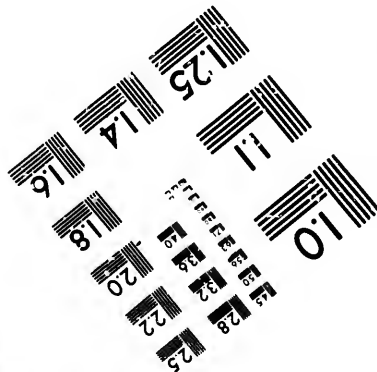
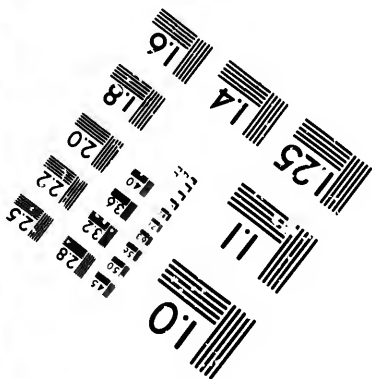
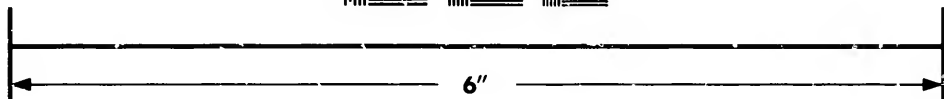
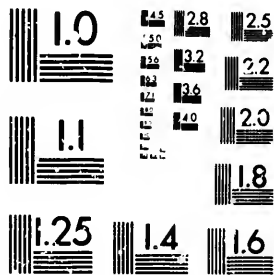


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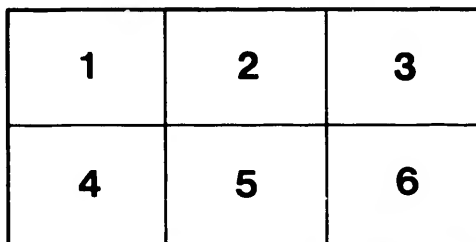
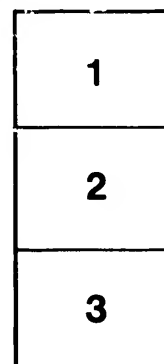
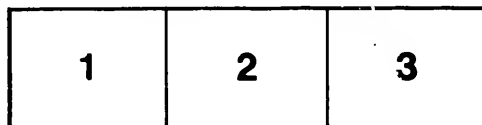
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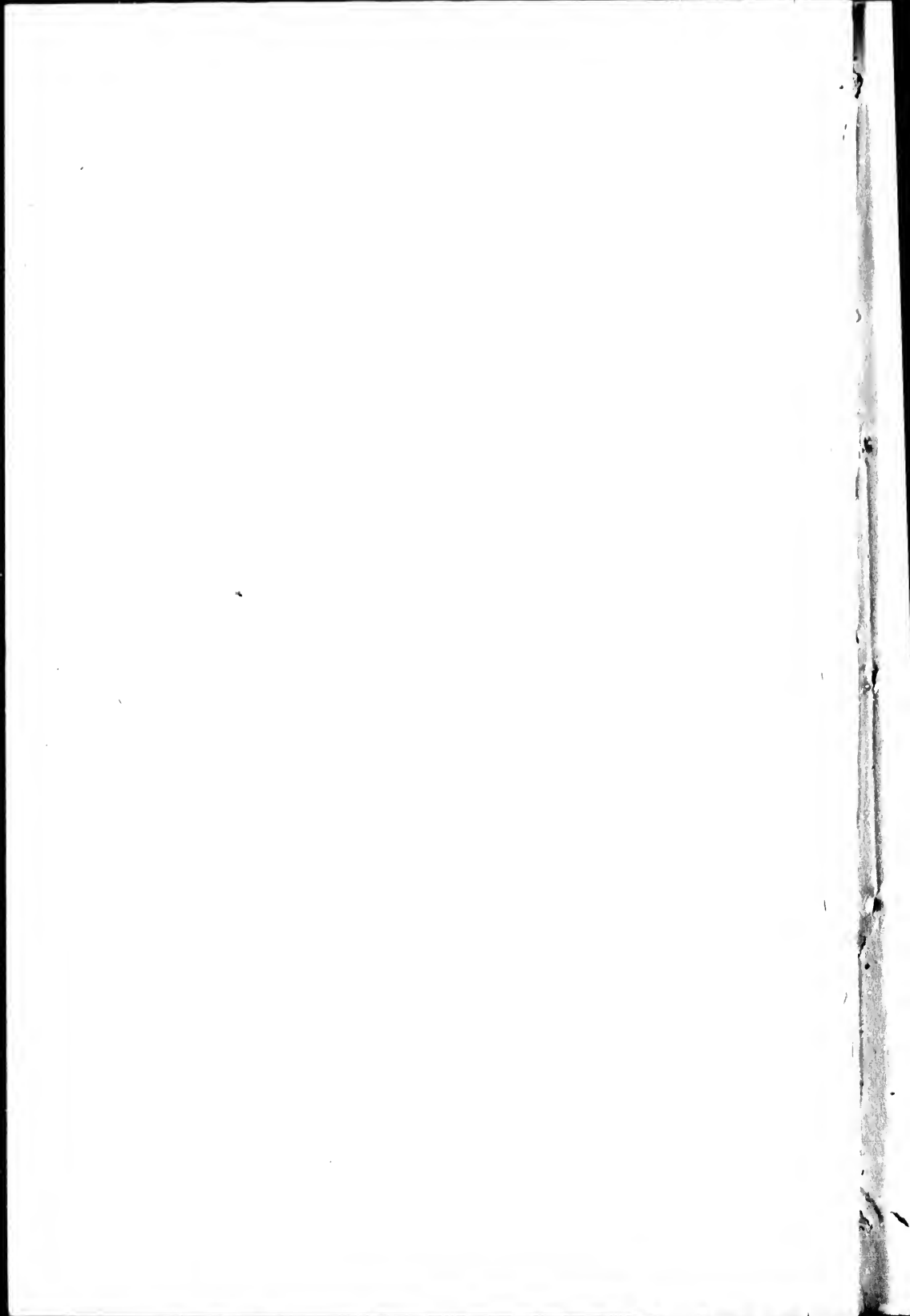
THE
POLITICAL STANDING
OF
IRISH CATHOLICS
IN CANADA ;

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF ITS CAUSES, WITH
SUGGESTIONS FOR ITS AMELIORATION.

BY
J. L. P. O'HANLY,
Civil Engineer.

OTTAWA.

1872.



DEDICATION.

TO JOHN O'DONOHUE ESQ., BARRISTER, &C., &C.

President of Catholic League, Toronto.

MY DEAR SIR:—Permit me to usher this little stranger into life under the sanction of your name; stand sponsor for its veracity that it may gain admission to Irish hearths and access to Irish hearts. Let the lowly wayfarer be stamped with your approbation, and in its wanderings it cannot fail to be greeted with many a “*cead mille failte* ;” adopt the tender nursling that the defects of the *protégé* may be overlooked in the magnanimity of the patron. Though not an offspring of, it can claim near kindred to, the “Catholic League.” For it has been stimulated into being by the warmth and fervour of that thrice-blessed organization, whose wise teachings and patriotic efforts have vivified with new life and renewed hope many a drooping spirit.

The league, as sought to be represented by the enemies of Irish Catholics, is not a political organization. Its aim, as I interpret it from its constitution, is to solidify, to consolidate and concentrate into a combined whole, the great body of our people now scattered and divided, floating on an ocean of doubt and uncertainty, tossed about without guide or rudder by every wind of political doctrine. Its mission is to bring order out of chaos, to teach, to train, to instruct, to educate its members in the fundamental principles of self-government. When that noble and philanthropic object is accomplished, its task will be fulfilled, and it will, like its Irish congener, pass from life to immortality. Then, individuals, under the influence of natura! laws, directed by reason, will gravitate to congenial parties. Then shall no longer be witnessed the demoralizing spectacle of the union of *likes* and *dislikes*, the unholy alliance of antagonistic elements! This is as it should be, for no friend of his country can desire the perpetuation of *politico-religious* societies. Nothing can palliate, much less justify, such

organizations by a majority; and it is only in extreme cases, and for special and temporary purposes that a minority should resort to it.

Is it surprising that the Conservatives with one accord endeavour to disparage the league, asperse its founders and traduce its promoters? They are wise in their generation, they comprehend the situation. They realize the fact that no change can improve their present position. They know that exchange of thought and intelligent discussion would expose their hollowness and lay bare their subterfuges. They know that Irish Catholics are intuitively *liberal*, and have nothing in common with Toryism. They know the ties which have bound us to the conservatives are weak, flimsy, decayed, unfit to resist the least strain, and would snap asunder at the first tug of enlightened and united action. Hence, and very naturally, they are putting forth every effort, straining every nerve, to discomfit the league and crush its supporters. The disguise is too transparent to deceive any one. Have we not sufficient intelligence to thwart their vile machinations?

As the architect of this good edifice, as the artificer of this noble structure, accept this slight tribute of esteem from one who has watched your zeal, devotion and patriotism, from one who is glad to be able to bear testimony to your worth, to your abnegation of self, and your numerous sacrifices for the good object of promoting the amelioration of your race in this colony, and elevating them to that position to which their numbers and intelligence so justly entitle them. Accept this trifling mark of regard from one whose noblest aim would be to follow in your footsteps, whose highest ambition would be to imitate your fidelity and emulate your virtues, whose greatest glory would be to be a disciple and participator in the good works you have initiated, and whose highest honour would be to be deemed worthy of a niche in your memory. Permit me then to offer this dedication as a token, however unworthy, of the respect and esteem in which you are held by

An humble Irishman,

THE WRITER.

Ottawa, 15th June, 1872.

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TO THE IRISH CATHOLICS OF CANADA.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

In venturing to address you, I am not insensible of my inability to do justice to a subject which so materially affects your social *status* and worldly prosperity; neither am I ambitious of the notoriety which necessarily appertains to so grave and novel a position. I already feel tottering under the burden of my self-imposed task. Before I have yet donned the armour, I would fain withdraw from a responsibility to which I am unequal. Did I but consult my own feelings I would gladly shrink from an ordeal that can bring me naught but visions of glory, naught but the shadows of fame. Cheerfully would I resign my pen into hands more capable of vindicating your cause: gladly would I abdicate in favour of one more competent to shape, control and influence your destiny. I have waited long and patiently in the fond hope that some one, more worthy of your confidence, would step into the breach to demolish the idol at whose shrine we have been fatally worshipping, to slay the hydra that has led us captive, to break the siren spell that we have been following to our own destruction; and if, at last, I have yielded to the emergency, have plucked up courage sufficient to approach this momentous question; if I have dared to file an appearance and grapple with the evil; if I have ventured to remonstrate, to raise a warning voice, I do so with a consciousness that my motives will be impugned, my words misconstrued, my aspirations misrepresented—a reward by no means tempting to ambition or luring to cupidity.

Being entirely unknown to fame, to many, probably, to most of you, I am an utter stranger, even in name, to those who know me only by report, there is little that is inviting to a prolonged acquaintance. There are, however, a few who know me intimately, and whose good opinion I value more than any earthly heritage, who will give me credit, at least, for sincerity and disinterestedness. He who aspires to address, to admonish, to counsel half a million of his brethren, he who even in appearance assumes the

role of dictator to so large, and, what should ordinarily be, so powerful a class, presumes very far on their forbearance, unless his claims to a hearing are well founded—not mere pretensions. This consideration suggests a brief autobiography. Were I egotistical I might assure you that, as a civil engineer, and surveyor, I am second to none in this Dominion. But you would say such acquirements are always superfluous, sometimes dangerous, in a race proscribed, in a class whose predestined mission is thought to be the hewing of wood and drawing of water. I might point with pride or sorrow, according to the predominance of the faculties thus manifested, to the heaps of abuse and slander that have been piled on my head, because occasionally I had the temerity to refute malicious and false attacks on you, and by implication on me. I might elicit your sympathy by narrating how with unprovoked wrath I have been assailed and denounced as a “Fenian,” though I never had the good or ill fortune of having knowingly set eyes on a single member of that abhorred association. I might tell you that I have been falsely maligned, basely traduced because I have sometimes volunteered to defend your virtues or palliate your errors. But methinks I hear you exclaim: “This is not unusual, our history is replete with instances of abuse and persecution of our best men—always proportional to the ability of him traduced—it is a fate from which none who plays that part, is exempt. Every name we revere, every shrine we worship has been the object of calumny and misrepresentation.” I might also inform you that it has been my misfortune to incur the displeasure of those in whose behalf and for whose amelioration I would make any sacrifice, because I prefer to stem the current of popular prejudice than yield my own convictions, rather than swerve from what I consider the path of duty. I might add, that through good and evil report I have unflinchingly adhered to my principles—those principles which I believe would tend to your elevation, to your prosperity—when the temptation to abandon them was, if not irresistible, very strong indeed. If I desired to speak in laudation, I could tell you that I never injured a human being, even in thought, and having spent over twenty years of my life on the Ottawa, I can challenge any living man, aye, and the dead too, if they could rise from the grave to give testimony, to lay his finger on any word or deed of mine that would bring a blush to the brow of any respectable man. Yet no effort has been spared that combined envy and malice could effect to injure my personal and professional prospects, wholly because I adhered to opinions which were neither fashionable nor in the ascendant in the locality where my lot was cast—because, as my friends say, I have, for the last seventeen years, in an uncongenial element, carried “George Brown” and the “Globe” as a millstone round my neck. Had I been more pliant, had I studied self, discarded truth and honour, my reputation to-day would have been vastly

different, and I might be a leading man in the district which fate allotted as my expatriated home. I have chosen otherwise, and have naught to regret.

In looking back at my past life I can congratulate myself that if it has not brought me wealth and honours—gifts, at best transient—it has brought me what I value still more—self-respect, and a consciousness of having always endeavoured faithfully to do my duty, however barren the pursuit, however unpleasant the task, however thankless the policy. I might continue in this strain to cite numerous reasons in justification of my claims to a patient hearing at your hands. But no, I shall abruptly break off, and content myself in urging one, and only one single reason—Truth, be it spoken from lips, never so humble, is still truth. Let this constitute the Alpha and Omega of my claim.

To a correct understanding of my position, it is desirable that I should guard against being considered the “would be” champion of any particular race or creed. I neither seek nor desire so invidious a distinction. I am in no communion with anyone who wishes to extend, foster or inculcate national strife or sectarian discord. We form in this country a heterogeneous mass composed of all races and all religions, our aim should be to blend them all into one united community. In order to achieve this we must judge leniently each other's foibles. In contrasting ourselves with our neighbours we should examine our convictions, lest we may have been nursing prejudices for principles, and, though convinced of their rectitude, they must be incorporated without violence, without compulsion in the national maxims. We must harmonize our feelings by mutual compromise. We should endeavour to fix and utilize the good characteristics of each of the many elements which compose our people. By a wise toleration, we should guard against any act that has the semblance of partiality, for this is the harbinger of distrust, the parent of discontent. Our policy, if we wish to achieve greatness, must be centered in equal laws; even-handed justice to all, irrespective of clime or colour. Though I shall be compelled in addressing you to conform to the manner of sectarian civilization, no word I shall utter will bear a sectarian construction. I shall appeal to your reason only; my endeavour shall be to point out the path of duty and self-interest. I would incite you to seek no special privileges. I would urge you to ask for nothing that you are not ready to concede to all others.

Perhaps it may not be out of place to explain why in addressing you I have chosen this particular juncture—the eve of a general election. There is an impression abroad, in the main correct, that at such periods *great men* and *little* come down from their high places, and deign to consort with their masters—the *people*. The servant for a brief period recognizes in a sort of patronizing way the source of power. The people are not unfrequently flattered

by the apparent condescension, and too apt to forget their duty and responsibility in the smiles and blandishments of, perhaps, a betrayer. It is for the purpose of reminding you that soon shall you be masters, but only for a few days; to caution you against an indiscreet use of your power; to remind you that this inestimable privilege is a quintennial plant that blooms only once in every five years; to point out to you that your prosperity or adversity, so far as these are influenced by legislation and government, depend on the choice you make, that "as you sow so shall you reap," and if you "sow the wind you will surely reap the whirlwind." Do not be flattered out of your common sense by this seeming condescension; let not the friendly greetings or honeyed sentences lure your vigilance. Exercise your reason—your only safe-guard—the only tribunal to which you are amenable—trust not the guidance of others, who are not only as frail and fallible as yourselves, but may be actuated by selfish considerations entirely at variance with the common good. Harken not to those, no matter what their vocation, who have near relations to aggrandize. They would sell your bodies if not your souls: they would barter away your rights, they would sell your liberties for the smallest modicum of pottage for themselves. Beware of them, they are "wolves in sheep's clothing." This is why I have chosen the present moment to address you. If this opportunity is let slip, all that could be said for five years would be, at best, unavailing regret, adding remorse to the bitter draught.

