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THE INDUSTRIAL QUESTION.

And only the other night we had...

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St. Catherine Street



SPEECH OF THE WEEK IN IRELAND

Mr. John Redmond's Arraignment of the Imperial Policy—The Great Work of the Irish Parliamentary Party.

THE IRISH PARTY.—During a recent visit to Arklow Mr. John Redmond, M.P., chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party, delivered an eloquent and practical speech, from which we take the following extracts. He said:—

I have come here to-day to ask the people of this County of Wicklow to do their share, and to impress upon them if I can that the success of the work which is going on in the name of Ireland in the House of Commons depends almost entirely upon the efforts of the Irish people at home. Let me say to you the work which is being done in the House of Commons by the reunited Irish Party is a great work, but it cannot lead to ultimate success unless it is backed up and supported by the masses of the people of Ireland. Now, you may ask what is the work upon which we are engaged in an attempt to prove to the intellect of the people of England and Great Britain the absolute necessity of conceding to Ireland the right of self-government. We are attempting to prove that in more ways than one. First of all, I say that our action in Parliament this year has proved to every impartial man in Great Britain the absolute inability of the English Parliament to govern Ireland wisely or well. You know that the plea of those who have opposed Home Rule has been this—that an English Parliament, constituted as the present Parliament is, is willing and is able to legislate wisely and well for Ireland. Now, I say, the experience of this session alone has proved the utter falsity and worthlessness of that plea.

LAND PURCHASE.—Let me take three examples of great grievances of this country, which affect the whole well-being of our nation, which are admitted to be grievances by England and by English statesmen of all parties in the House of Commons, and which yet the English Parliament is unable to remedy. First of all, take the land. We claim that the only possible settlement of the land question is by a scheme of universal sale and purchase, whereby the people may in the course of a few weeks or months all over Ireland be transferred from tenant-farmers to being owners. Now, we believe that that can only be done by a system of compulsion. Our political opponents do not believe in compulsion but they admit the grievance; they admit all of them that this land question cannot be settled except by the tenantry becoming owners; and the Government say to-day that they have already prepared a Bill which they hope on the lines of voluntary purchase will enable this question to be settled. But while they say that they find themselves unable to introduce that Bill, they say they have not the time to do it, and the result is that a great grievance, which affects not merely the farmers, but the laborers, the artisans, the workers, the traders, business men in every part of Ireland, must remain unredressed, because, forsooth, the English Parliament has not the time and has not the ability, to remove it.

A CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY.—Take another case, the case of university education for the Catholic masses in this country. Here, again, is an instance where English statesmen of all parties—the best of them, at any rate—agree that there is a grievance affecting Ireland which demands immediate treatment. We know that it is a grievance which affects the whole future of our country. What we are asking for is not another university for the rich, for the privileged classes; we are asking for a poor man's university, such as the universities in Scotland, where the intelligent youth sprung from the masses of the people may be able to obtain that training in science and in technical arts which qualify him to compete upon equal terms with the youth of other countries. All English statesmen of eminence admit that grievance; yet in this session we again have had the declaration, that because of the want of time, because of the difficulties of English parties, these grievances cannot be redressed.

THE INDUSTRIAL QUESTION.—And only the other night we had a discussion in the House of Commons upon an Irish grievance which, I venture to say, in one shape or another, touches every man of every class in Ireland. The industrial prosperity of the country depends very largely upon the facilities...

ity and the cheapness of transit. The industrial prosperity of every country depends upon the facilities given to bring the products of its industry to the best market. But we in Ireland admittedly to-day are suffering from railway rates, which, judged by countries on the continent and by America, are at the very least 50 per cent. too high, and which have the effect of absolutely killing every effort to revive Irish industry. Well, this question was discussed the other night in the House of Commons, and again we had from all sides of that House the confession that this was a serious grievance, affecting the whole well-being of Ireland, and the representative of the Government told us that, while he admitted the grievance, he could hold out no hope of a remedy, because, owing to the pressure of English business, owing to the difficulties of English parties, the time and the opportunity to introduce reform were denied to him.

