

faith. Mr. Christie says, [5707] 'when the wrecking of the Catholic chapels took place in my neighborhood, it was observed by myself and by many others that while lying unroofed, the Catholics, no matter how severe the weather, attended more attentively to their duty during that time than was observable when they had a good house to go to.' He further adds, 'As I passed by these burnt chapels in the winter time, where they had to kneel down in the snow six inches deep, I really pitied them.' Let the Protestant clergymen at least come out from among the detestable encouragers & perpetrators of such deeds.

We have now gone through a painful detail of wrongs. It may be objected, that our instances of misconduct have been taken more from the Orange than the Catholic side of the question. Undoubtedly they have; for the point at issue is not, whether the Catholic has done wrong, but whether the Orangeman has done right. Nay, more,—admit all the recriminations against the Catholics for violent obstruction of Orange processions, for severe and often savage retaliation of wrongs, for party spirit in the witness box (they seldom reach the jury or the bench,) and the secret working of their ribbon societies—yet, if proved to the fullest extent, to what do all these charges amount? They make out no cause nor excuse for the existence of Orangeism. On the contrary, these offences of the Catholics are the necessary consequences of the Orange insults and outrages. Thus the heavier the charges which the Orangemen substantiate against the Catholics, the stronger is the recoil upon themselves. Meanwhile, the law itself is to be reproached for not putting both down.

But, before we enter on the consideration of any restrictive measures, it will be necessary to take a wider view of Orangeism.

Hitherto, we have seen it operating only in Ireland, and resting mainly on the narrow basis of sectarian jealousy and hatred. We now turn our views to England. The first essential difference consists in the proportion of Protestants and Catholics. This alone alters the character and tendency of British Orangeism; added to which the long established respect for the laws, for order, and for public opinion preclude those perturbations which are viewed as a matter of course in the orbit of Irish agitation. In England, Orangeism is little else than faction wearing the mask of bigotry: it has no substantial body of Catholics of which it can even pretend to be afraid. **POLITICS ARE ITS REAL END AND ELEMENT.**

The discipline and government of the English Society is similar to or identical with that of Ireland. But the powers of the grand Master are greater—they are discretionary, unlimited, absolute' (App. p. 131, rule 4);—'implicit obedience being the imperative duty of all Orangemen.' He has the power of assembling the whole Orange body, of whom there are not less than 50,000 in London. The meetings of the grand lodge are conducted with much pomp and form. His Royal High-

ness never enters or quits the lodge without a mace being carried before him (2359-2363); the members and grand dignitaries are requested to attend in their orders and regalia; and 'the reverend functionaries of the institution appear in grand lodges in canonicals.'—(Ap. 131.) The business to be transacted is pre-arranged beforehand by the grand committee, who place their report in the hands of the grand master. Then his Royal Highness sitting behind the mace, whilst the doors are guarded by officers denominated tylers, hears the report and proposed resolutions of the committee read aloud. They are put seriatim from the chair, and severally approved or rejected. But the grand master has an absolute veto over every proposition [946 to 953] The minutes of the proceedings are drawn up, revised and circulated, as in the Irish lodge.

The connection between the English and Irish establishments is most intimate. They have the same signs and pass words; their respective circulars and reports are interchanged; the members of the one establishment have the right of admittance to all the meetings of the other, and they have a common grand master. The rules [Ap. 129] declare 'the whole constitution to be one neighborhood, within which every Orangeman is at home in the farthest parts of the world.' Adding significantly, that 'the mechanism of our institution is such that it shall spread, and lawfully spread, its operation over the whole country. Every movement shall be felt and answered in every part.'—[Ap. 129.]

The same organization and subdivision of counties, districts, and private lodges, exists in England as in Ireland. But to draw closer the bonds of general union, to give vigor as well as private instructions to the various lodges, and to gain proselytes, the Orangemen of England, with the active assistance of their Royal Master, have established a missionary system of inspection and proselytism. Colonel Fairman was appointed his Royal Highness's grand commissioner, or inspector-general of counties, districts and warrants, for Great Britain, and subsequently of Ireland. A Mr. Nucella received a like a commission for Italy and our garrisons in the Mediterranean [392-416;] and the grand mastership of Canada, with extensive local powers, was conferred on a Mr. Gowan. By virtue of his commission, Colonel Fairman completed two circuits through England and Scotland. He was preparing to give the benefit of his presence to Ireland, when a summons from the Committee of the House of Commons interrupted his design. Reports of his proceedings were duly read before the grand lodge, and highly approved of by that august body. He visited, held, and ordained lodges in Birmingham, Manchester,* Glasgow, and the principal towns of the manufac-

