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IRELAND'S BURDEN.

By LORD DUNRAVEN.

"Ireland's Financial Burden" is the title of an article which Lord Dunraven has contributed to the July number of the "Nineteenth Century and After," in which he gives expression to some interesting comments, not only upon the financial relations question itself, but upon Irish government in general. In the earlier portion of the article, Lord Dunraven deals with the arguments put forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the recent debate in the House of Commons, and shows how utterly dishonest is the attempt made to deny the reality of Ireland's grievance. Proceeding, Lord Dunraven paints a vivid picture of the condition to which Ireland has been reduced by this system of over-taxation and by the dreadful drain of emigration. He then goes on to ask "Is Ireland overtaxed because she is poor, or poor because she is overtaxed?" "Both these theories," he says, "are true. Unquestionably the crushing weight of taxation smothering individual effort and stifles energy; unquestionably also the absence of industrial employment and the general poverty in Ireland account for the fact that the equal taxation of the same articles places upon her an unequal burden. Differential taxation is impracticable. Changes in our methods of raising revenue beneficial to the poorer classes in Great Britain, and consequently beneficial to Ireland as a whole, are not impracticable, but cannot be relied upon as a remedy for a disease requiring immediate treatment. There remains the principle underlying the Union—exceptional treatment under exceptional circumstances. If Great Britain is to act with common justice, if she is to honestly carry out the terms of the treaty entered into by the two independent Legislatures in the Act amalgamating them, she must follow one of two courses. Either she must carry out the promise of Lord Castlereagh that taxation should be with regard to the measure of the relative abilities of the two countries to pay, and must adopt differential treatment and the remission of taxation—a policy which appears to me impossible—or she must endeavor to increase the taxable capacity of Ireland by the wise application of public money to the development and the more fruitful utilization of the natural resources of the country. One obvious source of supply for this most necessary purpose is in

RETRENCHMENT IN THE EXPENSES

of administration, and in the allocation to Irish purposes of the savings thus effected. That a great saving of expenditure can be effected is certain. The government in Ireland is carried on through a number of departments which do not represent, and are not in the remotest degree under the control of those who are governed. Year by year the expenditure proceeds at an extravagant rate, despite the protests of the Irish people, and in such circumstances it is surely unfair to taunt them with the fact that the balance of revenue available for Imperial purposes is very small. To insist on burdening Ireland with a system of government the most expensive in the world, the most irresponsible and the least reflective of the wishes of the people of the country; to refuse to allow public opinion to be brought to bear upon departmental administration, to deny the people the right to make economics, and to devote the proceeds to the needs of the people and the development of the country, appears to me a policy fatuous and irrational, and incompatible with the democratic spirit of the form of government under which we live. "Ireland should be governed according to Irish ideas," said Lord Dudley, the Lord Lieutenant and head of the Executive, and speaking as a member of the Government. Lord Londonderry, a member of the Government and of the Cabinet, acting in that capacity I do not exactly know, but, according to Mr. Moore, as the plenipotentiary for Ulster—

wisdom and justice of its views will surely prevail. Whatever may be the opinion of the Chief Secretary for Ireland as to the Irish Reform Association's programme, those who advocate some form of devolution are in complete agreement with him in believing that there is room for reform and improvement in the administration; but they have not been content to confine themselves to airy phrases which may mean nothing, but have handed themselves together to reduce their aspirations to practical shape. They, like Mr. Long, believe that law and order must be maintained in Ireland; they, like Mr. Long, have viewed with satisfaction and gratitude the development of Irish policy under the influence of Mr. Wyndham and Lord Dudley, and they, like Mr. Long, admit that the Unionist Government, if only by granting Ireland self-government in county affairs, and by passing the Land Act of 1903, has achieved more than any British Administration for many years past. The Irish Reform Association has no feeling of hostility towards the Unionist Party, but only one regret that they have taken their hands off the plough. They are proud of the foundations of a sounder Irish policy, which were securely laid a few years ago, and they look to the completion of the edifice by reforms that will set free large sums of money to be applied to the development of Ireland's resources, and that will ensure that Irish business will be adequately attended to.

In conclusion, Lord Dunraven enters a plea against the reduction of the Irish representation in Parliament. He says that in great Imperial questions, with which no Irish body with delegated powers would be competent to deal, Ireland is vitally concerned, and for that reason, looking at the matter solely from an Irish point of view, any arrangement depriving Ireland of representation at Westminster appears suicidal to him. In that representation, he says, lies Ireland's only safeguard.

A HARVEST DAY IN IRELAND.

(By Seumas MacManus, in Donahoe's for July.)

