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TORONTO, THURSDAY, JULY 2, 1903

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## Ireland's Future and the Proposed Imperial Zollverein

Important Speech by Mr. W. Bourke Cockran in London last week at the Irish Parliamentary Banquet.

At a banquet in honor of Mr. W. Bourke Cockran, of New York, in London, on June 14, by the Irish party the great Irish-American orator delivered the following speech on Irish conditions:

Mr. Bourke Cockran was received with most enthusiastic applause. He said: Mr. Redmond and gentlemen of the Irish Parliamentary Party—He would be of colder cast and nature than some, who could listen unmoved to the eulogy which has been just pronounced and the enthusiasm with which it has been received. Mr. Redmond has been kind enough to speak of my poor services to the Irish cause but when I look round this table and reflect upon the long struggle of 25 years, the sacrifices made, the sufferings borne, and, indeed, the success which has been achieved in it, and the assured triumph that awaits it, it is for me to pay homage to you rather than receive courtesy and homage and compliments at your hands. I believe there is not in all the history of the world a struggle comparable to that which you have waged to the very verge of success. There have been in my recollection countries emancipated from oppressive conditions, and history records many in which the enslaved have broken their fetters but never was there a single instance, I believe, where emancipation has been achieved without outside aid (hear, hear). The country which has admitted me to citizenship would not to-day be a free Republic but for the intervention of France (applause). Instead of having free institutions she would have been suffering under provocation, violence and oppression, which would probably breed fresh resistance, fresh oppression and calamities. Cuba has been emancipated by the intervention of the American people (applause). The states that broke away from Turkey had the active assistance of almost every European state (hear, hear). But here is an island and a people, perhaps as no other nation has ever been

**PERSECUTED, ROBBED AND PLUNDERED,**

as no other people ever has been despoiled, without armaments, without organization, with nothing but the justice of her cause and the fidelity of her champions, who has resisted the most powerful Government in the world, until now you stand upon the very verge of the promised land, with but a few steps necessary to place you inside its borders of peace, plenty progress and prosperity (applause). Now, I believe, I can prophesy that your victory is practically assured—in fact it does not require the gift of prophecy. It is already within sight. Recent events have established the fact that the Irish question is in process of solution (hear, hear). It may be well to remind you here of the definition I once gave of the Irish

question. I said, "Ireland is the only country in the world where the people own neither the soil on which, nor the Government under which, they live. They have determined to obtain control of both (applause). The English Government have refused them the control of either and that is the Irish question" (applause). The moment one of these rights is conceded the other is bound to follow (applause). When the restoration of the control of the land to the Irish people is assured when the Irish people have possession of their soil there can be little doubt they will obtain possession of their Government. When the foreign garrison is discharged and the landlords no longer hold the land no body will have any particular interest in resisting the power of the Irish people. What the Irish people demand for their country earnestly the Irish people will obtain. I am so certain of that that I have ceased to speculate as to the possibility or probability of it (hear, hear). But Mr. Redmond was kind enough to say and you applauded it that it would be agreeable to all of you if I should form a recruit in your ranks (loud applause). Believe me if I thought any sacrifice or any action on my part could advance the prospects of the Irish people for the recovery of their institutions and their soil and land I would not hesitate to make it, although it involved everything I possessed and hoped to gain (applause). But surveying the struggle you have made the success you have achieved and all the features of Irish life I do not believe there is any man living who can contribute anything to the success with which this contest has been waged or make more certain the victory that awaits you (hear, hear). The battle has been waged by Mr. Redmond and those associated with him so well that it will at all times remain the inspiration of those who lack liberty and desire it and the admiration of those who possess liberty and prize it (applause). I have little doubt about the success of the Irish people in their struggle both for land and their government. I am much more concerned about the use they will make of their privileges when they have gained them, and here is a subject which must necessarily be full of interest for all concerned, to every man who realizes the history of Ireland and gauges the points which necessarily arise in the path where all countries unused to freedom are suddenly called upon to exercise all the privileges of citizenship, the control of government, and the cultivation of the soil. I have very little doubt as to the outlook. The fitness of the Irish people to exercise the power of government has been established on the floor of the House of Commons, and it is the very irony of fate that the signal proof of Irish capacity for government should be gained upon the very spot where it is abolished (applause). I believe there is but one Party in English public life that deserves the name and has the capacity to carry on this government in form of Parliamentary procedure. It has been the feature of the close of the nineteenth century that there has been a marked decay in the vigor of the Parliamentary system everywhere. The decay of Parties—the tendency to split up into groups—has reached England, and to-day, if it should be necessary to form a new Government. I do not know where the King could find any person who could control a majority or a respectable following in England (laughter). In point of fact, if he selected the man with the largest following, he would have to send for Mr. Redmond (laughter and applause) and I am not at all certain, if the Empire is to continue, it will have to be

