

The True Witness

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WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1896

THE RELEASE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE.

That the release of the political prisoners should have been determined on by the British Government is, we need scarcely say, a cause of satisfaction to the Irish people everywhere. The cause assigned—the state of health in which the attending physician reported them to be—was probably only one of the reasons for their release. The demeanor of President Kruger towards the political offenders who had pleaded guilty of the serious crimes imputed to them—what ever may have been his motives—must have had some effect on opinion in England with regard to the unfortunate men who for more than a dozen years had been pining in prison as a punishment for offences less grave. Some of the United States papers attribute their liberation to the fear lest some of them should die in prison and thus give rise to an outcry against the authorities which would at least have been unpleasant. Party capital could not, it is true, have been made out of such a consequence of their longer detention, as both parties had committed themselves to the same policy. It is, of course, allowable to suppose that, although Governments, like other corporations, have no souls, there is such a thing as the development of opinion even in Tory parties, and the recent land legislation may be taken as evidence of it. The non-enforcement of the coercion law comes under the same category and is, in one sense, still stronger testimony to a gradual modification of sentiment on the part of English statesmen towards Ireland. Account must, of course, be taken of the more tranquil condition of the country—a condition due undoubtedly to the passage of the Home Rule bill in the House of Commons. For, although the measure was blocked in the Lords, the Irish people could not blame their friends who had stuck to them faithfully because an interested majority of territorial magnates had nullified their efforts. But here again we find emphatic proof of a change of attitude which no one would have ventured to predict a few years ago. Indeed, when rightly considered, the assent in the Upper House to the most liberal of all land bills is an event of which it would be difficult to over estimate the significance. Of course, it may be objected that the recalcitrant peers were brought to order only on compulsion—the threats of Mr. Balfour to abandon the government forcing them to choose between subordination and the possible dissolution and overthrow of the party. But, with all due deductions made from it as a free-will act, the hope of the peers on the land bill remains the most memorable concession of the landlords to the tenants' interest in Ireland that has ever been put on record. There is still another reason why we would attribute the release of the political prisoners—in part—rather to a change of view—largely unconscious, perhaps—than to any single direct motive. That reason is the school legislation, the support of which by the Irish party gave such offence to the Rev. Mr. Price and other fanatical or thoughtless partisans. For, although, from mismanagement, it was found necessary to drop it for the session, it was distinctly promised that

the beneficiaries by the measure would only suffer from the inconvenience of postponement, and that the new bill would satisfy all the claims of the supporters of the voluntary schools. To whatever combination or succession of influences their mitigation of the old hostility towards Ireland may be due, it is particularly noteworthy at the present juncture. We do not refer to it as a ground for Irish confidence in the ultimate conversion of the coalition to Home Rule. It must not be forgotten that it was their common antagonism to Mr. Gladstone's Irish Government bill of 1886 that brought the Tories and seceding Liberals into partnership. The House, it is true, has undergone several renewals since then, so that, with the death of some veterans, the elevation of others to the peerage, and the dropping out of others at general and by-elections, there is but a handful left of the original Liberal Unionist seceders from the old following of Mr. Gladstone. It is true that, small though it be, it has a very live chief in Mr. Chamberlain, who, still, doubtless, clings to unionism with characteristic tenacity. All things considered, the outlook in Irish affairs in the British parliament is now reassuring. The liberation of the political prisoners is a matter of great significance, and if the Irish party could be induced to put aside their wretched bickerings, and form once again into a solid patriotic party, the day of Ireland's greatest joy would be near at hand.

THE DUBLIN CONVENTION.

How much depends on the Convention that meets in Dublin this week, only those who have for years past been close observers of the Nationalist party, and are thoroughly aware of its elements both of strength and weakness, can fully realize. Since the friends of Ireland bailed the plan as an *irrevocable* full promise of the best results, there has been an ebb and flow movement in the tide of Irish sentiment which was at times perplexing. The smaller group did not all at once exhibit that tone of conciliation which, when persevered in, is sure to bear fruit. *Respicio mollis tangit iram: Servus durus suscitatur irem.* The soft answer did not come at once, and hard speeches filled the air. But at last reason and patriotism and good will began to prevail. No victory of peace can be won without self-sacrifice and there is no manifestation of that spirit that is more difficult for public men than to surrender the position of precedence to which their colleagues have chosen them in order to satisfy a dissentient minority. Where, after such a chance has been ratified and renewed until it has become a matter of course, and then, in the interests of the party, a majority may have asked its reconsideration, it is, we should say, the leader's clear duty to resign. But the case is different when a party has, through circumstances that all regret, been divided into two sections, and the larger section has made choice of its chief. Such an elected leader is not obliged to undo the action of his followers simply to gratify the prejudices of the smaller section.

