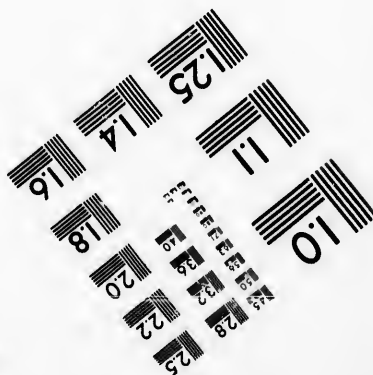
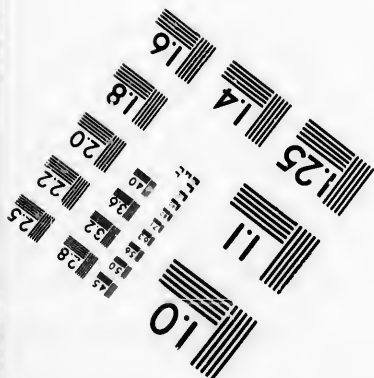
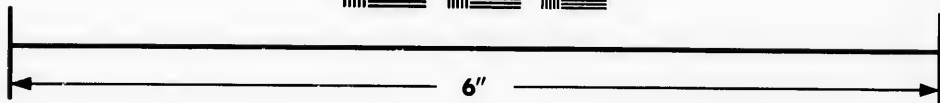
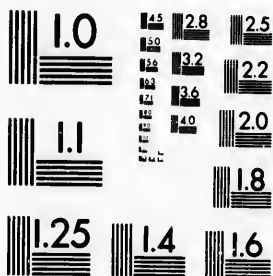


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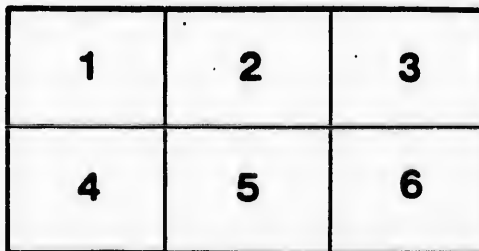
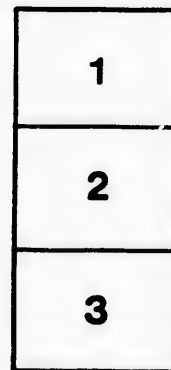
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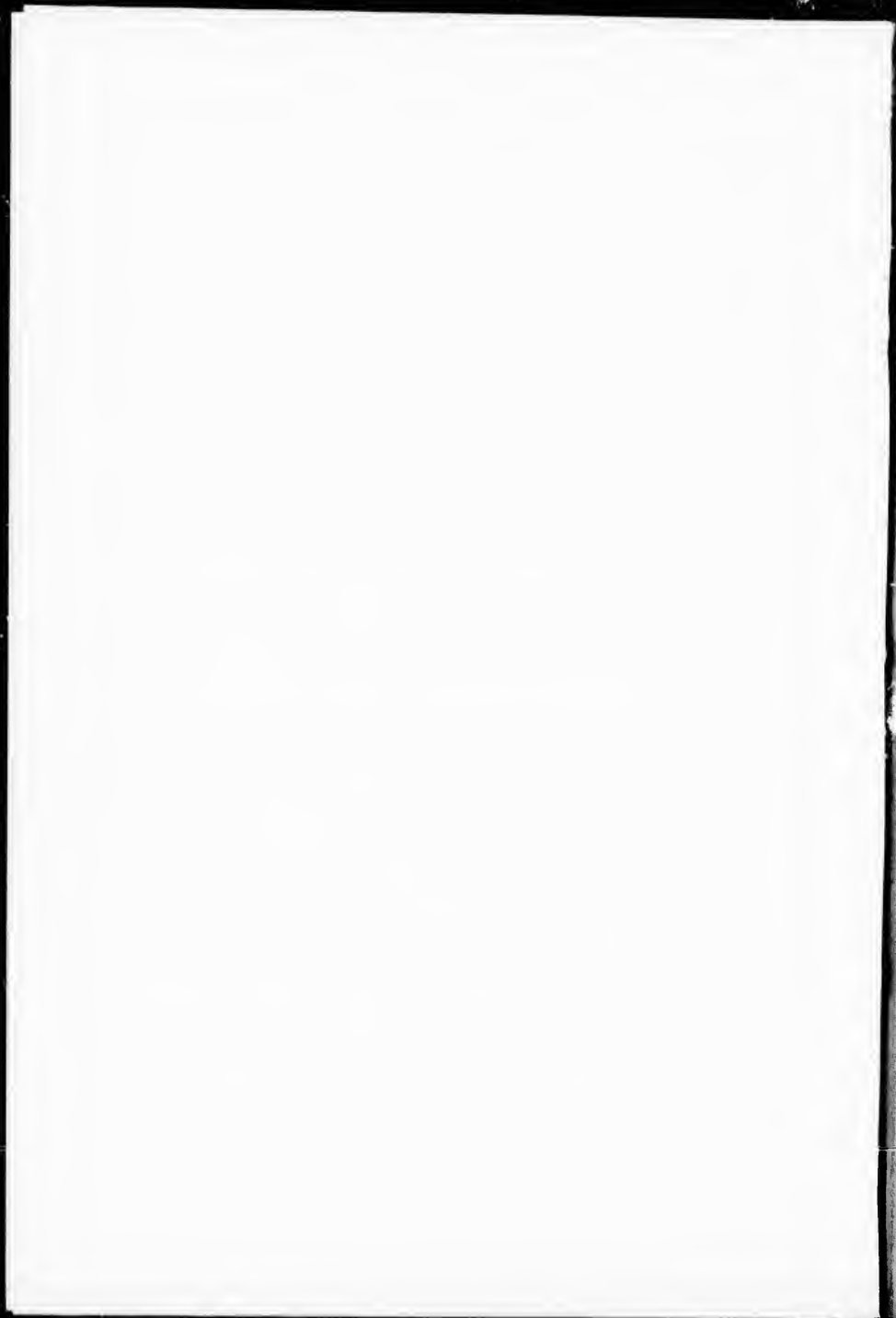
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SPEECH

OF THE

HONORABLE C. F. FRASER

DELIVERED IN THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF ONTARIO, FEB. 26TH, 1878.

ON THE

Orange Incorporation Bill.

PREPARED FOR THE PRESS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

ALEXANDER ROBERTSON,

EDITOR OF THE TRIBUNE.

[Revised and corrected from the Speech Report published in THE TRIBUNE
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THE HON MR. FRASER'S SPEECH

ON

O R A N G E I S M.

I N T R O D U C T O R Y R E M A R K S.

At the solicitation of many friends, and with the firm conviction that the widest possible circulation of the admirable speech of the Hon. C. F. FRASER, on Orange Incorporation, would be of very great benefit, not alone to Catholics, whose franchises the Orange body makes a special point of trying to curtail, but also to the whole Reform party throughout Ontario, I have prepared for publication, in convenient pamphlet form, the very full special report of that speech which recently appeared in THE TRIBUNE. There never was a time when the Catholics more required to be put upon their guard against the insidious operations of their sworn enemies and their mistaken friends. *Mis-taken* is a mild word; but it covers the whole ground, whether those Catholics who are now trying to form an "Orange and Green" alliance are acting in good faith for the general interest, or merely to promote their own personal schemes. In either case the consequences to the great body of the Catholic population of Ontario would be the same—the re-establishment in this Dominion of Orange Ascendency, were the Opposition Party to be restored to power by the "deflection" of the Catholic vote in their favour.

With the Orange faction in office, or in supreme influence over those who hold the reins of power, no one who reads Mr. Fraser's speech can fail to comprehend that any expectation of fair play for a Catholic would be altogether unreasonable. The mass of evidence which he has collected; the unquestionably Orange character of the sources from which he has drawn it; and above all, its essentially *modern origin and special applicability to existing circumstances*, prove with a certainty that defies contradiction that the Catholics who would return to, or remain in, alliance with the Orange Party, are acting the part of traitors to their own best interests, however pure their intentions may be.