On a harvest morn in Ireland—the sort of harvest morn I like to recall—the white sun looks down upon a land variegated with a thousand shades; the sky is blue and spotless, and choiring larks deep in the peaceful blue are trilling their melody over moor and meadow, and gray hill. The burns are sounding joyously from under their blackthroats and hazel arching as they daily seaward; the cheery "click-click" is heard from the meadows where the mowers sharpen their scythes, the sound of blithe voices comes up the hillside, and a merry laugh rings out upon the clear air, now from this field, and anon from that. Gladness hums in one's veins on this bright harvest morning. The call to breakfast from the white-slipped callin', standing on the fence by the gable of the far house comes welcome over the waving fields. The mowster drops his scythe, and the shorer his sickle, and others cast from them rike and fork, and, whistling up a lively air, or chanting a merry song, trip houseward. Breakfast over, the girls, with rake on shoulder, sally forth as well as the boys and men, to do their share of the day's work, and the mingled music of cheery converse and ringing laughter that henceforth fills the fields lends pleasant wings to the day. Under the friendly shade of hat or kerchief, the girls' bright eyes downcast upon their work dance merry accompaniment to the quick repartees they, with professional ease, cast back in response to mischievous chaffing of the boys bent above their work. The grass that the girls turn in windrows fills the fields with fragrance. The tall meadow falls to the swith of the mower whose long drawn song sings cadence to the fallen flowers; the busy hum of the bee is frequent, and the silky corn-crake (who loves to hear himself) lifts his irritating voice, now here, now there, as if the rascal were ubiquitous.

Seek employment in energy, not in dalliance. Our worth is measured solely by what we do.

IRELAND'S REPRESENTATION.

T. P. O'Connor Calls Balfour's Scheme Audacity Inconceivable.

London, July 16.—Premier Balfour's redistribution scheme, if persevered in, promises to provoke the bitterest fight in the history of Ireland's long parliamentary quarrel with England. The scheme is avowedly framed to reduce Ireland's representation, while preserving in England's anomalies far worse than it is proposed to remove in Ireland. Ireland will lose twenty-two seats, all Nationalist. Indeed, the only ground for the Unionist demand for a redistribution is, if possible, to deprive the Nationalists of some of the parliamentary power they wield so ably.

T. P. O'Connor, asked to state his objections to the scheme, said: "My first objection to the scheme is that it is founded on no principle whatever, except to diminish Irish representation. A limit is arbitrarily fixed for counties so as not to interfere with English counties, and for boroughs so that about twenty-five English boroughs, noted as hotbeds of corruption and represented mainly by Unionists, just escape extinction. For this trick, the meanest and shabbiest ever attempted, to be perpetrated by England against Ireland, to be essayed by a moribund ministry and an utterly discredited leader like Balfour, makes its audacity almost inconceivable.

"The bitterest part of it all is that Ireland's decline in population, of which Balfour is taking advantage, is the direct result of the union and the British parliament's atrocious dealings with Ireland. Under the Act of Union the parliament of England guaranteed Ireland 103 members in the British parliament forever, and if Ireland had got its representation according to her population in 1800 she would have had 228 members, while, when the reform bill of 1858 was introduced, she would, if the same basis had been taken, have had 261 members.

"When in the 1858 debates the Irish members demanded an increase of Irish representation, the British government refused on the plea that the Act of Union, guaranteeing Ireland 103, was really a treaty which could not be abrogated without the consent of both parties. Yet now, when owing to England's infamous rule, the opportunity presents itself of reducing Irish representation by adopting a population basis, it is jumped at by the British Government despite the emphatic protests of the other party to the treaty."

Chairman Redmond raised a point of order on Balfour's resolution which Speaker Lovibond has taken three days to consider; if he decides in the affirmative on Mr. Balfour can only persevere with the scheme by having a special session in the autumn.

London, July 17.—On the Speaker, Mr. Lowther, agreeing to the contention of John Redmond, the Irish leader, that each clause of the redistribution of seats bill must be debated separately, Premier Balfour, in the House of Commons to-day, withdrew the bill, saying he would proceed with it at the next session of Parliament, adding:—"This course was taken, as His Majesty's Government is not prepared to concede so much time during the present session."

THE NATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

(Dublin Freeman's Journal.)

The report of the progress of the United Irish League for the last six months, which we elsewhere publish, is at once opportune and encouraging. It is not alone that a record has been established in the progress and prosperity of the organization, for a record may be established by a narrow margin. The growth and power of the organization, from whatever standpoint it may be regarded, are great beyond all comparison with any previous period since its establishment. The figures are tabulated in the report to make the results plain. It is hard to say whether the money test or the number test shows the

more gratifying and encouraging results. It might have been naturally anticipated that each succeeding year there would be less scope for the rapid expansion of the organization. But relatively and absolutely never was that expansion so rapid as in the six months from the 1st of January to the 23rd of June in the present year. By the money test we find that the affiliation fees for the period (£2250) show an increase of £461, or over 20 per cent, as compared with the same period the previous year. But the full meaning of that increase cannot be reckoned in pounds, shillings and pence. These figures show 152 new branches of the National Organization, representing approximately 15,200 new members. This wonderful development is wholly spontaneous. It represents a normal, not a forced, growth of the organization. It represents the people's enhanced appreciation of its value. The people have less and less need of any urging to join the League, as they realize more and more clearly its value. The report tells us that in this half year of phenomenal growth the staff of organizers is exactly half what it was during the corresponding half-year of 1904. Here, surely, are convincing and conclusive figures which cannot be blown away by declamation. In the teeth of such marvellous evidence of vital strength and progress, it is idle for any man to make the pretence, gratifying to the enemies of Ireland, that the United Irish League is weak and declining. These figures are, indeed, the best vindication of the National Directory and the National Party against the wild and whirling attacks to which they have been subjected. Every shilling subscribed, every member enrolled, affords cumulative testimony of the people's confidence in the Directory and the Party, whose policy is the same; for surely it is clear to all who will impartially consider the situation that the better the people are satisfied with the Party's policy the more likely they are to aid them with money and men in its support.