OTHER GRIEVANCES.—Now, I mention those three instances to show you that the work we are doing in Parliament has conclusively proved to the mind of every impartial man the inability of the English Parliament to govern Ireland wisely or well. Here are three grievances of the most vital character admitted by English statesmen, and which yet cannot be redressed because Parliament has not the ability to redress them. And we are doing more than that. We are proving in that Parliament that not merely is the House of Commons to-day unable to redress Irish grievances, but that it is unable to redress English grievances. This session of Parliament has proved that, and the English people themselves are beginning to find out that they must look in vain to the House of Commons for redress for the greatest of their own grievances. Take the case of education in England, take the case of temperance legislation in England, take the case of the housing of the poor in England, take the case of old age pensions for the English workers. I take these matters at hap-hazard, but not one of these can be dealt with by the English Parliament, owing to the change that has come over the whole character of the House of Commons, and I say of the House in London is therefore proving to the world the inability of the House of Commons to govern Ireland wisely and well, and the inability of the English Parliament, as at present constituted, to govern England itself. We are doing that without anything in the nature of obstruction; we are doing that simply by the exercise of our constitutional right of fair and legitimate discussion. And I claim therefore that Irish members that the first great duty they are performing, the first great benefit they are conferring upon this country, is bringing home to the constant and unremittent attention to every question that arises—the utter impossibility of continuing the present system of Parliamentary Government, whether viewed from the point of view of the interests of Ireland or the interests of Great Britain.

HOME RULE.—If you think for a moment you will see the absurdity of the present system. There is work enough for a Parliament in England dealing with purely English affairs; there is work enough for a Parliament in Scotland, dealing with purely Scotch affairs; there is work enough for a Parliament in Wales, dealing with purely Welsh affairs; there is, God knows, work enough to be done here in Ireland by a Parliament dealing with purely Irish affairs. And yet the present House of Commons is attempting to do the work of a Parliament of England for English local affairs, a Parliament of Scotland for Scotch local affairs, a Parliament of Wales for Welsh local affairs, a Parliament of Ireland for purely Irish affairs; and, above all, it is endeavoring to do the work of a great Imperial State governing the Imperial affairs of the world, a great and bloated Empire. It is an absurdity and an impossibility. No such system exists in the world; no such system has existed successfully in the past history of the world. In America every State has its own Parliament dealing with purely local affairs, and then the Congress at Washington governs what would be called in this country the Imperial affairs of the whole nation. And in Australia what is the experience of the moment? Each of the self-governing colonies has its own Parliament dealing with its own local affairs. At the very moment when I am addressing you the heir apparent to the English throne is in Australia opening what is called an Imperial Parliament for Australia, thereby admitting that it is impossible for one and the same assembly properly to look after local interests, and what may be called Imperial interests. No fellow-countrymen, believe me that if the Irish Party are not able at this moment to achieve for you as brilliant results in legislation, we are doing the work for the future of our National self-government of our country by directing the attention of the whole world to the utter and complete breakdown of the House of Commons as both a local and Imperial assembly. We are proving that the present state of things is an absurd and an impossible one and for my part I feel convinced that if, with patience, with perseverance, and with courage, we continue on these lines the whole English people, not perhaps save the few, will be praying for the sake of the proper Government of their own purely English affairs, will see that the House of Commons must be lightened of its burden, and that the management of Irish affairs must be committed to the Irish people, who understand them, and are the best qualified to manage them.

Imperial Parliament for Australia, thereby admitting that it is impossible for one and the same assembly properly to look after local interests, and what may be called Imperial interests. No fellow-countrymen, believe me that if the Irish Party are not able at this moment to achieve for you as brilliant results in legislation, we are doing the work for the future of our National self-government of our country by directing the attention of the whole world to the utter and complete breakdown of the House of Commons as both a local and Imperial assembly. We are proving that the present state of things is an absurd and an impossible one and for my part I feel convinced that if, with patience, with perseverance, and with courage, we continue on these lines the whole English people, not perhaps save the few, will be praying for the sake of the proper Government of their own purely English affairs, will see that the House of Commons must be lightened of its burden, and that the management of Irish affairs must be committed to the Irish people, who understand them, and are the best qualified to manage them.

