

Mr. Maxwell, M. P., an Orangeman, said in his place that the society began in 1795. Another M. P. said the first Lodge in Sligo was established in 1796. Thus and then it commenced, one hundred years after the Battle of the Boyne, and after the memory of William was nearly forgotten. It, however, soon spread all over the island, particularly in the northern counties, and from thence it made its way to England, and the first Grand Lodge in that country was established at Manchester in 1808. In 1813 a debate took place in Parliament on the subject of Orangism, but nothing final was agreed upon. In 1825 the Duke of Cumberland, himself a field marshal, and brother to the King, was created Imperial Grand Master, which situation he held until 1835, when Orange Lodges were in a great many instances, voluntarily abandoned, in compliance with the wishes of the King. In 1820, the Duke of York, then commander-in-chief of the army, issued an order forbidding the establishment of Orange Lodges in the Regiments. This order set forth that "he could not too strongly reprobate a practice fraught with injury to the discipline of the army," and although Lord Hill repeated the order in 1829, and again repeated the same order in 1835, yet it was found that Orange Lodges were established in about fifty regiments. These things were done in spite of the orders of the commander-in-chief, and were the result of a missionary system of inspection and proselytism, which was carried forward with great vigor. Captain Fairman was appointed grand-inspector at home, Mr. Nucella had a similar office in Italy and the Mediterranean, and Ogle R. Gowan had the inspection of the British North American Provinces. At that time the returns showed that there were in Great Britain and Ireland something like 400,000 Orange men.— This formidable body opposed the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel on the question of Catholic emancipation, and it was their acting together on that question which was the means of directing the attention of the government of that day to the effect of such associations.— During all the time which intervened between the first publication of the Duke of York's order against Orangism in the army and 1836, when military Lodges were entirely suppressed, these loyal men were acting in defiance of the constituted authorities, and against the orders of the commander-in-chief. There were also laws passed to suppress their processions; but it is a well known fact that in the Province of Ulster alone, there were seventy processions in a single year. The truth was, these Orangemen were obedient to the laws only so long as they happened to suit their own views. They appeared to set all laws at defiance whenever it suited their purpose. There certainly was something extremely dangerous in such societies, and their chiefs had, from time to time come under very strong suspicions. Haywood, an Orangeman, accused Fairman of certain treasonable practices, and Fairman filed criminal information against Haywood.— An indictment was also prepared against the Duke of Cumberland, the Imperial Grand Master, but Haywood died two days before the trial, and Fairman decamped with a number of letters, which it was said contained treasonable matter, so much so as to hint at an alteration in the succession to the throne, in favour of the Orange Imperial Grand Master. It would appear from the mass of evidence given before the committee of the House of Commons, that these societies, although they boast of their loyalty, yet they disobeyed the Crown whenever it suited their own purposes. They claim also to be peaceable societies, but in the brief history of the progress of that body they would find breaches of the peace, destruction of property, loss of life, disunion, and disturbances of every kind. He would just read them an extract from Mr. W. S. Crawford's deposition. Mr. Crawford was himself a magistrate and a member of Parliament, and the House would see, by the extract which he was about to read, what peaceable, obedient, quiet, orderly habits these Orangemen were. The extract was as follows:—

"That fears of a procession and breach of the peace were apprehended at Cussgar, on the 12th of July, 1830. That the proclamations against processions were extensively posted up. That he (Mr. C.) was called on by the Government to attend and keep the peace. That the Orangemen assembled in large numbers in procession, with fifes, drums, colours, halberts, pistols, and swords, and set him and the police at defiance. That after remonstrating with their leaders to no purpose, he sent to Downpatrick for additional assistance, which was still inadequate. That he sent another express to Downpatrick for a detachment of soldiers, and finally succeeded in dispersing them."

This was not the only evidence which was adduced to shew the dangerous tendency of these institutions, for on the 13th of July Captain Duff reported to Sir William Gossett that

"A procession of from 8000 to 9000 Orangemen, with sixty stand of colours, and forty bands playing party tunes; that three hundred and twenty of these were armed with muskets, independent of concealed arms, and that they were headed by gentlemen of respectability and property."

