

(Continued from First Page.)

## WHAT IS MEANT BY HOME RULE?

"the defence and stability of the Empire at large, as well as the power of granting and providing the supplies necessary for Imperial purposes."

To Canadians it is barely necessary to explain what is meant by "a federal arrangement." Our own constitution furnishes an example of "a federal arrangement," which, if not perfect, gives pretty general satisfaction to the parties to it. We may also, I think, dispense with any inquiry into the powers, which, under the terms of the resolution, are to be left to the Imperial Parliament. If we can lay down with an approximation to exactness the powers of the Irish Parliament under such a federal arrangement, we will have little difficulty in arriving at those of the Imperial, for what is given exclusively to the one will naturally not belong to the other, and what is not given to the one will fall to the share of the other, or, if you will pardon my "talking shop," *inclusio unius filii exclusio alterius*, as the lawyers would say.

To the Irish Parliament, under the federal arrangement sought for, is to be allotted "the right of legislating for and regulating all the internal affairs of Ireland." If, then, we can clearly define what are matters relating to the internal affairs of Ireland, we may fairly claim to have explained what Home Rule means. It is at this point that most Englishmen who have expressed themselves as not unwilling to concede some measure of local government to Ireland—Mr. Gladstone among the number—see fit to find an insuperable obstacle. They say it is very well to tell us that the Imperial Parliament shall control all Imperial matters, and the Irish Parliament be confined to purely local affairs, but who is to decide as to what are Imperial and what are local matters. And they seem to consider it almost impossible to find a satisfactory reply to their question.

To us, who are familiar with the manner in which our own constitution was adopted, and know how the powers of the different legislative bodies it established are defined, the question should not be difficult to answer. Who is to decide what are Imperial and what are local matters? Why, in the first instance, of course, it will have to be done by the Imperial Parliament, who, once they have made up their minds that Home Rule is desirable, will be called upon to adopt such legislation as may be necessary to establish it, to pass what we may call a constitutional act. In such an enactment as was done in the British North America Act, as regards the Dominion and the different provinces, they would have to embody a section which would precisely set forth the powers which under the proposed Federal arrangement would belong to, and should be exercised, by the Irish Parliament. For such action, it appears to me, they might safely enough adopt the provisions with regard to the powers of our local Parliaments contained in the British North America Act (section 92). The principal matters comprised under such a section would be taxation within the kingdom of Ireland in order to raise a revenue, the borrowing of money on the sole credit of the kingdom, establishment of offices, payment of officers, management of public property of the kingdom, establishment and maintenance of prisons, municipal institutions in the kingdom, local works and undertakings, with objects confined to the kingdom, property and civil rights in the kingdom, the administration of justice in the kingdom, education in the kingdom, and generally all matters of a purely local or private nature in the kingdom.

In addition to the powers above mentioned, it appears to me the condition of Ireland renders it absolutely necessary that her Parliament should have the right to legislate for the encouragement of her trade and manufactures; if, indeed, such a power be not included in those above given. For of course I do not, in speaking of legislation for the encouragement of trade and manufactures, mean to imply the passing of any enactment whereby duties which would protect the Irish against the English manufacturer, would be imposed. For, though I believe such a right might be fairly asked, and exercised, I do not think any English Government in our day could grant such a power to an Irish Parliament, and your Home Ruler is a practical man and doesn't waste time in asking for what he can reasonably hope to get. What I mean is the power of encouraging new industries and building up weak ones by the granting of premiums, bonuses, etc., to persons establishing or carrying them on. Further, the Irish Parliament should have a certain control of the lanes of navigation and shipping, and of the Irish fisheries. Acting within these powers the Irish Parliament should be supreme. So long as they did not endeavor to deal with matters beyond their jurisdiction as so defined, the encroachments of the Irish Lords and Commons sanctioned by the Crown would be final. Should they exceed the powers so conceded to them, it would then be for the courts of law, when applied to by the interested parties, to annul such acts.

With an Irish Parliament possessing the powers above named, and with their representatives in the Imperial House, as at present, to protect their interests in Imperial matters, I believe the Irish people would have what they have long hoped for—Home Rule; and I believe its possession would merely what is meant by it.

