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House

IRISH CATHOLICS!

THEIR POLITICAL POSITION IN THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO.

-:0:-MR. O'HANLY'S REPLY TO MR. WALLER'S LECTURE. -:0:--

In justice to the letter we now publish from Mr. O'Hanley, we must remark that we have not published Mr. Waller's lecture, but we shall be glad to do se if someone sends us a copy of it :---

(To the Editor of the Globe.) SIE-Having published Mr. Waller's lecture, I trust that you are impartial enough to publish a reply. It was my intention to consign the insulting and illogical tirade to the limbo of oblivion, to share the fate of its author, who has done his work well-and dirty work it was-and got his reward; and if I am now turned aside from that purpose, it is because I find it is being industriously circulated throughout the length and breadth of the land at the public expense.

RELIGIONS BY THE SCORE.

He says-"The total population is made up of 18 nationalities divided into 25 or 30 religious denominations." He might with as much propriety claim that there were as many religions as there are thinking men in the community as to say there are 25 or 30. Every one knows that there are only two religions in this country-Catholic and Protestant-the numbers of the Jews and Mahommedans being too insignificant to be taken into account in the enumeration. Rev. Mr. Austin, at the laying of the corner stone of the Baptist Church in Oitawa, just one month after Mr. Waller's delivery, entered a silent protest against Mr. Waller's doctrine of religions. He said (Free Press report) "He was glad to see ministers and members of so many other churches present here to manifest their good will towards the undertaking." (According to Mr. Waller's doctrine our Bishop and priests should also be there.) "They were sometimes told that Protestants were divided amongst themselves and op-posed to each other. He did not accept that. It was true that they did not agree on some minor points, but they were united on the great fundamental principles; and but let the foe appear and mental principles; and but let the foe appear and they would stand side by side to defend the Pro-testant veligion." Just so, Protestants have their family disagreements, but on the fundamental issues, as hostility to the Papacy, they are an unit. This gives a very good index to the fraudulent character of the help force. of the whole farce.

ISOLATION.

"Therefore there is no necessity for a policy of isolation or exclusiveness, and those who counsel such an act or course of conduct are not friends but enemies—it may be ig-norantly so—of the Irish in Canada."

ask no more, and never be content with less; and if there is one of our class so groveling, so degraded as to be satisfied with less, then that man is " half a slave or all a knave." The resolutions of the Marlborough House" meeting of 1875 are a mute yet eloquent contradiction of his libels;

"The two great political parties have in the formation of their Governments recognized the principle of class and sec-tional representation in the Cabinet, and whilst it is desir-able that the sounder system of choosing the Sovereign's ad-visers from the best and ablest statesmen of either party during its supremacy, etc." And again:

And again: "And whereas at the formation of the present Govern-ment Irish Catholic Liberals, of all others, were least pre-pared to see this principle set aside in their case while con-ceded to the Maritime Provinces and to the Protestant min-ceded to the Maritime Provinces and to the Protestant min-ceded to the Maritime Browinces and to the Protestant min-rempt of introducing the sounder and better system of the indiscriminate selection of ministers exclusive of all con-siderations but finces, and would not only be quite prepared to run their chances of preferment, and stand aside if they could not from their ranks furnish statesmen equally com-petent 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." These are extracts from the resolutions moved by

These are extracts from the resolutions moved by Mr. Thos. McCrosson. I challenge Mr Waller to show me any document emanating from a political organization in Canada which can compare with it in the soundness of its principles, the purity of its aspirations and the morality of its tone. Did that meeting embrace Mr. Waller's " demagogues ?"

COUKED FIGURES.

The total population of the four confederated Provinces in 1871 was 3,485,961, of whom 1,492,629 were Catholic and 1,993,732 Protestant : and of this there was a total lrish population of 846,414, being very nearly one fourth of the whole. By the in-corporation of Prince Edward Island it became 3,579,752, of whom 1,537,623 were Catholic and 2,035,096 Protestant; and by the further amalgam-ation of Manitoba and British Columbia Mr. Waller estimates the grand total at 3,600,000; and assuming a proportionate acquisition of Catholics and Protestants, they would in round numbers stand 1,547,000 to 2,053,000. Assuming that the total Irish population had augmented in the same relative proportion, it would be 873,000 instead of 850,000, as Mr. Waller unfairly puts it, making 410,000 Ca-tholic Irish to 463,000 Protestant Jrish.