But Catholics are not alone interested in this Orange question. Mr. Fraser proves, by copious quotations, that the Liberals ("Grits") no matter what may be their creed, are equally under the ban of the Orange order. He proves that no man may have a political conscience of his own; that he must obey the behests of the Grand Lodge, or

subordinate Lodges ; that the Grand Master and other officers of the Order, are endowed with *political* infallibility, not merely as to *principles*, but actually as to *men* ; that, in fact, the Orange Order presumes to dictate the policy of the country, and select the individuals to be charged with the duty of administering it. Are the Liberals of Ontario, of any creed or country, prepared to accept these conditions of serfdom which the Orange Order has designed for them? Surely not ! Then, it is a duty of theirs, in defence of their political status, as it is the duty of Catholics in vindication of their equal rights as freemen in this free country, to exert the whole might of their influence in an orderly and constitutional way to checkmate the machinations of these schemers, who, under the pretence of protecting the Protestant Religion, and vindicating Civil and Religious Liberty, would consign the government of the country to the hands of a cabal, whose actions would be controlled by instructions from the "Grand Lodge." It is hardly possible to read Mr. Fraser's speech, and then believe that there could be any mistake upon this point. The extracts quoted from official proceedings, and the less responsible, but by no means less truly expressive, remarks of the Orange press, prove that in Canada the ("Grit") Reform party is about as offensive to the Orange body, and as well deserving of being put "down" as the very "Croppies" themselves! It is time for the Liberal party throughout the whole Dominion to open their eyes to the fact that the Orange organization's chief features, as developed in this country are : (1) the upholding of Tory rule ; and (2) the complete exclusion of Catholics from public positions, either of honour or emolument.

It is true, as remarked in the speech, that there are some "rare birds"—some Reformers—in the Orange Order ; *but they owe their presence there to causes which have now ceased to operate.* This is a fact which the younger portion of the electorate may well be excused for not being able to appreciate without explanation. The "elders," who remember the political and party struggles antecedent to 1851, know well that the Catholics, almost without exception, or with exceptions so few and conspicuous as to make the rule nearly absolute, were with the Reform Party ; that the absurd "Papal Aggression" agitation in England reacted on Canada in that year ; and that concurrently therewith came up the irritating issue of Separate Schools. I do not wish to dwell further on this point than to say that the course adopted by many of the chiefs of the Reform party, on this question, was such as to command the hearty approval of Orangemen ; and that the common sympathy thus begotten in antagonism to Catholicity was the cause of leading many Reformers into the Orange Lodges, where, in subsequent years, and at the present time, they were, and are, treated with contumely and contempt. It is but justice to add that the Conservative party dallied with that question, to meet the political exigencies of the time, and that it was *only when the Reformers came into power*, in 1862, that any honest attempt at settlement was made. Even then, many Reformers went against the Reform Government of the day, and so far damaged their cause—in upholding a wrong principle—that the "moderate party" of that time was still enabled to claim a considerable share of credit for the passage of the "Scott Bill," the enactment of which they had resisted for years, on the plea of political expediency, but really to keep the Catholics dangling at their heels, and to use it, *both ways*, at the general elections. It was the Reform Government of 1862, and not the Conservative party, which put an end to this game.

And from the day the Reform Government of 1862 passed the Separate School Act, the Reformers have shown unimpeachable fidelity, and it might be added, remarkable

generosity, in carrying out its provisions and supplementing its defects. It is unnecessary to refer to particulars here; but the simple fact may be stated, that whereas the late Government left, in the *then* Catholic Province of Manitoba, the School Law to the shifting whims of local legislation, the present Reform Government, in eminent good faith with the people, have established, throughout the whole of the North West, the like rights for Separate Schools as those which exist in Ontario. Would a Government under Orange dictation do such an act? No! The Orange party is *officially* committed to the effort of upsetting the Separate Schools, even in Ontario! As to the Local Government, since the present Administration came into power, the Catholics of Ontario are aware of the entire fairness with which they have been treated, both with respect to education and public institutions. *Hence, the barrier, which for a time, and for the interest of certain politicians, was set up between the Catholic and the Protestant Reformer has been taken away; AND IT WAS TAKEN AWAY BY THE ACTION OF THE REFORM PARTY.* It is by the light of these facts that both Catholics and Protestants should read the Hon. C. F. Fraser's speech. It requires a brief flash of the light of the history of the doings in former days to make it thoroughly comprehensible, and to enable the reader to take in all the meaning which it embraces.

Had the Hon. Minister of Public Works gone back to by-gone days, and raked up the sayings of Lord Gosford, or other equally disinterested witnesses, against the Orange faction, it might have been said that all these things have been listened to before; had he gone back even to last summer, and quoted the scathing letters of the Hon. Sir Francis Hincks, he could, indeed, have made an excellent case. But his speech would have lacked the novelty, the freshness, and the applicability to present times and circumstances, which his truly modern and essentially Orange quotations give it. From their own mouths, he has condemned them. The testimony which he has brought forward is unimpeachable from the Orange standpoint; it is therefore all the more worthy of credence from independent outsiders; and it proves beyond cavil that the Orange Order is a political organization which holds the profession of the Catholic religion a sufficient cause for political ostracism, and the upholding of Reform principles, a just ground for barring the confidence of the electorate. It is not merely against the "Romish Hierarchy," and Roman Catholics individually, though that apparently, and in fact, is its primary mission; but it is against all "Grits," or Reformers, who will not subscribe to the Orange doctrine of excluding "Romanists" from every public position whether Municipal, Provincial, or National.

Protestant Liberals have therefore an interest almost equal to that of the whole body of the Catholics in preventing this Society from exercising supreme influence in the politics of the country. No doubt they would put the Catholic down first; but would they not "go for" the Reformer next? One has only to read the extracts given by Mr. Fraser, and to take into account other evidence lying plentifully around, to be convinced that this conclusion is amply justified, and, therefore, it follows that the two "smoking firebrands"—the "Grits" and the "Papists"—are bound by the highest law of nature, that of self-defence, to make common cause against the common enemy.

The peculiar circumstances which attended the general election of 1872, intensified as they were by the result of the next general election, in 1874, drove the Tory leaders to the necessity of recruiting their shattered ranks by extraneous means, and to fall back upon their Orange followers with an appearance of confidence they had not, for many years, openly shown before. Hence it was that the "Chieftain" could make fun,

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in his pic-nic speeches, of the respectful manner in which some Reform journals spoke of his Grace the Archbishop of Toronto; hence the patronage extended to young men's clubs—otherwise Young Britons—hence the zeal with which the Orange disturbances in Montreal were turned to account to recruit the ranks of the party throughout Ontario, while a fair face was being constantly maintained towards old-time political allies. These facts are pretty well known; but a strenuous effort is now being made to deceive the public as to their proper bearing, and the Catholics are being coaxed by some parties to throw their lot in with the Orange body on pretexts which are the most flimsy. Therefore, the brilliant *expose* which the Hon. Mr. Fraser has made is a most wholesome corrective, and cannot be too widely circulated at the present time. It takes the mask completely off the political sham which affects liberality and professes to give equality to Catholics. It shows that the Orange body, under whose control the Conservative party, in its efforts to regain power, has completely placed itself, still maintains its ancient characteristics of political ascendancy and Catholic exclusion. The Conservative leaders thought that they had captured the Orangemen; but the case has been reversed—the Orangemen have captured those who intended to have captured them! In proof of this, we have but to look to the fact that, despite the scheming of the political wire pullers, and the officers of the Grand Lodge, Mr. Merrick found it absolutely necessary, in order to please the rank and file, to make a pretence of introducing the Orange Incorporation Bill. That such action on his part was the merest pretence Mr. Fraser abundantly proves. But the fact that the leaders, contrary to their own intention, had to make even this shabby show of compliance exposes to the light of day the truth of the assertion, just made, that the Orangemen have the control of the Conservative party. The "leaders" are being driven by those behind them. Had they escaped with a simple "ruling out," how happy they would have been! But Mr. Fraser did not let them escape in this manner; and even honest-minded Orangemen ought to thank him for the trouble he took to show the utter hollowness of the movement of which Mr. Merrick was the figure-head. Does any Orangeman believe that it was *intended* by the Opposition, that the Incorporation Bill should pass this Session? Then let him read the facts set forth by Mr. Fraser, and embodied in the motion which he very wisely had placed upon the Journals of the House, and say whether it is not substantially true, that the leaders—the would-be manipulators of the Order—found themselves between the devil and the deep sea—the deep sea of the general election, and the devil of the party spirit which they had themselves evoked, and which they could not allay?

The Orangemen are usually represented as Irishmen. In what sense are they Irish? There was a time when they manifested some national sentiment—when they had the Irish Catholics under their feet—when they were dealing with the English Government, for their own interests, that they might have been called "Irish." But now-a-days are they not, as they have been called before, the very jailors who try to keep Irishmen in chains? Do they not, in Ireland, oppose the movement for "Home Rule" with every force they can command? And for what possible reason can Catholics seek a political alliance with a party whose principles are so plainly declared against them? Or, why should Liberals attempt to coquette with those who have decreed their exclusion from any public position?

I have interspersed a few headings throughout the Speech for convenience of reference; but otherwise the report is substantially, if not altogether *verbatim*, as the speech was delivered in the House.

TRIBUNE OFFICE, May 15, 1878.

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ORANGE INCORPORATION.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, Feb. 25, 1878.

[Mr. MERRICK asked for leave to introduce a Bill intituled "An Act to Incorporate the Loyal Orange Association of Eastern and Western Ontario, and that rules 51, 53, 56, 57, and 58 be suspended for that purpose."]