**AN IRISH RATHER THAN AN ENGLISH EMPIRE**

(renewed laughter). Now that is not an extravagant assertion. If the King cannot find somebody who controls a majority to hold his conscience and advise his action, he must at least seek that person who has the largest majority, and outside the following of Mr. Redmond I do not know where you can find thirty men in the House of Commons who would agree to follow the leadership of anybody (cheers). One point upon which they seem to be agreed is that nobody should lead them (laughter). Now if the responsibility of the administration of the Empire should fall upon the shoulders of the Irish Party and the Irish leader, you will observe that some very grave questions will arise (laughter). You are forbidden by a very high authority to waste much time upon parochial matters. I think it would have a most beneficial effect if the light of Irish freedom and love of justice should be turned upon Imperial questions. I am not at all sure but we will find reason, with the selection of Mr. Redmond as the coming Premier and the selection of the Irish Party for the Administration of the Empire, in some proposals which have recently been made (laughter and applause). These proposals are highly

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ly significant. They are understood to effect miracles. I do not think Mr. Redmond will attempt miracles; he will be satisfied with acts of duty of a simple kind, but we have recent proposals made that must be of interest to the entire civilized world. It has been suggested that the fiscal policy that governed England for fifty or sixty years should be abandoned, and that a new policy shall be adopted which shall have for its purpose and object the making of everybody rich by making the country poor (laughter), which shall establish abundance by creating scarcity, which shall make food dear that laborers may become prosperous (renewed laughter). Now that is a suggestion which I confess I am not wholly able to grasp. But as I have had some experience of the administration of another Government, I would like to suggest to the members of the Irish Party—very possibly soon to be charged with greater responsibilities than they anticipate—that there are certain calamities of government. Government is able to do a great deal of mischief; of itself it can do very little good. Government can destroy, but cannot create. It can take anything you get by direct taxation or direct confiscation, but it cannot make two blades of grass grow where only one grew before; it cannot cause a tree to fall in the forest and to be fashioned and formed instantly into smooth planks that form these tables round which we sit. Now, if government cannot create anything, it has nothing of its own to give anybody. If it undertakes to enrich one man, it must take from another; if it has a favorite, it must have a victim; and that government only is just that has neither favorites nor victims. Whenever, therefore, you find the Government proposing a plan of beneficence, you may be sure it marks

**A SCHEME OF PLUNDER**

(applause). You see, there are but ways by which property can be created—one is by production, and the other is by plunder. Anything a man wants he must either make or take it (laughter). There is no other way. It must be made for him by himself or somebody else. Of course, what he obtains by exchange is produced by himself, because it is the product of his product; but when he tries to obtain property by any other means he is engaged in a scheme of plunder, however much he may disguise it (hear, hear). Now, it is well, to hear these few principles in mind when you come to examine any specific proposal that is introduced to enrich people by legislation. The Irish people ask nothing but simple justice—the right to obtain their soil, the right to go to work upon their soil. Once given them that, let them work upon their soil in a condition that guarantees them the possession of whatever they produce, and they ask no other favors. Now, we are told, for instance, that by a system of preferential tariff there is to be a vast spread of manufactures and an increase of prosperity, but you must not examine the matter—you must not consider formulas or expressions. One noble statesman has declared that "Free Trade," for instance, is not the Sermon on the Mount, and a Commoner statesman has declared that the fact that a policy has lasted for sixty years furnishes no reason why it should not be carefully examined. He says you must not have theories, but facts. Now, I agree with him. I think any person who appeals to phrases as fixed principles in economic discussion generally confesses himself incapable of maintaining his arguments. I do not care whether a thing is the consequence of free trade or protection so long as it makes for the prosperity of the people; and I go so far as to say that I think it important that we should define what we mean by either expression.

