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London, Saturday, Oct. 31, 1896.

MR. GLADSTONE AND THE LIBERAL LEADERSHIP.

A movement is on foot to lead Mr. Wm. E. Gladstone to return to political life, but it is as yet very doubtful whether the Grand Old Man, who is desirous of spending the rest of his days apart from the turmoil of politics, will be induced to alter his resolution.

We believe that the general position taken by Mr. Gladstone is the one which affords a means whereby Great Britain will come out of this entanglement with honor. He could convince the European powers that any intervention in Turkish affairs which might be made by Great Britain, has no hidden motive of self-aggrandizement, and, indeed, the powers themselves have wit enough to discover the motives which would influence intervention, and if really a firm policy were adopted toward Turkey, by the assurances given to the powers that Great Britain would not attempt to derive isolated advantages from the result, we cannot think that a single European power would move an inch towards preventing her from putting an end to Turkish misgovernment, even though the change for the better were to be accomplished through the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire.

It would be all the better, of course, if one, or two, or three powers were to cooperate in the movement, but if they continue to keep aloof on account of mutual jealousies we think that Great Britain need have little fear to act alone, especially as we are convinced that Mr. Gladstone would not take any imprudent step if he were once more at the head of the British Government. If his intervention would result in a declaration of war between Great Britain and Turkey, British sentiment would back him up with an enthusiasm which has not been elicited in the case of minor wars or threatenings of wars with African potentates like King Prembah, or even with small European and South American States.

We would be rejoiced to see Mr. Gladstone return to the leadership of the Liberal party for other reasons beside the relief which his return would possibly bring to Armenia. His re-assumption of the Liberal leadership would be the strongest possible assurance that the party would continue to advocate relief to Ireland in the form of an efficient Home Rule measure. We do not anticipate that the Liberals will, under any contingency, prove faithless to their promises to Ireland, but Mr. Gladstone's leadership would be a new guarantee of their fidelity to a measure of which he was the parent. If, however, he decline to become once more leader of his party, we shall still be convinced that his followers will adhere to the party traditions, and we shall acknowledge at the same time that Mr. Gladstone has already served his country as long as could be expected of him, and that he is entitled now to a rest from labors so severe as the party leadership would require him to endure.

It may be that Lord Rosebery is right in his anticipation of what might occur if Great Britain were to take isolated action, but Mr. Gladstone does not desire that the British Government should plunge recklessly into a war in which all the other powers would be ranged on the other side. He desires, however, that Great Britain should take a positive stand towards preventing further Turkish atrocities. He does not believe that any European power would intervene to maintain the Sultan, if England were to say once for all, these atrocities must cease, and were to make some positive manifestation of a determination to put an end to them.

Mr. Gladstone has already recommended that the British Minister should be withdrawn from Constantinople, and the Turkish Minister sent home from London with every mark of British disgust at the Sultan's conduct. It is not clear that any positive result would follow from such a line of action, as the Sultan has already shown his indifference, and we may say contempt, for European public opinion. It may be, also, that any positive action by Great Britain towards relieving the Armenians would be followed by greater severity than ever on the part of the Turks, and the end might be the utter extermination of the Armenians, instead of their relief from their present intolerable condition. The situation is beset with difficulties; nevertheless we have confidence in Mr. Gladstone's patriotism and integrity, sufficient to make us believe that while upholding the honor of Great Britain he would not take any imprudent step to bring down all the powers of Europe upon

Great Britain, merely because the latter power had determined to prevent further wholesale assassinations of a suffering Christian people. On the other hand, it does not appear to be the correct thing to abstain from intervention through the fear that the Turks will act more barbarously than ever. It seems that they are acting so barbarously now that it is beyond possibility that they should do worse. At all events a fear of future outrages should not be a reason for tolerating those which are going on now. Future contingencies are necessarily to be left to the dispositions of Divine Providence, otherwise we should always live in terror of what man's inhumanity to man may bring about in the future. We must deal with present evils as they arise without making too much account of what human malice may hereafter attain to.

Lord Russell in his reply expressed his pleasure at meeting the representatives of the ancient faith for which his countrymen had suffered martyrdom for centuries, and he declared that by their industrial activity and other qualities they proved that they are none the worse citizens for being Catholics.

He did not wish to dwell upon the cruel and shameful story of the causes which led the Irish to emigrate from their country, but he advised Irishmen to help raise the name and character of their race by the honest discharge of duties public and private, by taking an interest in the development of the great people among whom they live, thus removing the prejudices against the Irish which still abide in some minds.