Here then, they had an assemblage of eight or nine thousand men, three hundred and twenty of whom were armed to take away the lives of those who should attempt to molest them in their unlawful proceedings. The revelations of Fairman before he left the country, his escape from the committee with the letter book; the tampering with the army, on the part of Nucella, all these things taken together had the effect of producing a strong desire on the part of influential members of Parliament to break up Orangism in the British Empire. The debate took place in the House of Commons on the 23d of February 1836, and was opened by Mr. Hume, in a long and exceedingly severe speech, at the end of which he moved a resolution, praying that his Majesty would be pleased to discharge all Orangemen from every branch of the public service. Sir William Molesworth, a very eminent lawyer, followed, in a speech equally severe, in which that hon. member proposed to proceed against the chiefs of the Orange institutions by law, contending that

they came within the provisions of several statutes, which he enumerated. Lord John Russell followed, in a long and conciliatory speech, which they would find recorded in the 31st volume of Hansard's debates. On a former occasion he (Mr. Brown) had quoted from the speech of Lord John Russell, and not from the speech of Mr. Hume, or of Sir William Molesworth, and would again read the quotation which he then made, Lord John Russell said:—

"The effects of those societies have been injurious to the good government of the country, that bands of men armed and prepared to stand by each other, following no lawful authority but merely their own leaders, must be attended with unhappy results, whether it be founded on the difference of religion or anything else. The moment you create such societies, and organize them into districts and lodges, you make a difference between them and the other parts of the King's subjects, and thus you institute a perpetual source of quarrelling, discontent and insubordination. Thus a state comes to be divided into two factions, suspiciously fearful of each other. Such being my views of such institutions, considering them injurious to the peace of the public, as weakening the authority of the Crown, as weakening the supremacy of the Law, and likewise as disturbing that religious equality and harmony which would otherwise prevail, I certainly am one of those whose object it would be to rid ourselves of all such assemblies."

Lord John Russell concluded this admirable speech by moving the following resolution, as an amendment to that proposed by Mr. Hume:—

"That an humble address be presented to His Majesty, praying that His Majesty will be graciously pleased to take such measures as His Majesty may deem most advisable for the effectual discouragement of Orange Lodges, and generally of all political societies, excluding persons of different religions, using secret signs and symbols and acting by means of associated branches."

This resolution was carried, after a long debate, without a division, and in two days afterwards—the 26th February, 1836—the king sent down to the House of Commons the following reply:—

"William R.

"I willingly assent to the prayer of the address of my faithful Commons, that I will be pleased to take such measures as may seem to me advisable for the effectual discouragement of Orange Lodges, and generally of all political societies excluding persons of different religious faith, using secret signs and symbols, and acting by means of associated branches, and it is my firm intention to discourage all such societies in my dominions and I rely with confidence on the fidelity of my loyal subjects to support me in this determination."

On the 26th of February, Mr. Maxwell stated in his place in the House of Commons, that he was directed by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, to say, that steps had been taken, in conjunction with the leading members of the Orange society for the immediate dissolution of that institution, and Lord John Russell also stated that he had received a letter from the Duke of Cumberland, containing like information, which he read in his place. On the 8th of March following, a similar debate took place in the House of Lords, and it was admitted by almost all the Peers, that the Orange institution was effectually dissolved, and many of them rejoiced that the address to the throne had been so promptly acted upon. He (Mr. Brown) had given a similar synopsis of this transaction a couple of years ago and it was then said that he had quoted only from the writings of insidious Jesuits and low Radicals, and from speeches of members of Parliament opposed to Orangism, without quoting from speeches on the other side. He (Mr. Brown) had done no such thing. He had quoted from the Edinburgh Review, which he then held in his hand, and which, in his opinion, was one of the ablest periodical publications of the age. He had also quoted from the public records of the mother country—the Journals of the House of Commons, and Hansard's debates—neither of these were written by insidious Jesuits, nor were they written for a Jesuitical purpose. He should, however, on that occasion, read a few extracts from speeches on the other side, for three reasons, first, to shew that he had been misled on a former occasion, secondly, to shew how very severely Orangism had been handled in the House of Commons, and thirdly, to shew to that House, and to the country, what was the opinion of Sir William Molesworth, respecting the law. He (Mr. Brown) had always been of opinion that these associations were illegal. He was no lawyer himself, but he formed his opinion from that given by eminent lawyers, and which he (Mr. Brown) thought would be borne out by the wording of the statutes.— He had on his table the statutes at large, containing the acts of Parliament to which Sir William Molesworth referred, and he would quote from them by and by; in the meantime he would read the extract from that gentleman's speech:—