I have done so now—how imperfectly I am well aware—and may consider my task accomplished. I do not pretend to have provided for every detail, and to have given a scheme which every Home Ruler would adopt as perfect in every particular. All I claim is to have given the general outline of a plan which would embody the idea of Home Rule. In some particulars it may be that it would be necessary to give greater—in others, perhaps, less extended powers to the Local Parliament, but on the whole I think I have given fairly all the information that can be expected in an article of this nature. In reply to a question such as that which occupies our attention, and sufficient to enable any person honestly seeking for information to form a fairly accurate idea of what is meant by Home Rule.

Before laying down my pen I will take occasion to answer one or two particular queries put me in conversation on this subject by the Editor. He asked me, firstly, how under the system I have outlined it would be possible to protect the interests of the minority, composed of landlords? In answer to this, it seems to me they would find ample protection in the Irish House of Lords, and in the assent which it would be necessary the Sovereign should give to any measure the Commons might adopt. In any case the land question is one that will have to be very soon permanently settled in some way; let the manner of that settlement be as it may. The Constitutional Act, and the Irish Parliament precluded from altering it

without the concurrence of the Imperial Parliament. In the second place, I was asked how are the Protestant minority to be protected against the Catholic majority? If I reply to this I have only to say, they have nothing to fear, but should any one think they have, let the Imperial Parliament put in the Constitutional Act any proviso they may deem necessary to protect the religious liberty of Protestants in Ireland, and I am quite confident that no Irish Catholic will object to it.

Should any further objections be made, I may again trespass upon the *Spectator's* space, and its readers' patience, to reply to them.

C. J. DOWNEY.

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MONTREAL, WEDNESDAY, MAY 24.

## CATHOLIC CALENDAR.

MAY.

THURSDAY, 25.—Octave of the Ascension. First Ordination in the United States, 1793. Abp. Odin, New Orleans, died, 1870.

FRIDAY, 26.—St. Philip Neri, Confessor.

SATURDAY, 27.—Vigil of Pentecost. Fast.

SUNDAY, 28.—Pentecost, or Whit-Sunday. Less. Acts ii. 1-11; Gosp. John xiv. 23-31.

MONDAY, 29.—Whit-Monday.

TUESDAY, 30.—Whit-Tuesday. Cons. Bp. Seldenhurst, St. Cild, 1875.

WEDNESDAY, 31.—Of the Octave. Ember Day. Fast.

We have mailed to such of our subscribers as are in arrears direct, or to our agents where there are a good many subscribers in one locality, the statement of their indebtedness to *The True Witness*. We request them to forward to this office the amount of such indebtedness, as besides requiring it in the ordinary way of business, we have to prepare for an extra expenditure to defend the heavy suit which is pending against us in the law courts, and will come on at the June term of Queen's Bench. As we have remarked more than once the amount of indebtedness is small to the individuals, but in the aggregate is of very great importance to us, amounting as it does to several thousands of dollars. Some of our agents have been active in our behalf of late, for which we sincerely thank them, as also those of our subscribers who have responded, while to those of them whose beneficent efforts in our behalf we have not yet felt, we would recommend prompt action, knowing that it is not so much the amount that troubles our subscribers as the manner of sending it, a difficulty easily overcome if it is understood that money can be safely transmitted to this office either in P.O. orders, or registered letter.

EARL SPENCER announces that his Irish policy will be vigorous. This would be startling did we not know that a vigorous policy has been pursued in Ireland since the time of the much esteemed Oliver Cromwell.

A CABLE despatch says Cardinal McCabe is guarded by the police. We should be very cautious of receiving such reports, except for what they are worth. It is something new in Ireland for a despot of the Catholic Church to be in want of police protection.

We call the attention of our readers to the discourse of the Reverend Dr. O'Dowd. We make no comment on the splendid deliverance further than to say that if all clergymen expressed themselves in the same broad and truly Christian spirit we would have more of peace and less of strife in our midst.

The Irish repression bill of the British Government has been read the second time, 383 for and 45 against. According to the proportion of numbers the Irish members must have voted pretty unanimously against the bill. It is expected there will be a dissolution, and it is this expectation which regulates the conduct of the "nominal Home Rulers."

The English associated press has been very busy of late with Mr. Parnell. We are informed that he demanded and obtained police protection from the Government, but this announcement is modified by the news that it was not he but one of his party who asked protection for him, a protection which he has refused. We are further informed that he has lost his influence with the masses and that he is undergoing a process of badgering at the hands of the extremists. More attention might be due to these reports were it not known that their source is the landlord organ, the *Dublin Express*, whose editor is the Dublin correspondent of the London *Times*. Coming from such a source intelligence concerning Mr. Parnell is thoroughly unreliable. The day that the Irish people begin to mistrust Charles Stewart Parnell will be an unfortunate one for their country, for it is he who has brought them out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage, and though

they have not yet seen the land of promise, it will not be the fault of the Irish leader if it is not reached before long. The retirement of Parnell from the leadership would mean retrogression, divisions and calamities.

