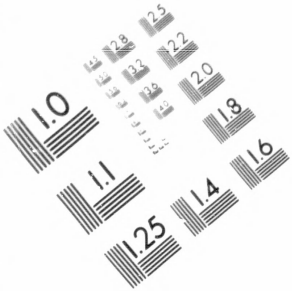

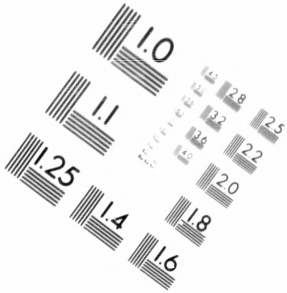

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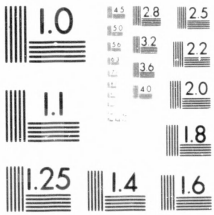

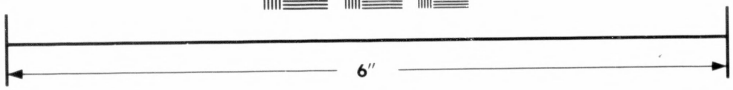

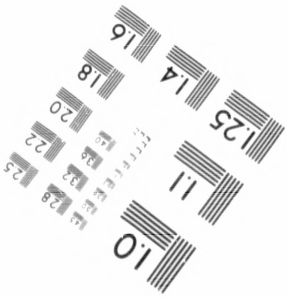

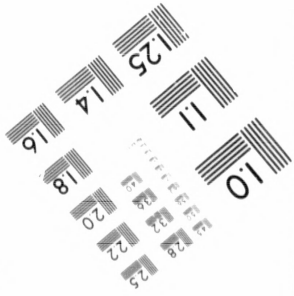

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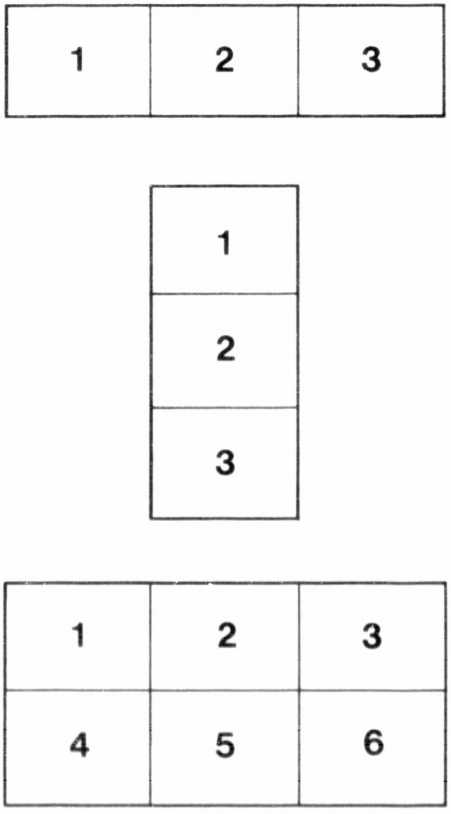

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THE ORANGE ASSOCIATION UNMASKED!

6

p 200

MR. BLAKE'S GREAT SPEECH

IN THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS, MARCH 17, 1884.

A CRUSHING BLOW TO OATH-BOUND SECRET SOCIETIES

"Publicity the safe-guard of Freedom."

PRICE - - - 5 CENTS PER COPY.

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1884

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PREFACE.

The question of Orange incorporation has been a disturbing element in Canadian politics for several years. Notwithstanding that the Order has received legal recognition in five of the Provinces, the leaders have been clamoring for a Dominion Act, and the question was brought before the House in the session of 1883. The motion for the second reading of the Bill was reached on April 16th, and received the six months' hoist on motion of Mr. J. J. Curran, member for Montreal Centre, who made a brilliant and effective speech in denunciation of the Order. The following was the vote on the rejection of the Bill :—

Yeas—Messrs. Amyot, Armstrong, Auger, Bain, Bechard, Benoit, Bergeron, Bergin, Bernier, Billy, Blake, Blanchet, Bolduc, Bosse, Bourassa, Bourbeau, Brecken, Burns, Burpee, (St. John), Cameron (Huron), Campbell (Renfrew), Caron, Casey, Casgrain, Catudal, Charlton, Cimon, Cockburn, Colby, Costigan, Coughlin, Coursol, Curran, Cuthbert, Daly, Daoust, DeBeaujeu, De St. Georges, Desaulniers, Desjardins, Dupont, Fairbank, Fisher, Fleming, Forbes, Fortin, Frechette, Gagne, Geoffrion, Gigault, Gillmor, Girouard (Jacques Cartier), Girouard (Kent), Grandbois, Guilbault, Hackett, Hall, Harley, Holton, Innes, Jackson, Keeffer, Kirk, Labrosse, Landerkin, Landry, Langevin Laurier, Lister, Livingstone, Mackenzie, Macmaster, McMillan (Huron), McMillan(Vaudreuil), McGreevy, McIntyre, McIsaac, Masue, Methot, Mitchell, Montplaisir, Mulock, Patterson (Brant), Patterson (Essex), Pinsonneault, Pope, Rinfret, Riopel, Robertson (Shelburne), Ross (Middlesex), Royal, Somerville (Brant), Somerville (Bruce), Springer, Tasse, Thompson, Trow, Vail, Valin, Vanasse, Weldon, Wells, Wheler, Wilson, Wright, Yeo—106.

Nays—Messrs. Abbott, Allison, Baker (Vic), Barnard, Bell, Beaty, Benson, Bowell, Bryson, Burnham, Cameron (Victoria), Campbell (Victoria), Carling, Cochrane, Davies, Dickinson, Farrow, Ferguson (Leeds and Grenville) Foster, Gordon, Gunn, Haggart, Hawkins, Hay, Hesson, Hickey, Hillard, Homer, Irvine, Jamieson, Kilvert, Kinney, Kranz, Macdonald (Sir John), Mackintosh, McMillan (Middlesex), McCallum, McCarthy, McDougald, McLean, McNeill, Moffatt, O'Brien, Paint, Pickard, Ray, Reid, Richey, Rykert, Scott, Schiver, Shakespeare, Small, Sproule, Sutherland [Oxford], Sutherland [Selkirk], Taylor, Tilley, Tupper [Pictou], Tyrwhitt, Wallace [Albert], Wallace [York], Watson, White [Cardwell], White [Hastings], White [Renfrew], Wigle, Williams, Wood [Brockville], and Woodworth—70.

The Bill was again introduced at the present session, and came up for a second reading on St. Patrick's Day, March 17th. The following was the vote for and against the second reading of the Bill :—

Yeas—Messrs. Allen, Allison, (Hants), Baker, [Victoria], Beatty, Bell, Benson, Bowell, Burpee, [Sunbury], Cameron, [Victoria], Campbell, [Victoria], Carling, Cochrane, Davies, Dawson, Dickinson, Dundas, Farrow, Ferguson, [Leeds and Grenville], Ferguson, [Welland], Foster, Gordon, Guillet, Gunn, Haggart, Hay, Hesson, Hickey, Hilliard, Homer, Irvine, Jamieson, Kilvert, King, Macdonald, Sir John Macdonald, Mackintosh, MacMillan, [Middlesex], McCraney, McDougall, McLelan, McNeil, Moffat, O'Brien, Orton, Reid, Robertson [Hamilton], Robertson, [Hastings], Ross, Scriver, Shakespeare. Small, Smyth, Sproule, Stairs, Sutherland [Oxford], Taylor, Tilley, Tupper [Pictou], Tyrwhitt, Wallace [Albert], Wallace [York], Watson, White [Cardwell], White [Hastings], White [Renfrew], Wigle, Williams, Wood [Brockville], Woodworth—68.

Nays.—Messrs. Amyot, Armstrong, Auger, Blair [Soulanges], Baker [Missisquoi], Brehead, Belleau, Rinfret, Bergin, Bernier, Blake, Blondne, Rosse, Bourassa, Bourbeau, Brecken, Burns, Cameron [Huron], Cameron [Inverness], Cameron [Middlesex], Campbell [Renfrew], Caron, Cartwright, Casey, Casgrain, Chapleau, Charlton, Irman, Colby, Cook, Costigan, Coughlin, Coursol, Curran, Cuthbert, Daly, Daoust, De St. Georges, Desaulniers, Desjardins, Dugas, Dupont, Farkam, Fisher, Fleming, Forbes, Fortin, Gagne, Geoffrion, Gigault, Gillmor, Girouard, Grandbois, Guilbault, Hackett, Harley, Holton, Hurteau, Innes, Kaulbach, Kirk, Landerkin, Landry [Kent], Landry, [Montmagny], Langevin, Laurier, Lister, Livingstone, MacDonald [Kings], McDonald [Cape Breton], Macmaster, McMillan [Vaudreuil], McGreevy, McIntyre, McIsaac, McMullen, Massue, Methot, Mills, Montplaisir, Mulock, Ouimet, Patterson [Brant], Patterson [Essex], Pinsonneault, Platt, Rinfret, Riopel, Robertson [Shelburne], Royal, Sumerville [Brant], Somerville] Bruce], Springer, Tasse, Thompson, Trow, Vail, Vallin, Vanasse [Weldon], Wells, Wilson, Woods[Westmoreland], White, Yeo—105. Kenny in favor of the bill paired with Dodd.

In the accompanying pages we give a complete *verbatim* report of the magnificent speech delivered by Mr. Blake in opposition to the Bill.

BLAKE'S GREAT SPEECH.

THE ORANGE ASSOCIATION UNMASKED.

The following is a *verbatim* report of the powerful and brilliant speech delivered on St. Patrick's night, the 17th March, 1884, by the Hon. Edward Blake, leader of the Liberal Opposition in the Canadian House of Commons, against the Bill to incorporate the Orange Association in the Dominion of Canada. Mr. Blake, who, on rising, was received with enthusiastic applause, said :—

Upon this question parties are divided. It is well known that the ranks of hon. gentlemen opposite are divided and it is known that the Liberal party does not think, or speak, or act, as a unit on this question. I am not speaking; I do not propose to speak, this evening in any shape or sense as leader of the Liberal party, but to speak only in my individual capacity as a member of Parliament; I am not speaking for any one but myself. Although I gave a silent vote on the last occasion, and although but for what has occurred since the last occasion, I would have repeated that silent vote, I feel bound on this occasion to express my views upon the question before us. The action of myself, and the action of those members of the Liberal party who voted against this Bill, have been misrepresented, seriously misrepresented, during the recess, and, indeed, an alleged party action has been stated, which did not in fact exist. A political course has been taken by the promoters of this bill, which I propose to develop before I sit down, and which, I think, furnishes, of itself, ample justification for my departing from the intention I had to have repeated at this time, if there was no reason against it, the silent vote which I gave before. But I do not conceal from myself, irrespective of those circumstances, that there are important questions at stake upon this occasion; and my opinion is that a temperate discussion of those questions is no evil, but rather a good. Hon. gentlemen opposite who have supported the bill, and hon. gentlemen opposite who have opposed the bill, are, many of them, apparently desirous that there should not occur that discussion, but it is as well that we should understand where we stand. It is well that the reasons why we act on one side or the other should be made known. It is well that the objections and difficulties which some of us may have should be stated, in order that they may be answered, and, if possible, removed Hence, it becomes necessary for myself, and perhaps for others who may have voted for the reasons which I am about to describe, as influencing the vote I gave, and which I am about to repeat—it is well that we should state those reasons, in view of the character of the attack that has been made upon those who voted against the bill last session. The first misrepresentation to which I wish to refer is one which was made I think, by the hon. member for South Leeds (Mr. Taylor) at the Orange gathering at Brockville, in which he said :—

"The onus of defeat rests primarily upon the Reformers, who, while professing to be Protestants and Protestant Reformers, decided in caucus to oppose the measure."

Now, the hon. member for South Leeds could not know that to be true, because he was not at the caucus, and it happens to be entirely untrue.

NO CONCERTED ACTION AMONG THE LIBERALS.

There was no caucus of the Liberal party at which this question was touched upon; there was no meeting or gathering, formal or informal, at which it was touched upon, and there was no decision or arrangement between the members of the party as to the way they should vote. There was no concerted action of any kind or description. On the contrary, to the few gentlemen who happened to approach me on the subject, I said I thought it was a matter in which each man must decide for himself, that I did not conceive it would be a party question on the other side of the House, and that I did not conceive it was necessarily a party question on our side, and I deprecated all party action upon it. That was the advice I gave and which, so far as I know, was acted on; and until the vote was given, I had not myself any idea, with the exception of, perhaps, six or

eight gentlemen at the most, who may have spoken to me, of what were the sentiments of the gentlemen with whom I usually act. Yet, Sir, we find hon. gentlemen, high in the confidence of the Orange order and members of this Parliament, declaring that there was a caucus of the Protestant Liberals, who decided to oppose the measure. I complain of that, Sir. I think I have reason to complain of such statements being made with a view to influencing persons of the same religious faith that I am, against us. (Loud applause).

