

The True Witness

AND CATHOLIC CHRONICLE,
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY

The True Witness Printing & Publishing Co.
(LIMITED)
255 St. James Street, Montreal, Canada.
P. O. Box 1138.

MS. and all other communications intended for publication or notice, should be addressed to the Editor, and all business and other communications to the Managing Director, True Witness P. & P. Co., Ltd., P. O. Box 1138.

The subscription price of THE TRUE WITNESS for city, Great Britain, Ireland and France, is \$1.50.

Belgium, Italy, Germany and Australia, \$2.00. Canada, United States and Newfoundland, \$1.00. Terms payable in advance.

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WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1896

THE DUBLIN CONVENTION.

The great Convention of the Irish race which met last week in the capital of the nation has fulfilled the expectations of the millions of Irishmen throughout the world. No such thoroughly representative and influential delegation of the various communities that compose the Irish people ever met together to deliberate on common interests. Doubtless, there were some delegates unavoidably kept away whose presence would have strengthened the Convention. We have already expressed regret for the inability of some of our own choice to make the journey to Dublin, and it is reasonable to suppose that in other places there were nominees similarly circumstanced. On the whole, however, there was no lack of oratorical gifts, deliberative wisdom or patriotic devotion, and the spirit of forbearance and self-abnegation manifested on behalf of the cause of peace and unity was admirable throughout. There was just one thing to be deplored, the refusal of Messrs. Healy, Redmond and Sexton to accept the offered olive branch, and thus at the outset, by a timely and gracious concession to the preponderant desire, to crown the assembly with reconciliation and assurance of unity. With that single exception the utmost harmony prevailed. The opening meeting gave the keynote to the character of the Convention. On the motion of Mr. Justin McCarthy, the Right Rev. Dr. O'Donnell, Bishop of Raphoe, known for his patriotic promotion of the use of the Irish language, was elected permanent chairman, and an excellent chairman His Lordship made. He ruled the proceedings with judgment and impartiality. Almost at the beginning of the deliberations, the Papal Benediction gave the Convention the sanction of the Holy See, His Holiness also expressing an ardent desire for the settlement of the difficulties that had supervened. In speaking to the resolutions passed for the reconstruction of the party on the principle of united effort in the cause of Home Rule, the Right Reverend chairman said that they demanded self-government as a right, and gave allegiance to no British party that did not pledge itself to support their demands and faithfully keep its pledges. Within the Irish Parliamentary Party only one rule could prevail—that of recognition of the will of the majority. Messrs. Blake, Dillon and Davitt took part in the discussion, and the resolution received additional force through the reading of a letter from His Grace the Archbishop of Toronto, expressing hearty concurrence in the objects of the Convention. Bishop O'Donnell was happy in his words of welcome to so many members of the Irish race who held prominent positions in the United States, in Australia, in South Africa, in Canada and, in fact, represented the greater Ireland over the sea. When His Lordship, referring to the unhappy disunion within the party, said that no man or set of men should place themselves in competition with the cause of Ireland, this sentiment evoked intense enthusiasm. Equally telling was the language in which, by statistics from the report of the financial commission, and by arguments based thereon, he showed that only by complete self-government could Ireland look for justice or such an administration of her affairs as would