"I am convinced that if the honourable gentlemen will examine the rules of the Orange Institution, and will likewise look at the words of the statute, they will not hesitate in affirming that this society is to all intents and purposes an illegal combination and confederacy. I consider that it would be an easy matter to prove that the Orangemen in reality assent to a test or declaration not required or authorized by law, and if this be the case the society is illegal under 57 Geo. 3d, c. 19. I consider that the Orangemen are bound to obey the commands of their Grand Master, who is a leader and a commander, not having authority by law for this purpose, and if this be the case the society is illegal under 57 Geo. 3d, c. 123.—under 39 Geo. 3d, c. 79, the illegality of the society appears to me most manifest. Thus sir, to all intents and purposes the Orange institution is an illegal combination and confederacy. These unfortunate men combined for the purpose of raising their wages, which was not an illegal act. They formed a secret society which was not necessarily illegal. They were initiated with religious ceremonies, not more professed than the Orangemen; unfortunately their chief was not a Prince of the blood—unfortunately in their ignorance they uttered certain words, which, in a Court of justice was considered an oath, and for their ignorance they were transported. But the leaders of the Orangemen are rich and educated men, and their chief is the first male subject in the realm. Well, these men have combined to preserve abuses. They have bound themselves together by religious ceremonies as solemn as any oath. According to the ritual, when the candidate is initiated he must

have the sacred scriptures in his hands, with the book of rules and regulations placed thereon. He is commanded to study the former and obey the latter. He is received as a member of the society, under the assurance of his sponsors, that he will carry equally in his heart the laws of the institution and the laws of the Deity.—Kneeling, he is decorated with the Orange Scarf, and he is told in the words of scripture: *this shall be for a token upon thine hands, and for a frontlet between thine eyes, for by strength of hand the Lord brought us out of Egypt.—Thou shalt, therefore, keep his ordinances in his season from year to year.* The secret signs and pass-words are then made known to him, and in conclusion the Chaplain, with impious mockery, says: *Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will towards men!* Thus the holiest words of scripture are profaned in order to enforce and sanctify obedience to their Imperial Grand Master, whose powers are discretionary and absolute. Thus these most religious men have not hesitated to desecrate the religion of peace and good will towards men, by employing it as a means of evading the law; nor have they scrupled to use the sacred ceremonies of their creed for the vile purpose of party feud. They have enrolled Bishops and other cassocked priests, to attend their meetings, dressed and decorated with the insignia of their holy orders, thus to give the semblance of a religious sanction to their unholy mummeries and impious mockeries! \* \* \*

The means of crushing this institution, are easy and simple. Let the law officers of the Crown present to the Grand Jury of Middlesex, bills of indictment against the Imperial Grand Master, the Duke of Cumberland, against the Grand Master of England, Lord Kenyon, against the Grand Secretary, Lord Chandos, and to these worthies, let them not forget to add the Right Rev. Father in God, Thomas Lord Bishop of Salisbury. Thus the statute would become the means of crushing this institution, and laying prostrate its chief. At his fate none but his followers would mourn. A few years residence on the shores of the southern ocean would teach him and other titled criminals, that the laws of their country are not to be violated with impunity, and that equal justice is now to be administered to the high and to the low. If the administration have either courage or energy, they will not hesitate long ere they strike the blow. It will be miserable folly to attempt to conciliate the Orangemen. If the ministers do not crush them, they will crush the ministers; the struggle is a mortal one. He who refrains from destroying his enemies will be himself destroyed. The Orangemen are now in the power of the ministers. Let them not hesitate one moment, but seal the doom of those noxious societies, and crush the chiefs."