I am about to state my own views frankly on this question. I dare say they will not please extreme men on either side, but I hope that to some moderate men those views may be acceptable. In the first place, the hon. member for Cardwell (Mr. White) alleges that this bill is similar to other bills, upon the constitutional ground which we have dealt with. I think there is a very marked distinction, on the constitutional ground, between this bill and the other bills, and I adverted to it this very afternoon. I pointed out that I did not myself concur in all the reasoning, or in the result of all the reasoning, in the case in the Privy Council to which allusion was made this afternoon; but it seemed to follow from that decision that a difficulty and doubt subsisted as to the relative powers of the Local and the Dominion Parliament in certain cases in which there had been, at any rate, a corporation created by the Legislature of the old Province of Canada, which sought modification. I did not believe the true solution was alleged, but there was a solution. Now, Sir, how far have we gone? How far have I, at any rate, assented to our going? Thus far—that since that decision had taken place, wherever there was a Local Legislature attempting to carry out the wishes of the corporators in each Province, on a question affecting property and civil rights, I said I thought it was not unreasonable that, considering that doubt and difficulty, we should use what power we might have—which is undecided, in my judgment—to implement the wishes of the Local Legislatures, and to confirm, in effect, their legislation. This is the rule that I have laid down for myself in this class of cases. I did not intend to give my assent to any bill which acts upon other principles. Perceiving that the earlier of the two bills, which came on this afternoon, came entirely within that principle, I pointed out that I objected to it. The second bill seemed to me to come quite within that principle, and, therefore, from my point of view, I saw no objection, though I sympathize, as the hon. member from Quebec will have observed, with his general view as to our powers, while I thought it not an unreasonable thing that we should not interfere, but act for the purpose of implementing or complementing local legislation.

A QUESTION OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND PROPERTY.

Now, with reference to this particular measure, there can be no doubt whatever that the general question of the incorporation of the society for the purpose which its promoters ask its incorporation—which, as they say, is merely in order that they may have a corporate entity enabling them to hold real property—is one of civil rights and property. It is perfectly clear, therefore, that this is within the control and the exclusive control of the Local Legislature. The report of the Minister of Justice (Sir John A. Macdonald) upon the Orange bill of 1873, before the Ontario Legislature, which was reserved, reads thus:—

"If these Acts should again be passed, the Lieutenant-Governor should consider himself bound to deal with them at once and not ask Your Excellency to interfere in matters of Provincial concern, and solely and entirely within the jurisdiction and competence of the Legislature of the Province."

That was a perfectly correct statement. It is true it applied to Provincial incorporation, but it was a perfectly correct statement that this proposed incorporation was not merely within, but solely and exclusively within, the competence of the Province. There have been Acts passed, as we know, in several of the Legislatures granting the Order incorporation. The Order has been incorporated in Manitoba, in Nova Scotia, in New Brunswick—in three at least of the Provinces. And we know also that it is not because these incorporations are deficient for the purpose for which they were made, that the applicants come here. They do not come here because they want more power in Nova Scotia, Manitoba, or New Brunswick; not at all. The present incorporation is adequate for all the purposes they want, only they cannot get incorporations in enough Provinces—that is the question.

PROVINCIAL RIGHTS OF LEGI LATION.

This case is quite different from the class of cases in which I am willing that Dominion legislation should intervene, to clear up any doubts in the decision to which I have alluded; it is not to complement such legislation, but it is because legislation cannot be obtained in some Provinces that the parties come here. It is not to confirm, not to complete, the legislation of any Province in regard to which difficulty had arisen under our complete system; but it is to coerce Provinces into accepting legislation which the Province would not otherwise pass. I wish to make good the propositions I advance as I proceed, and I will do this

by quoting extracts. I find the Grand Secretary of the order (Mr. Keys) said this :—

"Bills have been passed by five of the Provincial Legislatures incorporating our association; but through no fault of ours, in three of these provinces, Ontario, Manitoba and Prince Edward Island, the bills have never become law. Under these circumstances, and in order to settle the question, we have appealed to the Parliament of Canada for the passage of a general Act of incorporation for our society in the Dominion."

There you see it is not to supplement, to make good and perfect local legislation; but is it because local legislation cannot be obtained, that they come here to obtain that which they cannot get in the proper quarter.

Mr. Bowell—Have you the date of that report?

Mr. Blake—No; but I remember the period; it was shortly before the last application to Parliament. Since that time, the Manitoba Act has been passed. Fears were entertained at that time that the Manitoba Act would be disallowed; I believe it was vetoed by the then Government. Then I have a report from the Secretary of a country lodge, as late as 1884. He says:

"We must not permit any political feeling in this matter, as it is very important to our institution to have a Dominion Act of incorporation.

"Without such Act, our noble brethren in the Province of Quebec will be without one, as you all know it is no use for them to ask for incorporation in their Provincial Legislature, where Protestants are in the minority."

There you see, Mr. Speaker, once again, that it is because incorporation cannot be obtained in a particular Province or in particular Provinces, that they come here, and not because there is some difficulty or defect in the Provincial legislation which they want us here to heal. This view is not a view which is held by those who oppose this measure alone; it was held by leading Orangemen of the order. Leading members of the order, up to a comparatively short period held the view that the measure should not be brought here; that it was a matter of Provincial concern and should be discussed elsewhere. The hon. member for East Hastings (Mr. White) who introduced the bill last session, and who has occupied a very high position in the order, and who still holds a high position, speaking in Winnipeg after the defeat of the bill last session, says:

"He, along with Brother Marshall and other members of the order, had asked that the Incorporation Bill be not sent to the House of Commons, as he thought it should be brought out in the Ontario Legislature; and if defeated there, they should wait till their friends gained power; but in spite of all argument on his part, he had been forced to take the bill into the House."

Once again, the hon. gentleman said, in a speech at Brockville, after the session of Parliament:

"At the session of Parliament he found himself needing more assistance than ever before in his life.

"Many of his friends were adverse to the bill being given a second reading; they were divided as to its effect; and in this way he found himself assailed on all sides."

* * * * * * *

"Prominent Conservatives advised him to withdraw his bill."

Once, again, at Hamilton, he said:

"He was willing to admit that the Orangemen themselves were not as united in asking for the bill as they might have been. They did not act as unanimously as they should have done; and there was no use in denying the fact that a certain portion of their own organization did not want the bill to come to a second reading."

Mr. Marshall, a gentleman holding high office in the order, speaking at Winnipeg, said:—

"He had been opposed to sending the incorporation bill to the Dominion House. The battle had been commenced in Ontario, and should be fought out there."

These are statements all made since the defeat of the bill last session, and they seem to indicate that, on the part of leading members of the order itself, there was a strong feeling adverse to the propriety of introducing this bill here, and favorable to the view which I have ventured to take in this House, that substantially and essentially this is an attempt to make use of the power of this Parliament under the pretence that Dominion incorporation is really wanted and is really needed, when the reality of the case is, that Provincial incorporation is all that is really wanted and is really needed.

UNJUST FEDERAL INTERFERENCE.

And it is because the Provinces cannot be induced to grant the incorporation, or at all events, such is the case in some of them, it is proposed to use alleged Dominion power to force the measure on those localities that object to it. By the bill itself and as much of the constitution of the order as we are acquainted with, it is a Provincial organization, with Provincial, county, district and private lodges, and the local branches are to have the right to hold property. I do not intend to discuss the matters of detail to which the hon. member for Huron (Mr. Cameron), alluded as I learned from the speech of the hon. member for Cardwell (Mr. White), and which might be remedied in the Private Bills Committee, although those observations were very fit and proper, because they point to the essential local character of the measure, as dealing with property and civil rights; yet they are not fatal to the bill at that stage. The question with respect to the Mortmain Act shows what sort of a bill it is; but even this is not fatal to

the second reading, because, as the hon. member for Cardwell properly observed, that provision might be struck out in Private Bills Committee. But I say that the essence of this bill is alleged by the promoters to be the right to hold real property. I say that the right to hold real property is, if there be anything, a Provincial right—a property and civil right. I say that we should not strain our jurisdiction to grasp that right in any case. [Cheers.] I say that if we are to use our jurisdiction where we have it, for we may have it in some cases, as incidental to some classes of Domicion incorporations. For instance, I have supported, in this House, as a necessary incident of railway companies incorporated by us, the power of expropriating lands. It is a necessary incident of our power to incorporate certain classes of railways, that we should have that power of expropriation, and we use that power because it belongs to us. But, I say, that we should watch jealously when it is proposed to go beyond the necessary incidents of corporate rights, and when the whole essence of the corporation is, as it is claimed, the right to hold real property, it should be a very strong case which should lead us to interfere with it. And when we are told that the real reason they come here is not because the Provincial incorporation would not be adequate, but because they cannot get enough Provinces to agree to incorporate them, that should end the question of the propriety of our interference. I maintain that they should go to the Legislature of Quebec for incorporation in Quebec, and to the Legislature of Ontario for incorporation in Ontario, and as the hon. member for East Hastings (Mr. White) has said fight their battle there; and if popular feeling is ultimately with them, they will get their incorporation, and if it should remain against them, they must content themselves without it. But it is not only upon this ground that I personally am opposed to this act of incorporation. I entertain views on the point to which I am about to address myself, which, I dare say, are shared only by a small minority in this House, but none the less do I entertain them. I am opposed to state recognition of secret societies. (Loud applause.) I do not care how good in their purposes, or what their objects may be, I believe it is a mistake to lay down the principle that any secret society should be recognized by the State.

SECRET SOCIETIES CONTRARY TO CANADIAN LAW.

I think secret and oath-bound societies are, so far as that point may be brought fairly into question in this case—though I agree that we are to decide it upon our own notions of what is right—I say that such societies are contrary to the spirit of English law as to recognized societies. I know it is contrary to the Quebec criminal law. Now, the Quebec criminal law is not to be modified by a private bill in this House; we have power to modify, or repeal, or amend it, and an hon. gentleman has before us a bill for its amendment, upon which I hope to have the opportunity, if it comes to a second reading, of pointing out what I understand are the true principles of action in cases of that description; but I say that the Province of Quebec cannot complain if we propose to amend or modify any portion of the criminal law, simply because that portion of the law is exclusively Quebec law at this moment; for we have alone the power—they have not the power to deal with it. But the way to deal with the criminal law is to amend or repeal it by a general Act, and having amended or repealed it to such an extent, if you think fit, as will make this a legal society, as would make it legal to have such a society in the country, then proceed to pass your private bill authorizing that corporate entity to be created which is no longer contrary to the law of the land. It seems to me to be unprecedented and certainly very inconvenient that we should repeal a general criminal law *pro tanto* by the creation of a private corporation; because nobody can doubt this private bill, by which we set up the Orange society, by which we allow it to continue to extend the number of its lodges, and so on; by which we give it corporation and State recognition, by which we give it power to hold property—nobody can doubt, I say, that it comes within the criminal law of Quebec. Now that is no way to escape from the operation of the criminal law [Cheers.] A measure might be brought down, as one was brought down in the other Chamber last session dealing with the criminal law on the general principles on which it should be dealt with. I quite agree in the view which I have expressed in this House on previous occasions, that unless on the greatest pressure of obvious necessity, we should pass common laws for all parts of the Dominion, in respect to those common interests with which we are charged. I conceive it to be an anomaly—perhaps justified in special circumstances, and only to be justified by special and obvious circumstances—that there should be one criminal law for one part of the Dominion, and another criminal law for another part, and therefore I think it fitting that a law should be brought down on the subject of secret societies, making such portions of the Quebec law as it may be deemed fit to retain on the Statute Book, general, and modifying, in the sense which I shall take another opportunity of pointing out, such parts as are not deemed fit to be retained. But it is putting the cart before the horse to legalize, by a private bill, and vote out of the operation of the subsisting criminal law

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one institution. Your law should be amended first on general principles, and then if you find the institution is one which you can legally incorporate, proceed to give it incorporation. Now, as I said, I am not in favor of State recognition of any secret societies. I have never joined one; though many of my best friends are members of many secret societies which are, as this professes to be, benevolent—secret societies which do not meddle at all with political topics — secret societies whose real action, so far as one of the public can know, is not discrepant with, and does not go beyond the avowed purposes of the association. But I believe the tendency to secresy itself to be injurious. (Hear, hear.) I believe it brings with it the possibility of evil; I believe that it involves a certain amount of sacrifice of individualty and independence, and gives very great facilities for the misleading of members by designing leaders—very great and mischievous facilities for that purpose. That is my general proposition with reference to secret societies, a point on which, I dare say, as I said before, I am in a small minority; for I suppose the vast bulk of at least the Protestant members of this House belong to one or other of these societies, and I do not wish to be understood as saying that these mischievous tendencies are carried out in many of those societies, the operations of which, so far as I know, are benevolent.

THE EVILS OF SECRECY.

But these things are to be dealt with on general principles, and I maintain that secrecy is in] itself a bad thing; and if societies are benevolent, they are benevolent in spite of and not because of this element of secrecy. Now, there are, of course, three attitudes that the State can take towards these societies, that is, suppression, recognition or neutrality. And I maintain that unless a society be one for an obviously bad purpose, in this age and under our circumstances, the only course to take is not to suppress, not to recognize, but to occupy a neutral position with reference to them; not to interfere one way or the other, not to give State recognition, not to attempt what is perhaps in most cases a fruitless attempt—the attempt to suppress at all. Those who talk of the benefits of secret societies have, I think, read the history of early and of later periods, and of very late periods especially, of the United Kingdom and of the States, after a fashion in which I have not read it. I believe that a great deal of the trouble, social and political, that has occurred is due to secret societies (applause); and I think that we who hail from one or other of the quarters of the United Kingdom, we who are doubly interested in the peace, prosperity and contentment of each one of the three United Kingdoms, must have marked from early days what a baneful influence have been secret societies upon that part of the United Kingdom which, unfortunately, has given so much cause for trouble and humiliation, and difficulty, to the Parliament of England and to the English people throughout the world. When you remember the Ribbon society, the Phœnix society, the Fenian society, all the other societies to which I have referred, you may see very easily what immense possibilities of evil there are in the attribute of secrecy. Now, Sir this is a view which is shared by many who have thought on this subject. I met, the other day, in a book which Mr. A. M. Sullivan has not long since written, an observation of his which struck me as being so pregnant that I will trouble the House with it. He says:

"I had not studied in vain the history of secret oath bound associations. I regarded them with horror. I knew all that could be said as to their advantages in revolutionizing a country, but even in the firmest and best of hands they had a direct tendency to demoralization, and were often, on the whole, more perilous to society than open tyranny." [Cheers].