A PLEA FOR THE LEAGUE.—Now it may be said that that is not a very hopeful view to take, not very hopeful at any rate for the immediate future. Follow-countrymen, it is here that the work of the people in Ireland comes in. The people, for a long time. Yes, England, Scotland, and Wales may be content to jog along under the present system of Government, but you cannot expect the House of Commons to govern Ireland wisely or well. Here are three grievances of the most vital character admitted by English statesmen, and which yet cannot be redressed because Parliament has not the ability to redress them. And we are doing more than that. We are proving in that Parliament that not merely is the House of Commons to-day unable to redress Irish grievances, but that it is unable to redress English grievances. This session of Parliament has proved that, and the English people themselves are beginning to find out that they must look in vain to the House of Commons for redress for the greatest of their own grievances. Take the case of education in England, take the case of temperance legislation in England, take the case of the housing of the poor in England, take the case of old age pensions for the English workers. I take these matters at hap-hazard, but not one of these can be dealt with by the English Parliament, owing to the change that has come over the whole character of the House of Commons, and I say of the House in London is therefore proving to the world the inability of the House of Commons to govern Ireland wisely and well, and the inability of the English Parliament, as at present constituted, to govern England itself. We are doing that without anything in the nature of obstruction; we are doing that simply by the exercise of our constitutional right of fair and legitimate discussion. And I claim therefore that Irish members that the first great duty they are performing, the first great benefit they are conferring upon this country, is bringing home to the constant and unremittent attention to every question that arises—the utter impossibility of continuing the present system of Parliamentary Government, whether viewed from the point of view of the interests of Ireland or the interests of Great Britain.

ARCHBISHOP RYAN'S SERMON.

On the occasion of the conferring of the biretta on Cardinal Martinielli, in the historic Cathedral of Baltimore, one of the most gifted pulpiter orators in America—Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia—delivered a powerful sermon. We cannot pretend to reproduce the full text of that masterly effort; but there are several portions of it, which cannot be allowed to pass unnoticed. After an exordium taken from the circumstances of the occasion, His Grace, thus referred to the dignity of Cardinal:—

"The Cardinalate derives its great dignity from its intimate relations with the Sovereign Pontiff. As the King or President is the first man in the realm, and his official chief advisers come next to him in dignity and power, so these exalted officials come next to the Pontiff. Being a kingdom far above all earthly principalities, a kingdom whose dominion extends over intellects and hearts, into the sanctuaries of which earthly monarchs may not enter, the vicar of Jesus Christ calls, around him, as aids in his administration, the wisest and best of his subjects and ennobles them by this selection.

Another striking passage is that in which the Archbishop spoke of the Pope's power. He said:—

"We sometimes hear non-Catholics objecting that in the early ages they find little evidence of the great power of the Middle Ages and of to-day. But we must distinguish between power and the exercise of power. The power was always there, but from various circumstances it was not always publicly exercised. But whenever an occasion arose we find it wielded promptly and finally and without apology. It was ever the centre of unity and preserver of the deposit faith. The prayer of our Divine Lord was ever heard: Simon, behold thy government hath sought you that he might sift you as wheat, but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not, but thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren." Vigilance as to the integrity and purity of faith become the Pontiff's first duty. His faith was to confirm that of his brethren and preserve them from being sifted as wheat, becoming the sport of the demon's temptations. Observe how in this important text our Lord first uses the plural number, that he might sift you, that is all of you, as wheat, but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not, but thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren.

