

# Shaving Brushes

We have a large new stock of lather brushes from the best makers. It includes a fine assortment of

## Rubberset

brushes which we highly recommend and guarantee them to give perfect satisfaction.

Shaving brushes. 15c to 2.50 each

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DRUGGIST



**Montague Black Fox Exchange**  
Correspondence Solicited  
**L. M. McKinnon, Manager**  
Montague, P. E. I.

### MARRIAGES

**INMAN-MACBACHERN.**—At Waterford, Nov. 19th, by the Rev. D. McLean, Mr. Fred C. Inman, Hamilton, to Miss Edith Blanche, daughter of Mr. Alex. MacBachern, Rice Point.

**CUDMORE-REEVES.**—At Mt. Herbert, Nov. 19th, by the Rev. D. MacLean, Mr. Henry Cudmore, Union Corner, to Miss Elizabeth E. Reeves, Free Town.

**MACLEOD-MACLEOD.**—At Waterford, Nov. 25th, by the Rev. D. MacLean, Mr. Angus MacLeod, Mermaid, to Mrs. Jessie MacLeod, of the same place.

**REPORT OF ILLNESS OF DUCHESS GIVEN EMPHATIC DENIAL.**

**OTTAWA, Nov. 25.**—“Absolutely incorrect. Her Royal Highness attended the investiture on Saturday and is very well, indeed.”

The foregoing official denial was made from Government House this morning, anent the rumor sent out from Ottawa last night to the effect that the Duchess of Comaught had again been stricken with illness.

**FOR THIS WEEK** only, prices will be reduced to clear as follows:—Onions 4c. lb., 10 lbs. for 35c.—try the 75 lb. bag 3c. lb. Canned peas—this year's stock, (choice) 3 cans for 25c., per doz. 95c. Cranberries—choice, 10c. qt., 6 qts. 54c. Cabbage, fine lot making kraut 60c. per 100 lbs. Asparagus per can 18c. J. J. Gay & Sons, City Market. 2844-11-25M51.

### CASTING THE LEADEN KEEL.

**GOSPORT, Eng., Nov. 26.**—The leaden keel of Lipton's challenger for the America Cup was cast today. It weighs 80 tons. Lipton was present.

## PILES

Do not suffer another day with itching, bleeding, swollen, painful Piles. No surgical operation required. Dr. Chase's Ointment will relieve you at once and as certainly cure you. In all cases, ask for it. Sold by all dealers, or Edmanson, Bates & Co., Limited, Toronto. Sample box free if you mention this paper and enclose 10-cent stamp to pay postage.

### MAIL CONTRACT



**SEALED TENDERS,** addressed to the Postmaster General, will be received at Ottawa until Noon, on Friday, the 9th January, 1914, for the conveyance of His Majesty's Mails, on a proposed Contract for four years, six times per week over Rural Mail route No. 2 from Vernon Bridge, P. E. Island, from the Post Master General's pleasure.

Printed notices containing further information as to conditions of proposed Contract may be seen and blank forms of Tenders may be obtained at the Post Office of Vernon Bridge, Uigg Lot 50, Orwell and at the office of the Post Office Inspector, JOHN F. WHEAR, Post Office Inspector, Charlottetown, Nov. 25th, 1913. 2896-11-27Mthurs31.

## THE GUARDIAN

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### DIARY OF EVENTS

TO-DAY.

City Magistrate's Court, 9 a. m.  
Football, Mic Macs v. St. Dunstan's, Victoria Park, 3 p. m.  
High Tea at St. Joseph's Convent, 5 p. m.  
Bowling match, Arena alleys, 7.30 p. m.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1913

## THE NEXT PHASE OF THE IRISH QUESTION

A THOROUGH EXAMINATION

MR. BONAR LAW AND THE PREMIER

WILL NEGOTIATION FOLLOW?

BASES OF DISCUSSION

THE RISK OF FAILURE AND ITS PENALTIES

(From London Observer.)

Now that negotiation of some sort seems certain, let us get rid of illusions with regard to it. Idle optimism could only lead to a languid effort, followed by bitter disappointment and the final catastrophe. Today, when the reasonable genius of English politics is asserting itself in Great Britain, we desire to put before our readers a thorough examination of the present state of the Irish question. In the first instance, remark a paradox as odd as it is dangerous. Fate is temperament. Apart from all the sins and crimes of English misgovernment in the past, and that more tragic necessity which made the Irish Protestants one of the indispensable instruments for the achievement of English freedom, Irish fate has been largely determined by Irish temperament.