That is the statement of a very eminent man who was actively engaged in an agitation for what he believes, and what many of us believe, would be the amelioration of the Irish people. He saw what an important agency these societies would be; but he saw also from a sad personal experience, and from his own observation, what evil and demoralizing tendencies they have. The difficulty as to State recognition is this—it is essential; you cannot get rid of it—it is in the circumstance that the society is secret, and how far, being secret, it may depart from it professed and avowed objects; how far, being secret, it may go, in what direction it may travel: how far, being a religious and benevolent, it may become a political society and not benevolent or religious; how far, being loyal, it may go in the opposite direction. As we know professedly loyal societies have gone in days gone by—how far this may be the case you cannot determine; and, therefore, I say that State recognition ought not to be given to secret societies. You cannot tell what sort of tyranny may be exercised by them. It is in the nature of these societies to become tyrannical and despotic. [Hear, hear]. Openness and public discussion are the great guarantees of order, freedom, fairness and moderation. It is in private gatherings of men all of one turn, all of one thought, all of one opinion. that bitterness and misrepresentation and malignity revel and hold high carnival. It is just there that you are sure to have the very worst of that description of difficulty which exists too freely and fully even in all our public life, and which is tempered only in so

as our discussion, are open, in the presence of the world, and of men of different opinions. It may be that in oppressed countries, despotically governed, secret societies are a melancholy necessity. It is possible; I do not admit it; but it may be so. It may be the only refuge of those countries which are aspiring to freedom. But that is not the condition of the people of this country. (Applaus .) There is nothing here that we want, there is no amelioration of our condition that we desire, that we are not free to propose in public gathering, upon which we are not free to engage in public discussion. If we believe that those of a particular creed amongst us entertain sentiments not merely erroneous in point of dogmatic religion, which has nothing to do with the question, but sentiments hostile to the constitution or dangerous to social order, we have a right to say so, a right to resist them, a right to challenge their opinions, and to challenge them to express their opinions. But we have no right, because we have no necessity, to engage in secret societies, which, as I have said, are the frightful mother of malignity, misrepresentation and bigotry.

WHAT THE ORANGE BILL MEANS.

The bill, however, goes much further than simply giving the right to hold property. As I have said, it gives corporate State recognition. It gives a corporate existence. For this purpose, it invokes the Interpretation Act; and the last clause gives this society power to carry on its work. It is true, the preamble of the bill has been altered. Last session it said that the society wanted power to carry on its work; this year it does not say so; but the clauses, so far as I understand them, are the same; and the preamble does not give the power, but the clauses do. The Interpretation Act gives power which, perfectly legitimate, in fact, absolutely essential to an ordinary business corporation, are powers which yet may be open to some misconception in the case of a secret society, such as this, for the propagation of opinion. There is a power on the part of the majority over the minority. While that is necessary in the case of an ordinary corporation, in the case of a society like this, for the propagation of opinion, a clause of that description is likely to enable the majority to exercise tyranny over the minority. There is also given freedom from individual responsibility, which is quite proper in the case of ordinary business corporations; but once again, peculiar force is given to this provision in the case of this organization, which we incorporate according to the rules and constitution in the schedule, and to which we are to give power to alter its constitution as it pleases hereafter. Of course, I know that there is the criticism that this may be amended in Committee, but it is necessary to refer to it. We are asked to incorporate an institution, with power to alter its constitution as it pleases and to give whatever powers it pleases to its officers afterwards; but we do not know what those alterations may be, as the veil of secrecy conceals its acts, and there is to be no individual responsibility for them. Now, my hon. friend from Huron alluded to a point which met with some cries of denial at first, but I did not observe, when he came to be answered, that his proposition was seriously challenged. He alluded to the proposition that the purposes of this society were wholly political. I am not going to discuss how the Orange society works in the other Provinces of the Dominion I do not know how it works in the other Provinces; I do not know how far it is true to the professed objects of the institution, or how far it goes beyond them: I do not know whether they are objects peculiarly political or no; but I think I speak of what I do know, when I say that my hon. friend's observation as to Ontario is perfectly correct; and I think the circumstances that, after being met with those cries of denial when an answer was attempted to be made to his argument, is sufficient proof of that.

Mr. White [Hastings].—He said that Orangemen were expelled for voting for the Reform party.

Mr. Blake—I do not know how that may be; but I shall furnish the hon. gentleman some information on that point before I am done. [Hear, hear]. I maintain that the order is political in Ontario, and I say that the objections to State recognition of secret societies are doubly strong—in point of fact, they receive their chief vitality when they are applied to secret political organizations. There, if anywhere, it is in open discussion only that there is safety, in open attack and defence, in public charges and public answers. Why, many of us believe, and, I am sure, most of us would gladly agree—if it were practicable; I do not think it is—many of us believe that the greatest boon would be conferred upon the public if you could abolish private canvassing, if you could arrange that the mode of canvassing would be to meet the electors of both sides openly at open public meetings and there avow your principles and define your positions. Why? Because we know that a private canvass gives an opportunity for statements which suit the political complexion of the person addressed; because we know it gives an opportunity for private statements of the political faith of the candidates and for private assault upon the political faith and standing of an opponent, and it is in every way objectionable.

PUBLICITY THE BREATH OF FREEDOM.

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breath of freedom in politics (loud applause), and I have not hesitated to declare that, though I voted for the ballot as essential to freedom, I was never able to reconcile myself to the idea that we should always be obliged to poll our votes secretly, because I believe it would be a very great advance if the day should come when we could believe that to all our people an open vote would be a free vote. It is only because there are cases where an open vote is not a free vote, that I yielded to the ballot as a necessity, and in order that the votes might be free. Apart from that, I believe the effect of the ballot itself to be injurious rather than advantageous. To bear out what I have said with reference to secret political organizations, I will give you an instance in my own career. The first time I entered public life, in 1867, I was contesting two counties, one for the Local and one for this House. They were from 200 to 250 miles apart, and I had to run from one to the other in the course of my canvass. At a certain point, shortly before I left the South Riding of Bruce to go down to West Durham, I found that a secret canvass was being made against me, promoted by this religious and benevolent association. One was a cry to the effect that my father was the man who had shot Col. Moody in 1837; the other was a personal cry that I myself was a Roman Catholic. [Hear hear.]

TORY TACTICS AND PRIVATE CANVASSING.

Having been informed, beyond a particle of doubt, that these statements were being circulated at the last meeting in the West Riding on behalf of the Government, knowing there were men in the House who were circulating these stories, I, without repeating them, called upon those who had made them, called upon anybody to come forward and state anything derogatory either to my father or to myself, and I would answer then and there. But none of them would come forward. I called on them three times at a public meeting; but although the circulators of these calumnies were present they would not come forward. In the West Riding of Durham, the same private canvass was going on, the same course was taken, the same precise calumnies were being circulated, and when I came to that riding I was asked how about this and how about that? but I declined to deny things which no man would venture publicly to state. That is the evil of a private canvass, and especially of a private canvass conducted through the medium of a secret society. Do I object to this society because it is a political organization? Not at all. I approve of political organizations. I believe in political organizations which are public, which are avowed organizations, and are not afraid to declare themselves as such; but I do not believe in secret political organizations or political organizations, secret or otherwise, which act under the guise of religion and philanthropy. I do not object to this society because the majority of it are opposed to me in political opinion. That is no reason for objecting to it. They have as good a right to their opinions as I have to mine, and their right to hold theirs is as dear as mine is to hold mine; holding mine by the same tenure as they hold theirs, and as I would not part for any consideration, with the free right to hold mine, I hold their right equally dear. But if that political organization is opposed to me, I want to meet them as such, and not as members of a religious and charitable society. [Applause.] Our religious opinion should be held entirely separate from our political leanings. No greater calamity can affect a community than when the cleavage of political parties is coincident with the cleavage of religious bodies. That is a great calamity and misfortune. I am anxious that whatever our creed or religious opinions may be, we should feel that they have nothing whatever to do with our political opinions, and that we should agree or differ on political questions entirely irrespective of the faith we may happen to hold on religious questions. [Cheers.]

POLITICS AND RELIGION.

The more you set up, as a combination, a great Protestant society, which is also a great political association, the more you make coincident, or strive to make coincident, the line of division between the religious and political convictions of the people, and act directly in the teeth of what I believe to be for the benefit of the State. Our political differences are bitter enough, without introducing into them religious differences, and if the odium theologium, which is known to be so bitter, is to be accentuated by political differences, it will become intolerable. (Applause). Let us endeavor not to make coincident the line between political and religious opinion, yet this society, which, under the guise of religion and benevolence, is in Ontario largely and chiefly political in its power and efficacy, is doing this very thing which I believe to be for the public evil and not for the public good. I do not propose to refer, in support of my view, as to the political condition of this society in Ontario, to anything very ancient. I do not propose to refer even to things so ancient as those to which the hon. member for the West Riding of Huron [Mr. Cameron) referred. It is enough for me to refer to quite recent transactions. The hon. member for Hastings (Mr. White) made a speech in the town of Woodstock on the 12th July, and in that speech he gave some very amusing allusions to the secret history of the conduct of this bill. In the course of these statements,

he took a line which I want to point out, and proved what I have declared with reference to this society being really and substantially a political organization:

"The bill and its requirements were put before the people of the Dominion, but, before the second reading came on, unfortunately mistakes were made. He was not going to find a great deal of fault with the Roman Catholics, or with the Reformers; but, so far as our own people were concerned, as Conservatives and Orangemen, they were not as anxious as they should have been. He would say to them, so far as the Reformers of Canada are concerned, they should not forget the fact that nine-tenths of the members of the Orange society in the Province of Ontario belonged to the Conservative party."

Mr. White [Hastings]—Suppose they do.

Mr. Blake—Well, suppose they do. I am sorry for it, but I do suppose it. I am merely showing that this is a political organization.

Mr. Farrow—That does not prove it.

Mr. Blake—If that does not prove it to the hon. member for Huron, I despair of proving it to him. I do not address the remainder of these remarks to the hon. gentleman:

"He thought, in justice, according to Reform principles, they should have passed over any little wrongs which they might have suffered in the past, and have voted for the Orange incorporation bill. He wished it had been so, and, if they had done it, he was satisfied that at the next election the Orangemen would have divided, and have gone in more for men add measures and not so strongly for party."

"And not so strongly for party." That is the hon. gentleman's description of the party character of the Orange organization in Ontario, that they have in the past gone very strong for party, and that in the future they might have mended their ways and gone more for men and measures. And that is not a party organization!

Mr. White Hastings]. Those are good words.

Mr. Blake. They are very good words. I wish they would be made good:—

'Mr. Bunting went to Ottawa; he worked day and night for the bill; he told the Frenchmen if they did not pass the measure they would be doing an act of great injustice. He spoke to Sir Hector Langevin, to Sir John A. Macdonald, and other members of the Cabinet, on the subject. He referred them to the general support which the Conservative party had always received at the hands of the Orangemen."

"He [Mr. White] thanked Mr. Bunting for the noble assistance he gave him during that time of trial, assistance which they hoped would yet result in triumph. In conversation, along with twenty other gentlemen, with Sir Hector Langevin, Mr. Bunting said: 'Sir Hector, we must have incorporation.' What was the reply? Sir Hector said: 'So far as incorporation is concerned, I personally wish you to have it, but I am opposed to all secret societies, because my Church is opposed to them. I like to see the Conservative party prosperous, but I like the prosperity of my Church better than that of the Conservative party. My bishops and priests tell us, the members of the Church, not to vote for and support any such societies.' Mr. Bunting, in reply said: 'That is a great mistake, for there are no men on earth more anxious to do justice to all parties, and to give your Church any incorporation it may require for its benefit, than the Orangemen.' In his [Mr. White's] opinion, Sir Hector Langevin would find out that he had committed a great mistake; for, if ever he obtained the leadership of any Government in this country, it would be impossible for him to hold it without the assistance and co-operation of the Orange Society."

"Theirs," says the hon. gentleman, warming into enthusiasm towards the peroration:

"Theirs was a great organization; let it be good, prudent and cautious; and he said as a Conservative, remember the next general election, if we do not succeed in getting justice before that time, judge each man by his deeds. They should take a leaf out of Archbishop Lynch's book. The Orange society were in a position to rule the whole country if they were only true to themselves."

Then, Sir, the hon. gentleman also delivered an oration at Hamilton. Three cheers were given for Sir John at a particular period of the meeting, and the hon. gentleman followed up the cheers by saying:—

"He" (that is Sir John) "was as true and as consistent a friend to the Orange bill as any member in the House. There was a proposition made that the bill should be withdrawn, or at least a bill granted to all the different Provinces, with the exception of the Province of Quebec. Sir John said to him, 'Mr. White, don't accept that, for if you do it will only bring disgrace on your society. Better have the bill carried for the whole Dominion, but don't disgrace yourselves by deserting the worthy members of your order in the Province of Quebec.' Those were good words, and he was satisfied that nothing in the world would have given Sir John Macdonald greater pleasure than in handing the incorporation bill to the Governor for his sanction, because Sir John was satisfied in his own mind that nine-tenths of the Orange members belonged to the Conservative party."

Why, I see the hon. member is amused. I thought I would amuse him.