prove satisfactory to her people and assure to the nation its due development. Among the more remarkable speeches were those of Mr. John Dillon, Mr. Justin McCarthy, Mr. Edward Blake, and Mr. T. P. O'Connor, members of the Imperial Parliament, the Hon. John Costigan, M. P. of Ottawa; Rev. Father O'Donnell, of Montreal; Rev. Rev. Dean Harris, of Toronto; Mr. Michael Davitt, Rev. Father Marshall, of Manchester, N.H.; Rev. Dr. Phillips, of Scranton, Pa.; Mr. Alfred Webb, of Dublin; and Rev. Father O'Callaghan, of Boston. As soon as it was recognized that the dissentient minority had determined not to participate in the Convention, the members of the latter, as if moved by a common impulse, declared in favor of acknowledging the claim of the majority to take the lead. At the same time, in view of certain misrepresentations which had been published regarding the delegates, charging them with partisanship, and a merely sectional representation, the secretaries issued a circular setting forth the true circumstances under which they had been nominated and that they had come to Dublin at their own expense and without pledges to any section or leader. On this ground they claimed courteous treatment from the Irish people and press of every party. Mr. Healy took occasion, after the Convention was over, to speak with respect to the Canadian delegates, who were evidently, he said, men of rank in their own land. The Hon. Edward Blake, M. P., spoke at considerable length in favor of unity of purpose within the ranks of the party, claiming for the judgment of the majority the right to prevail on all occasions when there arose a difference of opinion. As a jurist and parliamentarian of experience, Mr. Blake's opinion reasonably carried weight. Mr. Blake also proposed that the control of the funds should rest entirely with the Irish Parliamentary party. The Hon. John Costigan spoke warmly in favor of majority rule. He considered the Convention a genuine representative meeting of the Irish people all over the world. He rejoiced in being able to bring back to Canada a message to the effect that unity had been practically established by the acknowledgment of the principle of majority rule. In fact no other principle was practicable. Much interest was naturally attached to the language of Mr. Dillon, whose position was an extremely delicate one. He acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the meeting. He was, he said, quite willing to resign his place as chairman of the Parliamentary Party and equally ready to follow any leader who might be selected as his successor. This generous offer to serve even under those who had maligned him if the party deemed their election to be in the interest of the cause, won the hearts of all the delegates and Mr. Dillon was re-elected or rather confirmed by cheers of unusual fervor and duration. Several resolutions were carried—one in favor of an Irish university. An address or appeal to the Irish at home and abroad, signed by all the foreign delegates, supplemented the Convention. It bore witness to the fact that the members of the parliamentary majority and their friends had scrupulously abstained from attempting to influence their judgment, so that they were left perfectly free to reach conclusions purely on the merits of the facts which they had come to learn. The utmost unanimity prevailed in favor of genuine party unity on the basis of respect for the rule of the majority. On that principle they asked for common action among Irishmen throughout the world. For their own part, they pledged themselves to give the Irish parliamentary party their unfailing support until self-government was restored to Ireland and they were called to yield allegiance to an Irish Parliament sitting in Ireland's ancient capital. Thus hopefully did the great Convention come to an end.

OUR WORKINGMEN.

A celebrated writer, who has devoted many years to the study of the social and political characteristics of our neighbors, grows eloquent over the pleasant life of the American workingman. "In Connecticut and Massachusetts," he writes, "the operatives in many a manufacturing town lead a life far easier, far more brightened by intellectual culture and by amusements, than that of the clerks and shopkeepers in England or France. In cities like Cleveland or Chicago one finds miles on miles of suburb filled with neat wooden houses, each with its tiny garden plot, owned by the shop assistants and handicraftsmen, who return in the horse cars in the evening from their work."

This is certainly a pleasant picture. But, notwithstanding the comparison which makes it to some extent invidious, to say that it is peculiar to the industrial life of the United States would be saying rather too much. That there is in American cities a class of successful clerks and artisans who, without seeking to be raised above their fellows into the ranks of millionaires and merchant princes, are intelligent enough and steady enough, and, we may add,

fortunate enough, to acquire a competency and have sense and taste enough to use it in making for themselves happy homes, with resources for the intellectual and esthetic faculties, no one will deny, and no one ought to wish that there were grounds for such denial.