Let no one imagine for a moment that the sadder significance of that fact has yet been exhausted. The Irish question in Ireland has not abated one jot of its gravity. It gets worse. We will even say that it is worse in one island because it is better in the other. To English ears this will seem an extraordinary assertion, but it is the simple fact. The Conventurers are not of the Scotch-Irish breed and Calvinistic temper for nothing; and the predominant partner does not yet seem to grasp the meaning of the fact that they have sworn and signed an oath that Home Rule in any shape and form shall never be forced on them. Their attitude towards the rest of Ireland now is that the Nationalists may "go to the devil their own way."

This is a grim and unpromising kind of concession, but there is a dour kind of reason in it. The Nationalists make no corresponding concession of any kind. They are in danger of treating the whole thing emotionally. They insist that they must have Ulster because, in spite of three centuries of intervening history and the actual facts, Celtic memory and sentiment make them want Ulster with all the passion of their souls. The Conventurers no longer claim to impose their will upon Nationalist Ireland. The Nationalists do most vehemently claim to impose their will upon Protestant Ulster. That is the great distinction which still threatens civil war, and will lead to it unless the predominant partner does at last what ought to have been done from the beginning, and takes control of the entire Irish situation in the larger interests of the United Kingdom as a whole.

Most Radicals, though not all, are deluded about Ireland because they substitute sympathetic acceptance of one side of the case for a serious consideration of both sides. They forget all their own principles; with ridicule, invective, threats and proclamation of the ultimate brute-force of the majority, they behave like Jingoists towards Ulster. Many Unionists, on the other hand, are acquiring a new sentimentalism about the Ireland of today, with whose external activities they are casually acquainted, but whose singular psychology they do not yet thoroughly know. The majority of persons in all British parties are simply bored with Ireland and imagine that at least they are soon and somehow going to be relieved from that obsession. Not yet—not by any means yet. All these, the Radical Jingoists the Unionist sentimentalists, and the indifferent mass, are about to learn again that Ireland is a peculiar place.

The Nationalists are working themselves up to another of the set ex-

tralist moods in which, when they cannot get practically all they want, they fling everything away. They threaten to throw the heave after the hatch. From their own point of view, they were mad to reject the Irish Councils Bill when their own leaders were secretly in favour of it, but were far from being strong enough to say so. Some of them went to the Convention prepared to make speeches for the Bill, but actually made speeches against it rather than face the ugly business of fighting down the fierce unreason of the crowd. If the extremists then were mad, they are now in the mood for something madder. They threaten to wreck Home Rule at the last moment, and the Government if they can rather than accept any measure excluding Ulster or any part of it. They demand that the Conventurers shall submit to what their oath binds them to resist.

But what the Conventurers have sworn they have sworn, and it is utterly futile to think that the stark temper of the North is going to be overcome by Nationalist insistence, urged with no matter what passion of sentiment. That is the problem with which British statesmanship has to grapple. To state plainly the formidable character of the difficulty is the first part of our thorough examination. The "reasonable genius" of British politics has not only to be shown in this matter; it has to be asserted.

We would not be misunderstood. Henceforward mere coercion leads nowhere in the Irish question. As Sir Edward Grey says, "once justice counter-violence." For three years, we have stood for a very sane and tolerant treatment of Irish affairs; we predicted the coming of the very situation which Unionists have now to face; and if they had listened to our advice in time the whole of British politics would have taken a very different and a far sounder course. We still maintain that negotiation for a real compromise, effected by equally solid and disagreeable concessions from both sides, is better than chaos and civil war, with all the further evils that must follow afterwards from an example of violence set to all the subversive forces in the country. But unless the present Irish domination of British affairs is put aside and the whole question is controlled, not by the temperament of Irish extremists, but by what we have called the reasonable genius of British politics at their best, we much fear that there will be no solution.

