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CANADA AND HOME RULE

Hon. John Costigan Again Moves a Resolution Which is Endorsed by Both Sides of the House.

Only Perfunctory Objection Taken by Individuals—Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Hon. R. L. Borden Speak.

Ottawa, March 31.—Upon the motion to go into supply in the Commons to-day Hon. John Costigan rose to move an amendment to the resolution of which he had given notice, favoring Home Rule for Ireland. He explained that it was unnecessary for him to say that he was not proposing an amendment as a want of confidence or as an unfriendly motion against the Government. But he availed himself of the opportunity to bring before the Parliament of Canada a subject in which he might be pardoned for saying that he had always taken a very deep interest, and thought he was justified in stating that he intended to discuss a subject which is of great importance not only to the Canadian Parliament, and not only to the people of Canada, but a subject which is to-day engaging the serious attention of the best minds of the Empire. Twenty years, he said, is a considerable period in the life of a man. It is a considerable period in the life of a Parliament; and, looking back over the last twenty years, to an occasion similar to this, when he had the honor of moving a resolution, the first of its kind, inviting the Parliament of Canada to express its sympathy with the people who ask for the blessings which are so highly appreciated by ourselves here, they could see the changes which have taken place and the progress which has been made in that time, the advantages of that wise policy which was extended to this country, that measure of liberty which makes every Canadian proud to boast of his Canadianism, and that, to his mind, greater change which has taken place in Great Britain itself. We were all, he was sure, proud of that feeling, and he hoped that to-day no word would escape his lips to indicate any feeling that might arouse recrimination, or anything but the kindest spirit of harmony in this Parliament, as it is now maintained in the Parliament of Great Britain. ("Oh, oh.")

SLURS ARE POWERLESS.
 Hon. Mr. Costigan—Oh, I know where that comes from. I merely notice those cries as slurs. If they please the hon. gentlemen who utter them they do not hurt me. I rise above them. (Government cheers.) I stand above them and the Canadian people stand above them. (Renewed cheers.) The people of the empire stand above them. These old slurs, which did service in the years gone by, have no more power. The intelligence of the people is what sways the people today, not these bug-bears that are raised by some gentlemen. What is there, sir, to bring forth cries of

some hon. gentlemen who interrupt me when I make an honest appeal—and I have never made any but an honest appeal? What is there to justify a contradiction implied by these sneers that I am not speaking the honest sentiments of my mind, from my own light and judgment? I have never given any proof of anything else. Is it because twenty years ago I entertained the same warm feelings on this subject that I do to-day? I am proud to say that those feelings, which were not then shared in so largely by the people, are to-day shared in by nearly the whole people. In all that time have I, or the men who are descendants from the land of my forefathers, shown any lack in the proper discharge of their duties as citizens of this country? (Hear, hear.) I say no; we have expressed our sympathy with the motherland, but in expressing that sympathy from 1882 up to the present day the men who sneer cannot point to an act on our part indicating any want of loyalty to the land in which we live or to the empire to which we belong. Then let them sneer.

OBJECT OF THE RESOLUTION.
 Proceeding, Mr. Costigan said that the object of his resolution was that Parliament should give expression to the feeling of satisfaction which he knew pervaded every mind and heart at the bright prospects of the pacification of the empire and the pacification of Ireland, which has had cause of complaint, as is admitted frankly and honestly by the British Government to-day. Mr. Costigan enumerated the resolutions passed by the Canadian Parliament in 1882, 1886 and 1887, and justified the introduction of the measure upon this occasion by the fact that Home Rule has now become an Imperial question; it has assumed broader proportions than ever before. The people of Ireland, through their leaders, through their press, through their friends all over the world, are showing their appreciation of the olive branch that is held up to-day; they show their appreciation of the change of policy from coercion to conciliation.

NOTHING TOO GOOD.
 Mr. Costigan dwelt upon the changed position which the Irish race occupy. They all knew what the position of the "poor Irish" had been for centuries, but to-day the term, he said, no longer applies. "There is nothing too good for the Irish" was the sentiment now becoming true, and it was a great gratification to every man of Irish origin that this great public change has come about. He contrasted the learning and civilization of Ireland in the early centuries with the ignorance that then prevailed in England and the barbarous condition of Europe, and in conclusion expressed the hope that there would be a unanimous vote of the House in favor of his resolution, and his confidence that the House would not go back on the record of 1886 and 1887.

