

HOME RULE CAN BE WON.

At the complimentary banquet tendered to Mr. T. M. Healy and Mr. E. F. Vessey Knox, M.P., at Belfast several weeks ago, Mr. Knox, in reply to the toast of "Our Guest," pointed out, from his standpoint, how Home Rule could be eventually won, as a result of the successful operation of the new Local Government Act. He said in part—

In the Local Government Act they had got a more potent weapon for good than any Irish Party ever got. Some good men had fought for their country; good men had subscribed for many good men had subscribed for their country; but a very much larger number had talked for their country. But in selecting men for the local bodies the Nationalists of Ireland had an opportunity of selecting those men who were working for the freedom of Ireland. As to those gentlemen Ireland, as a matter about which a should be any instructions had been given great many instructions had been given by various orators, but he thought the people could in this matter choose between themselves and could otherwise for themselves while ago they in fact. A little had chosen to de- the city of Belfast had chosen to de- side for themselves in such a matter. There were two questions people would have to ask themselves—what was best for the country, and what was best for the country at large. If proper men were sent into these boards, if Home Rule was to be won, why should it not be won by such means? They heard often of the English garrison in Ireland, but he did not know the meaning of that. It could not mean the miser- able garrison of landlords, which now did not count, but they had undoubtedly against them in the demand for Home Rule—there is no use blinking facts—a million of their own country- men. That is the real English garrison. They could not drive it out, but those who are against them now might be won over by adopting the proper means. Was it impossible that they might work forward the notion that He did not put forward the notion that they were likely to become Home Rulers in a day; but many a man who would never admit himself a Home Ruler might be a Home Ruler in fact.

A Unionist Parliament had passed a Local Government Bill, which had lately been denominated a Home Rule Bill by one of the most fiery orators in the country. If any of the Unionists were it to occupy a position in the councils they might be found working for the extension of the power of the councils. There was a constant sort of action and reaction in these matters which must not be lost sight of; but he ventured to believe that there would be certain movements in which National- ists and Unionists would be working side by side, such as Mr. Horace Plun- ket's movement, which was doing so much to improve the condition of the people. They had to build up a nation. Let them draw every man they could, even against his will, if he was not determinedly anti-Irish. The people themselves in their own districts would be the best judges. They knew the look and disposition of the men, and the acts of the men. But what he con- tended for, and earnestly contended for, was that no attempt should be made by caucuses or by flaming orators to prevent the people in each district using their own judgment as to what was the best for themselves. As for the people in the South and in other parts of Ire- land, who were hesitating as to what course they would take, there was one question that he dared say they would ask themselves, and that was, what

about their fellow-Nationalists in Ulster, and how were they faring under this Bill?

He believed that the Chief Secretary for Ireland and those who acted with him were anxious for the success of this Bill. He ventured to think that if they wanted to make this measure a success the best thing they could do was to come into Ulster and to speak face to face with their own supporters in Ulster, and tell them that the time had come when, even in Ulster, religion should not be a ban to a man's entering into political life. Two kind references had been made to the small measure he had had in trying to gain equal rights for his Catholic fellow-countrymen in the North of Ireland. He might say that that had been an hereditary labour. Their action would be care- fully scanned by the people in other parts of Ireland. He would not refer to the past. He would not refer even to the past session, but he would say that if they continued to act as they had done it would be the most serious risk to the policy of local gov- ernment that could be conjured up. He ventured to appeal to the Nationalists of Ireland to make this distinction. If the worst did come to the worst, and if attempts were made, as they had been made in the past, to make use of local government in the North-East corner of Ulster as an engine of oppression of the Catholics as Nationalists, he would say it would be to their interest rather to return good for evil. They had done so before, and they never lost by it. If it should unfortunately be true that in the North-East of Ireland no man who was not a Unionist was returned to the county council, whereas in other parts of Ireland good men were returned to do the work, no matter what their polit- ical views, that would be an instructive contrast to lay before the English people.

