

The Catholic Register.

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Bad Outlook for Newfoundland

The Register is sorry to learn from so high a source as the authority of the Bishop of St. John's that the outlook for Newfoundland is exceedingly gloomy. The serious financial crisis of 1895, through which the colony tottered, left even the most influential class of the population weak and dependent. Politics in the island is a profession that has never aimed at the ideal or perfect, and since the financial disaster the world's public service and duty would appear to have lost their meaning completely for the majority of those who sit in the Legislature. As the character of Parliament declined, the power of a few individuals, whose determination to barter the country is a thing understood on all hands, has more than correspondingly increased.

The influence of Mr. Morine on the politics of Newfoundland has never been a subject of congratulation to the friends of the people, or to any who have at heart the interests of Newfoundland. Within the last year this professional politician has pushed himself into a position not less influential than Sir James Winter holds, who is nominally Premier. Morine fought Sir William Whiteway during the last elections upon the trans-insular railway policy. He denounced Whiteway and the contractor R. G. Reid, of Montreal, and their policy unreservedly. When the Winter party assumed office towards the end of 1897, they could not shake off Morine or keep him out of the Executive.

Bishop Howley informs us that he has always been himself an outspoken advocate of the railway policy. It is he believes the only policy for Newfoundland; but according to the contract that Morine has pushed through with the Reid syndicate, in spite of the late Governor, Sir Herbert Murray, and the Colonial Office, the building of the railway will cost the people of Newfoundland their country—nothing less.

The Reid deal seems to be pretty much like this. All that Reid had to start out with was the contract. Morine his election assailant, was actually his paid ally. Upon what the contract contains it is easily possible for Mr. Reid to obtain outside of Newfoundland all the money required for the execution of his part of the bargain. The whole telegraph is to be 650 miles in length. Reid will build it at "his own" expense in return for a land subsidy of 2,500 acres per mile, throwing \$1,000,000 in cash into the bargain. At the end of 50 years Reid is to become absolute owner of the railway upon the payment of a further sum of \$6,000,000. He is also to become owner of the St. John dock, the government railway system, the coal areas of the country, the mineral lands and the pulp and lumber mills. In other words he is to become personal owner and holder of the lands, minerals and industries of Newfoundland, for a sum of money which could be raised for any of the franchisees that pass to him.

above described. What the Governor did was to order Morine out of his office. Sir Herbert Murray was a blunt honest Scotchman, and upon the day he turned Morine out of doors he cabled to the Colonial Office a letter from Bishop Howley describing the deception that had been practised upon him.

The action of Mr. Chamberlain in informing the colonists that they must take all the responsibility upon themselves for the acts of their parliament, is the latest important development in the administration of Newfoundland. Sir Herbert Murray's time having expired, a new man in the person of Governor McMillan now represents the crown. Bishop Howley expresses the opinion that if an election were to take place in the mirror Premier Winter and Morine would not be returned, nor would any of their followers. Unfortunately an election in the ordinary course is some three years off, unless the fierce conflict going on in the Executive Council yielded to the Governor dismissing his advisers and ordering an appeal to the country. Bishop Howley declares that the French St. John's question and the development of the interior of the country, which were of the greatest importance before the Reid deal went through, have sunk into insignificance by the astounding facts which the railway contract revealed. The effect upon public feeling has been to create a strong prejudice in Canada and a leaning towards the United States. This is owing to the Canadian influence supposed to be represented by Reid and Morine, who when they have everything in their hands will deliver the goods to Canada. Bishop Howley says that for the credit of Canadian feeling this impression, which he cannot share himself, should be dispelled. He believes the Reid contract must be broken by the people of Newfoundland.

As to the strength of the Catholic Church in Newfoundland Dr. Howley says the effects of emigration are being felt. Religion plays little part in politics. Out of 86 members of the House of Assembly representing 18 electoral districts, thirteen are Catholics. But Catholic districts return Protestants without any question of religion being raised. His Lordship regrets the determination of the Orange-men to institute the practice of 12th July parades in St. John's. Governor Murray denounced them and public opinion is set against the innovation. It is only to be hoped that disorder will not be stirred up.

