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MONTREAL, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1906

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THE ELIMINATION OF IRELAND.

(Robt. Ellis Thompson, in N.Y. Freeman's Journal.)

The pious wish of the Englishman, that Ireland should be put under a hundred feet of salt water for twenty-four hours, was not a bad expression of the underlying feeling in the minds of English politicians. It is not so true of the Scotch, who never have acquired that sense of the all-sufficiency of their own country, and of their right to eliminate anything and anybody who came in its way. The Scotchman is deficient in sympathy, but not in intelligence or the desire to understand other people. Mr. Townsend, who edited the Friend of India for many years before becoming editor of the Spectator, says that no Englishman ever acquired such an influence over the natives of India as did the Scotch missionaries, especially Alexander Duff, because the Englishman never hears a native to the end of what he has to say, while the Scotch always do so. And to interrupt a Hindoo is about the same as slapping a European in the face.

So fewer of the Scotch would unite in the wish to have Ireland submerged, though probably Lord Rosebery would have no objection to that way out of the Irish difficulty. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman represent the better Scotch view of the matter, which the Welsh also share. English politicians generally would think Ireland a fine country if there were no Irish in it; and the plan of reducing it to that condition has emerged more than once in the course of English administration of Irish affairs. Elizabeth made a fine effort towards it, and Spenser gives us a glimpse of the approximate success in Munster. Cromwell tried it in his plan for the re-settlement of the country by which the natives were to be imprisoned and starved on the barren west coast. During the period when Manchesterism dominated English counsels the misery of Ireland was traced to the excessive population, and emigration was promoted (especially after the great famine) as the cure-all for the poverty of the people. The London Times probably uttered the thought which lay behind this policy when it talked of the day when a Celtic Irishman would be as rare on the banks of the Shannon or the Liffey as is a red Indian to-day on the banks of the Hudson.

The shallow Malthusianism of the Manchester school of economists has been put out of court first by the sardonic query of Carlyle why a horse should be an addition to the nation's wealth, while a man was a diminution of it? and then by the proofs advanced by Henry C. Carey and Herbert Spencer that a country's strength lies in its men, and its weakness in the loss of population. Nobody to-day talks such nonsense about population as was at one time an assumed truth among educated Englishmen, and was embodied in the policy of Cobden, Peel, Bright and the English statesmen of the early Victorian period. Ireland alone suffices to refute the nonsense. The welfare of the country declined instead of improving with the loss of its people. Every person who emigrated stood for a loss of \$500 on the average, which had been spent in feeding, training, and educating them for the enrichment of a foreign country.

The process still goes forward of eliminating the Irishman out of Ireland, and in the long run of eliminating Ireland out of British politics. The last returns show that while Ireland is a country deficient in women between eighteen and forty, as compared with any other part of Europe, yet the excess of births over deaths last year was 27,761; but that emigration carried off 30,676. This makes a net loss of 2915. The actual loss is far greater than these figures indicate, for 30,676 able-bodied young people, as the emigrants mostly are, have been replaced by 27,761 infants, who will be dependent upon the labor of others

for twelve years to come. Ireland grows more and more the country of the very young and the very old, as the last censuses show; and in spite of all the alleviations of the condition of the farming population by land-laws, the country grows less and less desirable as a field of labor to its own people. Nor is it made more so by a drain of \$15,338,000 from its wealth by the year's emigration.

Manifestly the English have a responsibility for Ireland, which they cannot shirk, but which they are unable to discharge. They are unable for more reasons than one, but one is that they take no real interest in the affairs of Ireland, as they take none in those of India. The House of Commons empties within five minutes after any measure relating to either country has been brought up for discussion. The average Englishman is simply bored by the duty of disposing of the fate of millions of people in the "dependencies" of the Empire; and when he is bored he gets out of the way as fast as possible. The only Irish measure which secures the attendance of a majority is the proposal to suspend the laws of Ireland and "proclaim" the country as a land of outlaws. Under such conditions it is the Englishman's palpable duty to hand over to the Irish people the government of their country and to give up the pretence of carrying it on.

That he must do so is the growing conviction of the civilized world. The right of every people to manage its own affairs is coming to be the first principle of political belief. Even China and Persia are caught by the conviction that the rule of a monarch and a body of officials appointed by him is not the ideal thing they once supposed and are moving toward constitutional government. The Czar lies under the world's censure for resisting the establishment of constitutional government in Russia; and Englishmen of all classes condemn in him just what they are doing in Ireland and India. The British colonies are expressing to the mother country that the time has come for her to give Ireland the self-government they wrested from her as the price of their continuance under her imperial rule. America has been of that mind for half a century and this is admitted even by our Anglo-maniacs of the Pilgrim Society.

