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LONDON, SATURDAY, OCT. 9, 1920

THE IRISH CHAOS

The deplorable condition to which Ireland is being reduced, as a consequence of the evil seeds sowed eight years ago in its north-east corner, is being made daily more manifest.

We open the morning paper with a feeling akin to fear—the expectation that the murders, the reprisals, the incendiarism, the manifestations of extreme lawlessness on the part of the forces of the Crown, which have resulted in the loss of several lives and the wholesale burnings and wreckage of valuable property in places far apart, may be made to pale into insignificance before some new horror.

In a strikingly bold and statesman-like letter which the Bishop of Cork has addressed to the London Times, the genesis of all this misery is plainly revealed. If the British Government today is up against the chaos now prevailing in Ireland, to the British Government of 1912-14, which condoned the illegalities of Sir Edward Carson and his following, is the credit, or the odium, due.

English authorities of weight have had to acknowledge the Irishman's love for even-handed justice, as like authorities have shown that, want of impartiality has been the bane of England's governmental experiments in Ireland. Given fair play and the same all round, administering the constitution, "without fear, favor, or affection," there is no civilized man more amenable to the promptings of law and order than the native of Ireland. This fact has been admitted even by some of that country's most consistent enemies.

But when there is one law for the favored Governator of Ulster and quite a different code for the ostracized Catholic of the south or west, as has been the case so frequently—and has never, perhaps, been more glaringly the case than in the last few years—then the Irishman becomes a very ugly customer to handle.

This discrimination, in favor of the descendants of the Ulster Planters and against the native Irish, has been once again in open operation, since the days when the Ulster Provisional Government was set up and the Larne gun-running episode winked at under the very eyes of Dublin Castle.

The Right Rev. Dr. Cohanlan points this out with singular force in his trenchant indictment of the powers that be in his native land. He traces the present disorders, which every sane Irishman deprecates, back to their fountain head, and arraigns those responsible before the bar of public opinion. His Lordship asks for such an inquiry, an inquiry in which the people would have confidence, into recent happenings—the murder of Lord Mayor McCurtain of Cork, for instance—and states that such an inquiry would bring home to the police responsibility for that crime. Such an inquiry will not of course be instituted. The policy of the Government, as manifested in its recent performances toward Ireland, make that fact very plain.

The fires of sectarian strife, stirred up by the Government, or at least not suppressed by it, have burned fiercely in Belfast; and other northern centres have had their own sad experiences of a tragic nature.

This, His Lordship of Cork states, was just the result looked for by Sir Edward Carson's English Unionist

masters when that worthy became the instrument of these men's foul designs against the Irish national claim. "In last analysis the Carson campaign was an appeal to religious hatred and fanaticism."

The virtual civil war in Ulster, which has now resulted from this evil propaganda, is letting loose passions which cannot be easily mastered, and is having results of which no one can foresee the end. Should this sectarian strife overflow into other districts, Ireland would in all likelihood become such an inferno as no previous experience in her history would equal. It is the recognition of this great and daily increasing danger which has made so many converts to the Irish self-government idea amongst the Unionists of the South.

Mr. Lloyd George and his Government seem to take no heed of all this. Its ukase for the death of the present Lord Mayor of Cork has gone forth and neither Sovereign nor people seem able to deflect it from its policy of stubborn repression. And there is no Gladstone "to sound the alarm and to embark upon a new Middlemarch campaign to rouse Englishmen to a sense of the smash-up towards which their cherished Empire is being headed by the diminutive statesman now in charge of imperial affairs."

Such a deliverance as Bishop Cohanlan has made to them through the medium of their chief organ of opinion, may in some measure help to show them that the chaos which their procedure has induced in this country may recoil upon their own, and that the inevitable result of continuing to pursue a policy of wooden-headedness in regard to Ireland must be such disaster for their own country as no patriotic Englishman could envisage without alarm.

TORONTO AND THE IRISH SELF-DETERMINATION LEAGUE

The Orange element of Toronto, Canada's Belfast, has had many heart throbs during the last few months. Seumas MacManus openly championed Ireland's cause in their very midst. Archbishop Mannix dared to set foot on the Queen City's holy soil. But nothing has proven so galling to Orangemen as the fact that the Self-Determination for Ireland League of Canada has held a meeting, attended by over five hundred delegates, in their very stronghold, and this despite the proud boast of Mayor T. L. Church and his Orange abettors that no such assembly would be tolerated.

The members of the League are still enjoying the joke of how they outwitted the Orange mob and held their meeting before the loud-mouthed rabble were aware of the fact.

