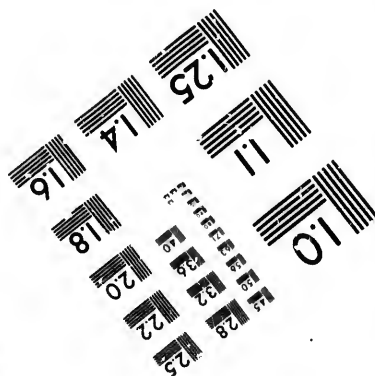
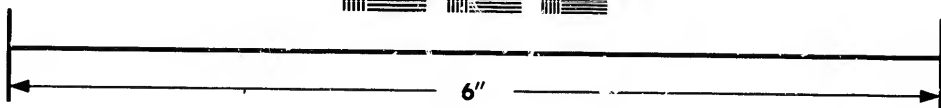
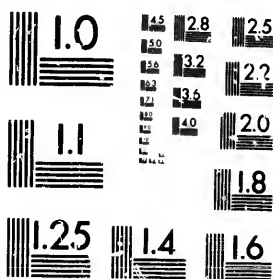


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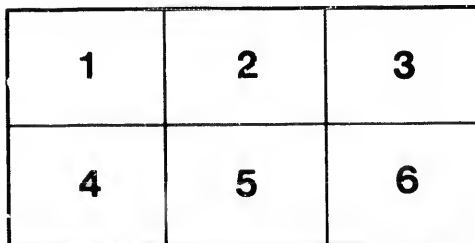
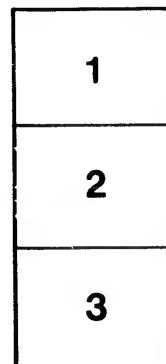
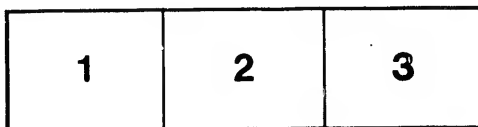
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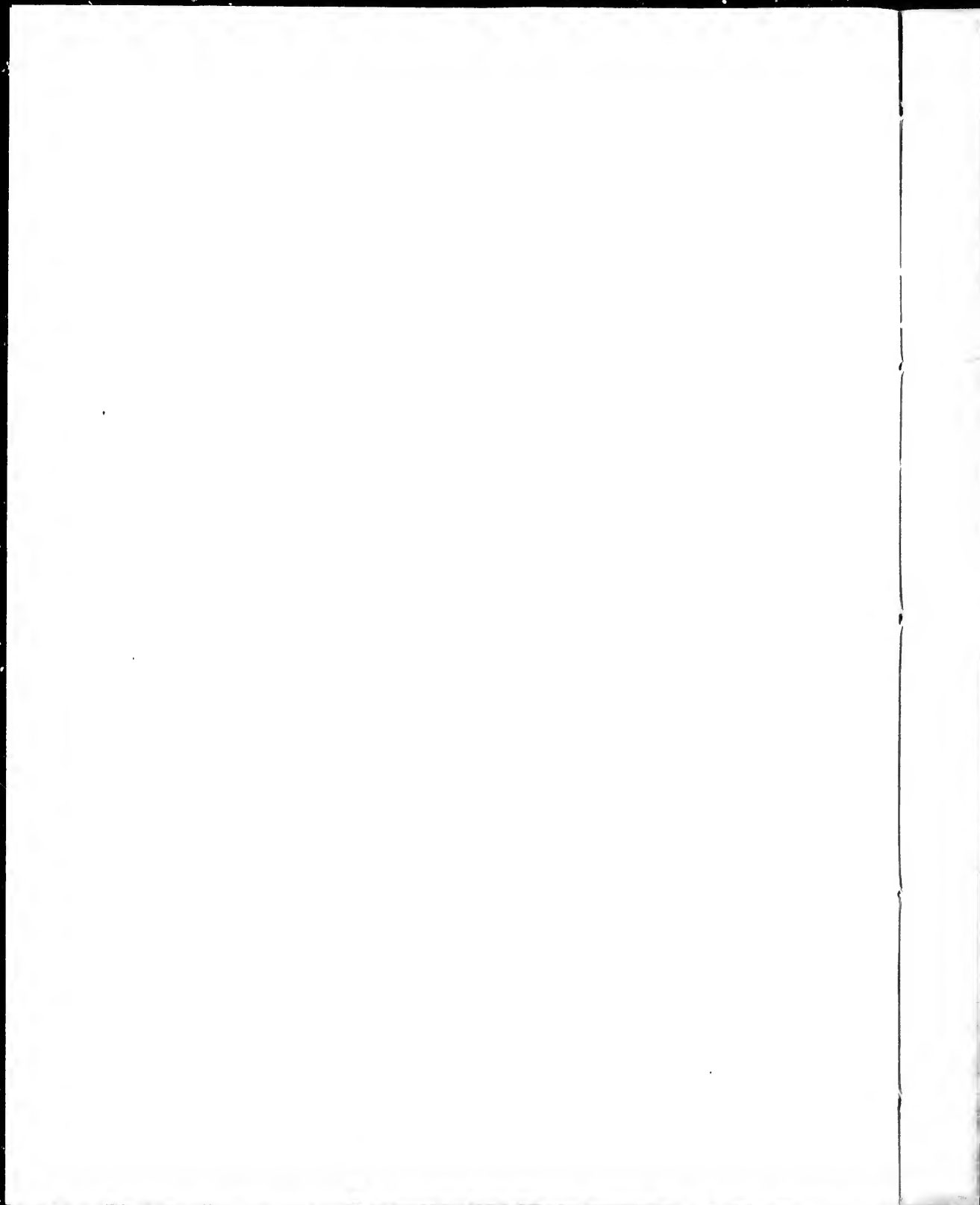
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THE IRISH IN CANADA ;

A LECTURE

BY

W. H. WALLER, ESQ.,

MAYOR OF OTTAWA,

DELIVERED AT ST. PATRICK'S HALL, OTTAWA,

ON

TUESDAY EVENING, JUNE 26th, 1877.

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*Republication, with corrections, of The Tribune's report.*

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With the writer's compliments  
W. H. Waller

## THE IRISH IN CANADA.

St. Patrick's Hall, Ottawa, was crowded to its utmost capacity, on Tuesday evening, the 26th ult., to hear the promised lecture, by Mr. Mayor Waller, on the subject of "The Irish in Canada." In the audience were many leading citizens of all classes and different shades of politics.