Such were the opinions of one of the ablest lawyers in England, with reference to the legality of Orange institutions. He (Mr. Brown) did not approve of Sir William Molesworth's speech, while he did approve of that of Lord John Russell, and that was his reason for quoting from the one in preference to the other, but notwithstanding this, he had been vilified and belied. He (Mr. Brown) had now only to quote the words of the acts to which Sir William Molesworth had referred. (Here the hon. member quoted from the three acts of Parliament referred to.) He had now given, as briefly as possible, a history of Orangism, from its first inception to the time when it was virtually abolished in the British dominions, by the Sovereign and the heads of the institution. His Majesty, in answer to the address of his faithful Commons, called upon all his loving subjects to assist him in discountenancing Orangism.— This call had been responded to promptly by members of Parliament, who were themselves Orangemen. The Duke of Cumberland, then Imperial Grand Master, gave in his adhesion to the wishes of the Sovereign; and if Orangemen were the loyal people that they professed to be there should not now be a single Orange Lodge in the British dominions. It was under the warrant which Ogle R. Gowan brought with him to Canada, from the Duke of Cumberland, the Imperial Grand Master, that Orangism existed at all in these Provinces. Why did not Mr. Gowan obey the Imperial Grand Master and dissolve the Lodges under his charge in 1838? It was from this hive that all the swarms of Orangemen now in these colonies came, and he (Mr. B.) deeply regretted that that hive had been so prolific. He believed many of the Orangemen in this country were well meaning men; he had no doubt whatever of the sincerity of his hon. friend, the Provincial Grand Master, who brought in this Bill. He believed him loyal, but he (Mr. Brown) would not yield to any Orangeman in loyalty. He would stand by his Queen, and support, to the best of his ability, the constitution of the country. He called upon his fellow legislators in that House to take good care what they did in this matter. Would they insult Her present Majesty the Queen by sending home a Bill for Her Royal approval, giving the sanction of law and perpetual succession to a society which her Royal predecessor had called upon all his loving subjects to assist him in discountenancing? God forbid.— He for one would never lend his voice to offer his Sovereign any such indignity; and he again called upon hon. members of that House to look to the position in which these petitioners wished to place them. The hon. mover of the bill had told them that Orangism was like a brazen wall against annexation. He (Mr. Brown) was as much against annexation as any Orangeman that ever breathed. Come what might he would stand by his Sovereign and by the constitution. He was now an old man, and had lived in the Province for many years, and he hoped to lay his bones in peace in the soil of New Brunswick, as a part of the British Empire. They had on their Journals this very session a despatch from Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, intimating that Orange societies were illegal. They had seen the fearful effects of Orangism in the records of Ireland, and in the evidence given to the high court of Parliament. He had not touched on its effects in this country; that he would leave for the Hon. Attorney General, or whoever else should succeed him on the same side.— He felt that he had but imperfectly discharged a most important duty, but he could most earnestly assure the committee that no consideration on earth should ever influence him to shrink from performing that duty which his allegiance to his sovereign and the constitution called upon him to perform. He had opposed, and would oppose Orangism to the best of his ability. He bore no hatred against Orangemen, but he could not, and would not countenance legalizing a society which the late King called upon the country to assist him in discouraging, and which her present Majesty, by the mouth of her minister, had disapproved of in such strong terms. He (Mr. Brown) might be traduced by one party, and belied by another, but neither of these things should induce him to desert what he considered the path of duty, and he might at once assure all that were within hearing of his voice, "that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature," should ever induce him to swerve from his duty to his Sovereign, and to his country, by ceasing to oppose that Bill.

(From Mr. Hill's Reports)

Mr. Connell said, the present Bill had been brought in to enable a certain Society to hold their property in a safe and proper manner. That was the true and only meaning of the Bill; it was to enable them to secure property already in their possession. He had heard it intimated that they had no property, but to his knowledge they owned seven buildings in the county of Carleton, and he was informed that they owned several buildings in other counties. They were now a numerous body; in Carleton county they had one County Lodge, four district lodges, and twenty one other lodges. In Queen's county there existed twenty-three private lodges, besides District lodges and a County Lodge. This numerous body of men, wishing to secure the property they hold in common, had now applied for an Act of incorporation, and the Bill was supported by many petitioners, signed by several thousands of persons and in all he had heard from the hon. member who had just spoken, there was not sufficient reason given why they should be deprived

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