HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE HOME RULE RESOLUTION.

The Practical and Eloquent Speech of Mr. J. J. Curran, Q. C., M. P., for Montreal Centre.

Col. Tisdale having moved an amendment to the original resolution, and Mr. Clarke Wallace having made an anti-Home Rule speech in support thereof, Mr. Curran spoke as follows:

I avail myself of this opportunity of saying a few words, not merely on the main question, which has been brought into this House by the member for Ottawa [Mr Devlin], but on the amendment that has been proposed by another hon. member, and the speech which has been delivered by the hon. gentleman who has just now resumed his seat. It has been stated in the course of the remarks of the seconder of this resolution that I was the proprietor of the Montreal TRUE WITNESS, or at all events that it was my organ. I regret very much to say that such is not the case. I wish it were my organ. I should be pleased to have an organ, but I am too poor to enjoy that luxury, at the same time I do not think those who own and edit that journal will be at all obliged to hon. gentlemen who have insinuated that the paper is under my control in any way. I shall reserve what I have to say on the motion of which I think are the objections to the amendment just proposed. The hon. gentleman has told us that we have no right, in his opinion, to interfere in subjects of this kind. In that respect he differs very materially from the late right hon. leader of the Government, who, on more than one occasion, stated as his opinion that we were perfectly justified in passing such a resolution, and, as we all know, if any such resolution did pass through this House, it was through the influence of the late Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, without whose influence such a resolution could not have been adopted [cheers]. In the next place he told us that this resolution was objectionable in its form, and possibly, if I had had anything to do with the drafting of it, I would have avoided the objection to which he alludes; but, as the greater contains the less, the hon. gentleman will see at a glance that, if the House of Commons of Canada is of opinion that a substantial measure of Home Rule should be granted to Ireland, it must be necessarily desire that those who are in favor of it should be in the House of Commons, because, if they are not there to vote for such a measure, it would be useless to express any desire for it, as the power to pass such a measure would be absent. I think the grounds urged by my honorable friend this back fire before they otherwise would be entitled to. But the last speaker, in the course of his observations, told us that Home Rule for Ireland, as it is understood by its advocates, is virtually separation from the Empire. That charge has been made and refuted over and over again. It is useless to put forward, it is merely used as a bugaboo to frighten people who have no sense, and to my mind is not entertained seriously even by those who are most and only opposed to Home Rule. In the recent campaign, Mr. McCarthy, who is the leader of the largest section of the Irish party in the old country, delivered a remarkable speech at Derry in which he laid down what was the view of the Irish party.—He said: "The Irish people can never give up their desire for Home Rule, and they never will. (cheers.) The Irish people know that the prosperity of every country depends upon its power of managing its own local affairs. Everyone who has been to one of our great colonies, everyone who has been to the United States of America, everyone who has been—as my friend Mr. Swift MacNeill has been—to the self-governing South African colonies, well knows that in proportion as you give intelligent men the right of controlling and managing their own affairs the more prosperous and safe and happy will the common wealth become [applause]. Now, we ask nothing more for ourselves than is given to the great colonies of Canada, Australia and South Africa. We only ask the right to manage our own affairs ourselves [cheers]." * * * * * * * "Look at the Canadians. Why the Canadians were in actual rebellion against this country because they were denied the right of home government; but the Government, the statesmen of the day, from the example of the American Republic, that it would be impossible to hold Canada without giving it self-government, and now England has not a more loyal set of people on the globe than the Canadians who have obtained liberty, and are now managing their own affairs [applause]. You deny that liberty to one people you give unto the Canadians, and they settle down in loyalty to the Crown and Government of this country. Those who deny to Ireland Home Rule, or would deny it if they could, those are the people who are treading the dangerous ways that must lead to her separation. We say that we who are urging on the English Parliament to give us Home Rule, we are the true men who are going the way for the safe and lasting union of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales [applause]. There is our demand explicitly made. There is our full and final demand. We ask our right to manage our own affairs, because we understand them best. We ask of the English Parliament nothing more than that, and we say if they give us that, we will enter into a union of brotherhood, and never another bitter word will be spoken between England, Scotland and Ireland on national questions."