On the subject of Home Rule for Ireland Lord Russell was very straightforward, putting himself among the most resolute of its advocates.

He said: "I have maintained the right of our people to self-government with a view, not to separation, but to the development of our country, because I believe it for Ireland's good and for the best interests of the Empire."

On expressing himself thus he was heartily applauded, by which it is shown that it is a false notion which many of the enemies of Ireland inculcate, that the demand of Irishmen for Home Rule is caused by hostility to Englishmen or to England.

If this were really the case, this sentiment of Lord Russell would not have been applauded by a New York Irish audience, where there was complete liberty to exhibit any anti-English feeling, if it existed. The fact is that for the English Government Irish-Americans have no liking, because of the centuries of persecution they have endured under it, but their sentiments towards the people of England are still friendly, and if the latter would only come to regard Irishmen as their brethren, and would concede to Ireland the justice which Irishmen demand, there would arise a most cordial feeling between the people of the two countries. Irish Home Rule, so far from weakening England, would make the empire more powerful than ever, by strengthening the bonds which would unite the people in affection, as subjects of the same empire.

Lord Russell's advice to the Catholic young men of New York is all the more valuable as it is backed by his example, and young Catholics in Canada and everywhere on this continent should profit by it, by the manifestation of courage in adhering to and maintaining their religion.

It is greatly due to his courage both as a Catholic and as an Irishman, being never ashamed or afraid to declare his honest convictions, that Lord Russell has been so successful. Whether in England, or on this continent, the man who has the courage to maintain his religious convictions makes himself respected, and it is those who are fearful of maintaining the right who go to the wall. We have many examples of this in public life in Canada, and though it sometimes happens that those who have attained successfully a high position begin to pander to public prejudices, and which has refused down to the present time to grant legislative independence to Ireland, should speak as did Lord Killowen on these subjects, showing that he has the courage of his convictions.

Judge Daly, the President of the

Catholic Club of New York, is another example of the outspoken Catholic, and it was very fitting that he should be the reader of the eulogistic address presented by the Club to their distinguished guest. But Judge Daly in America has not to face the same difficulties as Lord Russell in adhering to the faith, as there is more real liberty and probably less intolerance among Americans than among Englishmen, as the latter adhere more strongly to their specific religious beliefs.

Judge Daly expressly alluded to Lord Russell's adherence to the cause of Irish Home Rule, stating that this fact is one of the reasons why the latter is held in such high esteem by Americans, who, being all Irish Home Rulers, had followed with the deepest interest the grand achievements of Lord Russell in his defence of the Irish Nationalists when they were defamed by the London Times, backed by all the power and influence of the Government. Nevertheless he remarked that it is not because he is a Catholic or an Irishman, or a Home Ruler, that he is to be honored, but rather, because while he is all this, he has realized all men's ideal of the highest judicial office.

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sacrifice it for petty considerations of expected gain. The failures to succeed have usually been on the part of those who have feared to acknowledge their religion. This is true of the United States equally with Canada, and in both countries there are numerous examples of successful Catholics in public life, who have never hesitated to maintain their religion whenever it was attacked from any quarter.

SCHOOL GRIEVANCES IN THE NORTH WEST.

We have received from the Rev. Father Leduc, of the Order of Mary Immaculate, in charge of the parish of Alberta in the North-West Territory, a pamphlet showing that in our North-West the Manitoba school trouble is not the only educational question which calls for the intervention of the Dominion Government and Parliament, in order to do justice to the Catholic and French settlers in that territory.

The pamphlet is prefaced by a letter from His Grace, the Most Rev. Archbishop Langevin of St. Boniface, Man., in which the principal points established by Father Leduc are enumerated, showing: 1st, That Catholics have been deprived by the North-Western Government and Legislature of all control of their schools, in spite of the Constitution. 2dly, That in asking for redress, and in all the negotiations on schools, Father Leduc himself, the Catholic members of the Legislature, Messrs. Prince and Bouchier, and Mr. Forget, one of the two Catholic "advisers" of the Council of Public Instruction, gave evidence of a most conciliatory spirit throughout. 3rd, That those who manage school matters at Regina have shown manifest ill-will toward Catholic education.

There is this difference between the school laws of Manitoba, passed in 1880, and those of the North-West Territory, enacted in 1892, that the former boldly abolished the legal status of Catholic schools, while the latter, under pretence of allowing their existence, have erected such obstacles to their practical operation as to destroy their distinctive character, and freedom of action.

