

check, and the idea of justice, which depends on the sword only to prevent or repress the abuse of strength.

Faithfully supported by her dominions and her colonies, Great Britain decided she could not remain aloof from the struggle in which the fate of every country was involved. She has made, and her dominions and colonies have made with her, prodigious efforts to prevent the war from ending in the triumph of the spirit of conquest and the destruction of right.

Japan, in her turn, only decided to take up arms out of the loyalty to Great Britain, her great ally, and from the consciousness of the danger in which Asia and Europe would have stood if the hegemony of which the Germanic empires dreamed had succeeded.

Italy, who from the first, had refused to lend a helping hand to German ambition, arose against an age-long foe only to answer the call of oppressed populations and to destroy at the cost of her blood the artificial political combination which took no account of human liberty.

Rumania resolved to fight only to realize that national unity which was opposed by the same powers of arbitrary force. Abandoned, betrayed and strangled, she had to submit to an abominable treaty, the revision of which you will exact.

Greece, whom the enemy for many months tried to turn from her traditions and destinies, raised an army only to be crushed by the domination of which she felt the growing threat.

Portugal, China and Siam abandoned neutrality only to escape the strangling pressure of the central powers.

Thus, it was the extent of German ambitions that brought so many peoples, great and small, to align themselves against the same adversary.

And what shall I say of the solemn resolutions taken by the United States in the spring of 1917, under the auspices of its illustrious president, Mr. Wilson, whom I am happy to greet here in the name of grateful France and, if you will allow me to say so, gentlemen, in the name of all the nations represented in this room?

What shall I say of the many other American powers which either declared themselves against Germany—Brazil, Cuba, Panama, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Haiti, Honduras—or at least broke off diplomatic relations—Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Uruguay? From the north to the south the new world arose with indignation when it saw the empires of Central Europe, after having let loose the war without provocation, and without excuse, carry it on with fire, pillage and the massacre of inoffensive beings.

The intervention of the United States was something more, something greater than a great political and military event. It was a supreme judgment passed at the bar of history by the lofty conscience of a free people and their chief magistrate on the enormous responsibilities incurred in the frightful conflict which was lacerating humanity.

It was not only to protect itself from the audacious aims of Germany that the United States equipped fleets and created immense armies, but also and above all to defend an ideal of liberty over which it saw the huge shadow of the imperial eagle encroaching further every day. America, the daughter of Europe, crossed the ocean to rescue her mother from the humiliation of thralldom and to save civilization.

The American people wished to put an end to the greatest scandal that has ever sullied the annals of mankind. Autocratic Governments, having prepared in the secrecy of the chancelleries and the general staffs a mad program of universal domination, let loose their packs at the time fixed by their genius for intrigue and sounded the horns for the chase, ordering science, at the time it was beginning to abolish distances, to bring men closer together and make life sweeter to leave the bright sky, toward which it was soaring, and to place itself submissively at the service of violence: debasing the religious idea to the extent of making God the complacent auxiliary of their passions and the accomplice of their crimes—in short, counting as naught the traditions and wills of people, the lives of citizens, the honor of women, and all those principles of public and private morality which we, for our part, have endeavored to keep unaltered throughout the war, and which neither nation nor individuals can repudiate or disregard with impunity.

While the conflict was gradually extending over the entire surface of the earth, the clanking of chains was heard here and there, and captive nationalities from the depths of their age-long jails cried out to us for help. Yet, more, they escaped to come to our aid.

Poland came to life again and sent us troops. The Czechoslovaks won their right to independence in Siberia, in France and in Italy. The Jugos Slavs, the Armenians, the Syrians and Levantines, the Arabs, all the victims, long helpless or resigned, of the historic deeds of injustice; all the martyrs of the past, all the outraged in conscience, all the strangled in liberty, viewed the clash of arms and turned to us as their natural defenders.

The war gradually attained the fullness of its first significance and became, in the full sense of the term, a crusade of humanity for right. And if anything can console us, in part at least, for the losses we have suffered, it is assuredly the thought that our victory also is the victory

of right. This victory is complete, for the enemy only asked for the armistice to escape from an irretrievable military disaster.

In the interest of justice and peace, his own rest with you to reap from the victory its full fruits. In order to carry out this immense task you have decided to admit at first only the allied or associated powers and, insofar as their interests are involved in the debates the nations which remained neutral. You have thought that the terms of peace ought to be settled among ourselves before they are communicated to those against whom we have fought the good fight.