**WHAT DO WE MEAN BY PROSPERITY?**

Do we mean huge armies and brilliant uniforms? Do we mean great, big ships with armaments and guns to exercise the gentlemen in blue jackets? We mean by prosperity abundance of commodity, produced by labor, distributed among those who produce them—we mean more loaves, more shoes, all of better quality; better houses, all of plenty of people dwelling within; more schools, and better constructed ones; better hospital

moment you establish a fiscal union it must have some degree of permanence, or else persons can't engage in business under it, and then if this fiscal union is established, some force, some power, must be established, to enforce its provisions upon the parties to it. Every State in the Union is prohibited from establishing any restriction of commerce with a sister State, and every other State has suddenly tried to do it. The whole object of our constitution—and three-fourths of it is based upon decisions which have been effected by attempts of the States to impose some kind of restriction upon the other States, but American Supreme Courts are constantly employed in setting aside such laws. Who is to enforce the condition of fiscal union proposed by this latest scheme? The Colonies must surrender their independence to England or England must surrender her independence to the Colonies (hear, hear). There can be no midway, and I desire to call the attention of the English people, who have been led to associate themselves in hostility to the demand of Ireland for Home Rule, to consider carefully whether from any Irish source a suggestion was ever proposed so fatal to the integrity of the Empire (applause), so fatal to the supremacy of England over every part of her dominions, so fatal to any claim that the Empire can remain together as this suggestion which involves dependence by the Colonies to which they will never submit, or else by England (hear, hear). Well, then, we are told to reconcile everybody to this proposal that somebody will be rich by it. First of all the laborer is to have the price of food increased and his wages increased afterwards. Now there is no doubt that his food is going to be increased in price (hear, hear). Suppose the prophesy about the increase in wages should miscarry, what, then, would be the condition of the laborer? Nay, more if it be true that the conditions that increase the price of food diminish instead of increase the price of labor, then the condition of the laborer as a class is worse than the first (applause). It is perfectly clear that anything that increases the price of food or raw material must diminish the price of wages. You know the two mixed conditions—if the field of labor is increased the competition for employment is increased, and wages go up. If the field of labor is narrowed competition is narrowed, and the rate of wages goes down. If you diminish commodities you necessarily restrict the field of employment and necessarily restrict wages (hear, hear). Now here is a large proportion of the community who believe that any increase in the cost of commodities must diminish their volume and ultimately reduce the rate of wages.

**HERE IS A TEST**

which I suggest. It is that if there is to be any change in the price of food, in the hope that it will be followed by an increase in the rate of wages, just reverse the process, and insist that the rate of wages be increased first, and I promise you, gentlemen of the Parliamentary Party, (Continued on page 5.)

**Senator Cloran**

Ottawa, June 28.—It is as good as settled that Mr. H. J. Cloran will be called to the Upper House in succession to the late Senator O'Brien.

**Archdiocesan Retreat**

The annual clergy retreat for the Archdiocese of Toronto was held from Monday evening to Saturday morning of last week at Niagara Falls. The retreat was attended by the Archbishop and fifty-three priests. It was conducted by the Superior-General of the Carmelites at Rome, Father Peters.

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**Irishmen Banqueted the Hon. John Costigan, M.P.**

**Champion of the Irish Cause Receives a Fitting Testimonial—Presented with a Cheque for \$1,500 by his Admirers—Speeches and Songs around the Festive Board.**

The banquet tendered to Hon. John Costigan last Thursday evening in St. Patrick's Hall, by the Irishmen of Ottawa was a decided success. About two hundred people sat down to a sumptuous spread and the speeches afterwards were such as we seldom hear on such an occasion. Mr. Samuel Cross, chairman of the banquet committee, presided, and did the position honor. On his right sat Hon. John Costigan, the guest of the evening, Hon. Speaker Power of the Senate, Hon. J. J. Guerin, Senator Sullivan, Hon. Mr. McSweeney, Senator Coffey, Mr. Wm. Power, M.P., and Father Murphy; on his left were Hon. R. W. Scott, R. Lemieux, M.P., Hon. Charles Fitzpatrick, Mr. Chas. Marcell M.P., and Mr. A. A. Wright, M.P. Telegrams of regret at not being able to attend, and expressing good wishes were received from Mr. John Heney, sr., at Father Point, Que.; Mr. D. J. Hennessy, Butte, Mont., national director of the A.O.H.; Rev. Father Fallon, Buffalo, and from Mr. C. C. Meyer, Danish Consul, and Hon. F. R. Latchford, who was to propose the toast to the guest. All of the telegrams bore the heartiest expressions of appreciation and good will for the Hon. Mr. Costigan. In his reply to the toast to his health Hon. Mr. Costigan spoke for almost two hours and gave an interesting resume of his career as the representative of the Irish Catholic people in Parliament. A number of lady friends of the gentlemen attending the banquet occupied seats in the gallery of the hall.

