

"Mind moves matter." Therefore, the Senate to advertise so as to affect the brains of the people and affect their pocket books.

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VOL. XLVI. NO. 10.

## PRINCIPLES, NOT MEN.

A Great Deliverance by Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P.

AT THE LEINSTER HALL CONVENTION.

**The Cause of Ireland no Longer Rests Upon the Comparatively Small Number of Irish People Within the Irish Shores, but on the Wider and Stronger Basis of a World-Wide Nation—The Irish Party Must be Treated as a Whole—There Should be no Recognition of the Sectional Element—The Constitutional Movement Will Yet be Crowned With Success.**

**D**URING the course of the proceedings of the recent Dublin Convention, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., delivered the following powerful address on the situation in Ireland. We take the following report from the Dublin Freeman's Journal:—

Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., who was received with great enthusiasm, said—My Lord Bishop and gentlemen of the Convention, this day has shown itself an extremely responsive and faithful echo to the sentiments which brought it into existence. It was brought into existence for the purpose of putting down disunion and re-establishing unity in the Irish movement (applause). It arose originally from a letter of the Archbishop of Toronto, followed by a resolution, to which I shall have to refer by and by, passed unanimously by the Irish Party calling this Convention together. And every gentleman who has addressed this meeting has made himself also the faithful and responsive echo of the feeling which the Convention represents, that feeling being a desire for putting down disunion and for the re-establishment of unity (applause). Yesterday we had, I think, one of the most remarkable and striking manifestations that an Irish or any other political body ever saw. We had a number of delegates from almost every part of the world, every single one of them, if not Irish by birth, are Irish by extraction or Irish by sympathy, bringing before not only us but the larger world outside the great fact which we ought always to remember, and especially in moments of depression and discouragement, that the cause of Ireland no longer rests upon the comparatively small number of Irish people within the Irish shores, but rests on the wider and stronger basis of a world-wide nation (loud applause). But as that array of speakers from all parts of the world brought home to us our strength it also brought home to us the means by which that strength can be properly utilized and our weakness therefore removed, and the joint and unanimous appeal of all these gentlemen was that disunion should be put down and that unity should be restored (applause). And, therefore, my Lord Bishop, if I were to approach the consideration of any proposal made from any quarter whatever in any other spirit than a spirit of trying to help to put down disunion and the restoration of unity, I would put myself at once in direct conflict with the dominant and overwhelming and passionate opinion not only of this gathering, but of Irishmen wherever they are (hear, hear). And therefore, my Lord, I need scarcely assure this audience that I approach the consideration of Father Flynn's amendment in exactly the same spirit as he has spoken and as everybody else has spoken—namely, a spirit of trying to find some means of putting down disunion and restoring unity (applause), and I am bound to say this, that apart from the object with which this amendment was proposed, it recommends itself to my judgment and yours, I am sure, from the character of the man who proposed it. There is not even in this large gathering a more honest, a braver, or a more sincere patriot or nationalist in Ireland than Father Flynn, who proposed this resolution, and I am perfectly sure that in the remotest recesses of his mind and of his conscience you could not find a trace of any desire whatever in proposing this resolution but the desire to put down disunion and restore unity (hear, hear), and therefore I approach this amendment as an honest amendment, in intention proposed by an honest mind for an honest end (hear, hear), and the one test which I shall apply to it, will this amendment carry out the purpose which it intends, or will it not? If it carry out the purpose, then in heaven's name let us all support it (hear, hear). If it be destined to fail, to defeat the purpose of unity, equally is it our duty unanimously, or, if not unanimously, by an overwhelming majority, to reject it (cheers). Well, now I shall test it.

argument. My Lord Bishop—I first must call attention to a single fact. I don't do it by way of complaint, but by way of elucidating the situation. In the first place, an opportunity was given to every man in Ireland—to every Nationalist in Ireland—to present to this Convention for consideration any proposal, or any amendment which he desired (cheers). The proposal of Father Flynn, and, of course, its object, was to give to this body, which has most important if not supreme functions to discharge and fulfil, adequate opportunity of reading in print, and calmly considering any proposal that was made. Well, the proposal of Father Flynn does not appear in the agenda paper. That to a certain extent takes the Convention at a disadvantage, but that is not the complete history of this amendment. I am glad that calm and better counsels have prevailed. Better counsels will always ultimately prevail in such cases. But I feel bound to give this Convention the original form in which this amendment was handed up to the chair. And here is what it was—

