in the one case there is required only that abstract allegiance which yields to no passion, in the other there is a combination of party and passion and sectarian feeling, making the difference between an obedience to what is salutary and beneficial, and an obedience to what is turbulent and factious. It is another evil of these societies—and I am speaking now of their natural constitution—it is another evil that being thus supported by their leaders and imbued with party feeling, they hold to that party feeling in spite of the supremacy of the law. Thus a state comes to be divided into parties suspiciously fearful of each other, and when a case is brought into a court of law, instead of its being decided on the principle of justice, those united in these societies think the prosecution is directed against them, and in this way hostile party feelings are generated, which are most injurious to the pure and quiet course of justice." Further on in the same debate, Lord John Russell referred to the opinion of Lord Caledon, who, in his examination before the Committee, had said that he neither did nor would subscribe to the position that the word Orangemen meant Protestants generally, that he considered the Orange system as tending to disunite Protestants, when their religion alone should be a sufficient bond for their union, that every subject of these realms was bound to look to the laws of his country exclusively for protection in all cases; and it was most dangerous to inculcate upon the population of this empire, that it was unsafe for them to do so, that he (Lord Caledon) not only objected to the foundation of all party associations on these grounds, but likewise from their tendency to give individuals a power and influence unknown to the constitution. That admirable and conciliatory speech—and even the prominent Orangemen, then members of the House of Commons, were compelled to laud its tone and temper and good sense—that speech of Lord John Russell was closed with a few concise sentences remarkable for their apt application to the discussion on this measure now before the House. Mr. Fraser read Lord John Russell's concluding words which were as follows: "The Protestant, the Catholic, the Presbyterian—every man of every faith—should deem the British Constitution and the British law sufficient for his protection without any other auxiliary. If these are not found sufficient, let complaint be made to Parliament, and if ministers, on such complaint, neglect their duty, then let the blame rest upon them, and let punishment follow. If the judges of the land, or any person in trust, do not perform their duty purely, impartially and uprightly, let complaint be made in Parliament of inattention and partiality, and let that complaint be strictly and promptly attended to. With these observations I will conclude by imploring the well-disposed of all parties to dismiss from their thoughts all reliance upon such false, inadequate, partial and mischievous protections as those Societies afford, and to rely only upon the laws and the constitution. Such societies are only calculated to subject upright and well-disposed men to the machinations and practices of the vilest adventurers. For the good and the virtuous—and good and virtuous men belong to the association—these secret societies are powerless and useless, but they are both useful and powerful for mischief to active and designing intriguers. Let all good men, then, abandon them, and confide in the powers of the constitution for the upholding of justice and of freedom—confide too in that publicity of proceeding which is one of the great elements of the constitution." To these words of Lord John Russell he thought nothing could well be added. When one considered that they were the words of a responsible Minister of the Crown; that they were well weighed and expressed a deliberate opinion formed upon the patient five months' investigation of the Committees, how forcibly did they not, as he continued, apply to the continuance of the Orange organization in this Province, where there was not a shadow of an excuse for such a society. He could conceive the promoters of this Bill, making some pretence of argument to justify in days long past, the existence and continuance of Orange Societies in Ireland; but supposing such a state of affairs to be admitted, for argument's sake, to have had place in Ireland—and he wished hon. gentlemen to bear in mind that he did not make any such admission except it were for argument's sake and that alone—the first essential difference in this Province consisted in the proportion of Protestants and Catholics in the population. That alone would entirely alter the character and tendency and necessity of Canadian Orangism. Here the Orange Society had no body of Catholics of which it could even pretend to be afraid or have any fears, and therefore Orangism here could be nothing more nor less than bigotry and intolerance, and unless politics were its real end and object and element, one could scarcely realize what else could be its objects or purposes. Mr. Maxwell, a leading Orangeman, who took part in the debate in the Commons, had said "that secret political societies were in themselves great evils and could only be justified upon the ground of there being an absolute necessity for their existence," and of course he (Mr. Maxwell) attempted to justify the existence of Orangism in Ireland on the ground that Protestant institutions were threatened with extinction. But even on Mr. Maxwell's ground what justification of the Orange body in Ontario? What hon. gentleman in his senses would dare to assert that there was any such necessity here? To say that Protestant institutions in this Province were in any sense in danger much less threatened with extinction, would only leave one open to be laughed at for the utter nonsense of such an assertion. Here Mr. Fraser read from Hansard an extract from a