The Forthcoming Convention.

During the past week we have received a number of letters dealing with the "Catholic-Liberal" Convention announced for the 23rd. None of the correspondents find themselves able to approve the tactics adopted by the Convention executive. In the face of their own resolution that they have called the Convention to consider the representation in the Dominion and Provincial Cabinets, they have gone to Mr. Hartly and assured him of their fullest confidence and gratitude for able services to the party. They have also assured the public that the Premier of Canada approves the holding of the Convention. Really there is no end to the inconsistency of those assurances. If they have any meaning at all it must be to proclaim the Convention an entirely needless thing.

If Mr. Hartly is all that the "Catholic Liberals" desire in their Cabinet representative, half the appointed business of the Convention is disposed of at once. And if Sir Wilfrid Laurier is so favorably disposed towards the other aim of the Convention, why doesn't he make the Catholic representation in his Cabinet what it ought to be without more ado or delay?

The manifesto of the executive published in The Globe declared that the task awaiting the Convention was to stop Catholic electors in local politics from altering their opinion of the Liberal party and seeing good in the Conservatives instead. It would be idle for us to discuss the propriety of such an undertaking; and we will only quote what one of our correspondents has to say about its practicability: "DEAR REGISTER—I have read with much interest your article, 'The Forthcoming Convention,' and I am especially pleased with your trenchant remarks on that extraordinary 'official' document that has been

given to the press. At the outset I should perhaps state that I have not a Liberal for many years. I do not know that I shall change my political allegiance either, unless it should be with disgust at the spectacle of Catholic Liberals wearing 'bit and bridle and walking round the political ring bagged and classed as a religious auxiliary of the Liberal party.' However the suggestions I have to offer you gain or lose nothing by my personality.

"Where are your men?" is the answer, whenever the complaint is made about our Cabinet representation. We have scores of them; but they are at home without a ghost of a chance of getting into Parliament. The French-Canadians are massed together and always have their full representation in Parliament. Hence their influence in everything under parliamentary control. The Irish-Catholics of Ontario are one-fifth of the population, scattered all over 92 constituencies, but controlling no single one. That is their weakness; but that too is their potency. We should have eighteen members. We have three—Harley and McHugh, Liberals, and Olany, Conservative (Irish-Catholic I mean). Just as long as Irish-Catholics are not organized, they will be left without such representation as chance or the exigencies of county politics may give them.

"If this were thoroughly understood by the Catholics of Ontario and forcibly pressed upon both parties, we would soon cease to be ignored at nominations. We would have several men to choose from when the occasion required. If it be true as claimed—and I think it must be conceded—that Irish Catholics are chiefly Liberals in politics, then the grievance is chiefly against the Liberal party. If the forthcoming Convention would bring out this idea and drive it home, it would do a great deal.

"But what will it do? What will a packed jury do? How many can lose the time and money to attend to the Convention? On the other hand how easy for the Government to select, through the Liberal members or the defeated Liberal candidates, men after their own heart, who can go at the Government's expense to do what it wants! Some will not even suspect that they are being used as cats-paws."

Our correspondent only draws a rational inference from all the colloquy that has been going on between the premiers and the executive of the convention when he takes for granted the intense anxiety of the Government to control this affair. What other natural inference can be drawn from the published official accounts of repeated interviews with The Globe and with Cabinet ministers? Either the executive is composed of the very silliest sort of material, or the members are showing their hands. Of course we are aware that in half a dozen districts meetings of Catholic Liberals have, in answer to the communication of the executive, condemned the whole movement. This we regard as a reassuring sign. The independence of Liberal Catholic electors is showing itself. We ourselves have received not a few personal letters in which the writers declare that they have turned "Tory" in disgust of the show that is being made of the whole business.

We are certain, however, that all concerned are not ruled by instinct. It is common knowledge that there has been a great deal of canvassing going on by three different gentlemen for the place now held by Hon. Mr. Hartly in the Ontario Government, and it is understood that Mr. Hartly's own admissions had given support to the expectation that a change was in contemplation. There have also been rumors in the air about changes in the Ottawa Cabinet. We do not ask to be convinced that some at least on the executive desire no more than to see the Convention do whatever may possibly be expected from it in the way of giving aspirants to Cabinet honors to understand what the real feeling among Catholic Liberals in the Province is regarding their representation in both Cabinets. It must depend upon this independence of element in the Convention whether it is to escape the derision which a hippodrome would arouse.