The solidarity which has united us during the war and has enabled us to win military success ought to remain unimpaired during the negotiations for and after the signing of the treaty.

It is not only government but justice that demands first, when it has been violated, restitution and reparation for the peoples and individuals who have been despoiled or maltreated. In formulating this lawful claim it obeys neither hatred nor an instinctive or thoughtless desire for reprisals. It pursues a twofold object—render each his due and not to encourage crime through leaving it unpunished.

What justice demands, inspired by the same feeling, is the punishment of the guilty and effective guarantees against an active return of the evils which they are promoted, and it is logical to demand that these guarantees should be given, above all, to the nations that have been, and might again be, most exposed to aggression or threat, to those who have many times stood in danger of being submerged by the periodic tide of the same invasion.

What justice banishes is the dream of conquest and imperialism's contempt for national will, the arbitrary exchange of provinces between States as though peoples were but articles of furniture or pawns in a game.

The time is no more when diplomats could meet to redraw with authority the map of the empires on the corner of a table. If you are to remake the map of the world, it is in the name of the peoples, and one condition is that you shall faithfully respect their thoughts and respect the rights of nations, small and great, to dispose of themselves and to reconcile with this the equally sacred right of ethical and religious minorities—a formidable task which science and history, your two advisers, will contribute and assist and facilitate.

You will naturally strive to secure the material and moral means of subsistence for all those people who are constituted or reconstituted into states, for those who wish to unite themselves to their neighbors, for those who divide themselves into separate units, for those who reorganize themselves, for those who divide themselves according to their regained traditions and lastly, for all those whose freedom you have already sanctioned or are about to sanction.

You will not call them into existence only to sentence them to death immediately, because you would like your work in this, as in all other matters, to be fruitful and lasting.

While introducing into the world as much harmony as possible, you will act in conformity with the fourteenth of the propositions unanimously adopted by the great allied powers. It is the issuance of a supreme guarantee against any further assault upon the right of peoples. You don't intend this international association to be directed against anybody in the future. It will not, of a set purpose, shut out anybody, but, having been organized by the nations that have sacrificed themselves in the defense of right, it will receive from them its statutes and fundamental rules.

It will lay down conditions concerning present or future adherence, and, as it is to have for its essential aim the prevention, as far as possible, of the renewal of wars, it will above all seek to gain respect for the peace which you will have established and will find it the less difficult to maintain in proportion as this peace will, in itself, imply the greater relief and safer guarantees of stability.

By establishing this new order of things you will meet the aspirations of humanity, which after the frightful convulsions of the bloodstained years, ardently wishes to feel itself protected by a union of free people against the ever possible revival of primitive savagery. An immortal glory will attach to the names of the nations and the men who have desired to cooperate in this grand work in faith and brotherhood, and who have taken the pains to eliminate from the future peace causes of disturbance and instability.

This very day, 48 years ago—and the 18th of January, 1871, the German Empire was proclaimed by an army of invasion at the chateau of Versailles. It was consecrated by the theft of two French provinces. It was thus a violation of its origin and from the fault of its founder, it was born in injustice. It has ended in oblivion.

You are assembled in order to repair the evil that has been done and to prevent a recurrence of it. You hold in your hands the future of the world. I leave you gentlemen, to your grave deliberations and declare the conference of Paris open.

President Wilson arose as M. Poincaré made his exit.

Mr. Chairman: It gives me great pleasure to propose as permanent chairman of the conference, M. Clemenceau, the president of the council. I would do this as a matter of custom. I would do this as a tribute to the French republic, but I wish to do it as something more than that. I wish to do it as a tribute to the man.

France deserves the precedence, not only because we are meeting at her capital, and because she has undergone some of the most tragical suffering of the war, but because her capital, her ancient and beautiful capital, has so often been the centre of conferences of large parts of the world.

It is a delightful thought that the history of the world which has so often centered here, will now be crowned by the achievements of this conference—because there is a sense in which this is the supreme conference in the history of mankind.

More nations are represented here than ever were represented before. More fortunes of all peoples are involved. A great war is ended, which seemed about to bring a universal cataclysm. The danger is passed. A victory has been won for mankind, and it is delightful that we should be able to record these great results in this place.