THE CABINET.

Mr. Waller says that the Irish Protestants, whom he sets down as 450,000, are entitled to two Cabinet ministers, whilst the Irish Catholics, whom he sets down at 400,000, are only entitled to own, in the "teeth" of the fact that nine-thirteenths of the Cabinet are Protestant. I would be glad that he would tell us by what propess of arithmetical leggerdemain he arrived at the conclusion that when 450,000 are entitled to two, 400,000 are only entitled to one. Is it because of their weakness ?---that very same reason that left O'Donoghue an outlaw while every mother's soul was amnestied. We should, however be grateful that his liberality allowed us the prospective right of one whenever we get it. Mr. Waller says "the other member (of the Cabinet) is an Itish Catholic." It is false. There is no Irish It is false. Catholic in the Cabinet. There is no son of an Irish Catholic in the Cabinet, there is no descendant of an Irish Catholic in the Cabinet, and when Mr. Waller made the assertion, well he knew he was uttering afalsehood. I wish to qualify this statement It is within the limits of reasonable speculation that the Hon. Alex. Mackenzie may be the descendant of an Irish Catholic. How is it, with all his arithmetical precision, he has failed to tell us how many Catholics should be in the Cabinet? If he will permit me I shall supply the omission. There are four Catholics to nine Protestants, while there should be six to seven.

his little shortcomings in the way of "filling in." Of the 83 Senators, 28 are Catholic to 57 Protestant, while it should be 36 to 47, giving the Protestants the benefit of all the infidels, Jews, et hoe genus omne. This makes a difference of 20 in a vote between what we have, and what we are fairly entitled to Is it wonderful that divorce-that enemy of all civilization based on family ties-is becoming so amazingly prevalent and so casy of accomplianment?

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Let us now take a glance at the House of Commons, to complete the analysis which Mr. Waller only very cautiously touched on. The House of Commons is, as Mr. Waller tells us, composed of 206 members. Of these 56 are Catnolic to 150 Proonly, not eight, as Mr. Waller says, are Irish Cath-olic. On a principle of equity the Commons should stand 88 Catholic to 116 Protestant, or a difference on a division of 64 against Catholics; and the Irish Catholics should have 24 where they only have 7, or a difference against them on a division of 34. Let us now throw our analysis into a tabular form, and see how the reckoning actually stands, and how it should stand based on the principles of justice, equality and " fair play."

AS WE STAND.				
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organize until the elections are over." Don't lock the stituting myself judge of their errors, simply bestable door until the steed is stolen. What a healthy time it would be to start a political organ-izution when the elections were over. This should form his epitaph. Posterity would know how sor-did the dust which isy there.

He quotes me as appearing to favor his vile design, well knowing that the construction that he was trying to put on my words was not only con-strained but false, for my whole life has been one endeavor to organize my countrymen in Canada into one united phalanx, well knowing that organisation, compact and firm, is the only means by which we can ever expect "fair play." Whatever we get is through some feeling more akin to fear than love. Why had he not the honesty to quote the following which was in his possession :---

OUR POWEE.

OUR POWEB. Power in mechanics is the product of the weight or quantity of matter in a mass into its velocity. Power in politics is somewhet analogous, for it is the product of numbers into the centripetal or adhesive force. Bo we appreciate our power? do we sufficiently consider the influence we might wield in public affairs? We number about a half-million of souls, scattered all over the country from Halifax to Sarnia. It is this, which at first sight might seem a source of weak-ness, is our greatest strength. The electoral college of the whole Dominion consists of about 400,000, of whom we form about an eighth, scattered, as already remarked in various proportions throughout all the constituencies. It is within the limits of safety to assume that we can determine in one half of the whole Dominion, or 100 constituencies, who shall be their representatives, and therefore the complexion andconstitution of the Government, for we hold the ba-lance of power betweeen raval contending parties. This should be a most favourable position to occupy. Let us then learn to employ it judiciously let us learn to wield it advantageously, and we shall be curited and sought after-instead of being despised as in the past. We have one of the elements of success (numbers), let us emulate with one another to cultivate the other. We are now like a vast hy-draulic power, going to waste for want of its application to useful purposes. We are the arbiters of our own detiny. This is patent to the plainest understanding. It this is so, am I not justified in attributing our present famentable position to our own mismanagement—to our own divisions and disregard of the common interest." I have strong convictions, I have great faith in windeline, the whole bains the plainest in divisions