Ex-alderman Heney was called to the chair and the Rev. Father Whalen also occupied a seat on the platform. The chairman having briefly introduced the lecturer, who on rising was greeted with a perfect storm of applause,

Mr. Waller said:—Before immediately proceeding to our subject, I deem it but right to state that in the remarks I am going to address you this evening my object is not political. My purpose is simply, in our interests, as a component part of the Canadian people, to convince you that we are not so badly off in our adopted country as certain parties—for whatever object—would lead you to believe; and to point out that it is not in our interest, nor in the general interest of the country, that we should be carried away by the false impressions attempted to be created by a few dissatisfied individuals in Ontario—and in Ontario only—who, charged with having personal ends and objects in view, desire to accomplish them at our expense; and who, in pursuing so unpatriotic a course, would do us an amount of mischief or injury if not checked in their career. (Applause.) I propose to demonstrate to you the weakness and absurdity of the position taken up by those would-be leaders or dictators, and in concluding, to point out what in my judgment is the true course for us to pursue with the view of obtaining that one thing which alone we have any reason to complain about in Canada—adequate representation in Parliament. I am not going to treat you to a flowing or flowery dissertation, but to a recital of plain facts, which I consider it in our interest should be generally known, and which it will be to our benefit to reflect upon. The population of Canada is, as you are

aware, a mixed one, being made up of no less than

### EIGHTEEN DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES,

and some twenty-five or thirty religious denominations. All of these are on an equality in the eye of the law and the constitution, and all of them are—and must be—equally interested in the welfare, prosperity, and advancement of the country; for if it be prosperous and progressive, all must enjoy their proportionate share of the prosperity; while, on the other hand, if stagnation be the order of things, all in their respective degrees or stations must proportionately suffer. Now, these being the facts, it is a plain proposition, easily established, that it is not only in the interest of those eighteen nationalities whose lot is cast together in this happy land, but in the interest of his their native or adopted country, that peace and unity should prevail amongst them, and that they should live together in friendship and harmony, and as far as practicable all pull together for the general good. (Applause.) The soundness of this proposition, I take it, can hardly be denied. I am safe in asserting, then, that whoever acts in opposition to these sentiments, and counsels an opposite course of conduct, is an evil genius in the country, whose advice, in so far as it clashes with the principles laid down, is not safe to follow, and whose influence for mischief, as far as possible, should be counteracted by the wise, the prudent, and the good. (Applause.) A house divided against itself cannot stand. A house or family is but a nation in miniature, and no more can a divided nation prosper and progress than can the members of a family who seriously disagree. It is not, therefore, in the broad interest of this country or its people, in its social or political concerns, that national or sectional feelings should be unnecessarily appealed to or aroused; and where there are so many nationalities associated together in one great partnership, as it were, for a common object, if any

### ONE OF THOSE NATIONALITIES

singles itself out from all the rest to create



national prejudices and keep alive sectarian issues, a natural consequence of the operation of human nature will be that that nationality or sect will inherit in a great degree the hostility of all the rest, and will certainly be a sufferer and no gainer to the full extent of its indiscretion in this respect. This being admitted, and it cannot well be denied, it is obvious to the least reflecting that the true interests of the Irish in Canada—whether Protestant or Catholic—lies in avoiding the occupancy of so anomalous and unprofitable a position: and, in every way in their power, to discountenance and disapprove of the conduct of, unauthorized individuals who, devoid of a broad patriotism, to answer selfish ends and purposes, continually deal and dabble in national and sectarian issues. (Applause.) In my address on St. Patrick's Day last, which, it is pleasing to me to know, met with so extensive an approval from the leading and thinking Catholic men of the Dominion, I pointed out that in trade and commerce, arts, agriculture and manufactures, and in the matter of public contracts, the Irishmen of Canada were in no way behind their neighbours of other nationalities in either enterprise or success. This cannot be denied—no one pretends to contradict the assertion—and on this head, therefore, we hear no complaint from the constitutional grumblers and agitators, who profess to have so much at heart the welfare of their countrymen and co-religionists. It may be taken for granted, then, that on these heads there is no room for complaint; although to my mind, if thousands of our countrymen who drag out a miserable existence in large towns and cities, both in Canada and elsewhere, were to make an effort to settle themselves on a farm—however humble their beginning—they would be far more comfortable, far more independent, far happier, more contented, and better off in every way than they can ever possibly hope to be depending on the precarious subsistence of a day's labour. Much better would it be for them—much more in their true interests—to direct their attention in this way, and encourage them to proceed in a course that leads to independence, health and comfort, than to eternally impress upon them the false idea that one-half of them are entitled to government situations; that they are not getting their due; that they are crushed out by a grasping ascendancy party; that they should bury all these grievances in their souls, and hope and wait for a day of retribution, under the guidance of some self-constituted guardian, to mete out vengeance upon the political oppressor of their race and creed.

The Irish are not a mercenary, place-hunting people; they are a people of honour, pride and principle; a people who love fair play and justice, and ask for no more; and, in the exercise of their elective franchise, cast their votes intelligently, according to political conviction or through personal appreciation

and respect; but there are a few scheming demagogues of their number in almost every community, as there are rotten branches on every tree and sickly sheep in every flock, who for the advancement of their own private interests, take the name of the Irish people in vain, and incessantly talk about want of justice to Irishmen and Catholics—want of representation in Parliament—and want of fair play in the distribution of public patronage; all for the sake of drawing an attention to themselves as leaders or spokesmen—self-elect—that thereby they may benefit themselves or their connections, by a liberal share of that patronage they speak so much about. Such persons as these are the worst enemies of the Irish Catholics of Canada. (Applause) Their conduct is a course of libel and detraction of national character; they provoke for us an hostility and opposition that we would not otherwise encounter, and seriously impede our social, material, and political advancement. It is my purpose to convince you before I have done, that more than one-half the agitation of these unpatriotic individuals, which is so injurious to our interests, is misrepresentation.

According to the last census,

#### THE POPULATION

of the Dominion was 3,579,752 souls, or, with the addition of probable populations of British Columbia and Manitoba, say, for round numbers 3,600,000. This total population, as I have told you, is made up of some eighteen different nationalities, divided into some twenty-five or thirty religious denominations; the principal divisions by nationality being as follows:

English and descent.....	706,369
Irish " " .....	846,414
Scotch " " .....	549,946
French Canadian.....	1,082,940
Germaus.....	202,991
Other nationalities.....	97,101
British Columbia and Manitoba say.....	21,218

Of this total the Irish number, as nearly as possible, 850,000; the religious complexion of the population being as follows:—

Protestants of all denominations..	2,035,096
Catholics.....	1,537,923
Religion not given.....	26,981

Of this 1,537,923 Catholics, about 400,000, as nearly as can be estimated, are Irish and of Irish extraction. Now, with these few facts and others I will refer to, in our possession, and for the sake of accommodating ourselves to the arguments of the agitators, making population according to numbers, a basis of national representation in the Civil Service, in the Senate, the Cabinet, and the Parliament of the Dominion, we can, with a little calculation, tell exactly how many officers, how many Senators, how many Ministers, and how many members of Parliament the Irish in

Canada are entitled to under the Dominion Government. In all these respects the grumblers charge that the Irish and the Catholics are ostracised, and that the Scotch are swallowing up the fat of the land. Well, let us investigate for a little and see how far the charge is true. In 1872 the