Hon. Mr. FRASER said he hoped the House would hear with him for a few moments before the motion was disposed of. It would be in the recollection of those members who held seats in the last Parliament that, with the exception of the first time on which this Orange Incorporation Bill was introduced, he (Mr. Fraser) had not at any subsequent session, save one, and then only for a few minutes, addressed the House on this subject. His silence had not been for want of provocation, but because he had resisted it. It would have suited the political purposes and objects of gentlemen opposite if they could either have beguiled or entrapped him (Mr. Fraser) into warmth of speech or indignant reply. On the only occasion on which he did address the House on this subject at any length, which was in the first session, in which he occupied a seat in the Chamber, and before he had joined the Government, he had been charged with having made a violent and intolerant speech, and the promoters of this measure had made use of this amongst the Orange body and their followers, with the object of arousing political bitterness and opposition. It might suit the purpose of the promoters of this Bill were he now to make what might be termed a warm speech; but it was no part of his plan to do so. He quite understood and thoroughly comprehended the tactics and the strategy of those who had this measure in charge; and so understanding it, and with the purpose and design to countercheck their movements, he would not say anything to-night which in any shape could be misconstrued, or which might serve as a ground work for an appeal to intolerance and bigotry in any shape. The responsibility and onus of his position he realized, and his remarks would be shaped so as to avoid the introduction of anything which in any sense could be tortured into a subject of provocation either to the Orange organization or its sympathizers. (Hear, hear.) It was true that surrounding the subject matter of this proposed measure, there were many things calculated to arouse indignation and feeling, and perhaps bitter expressions on his part; but he conceived it to be policy as well as duty to suppress all such for the moment. He was acting on the defensive, not on the aggressive, and looking to that, he did not require to do more than to use such weap-

ons as for the present would defeat the attack being made.

Protestants Testify against Orangeism.

He would follow, as far as might be, the course which he took in the second session of the second Parliament of the Province. In what he said then he carefully avoided doing anything more than introducing and citing against the Orange body, and its demand for special incorporation, such unimpeachable and unobjectionable authorities as Canning and Castlereagh, Lord Melbourne and Sir Robert Peel, Palmerston and Lord John Russell, and others of the eminent names—all Protestant—of the Mother Country, who had pronounced themselves in strong and emphatic terms upon the danger and demerits of such an organization as that of the Orangemen, and of the troubles and difficulties that had arisen and were certain to continue from its existence. He (Mr. Fraser) did not intend to repeat these arguments or statements now. His purpose was entirely different. His object was, amongst other things, to ask attention to some features, to some of the circumstances surrounding the introduction in the present session of the Bill under discussion, and which its promoter had innocently, no doubt, avoided referring to. (Hear, hear.)

Why the Bill was introduced.

Long before this session commenced a little bird had been piping a note—whether of warning or not, it were hard to say—but the little bird had been telling that no Orange Bill would be on the carpet this year. Scarce a street corner in Toronto on which one might not have heard this. (Hear, hear.) It had been the common talk that this Bill was not to be introduced this Session. He supposed the wire-pullers fancied that this organization was so fully under their control, that they could afford to defer their pet measure until the Local elections were nearer at hand, and until the general election for the House of Commons was over. The fact was that the political leaders of gentlemen opposite, deemed it wise to keep this measure, if possible, out of sight for the present, and their first determination was to act accordingly. But in carrying out their plans they found themselves "twixt the devil and the deep sea." If they ventured to put this Bill forward with as much earnestness as they affected to us last session, their fear was that they might prejudice the Catholic vote against them. An idea had been springing up among hon. members that a section of the Catholic body might be gained over to their support, and

the party managers accordingly used their best efforts to keep the Orange Bill in abeyance, so as to allay any irritation that might have been provoked. They were afraid to parade this Orange question too much, lest it should impair their chances with the "Catholic vote," and they were equally afraid to give umbrage to the Orange spirit they had called up. But the party managers saw, after the assembling of the House, that they were as he (Mr. Fraser) had said,

BETWEEN THE DEVIL AND THE DEEP SEA

—the deep sea of the general election, and the devil of the spirit of the party they had raised by their persistent advocacy of this measure. The difficulty with the general election was the probability that if they attracted too much attention to this bill, they might divert the votes of a section of the people of this Province, which they expected to receive. The best way, therefore, to carry out the object which presented itself to the minds of those gentlemen, was to purposely and deliberately set at naught all the rules of the House, and if they had searched for the best possible excuse to prevent the introduction of the bill for this session, they could not have found a better expedient than the one they had adopted. Their purpose was, when they found themselves forced on by the "devil" behind them, to make every delay, and to be as irregular as it was possible to be. They were hoping that some one of these irregularities would choke off discussion, and so keep this Orange question in obscurity till the general election was over, and at the same time by an affectation of work and seeming eagerness they hoped to satisfy the expectations of the Orangemen.

Rules of the House purposely set aside.

There was not a rule of the House relating to private bills that the hon. gentlemen who were promoting this bill had followed. For that neglect there was not the shadow of an excuse, except to these gentlemen themselves, because it was a part of their plan of operation. This bill was not a new one. The present was the sixth session in which it had been introduced. They knew well what notice was required, when the petition ought to be presented, when the bill should be brought before the Private Bills Committee, when it ought to be posted and when it ought to be printed. They knew also the last day for reporting upon such a bill by the Private Bills Committee, and also the last day for its first reading. And yet with a strange, if it were not an intentional, deliberation, there was not a solitary one of these rules which they had followed. They had definitely and distinctly disobeyed every one of them. The gentleman who made this motion had apparently taken extreme and extraordinary precaution to violate every rule re-

gulating the introduction of Private Bills, and he had also taken other precautions which showed he could not seriously have intended that his motion should carry. Were he (Mr. Fraser) to raise a point of order against the present motion, it would be the bounden duty of Mr. Speaker to rule it out of order as being quite irregular; but he did not intend to raise the question of order. That would be to shut off discussion and would be precisely what the promoters of the Orange Bill most desired. He (Mr. Fraser) intended rather that there should be both discussion and a vote upon this question (Hear, hear.) and for a few moments he would confine himself to examine briefly the irregularity of the proceedings. The bill which the hon. gentleman, Mr. Merrick, introduced last session was a bill to incorporate by the one measure the Grand Lodges both of Ontario West and East, and accordingly they gave the proper notice in the *Ontario Gazette*, and he believed, in other local papers. They had been giving similar notices for five sessions, and they therefore knew exactly what to do. It was not possible to make any except an intentional error or mistake. But what course did they pursue this session? His hon. friend asked leave to introduce a bill "to incorporate the Loyal Orange Association of eastern and western Ontario"—both of these lodges—in a single measure, as was proposed last session. But what was the published notice? The only notice was that given by a gentleman calling himself the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Ontario West, who published a notice of a bill "for the incorporation of the Grand Lodge of Ontario West," only. There was not in any manner, or in any paper, published any notice with regard to the incorporation of the Grand Lodge of Ontario East; in fact it was never mentioned for the purposes of the present session in any way, so that even if the notice which was alleged it had been intended to publish had reached the *Ontario Gazette*, and if other circumstances had been such that it might have been inserted, the hon. gentleman had put this proposed Bill in such a shape that even then it would not have been regular, for this was not a Bill to incorporate the Grand Lodge of Ontario West only. But even this notice was not inserted in the *Ontario Gazette*. Although such a notice reached the publishers of the *Gazette*, it was immediately returned to the gentleman who sent it, and who subscribed himself "R. Gourlay, Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge, of Ontario West," asking him to send, as was customary under all circumstances, with regard to advertisements sent the *Ontario Gazette*, the money necessary to secure its insertion. It was not denied that this so-called Grand Secretary sent the notice; but, on the other hand, it was not denied by this

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same Grand Secretary that the notice was returned to him from the publishing office of the *Gazette*, requesting him to send the usual fee if he wished it inserted. They were bound to assume, therefore, against these Grand Officers promoting the Bill outside of the House, that they knew the notice was not being inserted in the *Ontario Gazette* (cheers), and that they did not intend that it should be inserted; otherwise, on receiving the notice returned to them, they would have sent it back with the money, and had it inserted. He had shown, however, that even if the notice sent by the officers had been inserted, it would not have covered the Bill, which was an entirely different one from that referred to in the notice. The promoters of the Bill had also neglected to comply with the rule requiring the notice to be inserted six weeks in a local paper, because in the only paper in which the notice referred to appeared, the *Orange Sentinel*, it was inserted only four weeks, being two weeks less than the rules of the House required. There was another feature of this case. The promoters of the Bill might say, "We did send a notice, so far as it went, to the *Ontario Gazette*. True, it does not cover this Bill, but it would cover a Bill for the Incorporation of the Grand Lodge of Ontario West." If that were the fact, then there was another rule of this House which required that within two weeks after the insertion of a notice in the *Ontario Gazette*, a copy of the proposed Bill, with \$100, the usual fee, should be sent to the Clerk of the House. Hon. gentlemen could not get away from that fact. It was abundantly certain, then, that the promoters knew that their notice was not being published in the *Gazette*, or else they would have forwarded the Bill and the money to the Clerk. They knew that no notice was being given, they did not intend it should be given, and for that reason they sent neither Bill nor fee.