It may be claimed, on the other hand, that, if the separate existence of the two sections has for years been regarded as a *fait accompli*, the minor division has the same right to elect its leader, and the latter the same right to continue holding his position. But if, whatever may have been the original ground of secession, the two sections are no longer divided by any vital principle, and it is desirable for the sake of the common cause which they both alike profess to have at heart, that they should once more form a single organization under a single leader in whom the members of both sections should have confidence, then it becomes a matter of moral obligation for both the sectional leaders to retire, so as to permit the party as a whole to choose a leader acceptable to both groups. In fact, should the reluctance of a sectional leader to surrender his trust prove the only obstacle in the way of an understanding, it would be quite competent for his followers to make their arrangements without him. Notwithstanding his hesitation to descend from his little eminence, it is to be hoped that either of his own free motion, when he reflects on the consequence of a false step at such a crisis, or through pressure exerted on him by his section, Mr. Redmond will follow Mr. Dillon's example and thus make the road clear for a happy readjustment of differences and a salutary and hopeful new departure under such leadership as the Convention may deem best. As for one or two malcontents—one especially—who have of late been out of touch with their old colleagues, as their defection was mainly due to personal controversies, they would, if such a settlement were reached, have no longer any reason for keeping aloof.

Into the unhappy dissensions—charges and recriminations—that occasioned or confirmed the estrangement, we need not pain our readers by again entering. Every Irishman, whatever his sympathies, must sincerely regret such developments within a party the members of which, apart from their other responsi-

bilities, have undertaken to prove to the world that their countrymen are capable of self-government. Need we say that the first use the opponents of Home Rule are sure to make of such quarrels and divisions is to reproach its advocates with a total lack of the very aptitudes that fit a people for self-administration. How, they will ask, can we expect a population to have that self-control, that faculty of co-operation, that ability to sink personal ambition in deference to the general welfare, if their chosen representatives, the men who by position, education and moral qualities they deemed best fitted to champion the cause of independence, are wholly destitute of self-restraint and refuse to subordinate their petty rivalries and antipathies to the common interests of the movement, and of the nation that expects so much from it? If, now, when the representatives of Irish national aspirations are supposed to be on their good behavior and the eyes of civilization are on them, watching their demeanor and their acts, they care so little for public opinion as to engage in bitter controversies, what may we expect when they have everything their own way and can set the opinion of the United Kingdom at naught in pursuing their private aim?

This is no exaggeration. It is just the argument that the enemies of Home Rule have used again and again. Whenever the Irish party has shown any of the weaknesses to which all parties are liable. We have seen an English party break in pieces and a large portion of it go over to the enemy within the last dozen years. The same thing had happened about forty years before. Of little seceding groups, known at different times, under various names, the pages of parliamentary history have instances in abundance. We might quote with still greater pertinence instances of subordination from our Canadian annals. But we refrain from probing wounds hardly yet healed. For all such evidences of human weakness there is allowance made save when the offenders are Irish. For the latter there is no recommendation to mercy, they must endure the full rigors of the violated law.

Now the present Convention gives the Irish Home Rulers a fresh opportunity of appealing to the tribunal of public opinion. So far as we can judge by the names of the delegates from the United States and Canada, who must form the majority of the deputation from outside, the parliamentary party will have good counsel in the settlement of the points at issue. It is to be regretted that many of those nominated will be unable to make the journey. But, even without the absentees, the delegation, both clerical and lay, from over the sea seems to be unusually able and earnest. The task of spokesmen will, as usual in such cases fall to a few, and while the occasion may justify some display of Irish eloquence, wisdom and moderation will be in greater demand than any exhibition of oratory, however inspiring. Above all, it is to be hoped that controversial questions will be avoided. The least spark might kindle a conflagration. The one essential business of the Convention is to restore unity and harmony, and to do so only the most guarded reference should be made to the points in dispute. Any language that calls for protest, self-justification or awkward explanations, from any section, ought to be avoided, and emphasis should be laid on the greatness of the common cause, the obligations and the rewards of allegiance to it and the grand future that is in store for Ireland when the final victory is won.