**TOTAL NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES,**

under the Dominion Government, was a little over thirty six hundred; for round numbers we will say three thousand six hundred. As you are aware, the number of members in the House of Commons is 206; the number of Senators 77, and the number of Cabinet Ministers 13. Now, let us take a few sums in simple proportion, as follows: If 3,600,000 people employ 3,600 hands, how many of this number are 850,000 Irish entitled to? Answer, 850. Again, if 3,600,000 people give 206 members to the House of Commons, how many of this number are 850,000 Irish entitled to? Answer, 49. Again, if 3,600,000 people give 13 Cabinet Ministers, how many of this number are 850,000 Irish entitled to? Answer, 3. The Senate, or House of Lords, is composed of 77 members, and by the same system of calculation just resorted to we find that the Irish in Canada are entitled to 18 Senators, on the basis of representation according to population. From these calculations, the correctness of which cannot be denied, it will be seen that according to the contention of the agitators the Irish in Canada are entitled to 850 officers under the Dominion Government, to 49 members of Parliament, 18 Senators and 3 Cabinet Ministers. But the Irish are divided into Protestants and Catholics, and unfortunately too sharply keep up the distinction for their own good or the good of the country; and the grumblers will insist on an even distribution of the honours, offices and emoluments. Well, again to accommodate ourselves to their views, let us assume numbers should be a basis for denominational representation. In this case the Irish Catholics would be entitled to 400 offices under the Dominion Government; they would be entitled to 23 members in the House of Commons, to 8 representatives in the Senate, and to one Minister in the Cabinet. These facts being all ascertained, it now remains for us to see how far

**THE IRISH AND THE CATHOLICS**

are represented in the several positions indicated.

It will be remembered that in 1872 a return was made to Parliament of the names, origin, creed, position and pay of all the employees of the Dominion Government. That return I have carefully analyzed, and find that those in the employ of the Government classing themselves under the heading "Irish and Irish Canadian" were 780.

English and English Canadian.....	506
French Canadian.....	450
Nova Scotians.....	393

New Brunswickers.....	213
Scotch and Scotch Canadians.....	297
Canadians.....	449
British Canadians.....	290
Other Nationalities.....	175

Of those who classified themselves as "British Canadians," 69 are of Irish extraction or Irish Canadian, 50 being Protestants and 19 Catholic; and of those who registered themselves as "Canadians," 130 are of Irish extraction or Irish Canadian, 94 being Protestants and 36 Catholics; so that, by adding those of Irish extraction, included under the headings of "Canadians" and "British Canadians," to those who have put themselves down as "Irish, and Irish Canadians," the total number of Irish in the employ of the Dominion Government in 1872 was 979, or 129 over what they were entitled to on the basis sought for by the demagogues. And if to these we were to add the large number of Irish appointments that have been made within the last five years, the figures would be still more increased. So that, in so far as appointments to office, under the Government, are concerned, it will be seen no justice has been done the Irish, and there is no room for complaint on this head. (Applause.) Of these 979 Irish employees, 496 were Protestant, and 483 Catholic, showing the Irish Protestants having 46 over their due, on the basis of representation by population, and the Irish Catholics 83. The total amount of salaries of these 979 employees, annually, was about \$430,000, the proportion of the Irish Protestants being about \$224,000, and that of the Catholics about \$206,000. In the face of these indisputable facts, deduced from the statistics of the country, carefully gone into and ascertained by myself, I think it must be very plain, to everyone, that there is no room, whatever, for the disturbing cry of unauthorized individuals, that Irishmen, and Catholics in particular, do not get their fair share of the public patronage.

In the Senate, or House of Lords, the Irish are entitled to 18 members. At the present time they have 13, leaving them short five of their number in that body. Of these 18 members, the Protestants are entitled to 10 and the Catholics to 8. The complexion of the 13 members now in the Senate is 6 Irish Protestants and 7 Irish Catholics, leaving the Irish Protestants four short of their proportion, and the Irish Catholics one. So that, in so far as the Senate is concerned,

**IRISH CATHOLICS**

have no reason to complain of want of justice being done them there. Now, as to the Cabinet, I have shown you that the Irish are entitled to only three members on the principle we have been considering—two of those three Irish Protestant, one Irish Catholic. As it is, there are two Irishmen in the Ministry, one a Protestant, the Hon. Edward Blake, one of the ablest men in the Dominion; a

gentleman whose great mental powers and force of character not only constitute him an ornament to the House of Commons, but a credit to the nationality to which he belongs, and of whom for these qualities his countrymen in Canada have just reason to feel proud. (Applause.) The other member is an Irish Catholic—the Hon. W. R. Scott—(Applause.)—a gentleman of refinement and ability, well qualified to fill the responsible position he has the honour to occupy, and to whom also for these reasons his countrymen and co-religionists may look up with a degree of justifiable pride. Here, again, it will be seen that the Irish Catholics of Canada have their full number allowed them in the Cabinet, thus giving the most emphatic refutation to the stock-in-trade cry of the grumblers, that Irish Catholics are not sufficiently represented in the Cabinet.

I would ask you now to note particularly this fact, that in the three Departments I have referred to—the Civil Service, the Senate, and the Cabinet—to none of those Departments are the appointments elective—they are not made by the popular vote—but by the act of members of Parliament and Ministers of the Crown; and when we, also, make a note of the additional fact, that the

#### MAJORITY IN PARLIAMENT

and in the Cabinet is largely Protestant, we have a very good evidence—a clear proof—in the facts adduced, that the disposition is to deal fairly with all creeds and nationalities, and that there is no room in this country for creating ill-feeling and division among the people, by stirring up false issues of a national character. In the words of his Grace Archbishop Lynch, "Any attempt to cause dissension and distrust amongst our citizens, and especially among the Catholics of this Province, by stirring up national prejudices and personal antagonism, is injurious to Catholic interests, as well as to the community at large, and should be strictly avoided." In the facts I have just laid before you, I have, as you perceive, made my calculations on the basis of representation according to population, as this is what our disinterested advocates only ask for, and the result is that if we are to be satisfied with this, we must have 129 Irishmen dismissed from the service of the Dominion—46 Protestants and 83 Catholics—we can get only one more representative in the Senate—and he, it would appear, is about to be appointed—and no more in the Cabinet, as there we have our full quota. (Applause.) But I do not believe in this arrangement. I do not believe in limiting ourselves to what we can get on the basis of representation according to numbers. I do not believe that the establishment of such a system would be in the interest of the country. I believe that

FITNESS AND ABILITY FOR THE POSITION, irrespective of national or religious considera-

tions, should be the recommendation to office or position, and that these qualifications should be the only passports to preferment in public life. (Applause.)