Mr. MERRICK—The \$100 was placed in the hands of the Clerk of the House.

Mr. FRASER—When?

Mr. MERRICK—It has been here since last year—it has not been withdrawn.

Mr. FRASER—The hon. gentleman must know that that fee, if remaining, went into the Consolidated Revenue Fund. The Clerk of the House would have no authority over that fee, and was not bound to keep the money in his hands.

Mr. CAMERON—It should be refunded by an order of the House.

Mr. FRASER said that clearly, at any rate, the rule had not been complied with, for, apart from the fee, a copy of the Bill should have been sent. Both of these steps were required by the rules of the House. The fact

was, however, that no notice was given, and what was of more consequence, it was not intended to be given. The various circumstances surrounding the whole matter would justify the House in believing that it was deliberately and purposely not inserted; and if it ever had been the intention of hon. gentlemen to proceed on the notice which appeared in the *Orange Sentinel*, two days after the House met, they abandoned it, for they then took the notice out of that paper. They determined to destroy all excuse for their notices being held regular. The next step necessary for the introduction of a private bill, if proper notice had been published, was to bring it before the Standing Committee; but what was the report of the Standing Orders Committee which was presented to the House?

The promoters of the Bill desired it to be thrown out.

Where there was no ignorance on the part of members of the House as to what the rules of the House were, it was proper to assume that hon. gentlemen would use due diligence, if in earnest, to have their measure carried through all its stages. But these hon. gentlemen went before the Standing Orders Committee and made a mere verbal statement—nothing more—that a notice had been given, and did not even produce to the Committee so much as a copy of the local paper, in which it was alleged the notice had been advertised. Step by step, therefore, they had set every rule of this House at defiance, always hoping that objection would be taken to the irregularity. Wherever they could place an obstacle in their own way, they did so. When they merely went to the Standing Orders Committee with the bald statement that a notice had been inserted in the *Orange Sentinel*, and then asked the Committee to report to the House on the Bill, it surely could not have been honestly expected that the Committee would have recommended a suspension of the rules.

Mr. MERRICK—I would ask what the hon. gentleman is trying to establish. We admit that the proceedings were irregular.

Mr. FRASER said that if the hon. gentleman admitted that he had intentionally violated all the rules of the House, perhaps it would not be necessary for him (Mr. Fraser) to proceed any farther with his argument. But he proposed pointing out what other rules had been violated. The Standing Orders Committee reported the facts as they appeared before them. If the hon. gentleman had earnestly wished the reference to be sent back to the Standing Orders Committee, he would, immediately and without any delay, have placed a notice to that effect on the paper. But he allowed several days to pass

before he did so: it was on the 25th January that the Committee reported, but it was not till the 8th of February that any notice of this motion appeared on the paper at all, and then the notice was not for the following Monday (the private day, when there would have been an opportunity to make it), but for the following Tuesday, a Government day, when, the hon. Gentleman well knew, the notice could not be reached. [Mr. MERRICK—Hear, hear!] The hon. gentleman says "Hear, hear!" as if gratified at how completely the merit and worth of this scheme to delay this motion is recognized. He (Mr. Fraser) had pointed out that if there was a step in the wrong direction to be taken, the hon. gentleman had taken it; and perhaps he (Mr. Merrick) would have an opportunity to say "Hear, hear," again. Not only, however, did the hon. gentleman put his notice on the paper for a Government day, but he allowed several days, on which he could have made his motion, to go by. He had two opportunities during that week to have his motion up, and the sense of the House taken as to whether or not this Bill should be sent before the Private Bills Committee, but he delayed until at length the last day on which the Private Bills Committee could regularly report upon any Bill was passed by. In fact, if it were not for the object which the hon. gentleman had in view, one could well have charged that the rules of the House had been contemptuously ignored in every respect. [Hear, hear, and cheers.] As matters stood now, there would be no possibility of having the Bill brought before the Private Bills Committee, even if the hon. gentleman's motion were carried. The hon. gentleman knew that his motion was not sufficient for that. He would require still to make another motion, and then he would further require to have his Bill printed and distributed to the members; after that, and before it could be considered in any shape by the Private Bills Committee, it must be posted in the lobby for five days. But before that could be done, lo and behold! the House would have risen—it would have been prorogued, and what the hon. gentleman's political leaders at Ottawa most desired would have been accomplished: the Bill would have been ousted without discussion.

Mr. O'DONOGHUE—Does the Private Bills Committee sit until now?

Mr. FRASER said that was a query; but even if they could sit, their regular time for reporting had gone by; and if this motion were carried, another irregular motion would have to be made on the top of it. In his (Mr. Fraser's) simplicity, it occurred to him that the hon. gentleman (Mr. Merrick) was asking from this House entirely too much (Hear, hear), and was asking it in the prayer-

ful hope of himself and his friends that it would not be granted. (Laughter.)

Mr. MERRICK said he had offered to produce the local paper to the Standing Orders Committee.

Mr. FRASER—The Committee did not so state in the report, and the hon. gentleman had heard the report read and adopted, and did not take any objection to it. He (Mr. Merrick) produced himself in *propria persona* before the Committee, and the hon. gentleman himself was the only notice of the Bill which the Committee had seen. (Hear, hear, and laughter.)

Political Engineering.

All this, however, went to prove what he (Mr. Fraser) had started out with; viz., that what was said before the House met was true—that for political purposes, and political purposes only, in view of the next general election, hon. gentlemen had thought it well to keep in the background this particular Bill. Had not the hon. gentleman himself stated to the House during the debate on the address—on the second day of the session—that the intention to introduce this Bill in the present session had been abandoned by the Grand Lodges, because they had been disappointed in the procuring of some petitions which they had intended to present from constituents of hon. gentlemen supporting the Government—that these petitions not being circulated in time to present to the House, it was not his purpose to introduce the Bill? In view of all the circumstances, he (Mr. Fraser) felt he was quite justified in saying that the hon. gentleman was between the devil and the deep sea, and being forced onward, he was driven to making an appearance of attempting to satisfy the brethren of the subordinates lodges; but meanwhile he (Mr. Merrick) took care to fortify himself with frequent and persistent delays and an entire disregard of the rules regulating the procedure of the House. He (Mr. Fraser) wondered what the hon. gentleman would be able to say, in answer for his neglect, to his brethren in the lodges. (Hear, hear.) Leaving this question of irregularities, he (Mr. Fraser) hoped the House would bear with him a little further. When he addressed the last Parliament of Ontario upon this measure, he charged this organization with being an

OATH-BOUND POLITICO-RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION,

(Hear, hear,) citing the statements of Sir Robert Peel and others, whose authority was beyond dispute, in support of the standpoint from which he then ventured to address the House. He did not purpose to adduce the same authority to-night. His challenge and his assertion on that occasion

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were met by an indignant and flat denial—it was claimed that the organization was simply religious, and in no sense political. A short time after this debate, some gentlemen—some representative gentlemen—some great, Grand and Worshipful officers belonging to this organization on this side of the water were sent across the Atlantic as delegates to the Orangemen of the old country. Some one—hedid not know whom—had sent him some papers containing reports of meetings and demonstrations attended by these delegates, and these papers together with some other documents which he (Mr. Fraser) had in his possession, furnished him with particular proofs of what the political tendency and operations of this organization were.

Mr. MERRICK—What are the papers ?

Mr. FRASER said he would give his honourable friend enough of the papers by and by. They would show that this organization was a secret political society, and that it supported the political party, and the political party only, of hon. gentlemen opposite. He was aware that, here and there, there was a stray Reformer to be found in some of the subordinate lodges scattered throughout the country; but that the great mass of the Orange body in this Province was to be found

he was certain he would conclusively show before he sat down. The first fact to which he would draw the attention of the House was that when the official lists of the Grand Lodges were examined, the rarest bird to be found among the officers of the Grand Lodges was a Reformer (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Those who pulled the wires, who watched the political forces of these organizations, who drew the strings during an election, and who engineered the wheeling into line of the entire Orange body, were all zealous, and more than zealous, supporters of hon. gentlemen opposite and their leaders at Ottawa. He need scarcely point to the fact that the present leader of the Opposition at Ottawa, boasted in the campaign of 1872 that he was then a member of the Orange body (Hear, hear.)

Mr. MERRICK asked 'on what authority he stated that the officers were Conservatives ?