MR. EDWARD HACKETT.
 Mr. Hackett (Prince Edward Island) seconded the resolution. He favored Home Rule for Ireland, and felt that constitutionally Canada had the right to pass such resolutions, strengthening the hands of Imperial statesmen. He thought that at the Imperial Conference in London the Premier should have in his hands a resolution on this subject. He did not think that Mr. Costigan, in introducing his resolution, should have said that he introduced it in no spirit of unfriendliness to the Government. Home Rule was something above all questions of party advantage. If the Government chose to vote it down they could do so, but he challenged them to vote it down. (Great laughter.) It should not be said that this great question was to be kicked about like a football for party advantage. To reconcile the people of Ireland would be to exert one of the strongest influences for the unification of the empire. Speaking for the Irish Land Bill, he recalled the complete success of the bill passed in Prince Edward Island years ago, by which the tenant farmers were enabled to become owners. Mr. Gladstone had sent for a copy of that act, and the present bill appeared in some respects to be founded on the Prince Edward Island act.

MR. JOHN CHARLTON.
 Mr. John Charlton did not combat the views expressed by the mover and seconder. The Irish people were a noble and a generous race; they had in the past suffered serious grievances, but he was impressed with the belief that the removal of these grievances must come from the Parliament exercising sway over Ireland. As it was an Imperial question, and not one for colonial interference, and not one which this House should pass upon.

Mr. Jabel Robinson suggested that the Irish people were able to take care of themselves.

DR. SPROULE.
 Dr. Sproule declared the opposition manifested by hon. members this afternoon had not been against the Irish people or the wisdom of giving Home Rule to Ireland, but was rather an indication of their belief in the unwisdom of Mr. Costigan in bringing up the question at this time.

MR. CHARLES MARCIL.
 Mr. Chas. Marcil, in reply to Dr. Sproule, contended that the discussion of a resolution favoring for Ireland that measure of Home Rule which Canada enjoyed ought not to arouse animosity. Parliament had voted money to send troops to Africa to maintain the empire, had given subsidies to steamships in order to knit the empire together, and surely it was not out of place now for the House of Commons to congratulate the Imperial Parliament upon the settlement of a vexed question, and to restore peace and harmony in Ireland. On concluding his speech, which was marked by great eloquence, Mr. Marcil was enthusiastically applauded.

THE LAND BILL.
 Mr. Andrew Broder (Dundas) expressed the view that Mr. Costigan's resolution was not calculated to promote the cause of Ireland.
 Mr. Belcourt deemed it his duty to support the resolution, which he took to be a resolution of congratulation and thankfulness for the measure that had been introduced in the Imperial House.
 Mr. Bourassa drew from the history of French Canada the lesson that Home Rule should be granted to Ireland. He supported the resolution.

MR. A. E. KEMP.
 Mr. A. E. Kemp asked if we were prepared to give one dollar to assist in redeeming the land for the Irish tenants. He would vote against the resolution.
 Mr. Thomas Murray, while not thinking the resolution essential, thought that it was merely an expression of approval and congratulation upon the introduction of the new Land Bill.

COL. HUGHES.
 Colonel Sam Hughes discussed the ethnological aspect of the Irish question.
 Mr. A. A. Wright, as a Canadian-born citizen recognized that there was a time when Canada had a similar grievance to that of the Irish people, and the advantages they now enjoyed made it eminently proper that the Canadian Parliament should express an opinion upon the question.
 Hon. Wm. Ross (Victoria, N. B.), who claimed the right to be called a blue-blooded Presbyterian, yielded to no man in his desire to see the grievances of the Irish people remedied. He regretted that the resolution had not been received in the spirit in which it ought. If it had it would have been accepted unanimously. Sitting beside the member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), who belonged to the same religious denomination as himself he thought he had got him into the same frame of mind as himself upon this question, but unfortunately, that gentleman stepped over the traces sometimes, as he had done on this occasion. (Laughter and cheers.)
 Mr. E. Gas Porter would cast his vote against the resolution, but would say God bless Ireland.

SIR WILFRID LAURIER.
 Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier greeted with cheers on rising. He said

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—Whether this motion be opportune or not, whether it be conducive or not to beneficial results, whether the time chosen be propitious—all these are questions which must have engaged the serious attention of my hon. friend the mover of this resolution, who has been in this House one of the oldest friends of the cause of Home Rule for Ireland. But, whatever may be our views upon the motion which is now before us, for my part, convinced, as I have been for a great many years, that the settlement of the Irish problem would be a blessing, not only to Ireland, but to Great Britain, to Canada, to Australia, and to all parts of the empire in which Irishmen are to be found, I feel called upon on this occasion to give this motion my most hearty sympathy, as I have done similar motions on former occasions. (Cheers.)