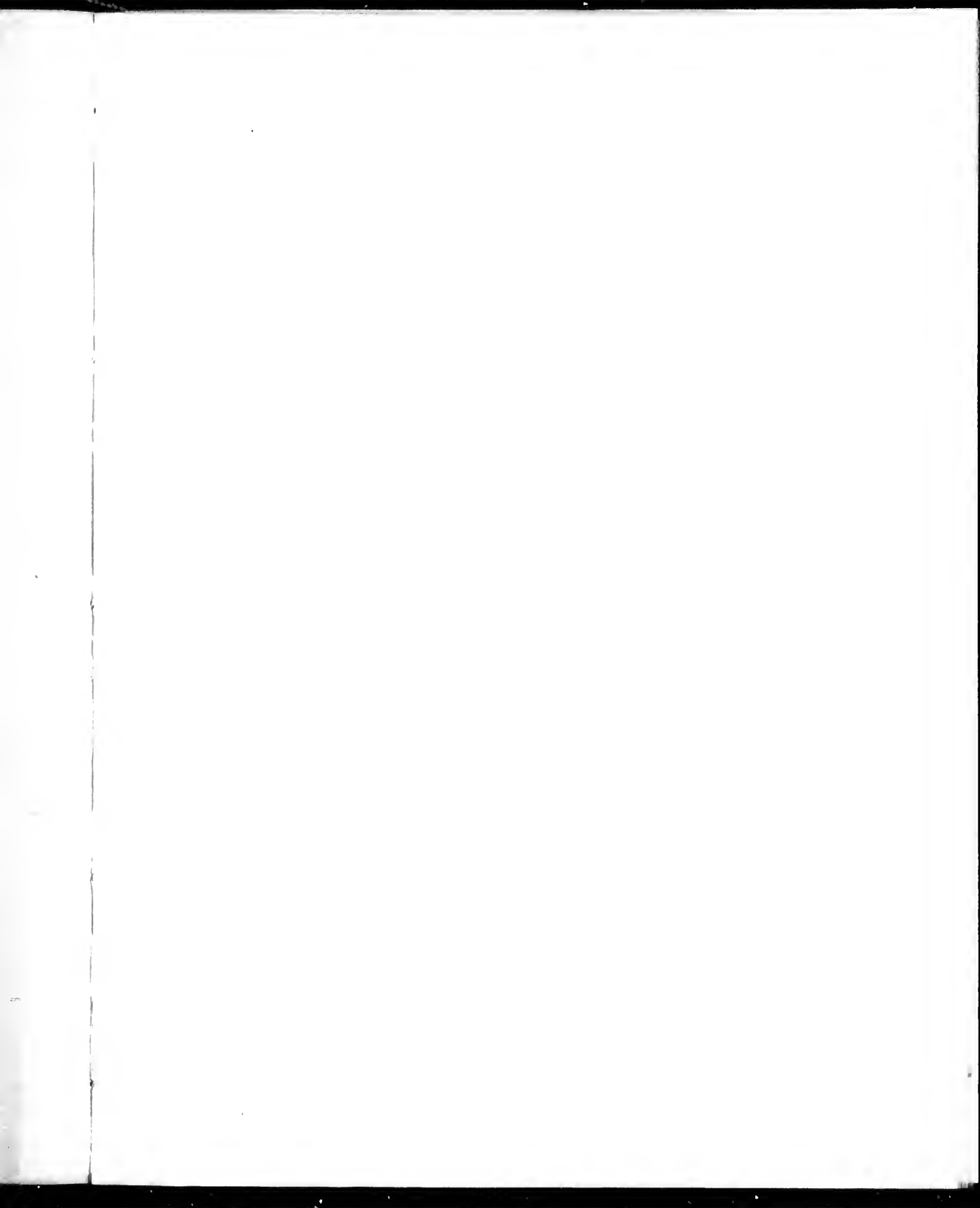
While in the Civil Service of the Dominion, in the Senate and the Cabinet, as I have shown you, there is little room for Irishmen to complain, there is some ground for dissatisfaction as to Irish and Catholic representation in the House of Commons. On the principle of representation by population, we are entitled to 49 members in that assembly—23 Catholic and 26 Protestants; but, as now constituted, we have only 28 representatives out of the 206; 20 of these being Protestant and eight Catholic, thus leaving the former short six of their number and the latter fifteen. Here, I say, there is room perhaps for some complaint. The present complexion of the House of Commons is 60 Scotchmen, 54 Englishmen, 48 Frenchmen, 28 Irishmen, two Germans, and eight members of other nationalities, returned from the different provinces in the following proportion:

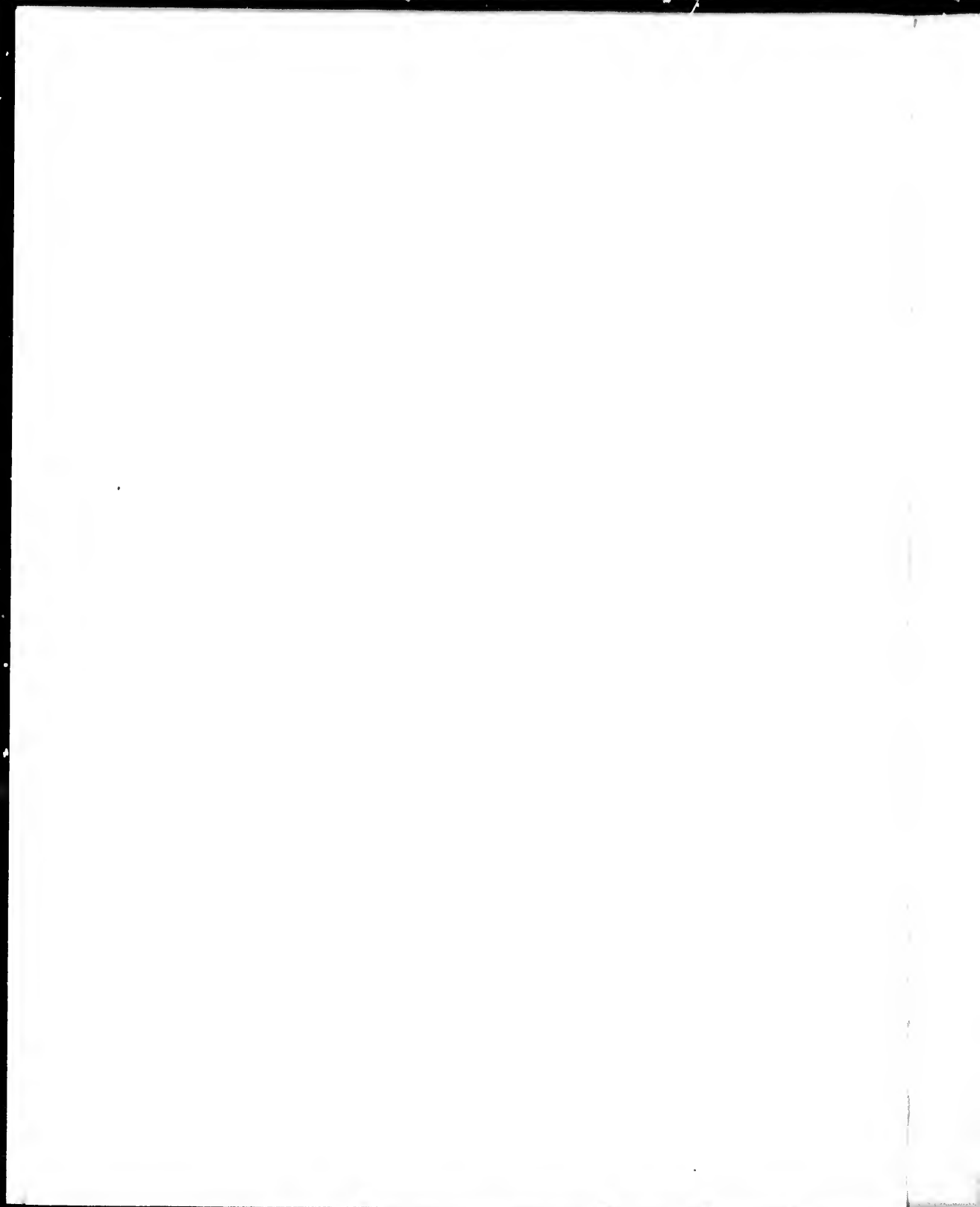
	Scotch.	English.	Irish.	French.	Germans.	Others.
Quebec .....	3	10	3	45	..	4
Ontario .....	40	28	15	1	2	2
Nova Scotia....	13	5	2	..	..	1
New Brunswick	4	7	4	..	..	..
Prince E.I....	4	1	..	1	..	..
British Col....	..	3	3	..	..	..
Manitoba.....	1	..	1	1	..	..