I have strong convictions, I have great faith in principles, though in his gilded age at a discount. The word Liberal possesses for me an inexpressable charm. I believe that that trinity of virtue, "liberty, equality, fraternity," is the consummation of earthly perfection, the development of the human into the Divine essence, the beacon that will light mankind to victory yet. But strong as are my convictions, great as is my faith in the ultimate influence of liberal principles on human progress, infinitely greater is my love for my race, infinitely dearer is their welfare, infinitely more potent are their claims to my first consideration; and I have all my life been prepared, whenever in my humble judgment these convictions of mine clashed with their interests whenever these principles were antagonistic to their amelioration, not only to leave them in abeyance but to pluck them out, and cast them from me as does a hunter the entrails of his game. Because I have ever held that a people, who have by misfor-tune and tyranny been brought so low as we have been, it is the first, the paramount duty of each and every member of that race to lay aside all of her considerations until that people was elevated and restored to the status it would occupy in a normal condition of development; and I have felt that if ity. Why does he not come to particulars, and talent or chanced to have better opportunities than the mass, they were not to be appropriated to his own selfish purposes nor for the advancement of individual interest, but as a sacred trust confided to his care for the benefit of the whole, for the purpose of aiding the good and holy work-the regeneration of his down-trodden and despised race until they were elevated to the same level with the other peoples of European civilization; nor would any member suffer in his individuality by this disinteresed emulation. I can safely say that in my whole life neither by word nor deed have I knowingly deviated from this policy, or ceased to inculcate it be an Informer. on my countrymen.

cause it was none of my business. I have always judged each individual by his own record, and if he had none, suspended judgment, esteeming an infidel, if otherwise a good citizen, as much as the most devout Catholic living, as free from religious prejudices as is a horse, as indifferent about another

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man's religion as about the cut of his coat or the color of his hat, having no antipathy to a Protestant more than a Catholic. All my sons, four, are called after Protestants, not because they were Protestants. but the fact remains. I have often as impartially and unbiassedly approached the contemplation of this subject as if Catholics and Protestants belonged to the paleozoic period, as if they were the mastedons and saurians of geology, and was study-ing their habits, to account for this strange pheno-

menon-Protestant bigotry. I cnnuot believe that being a Protestant changes one's nature or makes. him worse. The only rational way in which I can. account for it is on the following grounds:--Ist. The contest against Catholicism in England was so long and bitter, all kinds of repressive agencies being used for its suppression, it was represented as inimical to the best interests of the state, that a Catholic could not be true and faithful to British institutions bearing allegiance to a foreign power. 2udly. That the Irish were so long reviled and slandered that they came to look on them as unfit to enjoy free institutions. These through time and culture developed into national characteristics. It is a base suspicion, it is an unworthy prejudice, yet it is a relief to be able to come to the conclusion. that it is not inherent in human nature nor a product of religion.

I have selected a few choice morecaux from this specimen brick " of shallow rhodomantade :-

"Break and the set of the set of

Indefinite charges and vague generalities of this kind can be leveled at any individual or commun-