THE SUBJECT CONSIDERED.

In examining my subject I have found it convenient to divide it into two parts or branches. The first part shall comprise Administration, the second Legislation.

1ST. PART. ADMINISTRATION.

Administration, in its most comprehensive sense, includes all the functions of government—carrying out of the laws, dispensing of patronage, conserving the social fabric from decay and anarchy, stimulating progress, rebuking vice, approving virtue. As all the public service is administered through subordinates, it is a wise and salutary precaution that holds a Ministry responsible for the acts of its servants. It is of the utmost importance to each individual member of society that none should be selected to these great public trusts but those who by training and ability, by good conduct and spotless reputation, are competent to discharge these duties satisfactorily and without prejudice to any class. The fundamental qualification is education. For it renders its possessor cosmopolitan. It raises him above the petty strifes and discords

of warring sectaries and contending factions. Its elevating qualities and ennobling precepts make him a fit arbiter of even-handed justice. It knocks off the sharp corners and tones down the projecting angles of prejudice. It reduces the inequalities by which hostile surfaces are brought into friendly, harmonious contact. It is the lubricator of the moral machinist, the chisel of the social sculptor. It is also of the utmost importance in a mixed community like ours that selections to places of high public trust should be made without prejudice to any class. All should be made to feel that each is the equal of every other. Anything that has the semblance of proscription, that smacks of ostracism, is fraught with the greatest danger to the peace, progress and prosperity of the country. Whatever tends to create doubt or raise distrust in the minds of any section of the people should be speedily palliated by immediate redress and removal. He who countenances, much less encourages, preferences arising from differences of race or creed is the very worst enemy of his country. Besides the foregoing, there are two other reasons which appear to me to justify the reasonable expectation that the great divisions—national and religious elements—which characterise our society should be fully and fairly represented in the conduct of public affairs: (1.) That each class contributes to the revenue more in proportion to numbers than any arbitrary social classification; and (2.) that while man is imperfect and flesh frail, individuals will, as a rule, feel more at ease when their interests are in the keeping of their brethren than in the hands of strangers, if I may use the expression. The reason is quite obvious. Therefore I take it, the share, which any of the great divisions of our society founded on national and religious differences, has in the management of public affairs is a good criterion of its political status—an accurate measure of its influence in society. It is by this standard that I propose in the following pages to gauge the position of Irish Catholics as a numerous constituent of the Canadian people. It would be better such extraneous distinctions were merged in a Canadian nationality—a consummation devoutly to be wished for. But in redressing a grievance, in effecting a reform, we must deal with society as we find it, and not as we would wish it to be, always hoping that it may be gradually developed to its fullest perfection.

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS.

This inquiry shall embrace the Provinces now constituting "old" Canada, and the Dominion Capital. For convenience of examination I shall divide it into four territorial divisions, numbered respectively 1, 2, 3 and 4.

Territorial Division No. 1 shall consist of the counties on either side bordering on the Ottawa River.

Territorial Division No. 2 shall comprise the Province of Ontario.

Territorial Division No. 3 shall consist of the Province of Quebec.

Territorial Division No. 4 shall include the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec under Federal authority, the Metropolis of Canada and a few references to the whole Dominion.

My figures shall be taken from the public records, and I trust that it shall appear that my deductions are the natural inferences, the logical conclusions from these figures.

PUBLIC EMPLOYEES.

My classification of the public *employees* and of the population shall be partly artificial, partly natural—artificial as founded on religious differences, natural on distinctions of nationality. I shall divide the whole population conformably with its two great religious sections—Catholic and Protestant—for all other distinctions seem minor perturbations, like the ripple on a wave, and merge in these. The former I shall sub-divide into English and French-speaking. The whole English-speaking sub-division I shall designate *Irish*, as the overwhelming majority belong to that nationality, and the French-speaking Catholics, *French*.

TERRITORIAL DIVISION NO. 1.

The 1st Territorial Division I shall sub-divide into the Southern and Northern Districts.

THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT

shall comprise the City of Ottawa and counties of Prescott, Russell, Carleton and Renfrew—all in the Province of Ontario.

THE NORTHERN DISTRICT

consists of the counties of Argenteuil, Ottawa and Pontiac—all in the Province of Quebec.

As the denominational census for 1871 is not yet published, I have assumed that the two great divisions of the population—Catholic and Protestant—bear the same relative proportion to one another as in 1861.

TABLE OF POPULATION.

1ST. PART, SOUTHERN DISTRICT.

Name.	1861.			1871.		
	Catholic.	Protestant.	Total.	Catholic.	Protestant.	Total.
Ottawa City.....	8267	6402	14669	12309	9245	21545
Prescott County.....	9621	5878	15499	10900	6747	17647
Russell.....	3518	3306	6824	4480	4216	8696
Carleton.....	10041	19579	29620	10836	20651	31487
Renfrew.....	8569	11756	20325	11800	16174	27974
Total.....	40013	46921	86937	50316	57073	107349

2nd. PART, NORTHERN DISTRICT.

Argenteuil County.....	4696	8201	12897	4660	8145	12805
Ottawa.....	19893	7864	27757	27700	10897	38597
Pontiac.....	7255	6002	13257	8610	7181	15791
Total.....	31844	22067	53911	40970	26223	67193

Population of Southern District, 1871,.....	50316	57073	107349
“ Northern “ “	40970	26223	67193

Total “ Ottawa Division “	91286	83296	174542
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So that for Territorial Division No. 1, comprising the Ottawa country, we have about 91 Catholics to every 83 Protestants, or nearly as 9 to 8.

TABLE 1

Contains a classification of all the Officials in the Southern District appointed under Municipal and Cognate Authority.

1ST. PART, OTTAWA CITY.

Service	By whom appointed.	Catholic.		Protestant.
		Irish.	French.	
City Clerk	Municipal Council	“	“	1
“ Chamberlain	“ “	“	“	1
“ Collector of Taxes	“ “	“	“	1
“ Engineer	“ “	“	“	1
“ “ of Bridges	“ “	“	“	1
“ Clerk of works of Bridges	“ “	“	“	1
“ High Bailiff	“ “	“	“	1
“ Solicitor	“ “	“	“	1
“ Inspector of Schools	“ “	“	“	1

City	Service.	By whom appointed.	Catholic.		Protestant
			Irish.	French.	
	Health Inspector	" "	"	"	1
"	Fire Inspector	" "	"	"	1
"	" " assistant	" "	"	1	"
"	Health Wardens	" "	"	1	1
"	Assessors	" "	"	1	2
"	Chief of Police	" "	"	"	1
"	Auditors	" "	1	"	1
"	Overseers of street labourers	" "	1	"	1
"	Engineer's man	" "	1	"	"
"	High School Trustees	" "	"	"	6
"	Secretary of Water Commissioners	" "	"	"	1
"	Engineer	" "	"	"	1
"	" " assistant	" "	"	"	1
"	License Inspector, Police Commissioners	" "	"	"	1
"	Detectives	" "	1	"	1
"	Police Sergeants	" "	1	"	1
"	Clerk of Police Court, Police magistrate	" "	"	"	1
"	High School Teachers, High School Trustees	" "	"	"	5
"	" " Secretary	" "	"	"	1
"	" " Treasurer	" "	"	"	1
"	Total	" " " "	5	3	37

So that the Irish Catholics of this City, who comprise a fourth of its population, have, of City Officials, a detective, a sergeant, an overseer of street labourers, Engineer's man, and an auditor for their share of the patronage. What magnanimity, what even-handed justice!

Catholic to Protestant Municipal officials in Ottawa City as 1 to 5
 " " " population " " " 4 " 3

2ND. PART—COUNTIES OF PRESCOTT, RUSSELL, CARLETON, AND RENFREW.

County Clerks	County Council	Catholic.		Protestant.
		Irish.	French.	
" Treasurers	" "	"	"	3
" Auditors	" "	"	"	3
" Gaol Physicians	" "	1	"	5
" Surveyors	" "	"	"	3
" Architect	" "	"	"	3
" Inspectors of Schools	" "	"	"	1
" High School Trustees	" "	"	"	3
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Service.	Catholic.		Protestant.
	Irish.	French.	
County Teachers, High School Trustees	"	"	10
" Secretaries " "	"	"	5
" Treasurers " "	"	"	5
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Total,	1	"	71
" Ottawa City,	5	3	38
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" Municipal appointments, &c., in Southern districts,	6	3	109
Catholic to Protestant Municipal appointments in Southern district,	as 1 to 12 nearly.		
Catholic to Protestant population, Southern District	as 1 " 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ "		

TABLE II

Contains Appointments under Local Government.*

1ST. PART—CITY OF OTTAWA.

	Catholic.		Protestant.
	Irish.	French.	
Civil Service—Registrar	"	"	1
" Deputy	"	"	1
" Clerk	"	"	1
Administration of Justice—Police Magistrate	1	"	"
Coroners	"	1	1
1st. Division Court clerk	"	"	1
" " " assistant	"	"	1
" " " Bailiff	"	"	1
Issuer of Tavern Licences	"	"	1
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	1	1	8

2ND. PART—COUNTIES OF PRESCOTT, RUSSELL, CARLETON AND RENFREW.

Civil Service—Registrars	"	"	4
" Deputy	"	"	2
Crown Land Agents	1	"	2
Issuer of Licences	1	"	2
Administration of Justice—Sheriffs	"	"	3
" Deputies	1	"	2
Gaolers	1	"	2
County Court Clerks, &c.	"	"	3

*It will be observed that the appointments now called local in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, as well as those denominated Federal, were mostly made by the Canadian Government prior to Confederation.

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	Catholic. Irish, French.	Protestant.
Administration of Justice—Registrars of Surrogate Court	"	3
County Crown Attorneys	"	3
Clerks of the Peace	"	3
Coroners (1866)	3	35
Division Court Clerks	1	21
Total,	8	85
Total City of Ottawa	1	8
Total Appointments by Local Government, in Southern District	9	93
Catholic to Protestant Officials appointed by Local Government in Southern District	as 1 to 7	nearly
" " Population Southern District	as 1 " 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	"

TABLE III.

Contains the Appointments under Federal authority.*

1ST. PART—CITY OF OTTAWA.

	Catholic Irish.	Protestant. French.
Civil Service—Collector of Customs	"	1
Surveyor	"	1
Clerk	"	1
" assistant	"	1
Appraiser	"	1
Landing Waiters	1	2
Messenger	1	"
Collector of Inland Revenue	"	1
Excisemen	"	2
Postmaster	"	1
" Assistant	"	1
Post Office clerks, 2nd. class	"	2
" " 3rd. "	1	2
" " 4th. " &c.	1	7
" letter-carriers, messengers, &c.	"	4
Superintendent Rideau canal	"	1
Overseer	"	1
Collector of Tolls	"	1
Lockmaster	"	1
Clerk	"	1

*These appointments are independent of the seat of Government removal to Ottawa.

Protestant.

3
3
3
35
21

85
8

93

Protestant.
nearly

		Catholic.	Protestant.
		Irish, French.	
Civil Service—Messenger		" "	1
Superintendent Ottawa Slides		" "	1
Accountant	" "	" "	1
Clerk	" "	" "	1
Slidemaster	" "	" "	1
Messsenger	" "	" "	1
Crown Timber Agent		" "	1
Issuer of Licenses		" "	1
Draughtsman		" "	1
Clerks		1 "	1
Collector of Slide dues		" "	1
Messenger		" 1	"
Issuer of Marriage Licenses		" "	1
Immigration Agent		" "	1
Overseer of Fisheries		" "	1
Ordnance Lands Agent		" "	1
" " Clerks		" "	2
" " Bailiff		" "	1
" " Messenger		" "	1
		<hr/> 5	<hr/> 5
			51

2ND. PART—COUNTIES OF PRESCOTT, RUSSELL, CARLETON, AND RENFREW.

Protestant.

1
1
1
1
1
2
"
1
2
1
1
2
2
7

Administration of Justice—County Court Judges	" "		3
Civil Service—Postmasters in incorporated villages	" "		5
Total	" "		8
Total City of Ottawa	5	5	51
<hr/>			
Total appointments by Federal Government in Southern District	5	5	59
Catholic to Protestant Appointments by Federal Government, Southern District as 1 to 6 nearly			
" " Population ... as 1 to 1 $\frac{1}{5}$ "			
Total appointments by local Government in Southern District	9	3	93
" " Federal, Southern District	3	5	59
" Public Employees	"	12	8
Catholic to Protestant Public Employees	" as 1 to 8 nearly		
" " Population	"	1	" $\frac{1}{5}$
Total Municipal Employees	"	6	3
Total Public	"	12	8
		<hr/> 18	<hr/> 11
Total Employees Public Service of	"	"	261

Catholic to Protestant Employees in Public Service

“ Population “ “ as 1 to 9
 “ “ “ “ 1 “ $1\frac{1}{2}$

The disparity by the amount of salaries respectively received is very much greater than the numerical proportion.

TABLE IV.

Contains Members of Legislature and Municipal Bodies in Southern District

	Catholic		Protestant
	Irish	French	
Ottawa City—Aldermen	3	3	9
County Councils—Councillors	5	1	44
Legislature—Local Assembly—Members	1	“	5
“ House of Commons— “	“	“	6
Senate	“	“	1
Total Municipal Councillors Southern District	8	4	53
“ Legislators “ “	1	“	12

THE NORTHERN DISTRICT.

The Northern District comprises the Counties of Argenteuil, Ottawa and Pontiac.

TABLE V.

Contains all the Appointments under the Local and Federal Governments in Northern District.

1ST. PART—LOCAL APPOINTMENTS.

	Catholic		Protestant
	Irish	French	
Civil Service—Crown Land Agents	2	1	4
Registrars	“	“	3
School Inspectors	“	1	2
Collector of Licenses	1	“	2
Administration of Justice—Prothonotary	“	“	1
Clerk of Peace	“	“	1
“ Crown	“	“	1
“ Circuit Court	“	“	1
Crier of Court	“	1	“
Gaoler	1	“	“
Sheriff	“	1	“
High Constable	“	“	1
Coroner	“	“	1
Gaol Physician	“	“	1
Clerks County Circuit Courts	1	1	2
Total	5	5	20

2ND. PART—APPOINTMENTS BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

	Catholic. Irish.	Protestant. French.	
Civil Service—Money order Post Offices	“	1	9
Country “	5	3	43
Administration of Justice—Judge of Supreme Court	“	1	“
Total	5	5	52
Total Employees of Local Government, Northern Dis- trict	5	5	20
Catholic to Protestant Official’s “ as	1	to 2	
“ “ population “ “	1	“ 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Total employees of Federal Government “	5	5	52
Catholic to Protestant “ as	1	to 5	
“ “ population “ “	1	“ 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Total employees of Local Government “	5	5	20
“ “ Federal “ “	5	5	52
“ Public employees “ “	10	10	72
Catholic to Protestant “ as	1	to 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	
“ “ population “ “	1	“ 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Total employees in Government service Southern District	12	8	152
“ “ “ “ Northern “	10	10	72
“ “ “ “ 1st. Territo- rial Division, (Ottawa)	22	18	224
Catholic to Protestant “ as	1	to 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ nearly	
“ “ population “ “	1	“ 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	

Here again the disparity would be still greater by salaries than by numbers.

TERRITORIAL DIVISION NO. 2.

The Second Territorial Division comprises the Province of Ontario, formerly called Upper Canada or Canada West. The same relative proportion of Catholics to Protestants is assumed as in 1861.

POPULATION.

	1861		1871	
	Catholic	Protestant	Total	Total
Ontario,	258,141	1,137,950	1,396,091	300,000 1,320,842 1,620,842

TABLE VI.

contains a list of the appointments in Ontario under Local and Federal authority.