It is more delightful to honor France because we can so honor her in the person of so distinguished a servant. We have all felt in our participation in the struggle of the war the fine steadfastness which characterized the leadership of the French in the hands of M. Clemenceau. We have learned to admire him, and those of us who have been associated with him have acquired a genuine affection for him.

Moreover, those of us who have been in these recent days in constant consultation with him know how warmly his purpose is set towards the goal of achievement to which all our faces are turned. He feels as we feel, as I have no doubt everybody in this room feels, that we are trusted to do a great thing, to do it in the highest spirit of friendship and accommodation and to do it as promptly as possible in order that the hearts of men may have fear lifted from them and that they may return to those purposes of life which will bring them happiness and contentment and prosperity.

Knowing his brotherhood of heart in these great matters, it affords me a personal pleasure to propose that M. Clemenceau shall be the permanent chairman of this conference.

Premier Lloyd George seconded the nomination of M. Clemenceau, speaking earnestly of the distinguished services the French premier had rendered in war and peace.

Mr. Lloyd George said: "I count it not merely a pleasure, but a great privilege that I should be expected on behalf of the British Empire delegates to support the motion of President Wilson. I do so for the reason for which he has so eloquently given expression to, as a tribute to the man. When I was a schoolboy, M. Clemenceau was a compelling and a conscious figure in the politics of his native land, and his fame had extended far beyond the bounds of France.

Were it not for that undoubted fact, Mr. President, I should have treated as a legend the common public of your years. I have attended many conferences with M. Clemenceau and in them, all the most vigorous, the most enduring and the most youthful figure there has been that of M. Clemenceau. He has had the youthfulness, he has had the hopefulness and the fearlessness of young man of France, and I am proud to stand here to propose that he should take the chair in this great conference that is to settle the peace of the world.

I know of none better qualified, or as well qualified, to occupy this chair than M. Clemenceau, and I speak from my experience in this claim. I have some times disagreed and we have expressed our disagreements very emphatically, because we are ourselves.

But, although there will be delays and inevitable delays in the signing of peace, due to the difficulties of what we have to settle, I will guarantee from my knowledge of M. Clemenceau that there will be no waste of time. And that is important.

The world is thirsting and hungering for peace. There are millions of persons who want to get back to the world of peace, and the fact that M. Clemenceau is in the chair will be proof that they will get there without any delays which are due to anything, except the difficulties which are essential in what we have to perform. He is one of the great speakers of the world, but no one knows better than he that the best speaking is that which impels beneficent actions.

I have another reason. During the dark days we have passed through his courage, his unflinching courage, his untiring energy, his inspiration have helped the allies through to triumph, and I know of no one to whom that victory is more attributable than the man who sits in this chair. In his own person, more than any living man, he represents the heroism, he represents the genius of the indomitable people of his land.

whereupon the election of M. Clemenceau as presiding officer was made unanimous.

In a feeling address M. Clemenceau acknowledged the honor conferred upon him. He turned first to President Wilson and bowed his thanks and then to Mr. Lloyd George for the tribute he had paid him. It was not alone a tribute to him, he said, but to France. Premier Clemenceau responded as follows:

"You would not expect me to keep silence after what the two eminent statesmen who have just spoken have said. I cannot help expressing my great, my profound gratitude to the illustrious President of the United States, to the Prime Minister of Great Britain and to Baron Sonnino for the words I have just heard from their lips.

Long ago, when I was young, as Mr. Lloyd George has recalled to you, when I was traveling in America and in England, I always heard the French reproached for an excess of courtesy, which some times went beyond the truth. As I listened to the American statesman and to the English statesman I wondered whether they had not caught in Paris our national disease of courtesy. Nevertheless, gentlemen, I must say that my election is necessarily due to the old international tradition of courtesy to the country which has the honor to receive the peace conference in its capital.

I wish also to say that this testimony of friendship, if they will allow me to do so, will be a great help to me in the work of the conference. In particular, I wish to thank Mr. Lloyd George in particular, because I see in it a new strength for all three of us to accomplish, with the co-operation of the entire conference, the arduous work which is entrusted to us. I gather from it new confidence in the success of our efforts.

President Wilson has special authority to say that this is the first time in fact that the world has ever seen the representatives of all the civilized nations of the earth, and of all civilized nations of the earth, gathered together in one place, because I see in it a new strength for all three of us to accomplish, with the co-operation of the entire conference, the arduous work which is entrusted to us. I gather from it new confidence in the success of our efforts.