Notwithstanding the fears to which some of our contemporaries have given expression, we continue to place our faith in the patriotism, self-devotion and sense of duty of those to whom their fellow countrymen have committed so important a trust; and whether the new party will honor Canada by accepting an Irish Canadian gentleman as its chief, or the distinction be reserved for some Home Ruler of longer service, we look forward to the result of the reorganization in an ultimate triumph that will atone for long centuries of cruel injustice and of hope again and again deferred.

WHERE ARE THE SIGNS?

During M. Faure's recent "progress" some of the Royalist members of the chambers declined to take part in the presidential receptions, even in their own constituencies. This they doubtless justified on principle. To them the president is simply the head of a regime of usurpation, and to countenance his appearance in the rôle of constitutional ruler would be a sort of treason to the prince to whom alone they acknowledge allegiance. But to carry out such a principle of loyalty to a dynasty in full consistency would, it seems to us, require something more. By accepting seats in the Senate or Assembly, the monarchists recognize the powers that be, at least as *de facto* having authority in the land; and total abstention from office would be the only safe way for such extremists. The French monarchists, who enter pub-

lic life, really hold a position that is curiously illogical. The time has passed when, on the analogy of the changes of a century and more, the hope of a royalist or imperialist restoration can be justified.

The Empire succeeded the old Monarchy in less than twelve years. Less than sixteen years intervened between the meeting of the States general and the elevation of Napoleon to the Imperial throne. And that period may be subdivided in accordance with the various constitutions and constitutional readjustments that distinguished it—the Assembly and Convention, before the King's death, and, afterwards, the Directory and the Consulate. The first Empire lasted less than ten days. The restored monarchy lasted about as long as the changeful period—from the fall of the Bastille to the foundation of the Empire. Louis Philippe did not reign quite eighteen years, which, however, surpassed the whole period of the Restoration. Then came the short second Republic, which enabled Napoleon III. to mount the throne of his uncle through the presidency to which he had been invited. He reigned about as long as the Citizen King. If we take the entire period of his power, some twenty-two years, it still comes short of the duration of the present Republic, which will soon be twenty-six years old. Three times it seemed as though its hour had come, yet each time it surmounted the danger. For years it has had the express approval of the Holy See. There are two passages in the Encyclical, *Immortale Dei miserentis opus*, that are peculiarly applicable to the duty of conservative Frenchmen. The first is this: "By these words and decrees, if the matter be judged dispassionately, none of the various forms of government is in itself condemned, inasmuch as they have nothing repugnant to Catholic doctrine and are able, if wisely and justly managed, to insure the welfare of the State." The other is this: "Wherefore there is evidently just cause why Catholics should take part in the conduct of public affairs, for they do not assume these responsibilities in approval of what is unlawful in the methods of Government at the time, but that they may turn these very methods as far as may be, to the real and true public good and at the same time use their best endeavors to infuse, as it were, into all the veins of the State the healthy sap and blood of Catholic wisdom and virtue." The movement started by the late Cardinal Lavergne and approved by the Vatican, in favor of a loyal recognition of the Republic, has not had the success that its eminent author expected from it. There is, indeed, a group of what are called "Rallied Conservatives" who support the present regime. They number from 35 to 40. Those that have remained steadfast to the monarchic idea, notwithstanding the counsel of His Holiness, number in all not more than 60. Looking at the past and bearing in mind how much longer the Republic has endured than any of the previous dynasties since the fall of the ancient monarchy, one may reasonably question the good sense of persisting in the attitude of irreconcilability.

On the other hand, men still living can remember with what suddenness governments apparently as strong have been overwhelmed in the whirlwind of revolution. It is indeed a suggestive retrospect, in which one sees so many crowned heads rolled in the dust of defeat, despair or death, legitimate sovereign followed by usurper who is in turn followed by Kings of the old line, while these again give way to a scion of the younger branch and he again flies before the undreamed of advance of the usurper's heir for whom he had imprudently prepared the way. Why, ask the Royalists, may not the cycle have its completion by the accession of a prince with acknowledged claims to both branches of the ancient monarchy? And why, asks the Imperialist, may not the Napoleonic cult, which of late has drawn so many worshippers to the shrine of the mighty founder, a greater than Charlemagne, resume some day the form of political aspiration and Napoleon IV. become a name of authority among the powers of the world? All we can say is, that he is a farsighted observer of events who can detect in the actual political firmament any signs of yearning for such a restoration.