But the existence of such a class is only one phase of American cities. There are other phases not so desirable, as the same writer has acknowledged. There is misery in New York and Chicago as well as in London and Paris. Mr. Stead has written a book on Chicago which he doubtless believed necessary to humble the pride of that mighty metropolis. Whether he was justified or not, he certainly showed that the halcyon life of the suburban tradesman, travelling to and from his work and enjoying the delights of a refined and cultured household, was not the only feature in its development to be noticed by the observant stranger. We do not approve of Mr. Stead's theology, nor do we think that his ethical elevation makes him worthy to sit in judgment on his fellow-men. But some of the conditions to which he drew attention were already well known to the world. In fact, the American city is like the cities of other countries in containing many diversities of character and many conditions of life. The larger cities of the United States have their "slums," and clever American writers have vividly depicted the wretchedness and vice that abound in them. How far this drawback to their social and industrial advancement is due to immigration we cannot say. If we believe some writers, the original settlers must have been superior to the ordinary failings of humanity. Yet the records of the past do not bear this out. There seems to have been from the earliest days of colonization a pretty fair sprinkling of the discreditable element, and immediately after the Revolution lawlessness had to be held in check, as at present. There is no perfect community.

As to the claim that for the industrial classes there is a better opportunity of rising in the world, or that employment can be always obtained by worthy workmen, or that mechanics and clerks and operatives are intellectually more richly endowed and better educated than elsewhere, in the United States, we are not disposed to admit it. We are rather inclined to believe that the conditions which Mr. Bryce regards as so exceptional, furnish evidence of a general improvement in the ranks of labor everywhere than that they mark an amelioration monopolized by the United States. No person who has attained the years of middle age can fail to have observed this welcome change. Labor is held in honor to a degree surpassing anything known to the generations that went before, and this fact is quite independent of those fluctuations in business and industry to which all commercial and industrial enterprise is liable. Democracy, which is not confined to this continent nor to countries nominally republican, may in part account for it. One writer—a millionaire—has characterized the rule of his adopted country as "triumphant democracy." But the sentiment of democracy which his compatriot (who lived not in a Scotch castle but in a Scotch cottage) explained as the feeling that "a man's a man for a' that," has pervaded civilization and has modified the old order of things amazingly. In some respects it may find more definite and frequent expression in the United States than in the old world. The growth of enormous fortunes and the desire for them have, however, a tendency to repress it among our neighbors; aristocratic society in New York or Boston or Chicago assumes the tone and exclusiveness of aristocratic society everywhere. And yet those massive fortunes have added to rather than detracted from the respect that is paid to intelligent labor.

The day is past when the steady, sober, aspiring workingman could be looked down upon from any eminence. To assign all the causes that have combined to produce this salutary change of sentiment would require a dissertation, rather than an article, even if some of those causes were not likely to elude inquiry. The main thing is that we have the advantage of it, in Canada as in other more or less favored regions. If there is still room for improvement—if, even for the best trained head or hand, there is not always remunerative occupation—if, even in prosperous times, all men cannot be masters—if, when fortune is most kind, a competency is all that most workers can reasonably expect and wealth is allotted to the few—we have, nevertheless, a good deal to be thankful for in "this Canada of ours" and in this fine old city of Montreal. There is one feature of Montreal that may be mentioned as in happy contrast with many an American city of the same population. There is very little of what may be characterized as sordid poverty—nothing to which it would be justifiable to apply the name of "slums." There are poor neighborhoods, no doubt, but in the poverty there is nothing repellent, while the air of contentment and even of good taste—the love of flowers and of pets—that cheers and adorns the lot of hundreds of humble homes—re-

flects honor on those who in past generations laid the foundations of such a character. Cheerfulness, politeness, piety—where these qualities reign—and they are essential in the Gaelic and Celtic temperaments—even poverty is enriched and the hardest life is blessed. Nor are they necessarily distinct from the more aggressive and self-assertive virtues of perseverance and assiduity and ambition to excel. The *suaviter in modo* implies the presence rather than the absence of the *fortiter in re*. At any rate, those who know something of Montreal's workings, skilled and unskilled—and we had an opportunity on Monday last of estimating their strength—will admit that they have a fair equipment of both sets of qualities, and they should never be divided, for, great a thing as success is, it may be purchased too dearly.

A GREAT CRUSADE.