ROOTED IN DISTRUST.
 If we go to the root of things we will find that the only cause can be summarized in the word "distrust," the distrust of the British people against the Irish people; their distrust that the Irish people, if they were granted Home Rule, if they were given the right to administer their own affairs, would abuse that power in order to work out the separation of Ireland from Great Britain. It is this distrust which has just been expressed by my hon. friend from East Grey (Dr. Sproule), who has told us that if the people of Ireland were granted the power to govern themselves they would be ruled by a foreign authority. Let me ask my hon. friend this, he and I do not worship at the same altar, but let me tell him that the Roman Catholics to-day, while they acknowledge obedience in spiritual matters to that foreign authority which he had in his mind, in temporal matters they recognize no authority but that of their own civil government. (Cheers.) If the people of England be satisfied that the Roman Catholics in Ireland, as the Roman Catholics in Canada, will be true to the civil authorities of the land, I am sure that the next day Home Rule will be granted to Ireland, but at the same time this distrust exists. I must say to my hon. friend (Hon. Mr. Costigan), the mover of this resolution—that some of the Irish leaders have acted very unwisely and have unfortunately given cause of distrust against them. If I had the privilege of a seat in the Imperial House of Commons I would say to my friends the Home Rulers: "While I sympathize with you, while I am as much as you are in favor of Home Rule for Ireland, I want it to be understood, and I want to say here and now, that Home Rule does not mean separation. You should be loyal to the Crown and you must be loyal to the Crown."
 Mr. Kemp? They won't say that.
 The Prime Minister—Yes, they would say that, for other Home Rulers have said it before.

LORD RUSSELL QUOTED.
 Sir Wilfrid quoted the words of Charles Russell, afterwards Lord Russell of Killowen, who, in addressing the electors of Hackney in November, 1885, made use of this language, when running as a Home Rule candidate: "The question of Ireland still remains unsolved. Its mere solution cannot fail to strengthen the position of the empire and leave to the Legislature here greater opportunity of dealing adequately with an increasing array of necessary legislation. I am absolutely opposed to separation, but, reserving Imperial control in all Imperial questions, I think Irishmen on Irish soil should have the power of dealing in the way that seems to them best with all questions that concern them."

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Continuing, Sir Wilfrid said: But you will tell me that language has been used which is very nearly, if not actually, treason. We all know that the embittered heart will be made ungenerous. But, if there is a way of making men, even with the intention of disloyalty in their hearts, loyal, it is to trust them, and to give them the liberties which have been denied them. Look at the history of Canada here, when the great man, one of the greatest men of the last century, Lord Elgin, did not hesitate to put the fullest powers of self-government into the hands of a race, who, a few years before, had been in actual rebellion.

APPEAL TO THE HEART.
 This is the way that great men deal with questions, and this is the thing I would speak for if I had the privilege of a seat in the Imperial House of Commons. Nay, more, if I had that privilege, having spoken, and, as I have just indicated, to the Home Rulers, I would address myself also to the Government of the day, and I would tell them that it was not sufficient to have a clear policy upon this question, I would say: "You have done a great deal for Ireland; you have sacrificed a great amount of money; you are to-day bringing in a measure which is a credit to the statesmanship of your Government, which must involve the expenditure of a great deal of money, though I hope that in the end it will be paid by the Irish people themselves. But it is not sufficient to deal out parsimoniously, I do not say in the matter of money, but in the matter of reform, measures of improvement. You must appeal to the heart and the imagination of a highly impulsive and generous people." Mr. Gladstone has done more by his attempt—by his abortive attempt—for Home Rule than all the reforms, substantial as they have been, which have been worked out by the present Government.