The Egyptian crisis is so far from being over that it has not well begun. There will soon be a large fleet, covered by the flags of most of the European nations, in Egyptian waters. Even the Greeks have sent ironclads to the scene of commotion, and the Russian bear shows signs of putting forth a paw. The National party, headed by Arab Bey, is not abating one iota of its pretensions, and the party seems to have Turkish support; indeed it looks as if there is an understanding between Arab Bey and the Sultan. The national party is making an effort to increase the army, but rather unsuccessfully, if we are to believe the dispatch which says recruits are brought to Cairo in chains. But there is nothing but chains in Egypt, which is the sick child of the "sick man."

We have lately been informed that besides the gratuity granted Mr. Matthew Ryan upon his retirement from office in the North-West, the Government have lately indemnified him for certain losses incurred while on one of his hard circuits, and more, have actually paid his expenses in attending the Commission to enquire into the administration of his office. All this looks as if much wrong was not proven against him, and as if the Government were not disposed to admit it. Indeed, such must have been their only impression, for we understand that pending the decision in his case—which was not arrived at before fifteen months after the enquiry—he was offered with sufficient directness, a retiring position, which he somewhat petulantly declined, preferring, as we believe he always had preferred, his personal independence. We are glad to hear that Mr. Ryan has so far benefited by the "boom" in the West as to have secured more for his old age than a Government pension would amount to, and that he is as active as ever in mind and body.

It would almost seem as if there is an epidemic of bigamy raging in Canada and the United States; within the past few weeks no less than fifty have been reported, of which Canada has had more than her quota. It is the opinion of a good many that the punishment meted out for this crime is not sufficient. Young men—and sometimes comparatively old men—such are the facilities for travel, new-a-days, roam from place to place with the greatest ease, and settle down, perhaps for a few years, and get married. Depression in trade or other causes oblige them to do, art and leave their families behind them. They come across some other "affinities," forget they have been married, or treat the matter lightly, and victimize respectable women. They are sometimes found out, but in the majority of cases they are not, and many are the poor women who are to-day mourning about husbands they believe to be dead, but who in reality are living with partners who fondly imagine they are their lawful wives. If bigamists were, when convicted, sent to the penitentiary for life instead of for a few years, it would have a wholesome and a restraining effect.

We regret very much the appearance in our issue of Monday last, of an article concerning an action instituted by Miss Lessa against Mr. Alphonse Keroack. The article was inserted in the absence of the manager, and without the knowledge of the editor-in-chief, who would certainly, had either of them been aware of it, have prevented its publication, the latter having actually forbidden any mention of the case.

Since its appearance it has been represented to us that the whole proceedings are an attempt at levying blackmail upon Mr. Keroack, and that upon the face of the proceedings the presumptions were so strongly against the plaintiff that two Judges refused to sign an order for the issue of the writ. Mr. Keroack is a gentleman well known in this city, concerning whom the most reliable proof would be necessary to justify belief in such serious accusations as are made against him by Miss Lessa, and we regret that our reporter should have been misled into giving publicity to them. We write these lines as an endeavor to remedy any injury that may have been caused him, and we ask the public to suspend their judgments in the matter until he shall have had an opportunity of being heard, and of establishing, as we are assured he can, that the charges made are unfounded.

In reference to the letter from Mrs. Parnell, which appeared in yesterday's issue of *The Poor*, we may state that the report of her speech at the meeting in the Cooper Institute came through Associated press telegrams, which telegrams are for the most part founded on reports in the New York papers, just as cable despatches are based chiefly on reports in the *Times* and other London papers. No one would suppose that such a distinguished and humane lady as Mrs. Parnell would utter the words attributed to her in a garbled despatch, up for the Canadian press. Mrs. Parnell will remember that when President Garfield was shot the Associated Press informed us at first blush the name of the assassin was Dolan; that when McLean attempted to assassinate the Queen the Scotch paper put his name as Patrick McLean, and is aware we have to take despatches as they come.

