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Vol. LIV., No. 46

MONTREAL, THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1905.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

LORD DUNRAVEN'S BOOK.

The Association of Sir Antony MacDonnell and Mr. Wyndham.

Messrs. Chapman and Hall have published an interesting pamphlet by the Earl of Dunraven, President of the Irish Reform Association, entitled "The Crisis in Ireland: An Account of the Present Condition of Ireland, and Suggestions towards Reform." The opening chapters of the book are devoted to an exhaustive examination of the present state of Ireland and the prospects of its industrial future. "Ireland," says his Lordship, "is at a crisis in her history. Year by year the country has been sinking deeper and deeper in misfortune, and now it has reached the point at which it must be decided whether the downward tendency is to continue to the inevitable and most melancholy end, or whether a supreme effort shall be made to lift the country out of the national bankruptcy in man power, intelligence, and material prosperity which so immediately threatens it. Mr. Wyndham's great Act was the first step in the right direction. It has made all things possible, but alone it will not suffice."

"IRELAND IS SICK ALMOST TO DEATH."

After remarking that "owing to the internecine warfare which for many years has been one of the main occupations, if not recreations, of a majority of the people of Ireland, the attention of England and the world has been directed away from the cause of Ireland's distressful condition to the quarrels of parties as to the best remedies to be applied," Lord Dunraven proceeds to quote copious statistics dealing with population, lunacy, pauperism, etc., in Ireland. While the position of affairs revealed by these figures is, in the author's words, "deplorable," he points out that crime of all kinds in Ireland is diminishing, and there are no indications which justify the efforts being made by extreme partisans to blacken the reputation of their native land. Lord Dunraven then goes on to say "money is needed for the development of the country, but

MONEY WILL NOT REGENERATE IRELAND.

The people require education, and education in the literal sense. They must be drawn out of their despondency. One million saved by the efforts of the people and expended according to the wishes of the people would do more than treble the sum granted by Parliament and administered by independent departments. The self-respect begot by power, the self-control derived from duty, the confidence in self following upon successful effort, the hope springing from seeing the good results of a wise conduct of affairs—all this is wanting, and must be shaken out of apathy. Lifted out of despair, and though much may be done in minor directions, the real motive power can only be found in

SELF-GOVERNMENT.

in an active interest in the management of their own affairs." "One Parliament," says the writer in the closing words of his first chapter, "is my centre, its ultimate effective supremacy is my circumference, but emanating from that centre and within the circumscribing limit, I desire to see the largest possible freedom of action and self-governing power delegated to Ireland." In the second and third chapters Lord Dunraven deals with "Ireland's trade relations with England," and "Ireland's industrial future," and in the fourth he discusses the interesting topic of the

"GENESIS OF DEVOLUTION."

"The policy of the Irish Reform Association," his Lordship remarks, "is the outcome of the natural effect produced upon many minds by the actual situation in Ireland, and though it may have to pass through many vicissitudes it must most certainly prevail. Those who fight against reform in Ireland are engaged in a losing cause because the

necessity for reform is admitted, and because the evils now existing and calling for reform tend to become intensified day by day. For all practical purposes, Lord Dunraven points out, that the policy of Devolution originated in the memorandum signed by four members of the Land Conference Committee, and privately circulated on March 3rd, 1903. In his resume of the circumstances leading to the subsequent connection of Sir Antony MacDonnell and others in the question Lord Dunraven does not make any fresh disclosures, but he emphasizes more than once the fact that the movement did "not originate with anyone at Dublin Castle." His Lordship proceeded—"It was decided to take action without reference to Sir Antony MacDonnell or anyone outside the Land Conference Committee; but when the line of action had been decided on it was desirable to obtain information and facts in support of our views. I first spoke to Sir Antony MacDonnell on the subject on the 23rd or 27th of August, the day before the first report was adopted. I had no reason to think that his ideas ran on anything like parallel lines with ours. Indeed, I believed that his views took a different direction. Nevertheless he had information which was essential to the work of the Association, and without considering whether he was in agreement or not with the aims of the Association, his help was sought and readily given. Lord Dunraven proceeding to refer to the clamor for fuller particulars which was caused by the publication of the first report of the Association remarks: "I asked Sir Antony MacDonnell to assist me in drafting out the heads of a more elaborate scheme on the lines of that first report. Sir Antony MacDonnell very kindly consented to do so, and spent two days in Kerry with me on his way to stay with the Marquis of Lansdowne. We went thoroughly into the matter, and drew up a rough report. Having perfected this to the best of my ability, I sent it to Sir Antony MacDonnell in order that he might get a sufficient number of copies typewritten in Dublin to circulate among the Organizing Committee, as I had no means of doing so myself. This draft was considered by the Committee and amended considerably." Lord Dunraven adds—"The fact that Sir Antony MacDonnell was compelled to withdraw the valuable assistance he had given to the Irish Reform Association in supplying us with facts and information, otherwise not easily obtainable, will not in any way affect the future work of those with whom I am concerned." The concluding chapter entitled