Father Flynn rising and coming towards the front of the platform, said—If I thought it well to change my amendment and to put it in the form in which I have it before this assembly, I do it for a certain reason. I did it that it might commend itself to every individual in the assembly (hear, hear). I found on consideration that it might be contentious in the way in which it was worded, and I want to avoid contention if possible (hear, hear). I want to have no friction, and therefore upon advice I changed the resolution, because I was informed it would obtain a more general support if I did so. Therefore I say it is unfair—and I submit the matter to the chairman—I say it is unfair to annul a resolution that I never proposed (cheers).

The Chairman—As Father Flynn's resolution reached me in its amended form, and was seen here by a number of persons yesterday in its unamended form, including Mr. O'Connor, I don't think, on a strict point of order, I can rise against Mr. O'Connor reading the text (hear, hear). But for the harmony of the Convention, I suggest a middle course to Mr. O'Connor, and that is, without reading the resolution as amended in original form, to give the Convention his memory of what it was.

Mr. O'Connor, who on rising was received with renewed cheers, said—Of course, my Lord Bishop, I shall immediately comply with your suggestion, and I will give, without even looking at the original amendment, my recollection of what it was, and Father Flynn will have an opportunity of correcting me if I mistake its terms by my recollection of it.

Mr. O'Connor (resuming)—The original amendment was that a committee of arbitration should be appointed for this Convention, consisting of seven members of what were called the three contending sections of Irish Nationalists—and I think the foreign delegates were to be a representation of ten—and that this committee should submit to this Convention a plan of action upon which all the three contending sections could ultimately unite and work together. I am very glad, I am delighted, no words can express my joy, at the withdrawal of the original form of the amendment, because it is a withdrawal from a position which I would have felt it my duty to condemn and reprobate in the strongest manner (loud cheers). It is true that there are two contending sections of Irish Nationalists. There is the Parnellite Party and there is the Irish Parliamentary Party (loud cheers). When you deal with the Parnellites they are entitled to demand, and you are compelled to admit, that they are a separate and independent party. They are wrong for being so. Don't misunderstand my position. They are entitled to call themselves a separate and independent party, and we are bound to acknowledge them (hear, hear). They have very good reasons as they may think, very bad reasons as you and I may think, for they broke the Party pledge, and a certain number of constituencies elected them after breaking that pledge (hear, hear). Therefore they are entitled to be regarded as a separate and independent party. But we come to the Irish Parliamentary Party. What right has any man to describe it as consisting of two sections or two parties? (Loud and prolonged cheers). Gentlemen, I am going down to the very root of this whole difficulty, and if this Convention is not going to end in emptiness, in laughter and in contempt, it will have to go down to the roots of this whole difficulty (renewed cheering). What right has any man to speak of two sections of the Irish Party? Let us see what is the constitution of that Party? Every single member of that Party, without exception, has signed the pledge to sit, act, and vote with the Irish Parliamentary Party, to be bound by the decisions of its majority, and either to loyally obey its decisions or to honestly withdraw from the party (loud and prolonged cheering). I put this point to the Convention. I say that every single member of the Irish Party signed that pledge. But I go further, and I say he was elected because he signed that pledge, and I say further, that if he had refused to sign that pledge he would have been ignominiously rejected (continued cheering). Therefore the pledge of party unity and party loyalty is the whole foundation or right by which any member of the party sits as an Irish representative (hear, hear). What follows from that? That to speak of two parties in our party is to tear down and destroy not merely—I will do nothing now to destroy the future—but I say that to admit or acknowledge or recognize, to treat with, as one of the high contracting parties, one section of our party, instead of with the party as a whole, is to tear down the foundations of national unity now and for ever (prolonged cheering, the whole assembly rising to their feet and waving their hats. The demonstration was repeated a second time. Does anybody in the possession of the ordinary amount of human sense not devoured by some demon of prejudice and folly, does anybody suppose that we who have to bear the burden and responsibility of this movement approach any proposition from the point of view of personal rancour or personal interest? We would be not merely inhuman monsters who were betraying their country, but such a phenomena of insane folly as any political movement ever produced (cheers). If this movement succeeds, and by your help, and in spite of foes within and without, it is going to succeed (cheers), if it succeeds I don't know what personal glory its success would bring to us. But if it fails you may be sure that upon our heads the guilt and the responsibility will be laid. Therefore, any proposition for conciliation, concession and union that has the appearance of safety and a stable future demands our cordial assent. Does that mean, however, that we are to lead you into a fool's paradise and ask you in the name of conciliation and concession to accept a proposition which would lead to the destruction, not merely now, but for all time, of the principle upon which unity must ever be founded? (Cheers). I am very glad to see that Father Flynn has abandoned the proposition that there are two sections in the Irish Party (loud cheers).