Of two movements set on foot by the late Cardinal Lavigerie, one, a movement of reconciliation, was both patriotic and Catholic; the other, a movement of philanthropy, was also essentially Catholic, and as to its bearings, ecumenical. Until that great churchman spoke with authority and humane sympathy, the nations that had partitioned Africa among them could hardly be said to have been truthful as to the conditions of slavery and the slave-trade in the Dark Continent. Their agents did hesitate, when occasion offered, to condemn the Arab trader of the interior, whose most profitable business was the traffic in human beings. They even went so far at times as to give a vivid enough picture of the operation of the system; to describe the raid on unsuspecting villagers, the slaughter of the extremely old and of infants, of the sick or the maimed, of all indeed who might delay the march to the coast and thus impair the vile gains of the kidnappers. It is from the missionaries, however, that we obtain the most explicit and authentic accounts of the evils of the execrable traffic. Unhappily the reports of the missionaries are addressed to the societies or denominations by which they are commissioned, and are seldom printed in a form that appeals to the community at large. If it were not for the anti-slavery organizations, which are of course especially interested in the collection of statistics in support of the objects they have at heart, it is doubtful whether the mass of such reports would ever be even heard of by the generality of readers. The influence of such societies is, moreover, restricted. Although the Church is strongly opposed to slavery and to the terrible traffic by which it is maintained, the number of persons who have had any opportunity of seeing the outrages on humanity against which the Church has set her face is, comparatively speaking, extremely small. And, as a poet said long ago, what men see with their own eyes affects them more powerfully than mere hearsay could be. Slavery and the slave trade being matters of hearsay to the millions of Christendom, it makes little impression on them, save when some strong and sympathetic voice arouses them for a moment from their indifference and makes them try to realize what a fearful evil it must be. Seldom has the Christian world been more deeply stirred by any appeal to the sense of wrong and the duty of righting wrong than when Cardinal Lavigerie raised his voice on behalf of the poor African, robbed of every natural right, of home, of liberty, of parents, wife and children, and driven like a brute beast, to be sold at a slave-mart. Not young and vigorous men only, but women and children, provided they were able to stand the strain of the march, were subjected to this treatment. It was not as a novice that this prince of the Church, in a land once rich in bishops, theologians and preachers, began what he hoped would be a crusade worthy of the name. He had for years been engaged in a mission which had enabled him to receive regularly the fullest information concerning the organized traffic in natives carried on by Arabs and half-casts. His missionaries were among the most successful of modern evangelists and their influence for good was felt over a broad range. But this evil of slavery was beyond their power to repress. One of the chief strongholds of the traffic was south of the Sahara just opposite the Archbishop's jurisdiction, in central Sudan. Some years ago this vast region, which has its eastern extremity on the confines of Egypt and the western south of Morocco, was one mighty hunting ground of the slave trade. The native city of Koko in Bahrour was the central mart whither the wretched captives were collected like dumb driven cattle from far and near over that savage domain. A dozen years ago it was estimated that 19,000 were brought there every year. Bent only on gain, the nimrods of this dire chase disregarded the sufferings of those who grew faint on the long march, leaving them to perish by a lingering anguish when they did not more mercifully end their torments by summary despatch. As in the Northwest piles of bones along the trails remind the traveler of the slaughter of the now extinct