ver life blood ebbs from us, may have to wait for the slow development of this idea which I have put before you to-day. It is here that the action of the Irish people comes in. If the Irish people are apathetic and careless—if the Irish people despair of the future, and make up their minds to let things drift—if the farmers of Ireland are so careless on this question of purchase that they will not under for their own protection—if the laborers of Ireland are so lukewarm about obtaining free and happy homes for themselves in the future—if the traders of Ireland are so foolish as to allow their trade to slip away from them with the general and increasing want of prosperity in the country—if the parents of children in Ireland, and those who are responsible for the education of the young, are so criminal as to stand upon one side, and, so to speak, to boycott any National organization—if in other words Ireland be sunk in lethargy and in despair then I confess the prospect is hopeless, and nothing that your members can do in Parliament, though they may point the right road, can bring that pressure and momentum to the National cause that will be necessary for its triumph in our time. But if the opposite course is followed; if the farmer, the laborer, the artisan, the trader, the business man, the professional man in Ireland will but join in the ranks of a great National organization such as the United Irish League, then I say to you, without any fear of my prophecy being falsified, we will have in our own power, with a great united organization behind us, with a great democratic, able and united party in Parliament, to make the maintenance of the present system of Government in the country an absolute impossibility.

Peter, that thy faith fail not, and thou being converted, confirm thy brethren.

After speaking of the Pope's counsellors and of the strong men needed to stem the tide of irreligion, he thus refers to the Church and its state:—

"No doubt the State has its rights in the matter of the education of its own subjects, but not to the exclusion of the rights of God and of parents. Even among those who are otherwise quite orthodox there are, on this subject, false or doubtful principles which are dangerous to the Church and not actually condemned by it.

"In this supremely important work the Pontiff is aided by a body of the most learned and observant men in the world, and even abstracting from Divine assistance it is more probable that he and they should be right than each of our individual judgments."

The representation of the United States in the college of Cardinals next commanded the attention of the speaker, who said:—

"As the Church in the United States is under the jurisdiction of the Cardinals of the Congregation of Propaganda, it is all important that we should be well represented there. It is true that our well-loved and tactful American Cardinal belongs to it, but we need, also, local representatives there, who know our people and their wants.

The former Apostolic Delegate, the learned Cardinal Satolli, is a member, and I trust it is not presumptuous to hope that his successor may occupy a similar position.

"Several other congregations of Cardinals for specific purposes are organized in Rome."

"I have had time to glance at a few only. There is, however, a recently established Commission of Cardinals, with the Pope at its head, which I cannot pass by without directing your attention to it. It is the creation of the present Pope and its object is the reunion of dissenting churches. We know how near to the heart of the Pontiff has been this object. Looking toward the East and the West he beheld the scattered children that should be in his fold. For the great Greek and smaller schismatical churches of the East, professing almost the same articles of faith and receiving the same sacraments and under similar government, it seems so easy to return, if only the baneful influence of secularism did not stand in the way. Then there are the sectarian churches that sprung up in the West, at the Reformation, which any unitive principle and daily dividing more and more into sections, and in too many cases passing into partial or total infidelity.

All these elements, the Pontiff sees, should be brought together and that he must do his part to effect it even though human perversity should oppose this most desirable reunion."

OUR CURBSTONE OBSERVER

On "Special Articles."

By "special articles" I mean lengthy contributions on particular subjects, which generally are written by members of a daily press staff, but which bear no signatures. On Saturday, when a daily newspaper multiplies its pages, evidently to afford Sunday reading to its subscribers, some one of the staff furnishes a special article on some live or interesting topic—something calculated to attract the reader's attention. As a rule, these articles are more carefully prepared than the ordinary contributions, and are of length, which appear every other day. The consequence is that the writer of a "Special Article," like the writer of a "magazine article" cannot claim as an excuse for any slip that he was too hurried and had not a chance to revise what he had written. The result is that the wording, the spirit, the purpose of his article cannot be mistaken. Moreover, it is an invariable rule, before publication, through the hands of the editor-in-chief, or one of the sub-editors. The paper endorses the views and sentiments of the writer, and as he does not sign his contribution, the editorial management is responsible for its contents.