That is the statement made by a gentleman respected the world over for his sincerity, and who is known as a strong constitutionalist. It is an answer, I think, to the pretension of my hon. friend here, who has sought to give an interpretation to the words of Mr. John Dillon, also a Constitutionalist, a gentleman who stands high in the respect of all parties in England, when he says Mr. Dillon told them they were watching what was going on during the great struggle, and they would reward their friends and punish their enemies. Really, my hon. friend must have been hard pressed to find some of objectionable speech, when he had to pick out words that might have been spoken, not stronger than which have been spoken by every Canadian speaker on a public platform speaking on Canadian politics. Is it so terrible a thing, after all, to say that they would remember their friends and their enemies? Does that mean civil war? [hear hear]. Unless my hon. friend and those who think like him, are liable to take fright at the slightest expression of any kind, I cannot see that there is anything in the language quoted, supposing it to be absolutely true, that can possibly give colour to the statements that he has made here as to its meaning. The hon. gentleman who introduced this resolution has spoken about former resolutions that were introduced into this House. When the hon. Minister of Inland Revenue introduced his resolution, in 1882, there had been, from one end of this country to the other, a demand for the introduction of such a motion. When the hon. gentleman made his motion in regard to Home Rule the hearts of the people here and elsewhere were stirred at the sight of men being laid against them, mere suspects, and that motion contained not merely a demand that Home Rule should be granted to Ireland, but that those who were imprisoned should be fairly dealt with.

Here Mr. Curran recited the six clauses of those Home Rule Resolutions, and then continued.

Well, under those circumstances that resolution was brought in, and was carried unanimously. Matters remained there for some years, until Mr. Gladstone, then Premier of England, introduced his Home Rule measure in 1886. It was then that Mr. Blake brought in another motion, and that motion, as amended by the Minister of Inland Revenue, was also carried by a large majority. But those resolutions had not any particular effect, as we all know. The answer that was transmitted to this Parliament by Lord Kimberly, the Colonial Secretary of State, has been rehearsed often enough, and there is no necessity for referring to it again. In the beginning of 1887, the Government of Mr. Gladstone having been defeated, and Lord Salisbury and those who surrounded him having taken the reins of power into their hands, it was sought to impose on the people of Ireland a new Coercion Act, and the people of Canada from one end of the Dominion to the other, from Halifax to Vancouver, in every great city, held meetings, with the mayors of those cities presiding, in many instances, which meetings protested against this new coercion which was then sought to be enforced upon the Irish people. One of the largest meetings ever held in the city of Montreal was convened in the Queen's Hall there, the mayor presiding, and upon the platform were several of the most influential citizens. At that meeting similar resolutions were passed, and I was called upon as member for one of the divisions of Montreal, to introduce a similar resolution upon the floor of this House; and being backed up as I was by public opinion throughout the country, I proposed a resolution in this House, which I will read, because my hon. friend who proposed the amendment now in your hands, stated that the resolution of to-day goes further than any former resolution. I think that the language of the resolution I proposed against coercion, and in favour of Home Rule, which was passed by this House, was strong enough to carry conviction to any man's mind. It was as follows:—

"That the Parliament of Canada in the year 1882 adopted an humble Address to Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, expressing the hope that a just measure of Home Rule would be granted to the people of Ireland: and

"That in the year 1886, by resolution of the House of Commons the sentiments of said Address to Her Most Gracious Majesty were earnestly reiterated, and the hope again expressed that a measure of Home Rule satisfactory to the people of Ireland would be passed by the Imperial Parliament: and

"That such measure of Home Rule has not been granted to the Irish people, but, on the contrary, there has been introduced to the Imperial House of Commons by Her Majesty's Government, a Bill enacting the most stringent coercive measures for Ireland, by which the Irish people will be deprived of rights most dear to all British subjects.

"That this House has learned with profound regret of the introduction into the Imperial House of Commons of the Coercion Bill above mentioned, and protesting against its adoption, as being subversive of the rights and liberties of Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland.

"That this House again expresses the hope that there may speedily be granted to Ireland such a measure of Home Rule as is enjoyed in the Dominion of Canada, which, while satisfying the national aspirations of the people of Ireland for self-government, shall also be consistent with the integrity of the Empire as a whole.