"NECESSITY FOR REFORM"

says the aim at reform is in four directions (1) To create a truer conception of the needs and requirements of Ireland and of the duty of the Predominant Partner toward her, (2) to instil among Irishmen a truer conception of their duty towards each other and their common country, (3) the adoption of an honest, friendly attitude on the part of Ireland towards Great Britain, (4) for such reform in the system of government as will enable the people of Ireland to take an active and intelligent interest in financial administration and the management of their own affairs. They supported the Union, and because of that they wished to make the Union justify itself by results. By the Act of Union the two Legislatures were amalgamated. But amalgamation was not the result of natural unification, nor did it produce unification. Fundamental differences precluded fusion into one community. The Irish Reform Association was not satisfied with the present anomalous position of Ireland, but they were not in favor, therefore, of the Repeal of the Act of Union. Indeed, unless some change was made the Union would be undermined. Since the Legislative Union Ireland had not prospered. Decay was not due to the Union. The treat-

ty contemplated and stipulated for exceptional treatment for Ireland under exceptional circumstances. Such circumstances existed at the time of the Union, but had become intensified to a degree not dreamed of when the treaty was signed. No satisfaction had been given to that. On the contrary, Ireland had been deprived of the small modicum of relief she once enjoyed. The spirit of the Union had not been carried out. According to their capacity to bear taxation the inhabitants of Ireland were grievously overtaxed as compared with the people of Great Britain. The weight of taxation upon Ireland had increased enormously of late years without any counterbalancing increase in accumulated wealth, prosperity, or capacity to bear taxation. Free trade had been detrimental to Ireland. Ireland needed development. She was

LIVING BEYOND HER MEANS.

Remission of taxation might be good, but that Ireland should become able to bear taxation would be infinitely better. She wanted employment, and she needed money to develop the country. A little dole here and a little there was not sufficient. Ireland was entitled to claim that a larger comprehensive view should be taken of her condition. Ireland should be looked to as a poor corner of the estate to be made profitable by the wise development of resources and capabilities latent in it. What could be done by united action was proved by the Land Act of 1903, the greatest remedial measure ever passed for Ireland. Again, the present system of Irish government was peculiar, if not unique; the affairs of the country were administered by numerous Departments: Salaries formed a large item of Irish expenditure. In the votes for the current year three millions out of 4½ millions were for salaries and pensions. What was called "Castle government" was

A VERY BAD SORT OF BUREAUCRACY

for which Ireland paid dearly. Head for head, the government of Ireland cost more than the government of any civilized community on the face of the earth. The existing system of Private Bill procedure deprived Parliament of a great deal of local knowledge necessary to enable it to arrive at wise and just decisions, and being inconvenient, cumbersome and most expensive, frequently deterred municipal, commercial and industrial enterprises. In order to deal in Ireland with private bills they proposed to establish some authority, consisting of Irish representative peers, and members of Parliament for Irish constituencies, together with certain members of a financial council. The reform granted to Scotland should be granted to Ireland. They also proposed that certain legislative functions should devolve upon the same body. Bills might be referred to it as they were to Grand Committees. Bills in certain stages could be referred to it, or whole categories of bills. Such a body would be a subordinate law-making body. Such in a less degree were the Boards of Agriculture, County Councils, and railway companies. What was needed by Ireland was not feeding with a spoon by a capricious nurse, but the freedom to use her own limbs for the development of Ireland money was needed. It could be got by making the amount of money voted for Irish services go much further than now. Very large savings—say two or three millions—could be made now. In no country did government cost half as much as in Ireland. Law and justice costs three or four times as much as in Scotland, while the calendar of crime was less. The Irish Reform Association proposed a Financial Council under the Lord Lieutenant. All savings effected should be devoted to Irish purposes. The Council should PREPARE AND SUBMIT IRISH ESTIMATES TO PARLIAMENT, and the expenditure should be subject to the audit of the Auditor-General and to the Secretary of the Accounts Committee of the House of Commons. To sum up the ideal of the Irish Reform Association was: "To relieve the Imperial Parliament of a great mass of business to which it cannot possibly attend at present by delegating to an Irish body legislative functions in connection with Irish affairs."

2. To ensure that business peculiar to Ireland shall not be neglected as it is now, but shall be attended to by those who understand the needs and requirements of the country.

3. To apply local knowledge and experience to the financial administration of the country, and to ensure that all economies made shall be devoted to Ireland and expended in developing the resources of the country and satisfy the needs of the people.

C. R. DEVLIN AND THE IRISH POLICE.

The Irish newspapers contain long accounts of the recent incident of police prevention of Mr. C. R. Devlin, M.P., addressing his constituents. Mr. Devlin had come from Paris for the purpose, but when he reached Tuam and went to his bedroom in Guy's Hotel, the local Head Constable knocked at the door and served him with a copy of a proclamation, an act that greatly astonished Mr. Devlin, as he had only come to address a meeting of the people of the district on the forthcoming general election. He threw the proclamation out of the window.