A Voice—We won't have them.

Mr. O'Connor—I am very glad of the reason he gave for it. I am sure the premiere desire of Father Flynn was to do an honest day's work for Ireland. I do not impute any other motive to Father Flynn, and I am sure he will give me full right to discuss freely, and even, if necessary, condemn some of the opinions he propounded, without meaning any disrespect, for he enjoys my personal respect. I am very glad at the second reason given by Father Flynn for abandoning his proposition. The second reason was that he had consulted his friends, and his friends advised the withdrawal of the proposition in the interests of the Convention. Aye, the reason was that he knew that this sovereign assembly, the power and magnificence of which he has publicly testified to, would, if the proposition of the two sections in the party was put before them, scout and trample upon such a proposition (prolonged cheering). Well, now, I come to the consideration of what are the methods and means of by which disunion is to be put down, and now I will answer my friend, who, in a somewhat premature—though naturally with the ardor of an ardent Irishman—in a somewhat premature spirit asked me for my alternative. Is this Convention sovereign or not? (Cries of "Yes," and cheers). Is it a success or a failure? (Cries of "Success," and renewed cheers). Is it a hole and corner squalid and petty gathering? (No). Is it a miserable little affair or is it, as Father Flynn must acknowledge and gladly acknowledge, the largest, the most representative, and most noble gathering of Irishmen that ever assembled together? (Cheers). I will throw some light upon the situation that I think will help to guide you in your decision. This Convention was initiated by a letter of the Archbishop of Toronto, and was called by a unanimous vote of the Irish party. Every member of the Irish party was one of those by whom this Convention was brought into being (cheers). Why is not every member of the Irish party here? (Loud cheers and some interruption). Gentlemen, I don't intend to lower my speech to the point of personal controversy, and I hope you won't do it for me (applause). I am discussing no man, but principles (cheers). Why isn't every member of the Irish party here? (Renewed cheers). If he had complaints to allege why is not he here to make them? (Hear, hear). If we be the dishonest and unscrupulous tricksters we have been declared to be a hundred times over, why are not these charges, taken from private and whispered conversations, from private letters, from newspapers that can be avowed or disavowed—why aren't they torn from the dark and narrow recesses and brought here into the light of day where we stand now before our

fellow-countrymen? (Loud cheers.) Furthermore, this Convention—I must recur to the point again and again, because it is the essence of the situation—this Convention was called by the unanimous vote of the Irish party. Did every member of the Irish party do his best to make it a success? (No). Why, my Lord Bishop, is not it notorious that every means fair and foul have been exhausted for the purpose of making this Convention not the great success it has been, but an abject and miserable failure? I will not scandalize the enemy by telling all I know of the attempts that were made to destroy this Convention, especially in the full and satisfactory knowledge that these attempts have failed (cheers). They have been made, they have failed. Well, what was the first line of attack? The first line of attack was to withdraw from the Convention, and not come before it with any charge. The second line of attack was to try and prevent the Convention from being a success or a numerous body. But now we come to the third line of attack, the most insidious of all. Father Flynn is no party to it. From the bottom of my heart and conscience I acquit him of any share or any responsibility, or even of any knowledge of the third line of attack (applause and cries of "Order").