Mr. White [Hasting]. That speech of mine, which he is reading, is the best part of the hon. gentleman's speech.

Mr. Blake. My proofs are always the best part of my speeches, and this is my proof: [Laughter].

"Supposing Sir Hector Langevin were the leader of a great party, and in its ranks there was a society which was as true to him as the Orange society has been to Sir John Macdonald, he would go to Sir John and say: 'It is necessary, in the interests of our party, that this society, which is loyal to the Queen, to the Constitution and to the country, should have an Act of incorporation.' Sir John would have answered: 'Yes, with all my heart you shall have it.' The Prime Minister was leading a party that was fair and just, while Sir Hector Langevin was leading a party that was bound hand and foot to the Church of Rome, which possessed a grasping disposition, taking everything and giving nothing."

Well, then, the hon. gentleman had occasion to speak of the Minister of Customs, and, after giving him a very great laudation for the mode in which he executed his office, he said:—

"Orangemen had looked forward and expected him to speak on the second reading of the bill, and, in not doing so, he [Mr. White] thought he

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Well, Sir, so far for the hon. gentleman, the member of Hastings. But there are some other recent proofs of the political character of this religious and benevolent organization, so far as it is managed in Ontario. Brother Marshall, to whom I already alluded, who occupies a high position in the order, and who was with the hon. gentleman at Winnipeg, said:—

"The question was asked how they always voted Tory, and the answer was because that party had befriended them."

You see the statement is "they always voted Tory," but they are not a political organization! At the Grand Lodge meeting at St. Catharines, the grand master, Mr. Merrick, who is also a member of the local Legislature, said:—

"I hope it will teach us a lesson for our future conduct not to trust to mere political party as such, but to support and work with our best energies for those who will support and work for us; and then, no doubt, we will be able to say, with the grand master of New South Wales:—

"'In connection with the recent Parliamentary elections, we find that in every locality throughout the various electorates, where a lodge was in operation the chosen candidate of the lodge received the greater number of votes.'"

But it is not a political organization! Then, Mr. Johnston, at the same meeting, said:

"They are endeavoring to make the association less of a political organization, and more of a religious and benevolent association."

Mr. White (Hastings). How would that suit you?

Mr. Blake—That would suit me very well, but I do not perceive that the hon. gentleman is a doing of it, Sir. Then there was a grand meeting of the Triennial Council in England, at which Canadian delegates were present, including Mr. Marshall and Mr. Bennett Speeches were made by Mr. Bennett and others, and they indicated the condition of the order in another colony, and so far are not uninteresting. Mr. Neale, who represented New Zealand, South Australia and Queensland, spoke, and said:

"The last general election was the grandest triumph for Orangeism ever witnessed in New South Wales. We gained no less than twenty-eight seats in the Colonial Parliament; and a very large number of the other members were returned through the Orange vote, and only eight Romanists succeeded in gaining admission."

That was the statement which these Canadian delegates heard, and which is the condition of things, and the way the order is worked in New South Wales. At that meeting Mr. Bennett was present representing Ontario, and he made this statement:

"I may also tell you that we have in our country an Orange paper, and we have found it to have a beneficial and magical effect, because divided as the Protestants are in the country into two political parties, each of these parties bidding for the Romanist vote, so that the organs of these political parties dare not, for fear of offending the Roman Catholics, say anything in favor of Orangeism. Having a paper of our own, we not only get all the Orange news from all parts of the world, but have an organ, not only to put forth our views to the country, but to repel all attacks that may be made on us by the Roman Catholic and Jesuit press of the country."

A POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.

So that you find, Sir, that the Order is organized, and that here in Ontario, at the present day, by the confession of its leading men, though it comes here claiming incorporation as a religious and benevolent association, the guise in which it appeals to its friends, the voice with which it speaks to those whom it expects to support it, are political. They say they are a political organization. They vote almost unitedly one way; they are a party political organization. Nor, Sir, is it to be wondered at, for we all know that in both the great branches from which the order springs, the Irish Grand Lodge and the English Grand Lodge, the order was for a great many years, and I believe is still, political. I do not intend myself to attempt any statement of the origin, and still less of the progress and work of the Irish lodges; but I intend to read a brief extract from a letter written by Sir Francis Hincks, a few years ago, in which he says:

"I have read in many newspapers, as well as in the sermon of the Rev. Mr. Doudiet, a similar expression of opinion; that the cause of offence to Irish Catholics is the celebration of the anniversary of the battle of the Boyne. I believe that those who entertain this opinion are under a complete delusion, from which it is most desirable that they should be freed, Irish Roman Catholics would never have resented the celebration of an ordinary victory, but the battle of the Boyne was the first of a series of victories which led to the complete subjugation of Catholic Ireland to Protestant Great Britain, and the effect of the subjugation was that a Protestant minority, settled chiefly in one of the four Provinces of Ireland, was enabled to rule a Roman Catholic majority in the three other Provinces, with a rod of iron, during the eighteenth century. [Shame, shame.]

"The motto of the Protestant minority for years before the Orange lodges came into existence, was 'Protestant Ascendency,' and this was maintained by penal laws, ever amelioration of which laws was resisted by Orangemen with all the vigor for which they have ever

been distinguished. When it is borne in mind that, for nearly a century after the Battle of the Boyne, no Roman Catholic could either be elected or vote for a member of Parliament, that no Roman Catholic could be a lawyer or a solicitor, that no Roman Catholic could keep arms, that his children could not be educated, and that his clergy were proscribed, that no Roman Catholic could own a horse worth over £5; when it is further borne in mind that every amelioration of these penal laws was gradually extorted from the Protestant minority, which was alone represented in the Irish Parliament, by the influence of English statesmen, who, differing upon other questions, were nearly all favorable to the gradual repeal of the penal statutes; when, I say, all this is considered, it is not difficult to understand the hatred that is felt by Irish Catholics to an institution whose distinguishing principle is 'Protestant ascendency,' and whose members habitually proclaim their adherence to this principle by their flags and party tunes—'Protestant Boys' and 'Cropples lie down.'" [Cries of shame].

Sir Francis Hincks goes on to point out the continued political operations of the Orangemen, with reference to Catholic emancipation, and with reference to church disestablishment, showing their active operation as a political body up to a comparatively recent period. He proceeds to point out that the Orange organization has existed in the Province of Upper Canada, that there they were opposed to certain reforms, the promoters of which they were pleased to call disloyal; and he points out that they there also were a political organization. So, sir, with reference to the English lodges, you will find that at a very early day in the enquiry that was made as to the Orange institution in Great Britain and Ireland, the Deputy Grand Secretary was asked some questions not very long after the order had been really instituted, and he said, speaking of its true character:—

INTOLERANCE OF ORANGEISM.

469. It is stated here, "as part of a grand Conservative body, extending over the whole kingdom, and having its head in the metropolis, the value of our provincial establishments is immense;" will you state what is meant by the advantage of having that general association all over the country, the head of the body being in the metropolis; did you mean by the Conservative body, the Loyal Orange Institution?—No, the institution that is known by the name of the Conservative body or club.

470. This is issued under the sanction of the grand master of the empire, His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland? Yes, so it is; but I should not hesitate to say it had reference to Conservative associations more than Orange, but I consider the one as interwoven with the other.

471. Do you mean that commonly called the Carlton Club?—Yes.

472. Will you state what is meant by this: "Lastly, it enables men possessing wealth and patronage in their command to distinguish the true support of constitutional principles, to reward merit and honesty whenever it suffers oppression and distress;" by "it," do you mean the Loyal Orange Institution?—I should rather say, taken by surprise as I am, that it must mean the Conservative Institution; I have always considered the two to be so interwoven, with a difference of name, that it is of little consequence.

473. You consider the Loyal Orange Association of the same nature and identified with that called the Carlton Club?—Yes, I should consider so, with this distinction, that the Orange institution is a religious institution, and the Carlton Club does not profess to be so. With respect to a person being a member of the Carlton Club, if, as a gentleman of some rank and situation in life, he is eligible, they never inquire I believe into his religion, which is no exclusion; whilst I have no reserve in saying religion is the first principle we look to in the Orange institution; we exclude Papists, for instance, and we exclude Jews.

474. Do you exclude Unitarians?—I rather think we should.

475. Do you not confine it altogether to those who are members of the Church of England?—No, we include Protestant Dissenters; we have a great number of Protestant Dissenters among us.

476. Are you to be understood to say, that you believe the Carlton Club and the Orange institution are generally interwoven in their views, but you consider the Carlton Club more political and the Orange Institution more religious?—Yes.

There, I think, Sir, that pretty effectually proves that in the opinion of the Deputy Grand Secretary, the Orange institution and the Carlton Club were institutions of different names, but having pretty much the same object. That is also proved, practically, by the papers which were produced at that time. Amongst others, was the report of the Grand Secretary, in 1835, in which he says:

4. Perhaps the way of all others, in which Orangeism can be turned to the best account, or can be rendered available to beneficial objects, is by a practical observance of its fundamental principles, when the executive feels a necessity for making an appeal to the sense of the nation. If, however, by an abandonment, or by a compromise of those tenets, for the maintenance of which they profess to assemble, its members act so inconsistently as to countenance those candidates who avow their hostility to the Protestant church and a free constitution, their continuance with us must prove ruinous to our cause. So obvious will this be to the least cultivated mind as to need no argument in support of the fact

5. Since the mania of reform it may not be foreign to the purpose to observe, that no small portion of the brethren have sunk into the soft captivity of its delusion. Hence it may not be superfluous to add, from representations to the D.G.S. both orally and in writing, that, in disregard of the "obligation" which is so much their proud but empty boast, a number of Orangemen have bestowed their suffrages on persons well known to be opposed to the establishments of the land, and unfavorable to the existence of their own body. So at variance is such conduct, not merely with the spirit but with the letter of the laws by which their movements ought to be guided—so contrary was it to the votes, no less from feeling than from honor, which they are bound to have given—as to call for and demand their dismissal from a society, whose interest they had betrayed and whose safety they had endangered. As men, their indisputable right to exercise the freedom of election would never be questioned; but as members of an institution who associate for the purposes of loyalty and for the repudiation of such a liberalism of sen-

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timent, they ought to be restrained in so anomalous a course, which is calculated to cast a suspicion on the integrity of, to the entailment of a degradation with a mixture of contempt on, all who belong to it.

6. In illustration of the above, the D. G. S. has to offer an extract of a letter that he received from the D. G. M. of Rochdale soon after the election, than which nothing can more strongly show the justness of the remarks he had previously put forth, in condemnation of so vile a departure from the pure essence of sound Orangeism, as therein is reported to him thus officially by that functionary, viz:—

7. "No doubt you have heard of the triumph," says the writer, "we have gained over the Whig candidate, by the election of John Entwistle, Esq., of Foxholes, as the representative of this borough. Yet after obtaining the victory, I am not altogether satisfied, as three of our members voted for the Whig party, contrary to the principles of our loyal institution. The names of the persons who have gone against us are Richard Simpson, of warrant 68; James Whittles, 266; and John Crossley, 302. The brethren of my district call aloud for the expulsion of these offenders. For Crossley I feel strongly, as he was compelled, by his master, to vote contrary to his wishes. I hope, therefore, you will take his case into your kind consideration, as I believe him to be really a true Orangeman. I shall feel obliged by your advice in what manner I am to act under these circumstances. At the ensuing meeting of the Grand Lodge, I hope you will lay this case before its dignitaries. In the mean time I shall await your answer with impatience."

8. Much credit is due to the D. G. M. of Rochdale for his prompt report of these delinquents, as well as the brethren of the district for their just reprehension of characters so unworthy of their fellowship. Other accounts of a similar, though of less specific, color have been transmitted to the D.G.S., whose best attention to them shall be especially given on his approaching tour of general inspection. With the names of the districts most disaffected he is well acquainted, and those Masters who shall appear to have connived at, nay, not to have used strong efforts to prevent these offences, may expect soon to be superceded in their command. Such a desertion from principle on the part of the brotherhood, and such a dereliction of duty on the part of their officers, at a conjuncture of peril too like the present, when the altar and the sceptre are alike in danger, can no longer be suffered to pass with impunity. As an example, then, to deter rather than to punish, let the two chief transgressors stand expelled, and the one so unduly influenced be suspended.

11. The D.G.S. has now to notice a communication more in unison with the feelings of Orangeism than the last, reflecting no less honor on the D.G.M. of Barnsley than upon the individuals, to a man, over whose proceedings that functionary has been invested with a superintendence. Prior to the late elections, the officer, parading his forces, in a brief harangue analogized the rudiments in which they had been more than traditionally instructed since their enrolment in our social bands. By the implied, as well as by the written laws, he reminded them their actions ought to be governed on these occasions, which was a theorem not to be refuted. Hence, while their cordial support was due to candidates cherishing sentiments congenial with Conservative doctrines, they were bound to withhold it from aspirants entertaining ideas unfavorable to legitimate designs. Indeed, it was absolutely imperative on them as Orangemen to uphold persons who were resolved on repairing, instead of destroying our venerable monuments of antiquity by uprighteous attempts to level them with the dust. The consequence of this ingenious step was, that the whole of the district, with three hearty cheers, declared their readiness to vote in accordance with the precepts, in a virtual sense, thus enjoined on them. Such of the members as had no franchise to exercise would most cheerfully, they said, yield their assistance in any way best calculated to promote the good cause.