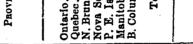
How glibl r he chatters about iso siveness. Let him, if he can, and I challenge him to the issue, name one Irish Catholic who ever advised isolation. What would this great authority have us do? Would he have us go to the Orange Lodges, with the other 24 or 29 religions, like himself until they kicked him out? This is no romance although it looks romantic enough. He told me himself that the "brethren" so persecuted him for marrying a Catholic wife that he had to flee from Toronto. Would he have us, like the other 24 or 29 religions, attend the Masonic lodges, the Oddiellows' lodges, the Pythian lodges, the Foresters' lodges, the " true blue "and false blue lodges, and the scores of other secret societ es which flourish under the regis of Protestantism? Would he have us with the other 24 or 29 religions of his creation, at tend the camp meetings, the church socials, the conventicles, the tabernacles, the bible alliances, and the many other resorts sacred to Protestantism isolation and exclusiveness? Would he have us disband our temperance societies and join the templars, and the other 24 or 29 religions, and have for our delectation at the beginning and end of each performance a chapter out of the bible, the doxology and the "old hundredth?" Would he have us close our separate schools and join with the other 24 or 29 religions in sending our children to what we are instructed to believe are godless common schools? How few, if any, Protestants in the country to day, who do not belong to one secret organization or another? We are forbidden under pain of excommunication with all the spiritual consequences which follow anathema to balong to such secret organizations; and if there is one dogma more than another of the Catholic Church which challenges the admiration of intelligent mankind, it is this wise, humane and truly Christian doctrine for assuredly secret organizations call them by what name you will, are the worst evils of our social system. Any isolation on the part of Irish Catholics is at the express command of the Church, through her authorized mouth-piece the clergy, whom Mr. Waller, knowing them to be human and possessing human attributes and weaknesses, flatters with one breath and with the next insults. His vanity and egotism are so unbounded that he presumes by his flattery to pull the wool over their eyes, and when fairly blindfolded gives them a boltogue on the ear, and indignantly exclaims: would I had the scoundrel who dared to lay profane 'ds on the Lord's anointed. Full oft havel thought that I could discover a sensible resemblance in public policy between John of Toronto and the great, 'the beloved, the illustrious "John of Tuam" Bat if his Grace of our T, can stomach the pabulum | are in the Senate seven English speaking Catholics which Mr. Waller has created for him in this lecture, then verily have I been much mistaken in my. Irish ; and in the appointment of the seventh sensestimate-no "lion of the fold of Judah" is there. Will Mr. Waller name any Irishman who has ever liberality of their Protestant rulers. Mr. Mackenzie claimed anything so abard as any privilege, im- having taken an Ontario Catholic into his Cabinet, munity or exemption because of, his race or or cread ? and a seat having to be procured for. him as a mat-All we ask, not with the brow of the serf, or, the tor, of necessity; and being, unable to find a con-Voice of the menial as Mr. Waller, would insinuate, stituency amongst his followers he had notens volens when Mr. Waller, graciously, told as was to be im-by our own individual records and treated like a member of the community in which our lot is cast. And with the Constitution as our sword we have solemaly, resolved to ballot as our sword we have solemaly, resolved to ballot as our sword we have solemaly, resolved to ballot as our sword we have solemaly, resolved to ballot as our sword we have solemaly, resolved to ballot as our sword we have solemaly, resolved to ballot as our sword we have solemaly, resolved to ballot as our sword we have solemaly, resolved to ballot as our sword we have solemaly, resolved to ballot as our sword we have solemaly, resolved to ballot as our sword we have solemaly, resolved to ballot as our sword we have solemaly, resolved to ballot as our sword we have solemaly, resolved to ballot as our sword we have solemaly, resolved to ballot as our sword we have solemaly, resolved to ballot as our sword we have solemaly, resolved to ballot as our sword we have solemaly resolved to ballot as our sword we have solemaly resolved to ballot as our sword we have solemaly resolved to

THE SENATE.

When in 1867 the Senate sprung into existence fully developed and matured like Minerva from the brain of Jupiter, of the twenty four senators for Ontario, how many were assigned the Catholics, who constitute a sixth of the population? Not a single, solitary one. Of the twelve senators for New Brunswick, how many had the Catholics, who comprise over a third of the population ? Not one, again. The "demagogues" of whom Mr. Waller so glibly prates, unawed by slanders, undeterred by misrepresentations, held, at much loss, expense and inconvenience to themselves, for there was no Government at their backs to urge them on and foot the bill," held, I say, a Catholic Convention, sometimes called the "Brown Catholic Convention." after which it was discovered that the game of proscription was on its last legs and " played out," that the "inferior race" were beginning to practice the good old maxim-" God helps those who help themselves"-and great was the tribulation in Israel : the dry bones of Protestant bigotry fairly quaked at the grim thought. But cruel fate was inexorable, discretion was found as of yore to be the better part of valor, a virtue was made of a necessity; and in the fullness of time the worthy chairman of that very Convention, which was looked on with such suspicion, if not horror, was appointed a Senator. Nor. was New Brunswick forgotten. At that Convention there was no begging, but instead honest pride, dignity and self reliance. It forms an epoch in our history :

"The Senate or House of Lords is composed of 77 mem; bers, and by the same system of calculation just resorted to we find that the Irish in Canada are entitled to 18 Senators on the basis of representation according to population."