1ST. PART—LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

Civil Service—		Catholic.	Protestant.
Attorney-General's Department—	Chief clerk, &c.	"	2
	Messenger, &c.	1	1
Provincial Secretary's	Assistant and Chief Clerk,	"	2
" Registrar's	Chief Clerks,	"	2
	Messengers, &c.,		
Treasurer's	Chief Clerk and Accountant,	"	2
	Clerks, &c.,	"	3
	Messengers,	"	1
Agriculture, &c.	Secretary, Engineers, &c.	"	4
	Accountant, Clerks, &c.	"	4
	Messenger	"	1
Public Instruction	Superintendent and Deputy	"	2
	Chief Clerks	"	5
	Clerks, &c.	"	8
	Messengers	1	1
Crown Lands	Assistant and Heads of branches	1	5
	Clerks, &c.	2	12
	Messengers	"	2
Civil Services, (outside)—	Crown Timber Agents and Assistants	"	3
	Clerks, &c.	1	3
	Messengers	"	1
	Crown Land Agents	1	19
	Mining Inspectors	"	2
	Registrars	1	54
	Issuer of Licenses, &c	1	45
Total Civil Service (Ontario Local)		9	184
Administration of Justice—	Sheriffs	"	37
	Clerks of Peace	1	36
	County Attorneys	1	36
	" Court Clerks, &c.	1	36
	Registrars, Surrogate Court	1	36
	Police Magistrates	1	15
	Stipendiary	1	"
	Clerk of Crown and Pleas, (Queen's Bench)	1	"

2
1
2
2
2
3
1
4
4
1
2
5
8
1
5
12
2
3
3
1
19
2
54
45
34
37
6
6
6
5
“
“

	Catholic.	Protestant.
Administration of Justice—Clerks	“	3
“ (Common Pleas)	“	1
1st. Clerk Crown office	“	1
Ushers and Criers of Court	1	1
Clerk process courts and assistant	“	2
Master in Chancery	“	1
Clerks	“	3
Registrar, Court of Chancery	“	1
Clerks	“	6
Messengers of courts	“	2
Inspector of gaols	“	1
Coroners (1866)	20	481
Penetanguishene Reformatory—Warden	1	“
Deputy	“	1
Surgeon and kitchen-keeper	“	2
Lunatic Asylum—Medical Superintendents	“	3
Public Institutions—Assistants, Bursar, Clerks, &c.	“	4
Stewards, Matrons and Engineers	“	8
Deaf & Dumb “ Superintendents		
Surgeon, Steward, Clerks, &c.		
Agricultural College—Superintendent & Professors		
Gardener, Clerks, &c.		
Technological “ Director and Professors		
	} All Protestants, could not ascertain the number.	
Total	29	753
Legislative employees—		
Clerk and Assistant	“	2
Printer and Law clerk	“	2
Sergeant and Clerk of Routine	“	2
Messengers, &c.	1	1
Total Legislative Employees	1	7
“ Civil Service	9	184
“ Administration of Justice, &c.	29	753
Total of Local Government Employees in Ontario	39	944
Catholic to Protestant Employees	as 1	to 25
“ “ population	“ 1	“ 5

The disparity would be still greater according to salaries.

2ND. PART—FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

	Catholic	Protestant
Civil Service—City Post offices—Postmasters	“	5
“ Assistants	“	5
1st class clerks	“	2

	Catholic.	Protestants.
Civil Service—City Post Offices—2nd “ “	2	14
3rd “ “	4	14
4th “ “	3	19
Probationary	2	12
Letter-carriers, &c.	2	17
Messengers, &c.	“	9
Postmasters in Towns and incorporated villages	6	213
Post office Inspectors	“	4
“ 1st class clerks	“	1
“ 2nd “ “	“	3
“ 3rd “ “	1	8
“ Probationary, &c.	“	5
“ Messenger, &c.	1	3
Collectors of Customs	1	50
Surveyors “	1	13
Appraisers “	“	5
Landing waiters “	13	80
Preventive officers “	1	11
Clerks “	“	24
Sub-collector “	“	1
Lockers “	1	7
Packers “	“	2
Messengers, porters, &c., Customs	1	8
Excise—Collectors	1	19
“ Deputies	2	13
Excisemen	8	57
Inspectors of petroleum	“	2
Preventive Officers and Messengers	“	2
Deputy Receiver General	“	1
Canals—Collectors of Tolls	1	10
Clerks	“	7
Inspector	“	1
Superintendents	“	3
Assistant Engineer	“	1
Rodman, &c.	1	“
Slides—Superintendents	“	2
Accountant and clerk	“	2
Slidemasters	1	8
Fisheries—Overseers	1	24
Superintendent	“	1
Marine—Light-house keepers	4	60
Superintendent	“	1
Immigration—Agents	“	4
Administration of Justice—Clerk	“	1
Penitentiary—Warden	“	1
“ Deputy	“	1

	Catholic.	Protestant.
Penitentiary—Clerks	1	1
Surgeon	“	1
Architect	“	1
Store-keeper and school-master	1	1
Rockwood Asylum—Warden	“	1
Architects	1	1
Clerk and store-keeper	“	2
Superior Courts—Judges	“	10
County “ “	“	36
“ “ “ Assistants	1	3
		<hr/>
Total Federal employees for Ontario	64	872
Catholic to Protestant Federal employees in Province of Ontario	as 1	to 14
“ “ population “ “	“ 1	“ 5

By salaries the disproportion would be very largely increased.

3RD. PART—LEGISLATIVE.

House of Assembly	5	77
Executive—Ministers	1	5
Catholic to Protestant members in Ontario	as 1	to 15
“ “ population “	“ 1	“ 5
“ “ Ministers “	“ 1	“ 5
“ “ population “	“ 1	“ 5
Total employees Local Government of Ontario	39	994
“ “ Federal “ “	64	872
		<hr/>
“ “ Public service “	103	1720
Catholic to Protestant employees	as 1	to 17
“ “ population “	“ 1	“ 5

The salaries would stand in the proportion of about 1 to 100.

TERRITORIAL DISTRICT, NO. 3.

The third Territorial District consists of the Province of Quebec, formerly called Lower Canada or Canada East. The English and French-speaking Catholics and the Protestants are respectively assumed to bear the same ratio to one another now as in 1861.

POPULATION.

	Catholic	Protestant.	Total
	Irish	French	
Quebec,	1861—96,414	846,320	167,930
	1871—103,260	907,000	180,245
			1,110,664
			1,190,505

TABLE VII.

Contains a List of Local and Federal Appointments in the Province of Quebec.

1ST PART—LOCAL GOVERNMENT

		Catholic	Protestant
		Irish	French
Civil Service (inside)—Governor's Office—			
	Aide-de-camp	" 1	" "
	Messenger	" 1	" "
Executive Council Department—Clerks, &c.			
	Messengers, &c.	" 2	" "
Provincial Secretary's	Assistant and Clerks	" 2	1
	Accountant and Clerks	" 3	" "
	Messengers, &c.	" 2	" "
" Registrar's	Deputy & Clerks	" 2	" "
	Messenger	" 1	" "
Crown Law	Assistant & Clerk	" 1	1
	Messenger	" 1	" "
Provincial Treasurer's	Assistant & Auditor	" 1	1
	Book-keepers and Clerks	1 3	3
	Messengers, &c.	" 1	1
Crown Lands	Assistant & Surveyor General	" 2	" "
	Surveyors and Draughtsmen	" 1	2
	Clerks, Heads of branches, &c.	1 9	7
	Messengers, &c.	1 2	" "
Public Instruction—Assistant and Secretary			
	Clerks	" 4	1
	Messenger	" 1	" "
Privy Council	Queen's, Book-keeper and Clerk	1 2	" "
Asst. Secy.	, &c., Department—Asst., Secretary, &c.	" 2	" "
	Inspectors, Clerks, &c.	" 5	2
	Messenger	" 1	" "
Civil Service (Outside)—School Inspectors			
	License Collectors	1 13	8
	Registrars	" 41	17
	Crown Land Agents	2 12	5
	Deputy-Registrars	" 16	1

	Catholics.		Protestants
	Irish.	French.	
Immigration—Agents, &c.	1	3	4
Registration—Heads of branches, Clerks, &c.	"	14	1
Normal Schools—Professors, &c.	3	15	7
	13	177	70
Administration of Justice— Sheriffs	1	15	5
Coroners	"	16	8
Clerks of Crown and Pleas	1	15	3
Clerks of Circuit Court	3	37	20
" " deputy	2	5	2
Prothonotaries	1	16	8
" deputy	"	10	4
High Constables	1	15	4
Crier of Courts	1	20	7
" Assistants	2	3	1
Translators and Interpreters	1	3	"
Other Clerks, Writers, &c.	1	41	19
Deputy-Sheriffs	"	3	6
Clerks, &c., in Sheriffs' Offices	1	4	3
Gaol Physicians	"	3	1
Judge of Sessions and Police	"	2	"
Recorders	1	1	"
Police—Chief Superintendent and Commissioner	"	3	"
District Magistrates	1	3	1
Prisons—Inspectors	"	2	1
Reformatory—Warden, Deputy and Surgeon	"	1	2
Steward, Foreman and Overseer	"	1	2
Public Institutions—Lunatic Asylum (St. John) Superintendent, &c.	1	2	"
	18	231	97
Legislative Employees— Clerks of both Houses	"	1	1
" Assistant "	"	2	1
Chief Office Clerks, &c.	1	11	4
Clerks, Writers	2	10	1
Messengers, &c.	1	8	1
Total Employees, Legislation. Quebec	4	32	8

		Catholic.	Protestants.
		Irish.	French.
Total Employees Civil Service.	Quebec	13 177	70
" " Administration of Justice, &c.	"	18 231	97
<hr/>			
Total Employees by Local Government	"	35 440	175
Irish to French to Protestant	"	as 1 to 12½	to 5
" " " population "	"	" 1 " 9	" 1¼

2ND PART—APPOINTMENTS BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

	Catholic.	Protestant
	Irish.	French.
Civil Service (Outside)—City Postmasters	" 1	1
" " Assistants	" "	2
1st class Clerks	1 2	2
2nd " "	2 4	2
3rd " "	2 12	10
4th " " &c.	2 6	6
Letter Carriers, Messengers, &c.	11 17	4
Money-order Postmasters	5 30	45
Customs—Collectors	" 3	15
Surveyors	" "	4
Landing Waiters	5 12	22
Clerks	11 14	16
Preventive Officers	2 1	13
Sub-Collectors	" 1	3
Appraisers and Assistants	" 7	7
Lockers and Assistants	3 2	5
Tide Surveyors	" 2	2
Messengers, &c.	4 4	3
Excise—Collectors	" 4	4
" Deputies, &c.	1 4	1
Excisemen	3 11	2
Clerks	1 2	1
Watchmen, &c.	1 1	1
Canals—Collectors	1 2	3
Superintendents	" 1	3
Slides—	" 1	1
Masters	" 4	4
River Police—Chiefs	" 1	1
Marine—Agent	" "	1
Fisheries—Overseers	1 17	11
Light Houses—Keepers	4 44	9
Steamers—Masters	" 2	1

	Catholics, Irish, French.	Protestants
Post Office—Inspectors and Assistant Clerks, &c.	1	2
Messengers, &c.	2	3
	1	"
Total	63	215
Deduct Messengers, &c.	16	22
	47	193
Irish to French and to Protestant Employees as	1 to 4½	to 4½
" " " Population	" 1 " 9	" 1½
Administration of Justice—Queen's Bench Judges	1	2
Superior Court	" 1	12
Admiralty	" "	" "
Registrar and Marshal	" 1	1
Total Administration of Justice	2	15
" Civil Service, &c.	63	215
Total Employees of Federal Government in Quebec	65	230
Deduct Messengers, &c.	16	22
Total, exclusive of Messengers	49	208
Proportion of Employees Irish to French and to Protestant	as 1 to 4½	to 4½
" Population " " " as	1 to 9	to 1½

3RD PART—LEGISLATIVE.

Legislative Council (nominated)	2	16	6
" Assembly (elective)	2	49	14
Executive—Ministers	"	5	2
Irish to French to Protestant Legislative Council-			
lors, Quebec,	as 1 to 8	to 3	
" " " Population	" 1 " 9	" 1½	
" " " Members of Assembly	1 " 24½	" 7	
" " " Population	" 1 " 9	" 1½	

TERRITORIAL DIVISION NO. 4.

The fourth Territorial Division shall comprise the Dominion of Canada, so far as the inside Civil Service and the Legislature.

TABLE VIII.

Contains a List of Federal Employees at the Dominion Capital and Legislature.

1ST PART—FEDERAL EMPLOYEES.

		Cathol. Irish.	French.	Protestant
Civil Service—				
Department of Justice—	Deputy-Minister	“	“	1
	Clerks	“	“	5
	<i>Messengers</i>	2	“	“
“	Militia & Defence—Deputy & Chief Clerks	“	1	4
	Adjutant-General.			
	Deputy and Assistant-Deputies, &c.	“	3	20
	Clerks, &c.	2	8	7
	<i>Messengers, &c.</i>	2	2	1
Secretary of State—	Deputy, Chief Clerks and Heads of Branches	“	2	2
	Clerks, &c.	“	5	7
	<i>Messengers, &c.</i>	2	1	1
“	“ for Provinces—Assistant and Chief Clerks	“	“	2
	Clerks, &c.	“	3	8
	<i>Messengers, &c.</i>	“	“	2
Receiver-General's Department—	Deputy & Chief Clerk	“	“	2
	Clerks	2	2	5
	<i>Messengers</i>	1	1	“
Finance	—Deputies and Chief Clerks	1	“	4
	Clerks	2	1	24
	<i>Messengers, &c.</i>	3	“	1
Customs	—Deputy & Chief Clerk	“	1	1
	Clerks	1	3	14
	<i>Messengers, &c.</i>	2	“	1
Inland Revenue	—Deputy & Chief Clerk	“	“	2
	Clerks	1	“	13
	<i>Messengers</i>	2	“	“
Public Works	—Deputy & Chief Clerks	“	2	3
	Clerks, &c.	5	11	11
	<i>Messengers, &c.</i>	1	2	“
Post Office	—Deputy & Chief Clerks	“	“	6
	Clerks, &c.	6	4	48
	<i>Messengers, &c.</i>	2	“	2

		Oatholocs. Irish. French.	Protestants.	
Queen's Printer	"	—Printer	"	1
		Clerks	"	4
		<i>Messenger</i>	"	1
Agriculture. &c.,	"	--Deputy & Chief		
		Clerk	"	1
		Clerks	3	12
		<i>Messengers</i>	"	3
Census Branch—Chief Clerks, Staff Officers, &c.			1	3
		Clerks	2	4
		<i>Messengers, &c.</i>	"	1
Geological Survey Branch—Director, Chemist,				
		Palæontologist	1	"
Observatories—Directors			"	"
Emigration, foreign—Agents			1	1
Marine & Fisheries Department—Deputy & Chief				
		Clerk	"	"
		Clerks, &c.	2	1
		<i>Messengers, &c.</i>	1	"
Governor's	"	—Secretary and		
		Aide-de-camp	"	"
		Clerks	"	"
		<i>Messengers, &c.</i>	"	"
Privy Council	"	—Chief Clerks	"	"
		Clerks, &c.	"	2
		<i>Messengers, &c.</i>	2	"
Intercolonial Railway—Commissioners			"	"
		Secretary, Accountant, &c.	"	1
		Chief & District Engineers	"	"
		Secretary and Assistant	"	"
		<i>Messengers</i>	1	"
Dominion Arbitration—Arbitrators and Secretary			"	1
Penitentiary—Directors			1	1
Steamboats—Inspectors			"	1
Post Office, Mail Service—Clerks, foreign			1	"
		1st class Clerks, home	3	"
		2nd " " "	7	14
		3rd " " &c. "	4	5
		<i>Office Keepers, &c.</i>	1	"
			68	104
			22	11
Deduct Messengers				18
			46	93
				354

2ND PART-- LEGISLATIVE EMPLOYEES.

	Catholic.		Protestant.
	Irish.	French.	
Chief Clerks and Assistants of both Houses	"	1	4
Law " "	"	2	2
Accountant and Book-keeper	"	"	2
Chief Clerks of Committees, &c.	1	8	12
Clerks, Translators, &c.	1	9	12
Messengers, Door-keepers, &c.	6	12	15
	8	32	47
Deduct Messengers, &c.	6	12	15
	2	20	32
Total Civil Service (inside), Federal Government	68	104	354
" Legislature, " "	8	32	47
" Employees, " "	76	136	401
Deduct Messengers, &c.	28	33	33
	48	103	368

3RD PART—LEGISLATURE.