Mr. DALTON MCCARTHY, M.P., in his letter of resignation for the constituency of Brandon, says:

"I ventured to say in my place in the House of Commons last session, when the leader of the House practically announced the withdrawal of the remedial bill, that the House has seen the last of the remedial bill at either that or any future session. Is it presumptuous to refer to the accuracy of this forecast?"

Mr. McCarthy may cherish the idea that he has proved himself a prophet and that the last word has been said in the Dominion Parliament on the subject of remedial legislation. There is an old saying which is well for even Mr. McCarthy to remember—"Never count your chickens before they have been hatched."

EDITORIAL NOTES.

It is said that Premier Laurier will go to London, Eng., early in November.

THE reception by the Shamrocks to Lord Russell of Killowen to-morrow, at the new club house, promises to a most successful event.

MR. SUTTON, the Attorney General for Manitoba, seems to be the favorite in the running for the vacant portfolio of the Interior in the Laurier Cabinet.

SCARCELY had the doors of Leinster Hall been opened, to receive the delegates, ere the enemies of Ireland began the work of scattering broadcast reports that the seeds of dissension were being sown even in the ranks of the representatives who sailed from this side of the Atlantic.

NOW that the session of the Quebec Parliament is within measurable distance, the promoters of amendments to the city charter, with a view of extending the borrowing powers of the city, are beginning to bestir themselves and prepare for the annual visit to the Ancient Capital.

THE Catholic schools opened their classes yesterday, and in many of them a very great increase in the attendance was apparent. Seldom if ever has the opening of the school year been marked with such a splendid measure of enthusiasm, as was evident in many of the establishments immediately under the supervision of the various religious orders.

WORDS OF GOLD

FOR YOUNG MEN WHO DESIRE TO ACHIEVE SUCCESS.

SOME VERY INTERESTING COMPARISONS REGARDING THE SOCIAL ADVANTAGES OF THE SEXES—WHAT IS NECESSARY TO CLIMB THE LADDER OF FAME.

(From the Catholic Universe.)

A short while since an animated controversy raged in some of our Catholic papers concerning the relative superiority of Catholic young women to-day over the young men. It was pretty generally agreed by all who took part in the debate that the Catholic young woman has decidedly the advantage of her brother in the matter of culture and social qualification. The Catholic young woman, it was conceded, even by the strongest apologist of the other sex, has attained a position that leaves very little to be desired, while her brother is plodding away far to the rearward, seemingly lacking the requisite ambition and industry to emulate her progress. Of course

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE THING

is susceptible of various interpretations, according to the point of view, and the interchange of opinions on the subject. On one hand it was contended that the keener intuitive faculties of the girl gave her a sounder conception, and deeper appreciation, of the advantages resultant from cultivation of the finer intellectual and social instincts, than is usually developed in the boy nature, and it was maintained that in this respect she possessed a natural advantage and a stimulus of which he is devoid. On the other side it was claimed that the disparity is due to accidental and not to inherent differences; that the young man was indolent, sluggish and indifferent not necessarily from temperament, but chiefly from habit; that while he contented himself with such amusements and gratification as immediate circumstances permitted, she seized and profited by every available means of self-advancement with a distinct purpose of

IMPROVING UPON CIRCUMSTANCES.

She is looking forward; he is living only in the present, his aspirations limited to the necessities of to-day. And then it was said that in the matter of educational facilities the young man is discriminated against by short-sighted parents; that while the girl is placed at school and kept there acquiring the polish and refinement of a finishing course the male youth is withdrawn from his studies just at the most critical time, and set to work in the hum-drum and practical routine of a wage yielding avocation. In the main the case is fairly stated, and it must be admitted that the conditions of life prevailing among Catholics leave no alternative to the plan generally adopted with regard to the young man. As a rule, necessity decrees that he shall begin the serious duty of earning a livelihood at the period when the sons of fortune's more favored children are pursuing their academical or university courses. In this way it happens that there is a predominance of well-mannered, well-read and well-appearing young women among the Catholic youth of the country. It is obvious that the young man is

NOT ENTIRELY RESPONSIBLE

for the situation and that his apparent inferiority, in a social and intellectual sense, is not wholly the result of that difference which is sometimes ascribed as the cause of the existing inequality on these lines. But the facts as here admitted do not absolve the young man from all blame in the premises, and there is no reason why there shouldn't be a closing of the gap between the ranks of the young women and those of the young men. The circumstance of having to leave the class room for the hurly-burly

of the work-a-day world and to exchange the scholastic process of intellectual refinement for the sordid labor of the office and shop, does not by any means preclude the possibility of cultivating those fine and noble manners and habits that distinguish the gentleman. In the accepted way with a great many of our non-Catholic friends, and there are enough exceptions among the Catholic young men we meet