Such was the course of conduct pursued in 1835 by the Loyal Orange Association of Great Britain. With respect to this measure now before the House; after its defeat last Session, a first there was a disposition on the part of the promoters to blame the Roman Catholic Conservative members who opposed the bill, and to deal rather lightly with Protestant Reformers. I might refer to a speech which the hon. member for East Hastings [Mr. White] delivered in Ottawa, which the hon. member for Montmagny [Mr. Landry] read in this House, and which is reported in *Hansard* of 1883. I refer also to a speech delivered by the hon. member for East Hastings at Winnipeg, when he said:—

"At the first reading, the Roman Catholic section of the House had expressed considerable sympathy, but had been compelled to oppose it, owing, no doubt, to instructions received from the bishops and priests. No country could afford to submit to the dictates of bishops, priests, or ministers of any denomination. The Reformers said very little in the matter. The three Reform representatives from Manitoba acted nobly, but the rest were undecided as to the action they would take. He was advised to consult Mr. Blake, but refused, as that gentleman was an Ultramontane Protestant.

"Many of the friends of the Order did not act as they should have done. They forgot that they owed their seats to Orangemen, and were afraid that they would be killed if they supported it, and he told him that they would die anyway.

"The Conservative party had not been as true to the cause as they might, but his advice would be to test them again; and if the bill was defeated three times he would advocate the ballot box."

There you see, Mr. Speaker, the disposition to which I refer, to blame those Roman Catholic members who voted against the bill, and to deal rather lightly, as the hon. gentleman did at Ottawa, with Protestant Reformers. [Applause.] Then Major White said at Winnipeg:—

"The association has not the influence it ought to have, because the members were not true to each other. The brethren should see to it that in all municipal and legislative bodies they had men who would truly represent them. In the past they had taken the broad view that a man's religion should not be a bar to his political preferment; but the conduct of the Roman Catholic members of the House demonstrated that they could not represent Protestants, much less Orangemen."

There again, you see the same disposition—a disposition to blame the Roman Catholic Conservative members for not voting for the bill, to declare it was a measure which they should have supported, and to threaten them with

general ostracism in parliamentary and municipal matters. [Cheers.]

Mr. White. We will grant them absolution before next election.

Mr. Blake. I am glad the hon gentleman has the frankness and manliness to avow it. The official organ of the Orange body says:

"The bigotry displayed on Monday by every French and Irish Roman Catholic member of the House of Common has, however, opened our eyes, and in future we shall know how to act. As we said, although the Reformers acted foolishly and illiberally, still we think, under the present state of Canadian politics, an excuse may be found for their action, but none whatever can be offered for the course pursued by the Conservative Roman Catholics, and upon their shoulders, in the greatest measure, must rest the onus of our defeat."

There again, you see the first line taken by the promoters of the bill—they were prepared to charge the Roman Catholics, whether Conservatives or Reformers, and particularly Conservatives, with the cause of the defeat of the bill. The *Sentinel* says:

"For years past the Orange men of the Dominion have, under various political pretexts, and to meet the exigencies of political parties, been induced to support Roman Catholics at the polls; but the measure of bigoted intolerance with which our liberality was met in the vote upon our bill, precludes any possibility of this mistake again occurring."

The *Sentinel* goes on to say, with respect to the course of the leader of the Conservative party:—

"The leader of the Conservative party has been charged with insincerity in his efforts to have the bill passed, and while we believe that personally he has acted with the greatest sincerity towards us, and has used all his influence to obtain for us the redress we sought, still we cannot close our eyes to the fact that it is the first measure introduced since 1878, with his approval and sympathy, which has received such a weak support."

OSTRACIZING THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

Now, sir, that was the first start. That was the way the promoters of this bill began to conduct the political campaign towards procuring a successful reading of the Orange Bill. After the attack they were honest enough to say that they had not much to expect from the Reformers. They did say that they had a right to expect from the Conservative Roman Catholics their support of the bill, and they showed the true principles of their leading men, in the observations I have just now read, as to the ostracism they propose to pronounce on Roman Catholics generally, in consequence of the course of the Roman Catholic Conservatives with reference to the bill. I have said that in Ontario it is a political organization, and I say that it subordinates all other considerations—its leaders cause it to subordinate all other considerations to the political and party consideration. That is proved by a course which was pursued shortly afterwards. Their tactics were changed, and they seem to think it would not do to blame the Roman Catholic Tories for opposing the bill, and they must throw the odium on the Protestant Liberals, and on me particularly, as an Ultramontane Protestant. It would not do to go on saying that the Roman Catholic Conservatives had done wrong, and that they must not return Roman Catholics to Parliament, and the hon. gentleman did not wait until the next election to grant absolution. He granted absolution at once, and he turned the condemnation upon us, whom, for a little space of time, he was just enough to say he had no right to expect much from. And why was this done?

Mr. White (Hastings). Read what I have said.

Mr. Blake. I have read what the hon, gentleman said—is he not satisfied? I cannot read all his speeches, but I will gratify him. There was a meeting in Ottawa at which an address was presented to him, and the address contained the following paragraph:—

"From the proceedings in Parliament on the Orange Incorporation Bill, we have learned a bitter, but salutary lesson, and one that will bear fruit in due season. While we disclaim an intolerant spirit, we declare that henceforth the Roman Catholics must be prepared to reap as they have sown, and that if we are such disturbers of the peace as they declare us to be, we will for the future abstain from voting for them, and so deprive them of the power to mortify us by refusing to grant to us the same rights that we have always cheerfully accorded to them."

The hon, gentleman's answer was as follows:

"Many Conservative members had asked and begged of him not to ruin them, but he told them he would stand by the order first. Another mistake was that of assisting to elect a Frenchman in Russell and an Irish Roman Catholic [Mr. Baskerville] in Ottawa city, and said he was now ashamed of his actions; he hoped the Orangemen would forgive him for asking them to vote for Baskerville. There are very few Hawkinses. One Roman Catholic member of the House whose name he did not wish to mention, said to him privately: 'How can we vote for this bill when the priest says he has power from the Pope to damn those of his constituens who dare vote for a candidate for parliamentary honors who would support such a measure.' If the Conservatives would not stand true to us, then let us be Reformers. He likened them, at the present day, as being between the devil and the deep sea—the Roman Catholics and the Reformers."

Mr. White (Renfrew). One word; I believe the hon. gentleman is reading from the Ottawa *Free Press*.

Mr. Blake. I am reading from *Hansard*. I do not know where it was taken from, but it was read in the House and the hon. gentleman did not repudiate it.

"He kindly praised the Reformers who supported the Bill. He believed Mr. Blake had made a mistake in voting against the second reading. It was, at that time, within his grasp to have the united Orange vote of Ontario."

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TORYISM AND ORANGEISM.

Now, Sir, as I have said, the Tory politicians who lead and direct, and control the bulk of the Orangemen of Ontario, believed it would not do to continue the battle with their own allies; and as politics are the main ingredient in their view, as it is for the propagation of their own party politics that they work the order, they decided on taking another course, and the fight which existed against the Roman Catholic Conservatives was put to one side and the fight was turned against us. Sir, it reminds me of the story of the Irish duel. The first Minister with the hon. Minister of Customs on one side, and the hon. Minister of Public Works and the hon. Minister of Inland Revenue on the other, met with hostile intent. [Laughter]. They met to fight the battle to the bitter end and the poor innocent fellow who is taking his breakfast upstairs, away by himself is astonished by a bullet coming through the floor and striking him in the leg. He asks the waiter what was going on, and he replies, sure it is only Moriarty and O'Toole fighting a duel, but thank God they have fired in the air. [Loud laughter.] The gentleman upstairs with the bullet in his leg did not thank Providence at all. This duel between the First Minister and the Minister of Customs on the one hand, and the Minister of Public Works and the Minister of Inland Revenue on the other; this great demonstration of hostility of voting squarely against one another; all this fire and fury and blood and thunder; all this threatening and slaughter ended by both combatants firing in the air, and hitting the poor fellow up stairs who had nothing to do with the row. Now, Sir, I do not propose to be hit without protest. (Great cheering.) As I have said, they have changed their ground. They have determined that they will not fight with one another but with us, and what is the present argument? The present argument is that this bill is a contest between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants, and that all true Protestants must unite in supporting the bill against the Roman Catholics. That is the argument; that is the proposition. You cannot get out of it. And if we do not agree to that proposition, we are to be told that in our religious associations amongst those with whom we confer, and co-operate in religious work—that we are not true Protestants, because we have not gone against the Roman Catholics by voting for carrying this measure. I have made that statement, and with reference to that statement as with reference to the others, I produce the proof. (Loud applause). In November, 1882, a lodge meeting was held at Clover Hall, and an address was delivered by a great man in the order, the late local member for South Simcoe (Mr. Parkhill). He spoke as follows:

"If he observes the signs of the times correctly, there is as much need of Orangeism, both in Ireland and Canada, at the present moment, as there ever was. True, we may not have to fight, as our forefathers fought, but we must all, whether Grits or Tories, bury our political feelings and go united to the polls in defence of our Protestant principles."

PROTESTANTS UNITING AGAINST CATHOLICS.

What is his proposition? I am to be told, being a Reformer, that I must bury my political feelings and join with my friend, Mr Parkhill, whom I have the pleasure of knowing, and whom I should not suspect, from his appearance, of possessing such bloodthirsty principles—we are to unite against the Roman Catholics. At Rosemount, on the 29th December, 1882, the hon. member for South Simcoe spoke at a lodge meeting. We are told that:—

"Colonel Tyrwhitt, M.P., was warmly received, and made a good, practical, Protestant speech, in the course of which he referred to the utter want of practical principle in the Roman Catholic electorate. The only principle they held was allegiance to their Church, and to its interests; on such matters Roman Catholic representatives were a unit in the House of Commons. They even had an Irish Catholic party in the House of Commons last Session, who met daily to consider their interests. While all this was going on, he was sorry to admit that Orange and Protestant representatives were divided. He counselled organization and unity on the part of all Protestants irrespective of politics in order to stem the aggressive march of the Papacy in this our beloved Dominion."

Now, this is not old. I am not reviving the buried fires of old days. This is reported on the 4th of January, 1883, and the speech was delivered on the 29th of December, 1882. Then, in the *Sentinel* of 12th July, 1883, these remarks are made:

"Mr. Blake is the most prominent man in the House who voted against the bill. He is, at least by profession, the Protestant of Protestants, from whom such a vote was not expected. * * * He is, above all, by virtue of his leadership of the Opposition, the member of the Federal Parliament whose vote against incorporation influenced the largest number of his colleagues to vote as they did in violation of the rights of large numbers of their constituents. * * But, Mr. Blake, by his vote, threw his influence in the House against the bill, and, undoubtedly, thereby secured its defeat. He stultified his advocacy of Ontario's rights, and he made plain the hollow insincerity of his principles. His position in the House, his professions of Protestantism, his advocacy of Ontario's rights, made him a prominent target for the censure of Orangemen, because of a vote, which, if he were true to his principles and professions, he would certainly have never given."

Once again you see the assertion that this is a question between Protestant and Catholic, and that a man who professes Protestant principles is insincere if he votes against this bill. There was also a lodge resolution reported in the *Sentinel*

"We are not surprised at Roman Catholic members who put religion before party; but we

strongly condemn those Protestant members who preferred party before religion."

There again this is made a religious question. (Hear, hear). We are told that we voted for our party and against our principles. The Churchill lodge passed a resolution which was particularly directed against the humble individual who now addresses you:

"We particularly condemn the action of the Hon. Edward Blake, who, by voting for the bill at one reading and against it at the next, showed that he was more anxious to embarrass his political opponents than to do justice to a large body of his fellow Protestants; and that we consider such a trifling with the question an insult to our order, and that in being guilty of it, the said Hon. Edward Blake has proved himself unworthy of the name he bears as an ultra Protestant, and also of the high position he occupies as leader of one of the so-called great political parties of this country."

Once again, you observe that my innocent conduct, for which I did not think I was to be blamed, in giving to this bill what I have given to every bill brought into this House since I have been in Parliament, and what I propose to give to almost every conceivable bill, the courtesy of a first reading, and the opportunity of discussion on the second reading, I am told is trifling. Hon. gentlemen opposite, members of the order, called upon us not to be so unjust as to vote against the first reading. They pointed out that the first reading was not on the merit of the bill, but that it gave an opportunity for discussion. I thought they were right, and I accepted their view; but Churchill lodge blames me, and various members of the order say that I was wrong. Then, Sir, the hon. member for Brockville (Mr. Wood) is reported to have said:

"No doubt there is danger in the air, and the Orangemen of Ontario should become the Ultramontane Protestant party in Ontario in contradistinction to the Roman Catholic Ultramontanes of Quebec."

Then the hon. member for East Hastings [Mr. White], himself, at Woodstock, said:

"The day was not far distant, if we did not show more pluck and courage in opposing the growing influence of the Papacy in this Province, when we should be obliged to fight, not as Conservatives or Reformers, but as Protestants, to free ourselves from the trammels which Rome's agents sought to place on us and our institutions."

Mr. Marshal at Winnipeg said:

"The bill of incorporation was not defeated by the Roman Catholics, but by the Protestants, who were pandering to the Roman Catholic vote. He hoped Brother White would never ask a Catholic member to support the bill, as he could expect no support from them; and if he did, he gave them credit for more honesty than politicians generally possessed."