Mr. FRASER asked if the hon. gentleman would dare to deny—he challenged the hon. gentleman to deny—that it was the rarest thing to find in any of these Grand Lodges, one who would call himself a Reformer. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) If the Tory-Orangemen found such a member they always took the quickest steps possible to put him out. (Hear, hear and cheers.) The delegates to whom he had referred went across the Atlantic to

participate in certain demonstration going on there.

The Orange Body the same here as in Ireland and Great Britain.

When discussing the matter, in 1872, he (Mr. Fraser) had declared that the Orange body in this country was in all respects, both politically and otherwise, identical with that on the other side of the Atlantic. He could then only support his assertion by the general facts which at that time were at his disposal. He could produce no specific testimony, and therefore his general statement was met with a general denial, and the House was at liberty to accept one statement or the other as it thought fit. However, he was now in a position to prove conclusively, out of the mouths of those who belonged to this organization, that the charge which he made then—that this was an oath-bound secret politico-religious organization,—was true. He intended to prove what this organization was by the statements of its own members, and to follow it up by quoting resolutions passed at their meetings, public and private, to show that the various lodges were, in addition to their bitter antagonism to Roman Catholics and their religion, nothing more nor less than

SECRET CONSERVATIVE, OR TORY, ASSOCIATIONS.

If he did this he would prove all he had pledged himself to establish. His first quotation would be a resolution passed at what was called the celebration of the Glasgow district, said to have been the greatest demonstration that ever took place in connection with Orangeism in Scotland, and at which the Canadian Orange delegates were present. It would be found reported in the Glasgow Herald of the 19th July, 1873. It was a regular twelfth of July celebration, and deputations from the English and Irish lodges were among the number. The Grand Master for Scotland was in the chair, and in a speech said to have been received with cheers, announced that "he was with them as an Orangeman, as a Protestant, and as a Conservative too," and then after bidding the Canadian brethren welcome, and referring to the presence of the English and Irish deputies—especially Mr. Johnston of Ballykilbeg—he called on a Rev. Dr. Potter, who, having opened the proceedings with prayer, moved a resolution in these terms:—

"That we rejoice in the presence, on this anniversary, of leading Canadian Orangemen, and welcome them cordially, feeling that they are one with us in a great religious-political organization." (Hear, hear.) Why, he (Mr. Fraser) had not put the case so strong as Dr. Potter did in this resolution, which was said to have been carried unanimously. He (Mr. Fraser) in the motion which

he had asked the last Parliament of Ontario to assent to, termed this Orange organization a "politico-religious" one, whilst Dr. Potter, a Most Worshipful Great Grand officer, and therefore a most worshipful and undoubted authority, pronounced it to be "religio-political." Dr. Potter followed the making of his motion with a speech, in which he denounced the then great leader of the English Liberal party, the Right Hon. Mr. Gladstone, and concluded by saying that "he gave their Canadian brethren a fraternal greeting, and hoped that they would go back to their country with the proud feeling that there was a unity of sentiment, a unity of love, a unity of determination, and a unity of power and of organization all over the world."

They all vote the one way.

Other motions and other speeches followed at this Twelfth of July demonstration, and one of these was made by Dr. Oronyetakah, a Canadian delegate, and tolerably well known throughout this Province as a prominent Orangeman and grand officer of the body. In the newspaper from which he (Mr. Fraser) quoted, Dr. Oronyetakah is said to have used these words:—

"It was true they did not discuss politics in their lodges in Canada, but when they came to vote, they all voted in one way." (Hear, hear and cheers.) What this "one way" was, he (Mr. Fraser) would show very clearly before he resumed his seat. (Hear, hear.) For the present he was keeping in view simply the proof of this one point—that the Orange organization here and across the sea were identical. This Glasgow demonstration, the speeches made, the motions carried, and the representative character of the men present, would of themselves be ample testimony, but he had more, if more were required. It was well known that the *Toronto Patriot* was one, if not the chief and foremost, newspaper organ of Canadian Orangemen. Its authority with hon. gentlemen opposite would be the more readily admitted, when it was remembered that the *Patriot* is the weekly reprint of the *Toronto Leader*, one of the chief organs of the Conservative party in this Province. In fact the *Patriot* was the *Leader*, with five or six columns, or perhaps a page of Orange subjects and Orange literature added. (Hear, hear.) In an issue of the *Patriot*, dated shortly after July, 1873, and referring specially to the old country demonstrations and gatherings in honour of the Canadian delegates, he (Mr. Fraser) found these two sentences:—

"It is, therefore, in the very nature of things, that a close union should exist between the Orangemen of Canada and those of Great Britain and Ireland. Their principles are identical, and the objects contemplated the same."

(Hear, hear.) What some of these principles

and some of these objects were, he proceeded to show by quoting from an article contained in the *Patriot* of 15th October, 1873. This article, he said, was headed "Increase of Orangeism in Ayrshire," and professed to give an account of the installation in September, 1873, of a new lodge by a Bro. William McCormick, D. M.—whatever D. M. meant. (Greatlaughter.) After the work of installation had been finished, this Bro. McCormick, D. M., proceeded to address the members of the lodge, and wound up a speech, that no doubt was greeted with "Kentish fire," by saying:—

"He would like them to get enrolled as voters that at the next general election they would be able to vote for such men as Johnston, Verner, Hill Trevor, Creighton, and Stuart Knox; men such as these whose principles have been weighed in the balance and have not been found wanting. He was proud to say that everywhere the 'people's William' was being defeated; that since last election upwards of twenty-eight seats had been wrested from the so-called Liberals, which gave to the Conservatives about forty-two (567) votes on a division. This was a triumphant blow given to the great Liberal majority with which the present Parliament opened. More success to the Conservative cause."

The "people's William," referred to by Bro. McCormick, was, Mr. Fraser said, the Liberal leader, Mr. Gladstone, and after Bro. McCormick's speech and the transaction of some further lodge business, this new lodge was closed, the brethren sat down to dinner, and the drinking of toasts became the order of the day, or rather of the night. (Laughter.) One of the toasts given was "The Conservative cause throughout Great Britain and Ireland," drunk with a "three times three, and one over," and that was succeeded, not by "The Press" but by "The Conservative Press." A Liberal or Reform newspaper could have no countenance from the brethren assembled. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Keeping still to his extracts from the *Patriot*, he (Mr. Fraser) said that in its issue of the 24th September, 1873, was an article descriptive of the opening of an Orange hall near Belfast, and at which a Rev. Mr. Henderson, in the course of what was styled "one of his humorous, pathetic, and thrilling speeches" defended "the religious element of the Orange institution as well as its political, and reviewed the policy and spirit of the Radicals." (Hear, hear.) He (Mr. Fraser) would add but one more from amongst the many he had of what he might be allowed to call "across-the-water" authorities. From the *Glasgow News*, of 4th November, 1873, he quoted a paragraph from the report of an Orange soiree, held by the members of Stewart Blacker Lodge, No. 115, at which a Right Worshipful Master, Bro. Robert Johnston, "in a few appropriate remarks"—so the report stated it—"reminded the brethren in regard to their duty as Orangemen at the forthcoming elections." With those proofs

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were, he proceeded in an article contained in the *Patriot*, October, 1873. This article was headed "Increase of Grit professed to give in September, 1873." Bro. William Morrison, D. M., meant the work of installation of McCormick, D. M., as a member of the lodge, that no doubt was said by saying:—

enrolled as voters where they would be by Johnston, Verner, Stuart Knox; men who have been weighed in and found wanting. Everywhere the "peopled" are invited; that since last year two (567) votes were given to the Orange which the present process to the Conserv-

referred to by Fraser said, the one, and after Bro. Morrison, the transaction of this new lodge down to dinner, became the order of the night. (Laughter.)

"The Conservative Britain and Ireland three times, three, succeeded, not the Conservative form newspaper on the brethren (laughter.) Keep the *Patriot*, he the issue of the 24th

descriptive of all near Belfast, Anderson, in the one of his hurling speeches" at the Orange political, and re-

of the Radical (Mr. Fraser) among the authorities. From November, 1873, the report of an members of 15, at which a Robert Johnston—"so the brethren in Orange men at the which those proofs

the House could not, he (Mr. Fraser) believed, have any doubt but that the Orange body of Great Britain and Ireland was, in all its political features, a secret Tory organization, nor could the House refuse to believe that what politically the Orange body was there it was here; it was the same and nothing different in this land. (Hear, hear.) But that there should be no possibility of question on this score he purposed to adduce stronger and more cogent testimony from the columns of Orange and Tory organs here and from the mouths of Canadian Orangemen—Orangemen whose political faith and whose prominent standing amongst the brethren would make it impossible for even gentlemen opposite to dispute. (Hear, hear, and cheers.)

"Grit Orangemen."