	Catholic.		Protestant.
	Irish.	French.	
Senate (nominated)—Ontario	1	"	23
Quebec	2	16	6
Nova Scotia	1	"	11
New Brunswick	1	"	11
Manitoba	"	1	2
British Columbia	"	"	4
Total Senators	5	17	57
House of Commons (elective)—Ontario	3	"	79
Quebec	4	42	19
New Brunswick	2	1	12
Nova Scotia	4	"	15
Manitoba	"	1	2
British Columbia	"	"	6
Total Members	13	44	133
Privy Council—Ministers	"	3	10
Chief Executive—Governor-General	"	"	1
Provincial " — Lieutenant-Governors	"	1	5

I have not included the employees of the maritime Provinces, because I am not sufficiently acquainted with the conduct of public affairs in these, to warrant me in offering any opinion on them.

THE TABLES.

These tables I have compiled with the most scrupulous regard to accuracy. It is quite possible that, despite every care, some trifling errors may have inadvertently crept in. These, if any, I feel assured, will balance each other, and their combined effect would not appreciably alter the general result. I am aware that the list is far from complete, owing to no remissness of mine, but from the paucity of the documents. I regret this, for the fuller it were the more irrefutable my position.

THE LIBERAL GOVERNMENT.

Before entering into an analysis of the preceding Tables, I desire to call attention to the very important fact, that, since the accession to power of the Conservative party in 1854, four hundred and ninety-five first-class appointments, exclusive of promotions, have been made, of which the incumbents are now in possession. These appointments include Judges, Police Magistrates, Sheriffs, County Attorneys, Clerks of the Peace and Crown, Registrars, and, in Lower Canada prothonotaries and coroners, and all *employees*, local and federal, receiving salaries of \$1200 a year and upwards. They are exclusive of the outer members of the Confederacy. Of these four hundred and ninety-five appointments, four hundred and fifty-five have been made by the Conservatives, and the remaining forty by the Liberals, during the latter's brief reign of twenty-two months—from May 1862 to March 1864. Of these 455 appointments by the Conservative party, nine have been conferred on Irish Catholics, if I may include therein the temporary appointment of Mr. Macarow as one. They are Messrs Kelly, O'Neil, Sexton, Alleyn, Tims, Hayes, Quinn and Doran. This is somewhat less than one out of every fifty, while the population is nearly one to seven. Of the forty appointments made by the Reform party, four were Irish Catholics—Messrs. O'Gara, O'Brien, Drummond and McCord. This is equivalent to one out of ten. To a full and thorough appreciation of their generous dealing, it must not be forgotten that a large majority of the Irish Catholics were arrayed against that Government at the polls. Nor does this cover the full extent of their liberality. It will be seen that they appointed but one Protestant to any important office in Lower Canada. This arose from their already enjoying more than a just and equitable portion. They also dis-

missed many leading Orangemen from very lucrative offices, of whom three recur to memory:—Mr. Ogle R. Gowan, Toronto; Mr. Francis Clemow, Post Office Inspector, Ottawa; and Mr. Alexander Powell, Crown Timber Agent, Barrie. Comment is unnecessary.

Be it far from me to recall the past and its errors, which should lie buried with it, for the purpose of embittering the present. The lessons of the past are useful in serving as beacons and finger-boards to guide us in the future. The only practical way of judging parties and individuals is by a calm, unbiassed review of their antecedents. "By their works shall you know them." "The tree is known by its fruit."

ANALYSIS OF THE TABLES.

The foregoing tables are at once instructive and suggestive. Instructive, because they establish beyond doubt the inferiority of our position, because they demonstrate with mathematical precision our degraded standing; suggestive, because they imply and point out a remedy.

The first part of Tables 1, 2 and 3 respectively, show the position Catholics occupy in a city where they have a numerical preponderance. In the Municipal Government there is not a Catholic in the enjoyment of any office beyond the reach or ambition of an ordinary day labourer. There is one first-class appointment under the Local Government—Police Magistrate—thanks to the Reform Government. In the city appointments under the Federal Government, neither a 1st, 2nd, nor 3rd class appointment is held by a Catholic. Of the 39 first and second-class appointments in this city, under the Municipal, Local and Federal authority, exclusive of the civil service proper, only one (the Police Magistrate) is held by a Catholic. Catholics in this instance have not had their ordinary success in obtaining a fair share even of the *messengers, doorkeepers, &c.* for which, one would infer, they were elegantly adapted.

We contribute our share to the maintenance of the High School, yet though in a majority in this city we have not a single representative on the Board. Would it be wonderful if our children should grow up in ignorance and crime? The converse looks indeed like the miraculous interposition of Providence. We are in the same dependent position in the Counties of Prescott, Russell, Carleton and Renfrew. In these four Counties we have not a single Catholic holding any appointment, except coroner, in the administration of Justice, nor any 1st class appointment in the civil service. (Mr. Doran belongs to Nipissing District.) All the appointments in the Southern District, except ten, have been made by the Conservatives since 1854. Of these ten, four were

made by the Macdonald-Dorion Government, and the remaining six were antecedent to 1854. Of these four, two are Irish Catholics. In fact, of five appointments in this district, made by the Liberal party, three were Catholics—Messrs. O'Gara and Devine and the late Dr. Riel. To the second part of my subject (Legislation) properly belongs an explanation of the anomalous position of the City of Ottawa—the minority ruling the majority, aye, with a rod of iron too—a thing unprecedented on this continent.

THE NORTHERN DISTRICT.

Let us now turn to the Northern District, in which Catholics form at least five-eighths of the population. Do we find any improvement? Table V. eloquently, though silently, answers that question. We find that of 92 appointments, 20 are held by Catholics. Of these, ten are held by Irish Catholics, not one of which is *first-class*. Of the three appointments made in this district by the Liberal Government of 1863, two are Irish Catholics (Messrs. McCord and Lynch.)

It may be considered that I have given unusual prominence to the first Territorial Division, and that I am unnecessarily prolix and exhaustive in dealing with it. I have done so for four reasons: (1.) because I am more intimately acquainted with the entire locality than any other portion of the Dominion, and can therefore speak from personal knowledge; (2.) because it is, if I may so express it, the home, the stronghold of Conservatism in Canada; (3.) because of the population, a greater proportion are Irish Catholics than of an equal number in any other part of the Dominion; and (4.) because the Southern District has a greater proportion of Catholics than any other section of Ontario.

It will be observed that of the twenty-one legislators sent by this Division to the Local and Federal Parliaments, *one only is a Catholic*, although there are about 91 Catholics to 83 Protestants. Of these 21 legislators, *one only is a Reformer*. Ottawa city and Prescott County elected their last *liberal representatives* in 1851. Neither Carleton, Russell, Argenteuil nor Pontiac has ever disgraced itself by so injudicious a choice, and Renfrew and Ottawa counties oscillate between the two—the latter has not chosen a liberal member since 1858. The Protestant element in the municipal council of the City of Ottawa has, since 1855—a year memorable in our local annals for the ascendancy of the minority over the majority—been exclusively Conservative. Therefore it is no exaggeration to call the first territorial Division *the home*, the stronghold of Conservatism.

Here can we look at Conservatism in its normal condition. Here we can examine it in its native dignity. Here, undisturbed by extraneous causes, uninfluenced by external pressure, unswayed

by foreign coercion, should we look for examples of its liberality to Catholics, by whom it has been largely and faithfully sustained. Here, where it has so long reigned supreme, it can be fairly, honestly and impartially judged by its fruit. What then do we find? We find that here, basking in the sunshine of undisputed sway, wallowing in undisturbed supremacy, it has not, during its long reign of sixteen years, appointed a single Catholic to any important office in the civil service or administration of justice of this Division. Its nominees, instead of being Conservatives characterized by education, enlightenment, moderation and efficiency, have been mostly Orangemen of the violent and ignorant class. Yes, it is an incontrovertible fact that here, where Catholics are in a majority, is Orangeism, not of the mild, respectable stamp, but that which is characterized by violence and ignorance, the guiding spirit of the Tory party. These are our experiences of Toryism; and are strictly in accord with its history in unfortunate Ireland. I wish to be distinctly understood that in any reference to Orangemen, I am speaking of the institution, and not of individual members, for I believe that Orangemen, when let alone, are like all other men—neither better nor worse.

Catholics in this locality have lost all confidence in the honest, impartial administration of justice. They feel in the law no security for the protection of their lives or properties. When the issue is between them and Orangemen, they believe that trial by jury is "a mockery, a delusion and a snare." This unfortunately is the universal feeling among all classes of Catholics. Such unanimity cannot be founded on prejudices or based on chimeras. It is sustained by stubborn facts.

In January, 1855, Tierney, an inoffensive old man, was murdered in the presence of many persons, and not one of his assassins was put on trial for the crime. The circumstances of this murder were of a most aggravated character. As told at the time, a number of Orangemen were riding past a tavern, kept by a Catholic, shouting, "to hell with the Pope," and making other joyous demonstrations. The inmates returned the taunt, whereupon the Orangemen alighted from their sleighs, entered the house, demolished its contents and murdered poor Tierney, who accidentally happened to be there at the time.

Tierney was murdered, but no coroner ever held an inquest. It took several months before a magistrate could be got with sufficient courage to issue a warrant for the arrest of the parties charged with the murder. When the warrant was finally obtained, (some time during the ensuing summer,) no effectual effort at apprehension was made, but on the morning the "fall" assizes opened, the culprits surrendered. The Crown witnesses, who swore to their identity, were not only unheeded, but were sought to be intimidated by threats from the Grand

Jury of indictment for perjury. So escaped they without even having been put on trial!

About the same time there was a failure of justice in the Corrigan case in Quebec by the indictment and acquittal of the accused. The press of the country were justly indignant at this failure of justice, and some went so far as to charge Catholics as a body with being abettors of murder. But not a note, not a murmur of condemnation of those who murdered unfortunate Tierney. These men—magistrates, jurors and murderers—are the most Conservative of Conservatives.

Some seven or eight years ago, another Catholic named Keogh, was, at Metcalfe Village, murdered in broad daylight in the presence of many persons. The coroner's jury found a verdict of wilful murder against a certain person therein named. He, too, was never arrested. He followed the example of those accused of Tierney's murder, and surrendered on the opening of the assizes. There was a trial for manslaughter only on this occasion. He was acquitted. No voice was raised on account of this failure of justice. Every one concerned was a Conservative *par excellence*—real "true blue" Conservatives.

MAGISTRATES AND VOLUNTEERS.

The justices of the peace and volunteers (rank and file) are not only almost exclusively Protestant, but they are nearly all Orange men. Writing the parliamentary correspondence of the *Ottawa Tribune* from Quebec in 1855, I took occasion to condemn the *Militia Bill*, as being intended to put arms into the hands of the Orangemen of Upper Canada. The editor, the late and lamented Mr. Burke, differed from my view, but my friend lived long enough to acknowledge his error, afterwards often telling me that I was *right* and he was *wrong*. Shortly after the passage of that measure, Orange companies were being organized on all sides. The French inhabitants of this city were also permitted to organize a company composed exclusively of that nationality. The Irish Catholics took alarm—they had not forgotten "stony Monday"—at this display of hostile armament. It was thus they viewed it. The leading supporters of the Conservatives amongst them sought the intervention of the Government for permission to organize a company to be chiefly officered and composed of Irish Catholics. The leaders of this movement proclaimed in anticipation a successful issue. They were not only doomed to disappointment, but to the humiliation of not being treated with the common courtesy of a reply to their application. All the parties to these transactions were good, leal and sound Conservatives. Few can realise, short of personal experience, the petty tyranny and persecution exercised by ignorant, bigoted magistrates in the back-woods over poor, unfriended

settlers. Some instances of a most galling character have in my professional intercourse with the outskirts of civilization come under my notice. The perpetrators were all sound Tories of the good old type, and brimful of the good old traditions. Now, reader, this is an Ottawa experience of Canadian Toryism. Compare it with the circle of your immediate acquaintance. Can it in your locality claim a fairer or better record?

TERRITORIAL DIVISION NO. 2.

Turn we now to table VI, and we find that it is but a stale and monotonous repetition of the preceding ones. The same proscription characterizes it, the same ostracism prevails throughout. The cloven hoof of Conservatism is everywhere visible, the same blighting influences on all sides apparent. But a brighter vision breaks o'er Ontario's woods and lakes. A new hope has beamed on us. A small, brilliant speck is just visible on the Eastern horizon of our political firmament. Dawn is imperceptibly vanquishing darkness, the lowering sky indicates symptoms of returning calm, and the sun of equality may shine on us yet. The Reform party have succeeded to power. As has ever been its wont, the first act of the party was the introduction of an Irish Catholic into the Government. True to their principles, consistent with their teachings, faithful to their traditions they hasten to make us partakers of their power as well as what we were before, contributors to the revenue. Had they acted otherwise, they would have disappointed their friends, falsified their maxims, aspersed their principles, and would be unworthy the confidence of those supporters, who believe as I do.

TERRITORIAL DIVISION NO. 3.

Turn we now to New France, which imagination has invested with the mantle, attributes and associations of the old. Imbued with that historic sympathy between Erin and Gaul—a sympathy cemented by blood at Aughrim, Fontenoy, and many another battle-field, a sympathy sanctified by religious asylum, a sympathy consecrated by the memories of Sarsfield, Tone and Emmett, we turn with a feeling of relief to Quebec, as the spot of all others on this continent where an Irish Catholic may well feel at home. A glance at table VII, dispels the illusion. We find that this is not the France of yore, she is new-born France no more.

LEGISLATORS.

The Province of Quebec has 178 legislators, of whom 8 are Irish Catholics, and 45 Protestants. Of the 130 elective members there

is not a single constituency in which the French element predominates represented by an Irish Catholic, although many such are represented by Protestants. It is usual whenever an Irish Catholic candidate presents himself before any constituency having a considerable French vote, for them to join with the Protestants for his defeat. In the Quebec Government, Irish Catholics have not a representative, while the Protestants have two. Though the party of *bons principes* have been in power with little interregnum since 1854, they have only promoted one (Judge Maguire) and appointed another (Recorder Sexton) to the administration of justice, while in the same time they have appointed 9 Protestant judges. Of all the first-class appointments in Lower Canada enumerated in the 1st part of Table VII, under local authority, there are only two Irish Catholics, (Messrs Alleyn and Sexton) appointed by the Conservative party, while there are 56 Protestants. Of all the first-class appointments in the 2nd part of the same table, only one Irish Catholic, (Mr. Quinn) has been appointed by the Cartier party, while they appointed no less than 25 Protestants. Contrast this with the conduct of the Liberal party (the *Rouges* as they are disdainfully called), during their short term of office, and it is seen that they appointed three Irish Catholics (Judge Drummond, and Messrs O'Brien and McCord) to most important offices, and only one Protestant.

I confess that I, too, was for a long time, influenced by this traditional leaning to Frenchmen, until my eyes were opened by seeing my countrymen systematically ignored and sneered at by Sir George Cartier, Protestant Englishmen preferred to them and raised over their heads. In my own canvass for the County of Russell in 1867, some of my bitterest opponents were French Canadians. They had no hesitation in preferring a Protestant. This could not have arisen from any personal enmity to me, for I was a total stranger to them, nor had I ever done aught to deserve their hostility. They seemed to take a pernicious delight in flinging "Fenian" at myself and supporters. Their organ in Ottawa was denouncing me in every issue as a "Fenian." They were no doubt acting under instructions from their leader, Sir George—the *Englishman speaking French*, who contemptuously tells the Irish, "that he did not want them, that he would not have them." I would be the last man to take exception to legitimate party warfare, but surely the French might leave the false and unfounded "Fenian" cry to others. There was only one way in which my name could have possibly been connected with that formidable organization—on the Orange theory, that every Irish Catholic must be a "Fenian" or "Fenian sympathizer." Yet, Lower Canada is the pink of Conservatism. Her chosen chiefs are its most redoubted champions. About two-thirds of her representatives have for years been its most devoted defenders, singularly forgiving and

forgetful of its tyranny and their own anathemas in the recent past. Perhaps the change of base has secured them spoils which no other combination would. Their co-religionists of Irish origin have not, as the record shows, even the poor consolation of being sharers in the plunder. "St. Jean Baptiste" the "monkey," and "Pat" the "catspaw." It seems manifest to me that any one who has closely watched and critically analysed political events in Lower Canada for the last eighteen years, can form but one conclusion as to which party is the true friend of Irish Catholics in that Province, and that a verdict founded on the evidence and on undisputable facts must be unanimous in favour of the Liberal party.

TERRITORIAL DIVISION NO. 4.