Rev. E. Murnane, Barmoresey, London, rising in the body of the hall, called out—I rise to a point of order (loud cries of "Order").

Mr. O'Connor—My Lord Bishop will keep order. The third line of attack is this—the Convention is here assembled, its power and authority are acknowledged by everyone.

Rev. E. Murnane still continued to call out "Point of order," and was brought by one of the stewards up to the front of the platform, Mr. O'Connor sitting down in the meantime.

Chairman—May I ask your point of order?

Rev. E. Murnane—My Lord, I was unwilling to interrupt Mr. O'Connor, but I wish to ask your lordship whether you consider I have brought delegates here on the plea that every party was welcome to this meeting. (A Voice—"So they are.") And I ask, therefore, my Lord, whether you think that the speech that Mr. O'Connor is making is likely to bring about that unity that we have all come here for.

Chairman—It is not the province of the chairman of a Convention like this to say whether any speech delivered to the Convention is *offensive* for its purpose or not (loud cheers, the majority of the audience rising and cheering).

Mr. O'Connor—My reverend friend was quite within his right to try and interrupt me on a point of order, and he has been ruled out of order by the Lord Bishop who is in the chair; but our reverend friend was really making an argument, and what I suppose appeared to his better judgment a reply to my argument, in place of a point of order. And what was his argument? That I was contradicting the principle that everybody was welcome to this Convention. Why I am asserting that principle (applause), and my complaint is that though the doors had been opened as widely and generously as they can, men have not come here and accepted our invitation (loud and prolonged applause). Now, gentlemen, I go to the third line of attack on the Convention (cries of "Brass"). My reverend friend is quite at liberty to differ from me as to the effect of my words. It will be for you to decide. But I come to the third line of attack, and what does that mean? The Convention, in spite of every effort to make it a failure, has been a success. In spite of every effort to make it small it has been unprecedentedly large. In spite of every attempt to make it disunited it has been unprecedentedly harmonious (cheers). You are here, I believe, of one mind (cheers). I believe I may go further and say that that one mind is the determination that party unity must be preserved (cheers) by party loyalty and by majority rule, which is the only method by which any party or any society or any government can be kept together (cheers). I believe further that besides being of one mind you are of one purpose, and that besides being of one purpose you are also inspired by the resolve, the inflexible determination, to make that purpose effective for the future of Ireland (cheers). Well, what does that mean? It means that you are determined, as I understand your convictions and your temper, not merely to assert your faith in the principle of party unity and party loyalty, but also to proclaim to all the world your stern determination to put down every man and every set of men who would stand in the way (prolonged cheers, the audience rising and waving hats and handkerchiefs). You see, gentlemen, that that determination of yours, while it is full of hope for the Irish movement and for loyal men, is full of terror and danger for the disruptionists and wreckers (cheers); and therefore a removal of the greatest danger that ever threatened them would be the removal of your determination to put down all wreckers, and therefore the wreckers want to stand between you and your determination (cheers). Well, if a committee were appointed—a committee of arbitration—for the purpose of settling our differences on the platform, what would become of the Convention? (Cheers) Assume the committee was in the next room. I want to know how long the committee is to last—I want to know how long it is to sit and when it is to report (cheers and laughter). When is the committee to be expected to report? It would be a pretty quick committee if it reported to-day within a