**TO THE GUEST.**

Dr. Freeland replaced Hon. F. R. Latchford in proposing the toast to Hon. John Costigan, the guest of the evening. In doing so he paid the highest tribute to Mr. Costigan, referring especially to the incident of the debate on Mr. Costigan's Home Rule resolutions voted upon recently in the House of Commons. He said that he spoke for the Irish citizens when he said that they appreciated the efforts of Mr. Costigan on behalf of suffering Ireland. He also spoke appreciatively of the efforts of the French parliamentarians in supporting the Home Rule resolutions. But there had been one discordant note to mar the harmony, in that some forty members had not only voted against these resolutions, but had insulted and maligned the grand old champion of the Irish cause by saying that he was trying to solicit the friendship of the Irish people of Canada. "As if he had not done this long ago," said Dr. Freeland. Mr. Costigan did not seek the position. It was thrust upon him as a result of the request of Mr. John Redmond and Hon. Edward Blake, made when they visited Canada in Ireland's behalf.

They had accused Mr. Costigan of stirring up strife, that the time was not opportune and that the Irish people did not want it. "For the wounds and insults he received that night in the House of Commons we assure him that if the esteem and the affections of the Irish people have any efficacy as a balm, he has them in the fullest measure," said Dr. Freeland. Another point that Dr. Freeland said bore the highest testimony to the character of Mr. Costigan was the fact that he had for forty-two years represented Victoria, N. B., in the Canadian Parliament. This was a record that he would challenge the world to equal and was one for all Irishmen to be proud of. As soon as Dr. Freeland had concluded Chairman Samuel Cross made the presentation of the testimonial, which was accompanied by a cheque for \$1,500. In making the presentation Mr. Cross paid the highest tribute to the guest of the evening.

**MR. COSTIGAN REPLIES.**

In replying to the toast and to the testimonial Hon. Mr. Costigan said that he could not possibly find words to express his feelings. He had never seen such a demonstration in his lifetime and felt exceedingly proud of it. He wished to reply to the slanders which had been thrust at him on the occasion in the Commons. He had been accused of being a demagogue, a traitor to his party, and of seeking for the Irish vote. He had been urged in 1861 when only twenty-six years of age to become

the candidate of his people, because they had been fooled for a time before it. He was young at the time, inexperienced and poor as a church mouse. There was no need of being a Home Ruler to hold the constituency which he represented. They had differed with him at the time on the New Brunswick school question, but they knew that they could trust him on other matters, and he was elected. Following the school question came the question of Confederation. He had been an anti-confederate and had fought the question. In New Brunswick at that time there was a majority against confederation of 32 to 9. Not a Minister that had favored confederation had been re-elected.

He had then been offered the position of Postmaster-General in the confederation government, which subsequently gained power, but he declined it, on the ground that he had been elected to represent a people opposed to confederation, and he did not propose, under any circumstances, to leave them. He had been subsequently elected to the Provincial House through hard fights, but the manner in which those political battles had been fought did a great deal to bring the Catholic and Protestant elements together and, in consequence they became fast friends. When he came to Ottawa elected to the first parliament of confederated Canada, he did not come through any favor of the government of the day, but came because the people of Victoria had chosen him as their representative. Hon. Mr. Costigan then outlined as some length and defended his stand in the crisis of 1866 with Sir Mackenzie Bowell and remedial legislation.

"It has been said that I was a traitor, but I was one of those who was loyal to Sir Mackenzie Bowell when the others had given him a blow below the belt by resigning to wreck his Cabinet and drive him out of power. I stood by Sir Mackenzie Bowell because I thought that by doing so I could gain legislation which would protect the minority in Manitoba. I would sooner go on one meal a day than betray my people. Those were the conditions on which I entered the Tupper Government and they are not such as to be ashamed of." Loud cheers greeted Mr. Costigan's statement. Mr. Costigan, continuing, said that while looking after the rights of the minority he had always endeavored to keep from interfering with the rights of others. At the same time he said that unless the minority looked after themselves they would certainly suffer. He had tried to do his duty by the people he represented. He had no further ambition in life now. He had had enough of politics. He had seen more ingratitude than they could put in a book, but this had been largely wiped out by the occasion of the evening. He concluded by extending thanks to those who had conveyed their feelings and esteem for him by the testimonial, his warmest and heartfelt thanks. His conscience, he said, told him that he had done his duty. This was perhaps the last time that he would have the opportunity of speaking to them, but he felt that they had shown him that his principles had been appreciated, and he thanked them for it.

**THE PARLIAMENT.**

The toast to the Parliament of Canada was proposed by Mr. M. J. Gorman, K.C., and replied to by the (Continued on page 4.)

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