FEBRUARY 14, 1891.

 IRELAND'S CAUSE, IRE-LAND'S CAUSE, IRE-LAND'S LEADER.
BY Right Sev. Bernard O'Reilly, D. D. in Jandy sumber of the Amorican Catholic Seven Construction of the Seven Seven Mark Seven Se commissioned Michael Divit to assure the Irish Archbishops and Bishops of his innocence. And that he fully spreciated the position of the Irish bishops and priests in the National struggle is sforded by the

testimony of the present Archbishop of Cashel, who, at a memorable assembly held in Kildare, about mid October, 1885, held in Kildare, about mid-October, 1885, in presence of the Archblabop of Dublin, of several other prelates, of Mr. Parnell and others,—members of Parliament, elergymen, and leading gentlemen from the surrounding counties—gave an histor-ical account of the beginning of the Land League movement under Mr. Parnell's direction. He stiurned that Mr. Parnell's He effirmed that Mr. Parnell direction. came to him and declared, in view of the came to fim and decared, in view of the incalculable importance which when new agitation seemed likely or certain to attain, that he was unwilling to take a single step without securing the sympathy and co operation of the Bishops and priests of Ireland. This discourse, and Mr. Parnell's con firm the prior were made in the beaving of This discourse, and Mr. Farmen's coll firm atory reply, were made in the bearing of the author. (Life of John Mellale, Archbishop of Tuam. - N. Y., 1890) The letter of Mr. Glastone, calling for would have been spared the pain of con-teaving Hawarden. Then the world would have been spared the pain of con-teaving Hawarden. The pain of con-

the withdrawal of Mr. Parnell, taken together with the verdict of the divorce court, seems to have disturbed the usual court, seems to have disturbed the dental equanimity of a man weakened by long illness and racking anxieties. We cannot otherwise account for the contradictory judgments given by Mr. Parnell bimself of the famous visit to Hawarden Castle, and his irreconcilable estimates of Mr. Giadatone's trustworthiness as an advocate of a full measure of Home Rule for Ire

his own trusted colleagues, to whom

party.

land. Mr. Gladstone's letter, Mr. Parnell's Manifesto, and the subsequent letters and interviews of themselves and their friends, relating to the Hawarden conference are of two recent occurrence to need recount

Setting sside the questions of consist. ency and truthfalness arising out of the painful conflict of statements and actions, comes another grave matter for wonder. How, if Mr. Parnell left Hawarden on December 19, 1889, impressed, according to his own account, with the absolute in ability or unwillingness of Mr. Gladstone and his associates to advocate for Ireland any but a most disappointing, unsatis-factory, and wortbless scheme of self government,---did Mr. Parnell again and again, at Liverpool and in London, pro claim to the world his grateful admira tion of the Liberal party and its leader, and his firm and implicit confiience in the plan of Home Rule they were deviaoppressors of yesterday .

ing and elaborating? Assuredly there is in the Parnell who Assuredly there is in the Parnell who speaks to Ireland and the world in the Manifesto just issued, and the Parnell who addressed the Parliamentary party at Westminster on June 30th last past, a self-contradiction most assounding. That the alliance existing between the Irish Nationalists and the Libstal party of Ganet Beitzin was looked money by

of Great Britain, was looked upon by Irishmen at home and abroad as the only sure means, under God's good providence, of achieving such independence as we all hoped for, no one had asserted more solemnly and positively than Mr. Parnell bimself, and on the public occasion adverted to within the last twelve months. He calls it "an honorable allance, honorable and hopeful for our country, . . an alliance which will last and bear permanent fruit."