Let us now retrace our steps, and take a peep at the great "*wigwam*" at Dominion Head-quarters. Table VIII will furnish us with an index, a clue, a guide in our search for adventures. With this in hand we enter the Eastern block, and inspect the fantastic pile from basement to attic. In our wanderings we encounter the *genus homo* in all its diversity of form, colour and tongue. We readily recognize the babbling Frenchman, the "blawsted" cockney, the Gaelic of the Highlands, the lowland *patois*, that the genius of Burns has stamped with immortality, and its twin-sister of the "black North." We miss the congenial and familiar "brogue." But no, we found one in the basement and another in the attic—rare specimens specially imported for exhibition. Whithersoever you turn, in hall or corridor, you encounter what legendary lore tells us Dean Swift found written on the walls of Bandon, and beneath which he inscribed his celebrated epigram:—

"Whoever wrote this, has done it well
For the same is written on the gates of H—!"

After making the rounds of the whole establishment no better success awaits us. There is not a single Irishman, deputy-minister or head of any branch of the public service at the capital. There is not an Irish Catholic holding a first or second-class position in the service of the Legislature. The highest position in the civil service held by an Irish Catholic is a clerkship held by Mr. Higgins, and it appears that he was appointed by the Reform party. In the Legislative department there is neither a first, second nor third-class appointment held by an Irish Catholic. There is one Scotch Catholic (the serjeant-at-arms) holding an important position. He, too, was appointed by the Liberal party.

Let us now take a glance at the composition of the law-making power. The Senate, which is nominated by the Government, now consists of seventy-nine members. Of these there are five Irish Catholics—one from Ontario, two from Quebec, one from New

Brunswick, and one from Nova Scotia. Until recently neither Ontario nor New Brunswick had an Irish Catholic representative in that body; and the Irish of these Provinces may thank Mr. Anglin's efforts, which had the effect of shaming the Ministry into that paltry concession.

The House of Commons, which is elected by the people, is now composed of 190 members, of whom seven are Irish Catholics, viz., one from Ontario, two from Quebec, two from New Brunswick, and two from Nova Scotia. I have not included in this enumeration Mr. Cayley, who is a Frenchman in everything but the accident of birth, whose good or ill fortune it is to be so *un-Irish* as not to know how to spell his own name. (Cayley for Kealy or O'Kiely.) The remaining five English-speaking Catholics are Scotch. In judging of the inequality of Irish Catholic representation in Parliament, it must not be forgotten that the leaders of a party more particularly a Government, with its immense patronage, with its vast and wide-spread influence, control the electors and manipulate their choice. They in general determine who shall be the candidates in their interest, and their followers and supporters elect them. I believe it will be found that those Irish Catholics returned have been elected entirely independent of Ministerial influences. We know that the two from the Province of Quebec owe their election to the large Irish vote in West Montreal and Quebec, and were returned by acclamation. Perhaps the Government will claim the negative virtue of not opposing them. I believe the two from Nova Scotia were elected to oppose the Government, and one, at least, of the two from New Brunswick. If I remember right Mr. O'Connor was not very flatteringly supported by the Government organs. I think that they characterized him as the *Yankee Member from Detroit*. Indeed, the leaders durst not identify themselves with any scheme or policy which would do justice to Irish Catholics. For the class in Ontario on whom they mainly depend for political existence—the Orangemen—who are quite ready to accept "Papist" votes for their own candidates, would not tolerate reciprocity in the other direction.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL

Consists of thirteen Ministers, of whom three are French, and ten Protestants. This, I believe, is the first time since the union of Upper and Lower Canada, and recognition of responsible Government, that the Irish Catholic element was unrepresented in the Cabinet. The half-million Irish Catholics are ignored and denied representation in the Ministry, while the one-sixth of a million of Quebec Protestants could not depend on the other nine Protestants in the Government, but must have a special representative of their

own to guard their local wants and attend to their peculiar interests. Is it wonderful under these circumstances that the rights, interests and claims of the Irish are neglected or forgotten? I am told that the Government plead in extenuation, if not justification, the ground that there is no Irish Catholic in Parliament fit to be a Minister. Perhaps they are right. Was this their reason for shelving Sir Edward Kenny? Did they *Knicht* him to make his fall easy? It is a very sorry compliment to such obsequious followers as Senator Ryan and Mr. O'Connor. Mr. McKeagney is said to be a man of some parts; and if he is not equal in mental calibre to some of the Ministers, his parts are, like angels' visits, "few and far between." Mr. Anglin, in the Canadian acceptance, at least, is a first-class man, but, alas! for the aberrations of genius, he is tainted, so say the Ministerialists, with "Fenianism." If he were a sixth or tenth-rate man, quietly and silently following in the Ministerial wake, he would be immaculate—a paragon of automaton perfection. Mr. Anglin will pardon this allusion. It is not meant to insinuate that, if offered, he would accept a seat in the Cabinet. It has been recently announced that Mr. O'Connor's wounded pride is to be soothed with a *port-folio*, at least, during the elections, when he will no longer be needed. The period, though brief, will nevertheless be "*Honourable*." *Nous verrons*.

LEGISLATION.

We now come to the second branch of our inquiry—*Legislation*, which I shall sub-divide into two parts, *general* and *special*—the former affecting the community generally, and the latter affecting us as Catholics and Irishmen.

General Legislation.—It is to the Liberal party we are indebted for responsible government, for our municipal institutions, which give the people control over their local taxation and improvements, instead of being managed as in Ireland by irresponsible magistrates, and by which the people are trained to the higher form of self-government. It is to the Reform party we owe the opening to the whole youth of the country of that sectarian corporation known as "Toronto University," established on the model and on the pernicious basis of Dublin University—a close borough for the benefit of members of the dominant church. It is to the struggles of the Liberal party we owe the secularization of the clergy reserves, and with it swept away for ever the last vestige of church ascendancy on this continent. We are indebted to the Liberal party for the extension of the elective franchise, by which the industrious but poorer classes have a voice in the making and administration of the laws. It is to their agitation that we owed an elective second chamber, which had been extorted from the Tories after a long struggle, but which they adroitly

abrogated at the first opportunity, which Confederation offered them; and which must again be agitated and re-conquered. Without stopping to individualize, it is to the efforts of the liberal element in this as well as in every other country, that mankind are indebted for every legislation that distinguishes a free from an enslaved people.

Special Legislation.—Let us now turn to special legislation as more immediately affecting us as Irishmen and Catholics. Prominent amongst these is the

SEPARATE SCHOOL BILL.

This measure, pronounced by the Church so vital to the interests of Catholics, so many years a *cheval de bataille* for political parties, was at last settled by the Reform Government. It is necessary that I should briefly review the principal incidents of this vexatious agitation. It will not be forgotten that the leaders of the Reform party in Upper Canada took strong ground against the introduction of the sectarian element into the public schools of that Province. It is not now my purpose to discuss whether they were right or wrong in principle, or whether their policy was expedient. I desire only to point out that in so doing they distinctly and unmistakably declared that their opposition did not arise from any inherent hostility to Catholics, because they happened to be the special advocates of the measure, but on the broad principle that they believed it would be inimical to the general interests of the country, and no less prejudicial to others than to Catholics themselves. Right or wrong, these were their convictions, expressed fearlessly and above board. These are the attributes of honest men, who, at the worst, must be acknowledged an open, straightforward foe, whom you would always know where to find, and for whom consequently you could always be prepared, always guarded, always on the defensive. Their attitude was bold and manly, and cannot fail to command the respect of every intelligent opponent. Contrast their honest, outspoken opposition with the conduct of the Conservatives. Every unscrupulous politician, bankrupt in reputation, every political mountebank and black-leg was ready to go down on his "marrow bones," and not unfrequently did so, sign any written pledges presented to him, even of the most preposterous kind, and make promises to any extent of supporting a Separate School Bill. Honest, upright and worthy men were thus hustled out of power by these charlatans. Even Ministers were not above making these promises.

It will be remembered that, in the general election of 1857-8, Mr. Cayley was defeated in two or three western constituencies. It was then arranged that the member elect for the County of

Renfrew would resign to make way for him. To enlist the Catholic support in his behalf, the late Mr. Vankoughnet came to this city to prepare the way. There was a caucus, consisting of eight Catholics, of whom I was one, convened to discuss the subject. At that meeting I moved a resolution setting forth that only on two conditions would the leading Catholics of this city consent to recommend their co-religionists in Renfrew to vote for Mr. Cayley. The conditions were, 1st—that the Ministry, during that session, or at the farthest, during that Parliament, would introduce as a Ministerial measure such a School Bill as was demanded by the bishops; and 2nd—that the ministry, as a Government, would oppose the Orange Incorporation Bill; and that Mr. Vankoughnet would give us his written pledge in behalf of the Government to carry them out. This passed, Mr. Vankoughnet gave the written pledge, and your humble servant, much to his chagrin, felt in honour bound to support Mr. Cayley in his election. So soon, however, as the object was attained, the pledge like many another promissory note was given only to be dishonoured. The Government failed in introducing any School Bill during that Parliament, though they had a steady majority of thirty or forty on all their measures, which could not fail in securing its triumphant passage. Thus they dallied with this important relief: it was a god-send to them to keep it in agitation for years for political purposes: it was the weapon of all others to discomfit the "Grits." Fortunately for the Separate School Bill the Tory Ministry fell, and were succeeded by a Liberal Government in May, 1862. Those, who, like myself, saw the vile use that was being made of this vexatious question, urged upon the Government to lose not a moment in passing the measure, and banishing it forever from the arena of politics. They yielded to our entreaties, they were willing to forego their own convictions for the sake of quelling a dangerous agitation. The School Bill passed the following session (1863) with the entire concurrence and support of the Government, and many of the pledge-makers had the grim satisfaction of voting against it, just as might have been expected.

I can never look back on this episode in Canadian politics without feelings of shame, humiliation and sorrow. Those members of the Liberal party who had for years steadily voted against this measure were on each occasion fully sustained by their constituents; and as an indorsation of their conduct triumphantly returned at the subsequent elections. But when they yielded to the voice of entreaty; when for a public good they did violence to their own feelings in voting for this measure; when they appeared again before their constituents to render an account of their stewardship, and to solicit a renewal of their confidence, some of them were defeated. In effecting their defeat many Irish Catholics, to their disgrace be it told, joined—a fitting reward for their sup-

port of a measure of relief to them, and one declared by the Church to be of paramount importance. Two instances recur to my memory—Mr. Patrick, of Prescott, and the late Daniel McLachlin, of Arnprior. The indefensible conduct of those Irish Catholics of South Grenville and Carleton, who on that occasion voted against these gentlemen, cast dishonour on their whole race, and an indelible stain on their own character. Invincible ignorance is the only palliation for such inconsistency.

THE HABEAS CORPUS.

The writ of *habeas corpus* means the right to every one under arrest to be confronted with his accuser and brought to a speedy trial. It is the *palladium* of individual liberty. The *suspension* of that writ implies the contrary. It means that any person actuated by personal enmity or from any other motive, however frivolous or vexatious, can go before a magistrate, lodge information against any individual, have him arrested, cast into prison, there detained without trial or other formality during the term of suspension, without even a knowledge of the crime with which he is charged or the person of his accuser. (Reader, I might have spared you and me this explanation, for every Irishman is haplessly too familiar with the "suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.") It is unnecessary to occupy time in portraying or enumerating the dangers that are likely to follow in its wake. They are apparent to the meanest intellect. But the greatest of all dangers is in the precedent itself. Nothing short of the most extreme national peril can justify a Government in resorting to this final hope—this last plank of liberty's throne. It is one of those weapons, like the flaming sword of Michael, which should only be unsheathed when the nation's autonomy is threatened, when the life breath of the state is menaced by internal treason. It is no security against invasion.

In June, 1866, for the first time since the establishment of responsible government did a Canadian Minister venture to come down and propose to Parliament the suspension of this writ, in order to arm him with so formidable an instrument of tyranny and persecution. Parliament, unequal to the emergency, abnegating its supreme function, without a remonstrance, servilely responded to the call, and with indecent haste, suspending all its rules passed the odious measure in less than one hour. Where were the statesmen, the exponents of the constitution, the sentinels on the house tops, the defenders of the people's rights, the champions of popular liberty? Echo answers *where*, and adds aside in parenthesis, *paralyzed and demoralized by coalitions*. The pretext, was the "Fenian" invasion. Will any person possessed of ordinary intelligence seriously assert that if real danger threatened

us from that quarter that this proceeding would in the slightest degree tend to avert it? Is there a man in the Dominion simpleton enough to believe that the "Fenians" could achieve even a temporary success, except through the active support of the United States Government? When the movement ceased to be "Fenian," it would necessarily assume the characteristics of international warfare. Of what avail under such circumstances would the suspension of the *habeas corpus* be? None, whatever. Whoever believes otherwise is paying a very indifferent compliment to the statesmanship of our rulers. If true, then what a commentary on our national maturity, on our aspirations after independence, that we could be alarmed out of our wits like children by nursery tales of ghosts and giants. The whole proceeding was solely directed against the Irish Catholics of Canada, for it could avail nothing against foreigners. It was determined to bring us into disrepute, to declare by extraordinary legislation that we were all disloyal, and conspiring with strangers against the peace and institutions of our adopted country. In order to appease the hatred of Orangemen, intensified by their fears, a holocaust must be offered to the manes of their exasperated feelings.

Each scene was admirably arranged, and every actor played his part in true dramatic style. To "prosecute" McGee was assigned the disreputable part of *accuser-general* and *alarmist-in-chief*. Who, than he, could be more familiar with the dark designs and lawless proclivities of his countrymen: who, than he, more capable of tracking their black deeds and unearthing their midnight plots; who, than he, more intimate with the labyrinths of their secret, treasonable machinations? I believe in my soul that there was not a shadow of foundation for vilely aspersing our reputation; and now that the Habeas Corpus Act is in full force, I challenge our accusers to produce one tittle of evidence to justify so foul a stigma on the fair fame of the Irish Catholics of Canada. Whatever may be our feelings towards England, I contend that we are as true and faithful citizens of Canada as any other class of the people. Nor is the position of distrust of the former incompatible with fealty to the latter. The reason is manifest. England does not interfere in the internal affairs of Canada. Therefore she is blameless. Had she pursued a like course in Ireland, she would not have truer friends and more faithful allies than our people.

They ushered our new constitution into life under the patronage of this monster—midwife and sponsor, and its infancy was nursed and cradled on its bosom. Pitt carried the Irish union when Ireland was bleeding under martial law. May the resemblance cease at the initial points. It was continuously suspended for over three years, and during this time the public ear was tickled with the mockery of the great efforts being made to attract immigration hither. What a farce to suppose that people fleeing

from European oppression would voluntarily select a country where the suspension of individual freedom had become chronic.

McGEE.

Unluckily the assassination of McGee afforded the long wished-for opportunity of carrying the "*suspension*" to its legitimate and logical conclusions. None could abhor, none could regret that foul deed more than I. First, because I detest murder in every shape, even legal murder; and second, because a systematic attempt is made to pervert history, to deify an erring mortal, to convert a poor, weak man into a hero and a martyr. Let any one read the *Montreal Gazette* and *Advertiser*, the *Toronto Leader* and *Free-man*, and the other Conservative papers from 1857 to 1863 and there, recorded in letters of blood, will they find his character. Either these "respectable" sheets were vile slanderers then, or worse hypocrites now. They are welcome to either horn of the dilemma. I would fain let his ashes rest undisturbed, in their unhallowed tomb and let posterity, if thought worthy of notice, deal with his acts. But if his present worshippers wish for a truce, they must cease flinging the mud from his grave on the heads of the Irish people.

Subjoined is a specimen, clipped from the *New Era*, McGee's paper, of the repute in which he was held by his present admirers:

"A RABID ORANGEMAN.