For a long time I have observed that these articles display an alarmingly frequent anti-Irish tendency. I do not here refer to any particular organ; for, I have found that it is about the same story in the case of nearly every one of our dailies. It may possibly be that the writer of a "Special Article" is over anxious to prove his wit, to be extra humorous, and lacking any originality in that line, he has only the Irishman to fall back upon—knowing well that no matter how stupid his work may be, provided it hits at the Irish, it will always "take" with a certain class of readers. If this does not account for the thing, I am at a loss to explain it—for I do not like to believe that any gentlemanly writer would be so low as to deliberately ridicule, misrepresent and belittle any important element in the community.

As examples serve to illustrate thoughts, I will select one out of

many for my present purpose. A couple of weeks ago I read a "special article" on the subject of "The Recorder's Court." A very well written and interesting contribution it was. The writer drew two very able and perfect pen-pictures; one of Mr. Recorder Poirier, the other of Mr. Recorder Weir. Their way of administering justice between society and delinquents who offended against its code, was admirably explained. A very judicious comparison was drawn between the methods of the late Recorder De Montigny, and those of the two gentlemen who have succeeded him. So far I had no fault to find. In fact, I must say that from end to end the article was carefully written, and served well the purpose of making known to the great public the various phases of life inside the Recorder's Court. To more clearly explain the system to which the daily routine of the court is reduced at present, a number of examples is given. In fact the reader is made to follow a session of the court and see the different kinds of characters brought up, the divers offences of which they were accused, to hear the evidence for and against, and to listen to the manner in which judgment is rendered.

All this is very nice; but I noticed that every one of the offending parties, male or female, young or old, happened to be an Irish-Catholic. A stranger, on reading such reports, would have to conclude that the Irish minority—a very marked one, compared to French and other nationalities—furnished all the criminals and jail-birds to the city. Then the dialogues between these Irish people and the Recorder are supposed to be genuine; they are written in that broken English which is supposed (very wrongly) to represent the Irish pronunciation of English. This poor attempt to introduce the brogue in the report is the best indication of the spirit in which the same was concocted.

We are not—I should say, "I am not"—at all surprised that such sentiments should exist; but a feeling of mutual interest has sprung up, and one would think that, at least, the writer who caters to the general public, would seek to avoid any such openly offensive treatment of a whole class of his readers. It is easy to select seven or eight cases, in a month, of Irish offenders, and to cram them all into one day's sitting of the court, leaving it to the imagination of the reader to draw conclusions. If in a city whose population is about seven-tenths French-Canadian, and only one-tenth Irish-Catholic, leaving two-tenths of Protestants, Jews and others—we find that all the petty robberies, all the "drunks," all the infringements of the municipal by-laws, all the delinquencies of whatsoever nature they may be, can be laid at the door of the Irish element, and the obvious conclusion is that the Irish alone constitute the undesirable class of citizens.

Now, this is unfair, it is unjust, it is mean. The truth is that the Irish element does not furnish a tenth of those who come before the Recorder. There are certainly more cases than we would like, but it must be remembered that in a great many instances, the self-same individuals are to be found before the Recorder. A fortunate fellow has become a regular "habitué" of the dock. He gets a couple of months for drunkenness, or loitering, and no sooner is he out than he again offends, and is again brought before the Recorder. Six or seven times in a year he may appear. Yet, while there is only one offender, the Irish people get the credit for six or seven. But even granting that each case is a fresh one, still the Irish people do not furnish a tenth of the arrested.

This, however, is only another sample of the unfairness with which our people have to deal in every walk of life. They are invariably represented with the worst side out, while others, not half as conspicuous, are absolutely whitewashed by the press. Nor is this the case merely for the Recorder's Court, it stands equally good in almost every social affair.

If an Irishman makes a slip, or accidentally stands aside from a given path, he is at once seized by the press, tried, found guilty, condemned and hanged, before help can reach him. Then corrections are in the ordinary way meaningless, or useless. In fact, they only serve to make the matter more public than necessary. The evil has been done in the first report, and none other can rectify the wrong, because the general reader (an evidence of human perversity) is more inclined and more pleased, to read and to believe all concerning the supposed offence, than what regards the explanations, or effacements of the impressions created. It is not that we are more touching than others, but if you keep touching us up constantly in such a manner, our ordinary human nature rebels and demands rectification.