Mr. Devlin and Mr. Thomas Higgins, J.P., President of the North Galway executive U.I.L., drove from Guy's Hotel to Dunmore at about 11 o'clock, and after last Mass there they at the head of the people of the town and district walked to Carrowkeel. On arriving at Carrowkeel they were met by a strong police force under the County Inspector, who ordered his men to block the road.

LEADERS OF '48.

Mr. Martin MacDermott, who died last week at Bristol, in his eighty-third year, was supposed to be the last survivor but one of the leaders of '48. The last survivors of the leaders of the Young Ireland Party is probably the venerable Dr. Kevin Izod O'Doherty, who left his home in the Antipodes to sit for a short time in the House of Commons in the Parliament of 1885-1886, when he voted for Mr. Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill, and shortly afterwards returned to Australia. The survival for upwards of half a century after the '48 insurrection of some of the leaders in that movement—like Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, Mr. MacDermott, and Dr. Kevin Izod O'Doherty—will recall to recollection the circumstances that some of the leaders in the insurrection of '98 lived for upwards of half a century after the close of that stirring period.

FISHING AND SHOOTING.

A new region, now accessible for the first time by rail, and known as the "Temagami" (pronounced Temmog-a-me) District, is being brought to the notice of the public as one of the finest fishing and hunting confines in Canada. Excellent sport is assured all who take advantage of a trip to this magnificent territory, which is situated 300 miles north of the city of Toronto at an altitude of 1000 feet above the sea. Black bass, speckled trout, lake trout, white-eyed pike and other species of fish are found here in abundance, and large game, such as moose, caribou and deer abound in the forests. A handsome booklet, profusely illustrated, giving all information, including comprehensive maps can be had free on application to G. T. Bell, G.P.A., G.T.Ry. System, Montreal.

PIUS P.P.

Mr. Redmond has also had two most cordial and satisfactory interviews with His Eminence Cardinal Merry del Val, Papal Secretary of State.

RECEPTION OF MR. JOHN REDMOND, M.P.—COMPLETE SYMPATHY WITH THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

Mr. John Redmond, M.P., who spent the Easter recess of Parliament in Italy, for the benefit of his health, which had suffered from the strain of his political duties, by special arrangement was received in private audience at the Vatican by His Holiness Pius X. Mr. Redmond was accompanied by Mrs. Redmond and Miss Delaney. The members of Mr. Redmond's party were introduced to His Holiness by the Marquis MacSwiney, who, it will be remembered, accompanied His Eminence Cardinal Vannutelli on his recent visit to Ireland. The Marquis MacSwiney is the Pope's private Chamberlain. This was Mr. Redmond's first interview with Pius X.

are organizing our people, making preparations, just as the English members are doing, for the general election which is approaching. I am here to-day—representing the Irish Parliamentary Party—for this and no other purpose. The statements contained in your proclamation that I am here to hold a meeting in order to make a breach of the peace, to cause terror and alarm, are false and wrong. Particularly, if your intentions were to have stopped this meeting, would it not have been more decent on your part to have advised me in Dublin, and not have allowed me to come up here, and then cover the whole country around with 400 constables in order to prevent the people meeting and the possibility of my addressing them?

County Inspector—My instructions are clear, and I cannot allow the meeting to proceed.

Mr. Devlin—Then my duty is clear. I must ask the people to refrain from any disturbance, and to give you no cause to do that which you are most anxious to do—namely, to strike them down. I go to Carrowkeel.

As Mr. Devlin finished his last words, the constables drew up in line and made it absolutely impossible to proceed.

Throughout this long statement the people cheered, and Mr. Thomas Higgins at once called the people together. He moved Mr. C. J. Kennedy into the chair.

At this stage six constables rushed at Mr. Higgins, caught him and threw him violently and bodily over a stone wall.

Mr. Kennedy had only uttered the word, "Follow-countrymen," when he was grabbed by the throat and thrown violently to the ground. Feeling ran very high, and a serious conflict was imminent.

Mr. Devlin again intervened, saying—Men of Galway, follow me to Dunmore, where I will hold the meetings. I implore you to have nothing to do with this sorry band of Irishmen, who have acted in an unwarranted and cowardly manner to-day.

The immense concourse of people formed into procession and marched to Dunmore, where they were joined by contingents who had arrived from other parts of the constituency. Numbers of police followed on foot, in cars and on bicycles. The whole country was alive with policemen, many of whom had spent the full night watching.

PIUS P.P.

Following up this whole-hearted commendation, His Holiness imparted the Pontifical benediction to all the members of the Irish Party and their families, and to Mr. Redmond his wife and children.

BEFORE PARTING THE POPE MADE A SPECIAL GIFT TO MR. REDMOND. IT CONSISTED OF A STRIKING PORTRAIT OF HIS HOLINESS, TO WHICH WAS ATTACHED THE FOLLOWING INSCRIPTION:

"To my Beloved Son, John Redmond, Leader of the Irish Party in the House of Commons, with a wish that he, together with his equally beloved colleagues, using all legal and peaceful means, may win that liberty which makes for the welfare of the Catholic Church and of the whole country, We impart Our Apostolic Benediction, with particular affection. From the Vatican, 27th April, 1905.

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