And I perceive that only the other day, on the 11th March, a special meeting of the Middlesex County lodge was held, at which it was resolved:

"That the county lodge of the county of Middlesex of the Loyal Orange Association is of opinion that while those who last year voted for our incorporation did but their duty in having shown their willingness to accord us those rights which we, as Orangemen, are ever ready to extend to all sections of Her Majesty's loyal subjects, we have no words to sufficiently express our strong condemnation of the course of those Protestant representatives, especially from Protestant Ontario who from political spleen voted to deny us (their Protestant fellow-citizens) those rights which they are always willing sycophantly to grant to Roman Catholics; Resolved, further, that we, the representatives of the Orangemen of the county of Middlesex, will not be satisfied until our full rights in the matter of incorporation are properly accorded to us, our motto being 'No surrender and no compromise,' and that a copy of the resolutions be sent to the public press."

Now, Sir, I think I have shown to you that, as I have said, the line of attack was altered—that the line of attack upon their party friends, and upon their opponents, who, they said, ought to support the measure, and who should be ostracised for not supporting it, they are obliged to abandon in order to represent this as a case in which all Protestants ought to combine and in which no man of true Protestant principles could have given, or could repeat a vote against the second reading of this bill.

RELIGIOUS WAR.

Well, that may be true; but if it be true I ask this House, without distinction of creed or party, if it is not a serious state of things. I ask if it be not a serious state of things that religious war is to be raised in this country; because that is what it is. [Applause]. If it be the case that, as a matter of fact, this is an issue raised before us, in which all Protestants are to be on one side, and all Roman Catholics on the other, and in which I, a firm Protestant, am to be told that I am untrue to my profession of religion, to my Protestant principles, if I do not vote with the Orangemen for that bill, is not that a serious state of things? And if this be true, I say that every true lover of this country must deplore such a state of things, and must forbode the greatest evil to his country from its existence. (Cheers). Now, Sir, I deny entirely that that is a necessity. I deny that there ought to exist such an issue; and I tell the hon. gentleman opposite that no matter what his threats may be, no matter whether he may say that my speech does me harm or good, he will neither seduce, nor threaten, nor drive me into any such issue on any such light or any such professions. In furtherance of this same plan, this attempt to produce a religious prejudice against those who oppose this bill, the hon. gentleman and others are declaring that I am controlled by the archbishop of Toronto.

Mr. White (Hastings—So you are.

Mr. Blake—I tell the hon. gentleman that he states that which is not the truth (Loud ap-

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plause). Notwithstanding that I am relieved from the necessity of proving my case as to his statement, by his own statement in this House, I proceed to give the evidence of that as I have given the evidence of other things. He said:

"He (Mr. Mowat) was controlled by Archbishop Lynch, and they must come to the conclusion that he, too, controlled Mr. Blake. No doubt orders went from the Palace at Toronto, and the great Reform gentlemen had to obey."

I determined, as soon as I saw this statement of the hon. gentleman, that I would meet him here, face to face, and have this out with him, and have it out with him I will. This is not all. The Rev. Brother Wright, at a meeting in Leeds, said:

"The Orangemen were not defeated in Parliament solely by the Roman Catholics, but through the instrumentalitly of Ontario politicians who considered the smiles of Rome of greater value than the approbation of their fellow Protestants. The bill was defeated because Archbishop Lynch said, no. Christopher Fraser repeated, no; and Edward Blake bowed his head and whispered."

He voted no the last time, but I trust the hon. gentleman will admit that his negative this night was not given in a whisper.

Mr. White [Hastings] I drove you to it.

Mr. Blake—You drove me to it! Manage your own drove. At Winnipeg, again, the hon. gentleman said:

"Unfortunately Archbishop Lynch had Mowat bound hand and foot, and it was even hinted he was getting a hard hold on Mr. Blake. Let us hope our own leader will keep the spirits clear." [Laughter].

An hon. gentleman—He has no confidence in the breed.

ARCHBISHOP LYNCH AND MR. BLAKE.

Mr. Blake. My hon. friend says he has no confidence in the breed. Now, I have had the honor of the acquaintance, for a considerable time, of His Grace the Archbishop of Toronto, and I hope, being both of us Irishmen, I may even call myself his friend. (Cheers). I have never, either directly or indirectly, through others or myself, by speech or writing, or in any way, had the slightest communication with Archbishop Lynch on any one political topic, of any description whatever—not this one only, but any political topic of any description. For aught I know, unless he may have given public utterance to the contrary, that prelate may entertain the same view with reference to the Orange Bill as I observe the hon. member for Hastings has said Archbishop Tache has, viz., that he was in favor of its being passed. But I say that in this, as in all other particulars, I have acted entirely upon my own judgment and wholly free from every—I will not say dictation or control—but attempt at dictation or control, hint or suggestion, knowledge or information, as to what the opinions of that prelate or of any other prelate or dignitary or persons of the Roman Catholic faith might be on the subject. [Loud applause]. I have acted on convictions which I have entertained ever since I came into public life, on convictions which I was known to have entertained in the Legislature, and to have expressed when the question was likely to have come up in the House, with reference to another secret organization—convictions hostile to the incorporation of secret corporations, hostile to the incorporation of the Orange society. [Cheers]. It is perfectly true that I am, as the hon gentleman says, a Protestant, as it is also true—I suppose that is the meaning of his phrase ultramontane—that I am of that school of thought which is most opposed to what I believe to be the dogmatic errors of the Church of Rome. That is perfectly true. I protest against those errors, but I am a substantial advocate of religious freedom and equality, and the full rights of conscience, and as the Ontario leaders of the Orange Society declare that that Province is ruled by the Roman Catholic clergy, ruled politically, and that it must be freed from the domination of the Roman Catholic clergy by subverting Mowat, I notice they have sometimes said a word with reference to the conduct of the Province of Quebec, and as to its rule: I desire here to advert to this matter, speaking with the same plainness of speech which I have used this evening, though I may perhaps offend some of those who may have listened with approval to some things I have hitherto said—I say I do not find this pretension to be the exclusive standard-bearers of Protestant principles and to lay down a rule and measure with which, unless all Protestants comply, they are untrue to their principles, to be the proper attribute of this association, judged by its leaders in Ontario. I have spoken of Quebec.

THE LIBERAL PARTY IN QUEBEC.

Now, in that Province there have been, for a long time, some persons—some persons only, I am glad to say—who have striven to create that *regime* in favor of their own party, who have insisted on extreme pretensions as to the rights of the clergy to use their influence in the elections; who have sought to drag the clergy into the political arena; who have sought to pervert certain general language which was used by the authorities of the church from its true sense and to turn it to the condemnation of one political party; who have sought to maintain the view that the clergy should refuse the rights of the church to persons on account o their votes, who have sought to repeal the law as to undue influences, as far as it affected the clergy—and

there can be no doubt that these efforts on the part of some persons in Quebec met, in the past, with a measure of success. Pressure was used in several counties against the candidates of one political party, as Liberal Catholics, and the struggle was severe and resulted in a great weakening of that party, from which it has not even yet recovered. The members of that party appealed, under these circumstances, to three tribunals; they appealed to public opinion, to the courts of the land, and to the highest authority in their own church. They fought a long and arduous fight, which reached its climax, perhaps, in from 1875 to 1881. Public opinion, one of the tribunals to which they appealed, was roused to a considerable degree in the Province of Quebec, and many Protestants there even changed their political views and left the party with which they had usually acted, because they felt this pressure was a pressure inconsistent with the proper use of religion and the proper use of the church; they appealed also to the law; and the law was vindicated in several cases; they appealed also to the highest authorities in the church, and those authorities also interfered. We know well, for it is public to us what was done. We know that, in 1876, an instruction was sent out from the Supreme Congregation of the Holy Office in these words:

The bishops of Canada must understand that the Holy See recognizes the extreme gravity of the facts reported by them, and that it is particularly deplored that the authority of the clergy and of the holy ministry should suffer thereby. It is, therefore, necessary, to repair the great damage done, to root up the evil. The cause of these serious inconveniences is to be found in the divisions that exist among bishops on political subjects, as well as upon other questions that attract attention in Canada at present. To put an end to these regrettable dissensions, it will be necessary that the bishops, acting in consort with Mgr. the Apostolic Delegate sent to Canada, should agree together to determine what line of action is to be followed by one and all of them with reference to the several political parties. Another cause of the same inconvenience is to be found in the want of prudence on the part of some of the clergy who interfere in political matters. The proper remedy for this excess of zeal is to recall to the memory of the bishops what had already been recommended to them by this Supreme Congregation on Wednesday, the 29th of July, 1874, which was to the effect that upon the occasion of political elections they restrict themselves in giving advice to electors to those rules decreed in their provincial council of 1868.

It must be added that the Church in condemning liberalism does not intend to strike at all and every political party which may happen to call itself liberal, since the decisions of the Church refer to certain errors opposed to the Catholic doctrine, and not at any particular party; and consequently those do wrong who, without any other grounds, say that one of the political parties of Canada is condemned by the Church—that is, the party calling itself Reformers—who, heretofore, have been supported by even bishops. In fine, with reference to what regards the principal object under discussion, to wit: what measures must be taken relatively to the Catholics, who by reason of alleged interference by the clergy in political elections have recourse to a civil tribunal, a general rule cannot be laid down for the bishops to follow, and it will consequently belong to him, whose office it is, to provide in each case, a rule for the conscience of the person who takes such recourse. Let the bishops then take the necessary steps to save the honor of the clergy, taking care especially to prevent as much as possible that ecclesiastical persons should not be obliged to appear before lay judges. The bishops should be exhorted to observe, in political affairs, the greatest reserve; considering particularly the danger of provoking a war against the Church by the Protestants, who are already showing unquietness and irritation towards the clergy, under pretence that the latter exercise undue influence at political elections. The clergy should never call any persons by name from the pulpit, especially if it is to cast discredit upon them in connection with elections; they should never make use of the ecclesiastical ministry's influence to forward particular ends, unless the candidates might become hurtful to the real interests of the Church.

Now, Sir, that was followed up by the pastoral letter and circular that were issued after the arrival of the Delegate Apostolic, and after an understanding had been reached with him in 1877.

The gravity of the events that have succeeded each other since the last general elections, and the numerous and divers difficulties that have arisen therefrom, make it a duty on our part to briefly recall, my dear brethren, the principles and rules which govern our conduct, and which are given us, up to the present, in our councils, our circulars and our pastorals, and notably in that of the 22nd of September, 1875.

The ninth decree of the fortieth council in 1868 states our obligations as electors:—"Let the pastors instruct the faithful with care upon their duties at elections; let them be given to understand that the same law that confers upon citizens their right to exercise their suffrage, also imposes upon them the serious obligation of exercising this suffrage when it is necessary and always according to the dictates of their conscience in the eyes of God and for the good of religion and the country; consequently the electors are always obliged, before God, to give their support to the candidate whom they judge to be truly honest and able to discharge the important duties confided to his care, which consist of watching the interests of religion and of the state and to work faithfully in this direction.

Then, after pointing out what had been done in 1833 and 1875, and giving a warning against the doctrines *Catholico-Liberales*, the pastoral goes on to say:—

Unfortunately, and against our intention, some have thought they saw in these documents an abandonment of the domain of principles to descend to the sphere of party politics and of persons. We have endeavored to teach you the real doctrine on the constitution and rights of the Church, on the rights and duties of the clergy in society, on the obligations of the Catholic press, and on the sanctity of an oath; such was our only end; such is still our intention; and, by so doing, we but follow the example of the Holy See, which, by condemning the errors of Catholic liberalism, has abstained from signaling out any person or political party. There does

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not exist, in fact, a single pontifical act condemning any political party whatever; all condemnations coming, so far, from this venerable source, have reference solely to the Catholic Liberals and to their principles; and it is in this sense that the brief addressed in September, 1876, to one of us, should be understood. Following the example of the Holy Pontiff and the wise order of the Fortieth Council, we leave it to the conscience of every one to judge, with God's help, who are the men reached by this condemnation, without regard to the political party to which they may belong.

Now, Sir, at the same time, as I have said, a circular letter was issued to the clergy, from which I will read an extract or two:

In analyzing the ninth decree of the Fortieth Council. and the eighteenth of the Fifteenth Council, we find that the clergy must confine itself to instruct the people upon their duties and electoral obligations, which are as follows:

1st.—To vote when sufficient reasons exist to do so. 2nd—To vote according to conscience and in the eyes of God, by giving his vote to a candidate whom he judges to be really honest and capable of fulfilling his duties, which is to keep a watchful eye upon the interests of religion and of the State. 3rd—Not to sell his vote. 4th—To avoid intemperance, calumny and perjury.

Another passage reads thus:

When you have thus explained to the people the principles which should guide them, leave it to the conscience of each one to apply it to person, and to parties; and when a penitent tells you that he has conscientiously voted in the eyes of God, do not doubt his good faith, but put this well-known maxim in practce: *Credendum est pœnitenti tam pro se quam contra se dicenti.* Then again, sir, he says:—

The decree of the Fortieth Council forbids you implicitly to teach, from the pulpit or elsewhere, that it is a sin to vote for such a candidate or for such political party; and *a fortiori* you are not to announce that you will refuse the sacraments for such a cause.

Never give your personal opinion from the pulpit.

Do not assist at any political assembly, and do not make any public discourse on such matters without the permission of your ordinary.