No change, in so far as the public knows, had taken place in Mr. Parnell's knows, had taken place in Mr. Parnell's question — the urgent question — is be mind in this regard, up to the verdict of the divorce court, Mr. Gladstone's letter requesting the ligh leader to retire from of his monthly discussed whose useful tenure

No one, up to the moral cataclysm which followed the verdict of the divorce court, could justly deny him the elements of leadership. He was skilful, sagacious, cool, deliberate, coursegeous and fi.m. We cool, deliberate, coursegeous and fi.m. We need not, after what precedes, dwell on his defects. A few months ago, ere the blight of a dishonored name had fallen on him, and ere the "hard necessities" of retaining his leadership had made him recklessly ur jast to the Liberal party, and the English people, to his fsi.htul col-leagues and to him, wershipped that issued in the last days of November. The members of the Irish parlism:ntary party made acquainted with the nature of Mr. Gladstone's proposels, would not have allowed the year 1890 to pass with have allowed the year 1890 to pass with out insisting on further consultation with Mr. Gladstone, and without urging on him their conviction that the plan of self government discussed at Hawarden was no settlament at all, and never could be accepted by Ireland. We believe, in that view, that the discourses delivered in Liverpool and at the bar quet in West-minster would either never have been spoken, or that their fulsome praise of Mr. Gladstone and his party would have been founded on more substinial pro mises than those given on December 18 the Eaglish people, to his fsihlul col-leagues and to his country, the Irish race everywhere was proud of him, worshipped him.

he was.

He had been able, with the co-operation of a united people and elergy, to make a living and powerfal reality in Parliament of the Independent Party of Opposition, which John of Tuam strenuously advobeen founded on more substantial pro-misss than those given on December 18 and 19, 1889 At any rate, Mr. Parneli would have, to confirm his account of the Hawarden Conference, the testimony of his own trusted collesques, to whom he Usinolic Defence Association had dis-appeared in the Sadiler Keogh betrayal; and pressed unwearledly on public atten-tion until the new Home Rule movement under Issac Butt eprang up and fired the soul of the nation. The moral force wielded by Issac Butt, Mr. Parnell had the searcity to crean and to increase leaving Hawarden. Then the world would have been spared the pain of con-trasting Mr. Parnell's unsupported, some-what confused and contradictory state ments, with the peremptory denials of Mr. the sagacity to grasp and to increase.

This party of grasp and to increase. This party of Independent Opposition and the Land Lesgue movement started by Michael Davitt nad carried the car of Hents, with the beremptory denision hr. Gladstone, Sr William Harcourt and Mr. Morley. In our judgment the cause of the present unfortunate imbroglio is in great measure the consequence of Mr. Parnell's excessive, impolitic and unwise secretiveness on the one hand, and on the othes are the indication of the state secret denthe of a nation's sould and inspired the secretiveness on the one hand, and on the the state secret denthe of a nation's soul and inspired the depths of a nation's soul and inspired the other of his violation of the state secret confided to him. It was a grave political hopes of all its past generations, Mr. Par nell wielded as the electrician uses the mighty elementary forces of nature. blunder, to give all at once to the public what had not been deemed fit to trust to

These great moral forces existed in the past in greater volume even than at pres-ent. But Irish statesmen or politicians the most honored members of the Irish Whoever may henceforward be chosen to lead the Irish Nationalist members of knew not how to store up these resistles to lead the Irish Nationalist members of Parliament must not so isolate himself from his associates as to be or to appear to be a kind of dictator, bearing within his own breast the mightlest State secrets and consulting no one in matters and emergencies involving the rain of a Cause and the very life of a nation. It is not so understood by leadership. It is not so understood by emergencies involving the ruin of a Cause and the very life of a nation. It is not so that Americans understand political leadership. It is not so understood by the two great British parties. Why should it be understood differently in Ire-land ?—as if the Irish National movement were something like the insurrection of the Roman slaves under Spartacus, in leaders to confess that all the former methods of government in Ireland had been wrong, cruel, unjust and oppressive. Justice alone must be tried and coercion abandoned. And so the Cause of Ireland, the Roman slaves under Spartacus, in which a service mob blindly followed its represented by a compact body of eighty six Irish representatives in the Imperial Parliament, advocated by Mr. Gladstone leader, as featful of his rebuke or his lash as of the threats of their masters and ppressors of yesterday. There are few, if any, incidents on a majority of the people of Great Britain