In April, of 1871, a branch of the Orange body, known as the "Royal Black Knights of Malta," held a demonstration at the Mechanics' Hall, in the city of Hamilton. The chair was occupied by a Mr. James Wilson, a County Master of the Order, and he introduced as the lecturer of the evening, a Rev. Dr. Hutchinson, of Toronto. The lecture is reported in the *Hamilton Spectator*—a good Tory organ, by the way—and the conclusion of the Rev. lecturer's address was in these words:—

"Orangemen never commenced a riot, but when attacked always returned home with flying colours to the notes of the "Protestant Boys," and "Croppies Lie Down." None but croppies have a right to feel that music grating to their ears. We must be united, the lecturer said, to effect any good. We want no Grits, no traitors in our ranks to divide us. If united we shall conquer, but if we allow our enemies to divide us they will laugh us to scorn and render us powerless. Grit traitors are making a strong effort to come in among the Orangemen, especially in Toronto. We hope to see their power abated, their wrath assuaged, and their devices confounded."

(Hear, hear, and laughter.) He (Mr. Fraser) said that a fitting addendum to this lecture was a leading article headed "Grit Orangemen" and given by the *Orange Patriot* to its Orange readers on the 7th May, 1873. These were the *Patriot's* views on "Grit Orangemen."

"A few years ago, in Ontario, the very expression of Grit Orangeman, to every man in the least degree acquainted with the Order, would be the subject of great amusement. It was then known, what every true Orangeman now knows, that Radicals could not be Orangemen, and no Grit with any kind of a clear conscience would for one moment think of taking the Orange obligation. But times have changed so far, at least in Toronto, is concerned. A meeting can hardly be convened in Toronto, of Orangemen, but Satanic Grits are stationed in different parts of the hall, indignantly wearing our colours, and watching with an eagle's eye every member present, and catching every word that may drop from the lips of the brethren, to convey them to the enemies of our Order. They are known at every meeting from the noise and disorder they create in their

endeavours to get brother arrayed against brother. Toronto has always been distinguished for its loyalty, and we hope our brethren—the old standards—will unite as one man in this city, for the purpose of driving the intruders out of the Order. We have soon to see a special rule adopted by the brethren making it a serious offence for a brother to introduce the name of a Radical as an applicant for admission into the fraternity. We are glad to see that several of the city lodges are taking steps in the right direction in order to leave the Grits, like their old friend Judas, in their own places, and outside the portals of any society which calls itself loyal. Brethren, remember the enemy is at the door; take notice and govern yourselves accordingly.

The sneaking Grits can readily be known by their clamour and we may add by their gross ignorance. We only wish the Tyrers were directed to lead them, or rather forward them to where they could be treated according to their merits. To call them brothers we never shall. We regard them as intruding enemies with whom no true Orangeman can ever be at peace, so long as one of them is present at our meetings to spy out our liberties and report to our enemies. We have long made it a matter of conscience not to converse with them as Orangemen, and we are happy to say to our readers that at least nine out of every ten Orangemen in Toronto are with us. In the meeting referred to Lieut.-Col. O. R. Gowan, and R. S. Birch, Barrister-at-law, made eloquent and telling speeches in defence of our loyal Institution against both Radical Jesuits and Grit plotters."

(Cheers and laughter.) Still quoting from the *Patriot*, and from its issue of the 21st May, 1873, he raised uproarious laughter in the House by his reading of the following piece of doggerel verse:—

"RADICAL INTRUDERS IN AN ORANGEM LODGE."

By the blood of your fathers, the martyrs of old;
By the honour and courage that never were sold;
By the throne that you love and the faith you revere:
Watch, Orangemen! watch! the vile traitors are near.

By the dread recollection of horrors long past;
By the Radical who still is true to his cast;
By the Pope's low Grit allies, who plot to betray:
Watch, Orangemen! watch! drive the traitors away.

By all that kind Heaven or earth can afford;
By religion and love, and by torture and word;
By base superstition, and priestcraft and crime:
Watch, Orangemen! watch! 'tis the crisis of time.

By wife, home and children; by friends and by kin;
By the one sacred triumph, of which Britons sling;
By Conservative principles, keep the Radicals down:
Watch, Orangemen! watch! and defend Church and Crown."

(Loud and continued laughter.) The House, he thought, could scarcely stand any more rhyme, and so he would abandon his intention to read another choice selection, whose final refrain was, "Praise God, we'll wear the

orange o'er the green." (Laughter.) But in lieu of poetry he had still some prose.

"Two Smoking Firebrands."

He could not but confess his indebtedness to the *Patriot*, from whose columns he must still continue to quote. On the 27th August, 1873, this newspaper, in another of its leading articles, said:—

"We have not to be convinced in the month of August, 1873, that the Grit or Radical party, as a whole, are not only traitors to our great Empire in general, but to our own happy Dominion in particular.

Let every one remember that an Orangeman is sworn to belong to no society or body of men that are enemies to Her Majesty and our glorious Constitution, and in reality the Orange Institution is more opposed to the Grit and Radical faction than to political Popery. The rebellion of 1837-38, the rewarding of the rebels in 1848, in paying them their losses when our people placed the same rebels in power; the suppressing of all institutions they regarded as loyal, or tending to loyalty in Canada; their hatred and persecution of the Orange Institution, and their recent insults which they have offered to Her Majesty's representatives in Canada, show most clearly that the Grit faction in 1873 are as vile rebels in heart as the same fact on were in 1837.

It is well that our brethren everywhere should know these things and govern themselves accordingly; and beware of the two smoking firebrands—the Grits and their allies, the Papists."

(Hear, hear.) That was, he said, a fair sample of the intolerant and dangerous appeals made to the rank and file of Orangemen through the instrumentality of their secret lodges, and by the wire-pulling and contrivings of gentlemen opposite and their leaders at Ottawa, managed through the Grand Lodges and the officials of these Grand Lodges, and in this way it was that for political purposes, the entire mass of the Orangemen in this Province, with few exceptions, were made to be the back-bone of the Conservative party.

How Orangemen regard Catholics as allies.

Here, for example, was a resolution passed at a meeting of the District Lodge of Toronto, representing as it was said twenty-five subordinate lodges, by which it was unanimously resolved:—

"That it is the wish of this District Lodge that all Orangemen having votes in East Toronto for member of Parliament for the Dominion will support Mr. Emerson Coatsworth, and thereby defeat John O'Donohoe."

This resolution would be found in the *Toronto Mail* of 29th January, 1874, and the meeting was held on the evening of the day preceding. A general election for the House of Commons was then pending, and Mr. Coatsworth was the Tory candidate for East Toronto, and Mr. O'Donohoe, a Roman Catholic, the nominee of the Reform, or, as the Orange organs like to call them, the Grit party. (Cheers.) In the earlier part of this

same month of January, and as a direction to Orangemen everywhere within its jurisdiction, and even beyond, this same District Lodge of Toronto unanimously adopted another resolution in these terms:—

"We the members of the Loyal Orange District Lodge of Toronto call upon our brother Orangemen of Ontario to use all legitimate means to secure the return of the Conservative candidates now seeking election for the Dominion Parliament, and defeating the Grit Republicans."

He (Mr. Fraser) pointed out to the House that the elections for the House of Commons from Ontario took place in that month of January, 1874, that the House might see the bearing of these proofs on the question of whether or not the Orange body was a political association. In the same year, but in the month of February, the *Patriot* announced that "the Grand Lodge would so amend the constitution that any Orangeman voting for a candidate who is either directly or indirectly connected with the Catholic League will be expelled." No doubt, he (Mr. Fraser) said, the proposed amendment was intended to be a cheerful but mildly vigorous and effectual restraint upon the liberty of any Orangeman who might think of exercising his franchise in favour of Mr. O'Donohoe, or himself (Mr. Fraser), or any other Roman Catholic. (Hear, hear.) For in the same column of the *Patriot* and as a sort of postscript, was a paragraph saying:—

"That it was a matter of very general regret that the man McCaw should be permitted to sit in the Grand Lodge—that no man who has dirtied his colours with Papists and rebels should be permitted to find his way into an assemblage of loyal men."

He (Mr. Fraser) had not the pleasure of knowing Mr. McCaw, but from the reference made to him, he (Mr. Fraser) did not doubt but that he was one of the "rare birds" who occasionally find their way into the Order, but who, on evincing any opposition to Tory candidates, or Tory leaders, have their places in the lodges made too warm for them.

A Good Grit must be a bad Orangeman.