Let us see whether, if Home Rule negotiation is likely to succeed in spite of all, or to fail in a way showing exactly what we shall then have to fight about? We must consider the practical manner in which the problem will have to be tackled. In the first case there must be no delay. It is of the most urgent importance for all future purposes that the crisis in Protestant Ulster shall be eased. There, as in the beginnings of the American civil war, you have already the spectacle of good men getting out their guns. The democratic army being created there is none the less one because it wears its ordinary clothes at its drilling. Minds are hardening every day. Every suggestion that the Conventurers are not real men makes them more determined to prove fibre. Abuse and ridicule make it more impossible for them to retreat. Every speech by Mr. Redmond or Mr. Devlin deepens their antagonism to the Nationalists. The breach between the two sides is becoming an abyss. While Mr. Redmond denounces and Ministers deplore all proposals for the mechanical partition of Ireland, the moral partition of Ireland tends to become complete and irrevocable. If negotiation is to have a chance it must be opened with the least possible delay.

Mr. Bonar Law, in his great speech at Wallend, interpreted the Prime Minister's speech at Ladybank, invited Mr. Asquith to confirm clearly his apparent offer and declared the entire willingness of the Unionist leaders to join in "an interchange of views, free, frank and without prejudice." As Mr. Law said with admirable clearness there are only two practical ways of trying to avoid civil war. One way means negotiation. Since the Government refuses to take the first course, which would be by far the better, it must take the second.

But on what lines could discussion proceed? There would be two chief propositions. The Unionists would propose the total exclusion of six Ulster counties, including Tyrone and Fermanagh, or at least the Protestant parts of these debatable districts, if any clear line of demarcation can be drawn. Ministers would urge instead a system of "Home Rule within Home Rule." The latter idea ought to be discussed last. It was urged a few days ago by Sir Edward Grey in a speech of great clearness and admirable temper. The Foreign Secretary's idea is that the Ulstermen should have almost full administrative autonomy within their own area, including the control of the police, of provincial matters. If financial guarantees against undue taxation were in the last resort demanded they would doubtless be given. Now, what is the fair Unionist reply to this considerable proposition? Is it not an attempt to solve a moral problem by a mechanical arrangement?

We fear Sir Edward Grey has not yet got to the root of the Ulster question. It is an intense psychological issue which differentiates the colour of men's souls and the inmost nature of character. It divides religion from religion, race from race, memory from memory, aspiration from aspiration. As we have shown before, the whole meaning of that contrast is expressed by two flags and two anthems. Considering the origin and terms of "God Save

Ireland," how can it ever be sung by the Protestants of the North? To them "God Save the King," on the contrary, means all it does in Great Britain, and perhaps more? The green flag is everything to the Nationalists, and the thought of having to pay-eva formal honours to the Union Jack makes them intensely uncomfortable. The Union Jack is everything to Ulster. By "Home Rule within Home Rule" Sir Edward Grey is proposing a marriage with proper settlements for two persons, between whom there is already known to be about as complete an incompatibility of temper as could exist. The Foreign Secretary would doubtless suggest that every security for the Union Jack and for the English language would be added.

But does not this suggest a most elaborate, complicated, difficult arrangement certain to cause friction and disagreement on both sides? Does it not suggest that when two communities so distinct desire to go different ways they ought to be wholly free from each other? Any forced connection between them could only mean a handcuff attachment. Could the British Army be sent in to Ulster to put on the handcuffs in order that Dublin should exercise a partial control and claim a victory. And there is to be noted something more important than this.

The Ulstermen claim the same right as the Nationalists to decide their own fate and to live their own way of life. Ulster wants to remain under the Union Jack and in communion with Great Britain, as now. The Government has been taken and it solemnly binds the Conventurers to refuse to have any connection whatsoever with a Dublin Parliament. The strongest argument at the disposal of Ministers would enable them to point out that "Home Rule within Home Rule" might be applied to a larger area than could come under total exclusion. If there is to be any consultation between parties, Sir Edward Grey's formula must be fairly discussed, but we think there is not the remotest chance that this idea in itself can lead to a pacific settlement. The moral situation in Ireland has been changed too much for the worse during the last two years, and Ministers in the end will have to take grave account of the results.

Unionists would have to argue for the simpler course—total exclusion as the proper condition of settlement. It would mean, to begin with certain administrative difficulties, but these would be less complicated than the singular system of wheels within wheels implied by "Home Rule within Home Rule." Exclusion can be regarded by no thoughtful politician as anything better than the lesser evil in a choice of evils. It would be bad for Ireland. It would be painful for Ulster. But, in spite of these immediate disadvantages, it would afford far more hope for the future of Ireland. If any words of ours could carry weight with the more far-sighted men among the Nationalists, we would earnestly ask them to consider this point.