If you have the right to vote you can do so, but let it be with prudence and without ostentation. It is desirable that you should choose the most opportune time to cast your vote and not wait until the last moment when the excitement is at its height; do not remain near the place where the election takes place. To those who want to consult you privately answer them with prudence, remain calm, without entering into discussions that might compromise your character, because you know the most innocent and true remarks are on such occasions likely to be wrongly interpreted, wrongly understood and wrongly reported. Even in the event of extraordinary excitement prudence should dictate that you should merely state that what you said in the pulpit should suffice for their guidance.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Well, Sir, these documents to which I have referred contain, I may say, some injunctions in which I think the pastors of the Roman Catholic Church set an admirable example to the pastors of the other churches; I mean particularly those injunctions against selling the suffrage, against bribery, against corruption, against intemperance, against calumny and against perjury. Then we go further. I do not confine myself wholly to the statements made by these ecclesiastical dignitaries. About the same time, a discussion was raised in this Parliament, and I wish to show that the views which are reprehended by these documents are views which are not held by all Roman Catholics even of the Conservative party. On the 11th February, I think, in the year 1877, Senator Masson, then a member of this House, used these expressions:

"Now, sir, the hon. gentleman says in his letter that the party with which I act was controlled by a power which declared that free thought was a cardinal sin. Well, sir, I say that this is no more nor less than a slander on the Conservative party; and as a Conservative and an Ultramontane, as I am called by hon. gentlemen on the other side of the House, from the Province of Quebec, as the leader of the Ultramontanes, I say that the Conservatives of the Province of Quebec, and I speak advisedly, are ready to give to the clergy of the Province, on religious questions, that submission and that confidence which, according to our creed, we are obliged to give them; regarding questions relating to the material progress of the country, and the political affairs of the country, we are ready and shall always be ready to give to the opinion of these gentlemen that respect to which they are entitled, owing to their high intelligence, their great virtue and their disinterestedness; but we are not ready to give any more."

Well, the matter was not finally settled. Notwithstanding what had been said, the discussion went on. Still the question was raised, and raised in pretty influential quarters, on the part of the Conservative party in Quebec, with reference to the law as to undue influence, and I felt it my duty—thinking the question might become a serious one, and desirous to place myself on record, and as I might by my voice influence my fellow countrymen—to speak upon the subject myself, and I did so at the village of Teeswater, in the year 1877:

"Another demand of a very different character has been made from very high quarters, namely, that we should alter the law as to undue influence. Now, the basis of our representative institutions is that our elections shall be free. Each of us is called on to surrender his share of control over the common affairs to the majority, upon the ground that this surrender is necessary, for so only can we reach a decision; but also on the hypothesis, without which the demand would be quite unjustifiable, that, all having a common interest, and each man speaking freely for himself, the view of the majority is more likely to be sound—is more likely accurately to represent what would be beneficial to the community than the view of the minority. This is the ground-work. Now, that ground-work wholly fails if the vote be not the expression of the voter's own opinion, but the expression of somebody else's opinion different from his. [Hear hear.] If, instead of its being his opinion, it be the opinion of his employer, his landlord, his creditor, or his minister, why, it is not his vote at all, it is somebody else's, and we have not submitted ourselves to the free voice of our fellow countrymen, but

possibly to the voice of a very small minority, who have determined what the voice of the larger number is to be. Thus the whole basis of our representative institutions would be destroyed if we permitted the opinions of our employers, creditors, landlords or ministers to be forcibly substituted for our own. [Hear, hear.] For this reason, besides the penalties which are enacted against the exercise of undue influence, we have declared that the vote of any man so unduly influenced shall be null and void, and that elections carried by such undue influences shall be annulled. I cannot, if a landlord, say to my tenant, 'Now, tenant, I shall turn you out at the end of your term if you do not vote for my candidate.' Though I may have a legal right to turn him out at the end of the term, yet I cannot give the intimation that I will, on this ground, exercise this right. If I do, the vote is annulled as not free. I cannot, if a creditor, say to my debtor, 'I will exact that debt at once if you do not vote as I wish,' though I may have a legal right to exact my debt. I cannot, if an employer, say to my employee, 'You shall leave my employment at the end of the current term unless you vote with me,' though the law may not oblige me to retain him in my service. It has been found necessary in all these cases to prevent the relations to which I have referred from being made the means of unduly influencing the vote, in order that this great cardinal principle of our Constitution—the freedom of each man to vote according to his own opinion—may be preserved intact. [Hear, hear.] True, the landlord, and the creditor, and the employer have each the right to speak and persuade by arguments; and the confidence placed in them may be such that the voter's opinion may be changed; but between the argument, the persuasion, the confidence which may conduce to a change in the mind and opinion of the voter, and that coercion which compels him to vote contrary to his mind on the threat of some loss or penalty, there is a broad and palpable distinction, and that is the distinction which the law lays down. Now, if there be a form of religion under which the minister is supposed to have the power, by granting or refusing certain rites, or by making certain declarations to affect the state of the voter after death, is it not perfectly obvious that the threat of such results to the voter unless he votes in accordance with the opinion of the minister, might be infinitely more potent than any of the other threats which I have named—the exaction of a debt, the ejection of a tenant, or the discharge of an employe? [Hear, hear]. And would not such a threat be obnoxious to just the same objection?"

CHRISTIAN AND POLITICAL PRINCIPLES—THEIR TRUE RELATIONS.

"I am far indeed from implying that politics should not be handled on Christian principles. Whatever difficulties and differences there may be as to Christian dogma, there is, fortunately, very little difference concerning Christian morals. We are, fortunately, all united in this country in the theoretical recognition—however far we may fail in the practical observance—of the great doctrines of Christian morality which are handed down to us in the Gospels; and I believe it is on the basis of those doctrines that the politics of the country should be carried on. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.) Dim indeed would be our hopes, and dark our expectations for the future, if they did not embrace the coming of that glorious day when those principles shall be truly, fully and practically recognised—if we did not look forward to the fulfilment of promises that 'the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of the Lord;' and that 'nation shall not make war against nation, neither shall they learn war any more;' if we did not watch for the time when the human law of self-interest and hate shall be superseded by the Divine law of self-sacrifice and love. But while we hope and strive for the accomplishment of these things, we must not forget the lessons of the Great Teacher and Exemplar. When interrogated upon secular things—when asked as to rendering tribute to Cæsar, He said, 'Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things which are God's.' He laid down the principle, and He left the people—the querists—to make the application. So again when He was called upon to settle a dispute between two brothers about an inheritance, He said: 'Man, who made Me a judge or divider over you?' Such was the view He took as the duty of a minister, as to the work of the pulpit; and while I do not hesitate to say that to all ministers I would freely accord the right as citizens of voting, of expressing their opinions, of arguing and persuading and influencing if they please, my own opinion is that the pastor of a flock divided on politics will be much more likely to retain the fullest confidence of all the members of that flock, and so to discharge effectually his great task, if he abstains from active interference in those political affairs on which there is and will be great division of opinion among them. [Hear, hear, and loud cheers.] But, Sir, it has been argued in some quarters that the free exercise of one form of religion amongst us is impaired by this law. That would, indeed, if true, be a serious thing. But, if it were true, we would still be bound, in my opinion, to preserve the fundamental principle of the freedom of the elector. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) No man, any article of whose creed, should make him a slave, would be fit to control either his own destiny or that of free men. A slave himself, he would be but a proper instrument to make slaves of others. Such an article of religion would, in a word, be inconsistent with free institutions, because it would not permit that liberty of opinion in the individual, which is their very base and corner stone. (Hear hear, and cheers.) But we are not confronted with that difficulty. The public and deliberate utterances of high dignitaries in more than one Province of Canada have shown that the assertion is unfounded, and have recognized the right of every elector to vote according to his conscience; and the recent statement—communicated to the public through Lord Denbigh—of the head of that Church, shows that the United Kingdom, where the law as to undue influence is precisely the same as ours, is perhaps the only country in Europe where the professors of that religion are free to practice it. If this be the case in the United Kingdom, it is so here, and it is not true that there is any form of religion, the free and full exercise of which is impaired by the preservation of the great principle to which I have referred. I trust, then, that the ill-advised pretensions which have been set up will be abandoned; but should they be pressed, I take the opportunity of declaring that for myself, whatever be the consequence, I shall stand by the principle which I have laid down—[loud cheers]—and shall struggle to preserve—so far as my feeble powers permit—to each one of my fellow-countrymen, whatever his creed, the same full and ample measure of civil freedom which he now enjoys under those laws which enable him and me, though we may be of diverse faiths, to meet here on the same platform, and here to differ or agree according to our own political convictions, and not according to our religious faith or the dic-

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THE SACRED CONGREGATION ON UNDUE INFLUENCE.

Now, Sir, finally, in September, 1881, there was a further communication dealing with these two subjects to which I have referred, and from it I will trouble the House with a very brief extract. It is a communication from the Prefect of the Sacred Congregation, Cardinal Simeoni:

It has come to the knowledge of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda that in your province certain members of the clergy and of the secular body continue to interfere too much in political elections, by using either the pulpit, the papers or other publications. It has also come to the knowledge of the aforesaid Sacred Congregation that certain suffragans of Your Grace are actually seeking to have Parliament effect a modification in the election laws relatively to what is called "undue influence."

And that, so far as I know, was the final settlement of that controversy, so far as concerned the views of the highest authorities of the Church, repeated after an interval of years. During that controversy, on 20th January, in the year 1876, the Archbishop of Toronto addressed a public letter to my hon. friend the member for East York [Mr. Mackenzie], which, dealing as it does with this subject, may appropriately be read at this time. It is as follows:—

LETTER FROM ARCHBISHOP LYNCH.

"TORONTO, 20th January, 1876.

"HON. A. MACKENZIE,
"Premier of the Dominion of Canada.

HON. AND DEAR SIR,—I think this is an opportune time to inform you and your Government that priests in our Archdiocese are strictly forbidden to make the altar or pulpit of their churches the tribune of political harangues for or against any party or candidate for election; or to threaten any spiritual disability for voting with either party.

"Priests may, of course, instruct their people on the conscientious obligation of voting for the candidate whom they judge will best promote the interests of the country; of taking no bribes; and of conducting themselves at the elections in a loyal and peaceful manner; but they are not to say to the people, from the altar, that they are to vote for this candidate and reject the other.

"It would be very imprudent in a priest, whose congregation is composed of Liberals and Conservatives, to become a warm partizan of either political party.

"It would neutralize his influence for good in too many instances, and a priest requires all he possesses to forward the interests of his whole congregation.

"It is true that a priest, in his ordination, does not renounce his rights of citizenship, nor does he receive authority to impose on his congregation his own particular views of politics.

"The Catholic Church asks no special favor from any party. Her existence is independent of both. She asks only that her people be put under no unjust restraint or bar. It is true that the old legislation of England made the Catholic religion a bar to political and almost social existence; and though wiser councils now prevail in Courts and Parliaments, yet some of the Protestant populace, and an occasional statesman in his individual capacity, so long educated in the traditions of the past, retain a deep-rooted prejudice and suspicion not easily conquered. That the Catholic religion should not be a bar to preferment, and that the Catholic Church is inimical to free institutions and unfavorable to State rights. This is still a reproduction of the old Pagan cry: "The Christians to the beasts,' or the old Jewish accusation: 'We have found this man perverting our nation and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar.'

"The Catholic Church asks only liberty to do good, and to be untrammelled by unjust laws in the exercise of her divine rights. I might here remark, that when in a free country, religious and sacred rights are brought into the arena of politics, then the Catholics have to follow them to the polls and contend there for their right, as in the case of education. We believe that parents have a right to educate their children as they please. 'Train up a child in the way it should go and when he is old he will not depart from it.' Hence, when the Catholics of Lower Canada conceded the rights of separate education to the Protestant minority of Lower Canada, the Catholic minority of Upper Canada claimed the same right, but had to contend for this right at the elections, and thus religious questions are dragged out of their sphere. The Catholic does not permit his religion to hinder the progress of the country, or the peaceful exercise of a different religion to his neighbors. When his religious principles are safe, the Catholic, under the impression that party government is a lesser evil, gives his support to that which he thinks will perform its duties for the greater good of the country and the happiness of the people.

"I am, Honorable Sir,
Your very obedient servant,
"JOHN JOSEPH LYNCH,
"Archbishop of Toronto.

As I have said, there was a long and bitter controversy in the Province of Quebec with some who strove to use the power of the Church in the way to which I have referred. That long and bitter controversy was a controversy in which my friends, the Liberals of Lower Canada, were the oppressed party, the party which was being oppressed by it, which was suffering from it, in the constituencies, and though they have received justice at last in the particular to which I have referred, it is useless to disguise the fact that so long a conflict, waged in that manner, and with these weapons, has a permanent weakening effect (hear, hear). But I want to know where, in all that time, were he Orange Tory leaders of Ontario? I want to know whether they were helping in the cause which has thus been vindicated in the end? I want to know whether they were expressing and actively manifesting their sympathy with those who were struggling for the rights which have at length been accorded them? It is not so; it is known not to be so. [Applause]. It is true that many of the Protestants of Quebec came to the assistance of the Liberals of Quebec in that struggle, but the Orange Tory Leaders of Ontario were unflinching in their support and in their consort with the very members who were waging that con-

troversy against the Quebec Liberals. Why? Because they were united in political bonds with those members; because they rejoiced in their success at the polls, although that success was purchased from those with whom they professed to be in sympathy. [Cheers.] They were kept in place and power by means of that partnership, and therefore they were untrue to the principles which they professed, and which they are now saying they wish to be incorporated, in order to promote.

POLITICS AND RELIGION.