Of the 28 Irish representatives in the House, Ontario, it will be seen, gives 15, Quebec 3, Nova Scotia 2, New Brunswick 4, British Columbia 3, and Manitoba 1. Of the 21 members that the Irish are now short of their number in the House of Commons, Ontario should furnish 15, Quebec 4, New Brunswick 2, Nova Scotia 1, and Prince Edward Island 1—deducting 2 from British Columbia, which gives that number over its proportion. Now, if there was a law by which, according to numbers, members of

#### THE DIFFERENT NATIONALITIES

were to be nominated for Parliament and elected in the different Provinces, every nationality would have its full quota of members, good, bad, or indifferent, and no nationality would have any more than its due. But there is no such law in the Dominion, nor is there ever likely to be such a law—nor would it, perhaps, be in the interest of the people of the country that any such law should be enacted, as the operation of such a system would have an enervating mental tendency, and in time under such a mode of selection Parliament might possibly degenerate, and the country suffer in the character of its legislation in consequence. At the present time, as I have already shown, the population of Canada is made up of no less than





eighteen nationalities; of these, however, there are only five in large proportions—the English, Irish, Scotch, French, and Germans. These five principal components of our population do not inhabit five particular districts, each peculiarly English, Irish, Scotch, French and German, each having particular interests to conserve, or be legislated for, separate and distinct from all the rest; on the contrary, this complex population of ours inhabits the whole Dominion, are all mixed up with one another in the matter of local habitation, business relations, and social intercourse, are all mutually dependent upon one another for individual prosperity or success, and the country depending on the united and harmonious efforts of the whole of them for its general welfare, stability, and development. These being the incontestable facts, the necessity for the enactment of a law—even if such could seriously engage the attention of legislators—to give representation to nationalities according to population is not very apparent—for the men who assemble from all parts of the Dominion in the halls of Parliament to make the laws which govern the country are not sent there, nor do they come there to legislate for nationalities or for particular interests of any kind, but for the general interests of the whole country; and, therefore, if one nationality be in a majority and the other in a minority in Parliament, no injustice could be done the general interest thereby.

No-one component of the present Parliament is strong enough, of itself, to undertake to make special legislation in behalf of its own nationality or creed, that would be prejudicial to the others; and if any such attempt were made, or attempted to be made, the immediate punishment would be found in a united action of the other nationalities represented, to crush out so unjustifiable a breach of our liberal constitution. (Applause.) While these are facts, however, and while these are my sentiments concerning them, I am free to admit, and always have contended, that the number of the Irish in Canada, their influence and intelligence require that they should have a

LARGER VOICE IN THE GOVERNMENT

of the country than what they have at present; but I, as an Irishman, and having a proper respect for myself, for my native country and my fellow-countrymen in Canada, am only prepared to advocate the increase of our present members, by the means provided under the Constitution, and that is a free and fair competition at the polls. (Applause.) And if in this way we fail to get it, it must certainly be our own fault to a great extent. If in this way we cannot get it, never let us descend to the menial position of begging for it from any party in power, as if incapable of helping ourselves; never let us be trapped into trading in religion or nationality to enable us to gain what we ought to secure in

a fair, manly, active, constitutional way. Such a course would not be dignified nor honourable, nor congenial to the instincts of a proud people such as the Irish are; it would be too low, too mean, too hostile to Irish interests in Canada, too dangerous an example to set or be emulated; and in this young country with its mixed population, with the elements of peace and prosperity within its confines, I trust the counsel of those who advocate such a weak and undesirable course, destruction of harmony and good citizenship, may never prevail. (Applause).

But I have shown you that, complex as our population is, no injustice could be done to any particular nationality in the House of Parliament, by its being in a minority there; and I have also shown you, from the indisputable statistics of the country, that Irish interests do not suffer in the Dominion, although Irishmen have not their full number in Parliament. There is, therefore, no real or logical necessity for advising the Irishmen of Ontario to make themselves

AN EXCEPTION IN THE DOMINION,

by banding together, apart from all other nationalities, for the advancement of Irish political interests. Such a course is quite inexpedient; such a course is quite impracticable—impossible of accomplishment for very obvious reasons—and, if it were practicable, and attempted to be carried into effect, it would result in stimulating hostility against us, and, instead of bettering our present condition, would sadly impair or injure our material and political prosperity in the future. The only possible justification there could be, for asking Irishmen in Canada to divest themselves of their political principles, and band together as a national or religious organization, would be the evidence of a well-defined disposition on the part of their fellow-subjects of other creeds or nationalities to do them an injustice, or, by a factional attitude, deprive them of their rights. No such evidence of any such feeling or intention exists—no such evidence can be found in the broad extent of this Canada of ours—and, therefore, there is no necessity for a policy of isolation or exclusiveness, and those who counsel such a course of conduct are not friends but enemies (it may be ignorantly so) of the Irish in Canada. Steadily our position, socially, materially, and politically, is getting better year after year—not getting worse; and, with the advantages this country affords the rising generation, in the excellent provision made for their culture and education, and with the disposition manifested by the Irish people to give their children the fullest benefits possible of such a provision, we can safely predict that whoever lives for a quarter of a century will find, at the end of that time, our status, as a component of the Canadian people, one hundred per cent. better than even it is to-day. In his model

address at Uxbridge, in January last, his Grace,

ARCHBISHOP LYNCH,

(applause) counselled his hearers in the following words: "I would advise our people, Catholics especially, to endeavour and make comfortable homes for themselves and their children, and to educate them well before they begin to meddle much in politics, except to cast their votes, and then in favour of the party that they conscientiously consider will best administer the affairs of the nation. Some too soon and very imprudently seek after civic and Parliamentary honours, at the expense of their own business, and almost ruin themselves and their families. It is preferable to have honours thrust upon us than to be running a break-neck chance after them.