But if the factious and fractious objection be taken that these figures show the people's appreciation of the National organization, but not of the Party which is identified with the organization, another test, even more direct and crucial, stands out in the report. No one, we fancy, can deny that subscriptions direct to the Irish Party Fund constitute an argument in favor of the policy it pursues. That test is still more conclusive. During the period under consideration there has been £9,101 14s 6d. subscribed to the Parliamentary Fund alone from Ireland, Great Britain, United States and Canada, Australia and Africa. Here there is an increase of £4,560 3s. 8d., more than doubling the subscriptions of each of the countries mentioned, but relatively and absolutely is greatest from Ireland. In the first six months of 1904 Ireland subscribed £2160 18s 7d to the Parliamentary Fund. In the same six months of 1905 her subscription rose to £6021 7s. 1d., thus almost trebling itself in the latter period.

Here, surely, is strange proof of the deceptiveness which we are told by Mr. William O'Brien exists in the Irish Party and organization. The people of Ireland and their friends beyond the sea have a curious method of testifying their profound dissatisfaction with the policy which Mr. O'Brien condems. Experience proves that dissension in the National ranks kills financial support. The conclusion is satisfactory that the dissension is slight and negligible when financial support is thus rapidly on the increase. The country may be congratulated on its unity and unprecedented earnestness. The crusade that has been preached against the policy of the Party has wholly failed of effect. The policy of the Party plod and absolute independence of English political complications receives the enthusiastic support of the people. The opposition is confined to Cork City, and in the light of recent events, we might almost say that it is confined to a single dominating personality. It has proved wholly impotent to weaken the power or retard the growth of the National Organization. Never in the country's history was the Irish people better equipped or organized, more united or more earnest.

IRISH INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITION

Important Exhibit of Irish Handicraft to be Held in New York.

From September 18 to October 7, 1905, there will be open in Madison Square Garden, New York City, an Irish Industrial Exposition. It will be conducted by a corporation, organized for that specific purpose, and chartered under the laws of the State of New York. The Honorary Treasurer and custodian of all funds subscribed, or to be subscribed, is the Hon. Victor J. Dowling, Justice of the Supreme Court.

The new Republic-Hibernian Institute, that monument to the genius, the loyalty, the devotion and patriotism of the Irish race, the cornerstone of which will be laid on the same day the exposition opens, is to be the direct beneficiary. Every dollar over and above the actual cost of management will be added to the Building Fund of the Ancient Order of Hibernians and devoted to the completion of that structure.

At no time has there been so much interest awakened in the well-being of the Irish nation, social, industrial and intellectual, as is manifested at the present time. This is due in a very large measure to the all-conquering desire of the Irish people to better their condition, and give the lie to the many calumnies that have been so assiduously circulated to their detriment. The "Gaelic Revival" has been the potent agency in bringing about this result. Ireland has long depended upon the generosity of her exiled children, or sympathizers, for aid in her many difficulties. The time has now come, however, when something more lasting, more effectual, than the generous responses to the perennial call for charity, must be done if we could preserve the Irish Nation. The exhaustion resulting from heavy emigration must be dealt with, and to do that, it is felt that the people must be taught the value of the old Irish virtues of self-reliance and self-sustainment.

This, then is the moving thought which the Irish Industrial Exposition and Amusement Company brings into existence. Irish organizations in this country, as well as in Ireland, have felt that emigration should be stopped, and to successfully accomplish this, requires the rebuilding of the productive resources of Ireland, thus affording remunerative employment for her people.

We are aware that there is a woful want of knowledge as to Ireland's capacity in this direction. Many people incline to the belief that the country is unsuited to manufacturing purposes, whereas, no country in Europe offers such fine opportunities to the enterprising capitalist and manufacturer.

But, despite her many drawbacks, Ireland is doing much to aid herself, and, it is felt, that if a fair opportunity be given to display the evidence of her handicraft, great good will result.

It is intended that every line of Irish industrial endeavor will be represented at the forthcoming exposition. The Irish Industrial Exposition will, so far as the efforts of its projectors can contribute to bring it about, be as varied and complete an exhibit of Irish handicraft as it is possible to secure; and the amusement end of the exposition will also be as varied and high-class as it will be possible to make it.

The world is filled with men and women who are crying out against life, protesting against their burdens, and filling the air with lamentations and upbraiding of Providence, whose limitations are not for the moment to be compared with those under which Helen Keller labors. Her little book is a protest against the cowardice and weak egotism which permits men to look at the universe from the point of view of their own passing experience, and to declaim against the possibility of infinite wisdom of Infinite Love because at the moment they are passing through some painful phase of life, and rebelling against their suffering without the slightest comprehension of its possible issue in their spiritual development.—The Outlook.