As a last newspaper quotation, he had one clipped from the *Owen Sound Times*. He wondered if any one in the House had heard of that paper before. (Laughter.) The hon. member from North Grey could, no doubt, vouch for its accuracy and truthfulness. (Renewed laughter.) Well, in the *Owen Sound Times* of December, 1875, the curious could read a half-column or so devoted to the proceedings of the December meeting of Loyal Orange Lodge No. 203. A Dr. Washington, who addressed this lodge meeting, is there reported to have said:—

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Conservative, and that the great majority of his brethren were Conservative to the back-bone. He opined they did not dilly-dally with the Roman Catholics as the Grits have done. He contended that, looking at the society as a political and religious one, they were an independent body of men. He contended that no Grit could be a true and consistent Orangeman. Their Master had told them of the time when such men entered into the society for no other purpose than to learn their secrets and swanip the Conservative element. By allowing Grits into the society they would be getting men who would desert and betray them in the hour of need. He hoped this Lodge would see the necessity of excluding such men from the ranks. He did not consider that a Grit could faithfully keep up his obligation. They had no legitimate business in an Orange Lodge. In times of election they could not freely discuss the position, as those men would inevitably betray their secrets and render their plans almost abortive."

(Cheers.) He (Mr. Fraser) could not believe that after such varied proof, gathered from so many sources, but all of them Orange, and therefore not to be impeached by gentlemen opposite, any one could be found to dispute the assertion that the Orange association in Canada was a secret political engine, controlled and directed by the Conservative leaders. (Hear, hear.) He did not doubt but that the hon. gentleman who made the motion then before the House was abundantly satisfied with the nature of the papers which he (Mr. Fraser) had in the earlier part of his remarks promised to furnish for the observation and consideration of gentlemen opposite. (Laughter.) He intended, however, to close up every avenue. He held in his hand the printed report of the fifth-enth annual session of the Right Worshipful Grand Orange Lodge of Western Ontario, held in the Temperance Hall, Toronto, on the 17th and 18th days of February, 1874. That date, as hon. gentlemen would well recollect was of the month immediately succeeding the general election for the House of Commons, to which he had already referred. This report was the official report, printed by Bro. Wm. De Vere Hunt, printer to the Grand Lodge. Amongst other things, this little volume, or rather pamphlet, contained the annual address of their Grand Master, to this Grand Lodge. The Grand Master at that time was the predecessor in this House of the present member for South Simcoe—the late D'Arcy Boulton. His title as given in the report is "The Right Worshipful, the Grand Master, Brother and Companion, Sir D'Arcy Boulton." It was almost a waste of time to say to hon. gentlemen, that Mr. Boulton was nothing politically if he were not an "out-and-out" Conservative. He was what might very fairly be called an "in season and out of season" supporter of gentlemen opposite and their leaders at Ottawa. Well, what did the Grand Master, Mr. Boulton, say to the Grand Lodge in his annual address? Almost his first words were an explanation of what might,

unless properly accounted for, have been considered by the brethren a negligence on the part of their Grand Master. He had left some business unattended to, and his excuse in his own words was this:

"I principally regret that a continued absence from home, from the 8th of December last, to the 11th of February instant, fighting the battles of our party, has left a number of letters on Orange business unanswered."

He (Mr. Fraser) wished the House to bear in mind, that a general election was then in full swing—that the Grand Master was taking an active part in it—that his party, or, using his own words to the Grand Lodge, "our party," was the Conservative party, the party of hon. gentlemen opposite, and then the House and the people of this country would fully comprehend how completely political and how thoroughly Tory must have been this Grand Lodge, before its Grand Master would have ventured upon such a remark. (Cheers.) But the Grand Master did not content himself with this simple allusion. He knew his men,—he knew the body which he had before him, and so he went on.

"I trust you will be glad to know that your Grand Master has been honoured with a seat in the Legislature by that good old Orange County, South Simcoe, which for half a century has stood true as steel to the Conservative principles of our order, but I have to repeat what I said in my address last year, that there have been Orangemen all over the Province, and notably in East Toronto, who have so far forgotten their duty to this Loyal and Protestant Society as to ally themselves with the Grit-Republican Party in the recent elections, and in the latter case with a Roman Catholic, who, if not a Fenian himself, is at any rate the brother of one who invaded our soil and murdered our brethren for the active interference of the Orange body. If we ever hope to possess the influence in the country our numbers justly entitle us to, it can only be by union among ourselves, and I trust to see the day when the Grand Lodge will appreciate this fact and make it an offence punishable by expulsion for any member, from the Grand Master down, to resist or oppose the policy of the Orange body in Parliamentary elections."

(Cheers.) He hoped that gentlemen opposite were becoming more and more satisfied with the proofs. They were, as he had promised, getting spicier.

Political Ostracism of Catholics

On page 20 of this Grand Lodge report was contained a resolution, moved by a Bro. Bennett, and seconded by a Bro. Hoey, by which the Grand Lodge

"Resolved,—That our humble petition be presented to the Grand Lodge of British America, praying that the Constitution of our Association be so amended as to prevent members of our Association voting at any Municipal or Parliamentary election for any person or persons belonging to or in sympathy with the Roman Catholic League, and in the event of their so voting, that they be expelled from our Order."

Not political, indeed! say hon. gentlemen

opposite. Why, this Grand Lodge was not even willing to allow a Roman Catholic to be elected a municipal councillor. (Hear, hear.) And if proof of this were wanted it could be had in another resolution, passed at the same Grand Lodge meeting and published on page 37 of the same report. It was moved by a Bro. Flensing, and seconded by a Bro. Gow, and reads :

"That inasmuch as it is reported that brethren of the Loyal Orange Institution at the recent Parliamentary election voted for a Fenian sympathizer, in preference to a sound Protestant, be it resolved that the District Lodge of Toronto be directed to investigate the matter, and deal with the offending brethren as may be conceived conducive to the best interests of our Institution."

The sound Protestant was Mr. Emerson Coatsworth,—his opponent was Mr. O'Donoghue, and the real offence of the offending brethren—there were not a dozen of them all told—was that they had voted against a Protestant Tory in favour of a Catholic Reformer. (Cheers.)

The Orange Order holds the Political Conscience of its Members.

But amongst the notices of motion, at page 20 of this report, was one by a Brother Dr. Johnston, that he would at the next session of the Grand Lodge move that the Grand Lodge of British America be petitioned to approve of the following resolutions :—

"That on the eve of a Parliamentary election, the R. W. G. Lodge, if in session, or the R. W. G. Master, as per rules Nos. 22 and 78 of Constitution, shall indicate the policy in each Province of Canada, in behalf of the Loyal Orange Association."

"That it shall be the duty of each County Master, in each and every County in which any Parliamentary election is to be held, to call a meeting of his County Orange Lodge, at the earliest practical period previous to such election, to decide in case of contest, which candidate is entitled to, and which, if any, shall receive the support of the Association."

"That after the decision of such County Lodge shall have been arrived at, any Brother violating such decision shall be expelled, or otherwise dealt with, as his private, district, and County Lodge shall determine."

Mr. MERRICK—That was only a notice of motion.

Hon. Mr. FRASER—The hon. gentleman must not rush to hasty conclusions. The notice of motion had its sequel in the next session of the same Grand Lodge, and at page 38 of the report of this session, held at Clinton on the 16th and 17th days of Feb., 1875, it would be found that Bro. Johnson moved, and Bro. James Wilson seconded, and the Grand Lodge assented, unanimously, to the resolutions of which Bro. Johnson had given notice, and without changing them in the

smallest shade or particular. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. MERRICK—But the Grand Lodge of British America took no action.

Hon. Mr. FRASER—The hon. gentleman is much too fast again. (Cheers.) The Grand Lodge of Ontario West petitioned the Grand Lodge of British America in the words of Bro. Johnson's resolutions, and the petition was referred to a Committee, called a Committee on Constitution and Laws. The report of this Committee was, on the motion of Bro. O. R. Gowan, adopted without dissent, and in this report is contained this paragraph, printed at page 40 of the Report of the Session of the Grand Lodge of British America, held at Sarina on the first and second days of June, 1875.

Mr. MERRICK—I was present at that session.

Hon. Mr. FRASER—Then the hon. gentleman ought to have remembered what took place. The paragraph in the report, and which received the assent of this Grand Lodge was this :

"In the matter of notice of Bro. M. E. Holder, and the petition of the Right Worshipful Grand Lodge of Ontario West, your Committee recommend that on the eve of any parliamentary election the County Master shall call a meeting of the County Lodge to consider the Orange policy involved and indicate, in case of contest, which if any of the candidates, is entitled to the support of the Association."

(Cheers.) The Orange policy involved would, in every such case, be the Tory policy—or, if gentlemen opposite, liked it better, the Conservative policy, and the County Lodge would indicate or point out the Tory candidate, and the brethren would have to vote "their man" accordingly (hear, hear,) or "walk the plank." (Laughter.) The political policy of the Orange Association was again the subject of discussion and consideration at the meeting of the Grand Lodge of Ontario West, held in the City of Hamilton, on the fifteenth and sixteenth of February 1876, and again this controlling and central body—the Grand Lodge—passed resolutions, and adopted a political platform. (Hear, hear.)