The Senate is comprised of 83 members, not 77 as Mr. Waller would have it; and the Irish are en- to be a Catholic to Catholics, a Protestant to Protest. titled to 20, not 18 as Mr. Waller puts it-always striving to diminish the legitimate influence of the Irish ; and of these the Irish Catholics are entitled to 9, not 8 as Mr. Waller would make believe. There I know not their nationalities-six only can pe tor the Oatholics are in no ways indebted to the



THE CIVIL SERVICE.

Mr. Waller says that Irish Catholics have more than their share in the Civil Service appointments. This I am not prepared to dispute, not having had time to analyze the returns, but considering the source, I have grave suspicions of its accuracy. It is quite possible that matters have improved in that direction. For with Confederation came also the organization of Irish Catholics. Since then we have had our convention, the " Catholic Lesgue"-that great bugbear of Protestant ascendancy, against which Mr. Waller seems, to be covertly aiming his envenomed shafts, but coward as he is he has not the pluck to attack it openly, knowing that that thrice-blessed organization has the support, sympathy and approbation of the Hierarchy of Ontario - an organization, incomplete though it be, which has done more to promote Irish Catholic interest and force intolerance into a corner, to recognize their rights and make atonement for past neglects than all that was done ever before for ameliorating and elevating the political status of our people. Before Cenfederation the Irish Catholics of Ontario were looked on as little better than serfe-men who had votes to give but none to get. But admitting this statement to be correct, is there in this Dominion a person who believes that it is owing to Protestant liberality ? If there is, his place in society is a lunatic asylum; and those who pretend to believe are knows. Fancy us deprived of our votes, 1 would like to see how many offices our people would be occupying. The improved position of Irishmen to day in Canada is mainly due to a few disinterested faithful, patriotic men, who did not hesitate to sacin life, subjecting themselves to all kinds of abuse, slander and misrepresentation from "Scoundrel to "Fenian " in the maintenance of the principle of equal rights to all regardless of race or creed clime or color; and it is this brave and fearless lit tle band, whose post has ever been that of danger that this impudent humbug has the brass to call "demagogues"—a fellow whose whole history can be epitomized in two words—*perfidy* and duplicity, creature who has made his dirty mark by feigning ants, a Conservative to Conservatives, a Reformer to Reformers a Nationalist to Irishmen, an ultra-loyalist to "true blues," who tells, Irishmen that he is with them, and the haters of the Irish that he is where his ancestors always were (e, g) at the throats of the Irish. Wallet! Why, the very name smells rankly of usurpation and spoliation, and is recking and gory with Irish bl-essings.' Richard, Duke of Gloster, said of himself :---

- "Why, I can smile, and murder while I smile; Deceive more silly than Ursses could, I can add colors to the cameleon : Change shapes with Proteus for advantoges."

TOLERATION.

"Here in Canada we have the finest, the freest country in the world. Here we are invested with a measure of free-dom and liberty beyond which it would not be in the interest of the State or the subject to be endowed, Here peace reigns supreme."