"The original of the following precious production, with the accompanying envelope, post-marked 'Penetanguishene, U. C.,' is to be seen as a curiosity of Orange literature at our office. Though *anonymous*, it is well enough to show our friends the spirit with which they have to deal—and for the fostering of which to its present furious heat the Ministry, now crippled or dissolved, have been mainly answerable:"—

'To Mr. McGee, The Irish Champion,
Brave Sir, Ireland's Boast,

'You are striving to give new life to the Irish Papists, It is a great task you have to perform, and One you cannot do, The Irish Papists are slaves, we loyal Orange made them So, and by Heavens Keep them so. In Ireland one million of us has Kept them to the grindstone, do you think we will not with the 'Scotch and English keep them here to the Millstone, Their slavish principles made them our serfs in Ireland, and it will make them here in Canada the Hewers of our woods the drawers of our waters, Freedom is the gift of Heaven, the Irish Papists are the children of Hell, therefore they cannot have freedom. We shall seurge them

here with scorpions, and finally make them seek some other clime besides Canada for their rendezvous. Only for they are slaves would they allow seven million of themselves to be governed by one million of Loyal Orange, Success to the loyal orangemen, and they Shall reign here, as they have reigned in Ireland, the terror of the enemies of our gracious Queen,

'You are endeavouring to join together the French and the mere Irish, a mere hope: you might as well strive to trace the lightnings in the Heavens, The French are too intelligent to join Canal diggers of Canada. Allowing the impossibility to occur; it would hurry to our ranks the lukewarm, then we would stare at you like bulldogs, and defy your menaces with our swords,

'A warning to you in time, that you cannot say we do work in the dark: it is our determination not to allow an Irish Papist to office, Pontiac Election shows that, not to allow them to be appointed magistrates in fact not to allow them any Civil office in the State. Why should we the Popish dogs, the Whores of Babylon, the Beasts with the seven heads. You dare not publish this letter, because it would strike terror into the Cowards that support you, Pelaver their Courage, and they may go to the Polls, but if they see our spirit in Print they would run away from us like Chaff before the wind. We shall treat them all in Canada as the brave Clarendon Orange men have treated the Onslow Papists; Irish Cowards'

" Yours

' A Loyal Orangeman,

' your mortal enemy,

' the enemy of your race."

The Ministry there referred to is the same Tory Ministry whose obsequious slave and follower he afterwards became; the Orange institution there referred to is the same that he afterwards declared "*to be that society whose object is laudable, and whose distinguishing characteristic is fealty to the Crown.*"

If McGee was stricken down for his treason to his countrymen, who had done so much for him, the assassin not only committed a foul crime, but a woeful mistake. All that his worst enemy need do was to let him severely alone—he was then on the high road to ruin.

The murder was the signal for a "reign of terror." Our most virtuous citizens were under the surveillance of the ruffians of the secret service, the privacy of our houses invaded, the sanctity of home violated, and our correspondence subjected to a vile espionage. The most revered, faithful and devoted of our clergy were stigmatized, and even the temple of the Most High, the very ark of the covenant, must bring forth its secret tribute to conspiracy. Not that there could be a shadow of suspicion of complicity in

a crime so heinous as murder—men whose whole life was a refutation of any such doubt—but in order to point the finger of distrust and dishonour at our people. Many of our most esteemed brethren, with some of whom I have the pleasure to be intimately acquainted, and whom to know is to love and revere—were seized, cast into prison to consort with thieves and felons. How, if I am to credit gentlemen in whose honour and veracity I have every confidence, they were treated with a cruelty and barbarism unsurpassed in the blackest ages of persecution, the recital of which would make humanity shudder, and the consequences are singularly corroborative of the statement, for one went forth from the dungeon to a madhouse, and another to an untimely grave. How, after months of incarceration and unheard of severity they were let loose without a trial, without knowing with what they were charged, or the person of their accuser, but with the stain of guilt, as far as such a process could effect it, on their brows, their prospects blighted, bankruptcy their portion, and self-expatriation their doom—and all because of their political opinions. Because in 1867 they ventured to think for themselves and act accordingly. Because it was likely that they would become honest leaders of their class, it was desirable that they would be hunted out of the country, and teach other delinquents a lesson that may be of service in the future. They have, however, cause to be thankful that they did not follow Whelan.

Had the Government thought proper to pursue the same course towards these as they did to Whelan, as sure as "like causes produce like effects," they could have procured their conviction just as surely. Nay, did the Government desire to be avenged of me for writing this pamphlet, they could indict me for the murder of McGee, and calculate with certainty on a conviction by pursuing the same course as they did towards Whelan, and not me only, but five hundred others, one after another indiscriminately selected. I am not discussing Whelan's guilt or innocence. Of that I am in entire ignorance, nor is it essential to my argument. But I do assert that Whelan was convicted before the Jury panel was struck. It has not been accounted for that, though at least one-fourth of the Jurors of Carleton are Irish Catholics, there were only six on a panel of sixty. The few Catholics on the panel were challenged by the "eminent" counsel for the Crown—they could not be depended on to render an honest verdict on their oaths according to the evidence. When a Protestant was on trial for the murder of Keogh, he had an exclusively Protestant Jury, and when a Catholic is arraigned for murder, he also must be tried by a Protestant Jury. One would suppose that this rule should work both ways. That if a Protestant indicted for murder must be tried by a Protestant Jury, in all fairness a Catholic should be tried by a Catholic Jury. I say further, that were

Whelan any other than an Irish Catholic, the Government would not dare to execute him after *four* out of *nine*—I exclude the Judge before whom the trial was conducted—on appeal declaring that *he shall get a new trial*. It was a strictly *Mory* victory. It is too soon to forget how, at the "Fenian" trials in Toronto, the priest was convicted and the minister acquitted, although the evidence of guilt was in inverse ratio:—another Conservative triumph.

In that season of trial, when stout hearts quailed, when every hand was raised against us, there was one man who was not afraid to stand by us, and hurl anathema at the tyrant. That man is the Hon. Malcolm Cameron—one of nature's nobles. For this the good man got his reward by being dismissed from the Queen's printership at the earliest opportunity. In this great man—for if the "good alone are great," he is truly great—Irish Catholics have no truer or better friend on this Continent. Yet, strange fatality, they signify their appreciation of it by opposing him on every occasion that he has sought their suffrages. Our Lord, on the cross of Calvary, prayed for those who crucified him, saying:—"Father forgive them, they know not what they do." We might repeat here His Divine example. The *Globe* was the only paper who had a word of condemnation of this cruelty. No doubt it was afraid to say much, lest it, too, might be branded as a "Fenian" sympathizer.

CONFEDERATION.

In the "British North America Act" of 1867, called the Confederation Act, special constitutional privileges are secured to the Protestant minority of Quebec. Twelve constituencies are set apart, whose boundaries cannot be altered except with the concurrence of a majority of their representatives. These are what may be denominated *Protestant counties*. But as if they determined to add insult to injury, the majority of the population of five of these Protestant counties respectively is Catholic, some of them, as the County of Ottawa, nearly three to one. The five electoral counties which the constitution by inference has falsely declared to be Protestant are Ottawa, Pontiac, Shefford, Megantic and Richmond, and Wolfe. Were the people of these counties thus scandalized because at the time they happened to be represented by Protestant Conservative members? Why was not Chateauguay so treated? Is it because it was represented by a Protestant Liberal? But the most extraordinary feature of this strange transaction is that their wealth and influence with a preponderance in all the other Provinces was not deemed sufficient protection for the Protestant minority of Quebec, but must invoke

the constitution for special guarantees. How provident, what foresight, what precaution against the whims or prejudices of the majority. May we ask why some such concessions were not secured for the Catholic minority of Ontario? The answer is evident. Because they were friendless in a Conservative Government. I will venture to say that if any one had raised the issue, they would cry *shame, bigot*; why distrust the honour of the Protestant majority? But there is no shame when a Protestant doubts the honour of a Catholic majority.

OTTAWA CITY.

I now come to an explanation of the anomalous position of the City of Ottawa, where the minority rule the majority, aye, with a rod of iron, too, as demonstrated in Table I.—a thing unprecedented from Cape Horn to Behring's Straits. In 1854 the Municipal Council of the Town of Bytown petitioned the Legislature to be incorporated as a city, to be called the "City of Ottawa." As is usual in such circumstances, they prepared their own *Bill*, sub-dividing the proposed city into five wards, and describing their respective boundaries. The Government during the progress of the *Bill*, contrary to all precedent, changed the boundaries of the wards at the instance of their supporters, in such a manner that the Protestant minority could control a majority of the new wards. By this arrangement the minority were assigned three wards, while the majority had only two; and so dexterously had it been managed that the majority has ever since been unable to regain its lost rights. Not content with robbing us they must insult us also. They denominated the Protestant wards St. George, Victoria and Wellington, and the Catholic ones, *By* and *Ottawa*. This accounts for the proportion of three Protestants to two Catholics in the City Council, which has since been maintained.

The first act of the new Council was to dismiss every Catholic employee, even to the messenger; and have still adhered to the same intolerant spirit as exhibited in Table I. The same *animus* characterized them in school management, so that the majority, contrary to the spirit, if not the letter of the law, had to resort to separate schools with all their disadvantages. All the actors in these disreputable transactions were Conservatives of the right stripe. In the seventeen years which have since elapsed I can only recall one Protestant of the Reform party holding a seat in the Council. I am reasonably hopeful that the Liberal party will hasten to do us justice, and carry out to its legitimate conclusion the great principle of "representation by population." Will the Catholics of Ontario strengthen our hands by a generous, united support at the polls?

NEW BRUNSWICK SCHOOL LAW.

Who that has watched their conduct in the late Session with reference to the New Brunswick School Law can be satisfied with their double dealing, their shuffling, their vacillating. Contrast their miserable subterfuges to save their salaries with the manly, straightforward course of Messrs. Blake and Mackenzie, Messrs. Dorion and Holton. Have you observed the mean, cowardly, truckling tergiversations of that Catholic *par excellence*—(dis) Hon. Hector L. Langevin, C. B. (*Crapaud Bleu*)—who evidently much prefers his office and pickings to his honour and the desire to see simple justice done to his co-religionists of New Brunswick? For my own part I am neither surprised nor disappointed at the result, for it is quite consistent with all their antecedents. Did they act otherwise it would be just cause for wonder. Surely the people's eyes must at last open to their treachery—surely this last measure of injustice will fill their cup of iniquity to overflowing.

CAUSES OF INFERIORITY.

I think that any one who carefully reads the foregoing tables must be convinced that Irish Catholics occupy an inferior and degraded position in Canada, and that after a perusal of my review of these tables he cannot fail to ascribe it to Conservative supremacy in the management of public affairs. Some may despair and say:—"We are in a hopeless minority, and how can we better ourselves?" This is an entire mistake, we are not in a hopeless minority, and we can better ourselves; and by our own unaided effort elevate ourselves to an equality with the proudest. We are not in the helpless condition here that we were in the land of our nativity. The constitution, won for us by the struggles of the Liberal party, provides every man with a shield broad and tough enough to protect him against all assaults; with a weapon quite ample to redress all his grievances, quite adequate for the punishment of any aggression on his rights. That shield is the *elective franchise*—that weapon is his VOTE—a shield more effectual than the wild justice of revenge, a weapon more powerful than the stiletto of the assassin. All required to insure success is to make a wise, discreet and judicious use of it.

POSITION OF IRISH CATHOLICS UNDER LIBERAL GOVERNMENTS.

I remember the time here in Canada when it was no dishonour to be an Irish Catholic, when our political standing was second to no other class of the people, when it was no crime to love our fatherland, no scoff to wish her children happy, no offence to

rebuke her oppressors; and if all this is changed to-day, it is painful to add that truth compels us to acknowledge, that we have ourselves in a very great degree to blame for it. With an infatuation inexplicable, in defiance of every prudent consideration, setting aside the useful lessons of history, we joined hands with our hereditary foe. This accession increased its strength, power and vitality a hundred-fold. But, as opposites cannot simultaneously exist side by side without one encroaching upon, and ultimately destroying, the other, so as it grew strong, we grew proportionally weak, as it grew powerful, we grew powerless. Like complementary quantities, the increase of the one was the diminution of the other, the ultimate point or zero of the one being the infinity of the other. Elated by victory and pampered by patronage, it became a centre of attraction for every one seeking favours and preferment. It gathered recruits from all directions for it was the high road to favour.

POLITICAL PRINCIPLES.

Every rational being is endowed with faculties for the discrimination of right from wrong, good from evil. The volition of a faculty is called an idea, and the manifestation of an idea under the conduct of the understanding is a principle. Government is the science of society. Man being essentially a social being, in the adaptation of means to an end, political principles must be inherent in his nature. A political party is an aggregation of individuals holding certain principles in common, and agreeing on a united basis of action. Difference of opinion being as natural as difference of colour or countenance, in order to agree on a common platform, each member must be ready to sink or leave in abeyance some of his own views. By no other process could a large and powerful party be organized. As political principles are intuitive and common to every social being, it is in accord with nature and philosophy that each individual should be attracted towards that party whose expressed views are most in accord with his own. The first duty, therefore, of a man before allying himself with a party, is to examine its avowed principles in order to ascertain how far they agree with his own preconceived ideas.

It is by this standard we propose to examine to which of the two great political parties Irish Catholics naturally belong. We believe that our race is eminently progressive, and constitutional. We believe that our race are sincere, fervent friends of constitutional liberty, human progress, and religious toleration. We believe that they are opposed to class legislation and class distinctions—that their motto is:—All should be equal in the eye of the law, as they are in the eye of the Creator. If we are true friends of progress and reform in legislation and administration—if we

desire the *ballot*, that voters may be able to exercise their franchise by their own convictions rather than the coercion of a mortgage or intimidation of a ledger account, if we wish to supplant an irresponsible Senate for an elective one, immediately under our own control; if we think it an outrage to have to pay out of our pockets \$50,000 a year and pickings to our Governor, while the President of the United States only gets half that sum; if we would like to see every householder a voter also; if we desire a homestead law to protect the country against pauperism; if we wish to have the control of our taxes in our own hands; if we desire cheap, economical government; if we desire purity of elections instead of bribery and corruption; if, I say, we desire all or any of these reforms, as well as many others untouched, there is only one mode of action by which we can reasonably expect to see them prevail: and that is by supporting the party who promises to give them effect. It would be foolish in the extreme to expect success by supporting a person avowedly hostile to these measures. Take a familiar illustration. Suppose a farmer wished a certain concession or side-road opened by the council. If two candidates for municipal honours, one favourable and the other opposed to opening this road, solicited his support, if he wished his project to succeed, he could have no difficulty in a choice; would he not richly deserve discomfiture if he voted for him who was opposed to the road? So it is in a wider, in a more extensive sense in the legislature—the township councillor is a member of Parliament in miniature. Hence if our principles are *liberal* and *progressive*, there is but one rational choice for us to make—the liberal party. They are, they must be, our friends, our natural allies.

If politics, as some able writers aver, are all expediency, what then should be our course? Obviously we should seek to discover the side or party most likely to secure us the greatest advantages. I have shown, if anything has been demonstrated by this paper, that for eighteen years we have tried the Conservatives, and find them wanting in every particular. Duty and self-interest alike point out the desirability of giving the other side a trial. We cannot possibly lose by the change, and at the very worst there is a chance of gaining. The consciousness of having appreciated the situation would in itself be a very good guarantee of fair dealing, apart from considerations of natural right, equality and justice.

—“ Hereditary bondsmen, know ye not,
Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow.”

So that whether we look on the question as a matter of principle or expediency, it is clearly in our common interest to support the Liberal party. It is likewise, I contend, in the interest of those who think only of themselves. Suppose they

Want some favour, do they think that they will be more likely to succeed by supplicating on their marrow-bones and cringing, with hat in hand, besides the degradation, the loss of self-respect, than if backed by the strength and intelligence of their countrymen. If they think so, we cannot give them credit for much astuteness. There is, I grant, one little consideration which makes a wonderful difference, and it is this, that these traffickers in our rights, these who would barter away our privileges may not be backed by the power and intelligence of their countrymen. We should never forget the good old maxim, which is as applicable to parties as individuals:—"If a man deceives me once, it is his fault; if he deceives me twice, it is mine."

I am not of those who believe that to be a Conservative is to be corrupt, reckless, and insensible to the public interest. On the contrary, I believe that Conservatives from their stand point and according to their convictions, are as true, as devoted and patriotic as any other class of the people; and if the political *Theardiers* of society are almost exclusively to be found in their ranks, it is more a consequence of long-continued power than inherent evil. They honestly believe that Irish Catholics are disloyal, unfaithful and cannot be trusted, and honestly acting up to these convictions as faithful, patriotic citizens they very consistently use all their influence to prevent the calamities which they feel must inevitably ensue from giving such people a share in the management of public affairs. They logically conclude that an "ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," and that this is best effected by keeping them in those positions where they would be capable of doing a *minimum* amount of harm. In confirmation of this theory it will be observed that they never make a favourite of any Irish Catholic, except one who is denounced by his brethren as a traitor and a renegade, one of the judge Keogh stamp. Then, and then only, may he have a few honours cast on him; or as the native bard beautifully and truly expresses it—for it is both truth and poetry—

"Unprized are her sons till they learn to betray,
Undistinguished they live if they shame not their sires;
And the torch that would light them to dignity's way,
Must be caught from the pile where their country expires."