During the negotiations which have been going on for some time between the Dominion and Manitoba authorities for the settlement of the Manitoba difficulty, the North West school laws were spoken of as a possible basis of settlement. But so glaringly are these laws a violation of the agreement made with the people of the whole North-West that the proposition of a settlement on any such basis is nothing less than an insult to the whole Catholic population of the Dominion. The late Mgr. Tache, the predecessor of Mgr. Langevin, said of these laws altogether:

"The new school laws of Manitoba and the North West are a palpable and manifest violation of the assurances given 'in the name of Her Majesty' instead of the convictions of the Catholics being treated with the consideration and respect promised to the different religious persuasions they are despoiled of the rights and privileges that ought to be deemed natural and inalienable in a country where it is affirmed that there exist religious equality and freedom of conscience."

Commenting on these words, Mgr. Langevin says, in his letter to Father Leduc:

"If the venerable prelate could write thus before the judgment of the Honorable Privy Council of England had proclaimed our rights, what would he say now?"

In a word, the following privileges were possessed by the Catholics of the North-West previously to the legislation of 1892:

- 1. The Board of Education consisted of eight members, five being Protestants and three Catholics, all the members having a right to vote; and it was divided into two sections, one being Protestant and the other Catholic, each being self-governing in reference to educational matters which concerned its own religious belief, and making regulations for the management and discipline of its own schools. 2. Each section selected the textbooks for use in its own schools, and appointed its own inspectors. 3. There was a general Board of Examiners for teachers' certificates, half of the Examiners being named by each section.

Now the Council of Public Instruction is composed of the Executive Committee of the Legislative Assembly—none of whom are Catholics—but there are in addition, four persons, viz. two Protestants and two Catholics, named by the Lieutenant Governor, who are called Councillors, but who have no vote in the Council. They are appointed merely as a matter of form to

delude the public into the belief that Catholics are represented in the Council.

It will be readily understood that the members of the Executive Committee, being simply a Committee of the Legislative Assembly, may be, as Father Leduc remarks, "good lawyers, good merchants in the various branches of trade, celebrated doctors, model farmers, distinguished politicians, in a word, clever in business of all kinds, yet destitute of the qualities and knowledge absolutely required for a perfect, intelligent, and practical administration of all the schools of our immense Territories."

It is well known that members of Legislative Assemblies are not generally specialists in matters of education, and it is not likely that in this respect the members of the North West Legislative Assembly greatly excel the average of members of Parliament or of the Provincial Legislators of the rest of the Dominion. That they themselves feel that this is the case is evident from the fact that they have selected a Superintendent of the Council of Public Instruction, who, while supposed to be under the direction of the Premier, is in fact the "Tear of Education in the North West." A Mr. Goggin has been selected for this office, and during the short time he has filled it, by arbitrary and unjust administration, he has succeeded in closing a large proportion of the Catholic schools, depriving the teachers of their certificates, even though they are entitled to them under the school laws and by the departmental regulations.

So glaringly unjust has been the administration of the laws, that Mr. Haultain, the Premier, admitted the injustice when Father Leduc pointed out to him the condition of affairs. Thus according to the regulations a certificate issued in Ontario or Manitoba since 1880 is exchangeable for one in the North-West, yet a lady, Miss Z. Marcoux, who had a first class certificate from the Board of Education of Manitoba, was allowed only a provisional certificate in the North-West, good for one year, merely because she was engaged for a Catholic school. Several nuns also who had first-class certificates from Quebec were merely allowed to teach for a few months till the Normal School session, that they might attend the Normal School, though they had taught for years with success both in Quebec and the North-West.

These arbitrary measures surprised Mr. Haultain when brought to his attention, though they are a priori to be supposed to have been taken under his authorization, as he declared in October 1894: "As chief of the Government of this country, I am responsible for the schools of the North-West, and as long as I hold my position, I do not wish to expose myself to be beaten at the Council of Education by a vote contrary to my views." Nevertheless his surprise that such things had been done is an evidence that he had practically allowed Mr. Goggin, the superintendent, to rule independently of him.

The Catholics of the North-West have, most decidedly, grievances which need to be rectified, equally with those of Manitoba.

The North-West Assembly evidently took their pattern from the treatment accorded to the Catholics of Manitoba by Mr. Greenway's Government, and we trust they will follow the example set to them by the Catholic body of that Province, and will seek for redress from the supreme authority of the Dominion parliament, and, if necessary, from the Privy Council. We have no doubt that success will in the end be certain in both cases, for even if Mr. Laurier's agreement with Manitoba is unsatisfactory—which we cannot at present positively assert to be the case—a Dominion Government is within the possibilities which will afford the required remedy in both cases.