We enjoy in this country, surrounded by bigotry the most intense, and prejudices the blindest, a fair amount of toleration. But it looks like a burlesque to call a country free where the Habeas Corpus Act was continuously suspended for several years, where our judges are manimous in saying that crime is slarmingly on the increase, and where the common law is not sufficient to protect life and property without special legislation of a most dangerous character-a peace preservation act. If we seep on thus, we soon shall be as bad as unfortunate Ireland. But if we have toleration here it is for the manifest reason that three-sevenths of the population are Catholic, and one-fourth of the remainder enlightened Protestants, and necessarily tolerant, which constitutes a majority of the whole. But if either of these elements of concord were partially removed, adieu to toleration. For my own part I would soon "pull up stakes." The evidence of the truth of this is incontrovertible. We saw it in the Guibord burial case, which convulsed Protestantism to its inmost bowels. How unconcerned Catholics would look on such a squabble amongst their neighbors; to do otherwise would be impertinent meddling. We see it in the Oka Indians" affair, where orime and violence are approved, and culprits transmogrified into martyrs. We see it in the assault on the jubilee procession while rendering after their fashion praise and homsge to the Deity. We see it cropping out not only in the ranks of ignorance but in the pamphlet of Sir A. T. Galt. We see it in the excursion of the "Union Allet" on the steamer Queen, where an irritable man lost his temper by some fancied slight to bis dignity and was exalted into a hero." He was feted, presented with addresses and purses for defending a fisg which was not attacked, One would suppose that a second battle of the Nile had been fought and won And all this not by foolish young boys like the Orange Young Britons, but by staid sobet men, responsible, respectable men, very pil-lars of the State, clearly demonstrating two things -one that the individual was fitter for the scullery than the saloon, and the other that bigotry is only

any one amongst them was endowed with any little name. Burely if he knows of such vagabonds, such " wolves in sheep's clothing," if he has our interest. at heart, his first duty is to tell us who they are that we may know them and guard against them. They are "demagogues" and "grumblers" and "un-authorized individuals," "dissatisfied individuals," but how are we to distinguish them from authorized individuals like Mr. Waller unless he points them out. Why, they are worse even than the "Fenians," and yet he remains mum and allows us to be fleeced like the "servant girls," and may be in danger of losing our wigs. I have caught theinspiration-" death before dishonor"-he would'nt

"Here again it will be seen that the Irish Catholics of Canada have their full number allowed them in the Cabinet, thus giving the most emphatic refutation to the stock-in-trade cry of the grumblers that Irish Catholics are not suffi-ciently represented in the Cabinet."

Just so, Mr. Waller; there is no Irish Catholicin the Cabinet, and we are well represented. Thank thee, Jow "

"In the Cabinet, and we are well represented. "Thank thee, Jew" "While those are the facts, however, and while those are my sontiments concerning them. I am free to admit, and always have contended that the numbers of the Irish in Canada, their influence and intelligence require that they should have a larger voice in the Government of the country than what they have at present." "It, in this way, we cannot get it never let us descend to the menial position of bogging for it from any party in power, as if incapable of helping ourselves. Never let us be trapped into trading in religious or national matters to enable us to min what we ought to secure in a fair constitu-tional way. Such a course would not be dignified nor honourable, nor congonial to the tastos of a proud people such as the Irish are. It would be too low, too mean too vile for Irish interests in Canada; too dangerous an example to sot or be emulated. And in this young country, with its mixed population, with the elements of pace and properity in its confines. I trust the counsel of those who-advocate such a weak and undesirable counsel, destructive-of harmony and good citizenship, may never provail." Certainly, Mr. Waller, we must not ask for any thing; it would be mean to do so. We will wait: patiently until the spirit moves Protestant genez-

pstiently until the spirit moves Protestant generosity to give of its own accord, notwithstanding the injunction "ask and you-shall receive, seek and you shall find," but that was a different commodity -no part of our own taxes. Besides it is so " fair and square" for Protestants to be running after us, begging for our votes to put them in places of honor and emolument, so that we might have the very great pleasure of looking at them sport Windsor Unitorms" and such nice things with our taxes. While thus lecturing men who never yet sought for place or power, he was himself in a "break neck" chase for some office or another to-hide his head in. Yet with strange inconsistency he admits in these, last extracts all that the " demagogues" ever contended for-Representation. We gogues" ever contended for her heresentation. We are enjoined in spiritual things to "seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all other things will follow." Analogous to this in temporal shairs under our institutions is "seek first. It representation and all other things will follow."

"The result is that in every one of those constituencies the Irish Catholics are in a hopeless minority; and if they were politically to looks themselves from the rest of of the popa-iation or from existing parties, they would be powerless to better their present condition, and could only in such a foolish attempt injure their future prospects."

OONTINUED ON EIGHTH PAGE,