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IRELAND'S RECORD IN THE WAR

AN EMINENTLY FAIR ACCOUNT IN STATESMANLIKE WORDS

By R. L. in The New Statesman, London, Eng.

Ireland's record in the war has been, from the point of view of the Allies, magnificent. The magnitude of the Irish contribution to the cause of freedom has been only less amazing than the flood of calumny and belittlement that has been consistently poured on it ever since August, 1914. Ireland has made a greater voluntary contribution of men to the Allied forces than any other nation in the world. That is the leading fact of the situation. Sir Charles Russell, speaking at a Red Cross meeting at Dublin a few weeks ago, declared that Ireland had given 250,000 men to the British army and navy; and this leaves altogether out of account the equally large number of Irishmen who have taken part in the war in the Australian, Canadian, and other representative statesmen who were present cheered this remarkable saying of the Boer soldier. By what fatality is it that they are unable to see that Irishmen are human beings, with the same passions as Boers? General Botha wrote to Mr. Redmond to say that he agreed with him that South Africa's services to the Allies were simply the fruit of the concession of national freedom. Yet, even without national freedom, and as a pure act of faith, Ireland poured her sons into the trenches in the most critical days of the war and helped to hold the line at its weakest for the world's freedom.

IRELAND IN THE WAR

Let me say again that I do not make these comparisons in order to belittle the services of any other nation, but only to show up Ireland's service in the war in a true light. Most of the free nations have published a list of their dead and wounded soldiers during the last week or two. Let us have a full list of the dead and wounded Irish soldiers, so that we may judge how great have been the sacrifices made by Ireland. Has Ireland contributed as many dead as Ireland? She has not. Yet Japan is praised as many? She has not. Yet New Zealand is praised. Has South Africa? Has Canada? Canada has a greater population than Ireland. Yet, if figures were to be had, I am confident it could be shown that far fewer Canadian-born men than Irish-born men have fallen in the war. Captain Esmonde, M. P., said in the House of Commons the other day: "I have myself seen, buried in one grave, four hundred Nationalist soldiers, killed in one fight—two thirds as many as the total number of the Dublin insurgents of Easter week. And that mournful spectacle has been repeated not after one fight, but after fifty during the war. In the most desperate days of the war—at Mons and the Marne—Irishmen were present at the thickest of the fighting, and battalion after battalion gave itself up to the slaughter, singing 'The Bold Fenian Men.' 'A Nation Once Again' and other songs of the kind that the police nowadays suppress with baton charges in Ireland. At the beginning of the war a battalion of the Irish Guards mutinied. It was because it had been rumored that they were not being sent to the front! The Irish Guards, it will be remembered, had been reprimanded at the time of the Buckingham Palace Conference for cheering Mr. Redmond on his way down Birdcage Walk.

INSURRECTION OF 1916

It may be asked why, these things being so, has the average Englishman been allowed to get the idea that Ireland has stood aside and sulked during the war. Some people think that the insurrection of 1916 is chiefly to blame. Well, there were not enough Irishmen in the Dublin insurrection of 1916 to make up even one battalion of the Irish Guards. One was told at the time that the Dublin insurgents numbered about a thousand. One has learned since then that they were hardly more than six hundred. Clearly, if Ireland's freedom is to depend upon whether her services to the Allies have outweighed her disservices, she has earned her freedom about a thousand times over. For every Irishman who shouldered a rifle on the insurgent side, a thousand Irishmen have borne weapons on the side of the Allies. I doubt if one Englishman in a hundred thousand realizes this. If they did, they would insist on seeing that their Irish Allies had a free Parliament restored to them before the Peace Conference sits. Never was the need of a national government proved more completely. Had Ireland possessed a national government during the war, she would have had an organ for making known her services to the civilized world. Canada, Australia, and South Africa have put to speak of what they have done, and all the world listens. The Times, and the press in general, pay deference to them as free nations that command respect. South Africa has not contributed nearly so many men to the Allies armies as Ireland has done, but, luckily for herself, South Africa is free and even her most malignant enemy of the old days dares not criticize her gift. She too, like Ireland, had a small insurrection; but, even after that escaped calumny.