In connection with the refusal, which in reality amounted to nothing as far as practical results were concerned, of Mayor Church of Toronto to permit the holding of the Irish Self-Determination League convention in Toronto, the Quebec branch of the League has issued a statement from which we quote the following:

"So Toronto's Mayor Church has banned and barred the Irish convention that was to be held in that city of lost souls. Thanks, many thanks, from true Irish hearts all over Canada. That action of the mayor and of the monopolists of all the patriotism that exists in this country was to be expected. Not to deviate from its traditionally narrow and bigoted course would have surprised those who know best the weak mentality of Toronto's ultra-lipolists."

"Like the Belfast House brigands and looters of Catholic property, from whom most of these elite brethren trace their pedigree, we can expect nothing else but intolerance and injustice. Politically, religiously and seriously, Toronto stands out in bold and isolated pre-eminence for all that is despotic, hypocritical and autocratic. Let it go ahead in the even and unenviable tenor of its ways."

"But, after all, Toronto is not self-sustaining, though its egotism is. The friends of Ireland all through Canada can pay it back in divers unexpected ways. Some of us who have visited it for years have shaken the dust forever from our feet. We can boycott Toronto 100% more than Toronto can boycott us. We can and will boycott its banks and business houses, its financial concerns, its insurance companies, and its loud-mouthed fanatics who come among us to sell their cheap wares,

and try to pull the wool over our eyes when it suits their pockets.

"The golden stream that has flown for years from this and other provinces into Toronto may be diverted in part to other and more liberal cities. Where is the Canadian to be found who does not know that every measure for the uplift of Ireland, and for the winning back to her of her stolen heritage, and even we may add, for the liberties enjoyed by England and Scotland today, we ask where is the Canadian, if he knows anything about history, who can deny that all the legislation, whether it was emancipation, tenant right, land laws, the prohibiting of the flogging of soldiers—an act of Parliament which even Chamberlain credited entirely to Parnell—but which act the Canadian Army and Navy League show their ingratitude for forgetting—and finally the Home Rule Bill?—all these acts were stoutly opposed by the ignorant bigots of Toronto."

"History is there to prove that reactionaries and slackers they ever were are the same today, and doubtless they promise to remain so, forever on the wrong side, the side of their political slave masters, the old Tory jingoes of England. They are heart and soul with the 'Black and Tans,' whose jailbirds and hoodlums recruited from the London slums by the modern Aedipus Tyrannus MacCreedy, and his hyphenated Britishers, Hamar Greenwood, and Andrew Bonar Law.

"We wish them joy in out-Prussianizing the Prussians, their cousins—Germans—but we venture to predict that their day, of reckoning will come as it came to the Hohenzollerns. They are the grave-diggers of the British Empire—not the Sinn Feiners, whose sole aim and desire is to work out their own salvation without being pestered and persecuted with foreign interference.

"Free speech in Toronto is a dead issue—and these are the folks first to denounce other provinces who would dare 'gag' their own scheming politicians.

"The Toronto mayor's plea for objecting to the holding of our convention is a poor one; the trouble if any, would be all part and parcel of Toronto's own making."

THE CHURCH AND A NATIVE CLERGY

The keen desire of the Holy Father for a native clergy in every land may be discerned from a letter recently sent, by Cardinal Gasparri, Secretary of State, to Cardinal Van Rossum Prefect of the Propaganda.

From experience the Holy See knows the value of a common fatherland tongue and temperament in the relations of a missionary to those without the fold—hence the use to which the Church will put this factor.

We recently witnessed the expulsion of German and Austrian missionaries from extensive fields in Asia and Africa. What has happened to the Germans and Austrians, may, with the change of fortune, occur in the case of the missionaries of any other nation. What would be the position of British missionaries in India, for instance, should that country cease to be a dependency of the British Crown? There, the Church authorities are sparing no efforts to create an efficient native clergy, capable of coping with the situation, in the event of the enforced retirement of European clergy.

In his letter to Cardinal Van Rossum, Benedict XV, empowers the "Work of St. Peter the Apostle," Rome, to collect money everywhere in aid of the formation of a native clergy in every land. Its efforts will be controlled by Propaganda, and its list is headed by 50,000 lire from the Vatican. Up to this, the Holy Infancy not only gave an annual subsidy for the education in a seminary of a certain number of the most promising boys, but it zealously adopted as one of its branches the work so dear to the heart of the Holy Father.

However, with the publication of the "Maximum Illud" by the Holy Father last November the new crusade assumed proportions with which the Holy Infancy could not be expected to cope without detracting from the demands of its own special ends. For this reason then the work of St. Peter the Apostle has been placed at the head of the crusade so dear to the heart of Pope Benedict XV.

Needless to say, some decades of years must elapse before any of the "missionary countries" (those that may be called truly missionary coun-

tries) can dispense with European, American and Australian priests. But we are likely to see fewer missionaries going forth "under a flag" than we were accustomed to do. An example was set in this way a few months ago by the Maynooth Mission to China. I understand, when its score of young priests set out for the celestial land under no other sign than that of the Cross.