This is the reason why they tried with main and might to resist our right to the franchise and every other privilege which we to-day enjoy. Had they acted otherwise they would not be carrying out their honest belief of "Irish Paupers." Hence instead of blaming them I respect them for it. But I do blame Irish Catholics for being so foolish, aye, so worse than foolish, *suicidal—criminal* as to lend their assistance in putting men with these convictions, however honest, in power and helping to keep them there. It is the old story over again of the man furnishing the "*stick to break his own head.*"

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

Wonderful is the power of lying and boldness. "Lie boldly," says Lord Bacon in his aphorisms, "and some is sure to stick." "Lie boldly," says an Italian, "and if it is believed only for one day, it will not be without effect." The great chancellor in his essay on boldness, says: "There is in human nature more of the fool than of the wise; and therefore those faculties by which the foolish part of men's minds is taken are most potent. Wonderful-like is the case of boldness: what first? boldness: what second and third? boldness. And yet boldness is a child of ignorance and baseness, far inferior to other parts; but, nevertheless, it doth fascinate, and bind hand and foot those that are either shallow in judgment or weak in courage, which are the greater part: yea, and prevaileth with wise men at weak times." We have a living verification of the truth of the above in the misrepresentation of the Liberal party, particularly those formidable appendages, vulgarly denominated "George Brown" and the "*Globe*," and the falsehoods are so oft repeated that they cease to be examined, and are, to a great extent, accepted as gospel truths.

I think that I can lay claim to being as sensitive as most men on all questions affecting the honour, the reputation and the rights of Irishmen. In fact, one of the stereotyped charges against me is, that *I am too extreme, too sensitive on Irish questions*. For the last fifteen or sixteen years I have been a pretty constant reader, not only of the *Globe*, but of the *Leader* and *Colonist*, (while it lived) of Toronto; of the *Cazette* and *Advertiser* of Montreal; and an occasional reader of the *Spectator* of Hamilton, the *Prototype* of London, and *Chronicle* of Quebec, as well as of the reform press of these places. While I admit and regret that during this time many things have appeared in the *Globe*, which, to say the least, were indiscreet, and had much better been left unsaid—as who amongst us has not said things that he would wish unsaid—I do most emphatically assert that during this same period for the one passage in the *Globe* at which an Irish Catholic could justly take umbrage, a dozen, a score, aye, and fifty have appeared in each of the above papers; and if quoting such passages was relevant or material to my subject, I could fill a nice little volume with them. But I would not pollute these pages with the foul garbage. I would not exhume from its black grave the noisome carcase to cater to the vitiated tastes and dainty palates of our worst enemies. Nor can I be persuaded that those who deal with such filthy trash are the best friends of our people. Lord Bacon says:—"That which is past is gone and irrecoverable, and wise men have enough to do with things present and to come." Nor should it be lost sight of that during all this time the *Globe* was under no obligation to Irish Catholics, while the party represented by

the other papers was receiving their active support. Undue importance is too often attached to newspaper articles. A newspaper known to speak the sentiments of a Government is watched and read with interest, because it is the mouth-piece of the administration. For example, suppose the *Globe* now propounded a new land or timber policy for Ontario, it would at once be assumed that it was speaking on behalf of the Government, and therefore importance attached to it, which otherwise would be puerile. But no such weight or importance can or should be attached to the sayings of an independent paper, who may simply be airing the views of its editor; and these often very shallow and worthless.

Suppose that I admit for argument sake, what as a fact I most distinctly deny, that Mr. Brown and the *Globe* were in the past what they are represented to be by his worst enemies, what would that prove against the Reform party? I answer unhesitatingly nothing—absolutely nothing. Surely a party, numbering its followers by hundreds of thousands, is not going to be judged by the acts of one man or by the writings in one newspaper. In physics what would be thought of a philosopher who sought to establish a general law of nature from one phenomenon or from one set of phenomena. Why his theorizing would be scouted as absurd and dangerous speculations, even though, like Kepler, his genius unaided could for an instant penetrate the vast abyss that divides finite knowledge from infinity. Such laws are founded on carefully recorded series of observations under every variety of circumstances and extending over considerable periods of time; and when promulgated as great natural truths they are subjected to the most severe, rigid and critical analysis by all the world of science: every credential is closely inspected before being admitted to the temple of truth. Take the astronomer in the simplest of his operations—the finding of his latitude. Though possessed of the most perfect instruments that scientific skill can bring to his aid, will he determine it by a single observation? Far from it. Day after day he will make a series of observations, take a mean of each day's; and by a mean of *all his means* he fixes his position. In judging a party we must take ground exactly similar to the philosopher, we must not draw conclusions from single or isolated facts. We must try it by the views of all its leading men, by the authorized exposition of its doctrines, by the principles it inculcates and by the whole press which circulates them. We must not specially seize on periods in its history of exasperation and disturbance. Who would think his character fairly portrayed by a delineator who seized on his moments of weakness from ill-humour or excitement? We must take a comprehensive view, gather together all its acts, and judge it intelligently and critically by the sum total of these acts. Would it be just or

fair of me if in this paper I condemned the Conservative party for the acts of one of its members or newspapers. I might, for example, say that they were steadily supported by the *great grand* and all the *little grands* of the Orange institution, and that such testimony was sufficient and conclusive that Irish Catholics should have nothing to do with them. I have not done so, it would be neither just nor honourable. I have carefully collated and examined their acts extending over a period of nearly twenty years; and by these acts, and these only, have I judged them. Do likewise, act similarly by the Liberal party, and I have no fear of the result. If they do not come forth from the ordeal pure and of full weight, like fine gold tried in the fire, then condemn them and I will heartily join in the condemnation. I might appeal to facts if necessary to strengthen my argument, to show that Mr. Brown and the *Globe* do not constitute the Reform party. During the first session of 1863, the *Globe* was continually fault-finding with the Liberal Government, Did the Government lose one vote by the *Globe's* grumblings? Not one, and more singular still, Mr. Brown towards the end of the session was returned to Parliament, and when there did exactly what the *Globe* had been all along censuring.

CHANCE OF BASE.

Has any of you ever asked himself how it occurred that on one particular night the Irish Catholics of Canada went to bed *good and staunch liberals*, and on waking the next morning found themselves *fully-fledged Tories*. This anomaly needs explanation. In 1854 the party since known as of *bons principes* coalesced with the Tories of Upper Canada—their former foe. The compact was concise, simple, expressive and intelligible. "The party of the first part covenants, bargains and agrees with the party of the second part, that if the said party of the second part will give and allow the said party of the first part their own way in the management of all matters affecting that piece, parcel or tract of land known as Lower Canada, they, the said party of the first party will let, allow and consent the said party of the second part to have their own way and fling in the management of Upper Canada with all the appurtenances thereunto belonging." In a subsequent clause there was a proviso that the Protestants of Lower Canada were not included in the transfer. But no saving clause for the Irish Catholics of Upper Canada. They were handed over to the tender mercy of Orangeism. A difficulty of getting the people to ratify so shameful an abandonment of principles was foreseen, and must be provided for. A happy expedient was hit upon. European society had just been recovering from the shocks of revolution, anarchy and infidelity. The temporal patrimony of the

Church throughout Christendom was declared to be in danger. The eyes of the spoliator were said to be upon it. Mazzini, Gavazzi and kindred spirits stalked abroad. All these things made the moment opportune—a fortuitous combination of circumstances for the success of the plot. The advanced liberals of Lower Canada were stigmatized as socialists, revolutionists and the enemies of God and man. Their youthful ardour was construed into treason, their juvenile declamations into harbingers of anarchy. The blood of 89 and the memories of 93 were invoked. The unsuspecting bishops, in their innocence of political knavery, became alarmed, and were inveigled into the trap so ingeniously set for them. They were made believe that if the Liberal party succeeded to power their first acts would be the spoliation of their religious institutions after the continental fashion; and that the only way to prevent that dire calamity was to throw their whole support and influence to them and their new-found allies from Upper Canada. Impressed with the seeming danger the hierarchy of Lower Canada appealed to those of their brethren and fellow-countrymen of Upper Canada to make common cause with them against the common enemy of the Church, and to rally the “faithful Irish”—her trusty defenders—under their banner. Thus were we led captive at the chariot wheels of Sir George Cartier, thus were we wheedled by the false cry of the “Church in danger” into the support of our hereditary and implacable foe. The subsequent agitation of the school question still further served to alienate us from our natural allies and true friends. The “Church in danger” cry is now having a second resurrection, and the effrontery of the resurrectionists eclipses Lord Bacon’s ideas of lies and boldness. Whatever plausibility might formerly be given to such cries, Confederation has placed that jurisdiction entirely and exclusively in the hands of Lower Canadians themselves, and no danger can ever reach their religious institutions but it be through the recreancy of Lower Canadians themselves.

POLITICAL INGRATITUDE.

Reader, have you ever pondered on our conduct? have you ever reflected on our ingratitude? We turned our backs on our principles, we abandoned without cause those, side by side with whom we fought and struggled for civil and religious liberty, and conquered; and when in possession of the citadel, we turned round and handed the key to the enemy. Never was treachery baser, and now, forsooth, we turn up our lips because some of the people whom we thus betrayed show some symptoms of distrust. I have often heard brainless prattlers exclaim with affected indignation: “Grits are too bigoted to support any Irish Catholic.” Admitting for argument’s sake their correctness, which I entirely

deny as facts, what claims have they to "Grit" support. The proofs of its falsehoods are abundant and at every one's hand. Indeed, considering all the circumstances, the conduct of the Reform party towards Irish Catholics has been more than generous, far more than could reasonably be expected at their hands, measured by the ordinary standard of human affairs.

MR. BLAKE.

If there ever was a time when duty and self-interest, if not self-preservation, point to the banner of the Liberal party as the rallying point for Irish Catholics, that time is the present, when its chief standard-bearer is one of our own race—one of our own blood—one of our own kith and kin; one too, who shall yet occupy a place beside Burke and Sheridan, Grattan and O'Connell, Shiel and O'Brien. Those who basely insinuate that because of his religion he is not worthy of the confidence of Irish Catholics, know they are vilely slandering our people. Was not Wolfe Tone a Protestant? was not Robert Emmett a Protestant? was not Lord Edward a Protestant? was not Smith O'Brien a Protestant? Is not John Mitchell a Protestant? are not Butt and Martin Protestants? What names so dear, what memories so revered, what tombs so hallowed, what shrines so sanctified as are these to Irishmen? Mr. Blake worships at the same shrine of liberal ideas as they did. He is actuated by the same love of justice, the same horror of oppression, which characterized them. Happily for us, we have fallen on better times, we are reaping the fruits of their martyrdom. Had Edward Blake lived in those dark days, an eye witness of, a sharer in, the tyrannies for which they ever will have an unenviable notoriety, could he control his indignation or would he be carried away by the generous impulses of his nature to be engulfed in the vortex which swallowed so many brave men and true, are matters of speculation on which we need not dwell. That he is ready to do his duty by the present, is sufficient for us. It may well be our pride and boast to be led by so worthy a leader.

OUR POWER.

Power in mechanics is the product of the weight or quantity of matter in a mass into its volume. Power in politics is somewhat analogous, for it is the product of numbers into the centripetal or adhesive force. Do we appreciate our power? do we sufficiently consider the influence we might wield in public affairs? we number about a half-million of souls, scattered all over the country from Halifax to Sarnia. It is this, which at first sight might seem a source of weakness, is our greatest strength. The elect-

oral college of the whole Dominion consists of about 400,000, of whom we form about an eighth, scattered, as already remarked, in various proportions throughout all the constituencies. It is within the limits of safety to assume that we can determine in one-half of the whole Dominion, or 100 constituencies, who shall be their representatives, and therefore the complexion and constitution of the Government, for we hold the balance of power between rival and contending parties. This should be a most favourable position to occupy. Let us then learn to employ it judiciously, let us learn to wield it advantageously, and we shall be courted and sought after, instead of being despised as in the past. We have one of the elements of success (numbers), let us emulate with one another to cultivate the other. We are now like a vast hydraulic power, going to waste for want of its application to useful purposes. We are the arbiters of our own destiny. This is patent to the plainest understanding. If this is so, am I not justified in attributing our present lamentable position to our own apathy or mismanagement—to our own divisions and disregard of the common interest.

But if in one constituency or one province our people support one political party, and in another a different one, we neutralize our own strength, we thereby constitute in the political sphere a balanced force, which may be entirely removed or overlooked without affecting the statical equilibrium of the whole structure. Therefore to have our power felt and effectual for good, it must be thrown into one scale. I have endeavoured to show that this scale is the Liberal one. If you agree with me, and I am at a loss to know how you can rationally reject my conclusions: then to carry these out successfully there is but one course to pursue—to support with your vote and influence the avowed candidates of the Liberal party. To do this you must cast aside all considerations of personal likes and dislikes, you must dismiss questions of personal favours and obligations, for as I have previously said, if you desire your principles to succeed, it is not done by supporting those who are opposed to them. You should interrogate every candidate. His answer should be plain, intelligible, conclusive and satisfactory on the main question, *whether he will, if elected, support the Government or the Opposition.* Let there be no evasion or room for equivocation on this point, and if he is not to your entire satisfaction and beyond reasonable doubt with the Liberal party, it is your duty to reject, however much you may personally respect, him. For we should always bear in mind that it is not for the individual we vote but for the party of which he is a member. It is the veriest nonsense to say that you do not wish to see Orangeism in power if you support its supporters. Let this be your first question, because it is the most vital, the most important to the amelioration of your position, to the elevation of your class. I

say here, and I take my stand on that declaration, that it is more to the advantage and interest of Irish Catholics as a class to support a *Protestant Liberal* than a *Catholic* who supports the Conservative Government. There is none less worthy of your support than he who claims it solely on religious grounds. He should also have other passports to your favour. He should have education, he should have ability, in a word, he should have a record to point to. Better, a thousand times better, to be *unrepresented*, than *misrepresented*.

In taking this ground I may observe that I am following the example set by the venerable Bishop of Kingston, at the last Ontario election, when, as I have been credibly informed, he enunciated the liberal policy of recommending his clergy, and through them their flocks, to vote for a *Protestant Conservative* in East Peterborough in preference to an *Irish Catholic Liberal*. Mr. O'Donohoe, whose private character is unimpeachable, and who, in my humble opinion, is one of the most devoted and most disinterested, one of the best, purest and truest of Irish Catholics in this Dominion, and to whose character the poet's description of Grattan is justly applicable—

“ Ever glorious Grattan ! the best of the good,
So simple in heart, so sublime in the rest !
With all that Demosthenes wanted endued,
And his rival or victor in all he possessed.

“ Ere Tully arose in the zenith of Rome,
Though unequal'd, preceded, the task was begun—
But Grattan sprung up like a god from the tomb
Of age, the first, last, the saviour, the one !

“ With the skill of an Orpheus to soften the brute ;
With the fire of Prometheus to kindle mankind ;
Even Tyranny, listening, sate melted or mute,
And Corruption shrunk scorch'd from the glance of his mind.”
BYRON.

I say that Mr. O'Donohoe could only be opposed by that revered prelate on account of his political principles. For my own part I hail with pleasure this course—that every one of the bishops will support, on public grounds, that political party to whose keeping the public interests are, in his opinion, best entrusted, and I sincerely hope that the hierarchy will not object to the Catholic laity exercising a similar discretion, that an Irish Catholic Liberal will support a Liberal, whether he be a Catholic or Protestant, and that there shall no longer be questions of religion mixed up with politics.

I have no fear but the Liberal party will give Irish Catholics a fair representation in their ranks. I have it from Mr. O'Donohoe's own lips that there was not a Protestant Liberal in East Peterborough voted against him, notwithstanding the industrious circulation of “Fenian” conspiracies and other infamous falsehoods, and that he lost his election for want of time to enable him to contradict false statements circulated amongst his co-religionists

prejudicial to his character. We have Mr. Dawson triumphantly elected by the reformers of Kent, and Mr. Fraser by the reformers of South Grenville. How much more may we expect when we evince a desire to return to our old allegiance, when we show symptoms of an earnest desire to come back to the ranks which in our folly we left. There shall be rejoicing in the Liberal camp when, like the prodigal, we return home.