* It was here that the reasonable communication respecting the succession to the Throne is stated by Mr. Haywood of Sheffield to have been made to him by Colonel Fairman. This matter is to be brought before the courts of law, and it does not therefore, belong to us farther to advert to it.

turing districts. His success is recorded in many letters, and amongst others in the following from brother Thompson, deputy-grand master of Neilston. It is incorporated in the minutes of the proceedings on the 4th June, 1833 [Ap. 41;] and states 'that he (Mr. Thompson) had the pleasure and honor of accompanying Colonel Fairman during a part of his last mission in Scotland; that, from his own observation and experience, he could testify it had been the means of infusing new life and vigor into those districts of the institution; that a firm basis was thus laid for a great accession of strength to the lighting up the flame of Orangeism in the north, which all the efforts of its opponents would never be able to smother; that it would strengthen the hands of their most noble, and most estimable grand-master, the Duke of Gordon (since dead,) and that he felt assured the interests of the institution could not be better promoted than by a speedy renewal of those visitations, so prosperously commenced, and by all its members so earnestly desired to be continued.'

There may be considerable difference of opinion as to the benign influence of this holy flame which the Duke of Cumberland's grand commissioner and his Grace the Duke of Gordon lit up in the north. Mr. Innes, an advocate at the Scotch bar, was officially sent by the Lord Advocate to institute an inquiry into certain riots at Airdrie. He found that they took place on the 13th of last July (the 12th being on a Sunday,) in consequence of Orange processions parading through the town, with banners flying and music playing party tunes [2900 to 2905.] He says, 'there has been a considerable increase both in numbers and excitement amongst the Orangemen in and around Glasgow since the first tour of Colonel Fairman [2988]—that Colonel Fairman, as the royal delegate, was received wherever he went by the Orangemen in procession; and that they regarded the Duke of Cumberland as their head with the greatest respect, conceiving that his name proved the legality and loyalty of their proceedings.'—[2979 to 2982.]

Whilst this affiliating course has been thus in progress in England and Scotland, the associations have not been idle in their proselyting attempts abroad. Few are ignorant of the critical state in which Canada now stands with respect to this country. Those who have best attended to this subject—who know that Canada is densely peopled from the north of Ireland, and that the Catholic is the established religion—will be best able to appreciate the patriotic attempt to light up the same flame of Orangeism in that excited colony which we have just seen producing such effects in well regulated Scotland. The following is an extract from the proceedings of the grand lodge, held in Portman Square, on the 19th April, 1832. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland in the Chair [E Appendix, p. 22].—'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 com-

mittee, whose members had examined documents and testimonials of his eligibility, the grand lodge have appointed Ogle 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.' It is stated that this person 'is desirous of being recognized 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 is certified to be not only a sound Protestant and most zealous Orangeman, but worthy in every way of filling the exalted and responsible situation at which he aspires.—The merits of this gentleman, and the great benefits likely to be derived from his being promptly ensalled in the dignified and important post of which he no less loyally than dutifully has sought a confirmation, are duly appreciated by the grand lodge; who accompany this notification of his appointment to so high and extensive an office with their cordial thanks to him for his activity and spirit in the discharge of his functions, and in their sincerest wishes for the success and welfare of the institution, under his able guidance and management, in such a remote, populous, and extensive portion of his Majesty's dominions.' The person, thus cordially thanked, and endowed with such authority, is declared by Mr. Ryves Baker, the deputy grand treasurer of the Irish Orange Society, to be a man of bad character [9497.] 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 [Irish Appendix 3, p. 13.]

The English lodge temporarily waived their jurisdiction, but retained their man.* For this was in 1832; and in the letter-book of the society, which was most reluctantly and partially submitted to the inspection of the Committee by Colonel Fairman, there is the entry of a report and communication from the grand lodge of Canada for the year 1834. It states that their numbers had then increased to 12,253 members, distributed under 17 county, 40 district, and 154 private lodges; and that there had been an addition to the society within the year of no less than 1611 members. The report contains also resolutions of the Canadian grand lodge, expressing "deep sympathy with our Orange brethren in Ireland," and 'a trust that their period of oppression had passed.'† Also votes of thanks to his Royal Highness, their illustrious imperial grand master, and the nomination of a delegate to proceed to England to confer with the

* A resolution of the grand lodge, dated 4th June, 1832, declares, that in consequence of a representation from the grand lodge of Ireland, the appointment of O. R. Gowan, Esq. is premature, and for the present rescinded.—[English Appendix, 17.] But subsequent documents show that this resolution, if of any value, respected rather the right of appointment, than the person appointed.

† Intelligence had reached Canada of the formation of Sir Robert Peel's Administration.