Thirty years ago you would see but few Irish names as members of the learned professions, of Parliament, or of Congress. Now, looking over the general almanacs of the year, I find Irish names by the hundred, in every walk of life. The sanctuary of the church is filled by the sons of Irishmen, some in the highest offices; and our convents are crowded with the noble and self sacrificing daughters of the Island of Saints. Honesty of faith, industry, sobriety and reliance on Providence are aids to health, strength and independence. . . . Let us shoulder to shoulder build up our own country with a generous loyalty without forgetting the land of our birth. I expect to live and die in Canada, I have always endeavoured, in my own sphere to identify myself with the best interests of the country. I wish to see it a great nation—great in the morality of its people and that eminent prosperity which God bestows on dutiful and obedient children." (Applause.) These are the sentiments of the wise and prudent Archbishop of Toronto—words of wisdom and patriotism, honestly uttered in the interest of his country and his countrymen, and in marked contrast with the wild ravings of unauthorized demagogues, who depict the Irish in Canada as a down-trodden people, under the iron heel of a terrible ascendancy, and who frantically call upon them to unite—to organize—in some undefinable form to emancipate themselves from an imaginary thralldom! (Applause.) For months past.

SCOTCH ASCENDENCY

was the cause assigned for the want of representation in Parliament, and as a cure for this evil it was proposed by those who have imperiously constituted themselves our dictators—the guardians of our rights and liberties—that the Irish and the English and other nationalities should unite together to crush out Scotch ascendancy. What a noble proposition this was, in a free country like this, where all have equal rights and privileges, and where all have the same course open to them to walk to honour, fame, or commercial prosperity, to ask a million and a quarter of

people to set themselves up against 300,000, to prevent them from attaining honour and power, through the legitimate exercise of energy, industry, and perseverance! (Applause.) Such counsel was unwise and imprudent, and no nationality in the Dominion would act upon it. It was not in harmony with Irish honour, Irish fair play, or Irish valour. Latterly, however, this absurd proposition has been partially abandoned, and the Irish Catholics of Ontario are now advised to be neither Conservatives nor Reformers—fish nor flesh, nor good red-herring—(laughter)—but to come out from both parties—take a central position, like Mohammed's coffin, between earth and heaven, and throwing principle and politics, honour and honesty overboard, be prepared, under the conduct of our masters, to gravitate in the coming elections to the party that would promise the most patronage or support. Who ever heard of such nonsense, from men pretending to be leaders of Catholic opinion, in a country, too, like this, with its eighteen different nationalities and twenty five or thirty religious denominations? The proposition is really as mischievous and absurd as that of uniting with every one else against the Scotch was stupid and vicious. It is more than this—it is offensive to every intelligent Irish Catholic in Ontario. The 190,000 Irish Catholics in this Province have political principles and conscientious feelings, like other people in the Dominion. They are, like other people, divided into Conservatives and Reformers, and cast their votes in election contests according to their settled conviction of right. To act otherwise would be to rob themselves of principle, influence and respect. This they cannot very well do, and those who counsel them in that direction are not their true friends. (Applause.) But suppose a policy of isolation were practicable, and the Irish Catholic Conservatives and Irish Catholic Reformers could divest themselves of their political principles and affinities, and degenerate into the position of mere puppets, to be jerked about from one side to the other at the will of heartless demagogues; I will convince you, by a few more facts of an indisputable character, that no good, but only mischief, could possibly come from such an anomalous and unnatural attitude. As you are aware, there are eighty-eight constituencies in Ontario, to which I will confine myself for illustration. The complexion of those constituencies I have carefully analyzed, and have ascertained the total number of the population in each, and as nearly as possible the total number of Irish Catholics in each; and the result is that in every one of these eighty-eight constituencies the Irish Catholics are in

A HOPELESS MINORITY,

and if they were politically to isolate themselves from the rest of the population, or from existing parties, they would be powerless to better their present condition, and could only

in such a foolish attempt, injure their future prospects. Out of the 1,620,851 of a population in Ontario they are only about 190,125, and in such small fragments in the different constituencies—and being divided into Conservatives and Reformers, and subdivided unfortunately by jealousies of one another—standing alone they would be powerless to do anything for themselves, and could only in the assumption of such an attitude forfeit influence and respect. Supposing it were possible to divest Catholic Reformers of their convictions and Catholic Conservatives of their political principles, and that they were to unite together to bring about an increase of Catholic representation in Parliament, they are not sufficiently strong in any one constituency in Ontario to elect an Irish Catholic without the co-operation of some other nationality. What powerful ally in Ontario have these 190,000 Irish Catholics that they can afford to be placed in a position of antagonism to their Scotch fellow-citizens or anyone else? Not a single one. What is to be gained then by a cry of Scotch ascendancy or by counselling a policy of isolation? Most certainly nothing to gain but everything to lose. Were we to assume an attitude of this kind we would place ourselves in the position of an inharmonious and dissatisfied component of the population—and the only one out of 18 nationalities and 25 or 30 religious denominations in the whole Dominion. If we were, in compliance with the advice of our would-be leaders, to divest ourselves of our political principles, and band together.

#### AS CATHOLICS ONLY,

with the view of supporting whichever party would give us the most liberal terms, we would place ourselves in the position of mercenaries, who had no interest in the general welfare of the country, and were prepared to support any party in politics whether pure or corrupt—whether extravagant or economical—whether competent or incompetent—who would give us the most patronage and promise the most consideration. (Applause.) Is this the position that a proud and high-spirited people such as the Irish are, desire to be placed in in the Dominion of Canada? The answer, I am sure, of nineteen-twentieths of the Catholics of the country is an emphatic and an indignant “no!” (Applause.) The assumption of such an anomalous attitude, it must be apparent to the least reflecting, would be to rob us of sympathy, influence and respect—would be to make aliens of us in the country, sojourners and not citizens, would be to place us in the repugnant position of unprincipled men, ready for sale in self-interest—the unreflecting tools of aspiring individuals and could only result in ultimate disaster—in engendering a hostility against us, on the part of every other nationality in the Dominion. In brief, it would be destructive of our interests to have the idea prevail that the Irish

Catholics of Canada, were in harmony with any such wild, visionary, dishonest and dishonourable course of conduct. (Applause.) But, for the sake of argument, let us see how far the united action of the Catholics of Ontario is practicable. Is there anything practicable about it? I contend that there is not; and I have given you already sufficient grounds for thinking so; but to make matters quite clear, I will remind you of a few more facts. Most of you will remember that in December, 1870,—a little in advance of the general elections, as usual,—a number of Catholic gentlemen were called together in Toronto, by a gentleman of that city, privately to consider “what, if anything, could be done towards securing to the Catholics of Ontario a just representation in the management of public affairs.” They complained that the Irish Catholics were “almost totally unrepresented in the halls of the Legislature,” and this “humiliating position” they attributed “partly if not principally to the want of harmony and unity of political action among the Catholics themselves.” From this meeting resulted