Even the stupid party in England has reached the conclusion that "something must be done, you know!" but all parties seem to share the determination that the something shall be as small as possible, and that it shall be given as a "finality" to Ireland. The scheme of "Devolution" put forward by the London Chronicle is probably no more than a guess of an English editor, based upon fragments of information received from various quarters. It is not in accordance with the repeated declarations of the Liberal Party in its national gatherings that it stands by Mr. Gladstone's policy of Home Rule for Ireland, for it proposes to offer the country a mere fragment of what he planned. Practically it requires the Irish members of Parliament to meet in Dublin as the popular branch of an Irish Council, while an upper branch would be constituted of members chosen for larger constituencies and by voters who possess property. At the same time it debars this Irish Council from dealing at all with the most important Irish questions, and places out of their control the most important revenues of the island. Ireland is to be taxed at the rate of paying one-ninth of the revenue of the United Kingdom on property not much over one half of that fraction; and England is to have the spending of the money.

Of course there would be a certain gain from any arrangement which would give Ireland a national organ for the expression of the people's thoughts and wish if there were

only an elective head of the executive. Every advance to that result would put the people in a better position to demand its just rights. But the country is not in a condition to put up with the slow processes of carrying inch by inch the right to self-government. Unless Ireland is to die of depletion she must have a speedy remedy for her wrongs and a prompt relief of her miseries.

The fundamental defect in every plan the Liberals have put forward for the relief of Ireland has been the refusal to allow the Irish people, through their representatives, to deal with the fiscal policy of the country as freely as is done by the British Colonies. So far as I have seen, only Reynolds' Newspaper, the most radical of English journals, has suggested that Ireland should be free to enact such a tariff for herself as her judgment of her own interests calls for. Without that, Home Rule and Devolution would be of worth only as giving a means to demand that, and possibly to secure it. Without that Irish emigration must go on, for the population is still far too dense to live by the land alone; and those who have no land to live by must seek a home in some country which possesses manufactures. Without the process of reducing Ireland to insignificance, by driving out her people, emigration cannot be arrested. The day must come when—as Michael Munhall foresaw—Ireland will be as negligible a quantity as is the Isle of Man in the politics of the British Empire.

Blue Delft in Killarney

The sky that looked so smiling a few minutes ago, now clouded over, grey wrecks of mist trailed down the mountain sides, and the rain that washes the Kerry goats so white began to descend in torrents. We took shelter in a nearby cottage, where we were made welcome by a pleasant-faced, middle-aged woman. She lived here alone with her brother. Neither had ever married, and thereby hangs a tale, a pretty romance learned by chance and respected as a confidence, but which showed that the twin blossoms of love and self-sacrifice can bloom as luxuriantly in the poorest cabin as in the palaces of kings. The little cottage was clean, but oh, so poor and bare! An old-fashioned churn with a dasher stood in the corner—evidence that the art of butter-making was not unknown—a spinning-wheel and bundles of knitted socks spoke of thrift and industry. A dresser held some shining pieces of that blue delft whereon is recorded the wonderful Chinese love story. There is hardly a village, even in the remotest part of Europe, where you cannot find some pieces of this blue delft stored away. And here amid the Kerry hills were the familiar figures of the three stiff little Chinese generals on the bridge, the trees with the impossible fruit and foliage, the heathen-looking crew, where the beautiful princess is confined, and the two blue swallows on a white ground that brought the message to the prince. I am a little bit inclined to grow enthusiastic over delft, but our hostess listened with not only good nature but a polite interest, and merely remarked that "I seemed to be able to get more than porridge off that slat." That night, with the landlord's aid, we planned our trip for the following day. The trip embraced a variety of methods of locomotion—car, foot, horseback and boat—over the Kerry hills to the Gap of Dunloe, down the rough bridepaths of the Black River valley, boats at the head of the lake and home from Voss Castle by car.—Helen Hughes, in September Donahoe's.

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WAS THE POPE WRONG?

Much anti-clerical capital has been made out of an assertion, which has gone the rounds of the English press that Pope Leo XIII. tolerated in Germany what Pope Pius X. refuses to tolerate in France, viz., a new system of parochial organization. Some French writers even draw the conclusion that the present Pope dislikes the Republic and is attempting to embarrass it, so as to curry favor with Germany. That the Holy Father is very proud of German Catholics may be readily admitted, and the marks of his special regard for them are thoroughly well deserved. But that is very far from proving that the conditions of Catholic parochial organization in Germany which were tolerated by Pope Leo are at all identical or similar to those which Pope Pius refuses to tolerate in France. We can only speak to the facts, for we believe that the terms of the agreement is one that speaks for itself, and shows how completely different is the position in Germany from that offered to the Pope by France. Monsignor Touchet, Bishop of Orleans, has done well to publish the details of the German parochial system; nothing could help more to open the eyes of his countrymen to the real nature of the parochial system proposed by their own Government.