"That the granting of Home Rule to Ireland will fittingly crown the already glorious reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty as a constitutional sovereign, will come with special appropriateness in this Her jubilee year, and if possible render Her Majesty more dear to the hearts of Her already devoted and loyal subjects.

"That the present resolutions be forwarded to the Right Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, Prime Minister, to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., and Charles Stewart Parnell, M.P."

The language of that resolution cannot be misunderstood. I think no language used in this House can go any further than that language in expressing the sentiments of the people of Canada on the subject of Home Rule [cheers] I will say further, that all the more significance must be attached to it because in the Dominion elections which had just preceded its passage, there had been throughout this country a discussion of the question of Home Rule for Ireland on almost every platform, and the members of this House here assembled, having carried that resolution, the only thing to be regretted is that it has not produced the desired effect on the minds of those to whom it was addressed, not even to the extent, I am afraid, of having elicited an answer in reply from any one of them. All this goes to show that the sentiment of the people of Canada, represented by their members here, whenever they have spoken, except at the meeting of the Grand Orange Lodge referred to by the hon. member for Ottawa County [Mr. Devlin] over which the hon. member for West York [Mr. Wallace] presided, at which meeting there might naturally be expected to be dissenting voices raised against Home Rule for Ireland, has been practically unanimous on this question. Why, there is no more significance as regards a resolution passed at the Grand Orange Lorge Association of Canada against Home Rule for Ireland than there would be in a resolution in favour of Home Rule passed by a Land League meeting. Every one knows, both in Ireland and Canada, that these expressions of opinion must be expected from that quarter. But we hope and we believe that, if Home Rule were granted to Ireland, the very men who have been using the most forcible language against the movement, the very men who have been appealed to in language almost unparalleled in history, would feel that their country, because it is their country after all, would be intimately benefited. We believe that very soon they will see everything as we do and be ready to walk hand in hand with us, and when that day comes and Home Rule is granted to Ireland, as it must inevitably come, for if it does not come it is the fault of the people themselves and those with whom they should stand shoulder to shoulder in the supreme hour—when that day comes, the people of the north of Ireland will be just as secure in their rights as the Protestant minority of the Province of Quebec are secure in their rights to-day in that overwhelming Catholic province. [Loud cheers.] I have no fear upon that subject. I may not view this matter exactly in the same light as the hon. member for Ottawa County, I may not believe as he does that this is an opportune moment, when there has been no public demand for it to bring forward this resolution, but I am not going back on the principle of Home Rule on that account, I am going to stand, as I have always stood, by this cause for which I have fought since the movement was initiated. But I will take this opportunity of saying that I was sorry to observe in one of the newspapers of this city an attack upon the Hon. Edward Murphy, one of the senators of the Dominion, because he expressed the opinion that it was inopportune to bring this motion forward now, since this House has given its opinion three times on the subject. The question was asked what Senator Murphy had ever done for the Irish cause? I will tell you sir. He inaugurated the first movement made here in the days of Isaac Butt to establish Home Rule, and the first £500 sterling that ever left the shores of America was sent through his agency, and collected from the friends of Home Rule in days when Home Rule was not so popular as it is now. He is and always has been the best, truest, wisest and most self-sacrificing friend of Home Rule in Canada. [Cheers.] While all this is true, and whilst we cannot do otherwise than ascribe the best motives to those who think themselves justified in bringing forward a measure of this kind, there is an opportunity afforded, and I will avail myself of it, to state in this House what I conceive to be not merely the motive of the resolution, but to arouse the friends of Home Rule as to what this Home Rule question means at the present time, and the reasons why it should receive the hearty support of our fellow countrymen. This is an appeal issued by the National Federation of America to the friends of Home Rule for Ireland. It says:

"Fellow-Countrymen and Friends of Home Rule.—After centuries of struggle in Ireland, after an unbroken line of martyrs have yielded up their lives in protest, after enduring every form of persecution that could be inflicted, making every sacrifice that was demanded, accepting poverty and exile rather than abandon the hope of restored nationality, the constancy loyalty and fidelity of our race has a roused the sympathy of the liberty-loving, and won from the majority of the British people an admission of our claims and their consent to render the justice long denied.