"The hand that rocks the cradle" saith the poet "is the hand that rules the world," and so in like manner the hand that pens the Associated press despatches is the hand that gives news to the world—and lies. Nevertheless, the owner of the hand that rocked the cradle of the infant Charles Stewart Parnell will be an unfortunate one for their country, for it is he who has brought them out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage, and though

as one of the heroines of their cause, and as it will not be the fault of the Irish leader if it is not reached before long. The retirement of Parnell from the leadership would mean retrogression, divisions and calamities.

The Chinese are crowding into British Columbia so rapidly, that if not checked, they will soon outnumber the whites, and before many years, swamp them altogether. It is all very well for Mr. Mackenzie, who is a philanthropist, to view the advent of the Chinese with complacency, if not with favor, and to call Messrs. Bünster and De Coomes narrow-minded, but if he lived on the Pacific slope and tried to compete with John Chinaman for a living he would be of a different opinion. The Chinaman has no family to support, he can live on fifty cents a day in great luxury and save money, which he takes back with him to the Flowery land. He is bad enough as a sojourner to come to spoil the Egyptians, but if he settled in the country permanently and brought his wife along with him and raised a family matters would be still worse, except the settlement of British Columbia by the Chinese would be considered advantageous. Few, however, will so consider it. The Chinese are well enough in China, but they are hardly the race one would like to see spreading themselves over this continent. And spread themselves they undoubtedly will if some stop is not put to their immigration. China can spare a few millions of her people to British Columbia and not miss them. Capitalists are partial to Chinese cheap labor, which helps to make the [white] rich richer and the poor, poorer, but it is not to the advantage of the country that this state of things should obtain for a moment.

Mr. O. J. Downey has written a letter, or, perhaps, article would be the better word, to the *Canadian Spectator* on "Home Rule." He has sought to define Home Rule and has succeeded very fairly, though the definition is most difficult, in our opinion. When one speaks of the *status quo ante* union, his task is simple in the extreme, he has history to help him, but Home Rule is quite different. No one seems to understand it. The greatest concession in that direction a Liberal administration is inclined to grant is county government, and the smallest the Irish are inclined to accept is repeal of the Union. Home Rule is a compromise and an honorable one, but we repeat, the difficulty is to define it. If the land question were settled the concentrated genius of Ireland could easily settle down and sketch *modus vivendi*, but at present there is no chance of an agreement. Healy and T. P. O'Connor and a few others of the more advanced of the Irish party would like to go further in their demands than Parnell and Justin McCarthy, but as we have said if the agrarian troubles were settled an agreement, at least among the Irish, might easily be arrived at. Mr. Doherty gives about as intelligent a view of what Home Rule means as we have seen on a small space. The great difficulty would be the customs question. It should not be forgotten that in 1874 Ireland was upon the point of declaring war against Portugal on a commercial question. And then why should not Ireland discriminate against England as Canada does, if her interests would thereby be benefited. But we must not go any deeper into Home Rule or we shall never stop. We recommend the article to the perusal of our readers. Too many such articles cannot be written at this time and brought under the notice of our friends who are not Irish, nor sympathizers with Home Rule.

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From time to time we hear of gallant attempts made towards reform in spelling, but the amount of success attending those efforts is not encouraging. Reform in spelling moves still more slowly than political or social reforms, and for the same reasons. People do not care to change unless some powerful impetus is given, or except the abuse be-

comes overwhelming. We all acknowledge that the letter "k" might safely be left out of

"know" and "knowledge," but we still persist in inserting it as well as the double "l" in "shall," and "will," and a hundred other words

that is to say, Jews, Presbyterians, Freethinkers, Methodists, and all sorts.

*Nova Scotia* has ten Senators, of whom two are Catholics, just two.

*New Brunswick* is still worse.

The Catholics of this fair Province are 109,000

; non-Catholics, 212,000, or, less than

two against one.

*New Brunswick* has ten representatives in the Senate, and surely three of them are Catholics.

Well, no, not even two, and tell it not in Gath, whisper it not in Ascalon, not a solitary one!

British Columbia sends four Senators, and although the Catholics comprise half the white population there, the four Senators are Protestants, and so with Manitoba, Prince Edward and with all the Provinces, the Governments which have been in power

the past thirty years have all but

prescribed the religion of a large fraction of Canada's population.

But, perhaps, it is because of their ignorance. Perhaps they can-

furnish men with the amount of culture

necessary to adorn the Senate.

In