In the first place, the German parochial association has the parish priest as its chairman, ex officio, a very weighty matter, as one can imagine. Then, the Bishop of the diocese can revoke the association whenever he pleases. In the case of very small parishes, the Bishop has the right to dispense with an association altogether. When the members of the association neglect or refuse to carry out their duties, the Bishop can dissolve the association. The Bishop has the right to impress upon the association his views about their management of affairs. The association can receive and spend money for charitable and educational as well as religious purposes. The Bishop can dismiss any member of the association who, to his view, fails to act as he should. And at all times the Bishop exercises watchfulness over every important matter coming before the association, and only things of mere detail may be withdrawn from submission to his approval. And while thus completely recognizing the rights of the Bishop to rule his diocese, the German government recognizes the position of the clergy in the social order. Parish priests have a stipend of about £100 per annum, to which will come in addition other voluntary offerings from the Faithful. The Bishops have an annual salary of £1,200. Well may Monsignor Touchet, after reciting these statements, ask what similarity there is between the French Associations of Worship, which ignore the Bishops and priests, rob charitable and educational funds, and withdraw their salaries from the clergy, and the German parochial organization? There is none at all. In Germany the ministers of religion are treated as men whom the State approves, and whose works it admires. In France they are pariahs, robbed here, shackled there, and injured at every possible point. To those who say that the German parochial organization is like that proposed by the French Government the Bishop of Orleans cries, "Give us associations such as these German ones; the Pope will not refuse them!"

That is a plain challenge to the French Ministry. But it is a challenge which the Ministry will decline. They would decline it because the last idea they would dream of entertaining is that of doing anything to the advantage of the Church or of those who believe in her or her creed. The whole history of France since the fall of the Empire is one continual record of acts, covert or overt, against religion. And perhaps, too, the one lesson which the French Catholics have been so slow to learn is that they were in face of a determined effort to root out the Church from the land. But

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they are scarcely to be blamed for their failure to recognize that fact; it is a lesson which Catholics everywhere are slow to learn. They cannot conceive that modern states should desire to destroy the very foundations of all belief in the supernatural. They wonder what can have led any level-headed statesman to dislike the Pope, the hierarchy, the Church. Yet the proofs are so evident that anti-clericalism is a moving spirit in nearly every European Government that only a person willingly blinded can fail to note it. With the causes of existence growth and endurance of that spirit of hatred towards the ministers of revealed religion we are not concerned here. All we need to say is, there it stands, a power to be reckoned with. No concession satisfies it, no compromise stops its demands. It marches on from move to move, its appetite growing with what it feeds on. And it has become a question with upholders of religion whether they will not be wiser to meet the enemy now, and join battle with him before his forces are strengthened by fresh recruits. The Holy Father, viewing the position from on high, has in his discretion decided that the fight may come on now rather than later. He has told the French Government, in terms of unmistakable clearness, that he can yield no more to their insidious attacks on the frame of ecclesiastical authority. One after another the Vatican has seen grave difficulties created for the Church in France, and for the sake of peace has forbore to act. Now the list of concessions has ended. The demands of the French Government are of such a character that the very constitution of the Church is at stake. Strange to say, even English journals, and those by no means of an irreligious tone, advise the Pope to yield. That they should misunderstand the position from the Catholic point of view is pardonable; what is less pardonable is their failing to see that the Pope is fighting the battle not merely of the Church in particular but of Christianity in general. He is resisting the destruction of the spirit of religion in France, and those who know the influence of France upon the opinion of Europe will readily realize the effects upon Christianity as a whole of the lapse of that country for the country of Christian peoples. Nor must it be forgotten here that principles which underlie the Separation Law, and govern the clauses regarding the Associations of Worship, are not the end of a movement, but simply a stage in its progress. The spirit of hatred for all things that speak of religion is insatiable. And it is world-wide, too. The nationalism which alarmed our fathers in the renaissance times has been replaced by the more dangerous internationalism of these latter days. Europe has now become a small corner of the world, in which the various nations are as contiguous provinces peopled by men of different speech but of similar spirit, all eager for the emergence of that new ideal of social welfare which they believe will bring the millennium. It is for Catholics all over Europe to see to it that the millennium shall not be without God. And the Pope has done what he can to defend the sacred cause of religion in the country where it is threatened most. Who, remembering this, shall say that he has not done well?

Nothing Short of Complete Home Rule will be Accepted.

In a speech, delivered at Grange, Limerick, Mr. John Redmond, the leader of the Irish party in the house of Commons, referred to the importance and critical nature of the epoch opening for Ireland in the near future. He said that the Irish party had thought it good policy to give the ministers time to mature their plans. The Irish party and people had now forced an extraordinary political situation. The ministers, with two or three exceptions, were avowed home-rulers. He had been told on the highest authority that the government would introduce a bill next year dealing with self-government for Ireland, but he was also told that this home rule government would only introduce what was called administrative home rule. Mr. Redmond was anxious that the Irish people should understand that the Irish Party and he could have no responsibility whatever, direct or indirect, for the proposal of any such makeshift. Neither his colleagues nor he had been consulted. He heard of men being consulted, but he knew neither the leaders nor any representatives of Ireland who had been consulted. The Irish people declared that nothing short of a complete measure of Home Rule, that is, a parliament freely elected, with an executive responsible to it, could ever be accepted.

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