"The Tory Government, the implacable enemy of the Irish people, has been driven finally to bay. Advices from the other side point inevitably to an early dissolution of Parliament. The general election following immediately will decide the Home Rule question for our generation, if not forever. Friends of Ireland in America, will you aid the Irish people now? Will you organize at once and give the necessary material support without which the battle cannot be won?

"The Tory party have arranged to contest every seat in Ireland, to impose new burdens on our people, knowing their poverty. Shall the sacrifices and devotion of the past be in vain, because of indifference now? Shall the present prove recreant to the past?

"The heavy statutory fees must be deposited when nominations are made. The necessary funds should be in our treasurer's hands before the dissolution of Parliament, in order to be available at once. The hour for final effort is upon us. Follow-countrymen, you have pledged your support to this contest until the victory was won. The purpose and the lines of contest have not changed. Never in the history of the long struggle has Ireland gained a position so full of promise as the present. Avoidance of the duty you owe your race now under any pretence is desertion in face of the enemy.

"The hour of destiny has arrived for Ireland. This is 'Ireland's Opportunity,' and to nations as to individuals such opportunities seldom recur. The fate of the Home Rule question rests now in your hands; defeat can come only through the apathy of professed friends. The hour for hesitation and discussion is passed. To work! To work at once!

"Send on your individual subscriptions without delay; organize branches of the Federation where none exist; appoint collecting committees; remember that on every man will rest a share of the shame of defeat or the honour of victory."

That is the live question at this moment. We may pass this resolution, as we have passed other resolutions which have expressed our sympathy for Ireland, our sympathy for those who are struggling for the cause; but I would have hon. gentlemen who have influence with their friends remember what M. Burns, the great labour agitator, said a short time ago, during the great labour strike in England the friends of labour in Australia forwarded £13,000 or £14,000 to enable the men to carry on the contest, some labour organizations in the neighbouring republic sent over messages of sympathy, and Mr. Burns declared that the resolutions of sympathy were all very well but it was hard cash that would enable the men to continue their resistance in the struggle in which they were engaged (hear hear, cheers.) In the general election which is coming on now it may be very well to have sympathy, but the poor men have to fight this battle, and the poor people who are unable to subscribe the necessary legitimate expenses for furthering the cause, would, I feel sure, be more thankful to the man who would put his hand in his pocket and contribute a five dollar bill to help them fight the battle and to keep up the necessary organization until the last hour, than if you send them a bushel of resolutions of sympathy. [Cheers.] Now, Mr. Speaker, the great point in dispute and the great difficulty in regard to this matter, as it occurs to the friends of the cause in America, is unfortunately the disunion which exists in the ranks of the Home Rule party themselves. We cannot shut our eyes to the fact, we would be recreant to our duty, I should be recreant to mine, I feel, if, having an opportunity of speaking on the floor of this Parliament to-day—if our resolution be worth anything, or if the words that we express be worth anything, if they are to be carried abroad—I should not emphasize my opinion and the opinions of others who think with me, that these dissensions must soon cease if the people are to be rallied once more to the flag that we love so well. [Cheers.] We all know that since last we had this question before the House, the great leader of the Irish people has disappeared from the scene. We all remember what were the occurrences which took place shortly before his death. Speaking on the floor of this House on a former occasion, and when the great Irish leader was under the cloud of the accusations which had been brought against him by the London Times, I made bold to prophesy that he would overcome and vanquish all his enemies, as he did. [Cheers.] Unfortunately the last hours of his great life were obscured, and dissensions arose amongst his people. But we all know that while the people of Ireland and their descendants the world over, will never, never forget the deep debt of gratitude they owe to Mr. Parnell, will never forget that great name and the deeds that are associated with it, yet they will also remember that he could never had accomplished what he did, that he could never have carried on the battle so successfully, that he could never have won over a Prime Minister of England who had imprisoned him at one time, and who became his ally later, because his cause was just, and he was unswerving in pushing it; whilst we cannot forget all that that great leader has done, we must also remember that he never could have accomplished this without the aid and the assistance of the men who surrounded him, and prominently amongst these men and one who gave strength to the party and hope to the people who supported it, was Mr. Justin McCarthy. [Cheers.] He was the chosen lieutenant of Charles Stewart Parnell himself, and a greater compliment could not be paid to the dead patriot in his grave than that the people should rally around the man in whom the great leader himself reposed so much confidence. There may be other aspirants to the leadership of the party, but there could be no mistake in the choice made by Parnell himself in the days of his undisputed leadership. I feel that if the people of Ireland will only join under Mr. Justin McCarthy, if they will put aside their differences, and if they will rally round the one idea of Home Rule for Ireland, that the time of their triumph is not distant. [Cheers.] As the hour is fast approaching, Mr. Speaker, when this motion must, under the rules of this House, be adjourned, and if I keep on this debate much longer, I may preclude others from speaking and prevent a vote being taken this afternoon, which I do not desire, I shall, therefore, draw these few remarks to a close. There are many other points upon which I would like to touch, but time will not permit. I cannot fail, however, to remind those who are in favor of the Irish cause that the venerable and patriotic prelate of Toronto has consented to take charge of a fund in aid of the Irish cause. I trust that the friends of Ireland throughout Canada will not be disheartned by what has taken place in Ireland. I trust that their hopes will be revived, and that the differences which in Ireland have caused so much pain and anxiety, will disappear. (clear, hear.) I trust also that the friends of the cause will send material aid in its support to the fund under the auspices of the Archbishop of Toronto. For my part, Mr. Speaker, I must say that as regards the triumph of one political party or the other in England, it matters very little to me. I feel as Mr. Justin McCarthy feels, as stated by him in the speech which he delivered at Derry, that no matter what English party obtains power in Britain, the Irish cause must triumph. Even at the risk of detaining the House a few moments longer I shall venture to quote from this speech of Mr. McCarthy to which I have referred. He said:

"Now, since last I addressed a great political meeting in Derry, many strange, unexpected events, many events of the deepest tragic interest, have happened since last I spoke to my constituents in this great historic city. We have had since that time the close of a superb career. We have seen a great man pass away from the living politics of this country, and pass away into Irish history, to be always remembered there. I can never speak but with admiration, and now with regret, in regard to my late leader and friend—Mr. Parnell; but, although there was division amongst us, although we lost one of the greatest leaders, and one of the greatest Irishmen that time has known, yet, I am bound to say that neither the Irish National party, nor the Irish people were even at that moment wholly discouraged, and I say that even at that moment, the most profound and terrible in that tragedy, they never lost their faith and confidence in the future of Ireland's cause. We stand here as firm as we ever were in support of that cause, and we stand here as free and independent as we ever were, independent of any English or other party whatever—independent of any influence, any power, but the will and command of the Irish people. (Cheers.) What they want us to do, that we shall do. What they want not to have done, that our hands will never do. We stand for ourselves and for our cause absolutely and entirely independent. If any English party will work for us as the Liberal party is now working for us, then we will help that party to fight our cause and to win it. But we stand for Ireland first and last, and to us no English party is of any account whatever, but the party which will help us to fight with the Irish hand and to win the Irish victory. We will accept from no English or other party any measure whatever of Home Rule that is not acceptable to the whole Irish people. We put that beyond question and that the result could have dly fail all other considerations, and we say more than that, that we will not pledge ourselves until we have had a chance of hearing the voice and knowing the judgment of the Irish people upon a particular scheme of Home Rule. We will give you, of course, whatever benefit and judgment and guidance we can give. We will advise you, and we shall also express our own opinion upon the principle of any clause of any measure. I believe for myself that we shall have from the Liberal party and from the great Liberal leader, Mr. Gladstone—I believe we shall have a measure of Home Rule which the whole Irish nation can cordially accept. But when that measure comes to us we will examine it as closely and as carefully as though it came from any other Ministry whatever—even a Tory Ministry—and if it does not come up to our expectations and to what we know to be your expectations and demands, no sense of gratitude for good intentions, no sense of gratitude for former services, will allow us to accept or assist the passage of any measure which is not cordially accepted by the whole Irish nation. That much I felt bound to say in justice to myself and to my friends and colleagues generally, to make you assured if you had the least doubt of the question—and I don't believe you have—that your national interests are perfectly safe in the hands of the Irish Parliamentary party. So on every other question, the land question, the labor question, and all questions which interest the Irish community and the Irish public, as a whole, we shall try as far as possible to act in perfect accordance with the express wishes of the Irish people."