Total exclusion to begin with would not necessarily mean permanent exclusion. The self-respect of the North would be saved. The same moral condition for future good relations would be established that the South African War brought about between British and Boers. Many Unionists would work afterwards for the creation of a common Irish patriotism, real in itself, but modified by Ulster feeling into a thing as consistent as Scotch patriotism with the future interests of the United Kingdom as a whole and of the Empire. All the purposes of sober statesmanship in Dublin would be helped by the one great constructive aim of winning Ulster. Nothing but a process of that kind can make the unity of Ireland. Persuasion may create it. Force never can. The Nationalists on the other side of the question. They have never faced the problem in the North. They have never tried to win the confidence of Ulster. Exclusion would compel them to begin. It would put their minds through an invaluable course of political education.

Again, exclusion would imply an immense concession by Ulstermen and by Unionists at large. It would be however the terms of the present Bill were modified—Home Rule for the rest of Ireland. Unionists make no surrender of principle in that respect; but they deal with their problem practically. They would assent to much they think bad to avert worse. That not only means real compromise. It carries compromise so far that did Mr. Redmond's vote not rule the House of Commons, it is absolutely certain that the British parties would settle the matter on the principle of exclusion. There would be ready agreement over the four counties and contentions over the other two, Tyrone and Fermanagh. But there would be somehow an adjustment.

Finally, let it be carefully noted that exclusion could only be a temporary provision to avert civil war. It would be adopted if at all under terms compelling statesmanship to proceed to the creation of a real federal system of subordinate self-government for the United Kingdom as a whole; and as a consequence the reconstruction of the Imperial Parliament would have to be undertaken. Ulster a very few years hence would be far more likely to join the rest of Ireland under a general federal plan involving no humiliation of any community among the King's subjects. But a new constitutional system of that kind could only be established by consent as the rest of a formal conference and after very extended labours. We have very little doubt that a full conference on federation would be the necessary result of any intermediate arrangement for averting civil war by the exclusion of Ulster. In some important political quarters this is already regarded, we

imagine, as a statesmanlike scheme. Even the Nationalists would lend their support were they wise for their own country or had yet a real sense of common citizenship with the rest of the United Kingdom.

But the British genius for adjustment is met here by the fixed temper of Irish politics. The Conventurers declare that they cannot touch "Home Rule within Home Rule." The Nationalists declare that they would rather wreck the Home Rule Bill altogether than permit the exclusion of any part of Ulster. In these circumstances negotiation, though bound to be tried, might well be thought almost certain to fail. But what would be the consequence of failure? The Unionist party then could only press for an election upon the lines of the main argument powerfully developed by Mr. Bonar Law at Wallend. We ourselves hope that the Opposition, in the last resort, would stake all upon the attempt to force an election. The House of Lords in any case must cease to exist in its present shape and has no longer anything to lose.

By refusing a General Election, well before the passing of the Bill, Ministers would be inclined to contemplate. Would the country then support them in forcing Nationalist Home Rule upon those who do not want it? Not for a moment. It is certain now that coercion, when it came to the crisis, would mean not only the disruption of Parliament, but the disintegration of our whole military system. Chaos had no sooner come again than there would have to be an election after all. It would be held amid a state of feeling which would mean, we are convinced, an overwhelming victory for the Unionist Party. In any case, civil war, once broken out, would make the Irish question insoluble for this generation.

In spite of the difficulties which seem at first sight overwhelming, the British parties we perceive are almost compelled to seek a real agreement in the interest of the State as a whole. But this arrangement may have to be wider than they are at present inclined to contemplate. There must be hitches in the attempt to settle. There may even be another interval of violent conflict. But on the whole we think that the crisis will be resolved in one or two ways. The Nationalists may refuse a modified Bill altogether and lose a Parliamentary control, which in all probability they will never recover, and we assure Mr. Devlin that this course which he already threatens would finally damn Home Rule in the sight of the British people. Otherwise the situation ought to pass from information at negotiation to a full conference upon the whole question of Constitutional reconstruction; and from the temporary exclusion of Ulster to a true federal system for the United Kingdom as a whole. —The Observer.