buffalo, so in that torrid region the bones of the victims tell the story of "man's inhumanity to man." In this field of diabolic industry Morocco has a centre of its own at a place called Sidi Hamed ibn Musa, seven days' journey from Mogador, and from this point the slaves gathered from great distances are forwarded in gangs to Fez, Mequinez and Morocco, a duty levied on them, like any other merchandize, forming part of the Sultan's revenue. The basin of the upper Nile and the lakes was another fortress of the traffic before Gordon's strong will circumscribed the traders, but since the Mahdi's conquest the system has again taken root. What is known as East Africa, with Zanzibar for outlet, forms the third great centre of the traffic having its source of supply in the Nyassa regions. Portugal was long blamed for encouraging a system so out of keeping with the profession of Christianity. If, however, Portugal has to bear the stigma of being the last of the Christian nations to engage in the slave trade, it must be remembered that Portugal had interests in Africa greater than the other powers, as well as vast possessions in tropical America. That is no excuse, it is true, but recent years have shown very clearly that in this, as in many another sphere of duty, it is much easier to preach than to practice. Notwithstanding loud professions, there is not one of the European nations which have shared in the partition of Africa that can, with a clear conscience, take up the stone of reproach to cast it at Portugal. It is just twenty years since King Leopold II, King of the Belgians, held the famous conference which resulted in the exploration of the Congo and the establishment in 1885 of the Congo Free State. Now, one of the principal objects held in view in that policy was the abolition of the slave trade. Slavery is illegal within the limits of the State, and if the authorities are always as rigid in dealing with offenders against the law as they were with the unfortunate Stokes, whom Capt. Lothaire so summarily hanged on the charge of selling arms to the slave traders, its example ought to be beneficial to all Africa. The present crisis in Zanzibar has forced the question of slavery into a prominence which cannot be ignored. A commission sent out last year by the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society reported slavery in full blast in that British protectorate, and demanded prompt abolition. But vested interests, represented by the Consul-General, are against such a step as virtually ruinous to the industries of the Sultanate. The inconsistency of a policy that deals with the slave traffic at sea as piracy, while recognizing the necessity of slavery ashore, is too glaring to be longer tolerated. The readiness with which resort is made to arms for purely selfish considerations, while outrages on humanity that shock every sense of justice are permitted with impunity, has become a scandal to Christendom. Not far from Zanzibar is one of the best equipped of the Church's missions in Africa; in Uganda there is another, and farther west are others. Cardinal Lavigerie's plan of crusade contemplated a union of all Christian nations for this one great object. Their moral sentiment he won to his cause, but rivalries and antipathies, avarice and ambition stand in the way of common action and render impracticable what, with a common aim and the exercise of a Christian spirit, could be accomplished with comparative ease. At last the moment has arrived when for Great Britain a definite avowal of policy and a strict and impartial enforcement of anti-slavery principles can be no longer postponed. It will now be seen whether the great African Cardinal has left a successor in the church of St. Augustine and St. Cyprian worthy to wear his mantle in this noblest of crusades.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

At the recent session of the Columbian Summer School at Wisconsin, Mr. R. G. Frost, of St. Louis, read a paper on the subject of Marriage and Divorce in the United States, in which he made the following statement:—

"It is generally admitted that divorce is detrimental to the integrity of the family and to society, which is built upon it. In the United States the number of divorces is alarmingly great, and while the increase in population from 1870 to 1880 was 30 per cent., the increase in divorce was more than 70 per cent. In other words, it is twice greater than that of population. In Connecticut, during the period of twenty years, there was an average of one divorce to every eleven marriages contracted during that time. According to the report of Carol D. Wright on this subject, published in 1893, the number of divorces would be much larger were it not for the widespread influence of the Roman Catholic Church, which teaches that marriage is a holy sacrament, and cannot be dissolved for any cause save death."

LORD RUSSELL'S ADDRESS AT SARATOGA.

When we read the address delivered by Lord Russell of Killowen before the Law Congress at Saratoga we readily understand how it was that at its close the audience burst into enthusiastic applause, and how for a quarter of an hour cheer after cheer rang through the hall. It was a splendid speech, worthy of a

great occasion—not merely well-knit and powerful in its language, but inspired by ethical principles, which naturally command admiration. To our mind Lord Russell took up the absolutely correct attitude on the question of international arbitration. Cases will, he holds, always occur in which arbitration would be even a greater calamity than war—cases involving the dishonor of a nation, the triumph of an unrighteous cause, the perpetuation of hopeless and debasing tyranny; but in by far the largest number of international disputes arbitration can and ought to be applied. We are glad to see that the Lord Chief Justice attaches due importance to the influence of religion and the Press as factors which make for peace. It may be, as he declares, that the time is not ripe for the establishment of a permanent board of international arbitrators, but there can be no question that the beneficent power of religious leaders and newspapers in repressing international jealousies and animosities is decidedly on the increase. And, in truth, never were there more peaceful efforts more generally required than at the present day, when nation is armed against nation, and each seems watching for the decisive moment "to let slip the dogs of war."—Liverpool Catholic Times.