Therefore the Irish party stands, as it should stand, independent of either one or the other of the great English parties. That party is grateful for the efforts being made by the great English leader to-day, and are satisfied that his intentions are sincere. But, Mr. Speaker, far from desiring to see either one or the other of the great English parties triumph to any large extent in the forthcoming elections, what I sincerely hope is that they will be so evenly balanced that the power between them will remain with the Home Rulers themselves, so that they will secure that measure of Home Rule for which they are striving, the measure of justice for which they have so long contended, and contended successfully; because they have made advances which are really wonderful. When we consider that one point after another has been won from a parliament that long resisted the aspirations of the Irish people, and when we look at what has been achieved by a united people, led as they have been for some years past, I say that great and rapid strides have been made in the cause of true liberty. All that they want, all that they ask, is constitutional liberty. They feel that they know that the interests of the Irish people are bound up with the Empire. They have contributed too much blood and treasure, too much of their energy and their genius to build up that Empire, to severe themselves from it. They feel that the Empire is as much theirs as that of any other section, no matter what the claims of that section may be. We are all satisfied that in the early future there will be a great triumph for those who are battling on constitutional lines for constitutional liberty, and I say God grant that that day may soon come. (Prolonged cheers.)

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General Meeting—Reports—Arrangements for Procession Sunday.

Last Wednesday evening the Catholic Young Men's Society held a special general meeting in their hall, 92 Alexander street. Mr. J. J. Ryan, President, occupied the chair. The Rev. James Callaghan, Director of the society, could not be present owing to the fact of being so busy with the pilgrimage to Ste. Anne de Beaupre, which takes place on the 25th inst., and which is under his direction and management. After the regular routine business had been transacted the society discussed the best means for having a good turnout on Procession Sunday, and finally adopted a resolution unanimously, making it compulsary for all the qualified members to be present on this grand occasion, and that a nominal fine be imposed upon any one who will be absent during the parade. Mr. W. F. Wall, secretary, presented a report of the excursion to Hogan's Springs on the Queen's Birthday, which proved, notwithstanding the unfavorable weather, to be quite a financial success. The hall will not be closed this summer, as was customary in past years, in order to give the members an opportunity to use the billiard and pool tables. The next meeting will be this evening, to make final arrangements for the *Fête Dieu*.

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MONTREAL

City and District Savings Bank.

Notice is hereby given that a dividend of Seven Dollars per share on the capital stock of this institution has been declared, and the same will be payable at its Banking House in this city, on and after Saturday, the 2nd July, 1892.

The transfer books will be closed from the 15th to the 30th June next, both days inclusive. By order of the Board.

H. BARBEAU, Manager.

Montreal, 30th May, 1892. 46-4

BANQUE VILLE MARIE

Notice is hereby given that a dividend of three per cent. [3 p.c.] for the current half year has been declared upon the paid-up stock of this institution, and that the same will be payable at the Head Office of the Bank in this city on and after WEDNESDAY, the 1st day of June next.

The transfer books will be closed from the 20th to the 31st of May next, both days inclusive.

The Annual General Meeting of the shareholders of the said Bank will take place at the Head Office of that institution in Montreal, Tuesday, June 21st next, at noon.

By order of the Board of Directors,

W. WEIR, President.

Montreal, April 26th, 1892. 41-4

LA BANQUE JACQUES CARTIER

DIVIDEND No. 53.

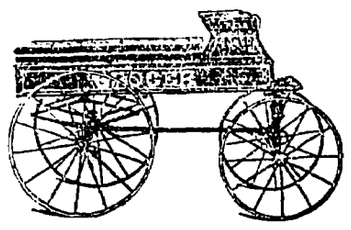
Notice is hereby given that a dividend of three and one-half per cent. [3½ p.c.] has been declared on the paid-up capital stock of this institution for the current half-year, payable at the office of the Bank in Montreal, on and after Wednesday, the 1st day of June next.

The Transfer Books will be closed from the 18th to the 31st May next, both days inclusive.

The general annual meeting of shareholders will take place at the offices of the Bank in Montreal on Wednesday, the 15th of June next, at 1 o'clock p.m. By order of the Board.

A. L. DEMARTIGNY, General Manager

Montreal, 25th April, 1892. 41-4



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