While Mr. Greenway and Mr. Sifton's newspapers are sending into every household in Manitoba the most emphatic assurances that Catholics remain ex-

cluded from the benefits of public education in the province, Mr. Greenway and Mr. McMillan are down at Ottawa laying claim to the school lands and fund. What will Sir Wilfrid and his shouters, of the "settlement" cry do? After scuttling the ship, will they burn the long boat?

The Athlete in reviewing a life of Mr. Gladstone raises the interesting point as to the exact nature of Mr. Chamberlain's proposals on the Irish Government in 1885 in the following terms: "We are told that Mr. Chamberlain proposed a scheme of National Councils for Ireland, which was supported by Mr. Gladstone and all the commoners in the Cabinet. If the scheme had been one for several Councils in Ireland instead of what it was—a scheme of local government with a central executive Council—the reluctance of its author to enlarge its scope would have meant a sharper conflict over the policy of the autumn of that year than can be established. Sir Charles Duke's motion in 1895 with The Athlete makes this correction a point of considerable significance.

With reference to the proclamation by Pope Leo last week of 1900 as a jubilee year, the Rome correspondent of The Boston Pilot says:—"It is interesting to look back on the four previous jubilees. In 1800 Rome was in the power of France; Pius VII. had been elected in a comparatively unknown monastery on an island of Vesuvius. In 1825 Leo XII. proclaimed the jubilee, which was carried out with devotion and tranquility. "With what respect and religious feeling the year of the jubilee was observed when the tranquil times of the Church permitted them to celebrate it with every solemnity," wrote Pius IX., in 1875, "both ancient and recent historical monuments testify, for it was always looked upon as the year of redemption and of grace, of the remission of sins, and of the indulgence, in which they assembled from all the world in our alma city and seat of Peter, and all the faithful aroused to works of piety, were offered for the health of souls most abundant aids of reconciliation and grace."

Mr. Aubrey do Vero, the greatest of Ireland's Catholic poets, has written a very encouraging letter upon the establishment of an Irish literary theatre. "Accept my best thanks," he writes, "for your friendly letter, and for the pleasant news that an effort is about to be made by some of Ireland's sons, who unite a love of literature and the drama with a true love of their country, to aid, as far as they can, in promoting the cause of a Dramatic Literature in Ireland through the aid of a theatre devoted to high aims. Most heartily do I wish success to an enterprise with which I am in strong sympathy. Whatever develops the genius of Ireland most in the most effectual way benefits her, and in Ireland's genius I have long been a strong believer. Circumstances of very various sorts have hitherto tended much to retard the development of that genius, but it cannot fail to make itself recognized before very long; and Ireland will have cause for gratitude of all those who have hastened the coming of that day."

A survey of the results of the Irish County Council elections appears in The Fortnightly Review. The writer takes a view of the causes which led to the rejection of the Grand Jury class, and shows in unmistakable manner how the great question of Home Rule was paramount to all other interests in the minds of the electorate. He bears testimony to the soundness of the advice given to the electors by Mr. Dillon, whose speech at the National Federation on November 9th last, is quoted at considerable length. "The advice then given by Mr. Dillon was followed," says the writer, "with a literal fidelity by the Irish people." As to the future working of the Councils, the writer expresses the greatest confidence, and he concludes with the sanguine prophecy that sooner or later Lord Salisbury will "translate into action the principles he enunciated in his well known speech at Newport," and "by a measure of Home Rule restore the loyal minority from ostracism from public life in Ireland," otherwise "the loyal minority will soon join the ranks of their fellow-countrymen, and Ireland with one voice will demand the restoration of her native Parliament."