There are, I doubt not, many members supporting the Conservative Government, who are individually Liberal in sentiment, free from bigotry, and who would ostracise no man because of the accidents of race or creed. This class of men support the Government for either or all of the following reasons:—1st. That the whippers in of the party flatter their vanity and allay their suspicions by a cunningly-devised system of laudation and lip liberality; 2nd. They are too unsuspecting to doubt and too lazy to examine; and 3rd. They consider the Government so strong that all attempts at their overthrow would be futile, and for the sake of small favours for their constituents, they continue to give it support. We often hear those slipshod orators, who act the whips of the party, exclaim that the utmost harmony prevails between all “clawes,” and sectaries in this country; and take credit to their party for allaying the demon of discord. Yes, that harmony which subsists between a master and his slaves—the latter are allowed to live and toil so long as they are humble and obedient, and ready to do the master’s behests.

Some will say what is the use of opposing a certain candidate, he will, nevertheless, be elected; and without effecting any tangible benefit we are converting a friend into an enemy. This is one of the misfortunes of open voting, one of the many strong arguments in favour of the *ballot* in preventing the disruption of social relations and friendly intercourse between those who differ on public questions. If the franchise is to be exercised from such considerations, it would be better for the individual and the public that such was disfranchised. Moreover, the man who in his private relations to another would be influenced by such considerations is wholly unfit to be a representative of the people. The elector in duty, in honour and in patriotism must banish all such considerations from his mind, and use this solemn trust in strict accordance with his own convictions. I can do no better here than quote a few extracts, clipped from the *Irish Sentinel*, from a pastoral of JOHN, the venerable and patriotic Archbishop of Tuam, so often and justly styled “the Lion of the fold of Judah,” to his clergy.

The Archbishop says :

“We are again on the eve of one of those periods so disastrous to the interests of morality and religion that recur occasionally in Ireland. During elections the mind of many of the faithful are

so often loosed from the ordinary restraints of duty, that it is unfortunately looked upon as a time when bribery, perjury, drunkenness and every species of corruption are permitted to supplant the ordinary virtues of the people. It is our duty to endeavour to check those mighty evils, filled with a just apprehension of the threat of the prophet, that if the faithful should sin for want of seasonable warning, the Judge of the living and the dead 'shall demand their blood at our hands.'

"I am well aware that an apology is sought for those transgressions in the strong temptations held out by men who, as they affect a zeal for the morality of the people, should never hold out any inducements to sin. The dread of those who might persecute the freeholders for a faithful discharge of their duty ought to be subdued by the words of the Redeemer, telling us not to fear those who can kill the body, but rather to fear Him who can destroy both body and soul in hell.

"After filling their souls with this salutary fear which the Gospel inspires, you will not fail to impress upon the people that they risk the loss of their immortal souls by the crimes of perjury and bribery to which I have alluded. Remind them of the inspired admonition, 'Speak the truth every one to his neighbour: judge truth and judgment, love not false oaths, for these are the things I hate, saith the Lord.' Nay assure them in the words of the same prophet, that 'The curse of the Lord shall come to the house of the thief, and to the house of him who sweareth falsely His name.' Let them not, therefore, give a vote, unless their conscience assures them that they have a real freehold to the enjoyment of which they have already sworn.

"As for bribery, that foul crime that has done so much to corrupt the purity of elections, by debauching the minds of the people, your denunciations of so enormous a sin must be cogent in proportion to its atrocity. *The freehold is not a property to be set up for sale. It is held in trust for the benefit of the people,* and no man can have a right to traffic upon that which is not solely his own, and by such a vile bargain to inflict injury upon the community. There can be no compromise of this truth; let, therefore, the people be persuaded that whoever receives a bribe directly or indirectly for his vote is to be excluded from the benefits of the sacraments until he makes restitution of the money, which might be called the price of happiness of the poor, the widow and orphan. No matter through what medium the bribe may be received, no matter under what specious contracts the traffic may be disguised, the Catholic Church detests all such prevarications and evasions; and therefore the saying of St. Augustine is applicable to all such cases; 'Until restitution is made, the sin is not forgiven.' Let those who receive a bribe as the price of their country's happiness, entertain no hope of absolution until

they atone for their crime by restitution of ill-gotten treasures. When the film with which bribery covers the eyes of the electors is once removed, they will more easily perceive the straight path which duty points out of giving their suffrage to those who shall best promote the interests of religion and the happiness of their country; for the Scripture assures us that 'presents and gifts blind the eyes of judges, and make them dumb in the mouth, so that they cannot correct.' When, therefore, that obstruction is once removed, it will be an easy task to convince the freeholders of their duty. In short, when once the hope of bribery on the one hand and the fear of unchristian oppression on the other are taken away, the people will come to the hustings as reasonable, intelligent and free agents ought to come, with a consciousness that they are not the serfs of any man, but the trustees of religion and nationality, and that they owe no account, but to God alone, for the use they make of the elective franchise."

ONTARIO.

In view of all the circumstances, the Catholics of Ontario have but one rational choice. "There are in round numbers about 180,000 electors in this province, of these 25,000 are Catholics. Of the remaining 155,000 Protestant electors, 90,000 belong to the Liberal party, and the balance of 65,000 are composed of Conservatives and camp followers. No one conversant with the political history of this province for the last fifteen years can affirm that I have exaggerated the strength of the Liberal party, nay, I believe it is under-estimated. For many parliaments preceding Confederation the reformers though in opposition with all its disadvantages, carried a majority of the constituencies, and in 1863 when in power they carried over two to one; and if they lost ground in the general election of 1867, it was owing to the coalition—the treachery of a few leading men. During these times probably four-fifths of the Catholics were arrayed against them. The result of last year's election corroborates this view. Parties have stood thus:

Liberals—Protestant,	90,000	
“ Catholics,	5,000	95,000
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Tories—Protestant,	65,000	
“ Catholics,	20,000	85,000
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Majority for Liberals		10,000

We see then that the reform party have an undisputed majority in Upper Canada, and are destined to rule in that province, at least. Entirely apart from sentiment, is it not our interest to join in strengthening that party, and thereby establish our claim to a

fair share in the management of public affairs in that section of the Dominion. Reverse the disposition of the Catholic vote, and then note the difference in our favour. Parties would then stand.

Liberals—Protestants,	90,000	
“ Catholics	20,000	110,000

Tories—Protestants,	65,000	
“ Catholics,	5,000	70,000

Majority for Liberals	40,000
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By this means our claims to a fair distribution would be increased fourfold. I doubt not but this would secure sixty out of the eighty-eight seats to the Reform party, out of which the Catholics could fairly claim ten. Would not this be a new and happy phase in our colonial history. Yet it is quite feasible, and of easy realization if we do our duty. For our support of five thousand we have received in return a Minister of the Crown and two or three members of parliament, if we quadruple that support it is a question of simple proportion to calculate our gain by securing its ten members. This proportion is not unfair, for the most sanguine claimed only 42 out of 82 members for the Liberal party. At last election our support was one to nineteen, so that we fared wonderfully well.

To give effect to this object I would respectfully suggest to the Chairman and Executive Committee of the *Catholic League*—the only representative organization of the Catholic laity of Ontario,—to call by circular or otherwise a meeting of leading Catholics from the various sections of the province, to deliberate on this important subject, to select, from amongst them, gentlemen qualified to be put forward as candidates and to appoint a committee to confer with a like number of the leaders of the Reform party for the purpose of giving effect to this proposition, and determining the constituencies where Catholic candidates may be run.

CONCLUSION.

In bringing to a conclusion this trespass on your time, this trial on your patience, permit me to assure you that I have been actuated but by one motive—the public good in general, and your good in particular. I shall now consign the matter to your arbitrament; I shall shift the responsibility to your own shoulders, and only add that if this paper shall, even in a remote degree, be instrumental in elevating our political status or ameliorating the condition of our people in this country, it will have answered a useful purpose, and I shall feel amply repaid for the time and labour its production has cost me, my greatest regret being my incompetency to do the subject that justice, which should be expect-

ed from an exponent of the views of so numerous a class of the people. I shall finish by recalling to your memory the fable of the "Swallow and other birds."

"A swallow observing a farmer employed in sowing hemp, called the little birds together, informed them what he was about, telling them that hemp was the material from which the nets so fatal to the feathered tribe were made, and advised them to join unanimously in picking it up before the seeds had taken too deep root. The birds heard his warning, but paid no attention to his advice. In a short time the hemp appeared above ground. The friendly swallow again addressed himself to the little birds, and told them it was not yet too late, if they immediately set about the work. But they still neglecting his advice, he forsook their society, repaired for safety to towns and cities, and there built his habitation and kept his residence. One day as he was skimming along the street, he saw a number of these very birds imprisoned in a cage on the shoulders of a bird-catcher. 'Unhappy wretches,' said he, 'you now suffer the punishment of your former neglect. Had you taken my advice and picked up the hemp seeds, you would now be free to cleave on freedom's wing your native air instead of prisoners in that cage. *But those who, having no foresight of their own, despise the wholesome admonitions of their friends, deserve the mischiefs which their neglect or their obstinacy brings upon their heads.*'"

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

I have the honor to subscribe myself

Your sincere, devoted, and faithful servant,

J. L. P. O'HANLY.

OTTAWA, 1st June, 1872.

APPENDIX.

The late D'Arcy McGee's opinion of the *Toronto Freeman*, and its editor, Mr. J. G. Moylan.

"THE TORONTO FREEMAN."

A CIRCULAR LETTER FROM MR. M'GEE, M. P. P.

"MY DEAR SIR :—As I was instrumental in enlisting the support of several friends in your neighbourhood for the *Toronto Freeman*, I take this means of informing you of facts which have lately transpired, in reference to that newspaper, and which, in the interests of public justice, you are at liberty to communicate to any one you please, on my authority.

"When the types and subscription list of the *Catholic Citizen* were purchased, in 1858, it was in order to suppress that most objectionable paper, which had used the cloak of religion for all the commonest purposes of partizan warfare. The funds by which this purchase was made were, in part, contributed by some personal friends of mine, and the prospectus of the new paper, the *Freeman*, was drafted by a Committee, of which I was one. When question arose as to the Editor, I suggested the name of Mr. J. G. Moylan, Teacher, of Guelph, and at my suggestion he was sent for. When the arrangements for transferring the *bonus* to the new Editor and Publisher were far enough advanced for action, it was proposed to bind the Editor under some penalty, to adhere faithfully to the non-partizan clause, and other conditions of the Prospectus; but I resisted any such stipulation being imposed, because I contended that with the example of the late *Citizen* before his eyes, our best guarantee for the new Editor's independence would be found in his own interest.

"At two subsequent periods, I again interposed, as you know, to obtain aid for the journal, without which I was assured it could not possibly go on; once when Mr. Mallon, the original partner of Mr. Moylan, was bought out, and his share transferred to the latter gentleman, and again under the threatened criminal prosecution of the Orange Grand Master, Mr. Hillyard Cameron.

"I refer to these facts, simply and solely to show that I had some right to ask from the *Freeman* the insertion of any letter of reasonable length, written over my own signature, and for every sentence of which I, and not the Editor, would be necessarily responsible. During the past two months, once before and once since the general election, I made such a request. In the former case, my letter to Mr. Macarow, of Kingston, was withheld three weeks under one pretext or another, and more recently, a temperate and measured

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disclaimer of any participation in the recent electioneering tactics of the *Freeman* was, after a fortnight's detention, returned to me, with a note, as deficient in candour as it was barren of gratitude. The substance of the communication, thus suppressed, is all that I will trouble you with, in order that you may fully understand the turpitude of this conduct. It was entitled, "*A short Address to the Readers of the Toronto Freeman,*" and would have filled a column and a half, perhaps, of that Journal. It contained just six paragraphs. The *first* briefly alluded to my well known public interest in the *Freeman*; the *second* referred to the policy of *conciliation* towards the reform party of which I had been an advocate in the House of Assembly, and the *Freeman* one of the organs in the Press; the *third* deprecated in mild but explicit language the sudden desertion of that policy, without sufficient public cause *shown*, on the immediate eve of the late general election; the *fourth* and *fifth* illustrated the folly and danger of fickleness and disregard of principle in political crises; and the *sixth* expressed my personal gratitude to those communities of our friends such as Lanark, Victoria, Haldimand and Perth, which honourably adhered to the conciliation policy of the last four years, and to prominent individuals who had preserved the same consistent course. This was the whole sum and substance of the communication which Mr. Moylan refused to permit me to publish over my own name, through the medium of those types of which, but for my friends and myself, he never would have been the master.

"The personal wrong, however, is but a small part of the far greater public wrong done by the *Freeman's* perversion. That paper was not a private chattel, of which the gentleman in charge could say: "I have a right to do as I like with my own." It was founded and sustained chiefly by the contributions of Catholic electors in Upper and Lower Canada. It had a representative character and a representative responsibility. The Toronto Conference, immediately preceding the Banquet of the 29th of September, 1859, composed of locally influential men, Reeves, Councillors, Aldermen, Presidents of Societies, and Chairmen of numerous Meetings, had given it that character, in a series of resolutions, explicit and unequivocal. That Conference was held more than twelve months after the Brown-Dorion crisis of July, 1858, and no new facts have since been publicly elicited, so far as I know, which would justify a total abandonment of the understanding then entered into—an understanding cordially accepted by the Editor (to use his own words at the subsequent Banquet), "for weal and for woe,"—words which for more than a year afterwards, up to the very day of the late general election—were never once attempted to be explained away, still less withdrawn or retracted, or denied, as they now are.

"If there *are* good and sufficient *public reasons* for such a sum-

mersault being performed, they have not been stated in the *Freeman's* apology, so far. The pretext that it was to punish Mr. Brown, personally, is inconsistent with the facts which have come to light. The offences of Mr. Brown were before the Editor's eyes in 1858 and 1859, as fully as in 1861, but then he contended for giving him, in the spirit of conciliation, "a fair trial." It could not be "to punish Mr. Brown," that Dr. Connor, one of the early benefactors of the paper, was malignantly attacked; it need not be to punish Mr. Brown, that the liberal and upright Adam Wilson was opposed; it need not be to punish Mr. Brown, that the "come weal, come woe," Mr. Moylan, of 1859, presented himself side by side with Mr. Allen, the Jailor, to glorify the alliance of "Orange and Green," from the balcony of the veteran head of the family compact, Chief Justice Robinson. Whatever motives have led to this perversion of the paper from the purposes to which its Prospectus, and the resolutions of September, 1859, bound it in honour to adhere, those motives, so far, are of a *private* character, and have never been, as, perhaps, they cannot afford to be, made *public*.

"The guilt of the *Freeman* then, is this: that *publicly* its conductor gave his adhesion to a line of policy, from its inception to the very eve of a general election, which line of policy he suddenly abandoned, without any sufficient *public* justification for so doing. That in order to mislead others to take the same course he returned to old outworn controversies dating so far back as 1851, controversies which had been, in our own interest, decreed to be closed forever, when the policy of conciliation was inaugurated, on the suppression of the *Catholic Citizen*. That being bound to independence as between Canadian partizans, his attacks, public and personal, were all delivered on one side of politics, and his advocacy all on the other side. That he used, in this way, the authority, and abused the confidence placed in him by many zealous friends and supporters, who, he right well knew, utterly disapproved of his making a *Mirror* or *True Witness* of himself and the paper. That, moreover, he concealed his proposed change to so far advanced an hour, that these consistent friends and supporters were unable to counteract the mischief done by his desertion of his independent post, until the contest was past, and the mischief in some instances beyond repair, for the present; in other words, the guilt of ingratitude, deception, and insincerity, are clearly fastened by his own acts upon this gentleman, whom you and I, and many others, have for the past three years exerted every effort to sustain in his position, so abused, and so dishonoured. His new friends may, perhaps, do more for him that way than his old ones, but they cannot do it more freely, or with better hearts.

"These are the facts, my dear sir, which in the interests of public justice, I feel bound to communicate to you, in the present circular. I cannot conclude without the expression of a hope that we shall

have, ere long, a press governed by higher motives than have
 awayed our former friend from his allegiance to his principles and
 his supporters. As to him, all that needs to be said, is told in the
 proverb: 'If a man deceives me *once*, it is *his* fault; if *twice*, it
 is *my* own.'

"I have the honour to subscribe myself,

Yours very truly,

THOS. D'ARCY M'GEE.

" MONTREAL, Aug. 5th, 1861.

" * * * I may be obliged, from time to time, to send circulars to
 you on this and similar subjects, in which you will be good enough
 to excuse the printed form adopted."

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