There are few, if any, incidents on record in the most momentous debates of any representative assembly that can be compared in thrilling dramatic interest to t the passage of arms between Mr. Sexton and Mr. Parnell during the stormy debate of December 1st. The former had been, together with the members of the oppos-ing majority, openly, formally accused of y having allowed "their integrity and inde-y pendence to be sapped and destroyed "by the radical wirg of the Liberal party. "Integrity," proudly replies Mr. Sex ton, "is not an unconditional acceptance of the views of any man. We are your collesgues, Mr. Parnell, but the are your collesgues, Mr. Parnell, but

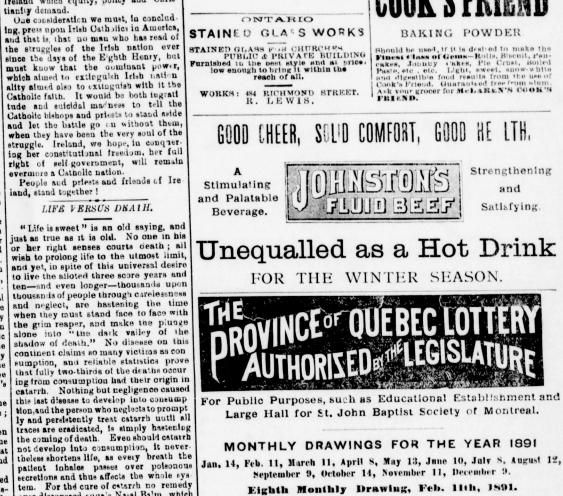
We are your collesgues, Mr. Parnell, but we are not your slaves. . . . I claim in the face of the world; I claim in the presence of the Must High, that the integ. with Mr. Parnell's fortunes that his dis-grace, or his retirement from political life, ever discovered equa's Nasal Balm, which or even his death, would so paralyze her voice, so injure her claims, that the people of Great Britain, so lately awakening to the sense of her cruel wrongs, would close their ears, their minds, their hearts into the throat and ling, and makes the rity of the Irish party is unstained, and that its independence is absolute. The

THE CATHOLIC RECORD.

breathe, we eat, or we drink.

He was identified with the Cause of Cause of Ireland, for which they have ireland; that Cause had made him what sacrificed so much, for the finits of fail ings of one man or a few. They, too, have been for years eloquently, gener-ously pleading that Cause before the pub-lic opinion of their country. The case is still on trial; the jury have not retarned the verdict which shall be the verdict of an empire. What if the chief advocate of the pleating that follow in court which John of Tukin strendously and the mempire. What if the chief advocate of to create; which O'Connell south a mempire. What if the chief advocate of the gladatiff has fallen helplas in court the planatiff has fallen helplas in court before bringing his plea to a successful content of the grade is there; and the majority of the jury have spoken in no majority of the jury have spoken in no uncertain tones. The excitement and un-certainties of the present hour are rapidly passing away and the English constituencles, with whom rest the inal decision, will deal out that measure of justice to Ireland which equity, policy and Christianity demand.

land, stand together !



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requesting the Irish leader to retire from political life, and to the private entreaties of Mr. Parneli's lientenants to the same effect If Mr. Glads'one, in the conversations lost. If the cause is to be won, the leader ating the Irish leader to retire from

If Mr. Glads'one, in the conversations at Hawarden, had only given to Mr. Par-nell nothing but the most unsatisfactory plan of settlement described in the Maulmust retire." then the latter was most culpable in speaking in Liverpool and siterwards at the banquet in Westminster of the alliand between the Irish Nationalists and the IAberal part, and of the forthcoming satis factory and acceptable scheme of Home Rule. Putting together these speeches and the revelations of the manifesto, we say that Mr. Parnell was guilty of almost a crime for having so monstrously deceived his countrymen and the followers who were exposing their very lives. It must be borne in mind that not only