It was a grave mistake to suppose that the council that made the most trouble would get the most power given to it. They had had a case of that in England. The people of London sent to the London County Council a number of excellent men, who were given rather spouting and frightening the people about the great things they were going to do, which they never did, and which, perhaps, they had never intended to do. They frightened the people, and the result is that the County Council has been denied powers which had been given to every other municipality in the whole of England. The same thing would happen in Ireland. If the con- tract as drawn between the North-east denies justice to men because of their religious or political belief, and that the South and West should not merely mete out justice, but generosity, the result would benefit not alone the North-east corner, but the whole of Ireland.

It was thus we would win Home Rule. They would win it on the broad basis of building up a nation. That was the work they had to do. It could not be the work of a day nor of an hour, for they were not, he hoped, the type of politician who told the people, "Let us have our way; do what we tell you, and we will produce results in a day." The thing could not be done. Their fathers had tried for a long time to do it. After all, the politician who said he was much better than his fathers was apt to be a fraud. They would have to do it by degrees, and they would do it. The time would come, not merely when Home Rule would be won, but when it would be won without the opposition of Protestants of Ireland to the new body which would rule Ireland, but rather with the assurance of their co- operation in the work which ought to be the common work of them all.

MR. JOHN REDMOND, M.P., At the Parnellite Convention.

MR. JOHN REDMOND, M.P., speaking at the annual Parnellite Convention held on Monday, the 10th inst., in the Ancient Concert Rooms, Dublin, said: There was never a time in the history of Ireland in modern times when there was a greater necessity for the exis- tence of an Independent party in the public life of this country. The new Local Government Act, for the first time in the history of the country, freed the people from the rule of men who were irresponsible, and for the most part alien in race, feeling, and national aspirations. The great mea- sure would not have become law were it not for the existence in Parliament of an Irish Independent party. The experience of last season showed that some of the Liberals did their best to kill the bill.

If the people desired this measure to work for the good of the country, said Mr. Redmond, they should insist on the coming elections being held upon the strict observance of the principles of political toleration and civil and religious liberty. If worked on these lines it ought to prove an enormous step in the direction of Home Rule. The question now for them was how best to work this measure for the benefit of Ireland, and especially for the achievement of Home Rule. He expressed surprise at the recent decla- ration of Mr. O'Mahony, that the passage of this measure satisfied their aspirations for Home Rule. They all knew the absurdity of such a state- ment, but declarations like that, coupled with the apparent apathy in this country at present, had the effect of inducing many Englishmen to be-

lieve that these statements were true. That state of things increased enormously the difficulties in their way when they came to consider how they were to utilize these new County Councils. The false idea in England made it incumbent upon them to make a demonstration at the very first election to prove that they intended to use them as so many weapons to obtain Home Rule, and the first advice he ventured to offer, in view of this idea which prevailed somewhat in England, was that it was the duty to see that Nationalists' majorities were elected in every County Council where it was possible, and he hoped that the Parnellites would take their full share in these contests.

Mr. Redmond, proceeding, said he read recently a remarkable speech which had been delivered by Mr. William O'Brien in the West. Mr. O'Brien seemed to think that the best way of working these County Councils in the interest of Home Rule was to run the elections on the narrowest possible lines. He was against the election of capable and honest men in these Councils unless they agreed to every particular with his own political views—to discard, in fact, altogether con- siderations of the fitness of candidates for the work they would be called upon to do. As he understood Mr. O'Brien's speech his policy seemed to be to make a general confusion in Ireland, to make certain the failure of these councils, in order that he might then say to England—"These councils have failed, and therefore you see nothing can settle the Irish question except Home Rule." He asked the National- ists of Ireland as sensible men did they think that a wise policy? He did not hesitate to express the opinion that

that policy was a mischievous policy, and how it could advance Home Rule by proving that they were unfit to rule themselves in local affairs was beyond his comprehension. He sincerely trusted that no such policy would be adopted. He believed in a different policy. He wanted to make the County Councils a success, and to show to the world the capacity, steadiness, good sense, moderation, and toleration of Irish Nationalists. He believed the successful working of the measure would lead in a short run of years to the improvement of the social and industrial condition of the country. It would mean an immediate increase in the prosperity and happiness of the great mass of the Irish people, and would be a lesson to the world of their capacity to exercise the arts of govern- ment in their own land. His advice to them was to keep their heads cool, and if there was the remotest chance of bringing back to the National life of the country men whose forefathers stood with Grattan, but whose descendants since that day had stood aloof from the national movement, he said it would be criminal folly to cast it aside.