few hours. We are not going to sit beyond four, and I don't think it could report before that. Therefore it could not report to-day and would not report to-morrow? I do not think it could. Aye, but if it were a committee consisting of the right kind of men who were determined not to make this Convention ineffective, but to make it potent, it would be quite ready to report on Friday, when the Convention would have disappeared as completely as the snow in summer (cheers). And so you see this great body which was brought here for a great work and is determined to do that work would be in such a case dispersed without doing anything (cheers), and I say therefore that the carrying or acceptance of such a proposal would mean the death of the Convention. And, speaking in no language of exaggeration—speaking in no heat—but speaking from the depths of my conviction and consideration of this question, I declare it my opinion that the death of this Convention would be the death of the Irish constitutional movement. And now, gentlemen, I think I have dealt with the tactics and purposes, not of Father Flynn, but of those who are the enemies of this Convention. Gentlemen, it may be a hard thing to say, but it must be said, the way to restore unity is to put down disunion, and the one way to put down disunion is not to treat it as an independent and equal power gaining authority by its treason, but to do what Father Flynn asks you to do and what the Mayor of Waterford asks you to do—do your duty and show your determination that any man who violates his pledge or breaks up party unity, will no longer have to deal with the majority of his colleagues, but with a united and determined and a united Irish people (applause). And now I may be asked if we have any plan for dealing with party disunion. My answer to that is this: Read your agenda paper, and the first resolution, as you will observe, begins by expressing the great concern of this Convention at the existence of disunion. It goes on to hold out again, as we have many times before, the hand of friendship and fellowship to every Nationalist who is now arrayed against us; and then, as our invitation is not accepted, it goes on to say that we are glad to observe in the composition of this Convention, and in the spirit shown throughout the country, a marked evidence of a growing tendency to re-union, and "we invite the Irish Nationalist Party to take such further steps as may seem to them calculated to promote the cause of re-union." Or, in other words, you command your Irish Party, and you give them full power to take any and every step that may bring about the re-union of the Nationalists of Ireland. What more do you want? Do you trust your Irish Party, trust them all in all, or not at all (applause); and if they are good enough to be entrusted with the liberties and the cause of Ireland, they are good enough to choose the time, the season, and the means by which the Parnellites can be approached (hear, hear, and applause). Look at the second resolution for a moment, though I am a little out of order in alluding to it, but the amendment to a certain extent deals with the second as well as with the first resolution. What does the second resolution say? There again you call upon the Irish Party to be united; you call upon them to observe their pledge, to preserve their unity, and you call upon them, giving your opinion, to take such steps, if the pledge be broken, as to make the pledge respected by every member of the party (applause). Now, there is my alternative proposal. My proposal is to stand by the resolution on the agenda paper (hear, hear), which has not only expressed a wish for union, but it points out the body and means of restoring union. Now, my friends, one word finally. We are to-day at the parting of the ways in Irish politics. As this Convention decides the movement will live and grow, or fail and die. I make the distinction between our present movement and the Irish cause. Movements have failed before, but the cause of Ireland is green and immortal, and if our means and our methods fail we know very well what the spirit of our countrymen is. And what I put most solemnly and earnestly to Father Flynn and to every good and sincere man—can there be a more serious and a more terrible responsibility on any man or any set of men than to make our people think that the Constitutional movement has failed and driven them back into dangerous and terrible measures, and have former times repeated, and men again like those who walked out of English jails a few weeks ago—men decrepit and permanently old. Is that to go on? Is it to be repeated? Are you going to send other Allens, Larkins and O'Briens to the scaffold? Are you going to send other Davitts to Dartmoor (prolonged cheers), or have you made up your minds that this constitutional movement shall get a united support, and in that way, in spite of treason and of malice, shall make the world once more resound to the tread of the united Irish millions marching on to peace and victory? (Tremendous cheering, the whole audience rising to their feet.)

**WORTH IT.**

Caller—I wish to contest my uncle's will.

Lawyer—Is the estate worth it?

Caller—He left \$100,000.

Lawyer—Let me see. That's fifty thousand for me, and fifty thousand for the lawyer on the other side. Yes, it's worth it.—New York Weekly.

## ST. MARY'S FAIR.

THE INAUGURATION CEREMONIES  
A SPLENDID SUCCESS.

THE FORESTERS HOLD A DINNER AT WHICH MR. E. HULLY, DELEGATE TO THE DUBLIN CONVENTION, DELIVERS AN ADDRESS—THE GOLFING SOCIETY—THE LADIES' AUXILIARY OF THE A. O. G. O. GREEN TEA—AN OUTLINE OF THE ADMINISTRATION AND OTHER FEATURES.