The Presbyterian synod assembled in Toronto last week deplored the causes that "have rendered the [Lord's Day] Act practically inoperative." But the Synod rejoiced that another special case will be submitted to the court of appeal. Various members of the body lamented another fact, that "family worship is fast becoming a thing of the past." Nothing was however said about submitting a case to the court of appeal under this head. If the reverend gentlemen of the synod could only look the sign of the times squarely in the face they might have less cause to wonder at the way they find things going to the bad—people are only too apt, when brought

up with set ideas to accept their own perfection. As long as the law is looking after anything it must be all right. Parliament is in session, the courts are working in their usual fashion and the policeman is on his beat. Sunday is sanctified by act of Parliament, and that is all that is required. Behind the mask of this sunny contentment, all individual or family earnestness has either disappeared or is fast becoming a thing of the past.

Roberta Harding Davis does not hold optimistic views regarding the influence of the American system of education. Writing in The North American Review for May this writer asks two questions: "Has the public school done its work? Has education been always an unmitigated blessing to America and Americans?" She does not think the answers can be given so easily and positively as loyal sons of the Republic may suppose. Then she adds: "Two or three facts which come up in my memory seem to me to have a bearing on it. First: On the table before me lies the annual report of 1898 of the Inspectors of the Eastern Penitentiary in Pennsylvania. Here is one item: Ninety-one convicts who were in the prison last year had served terms in it before. Of these hardened offenders, only nine were unable to read and write. Of eight, no record had been kept; but, as the majority of them were forgers and counterfeiters, they evidently had received some mental training. The remaining seventy-four were all educated, having attended school for two to nine years. Another fact: Three years after the opening of free schools in London, a marked increase was noticed in the number of juvenile offenders in the city prisons and reformatories. There was, too, a change in the kind of crimes committed by them. The number of boys and young men convicted of forgery, grand larceny and intricate swindling schemes, was more than doubled, while the number of sneak thieves, drunkards and pickpockets was lessened by one-half. As years passed, the proportion of educated criminals largely decreased."

In an article entitled "After the Deluge," in The London Westminster Gazette Lord Montagu gives expression to his views on the Irish County Council elections. The only thing, he says, that astonished him in connection with the elections was the surprise they caused in England. No one in Ireland was ever under the delusion that Home Rule was dead, and it twice the number of grand jurors was returned it would have shown no abatement of the remarkable effect produced on the electorate by the advice of Mr. Dillon, Mr. Davitt, and their section of the Parliamentary Party, but this, he thinks, "was an almost inevitable resort to the rash prophecies uttered in some quarters about 'knocking out Home Rule.'" He expresses his regret at the disqualification of the Catholic clergy from membership of the Councils. "No curtailment of their rights as citizens," he says, "will lessen their political power—rather the reverse, and in the long run they will have no more political influence than they deserve, perhaps not always as much." And again he adds, "I was not fortunate enough to obtain the support of any of the priests in my division, but I have no reason to complain of the fair and straightforward way in which those of them who opposed me conducted the contest." Referring, in conclusion, to the working of the Councils so far his lordship's opinion is that the gloomy predictions indulged in by his friends have been completely falsified. The minority "have been accorded more than their share of representation on the different committees, and proceedings are conducted with perfect harmony, and in a very practical spirit."

Hon. John Costigan has publicly announced his separation from the Conservative party as it stands to-day. Sir Charles Tupper is reported to have made this comment upon the matter: "The correspondence read in the House fully disclosed Mr. Costigan's humiliating position." Sir Charles in other words means to say that the Government has shown some leniency to the son of Mr. Costigan, who holds a position in the civil service, the father has given the Government his support on that account. If Sir Charles Tupper really said such a thing it is very little to his credit. The charge of neglect alleged against Mr. H. Costigan is not new. It was one of the first charges laid by partisans of the new Government when it came into office. Although the enquiry was not pressed, the officer was reduced in position and salary. And now after the lapse of years, the son of his colleague has no higher opinion of his colleague than to believe him capable of changing his party out of gratitude. Sir Charles also indulges his opinion after Mr. Costigan's personal enemies on the Conservative side of the House set their agents at work to bring discredit upon both Mr. Costigan and his

son. Sir Charles [know of course the elaborate steps taken by some of his followers to work up the semblance of a case which Dr. Roche laid before parliament. Western politicians are capable of anything; but Sir Charles comes from the east, which has so far only produced in the person of Mr. Foster a single specimen of the poisonous species.