I have declared my views on this subject, and I have nothing to recall in regard to them. I have shown where I am to be found in case any conflict may arise in which any church, whether Roman Catholic or Episcopalian, or Presbyterian, or what you will, shall strive to encroach on what I believe to be the just domain of the State. Loud applause). I believe, if you commit to any church absolute power and control over faith and morals, and if, at the same time, you commit to that church absolute power to determine what is comprised within faith and morals, you concede necessarily to that church absolute power altogether; and I believe, therefore, that it is quite necessary to consider that there may be a point at which we may be called on to consider what the tenets of the church in that particular point of view are. I have shown that the struggle was worked out within that church; that those rights on which the Liberals of Lower Canada insisted have been vindicated and the electors have a right to vote as free men. But should such a struggle recur, which God forbid; should I, judging from the past, hope for any assistance, could the Liberal party look with hope for any assistance from the Orange Toryleaders ofOntario? No; because they have not received it in the past and whatever their views, they subordinated them altogether to party politics, which led them to rejoice in the triumphs of those who were perpetuating principles directly opposed to their own (hear, hear). There are some other reasons which lead me to think that this society in Ontario is not a beneficial one. Its leaders claim a monopoly, not merely of true Protestantism, but also of loyalty (loud laughter). The hon. member for East Hastings (Mr. White), at Winnipeg, said

"One of his reasons was, that with three others, he had opposed the Costigan resolution, which was a direct insult to the Mother Country, and to every loyal citizen in the country, except party leaders on both sides and members who were pandering to the Catholic vote, and not one member of the Orange society said, well done." (Laughter).

Grand Master Bennett said:

"You are no doubt aware that a most singular combination was formed at the last Session to defeat the bill. We had the astounding spectacle of Protestant Liberalism and Ultramontanism in alliance to defeat it. Liberalism, because of the loyalty of Orangemen, and Ultramontanism, because of the advanced Protestantism of the Orange order."

ORANGE LOYALTY.

There you have it, Sir, laid down as a rule, that because Orangemen are loyal, and loyalty is so offensive to others that they must be put down by force. [Applause]. I maintain that that is an offensive statement, and that a secret society which devotes itself to the propagation of such opinions as these, as to the loyalty of others, is one which does not deserve favor or State recognition. [Loud cheers]. There is another reason. They claim that their object is to advance Protestantism, and they claim to advance it, by assertions with reference to the Roman Catholic Church, which I believe to be baseless. [Applause]. And here again I do not propose to deal with dogmatic assertions. I do not propose to deal with assertions with respect to religion, as to whether certain views are right or wrong, for we have nothing to do with them. But we have to do with their views as to the tenets of that Church, as they affect the political condition and social order of the country. Those things are material to us, and it is well that we should know what is advanced in the name of Protestantism, or with a view of promoting it, by the leaders of the Orange Society in Ontario.

ORANGE MISREPRESENTATION.

In the *Sentinel* of 21st September, 1882, there is the following, which is headed "Allegiance to Rome only":

"We have always contended the Romish Church teaches its followers to be disloyal to every State wherein it exists, to recognize the authority of no temporal Government, and to own allegiance only to the Papacy."

On April 26th, 1883, the same paper said:

"It is hardly necessary to say that every true member of the Church must yield to the Pope, the infallible head of the Church, unquestioning obedience in morals, dogmatic faith or belief, and also conduct in civil affairs."

"No member of the church can dispute the right of the head of it to decide infallibly and dogmatically all questions affecting temporal power in Governments, any more than he can that of the faith and belief put forth in her teachings.

* * * * * * *

"The people in America are governed by constitutions which leave to themselves the power of determining the character and structure of Government.

"These constitutions are, therefore, inimical to the Church of Rome, in her opinion, and are only tolerated because they cannot be destoyed. As she is at war with every form of government not prescribed by herself, it would be her duty to destroy these constitutions, if she could; nay, she would be guilty, under her teachings, if she had the power, and did not destroy them.

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"It is necessary to keep constantly before the mind of the Orange and Protestant public of the Dominion that Rome is still true to her motto, *semper eadem*.

"She is the same to-day that she was a hundred years ago, planning, scheming, and continuing to subvert the best liberties and freest institutions of every State in Christendom."

These are the statements repeated over and over again as to the political attitude of the Church of Rome, and all true Protestants are called upon to occupy an inimical position on the ground, first of all, that the adherents of that church do not owe civil allegiance to the Queen of this Dominion and the Constitution of this country; second, that they owe it to a foreign power; and third, that that power is inimical to free institutions, and that its efforts are directed to subvert them as far as possible. That is the attitude with respect to the Church of Rome and its adherents in Canada to-day. So late as the 19th February, 1884, at a meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ontario West, the Grand Master—while this Parliament was in Session, while this bill was on the order paper—referred to the unfortunate affair in Newfoundland, and said:

"Brethren, it is the old story. It has been told in Ireland a thousand times. It has been told in Fort Garry, Montreal and Newfoundland, and shows to us as plainly as the sun at noonday that when Romanism has the ascendency Protestants have no rights and are only tolerated, and that the teachings of Rome are the same to-day as they were in '98—that to break faith with heretics is no sin, and that killing is no murder.") Laughter.)

* * * * *

Then, Sir, in the same speech, he quotes approvingly from a weekly journal these words:

"It (*i.e.*, the Orange body in Ireland) is acting strictly in self defence, for everybody who has read Irish history, or who listens to Fenian harangues, must know that from the moment when power passed into the hands of Irish Catholics no man of British blood or Protestant religion would ever dwell in safety on the soil of Ireland."

Commenting on that statement he says:

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"This statement, coming from a gentleman who on more than one occasion has spoken in no friendly terms concerning our order, shows that the thinking Protestants of this country are becoming alive to the necessity of having a Protestant secret society to counteract the influence of the gigantic secret society of Romanism."

ORANGE FALSEHOODS.

Now those are statements with which we have to deal to-day. If those views be correct, if that be a correct statement of the tenets of that church, then it does not merely hold erroneous views in matters of dogma. The hon. member for Hochelaga (Mr. Desjardins) and myself, do not agree in our religious views, and unfortunately we do not agree in politics, but our difference in religion does not make the difference in our political allegiance. Our differences in religion are questions between us and our consciences, between us and our God, to be disposed of individually by each of us. But this other is something different. It goes far beyond that. We have here a statement of views hostile to the Throne, hostile to free institutions, hostile to our Constitution, hostile to social order and safety—which are destructive to everything which we, in Canada—and I do not put the Catholic below the Protestant—which we, as a united people in Canada hold most dear. I say that if you tell me that the adherents of the Roman Catholic faith in civil matters do not owe allegiance to the Crown and the Constitution, but owe them to a foreign power, then, I say, that they are not true subjects to the Queen, that they are aliens in the middle of the land—I say that you cannot trust them. I agree with those hon. gentlemen who sometimes say certain things until, they give absolution before the election—I agree with him that if these are the tenets, I can well understand their hostility, from a political point of view, to the Roman Catholic religion. If they believe that that Church is hostile to, and desires the subversion of our free institutions, of our Constitution, I can understand their hostility going far beyond dogmatic difference of religion; I can understand that the whole institution is one with reference to which no alliance is to be kept. If it is their opinion, and if it be the case, that a Roman Catholic believes that no faith need be kept with a heretic, that the killing of a heretic is no murder, then social order and safety are at risk and we cannot possibly remain at ease if such doctrines as these are true. All those who honestly believe these opinions to be true of the Roman Catholic faith or of the adherents of that faith, could not possibly, if they are lovers of our Constitution and our institutions, honestly co-operate with it in politics. It is impossible, Sir, that an honest belief in these things, as the active tenets of that church, could consist with political co-operation with those who so believe. [Loud cheering.] On the other hand, all lovers of free institutions should combine against the evil which would be wrought, the pressing evil and danger to our institutions which would exist, if such indeed were the tenets held by such a large proportion of the citizens of this country. The question, then, is a serious one. We have it here; we have had it within the last few months; we have it stated as a doctrine of to-day, and the hon. gentleman nods assent to it, as the feeling an Orangeman holds with reference to his Roman Catholic fellow citizens. Now, Sir, I believe it is untrue. (Tremendous cheering.)

MR. BLAKE'S RELIGIOUS OPINIONS.

I believe that the Church of Rome holds many religious doctrines and dogmas of the gravest error; I am extremely opposed to them.

Mr. White, (Hastings)—You believe too much; that is the trouble:

Mr. Blake. Well, perhaps I believe too much, I will not say that the hon. gentleman believes all he says; I hope he does. I have endeavored, in my own poor way, and to the best of my humble ability, to promote the spread of those Protestant principles of dogmatic religion, those views of the Gospel and of the Bible, in which I agree. I am doing what I can in that direction, and have been for years; it is not much, but I have done what I could. I believe that a most potent power in that direction is a greater union among the Protestant denominations, and I have always been desirous of seeing such a union accomplished for the better advancement of the Gospel, according to our views of it. I rejoice to see the evidence of a tendency toward that union, in the existence of those organizations in which ministers and people of various denomi-

nations mingle, forget their differences, learn what is best in each other, and in what point they agree. I rejoice to see Evangelical Alliances, Young Men's Christian Associations, and Ministerial Associations, such as the one that exists in my own city. I have worked with Orangemen in the Synod of Churchmen of my church and elsewhere; they have sympathized with me and I have sympathized with them; I care not for our differences in politics; they have never made the shake of our hands less warm, or our co-operation in the work of our church less earnest; and it pains me that hon. gentlemen opposite should seek an occasion of this kind to raise a wall of division, even among those engaged in church work, by casting these calumnies against me, and by declaring that my Protestant principles are abandoned, because I cannot, in my conscience, support a bill for the incorporation of a society which propagates opinions like these. [Cheers.] I know that I shall be misrepresented and misunderstood, and that men shall be misled, in my Province and elsewhere, as to what I have said to-night. I cannot help it; I felt it borne in upon me, and I had to say it. I say that men will be misled by designing politicians, who are using the cloak of religion and the cloak of charity to promote party politics. [Applause.] If we could forget our differences and agree to mingle in all religious works, irrespective of our faith, as God be thanked, although we differ in religion, we may agree in works of charity, it would be a blessed achievement.

CALUMNIATING THE CHURCH.

But to-day what are you doing? You are promoting these calumnies in reference to another church [hear, hear]; you are coming forward and declaring that the tenets of this church, which you do not hold, are detestable, and that every true Protestant must take the same position. It is a course of which I hope you will repent before you are many years older. Now, I am anxious for a Protestant ascendency of one kind—for the spread of those things which I believe to be true; but I am anxious that there should be no Protestant ascendency of the material kind to which the leaders of the Orange Tory party refer, when they speak of Protestant ascendency, which existed in the past in Ireland, and to which they look forward with such longing eyes. I am not anxious for that kind of Protestant ascendency; and in my desire to promote my dogmatic faith, I do not countenance such weapons as the hon. gentleman and other Orange leaders use [great cheering]. My belief is that my Catholic fellow subjects do acknowledge allegiance to, and feel a loyalty to, the free institutions of this country [prolonged cheers]. My belief is that they do not think that to break faith with a heretic is no sin, and to kill him no murder [cheers and cheers]. I have not forgotten the declaration made against such calumnies as this by the Irish prelates as long ago as the 25th January, 1826, which contains many statements of faith and doctrine, as to which Protestants and Roman Catholics are as wide as the poles asunder. But it contains two statements which touched our social and political system, and our relations to each other as citizens of one common country, as follows:

THE POSITION AND DOCTRINE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

"The Irish Catholics swear, that the Catholics of Ireland do not believe that the Pope of Rome or any other foreign prince, prelate, state or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority or preeminence, directly or indirectly within the realm; and this without any mental reservation or dispensation."

The prelates go on to say:

"After this full, explicit and sworn declaration, we are utterly at loss to conceive on what possible ground we could be justly charged with bearing towards our most Gracious Sovereign only a divided allegiance."

And with reference to the other insulting charge they say this:

"The Catholics of Ireland not only do not believe, but they declare on oath, that they detest as unchristian and impious the belief that it is lawful to murder or destroy any person or persons whatever under the pretense of their being heretics; and also, the principle that no faith is to be kept with heretics." [Cheers].

There you find distinct statements which contradict allegations which ought not to have been made, and which there ought not therefore to have been necessity for contradicting; and yet, Sir, we find not ten years ago, not five years ago, not one year ago, but within the past few days, the most offensive of these allegations repeated, which I have shown would be subversive of the free institutions of our country, if true. [Loud applause.] Now, I am not prepared to mark as murderers, as treacherous and disloyal, nearly one-half of my fellow citizens. [Hear, hear.] I do not believe the cause of true religion, or of the advancement of the Gospel, the cause of the good Government of this Dominion, will be promoted by the State recognition of this secret society, organized and led as it is, in Ontario, devoted to the propagation of views such as those which I have exposed. [Cheers.] I do not attach myself, in the discordant dissolution of parties that belong to this bill, any particular significance to the question. I have viewed it from another aspect altogether; I have been anxious that we should understand what the real merits of the controversy are; and in my statement of what my objections are, I have endeavored to sustain them, not by stale and musty authorities, but by recent and authentic utterances. [Hear, hear.] But, perhaps, I am wrong; I dare say I may be more bitterly misrepresented than ever before by the Orange Tory leaders; and as to the Tory Roman Catholic leaders, they too, the temporary struggle between them and their Orange allies being ended, will regard me still more distastefully, because I have necessarily exposed how false and unnatural is the conjunction of the two. It will be an ample reward to me if I have succeeded in explaining to moderate men on both sides the views I hold, and in pointing out what the true path of duty is in a community of diverse races and creeds like ours, where we must combine firmness in the assertion of our own rights with fullness in the recognition of the rights of others; where we must cultivate moderation and forbearance, and avoid misrepresentation calumny and abuse; where we must hold to an ample acknowledgment of each man's individual rights and conscience in religious matters, and give citizenship to all in civil matters, if we would make of Canada a great and free country, inhabited by a happy and united people.

Mr. Blake then resumed his seat amid a perfect storm of applause, which echoed far and wide through the Parliament buildings.

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