A GOOD APPOINTMENT.

MR. FRANK LANGAN NAMED ASSISTANT APPRAISER OF DRY GOODS OF THIS PORT.

The announcement has been made to the effect that Mr. Frank Langan, brother-in-law of the late James McCready, has been appointed assistant appraiser of dry goods in the Custom House in this city. Mr. Langan has had a long experience in that special line both in Ireland and in this country. The appointment of Mr. Langan will, we have no doubt whatever, give general satisfaction to the trade in this district, as he is a man of high integrity, and will not fail to discharge the duties of his new office in an impartial and careful manner.

FREE CATHOLIC SCHOOLS.

ARCHBISHOP IRELAND INAUGURATES THE NEW POLICY.

A despatch from St. Paul, Minn., says Archbishop Ireland has issued a letter announcing that hereafter in the Catholic parochial schools no tuition will be charged, such tuition being considered an obstacle to the growth of these schools. In the course of the letter he says:—

"Of course the expense of maintaining the schools must be provided for in some way. Pastors will take the amount of these expenses from the regular church receipts of the parish, or will rely upon ordinary measures which their own judgment may command."

"Catholics will, we are very sure, cooperate with their pastors in maintaining the parish schools. The proper view to be taken of the Catholic school is to regard it as a great religious work in which all were concerned, whether they have or have not children attending it. The Catholic schools—the future will prove it beyond a doubt—are the most fruitful of all institutions for the preservation and perpetuation of faith in this country, and the Catholic who takes a deep and abiding interest in his religion will love the Catholic school and prove his love for it by his generosity towards it."

The letter closes with an appeal to Catholic parents to support the parochial schools and to send their children to them, saying:—

"Pupils of Catholic schools learn thoroughly their religion and are made to practice it in daily life. If the faith of our children is to be with them a strong and living faith when they have grown to manhood and womanhood, it must come to them now as it were a second nature. This is what is done by a Catholic school. Faith is there grounded into children, so that it never leaves them afterwards."

THE MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION.

A dispatch from Winnipeg says: The Cabinet of the Local Government was in session for several hours last Saturday on the settlement of the school question. When the Council rose Hon. Mr. Sifton said to a reporter:—"All I have to say is that we have had the question under consideration. It seems likely that another conference will be necessary before a conclusion is arrived at, but the indications are that a settlement will be reached."

As to when the conference would take place, or where, Mr. Sifton would offer no suggestion, and he did not think there would be any need of a special session of the Legislature to consider the matter. Premier Greenway stated that there was a full meeting of the Cabinet, at which the settlement question was discussed. "It is hoped," said the Premier, "that a settlement will be reached, but before that it may be necessary that a further conference take place with the Dominion Government. If it is settled I have no doubt it will be on a basis quite satisfactory to the people of Manitoba."

The Ministers, when asked if there was anything in the report that Mr. Laurier would send delegates to Rome, simply laughed and said it was all unbecome.

Members of the Government are silent on the subject of a second conference which has been spoken of by Hon. Mr. Sifton. The opinion prevails that the portfolio of the Interior will play an important part in the settlement. But neither as to this will the Premier or his colleagues commit themselves. Mr. Tarte said yesterday that he was not in a position to give any information upon the question, and he doubted if any announcement would be made.

MRS. PARNELL ILL.

Mrs. Delia L. S. Parnell, mother of the late Charles Stewart Parnell, who was injured on the steamer *Pennland* while on her way from the United States, is lying dangerously ill at her daughter's house in Dublin.