MR. DILLON'S UTTERANCE.
 I have always been impressed by the words spoken something over ten years ago by Mr. John Dillon. The occasion was a demonstration in favor of Mr. Dillon by the people of Cork, where he had just been released from jail, having been confined there for violation of one of the numerous coercion acts which were the disgrace of the British Government in the last century. This is the way Mr. Dillon spoke—and I appeal to the attention of my hon. friends, especially of my hon. friends, who do not believe in Home Rule for Ireland, to consider these words: "I recollect the day when the power and the name of Englishmen were hateful to my heart." Here is the accumulated bitterness of ages and centuries of oppression. That was the condition of John Dillon; that was the condition of the Irish people. Bitterness of heart, caused by the odious manner in which they had been treated for ages and centuries. But the fact that at that time a great party was ready to come to the relief of Ireland was enough to take away that bitterness from the heart of John Dillon. (Cheers.) He was applauded by the people of Ireland. Therefore I say, if you will give the slightest measure of liberty to the Irish people, let them be treated kindly, let them be treated fairly, let them be treated justly, and the bitterness will pass away, and they will become the most loyal subjects in the British Empire. (Cheers.) I am not taking too sanguine a view. There is example and justification of my words in the language I have just quoted from John Dillon. But so long as you continue to give to Ireland from time to time simply a scanty measure of what they would expect, you will not make them contented and happy. If there is on the face of the earth a generous people, a warm-hearted people, never slow to resent an injury, but never slow to make allowances and receive a favor, it is the Irish people, and I do believe that if this question is to be solved it can only be solved by giving the Irish people the measure of liberty that we have in Canada; to give them not the powers we had at confederation, but the powers we give to the Provinces, to the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec. Let there be a Parliament on College Green. Let the heart and mind of the Irish people be appealed to, and Ireland, instead of being, as in the past, a thorn in the flesh of England, will become a tower of strength to the British Empire.

MR. R. L. BORDEN.
 Mr. R. L. Borden said that since the notice of Mr. Costigan's motion had been given a bill had been introduced in the Imperial House giving a material measure of relief from one of the greatest of Irish grievances, and he thought the conclusion of the resolution might have been couched in happier terms. They all desired the greatest possible measure of relief to Ireland in respect to any grievances from which she had suffered in the past. The resolution might have been better framed, and yet have served the purpose quite as well. As

it was, it hardly did justice to the present circumstances. While there was a good deal in Mr. Charlton's position, still the Canadian Parliament had in the past taken on itself to express itself on Imperial matters. He pointed out that the Northwest Territories have asked for just such a measure of Home Rule as the other Provinces enjoyed, and it might be considered this session whether this would be granted. He thought Home Rule for Ireland, as for all the people of the British Empire, would come in the future, perhaps in the very near future, from the very necessity of things, owing to the inadequateness of the time at the disposal of the Imperial Parliament to deal with the multitudinous questions arising throughout the empire. In the meantime a very great and generous measure had been proposed in the British House. He corrected the Premier's statement that Ireland would be loyal in the future, saying that the great mass of the Irish people were loyal to-day. Although they had been suffering from a sense of wrong and injustice, they had stood shoulder to shoulder with the other nationalities of the empire on the field of battle. He would vote for the resolution.

HON. CHARLES FITZPATRICK.
 Hon. Charles Fitzpatrick, in corroboration of what the Premier said, repeated the words of Hon. George E. Foster as the time the Transvaal resolutions were introduced. Mr. Foster endorsed the resolution as expressing the sympathy of Canada with British subjects fighting for their rights, and as manifesting the interest of the different parts of the empire in one another, and its solidarity. This might very well be applied to the present case. He deplored the fact that certain members had impugned Mr. Costigan's motives. Speaking as the Canadian representative of a Canadian constituency, and as an Irish Catholic, he said that no man in Canada deserves better of the Irish Catholics than Hon. Mr. Costigan, who had enjoyed the privilege of a seat in the House since Confederation. The Irish Catholics endorsed everything he had done so far as Irish Catholic interests were concerned. In answer to Col. Hughes' challenge to have a single Irish grievance mentioned he quoted from Mr. Chamberlain's speeches as far back as 1888. There were Irish grievances, but an honest endeavor had been made by the English people to remedy these grievances, and he was satisfied that the day was not far distant when the last effect of these grievances would have disappeared. He pointed to the effect of self-government in stimulating the loyalty of Canadians. In reference to the reply to a previous resolution, Mr. Fitzpatrick said that he denied to any British statesman, however eminent the British statesman might be, the right to dictate to a Canadian Parliament whether or not it has the right to pass a resolution or present a petition. That right was inherent in the constitution. It was our duty to deny the right of any British statesman to lay down such a doctrine. The resolution was really a congratulation of the British people for their generosity in the treatment of this question.

MR. E. F. CLARKE.
 Mr. E. F. Clarke, who rose at midnight, said the resolution would not advance the cause of Home Rule. The vote resulted in Mr. Costigan's amendment being carried by 102 to 41.

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