Why should Sir Charles Tupper, or for that matter any member of the Conservative party at Ottawa to-day, undertake to deride Mr. Costigan as a political deserter? Both the attitude of Mr. Costigan and the ill-will of his backbiters can be fairly estimated only when this question has been answered; and answered in a manner that will find warrant in the history of the year 1895-6. Where, let us ask, did the practice of desertion from the Conservative party begin? And with whom? If we mistake not it began with Mr. N. Clarke Wallace, with whom Sir Charles Tupper to day goes as a pal, so to speak. Mr. Wallace's methods were soon copied and improved upon by Mr. Foster, Sir O. H. Tupper, A. R. Dickoy, Dr. Montague, Mr. Haggart and a few others; and the people of Canada had such an object lesson in political treachery as will not soon be forgotten by them. But the point we wish to arrive at this: "Where are the men to day who in 1895-6 stood faithful to the Premier who was the personal object of the conspiracy promoted by Mr. Foster? Can Sir Charles Tupper claim that any of them are Conservatives, if active co-operation with the party which he leads be the true test of Conservative fidelity? We do not think that Sir Macenzie Bowell can be claimed as such a Conservative. He is fighting a noble and independent battle in the Senate against the forces which threaten the constitutional life of Canada; but he is not fighting as a confederate either of Mr. Foster or Sir Charles Tupper. Again we hear very little of Sir Adolphe Caron now as a Conservative leader. We doubt if he too is a Conservative who would be acceptable by Mr. Foster. Mr. Oimout acted according to the proudest instincts of his race; and that disposed of him. Sir Frank Smith is not in public life, and to our regret, could not—on account of his health—if he would, continue his political activity. He is out of it. Mr. Costigan has been for more than two years in fact the sole survivor ranking as a party man of the guard that stood loyally for party and leader in 1895-6. It is well known that he was willing to do anything an honorable man could then have done for the sake of his party. And what recompense has he had? He had been pursued by mean and malignant enemies who simply did not want him in the so-called re-constructed Conservative party. It is not necessary to go into the details of these things; it is enough to say that Mr. Costigan's adhesion to Sir Charles Tupper, however much he might have desired it—and we do not presume that he did desire it—because he has not attended on single caucus of the present Opposition—has been made totally impossible by the determined hostility shown towards him by Mr. Foster and Mr. Foster's friends.

The Register cannot share in the opinion that Sir Charles Tupper rejoices at the consequences thus far of this crusade to annihilate his old confederate. We can hardly believe that Sir Charles has used the language that has been attributed to him. Although Mr. Foster spoke with the vehemence of Hon. David Mills in favor of the Remedial Bill during the election campaign of 1896, it was believed all the time that the only two members with portfolio of the last Conservative Cabinet—formed by Sir Charles Tupper after the bolting cats had come back—who were uncompromising on remedial policy were the Premier himself and the Minister of Marine and Fisheries. Certainly those were the only two who made any reference to the subject after the great defeat in the month of June. Sir Charles Tupper declared that he had fought for the constitution and for principle and was not dismayed by the result. Mr. Costigan in a forcible speech on the floor of the house, re-asserted the remedial policy as the true and only Conservative method of dealing with the Manitoba school question. It is not without regret that we now hear of Sir Charles deriding the one man in his Cabinet with whom conviction he was in complete agreement during the stress of the crisis. We are told by some of the Conservative papers that Mr. Costigan will now be appointed to the Senate and replace Hon. R. W. Scott in Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Cabinet. This would be strange, even if we were to admit—which is only true—that Sir Wilfrid Laurier on the trade stands to-day on exactly the feet of the Thompson so often defined as the principles of Liberal-Conservative principle. Admitting all this, Sir Wilfrid has played a perfidious part towards the Catholics of Manitoba, and as we do not see how Mr. Costigan, holding the evil which he has done remains, we do not see how Mr. Costigan, holding the principles of the Liberal-Conservative party, can join the Conservative party. His doing so, of course that would allow him to do so, taken place, except Sir Charles Tupper's language, has not surprised us at all.