IN EVERY DAY EXPERIENCE

to confute the erroneous notion that the exigencies of bread-winning are fatal to the processes of social elevation and mental culture. Some of the most brilliant men of affairs and in society—not mere dudes and butterflies of fashion,—solid men of character and wit, whose position is a triumph of energy and perseverance over the clogging tendencies of environment and circumstances, had to contend in the beginning against adverse conditions and influences no less discouraging than those that surround the least-favored of the young men of to-day.

It is needless to cite examples. Their name is legion. They add every profession and their power and presence are felt in every line of human activity. They are the men who have inscribed their names in the highest places in our national temple of fame, whose doors have been generously thrown open, indiscriminately, to all who are entitled to be considered honorably successful, regardless of the nature of their achievements.

THE CONQUEST OF ADVERSITY,

the accumulation of riches by patient industry or audacious skill and enterprise, are held in almost equal popular veneration with the great deeds of learning and genius, that in the old order, preceding the risen sun of democracy, were considered alone worthy to be thus commemorated. Invariably, these lives, in which is practically exemplified the mastery by human courage and determination of ordinary circumstances, attest also the possibilities and value of that inherent force that enables all who use it intelligently to overcome every obstacle to social as well as material prosperity. The Catholic young man who is deterred from efforts to improve his position intellectually and socially as well as financially, by the conviction that

FLUCK AND ENERGY

are unavailing, ignores the plain inference of a thousand object lessons that confront his vision daily.

Of course success cannot be achieved by fruitless wishing for it. Nothing is accomplished without hard and persistent labor, and to no undertaking is this so essential as the herculean feat of repairing the deficiencies of opportunity and training. It is idle for the young man to bewail his lack of chances unless he sets about with an indomitable intention to make good what he conceives to be wanting.

He has only himself to blame if he lags in the race, because he has within him the power to win if he but possess the grit to employ it. This is especially so with regard to those potentialities of mind and manner that command social place and position. There is not a youth of ordinary intelligence in this broad land, who, if he is willing to make

THE NECESSARY SACRIFICE,

cannot qualify himself for the highest standing in the community, as the peer and equal of the best. There is no barrier that he cannot scale, if he have the moral courage to train for the ordeal. Resolution and application are the means and these are within the reach of all alike.

Looking at the matter in this light, the alleged superiority of the Catholic young woman in respect to social and intellectual qualifications is a reproach to the young Catholics of the other sex. There is no use in mincing words about it. If, from the social standpoint, the young man is not the equal of his sister, it is his own fault, notwithstanding the drawbacks under which he does, or is supposed to labor. The remedy lies at his hand. It requires courage and determination, but his failure to have recourse to it will place him still further in the rear and he must expect to suffer the consequences.

CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS.

ANOTHER TESTIMONY OF THE VALUE OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN OUR SCHOOLS.

"It is a difficult question to answer how the moral education of children can be carried on without religion," says the Churchman (P. E.). "Certainly a school where religion is made the rule of life has always been most successful in producing the best types of human character. The first schools of the modern world were Christian schools. To these Christian schools and colleges the present day owes its best achievements, its highest advantages, the activities of its incessant progress. A school without religion is next door to a school of crime. And where the literature of history and of human life are studied as necessary parts of the course, by what argument can the literature of religion be excluded from the studies of children and youth?"

POPULATION OF MANITOBA.

The full returns of the new Manitoba census have been received at the Department of Agriculture, showing the present total population to be 198,425, an increase of \$4,785 over the census taken in 1880, or seventy-eight percent, and of 40,915 over the census taken in 1891, or thirty-seven percent. The population of the manufacturing districts is ascertained to be 31,649. In 1891 it was 25,636 and in 1880 it was 20,238. The increase of population over the whole province, which in the five years, 1886 to 1891, was forty percent, fell to thirty-seven percent in the five years from 1881 to 1886.

Our readers contemplating the purchase of a piano, new or second-hand, can not do better than patronize Mr. C. W. Lindsay, 2366 St. Catherine street, who carries the largest assortment in Montreal. When buying don't forget to mention you are a reader of this paper.