#### THE CATHOLIC LEAGUE,

and its “avowed object was to bring about a union of the Catholics throughout the Province of Ontario.” Did the League succeed in this undertaking? It is well known that it did not. After an ephemeral existence of about twelve months, or thereabouts, the organization fell to pieces, and soon after was as dead as an embalmed herring. What was the cause of the collapse? I will let gentlemen who had been members of the League tell you. In a “Protest” signed by Hon. Frank Smith, Hon. John O’Connor, and four other members of the League, we are told that, “from the very outset, bad faith characterized the conduct of the League.” “It was proposed to submit,” they tell us, “to the leaders of the two political parties, certain propositions in the name and on behalf of the Catholic body, in view of uniting the support of that body in favour of Sir John Macdonald or Mr. George Brown, according as either one or the other would guarantee with reasonable certainty the most liberal terms.” But it would appear that the Convener of the League, the Toronto gentleman, who was ambitious of Parliamentary honours, flew into the arms of Mr. Brown or the Grits before the terms of Sir John Macdonald were communicated; and, for this and for other reasons stated in the protest, the gentlemen just named withdrew from the League and advised their friends to do likewise in the following language: “By reason of these plain and palpable evidences of bad faith and factionism; and, furthermore, on account of the manifest failure of the League to bring about the results proposed by its establishment—instead of unanimity and harmony, we find dissension and discord: instead of the language of conciliation and friendship on



the part of its spokesman and organ, that of insult and vindictiveness—we consider it our bounden duty thus publicly to announce our withdrawal from all connection with the Catholic League. Moreover, we advise all those who have joined the organization, through our instrumentality or on account of having seen our names coupled with its proceedings to consider well the advisability and necessity of severing their connection with men whose manifest aim is to wheedle the Catholics of Ontario into a political alliance with George Brown." Is anything more than this necessary to convince us of the utter futility of any attempt at bringing about a united political action on the part of the Catholics of Ontario irrespective of party proclivities? I should think not. The thing is utterly impracticable, and even if practicable, as I have demonstrated, could do us no good but positive harm. Besides all this, the highest dignity of the Catholic Church in Canada puts his veto on such assumption of powers in the following words: "No association of persons or journals has any right to dictate on subjects affecting Catholic interests, without consulting the prelates of the Church, who are the natural guardians of those interests." But let us reflect for a moment on the injustice—the more than injustice—put upon the Irish Catholics of Ontario by those Catholic Leaguers, excellent and all as their intentions may have been. Without consulting leading Catholic gentlemen, we are told, and without having any expression of opinion from the Irish Catholics of the Province as to the desirability of the movement, one officious gentleman of Toronto, who fancies, no doubt, that he ought to be a member of Parliament or of the Cabinet, and who would appear to be in a hurry to get there, calls a preliminary meeting for the ostensible purpose of uniting the Catholics of Ontario, and thus increasing their numbers in Parliament. And how was this end to be accomplished? By proposing to Sir John Macdonald, on the one hand and to Mr. George Brown on the other, to make an offer for the Catholic vote, and whoever was the highest bidder was to be declared the purchaser. And all this has to be done "in the name and on behalf of the Catholics of Ontario." Was this an honourable or dignified position in which to place us as a component part of the Canadian people? (Cries of "no! no!") I think not. Anything more unwarrantable than this—anything more shameful for men professing to be representative Catholics to propose—anything more degrading to the ill-used Catholics of Ontario, "in whose name and in whose behalf" the humiliating bargain was to have been struck, it is not easy to conceive. The men who were to have sued for terms from Sir John and Mr. Brown were self-elected to the position; they had no commission from the Catholics of Ontario to barter away their political rights and privileges in

the then coming elections—no right whatever; and yet unauthorized and all as they were to negotiate, they were to have committed the Irish Catholics of Ontario to the one party or the other. Do we desire a repetition of such weak and undignified conduct in our name and on our behalf at the present time? (Applause.) I should think not; and if so, it is not one bit too soon that the Irish Catholics of Ontario should rise in their power, in every part of the Province, and through the men in whom they have confidence, denounce this degrading and damaging conduct on the part of self-constituted champions, who, to advance their own individual interests, are continually taking the Irish Catholic name in vain; placing us in a low or inferior position in the eyes of our fellow-citizens of other creeds and nationalities, and seriously injuring thereby our social, material and political prospects for the future. Having thus far endeavoured candidly to convince you that, except in the matter of inadequate

REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT,  
the Irish Catholics in Canada have no reason to complain—nor do they complain—of their condition as a part of the Canadian people; and having exposed the unauthorized and injurious conduct of a few dissatisfied individuals who take unwarrantable liberties, "in our name and on our behalf," to better their own condition, you naturally expect me to tell you what in my opinion is the best course to adopt with the view of improving that representation in Parliament, which we are all agreed upon, it is desirable to accomplish. Well, according to my judgment, the course for us to pursue most likely to conduce to our general interests, and in the shortest time to improve our political status would be this: Let us leave all matters purely Catholic or affecting Catholic interests as such, in the hands of the priests, bishops and archbishop. Contided to their care and keeping, such interests will be in the proper repository and will not be at all likely to suffer in the trust; and in doing this we would be not only showing proper respect and consideration for our spiritual advisers, but would simplify our political action and afford ourselves much freer scope in the exercise of our political opinions of a general character. Having settled on this part of the programme, we should reflect on the advice of his Grace Archbishop Lynch, respecting an education and a competence for our children before meddling much in politics, "except to cast our votes, and then in favour of the party that we conscientiously consider will best administer the affairs of the nation." Such of us who find that we cannot actively engage in politics without injuring ourselves or our families, should severely let the profession alone except in the respect pointed out by his Grace the Archbishop. To aid us in forming correct conclusions, however, as to our course of action in this regard, and with the view of

acquiring a general knowledge of the affairs of the country—in all of which we must be, and are interested—we should at least read two good weekly papers, on opposite sides in politics, if time nor means will not admit of our subscribing for daily journals; and carefully weighing all the facts we should form our own opinions and openly and honestly, when the occasion required, identify ourselves with our convictions. We should learn to think as much as possible for ourselves on questions of general politics; and on occasions of elections from a knowledge of facts be able to record our votes without making our own judgment subservient to that of a candidate or his canvassers. (Applause.) Such of us, however, as find ourselves in means, and feel that we can afford to