The stumbling block in the past in the way of Home Rule was that the Irish people had been divided on that question, but now the landlords saw that they had nothing to hope from the English Parliament, and that their only hope for the future was to throw in their lot with the people. The O'Connor Don was driven from public life because he would not enter Parliament as a supporter of Home Rule. He was a capable administrator on the Financial Relations questions, and had done in- calculable service to Ireland. He was a man eminently qualified to sit in the County Councils, and yet, according to Mr. O'Brien's policy, it would be the duty of the County Councils to refuse to elect him, and to put a less qualified man in the Councils in his place. In his opinion such a policy would be a disastrous one, and he hoped it would not be pursued.

In the coming elections the people should be left to choose for themselves without any undue interference from any quarter or any attempt of any clique to override their judgment. They should insist on a Nationalist majority on the new Councils to demonstrate that they were not satisfied without the concession of Home Rule, but sub- ject to that reservation he would say to the people—"Secure the best and most qualified men you can to do your business, and don't scruple to give a fair and even generous representation to men possess- ing the qualifications, even though they differ from you in political and reli- gious opinions." If they came into the Councils, and if the bodies worked successfully, it would convince them that they need have no fear of entrust- ing their fortunes to their fellow coun- trymen. He asked them to welcome themselves to the double task of en- deavouring to win them to Ireland's cause, and working together so as to show that they were able to govern themselves, while endeavoring to im- prove the social and material condition of the masses. He announced that for the purpose of discussing these matters more fully they intended to hold a series of conventions in various parts of the country. He had witnessed with profound gratification the progress of the '98 celebrations of this year which showed conclusively that the people were coming together, and com- ing together upon the principles of Par- nell. He was anxious to see the people united, but it should be unity upon a true policy and true principle—upon the principles of Parnell. If the people were united there would be little trouble in dealing with the Parliamen- tary parties.

WARNING TO CATHOLIC SINGERS.

It is a fact, and one commented on before in these columns, that we Catho- lics are influenced more by our sur- roundings than our surroundings are influenced by us. There is a tendency on the part of a certain element among us to make little of the prudent regula- tions which have been imposed upon us in the interest of our faith, to ignore the pleadings of pastors who try to en- force obedience to these regulations and under one pretext or another to do things which a more docile generation would never dream of doing.

All this is apropos of the fuss that has arisen over good old Father Cud- digh's sermon last Sunday. He de- nounced by name (he should not have mentioned names) a young woman of his parish who has been singing in Protestant churches in the town. Her friends pronounced his action uncalled

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for and unprovoked, as the simple fact of singing in a Protestant choir does not of itself, they think, argue any un- faithfulness on the part of the young lady toward her own Church. As a matter of fact it does so argue. This case, and it is not singular at all, is one of the most depressing which which the clergy have to deal. The moment some young women—and men, too—attain a certain amount of proficiency in the art of singing, they refuse to open their mouths unless paid in their own churches and take position in Protestant churches.

There are three reasons why as a rule this proceeding is wrong. First, there is peril of perversion. There is real danger that the faith of such persons will sooner or later suffer injury from their attendance at heretical worship. In the second place they give scandal. They set an example which the weaker brethren are liable to follow and occasion all sorts of talk. The Catholic instincts of the majority of our people are outraged by their ac- tion. In the third place, singing in a Protestant choir is objectionable, for the reason that persons who do so, how- ever firm their faith may be, partici- pate in heretical rites and in heretical worship—rites and worship which have their beginning and their continuing in the spirit of rebellion against and hostility to the faith and practice of Mother Church. What should we think of an American who, though he professed to cherish his nationality, would, for the sake of pay, take service under the enemy's flag? His actions give the lie to his professions.

No matter what the sentiments of the hymns sung at a heretical service may be the fact that singing them under such circumstances constitutes partici- pation in such service, and is a betrayal of the faith. Father Sabetti thinks it is not possible to permit such action except in "some very rare cases" and under conditions which in practice it is morally impossible to verify. We re- commend these points to the careful consideration of budding tenors and aspiring sopranos who may be thinking of following the example of Miss Sarah Smith, of Milford.—Providence Visitor.

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