One Grand Political Phalanx to oppose the Romish Hierarchy.

The motives that were prompting the prompters behind the scenes would be better understood if the House, looking back to that period, would recollect that the Tory leaders were then despairing of being able to keep any section of the Roman Catholics with them, and this platform was formulated to catch support from some other quarter. The Roman Catholics gone, the Tory party had to be recruited from other fields, and the Orange proclamation was made in the resolutions

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"*Resolved*,—That, in the opinion of the Right
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when the Orangemen of Canada, without refer-
ence to politics or political parties, must unite in
one grand political phalanx in order to stop the
encroachments of the Romish Hierarchy upon
the body politic of the country, and that the fol-
lowing platform be adopted:—

"Unswerving and untiring allegiance to the
Mother Country and British connection.

"2. No grants of money from the public purse
for sectarian purposes.

"3. No Separate Schools, but free secular edu-
cation for all.

"4. Taxation for all; taxation of all property
held by religious bodies upon its fair assessment
value.

"5. The opening of all public institutions in the
land, religious or otherwise, to public inspection
by Government officials.

"6. That it shall be the duty of the County Mas-
ter in every Orange County, in the event of a
general election, or other election taking place,
either for the Local or Dominion Parliaments, to
submit the platform to the candidate or candi-
dates to ascertain if they will support them or
not, and then to call a County meeting before the
day of polling, and if neither of the candidates
will support the said platform, then it shall be the
duty of the County Lodge to bring out a candi-
date."

(Hear, hear.) These resolutions were of course
contained in the Grand Lodge report, but
they could also be found published, *in extenso*,
in the *Mail* of 18th February, 1876. He (Mr.
Fraser) drew the special attention of the
House to the *animus* of this Orange platform.
Four of its planks—the second, third, fourth
and fifth—were framed with special hostility
to the Catholics of this Province. The Grand
Lodge, no doubt, believed if no grant of
money were permitted for what it termed
"sectarian purposes," that the Catholic mi-
nority would be the greatest sufferers. As a
further and a greater injury, this "Orange-
political phalanx" was to demand the abolition
of Catholic separate schools, and to add insult
to injury, Catholic convents and the houses of
Catholic Religious Orders, were to be placed
under the control and be subject at all times to
the intrusion and visitation of some official
"Smelling Committee." The last paragraph
of this precious platform meant just this—
that whenever an election came on the County
Masters should call the different lodges together,
assure them that the platform had a sufficient
approbation from the Tory candidate, and
that to him must be given the Orange support
of the County. In other words, they would
be sure to stand by a Conservative candidate
if he was in the field. (Cheers.)

FREEDOM OF OPINION ON POLITICAL SUBJECTS

was not even tolerated in the subordinate
lodges, for on page 43 of the report for
1875 of the Ontario West Orange Lodge
would be found the name of Daniel Mur-

ray, suspended from Lodge No. 404, for
the offence of voting for John O'Donoghue
in the East Toronto election of 1874; and
in the same report, on page 45, the name of
Samuel Parker, expelled from Lodge 140 for
the same reason. Here were two members
expelled for exercising their independent right
to the franchise. Did that mean liberty of
action in these Lodges? He (Mr. Fraser) ap-
prehended that there were very few in these
Lodges who were allowed to know what liberty
of action meant. (Hear, hear.) On page 57
of the report of the Grand Orange Lodge of
British America, appeared Murray's name
again, and on page 40, that of Samuel Parker,
the expulsion of both of whom had been rat-
ified by this Grand Lodge. He had heard it
asserted in the House that although subor-
dinate Lodges thus expelled members for
voting, they were always reinstated by the
Grand Lodge; but here were two expulsions
sustained not only by the Grand Lodge of
Ontario, but by a higher Lodge—the
Grand Lodge of British North America. He
(Mr. Fraser) knew of the cases of two or
three who had voted for himself, and who
were expelled and never reinstated. (Hear,
hear.) The hour was so late that he would
not further trespass upon the attention of
hon. gentlemen. He had adduced sufficient
to make it clear, as he had not been able to
do in the session of 1872, that what he then
stated was accurate, and within the facts—
viz., that this institution was in the largest
sense

A SECRET POLITICAL ASSOCIATION.

Looking, then, to how largely, if not
entirely, political exigencies would actuate
the Grand Lodges—looking to the way
this measure was introduced to the House
this session, and keeping in mind the
various delays that had occurred—or, to
put it more correctly, had been allowed
to occur—he was justified in saying that
the wire-pullers, the political "hedgers"
amongst the leaders of gentlemen opposite,
had prior to the opening of the House determined
to keep this Bill in the background till after the
general elections, hoping that thereby they
might allay some of the feeling of irritation
which had arisen against them among the Ca-
tholics of this Province. They counted upon
the certainty of the Orange vote, and they
hoped that a little manœuvring would secure
some help from the opposite quarter. No
other reason could be suggested for the extra-
ordinary course which had been pursued.
The hon. gentleman who was promoting the
Bill found himself impaled on the horns of
his own excuse, made in the opening days of
the session, and now he had not the slightest
ground for either excuse or argument. In
order that there might be placed on record
the many irregularities and delays in regard

to this particular measure, and in order that the House might be justified in denying this motion, and what in proper and reasonable cases, and when asked as a privilege and a courtesy, is sometimes granted, he proposed the following amendment, seconded by Mr. O'Donoghue:—

"That all the words in the motion after "that" be struck out, and instead thereof the following be substituted, "No notice of the intention to apply to this House for an Act to incorporate the Orange Association of Eastern and Western Ontario has been published, either in the *Ontario Gazette* or any other paper; that the only notice which in any manner could be said to have reference to such an intended application is one alleged to have been published in a newspaper called the *Orange Sentinel*, and is in these words:—

"NOTICE.

"I hereby give notice that an application will be made at the next Session of the Legislature of the Province of Ontario, to incorporate the Loyal Orange Association for Ontario West, and the subordinate Lodges now, or which may hereafter be, under the jurisdiction of the aforesaid Grand Lodge.

"(Signed,)

R. GOURLAY,

"Grand Secretary, Ontario West."

That said last mentioned notice, as published in said *Orange Sentinel*, bears no date whatever, and its first insertion in said newspaper was on the 13th of December last past, being at least two insertions less than required by the rules of this House. That said notice only refers to an intended application for an Act to incorporate the Grand Orange Lodge of Ontario West. That no notice of any intended application for an Act of incorporation has in any manner been given, or published by, or on behalf of, said Grand Orange Lodge of Ontario East; that the irregularity in, and the want of such proper notices respecting the bill mentioned in the original motion, was brought to the attention of this House and its members on the second day of the present session; that thereupon the mover of said original motion, the now promoter of the bill, sought to be introduced, and intitled "An Act to Incorporate the Loyal Orange Association of Eastern and Western Ontario," from his place in this House informed this House in effect that the said Grand Lodges were not intending to ask for an Act of incorporation at this present session, because that by oversight certain petitions in favour of said incorporation, and which were to have been circulated for signa-

ture had not been so circulated, and consequently could not be in readiness for presentation to this House at its present session; that afterwards the said proposed Act of Incorporation was brought before the Standing Orders Committee of this House, and the regularity of the necessary notice therefor inquired into by said Committee, but the promoters of said bill did not produce to said Committee any notice, or the proof of any notice having been given or published either in the *Orange Sentinel*, or otherwise, of the intention to apply for such an Act; that the said Standing Orders Committee so reported to this House on 25th of January last past; that the time for the introduction of private bills at this session expired on 29th January last past, being the 21st day of this session; that if said promoters had desired to proceed regularly, any motion for the suspension of the rules of this House and to permit the introduction and first reading of said bill, ought to have been made not later than said 29th day of January; that instead thereof notice of the proposed original motion was not given until the 8th day of February instant (being the 31st day of this session), and then only to the effect that the said motion would be made upon the 12th day of February instant, but said motion was not then made; that if a private bill were introduced and read a first time to-day, being the forty-eighth day of the session, the rules of this House require that it be referred to the Standing Committee on Private Bills, but before such Committee could consider such bill it must be printed and distributed to members, and five days' clear notice of the time of considering the same by said Committee be posted up in the lobby; that the last day for reporting upon private bills by the said Committee expired upon the 15th day of February instant, and, therefore, any bill only introduced and read a first time this day cannot now regularly be considered or reported upon by said Committee to this House; that none of the rules of this House relating to private bills have been complied with by said promoters, and, therefore it appears to this House that the delay in making said original motion, and the non-compliance with the rules of this House in respect to said proposed bill are inexcusable."

[A motion for the adjournment of the debate was then carried, and the promoters of the bill were excused from having openly to confess that they had nothing to say in reply to Mr. Fraser's brilliant and exhaustive speech, by the fact that the question was not again reached during the few remaining days of the session.]

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