IDENTIFY OURSELVES WITH THE POLITICS OF THE COUNTRY,

and with the ever recurring incidents of a local character—and there are many such Irishmen and Catholics in the Dominion—should never allow the opportunity to pass, where a question of general import or of local interest required consideration, without showing ourselves interested in the movement. If we do not do this—if we hide our light under a bushel—if we say to ourselves, as too many of us do, “there will be plenty there without me” if we stay at home and mind our own business, and allow our neighbours of other nationalities to attend exclusively to business and interests that concern the whole of us—that we are interested in as much as they are—it must be obvious to the least reflecting that politically and otherwise we are standing in our own light. If we have fitness and ability for public positions—and many of us have—and if we have an ambition or desire for public life, it is absolutely necessary that we must use our talents and our abilities in the general interest, and in doing so bring ourselves into general notice; or, like the rose in the desert, we may be born, mature and die, without attracting any attention. This is so self-evident a truth that there is no denying it. It is equally true, unfortunately, that too many Irish Catholic men of means and ability are entirely too apathetic in this respect; they do not identify themselves sufficiently with our public affairs, either local or general, and in refraining from doing so they not only do themselves and their co-religionists an injustice, but they set an example which has a bad effect on the young Catholic men of the day, who to a very great extent, taking them as a whole, are copying too faithfully the apathy of their fathers. Now this one drawback, and it is a serious one, has more to do with our want of Catholic representation in Parliament than many of you would be willing to believe; but it is nevertheless a fact, and with the view of remedying the evil so much complained of, it is essentially necessary that this

apathy or bashfulness, or whatever we may call it, must be overcome, and we must

COME TO THE SURFACE

a little more than we have been in the habit of doing. A waking up in this respect on the part of individuals in the different cities, towns and villages of Ontario, manifesting an interest in public affairs, and at the same time exhibiting an aptitude and fitness for public position, would do more in a year or two, in the period to elapse between general elections, to increase our numbers in Parliament than all the Catholic Leagues you could form in Canada in the next 25 years. (Applause.) Such a course of conduct you must see is absolutely necessary to increased representation—it is an essential condition of such an increase, and in the absence of such a line of conduct, no amount of organization can remedy the evil complained of. Who are the men to-day in the occupancy of public positions throughout the country? Are they those who up to the hour of their being elected to public office, minded their own business and took no part in public affairs? By no means. Almost every one of them carved their way to those positions by previously identifying themselves with general interests, politically and otherwise; and in no other way could there be any possibility, in a free country like ours, where competition is so sharp in every department of life, have attained to those positions. We cannot fix this indisputable fact too firmly in our minds; for thinking upon it, and acting upon it, in a very great degree will be found the remedy—the certain remedy—for the defect we are so often reminded of by men who desire a short cut to Parliamentary position, “in our name and on our behalf.”

[Mr. Waller here quoted from the *Globe* of 1874, and from an article in the *Catholic Tribune* of that date, written by a young gentleman of Ottawa, Mr. James J. Kehoe, to sustain his position in this respect, and then continued as follows:—]

In a forcible letter, written to the *Irish Canadian*, in January, 1875, our fellow-countryman and co-religionist, Mr. O'Hanly, whom we all admit to be a man of ability, wrote as follows: “I hold firmly to the doctrine, that it is not in the public interest of a country like ours, composed as it is of a heterogeneous population of diverse races and creeds, that any one nationality, or any one sect, should be as a unit on the most important of all temporal concerns—politics. The only bond of union that can be approved is community of feeling—unity of sentiment on public questions, and in the management of national affairs; and where these are wanting, principle, honesty, good government, are not to be found.” (Applause.) How very true. Mr. O'Hanly then went on to prove that the Scotch are not a unit in politics, and gave the following forcible incident of the fact:—

"We have at this hour a lively illustration of it in North Renfrew, where the Prime Minister of the Dominion—a very unusual thing indeed—has left his desk to brave the rigours of a Canadian winter in that primitive mode of conveyance, the sleigh, to use his great influence for an Irishman against a Scotchman." This refers to Hon. Mr. Mackenzie's going up to Renfrew to support Mr. Murray against Mr. White. (Loud applause.) In the same letter Mr. O'Hanly further remarks:—"The Irish in Canada, even if a policy of isolation were desirable, are in a hopeless minority to accomplish anything for or of themselves. They must have allies, they have to choose one of two alternatives, an alliance with the Tories or the Liberals." These sentiments are all sound and do not by any means savour of the false and impracticable idea of national, religious, or political organization for bettering the Irish Catholic position in Canada. We must unmistakably be on the one side or the other, according to our convictions, and in our own especial interest, as well as in the general interest of the country, we must be on the best and most friendly terms possible with our neighbours of other creeds and nationalities, with whom in this common country our lot is cast. How can we assume an attitude of this kind, agreed upon by every thinking Catholic in Canada, as essential to the advancement of our interests, if we band ourselves together into exclusive religious or national political organizations? The thing is utterly impossible. These being all incontestible facts it appears to me that the plain unmistakable course for us to pursue is that which I have endeavoured to point out. Let us identify ourselves more actively, such of us as have the means, time and talents, and can afford them, to our country in public affairs. Let us from a knowledge of the aims and objects of political parties, ally ourselves intelligently on the one side or the other, and there firmly remain until we can justify ourselves on broad principles for a change. Let us show ourselves in every way, not merely in the country, but of the country.

#### LET OUR YOUNG MEN,

as it is their right and privilege, and as they owe it to this their native country—become members of our volunteer corps, and enjoy the several advantages to arise from such an act. Let them, instead of wasting valuable time in bowling alleys or billiard rooms, seek more frequently library associations, and the public journals of the day, and works on history

literature, and science. Let them join our Reform or Conservative Clubs, according to their convictions, and take an interest in their concerns. Let them become members of the Boards of Trade in their respective localities, and learn there to debate matters of interest to the country, and in this way not only educate themselves politically, but familiarize themselves to speak on public questions, and in doing this they break down the barrier of exclusiveness, exhibit their national abilities, and thus certainly pave the way to their preferment to higher stations in life. Here in Canada we have the finest, the freest country in the world. Here we are invested with a measure of freedom and liberty, beyond which it would not be in the interest of the State or the subject to be endowed; here peace reigns supreme and prosperity smiles on the labours of the sober and industrious. Our climate is healthful and invigorating, our resources almost exhaustless, requiring only development to make us a grand and powerful nation.

Wealth of the forest, treasures of the hills,  
Majestic rivers, fertilizing rills,  
Expansive lakes, rich vales and sunny plains,  
Vast fields where yet primeval nature reigns,  
Exhaustless treasures of the teeming soil,—  
These loudly call to enterprising toil. (Applause.)

Let us all as the people of a common country, then, join harmoniously together to develop those grand resources of this Canada of ours, and contentedly enjoy the blessings to result from our labours. "Let us," in the words of his Grace Archbishop Lynch, for whose sentiments we all entertain a profound respect, and by whose excellent advice we can all safely be governed, "shoulder to shoulder build up this our country with a generous loyalty, without forgetting the land of our birth," and under such happy auspices it will become "a great nation in the future—great in the morality of its people and in that eminent prosperity and contentment which God bestows on dutiful and obedient subjects." (Loud and long continued applause.)

Mr. M. Belmont here advanced, and amidst cheers presented his Worship with a handsome bouquet of flowers, while the band gave a selection.

A vote of thanks was then moved to the lecturer by M. W. Kehoe, seconded by Mr. Murphy.

Mayor Waller replied, and after some discussion the motion was carried amidst loud cheers, and the meeting broke up.