speech of Viscount Melbourne, the leader of the then administration, made in the House of Lords, in 1835, on a motion of the Marquis of Londonderry relative to the House of Commons report on Orange Societies in which Viscount Melbourne said he "adverse to all societies of a secret character, whether they were corresponding societies or political unions, whether they were presided over by Princes of the Blood or only by operative mechanics, he had always considered—although he was aware that they might comprehend many men of the highest honor and sincerity—that they were dangerous. The members of such societies did not know what they had done, what they were doing, or what they might do. And when the whole conduct of the Society was presented to their view, they were surprised at the proceedings of which they were without being aware of it, had been partakers. Honorable hands of men, or agents, who were seldom persons of the greatest discretion, of the purest motives, or of the best conduct." Pretty strong words were these of Viscount Melbourne, and if he (Mr. Fraser) had advanced them as his own, no doubt hon. gentlemen supporting this Bill would have asserted that he was using inflammatory language and appealing to passion and prejudice. But being the ever else might be said of them, they could not be objected to by Orangemen as having been prompted by either intolerance or illiberality. He recalled to the attention of the House that Mr. Maxwell had, in speaking of the Orange Society, of which he was a prominent member, used the words "secret political societies," because he (Mr. Fraser) was objecting to the incorporation of the Orange Society, for the reason, mainly, that it was a secret political society, and this admission of Mr. Maxwell might be said to be conclusive proof of this ground of objection. He had already pointed out that the Orange Association in this Province was to-day what it was in 1835, and what the Orange Association here was in 1835, was precisely what it then was in England and Ireland, and so when Mr. Maxwell then spoke of that society to which he belonged, and of which he was one of the most prominent members, as being a secret political society, it really proved the whole case and established beyond contradiction that the Orange Associations of Ontario were secret political societies in the same sense as were the Orange societies there condemned by the House of Commons in 1835 on the motion of Lord John Russell. Mr. Fraser continued to quote from Hansard, and the speeches of leading politicians, and to comment at length thereon. Leading and prominent Orangemen had taken part in that debate—amongst others the Deputy Grand Treasurer and Deputy Grand Master—Lord John Russell's motion, except that they commented specially in the motion, when the words "political societies" in the same motion would as they argued include within its meaning the Orange Societies. That very objection to Lord John Russell's motion was also a conclusive proof of his (Mr. Fraser's) position that the Orange body was nothing more nor less than a secret political society. Because in truth the Orange members of the House of Commons did not pretend to deny it, or argue to the contrary.

Mr. Fraser had not concluded when the hour for Private Bills had expired.

MONDAY, MARCH 24.

In resuming the debate on Monday Mr. Fraser said that he proposed to test the feeling of the House on the motion. He had already spoken at length on the subject on two previous occasions, when he gave expression not so much to his own views as those of others. He had quoted the opinions of Sir Robert Peel, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, and also when a private member of Parliament, to show that he had distinctly declared that he was opposed to the Orange Association and all other secret societies. He (the speaker) had also shown that within these very walls similar legislation to that now asked for had been refused twice by the old Parliament of Canada, and he had referred to the action of Mr. Robert Baldwin in the matter of secret societies. Lord John Russell had laid down his views just as strongly as Sir Robert Peel, and the Imperial Parliament had, after hearing the reports of a committee of enquiry, taken strong ground against the existence of all secret societies, including, of course, the Orange. He (the speaker) had quoted these past records with a view of showing that he was not taking a bigoted stand, or an illiberal one. He might, if he so wished, talk the present Bill out of the House; but he did not propose to do anything of the kind, for he did not desire any ill-feelings which might spring up from the measure should, in any sense, be laid to his charge, and he wished to discuss it with quiet feelings, and to make a conciliatory speech. If he were to give his own feelings as regards the Society, and relate his own experience of it, he would have to speak with great warmth. But he proposed to still confine his remarks almost entirely to giving to the House the views of other persons on the subject. Hon. gentlemen would remember that he had already mentioned the fact that the New Brunswick Legislature passed a Bill some years since to incorporate the Orange Society; but the Attorney General said that he would advise the Crown to disallow it, and that it was disallowed accordingly. There was thus an additional, substantial reason why this House should not give legislative sanction to a body which should not have it. The speaker proceeded to quote the opinion of Mr. Hume, the member for Middlesex, who declared that the Orange Society had not only extended its ramifications throughout Ireland, but was spreading confusion throughout Scotland, and Mr. Hume took very decided ground against allowing the organization to exist. That gentleman quoted the evidence of a Scotchman named Innes, to the effect that in Scotland Orange Lodges were continually disturbing the peace; that the Ribbonmen were compelled to organize in self-defence against the Orangemen. Mr. Innes moved a strong resolution against Orange legislation; and he (Mr. Fraser) asked the House to remember that the committee which enquired into the Orange Societies of the old country also enquired into the working of the Orange Society in Upper Canada. Mr. Patton, another member of the Imperial Parliament, also drew up a resolution on the subject praying the King to suppress the Orange organization. A strong point to be gathered from the debate in the Imperial Parliament was that even the leading men of the body in the House of Commons, when Lord John Russell's resolution was under consideration, only took the simple ground that the words "Orange societies" should be omitted, as they pointed out in an insulting or invidious sense, the Orange members held, that that organization specially was intended to be suppressed. There was also Mr. Smith O'Brien, who was not one who would look at the matter from a Catholic standpoint, but who was opposed to the existence of Orange and other secret societies, as was also Viscount Melbourne who objected to the Orange Society, believing that secret societies were dangerous to the public peace. A resolution had been unanimously passed by the English House of Commons, urging upon the King the taking of such measures as would tend to the discontinuance of the existence of Orange Lodges and secret religious societies generally. The Imperial House, after due deliberation on the report of a committee which labored for five weeks, and which took its evidence, chiefly from Orangemen, carried the following resolution *nem. con.*—"That an humble address be presented to His Majesty, praying that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to take such measures as may be considered desirable for the effectual discouragement of Orange lodges