### THE MASSACHUSETTS RANCH

Sir—The Massachusetts Silver Black Fox Company beg to announce through the columns of your paper the descent of our stock upon P. E. I., and all interested parties, that stock in our company necessary to take care of all investments has been sold. The company has no indebtedness, and sufficient money in the treasury to take care of all our running expenses until next fall. At that time we anticipate making a report to our stockholders that will please them. In one of the largest and best-equipped ranches ever built on P. E. Island, we have fifteen pairs of one, beauty Silver Black Foxes, with only \$210,000 of the capital stock issued.

We also want at this time to express the appreciation of the officers of our company to The Charlottetown Guardian for the many little courtesies extended to our company and its officers through the columns of your paper, as we realize that The Guardian was one of the strongest factors in assisting us in placing our stock on the market, and we take pleasure in recommending The Guardian to any promoters no matter whether an American or Provincial Company, for every Guardian that reaches an American subscriber, and there are thousands, falls into hands that know more or less about the industry, and if the advertiser will get results from an ad in your paper. Thanking you for your kindness, we are, etc.

MASS. SILVER BLACK FOX CO.,  
By A. L. Stark,  
President.

For breaking up a cold we heartily recommend Rexall Cold Tablets. It cures the cold, relieves the headaches and prevents constipation. Price 25c a box. The Macdonald Drug Co., Corner Great George and Kent Sts. Mt.

### RATHER FOOTBALL, GOLF AND TANGO THAN DEFENCE OF COUNTRY.

LONDON, November 26.—Premier Asquith yesterday received a deputation which proposed measures, such as increased pay and certain privileges, to attract men to the territorial army, which is 62,000 short. The voluntary system under which the territorials are recruited is considered by many persons to have been a failure from the beginning. Viscount Haldane, lord high chancellor, speaking in London last night, complained that young men were attracted by football, golf and, inter alia, by the tango, rather than by service in defense of their country.

### Where Money is Tight

Everybody suffers, when boots are tight your corn suffers, but they can be painlessly cured by Putnam's Corn Extractor. Guaranteed in all cases. Use only Putnam's, 25c. at all dealers.

# The BIG Fur Sale Claims Attention



Patons Cash Purchase of Furs will prove a great saving to the Christmas gift giver. We bought the manufacturers surplus of a large fur house at a price concession that makes it possible for you to save a substantial amount on your winter furs. We can't mention many items here for the sale is in process while this advertisement is being written, and the specific articles we might mention may be sold at any moment. Suffice it to say that whether it is a modest marmot muff that you want or a luxurious fur coat or elegant set you can save a good part of the regular price by attending this sale.

These furs are now on sale and consist of Black Fox (dyed) Silver Grey Fox, Dog, Wolf, Rat, Sable, Persian Lamb, Astrachan, and other desirable pieces, you will never again get a chance to buy from such a variety of New Quality prices at so great a saving. Come in and inspect these values—you will be more than surprised at the low price asked.

## Handsome Styles

These furs are now on sale and consist of Black Fox (dyed) Silver Grey Fox, Dog, Wolf, Rat, Sable, Persian Lamb, Astrachan, and other desirable pieces, you will never again get a chance to buy from such a variety of New Quality prices at so great a saving. Come in and inspect these values—you will be more than surprised at the low price asked.

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"My grandmother died at age 122"  
"I have all the insurance that I need,"  
"I think I will carry my own risk for a while."  
"I have no family physician, never consulted a doctor in my life."  
"My Fraternal Insurance is much cheaper and just as safe."  
Do you cheat yourself with these poor arguments? IF SO, you had better turn over a new leaf and let THE CANADA LIFE, take care of your responsibilities.

**W. K. Rogers,** K. S. ROGERS, Ch'own  
Provincial Manager R. B. ROGERS, S'aside  
Agents.

## The Carruthers' Silver Black Fox Co., Limited

Have yet \$10,000 of the Capital stock of the Company for sale.

This Company guarantees 40 per cent dividend for 1914. Four pairs of the very best Island-bred foxes are now in the ranch and if sufficient stock is sold within the next two weeks the incorporation will place a fifth pair of the same quality as the other few pairs in the ranch.

All cheques and money orders made payable to the secretary.

## J. D. McIntyre

Secretary Treasurer

Montague November 24th, 1914

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