Despite the absence of the Pastor, Rev. Father O'Donnell, St. Mary's Church Bazaar is proving a great financial success. Monday evening the Executive Board of Foresters gave a dinner, which was largely patronized by members and friends of the order. During the evening, although the rules of the Bazaar forbade any soliciting of subscriptions, still the generosity of the visitors overcame the scruples of the fair collectors and a goodly sum was realized.

The most important event of the week will be the "Green Tea," under the auspices of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the A.O.G.O., on Thursday evening, 24th, and to judge from the way the tickets are selling the affair is an assured success. On Friday evening an oyster supper will be held by the young ladies of the order to the young men, and as it is proposed that tickets can only be obtained at a premium, success will surely crown the efforts of these zealous young ladies in their efforts in a good cause.

A good programme is given each night, and owing to the energy and foresight of the Rev. Father Shea a band will be in attendance at every performance. The fair is held in the beautiful St. Mary's parlors, and the arrangements for location and arrangement of sections. The program table is presided over by Mrs. Street, who is also president of the Bazaar. Mrs. Street has labored most zealously in the endeavor to mark out all the preliminaries during the week, prior to its opening, and now she has the gratification of beholding the fruits of her labors in a scene of beauty which is visible in the hall, and which most awaken in the hearts of all visitors that response which will enable the good pastor to assist the needy during the year. Mrs. Street is assisted by a numerous staff. It is difficult to give a description of this department because of the crowd of customers surrounding it.

Mrs. Curran, one of St. Mary's most popular and hospitable, does the smoking parlor, and she does so very "they smoke and never smoked before."

The post-office general, Miss Spencer, is doing a rushing business although the price for stamps and delivery would cover the city debt, if put to that purpose.

The Children of Mary's table presided over by Misses Smith and Altman, is one of the prettiest sections of the bazaar, and Mrs. Street says that the other tables will have to work hard to keep up financially with their pretty rival.

That there is as good fish in the sea as ever was caught is verified in the fishpond, and as the happy little fishers turn away from this enchanted spot, their chubby hands full of "fish," their eyes dancing with pleasure, the sight would have charmed the heart of that gentle angler, Isaac Walton.

Two dainty gypsies open the future to many curious ones, and make the gypsy-tent a centre of attraction.

The Rosary table is in charge of Mrs. Thos. Phelan, President of the Rosary Sodality, a sure success. Many beautiful articles adorn this section.

The Good Counsel Sewing Circle table manumodes under the title of the "Holy Name," and displays a lot of useful and fancy articles. Mrs. Thos. Jones has this department in hand.

The lottery table, in charge of Mesdames Singlet and Minto, does a rushing business. Mrs. Lawlor has charge of the C.M.B.A. section, and is ably assisted by Mrs. O'Brien.

The Hibernal table is in charge of Miss Sutherland, and certainly takes the palm for beauty and unique design. A magnificent portrait of the pastor adorns it, surmounted by a beautiful crest bearing the legend, "Our Delegate." Here the Maid of Erin sits by no means sorrowing, near her is the "Wolf dog lying down," and the harp without a crown; in the distance is seen the Round tower of Ireland and Celtic Cross. In the foreground, on a realistic scene, Father O'Donnell on the deck of the Britannic stands, evidently sure of a welcome from the Green Isle he is approaching.

The celebrated waucane, "The Calendar," is padded through a literary sea by its Captain, Rev. M. L. Shea, loaded with advertisements and good will. No rocks are seen near this vessel. In the centre of the tableau is a white dove, representing the Irish Convention, holding in its mouth the olive branch of peace. The front of the booth is reserved for the many beautiful articles that are for sale.

[CONTINUED ON FIFTH PAGE.]

## TRADE RETURNS FOR AUGUST.

OTTAWA, September 20.—The trade returns for August show the exports for the month to have been \$13,773,552, an increase over August last year of \$724,734; in the former and of \$55,570 in the latter, making a total betterment of trade for the month of \$780,304. The duty collected was \$1,228,305, an increase of \$14,516.