all through the year 1890, but ever since the accession to power of the Tories under Lord Salisbury, they had been using every artifice to discover the precise nature of Mr. Gladstone's new plan for Home Kule and the settlement of the Irlah question, and the settlement of the then of a gen-in the probable and near event of a genelection resulting favorably to Liberals. The persistent efforts made to force Mr. Gladstone " to show his hand," fealty to him in many an hour of trial might well have saved them from the or to obtain, at least indirectly, from the leaders of the Irish party some clew to Mr. Gladstone's next Home Rale scheme, were well known to all politicians. It was, then, and for obvious reasons, m. s: important that this scheme, while in pre-paration, should be kept a profound secret by the leaders on both sides. And, iussmuch as the "suggested " measures which were the subject of the conversation at much as the "suggested" measures which were the subject of the conversation at Hawarden, were not kept secret from Sir William Harcourt and Mr. John Mor ley, in like manner are we justified in "Considerations like these we should

the discussed scheme as after revealed by strongest manner from the imputation pathy to the men who are fighting in the gap at home, and upholding the Cause and the flag, we shall easily win back to both the American friends we have lost the Liberat leader and his chief colleagues, rash and fatal path, upon which every A leader will have to be chosen, com-

And will Irishmen and men of Irish race consent to bury forever out of sight and beneath the earth that Cause of Ire-

land, so enthusiastically upheld but yester-day ? God knows, we Irishmen are clau-This is the very soul of the Irish ques This is the very soul of the frien ques-tion: the Cause of Ireland must be the supreme law for every National leader. The leader must be guided by the vital interests of that Cause; nor should these interests and that Cause ever be made secondary or subservient to the interests of any one man or party. The joint letter of the delegates of the Parliementary matrix in America, when it nish enough; and this very clannishness, the devotion to a name and a man, the narrow love of the tribe and the locality in preference to the country and the nation, has been too often our bane in the past. It dashed all the hopes of our people and rendered useless all the slaughters

sacrifices made for religion and and

The joint letter of the delegates of the nationality for the past two or three con-Parliamentary party in America, when it became a sad but urgent necessity for them to declare publicly their dissent from Mr. Parnell's Manifecto, contains a Manifesto of Mr. Parnell. . . cuts us off from the last hopes to which we clung, auxious (as we were) to avoid ntraction. country, is the spell our speakers conjure with, the will o' the wisp which leads our countrymen astray and lands their counanxious (as we were) to avoid uttering a word that might embitter the controversy. We shall not dwell on the cruel injustice try's Oause in quagmires from which there We shall not detel on the cruck high show with which he treats the members of the party, who followed him with a loyalty and affection such as no leader ever exper-ienced before. His recollection of their the course how of the

We must learn to love Ireland for her own sake, not for the sake of the men who represent or misrepresent her. We must be devoted to the Cause through good repute and evil repute, through good and ill fortupe, because we believe it to

imputation that any section of them could be a Cause fated never to be lost. have allowed their integrity to be sapped It depends on us on, Irishmen in the by Liberal wire-pullers. Nor would we do more than enter a protest against this violation of all constitutional principle in three kingdoms, and on Irishmen here and wherever the Eoglish language is spoken, to prevent the Cause of Ireland from befouting by anticipation the decision of the elected representatives of the people, from whose votes the chairman of the ing a lost Cause. The man who shall be chosen to succeed Mr. Parnell, will be the lawful representative of the Cause, and bear the flag around which all should rally, who deserve the name of Irishmen. This is no time to listen to the utter-

ley, in like manner are we justified in beileving that Mr. Parnell was expected, on his side, to inform such of his own col-lesgues as Mr. Justin McCarthy, Mr. Sex-ton, Mr. Dillon and Mr. William O'Brien of Market Mar believing that Mr. Parnell was expected, on his side, to inform such of his own col-lesgues as Mr. Justin McCartby, Mr. Szz-ton, Mr. Dillon and Mr. William O'Brien of Mr. Gludstone's Intended measures, we consider that, under the circumstances, and in view, especially, of the defects of the discussed scheme as after revealed by which we believe to be reckless and

iang.

to what justice, humanity and their own dearest political interests demand in favor of the sister island? receipt of price - 50 cts. for small and \$1 00 for large size bottless-by addressing Fulford & Co., Brockville, Ont.

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