SOUTH AFRICA DIVIDED

She, too, has been divided in opinion as to the war—far more so, indeed, than Ireland was before the malvolence of the anti-Irish authorities had had time to destroy the people's enthusiasm for Belgium. "It is an unfortunate fact," said Mr. Merriman in the early part of the present year, "that we in South Africa are for our sins riven into factions of almost equal strength. Almost one half of the European population is coldly neutral towards the issue which we look upon as vital. If, indeed, they are not positively hostile to the cause of the Allies." And yet South Africa is free. If there is any coldness towards the Allies, it is on account of past wrong. In Ireland, on the other hand, if there is any coldness towards the Allies, it is on account of present wrong. Some months ago, when a dinner was given in honor of Mr. Barton, the Minister of Mines in South Africa, Mr. Asquith in a speech mentioned the numbers of the South African forces who had served in the war. The Times, for some reason or other, omitted the figures in its report. I wondered at the time whether it was because they made Ireland's contribution seem so immense by comparison. The Times was content to give the report of the dinner some general appreciative heading such as 'Loyal South Africa.' It is more exigent in regard to Ireland. English states-

men, it is clear, have also one standard for South Africa another for Ireland.

FRUITS OF FREEDOM

Mr. Burton, we are told, related to the assembled guests the story of a wounded Boer soldier who said that he wished to get to France in order to repay the gift of free institutions to his country. He went on to say that the soldier's eyes brightened as he added: "I would not have raised one single hand for the Empire if the Empire had refused to establish in my country that freedom which South Africa now enjoys." It is said Mr. Austen Chamberlain and other representative statesmen who were present cheered this remarkable saying of the Boer soldier. By what fatality is it that they are unable to see that Irishmen are human beings, with the same passions as Boers? General Botha wrote to Mr. Redmond to say that he agreed with him that South Africa's services to the Allies were simply the fruit of the concession of national freedom. Yet, even without national freedom, and as a pure act of faith, Ireland poured her sons into the trenches in the most critical days of the war and helped to hold the line at its weakest for the world's freedom.

PLAIN TRUTH ABOUT IRELAND

Here, then, is the plain truth about Ireland. Some powerful influences, which have always hated the thought of Irish freedom, have devoted themselves resolutely to the abnegation of Ireland since the beginning of the war. Why, the story of the heroic deeds of the Irish regiments at Gallipoli were suppressed until Mr. Redmond raised a storm about them, after the troops of every other nation had been given full credit. And to-day people who are praising the Czechoslovaks and the Poles—both of whom fought (under compulsion) against the Allies by the tens of thousands—are to be found denouncing the Irish, who contributed an immense and vital share to the cause of the Allies. I thank God for the freedom that is coming to the Poles and the Bohemians. But Ireland too, has some little claim on the attention of the statesmen of these years of liberation. As she thinks of her dead, lying in a world of graves in Flanders, Gallipoli, and Mesopotamia, she may well exclaim in the agony of her soul:

If blood be the price of nationality, God God, we've paid in full.

In this hour of the triumph of justice, let not the great deeds of this little nation be forgotten.

FATHER FRASER'S CHINA MISSION FUND

Dear Friends,—I came to Canada to seek vocations for the Chinese Missions which are greatly in need of priests. In my parish alone there are three cities and a thousand villages to be evangelized and only two priests. Since I arrived in Canada a number of youths have expressed their desire to study for the Chinese mission but there are no funds to educate them. I appeal to your charity to assist in founding bureaus for the education of these and others who desire to become missionaries in China. Five thousand dollars will amount to support a student. When he is ordained and goes off to the mission another will be taken in and so on forever. All imbued with the Catholic spirit of propagating the Faith to the ends of the earth, will, I am sure, contribute generously to this fund.

Gratefully yours in Jesus and Mary, J. M. FRASER.

I propose the following burse for subscription:

- SACRED HEART BURSE
Previously acknowledged.....\$225 92
F. D. M. Kinkora..... 1 00
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Previously acknowledged..... \$59 50
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A Friend, Lusville..... 3 00
B. R., Mabon..... 2 00
E. McGinnis, Wallaceburg..... 1 00
LITTLE FLOWER BURSE
Previously acknowledged..... \$98 00
*—In our issue of January 25, Rev. M. J. Carey, Superior Paulist Fathers, Toronto, was credited with \$200. instead of \$200.00.