We shall in a future issue give further details of the treatment of the North-West minority at the hands of the majority. For the present we shall conclude by stating that we fully approve of Father Leduc's saying in the pamphlet now before us:

"Not only the Catholic minority are far from being satisfied, but, like the Manitoba minority, they will not cease to vindicate their right to Catholic schools, separate in fact, and not only in name. We will unceasingly protest against the injustice of which we are the victims and against the hostile, sectarian, arbitrary application of the school ordinance that governs us."

One swallow does not make a spring, nor yet one fine day! So also, neither does one day, nor a short time, make a man blessed and happy.

THE AMERICAN DELEGATES IN BOSTON.

On the arrival of the American delegates on their return from the Irish Race Convention in Dublin the representative men in Boston of Irish birth or origin gave a banquet to the delegates, and among the guests was the Mayor of Boston, who desired by his presence to show that other Bostonians beside those who are of Irish descent feel an interest in the welfare of Ireland.

The Hon. Thos. J. Gargan presided, and with him at the head table were the Boston and other American delegates, who reported the good effect which the Convention is likely to have on the Irish people generally, who will undoubtedly follow the policy marked out by the Convention as the only one which will secure the victory for the cause of Ireland, which is to adhere to the rule of the majority of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and to strengthen the leader of that party by giving him a loyal support.

There are many other evidences beside the facts reported by the Boston delegates, to show that the policy of the Convention will be followed by the Irish people, even though it may be belittled and ostentatiously despised by the factionists who have a personal interest in continuing to keep up dissension. We may mention that hundreds of prominent Irish Nationalists who have hitherto maintained one or other of the minority factions, have, since the Convention, declared their intention henceforward to support the policy of the majority, and the tendency to take this stand is becoming more marked every day.

At the Boston banquet, Father O'Callaghan, one of the leading spirits of the American delegation, expressed, in an able and eloquent address, the hopes entertained that the resolutions passed and the advice tendered by the convention to the people of Ireland will bear fruit and will result in their future practical unity.

We here give an extract from Father O'Callaghan's address, which refers specially to the part taken by the Canadian delegates, whose opinions were also of great weight with all the delegates, home and foreign.

Father O'Callaghan said: "Then I doubt not, would the eloquence, the high intelligence, of our fair city, have been more worthily represented, and the desires, the wishes, of our people more forcibly proclaimed. But if the States seem comparatively few of their more prominent men, the same cannot be said, nor in the same manner, of our icy neighbor of the north—Canada. She, indeed, sent some of her most worthy and esteemed men. Headed by the illustrious, the distinguished, the self-sacrificing Edward Blake, Canada sent the Hon. John Costigan late of her Majesty's Government, the Hon. Hugh Ryan of Toronto, and John Heney of Ottawa, men prominent in their country and who could count their dollars by the hundred thousands. So, too, Canada was most ably represented by some of her most distinguished clergy. Need I but recall the names of Dr. Francis Ryan of Toronto, Dean Harris of St. Catharines and the venerable, the humble, the sweet-voiced Dr. Flannery, a noble son of Tipperary. Indeed, from Dr. Walsh, the venerable Archbishop of Toronto, who formulated and proposed the convention, down to the humblest among its clergy and people, Canada deserves well of Ireland."

A REMARKABLE CONVERSION.

A letter from Pere Barnier, of the Society of Jesus, appears in the *Missions Catholiques* regarding the progress of the Catholic religion in Syria.

Father Barnier is a missionary at Horus, Syria, and he relates an event which is likely to be of great importance in the religious history of the East, as it indicates the growing tendency of the Oriental Churches towards a return to Catholic unity. This is nothing less than the conversion of Mgr. Gregorios Abdallah, the Syrian Archbishop of Diarbekir, who has been regarded hitherto as a candidate for the Patriarchal chair of the schismatical Syrian Church, the See of which is at Jerusalem.

Mgr. Gregorios had been formerly Bishop of Horus, but was afterwards transferred to the more important See of Diarbekir, and he was regarded as the most suitable person for the Patriarchate when the See of Jerusalem will be again vacant.

Father Barnier states that Bishop Gregorios has been for some time a Catholic, and having business at Horus he was visited by the schismatical clergy of the diocese with the Bishop at their head, in the hope of inducing him to remain in schism, but he resisted their prayers and arguments, and became the guest of the Jesuit Fathers where he remained for some time. His

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