They read the signs of the times correctly. Priests going forth under a flag cannot always feel sure that the natives whom they wish to evangelize will not suspect politics may follow the newcomers. In the case of Protestant missions the evangelist was but too often followed by the trader and this one by the soldier.

BELGIUM, 1914. IRELAND, 1920. BY THE OBSERVER

When the Germans sacked Louvain and other Belgian cities and towns in 1914, they offered to a horrified world what they thought was an excuse. To their surprise, that excuse was not accepted. They said that they had been fired upon by individual Belgians, and not being able to ascertain who did it, they shot and burned all around the vicinity in terrorism, so that all might take warning and the sniping might cease.

The world was not disposed to accept the excuse. It remains to be seen whether the same excuse for exactly the same crime will be accepted now that the locus is in Ireland, and the excuse is offered by Sir Neville Maccreedy, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's army of occupation in that country. Balbriggan takes its place beside Louvain in the annals of military atrocity; and no Prussian officer ever spoke more caustically in defence of atrocity than Sir Neville Maccreedy has spoken of the murder and arson of the Black and Tan Police. Sir Neville tells us that he has no control over the police, and nothing to do with them except to give them necessary aid to do their duty. If that is so, it is a pity he was not content within the scope he thus outlines, and that he has seen fit to become their apologist.

Hetold the press correspondent that these reprisals were to be expected; that the courts are not available; that Inspector Burke was very popular with the police recruits; that there was no hope of getting the criminals by process of law; and that therefore the Black and Tans had come to sack the town; "so do justice to themselves," he says; and he says not a word in condemnation of the burning, sacking and destruction; and the terrorizing of women and little children. Evidently, that, to his mind, is the doing of justice.

It is not known whether anyone connected with the killing of Burke was included in the Black and Tans' vengeance. It is known that hundreds were made victims of that vengeance who had nothing whatever to do with the Burke case. It is just the repetition of the Prussian vengeance on whole communities for individual acts; and this time the stain is on England; and it is an English general, and not a Prussian, who is the apologist.

Holding the views thus expressed, Sir Neville, of course, deprecates the idea of punishing the Black and Tans; thus continuing the Prussian parallel; for, if their case can find a defender in His Majesty's Commander-in-Chief, it would indeed, as Sir Neville says, be "a delicate matter" to punish them.

I suppose there are some Canadians who swallow habitually any and every Anglo-Irish policy who have made a wry face over this latest dose. The dose itself might not be so hard to down, were it not that one swallows with it, necessarily, so many pious and eloquent protestations of only six years ago. There are, however, some Canadians to whom it is no surprise to see Prussianism in Ireland. Those are they who know something of the history of English rule in that country.

There is nothing new in police outrage on Irish communities. The exceptions in Ireland's long years of political misery, have been those periods when the police were not doing that sort of thing. As for the army of occupation, its record for two centuries is as red as the coats the soldiers used to wear.

Germany did not show the world any new devils in Belgium. There was not one crime she committed there that has not been done in Ireland a hundred times, and

defended by the highest officials of the State, up to and including Prime Ministers.

This is history; and no one is ignorant of it except those who have never taken the trouble to read it.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

IT WAS in keeping with his office and characteristic of the man that Cardinal Mercier should have declined to allow a monument to be erected in his honor. As announced in the secular press some time ago a subscription was set on foot for that purpose, but by the Cardinal's desire and direction this has now been diverted to the purpose of an allegorical monument to commemorate the heroism and suffering of the whole Belgian nation throughout the War.

A FUND HAS been inaugurated for the repair of the monument to Flora Macdonald, heroine of the Forty-Five, which was badly damaged in a recent violent storm. The story of this lady's chivalrous rescue of the fugitive Prince Charlie from the perils which beset him in those months of wandering after the fatal day of Culloden, will forever live in history as it surely does in Highland hearts. The cost of repairs is estimated at about £30. If any of our readers wish to participate their contributions may be sent to Mr. John MacNab, Clerk, Kilmuir Parish Council, Isle of Skye.

SAYS THE Manchester Guardian: "One of the most astonishing things about the World-War was the few men of genius of any kind whom it produced. On the military side probably Marshal Foch alone could be so described." History, however, may reckon that to have produced Marshal Foch was in itself a memorable thing. And great as were the Marshal's military achievements, he is himself greater still in his modesty and reserve in regard to them. The world has grown so unused to these qualities in her public men, as to have not yet grasped their significance in France's peerless soldier.

"THE PILGRIM" is the title of a new quarterly to be published by Longmans, Green & Co., the first issue of which is to appear in October. The aim of this periodical, as stated in the Prospectus (with a copy of which we have been favored by the publishers), is "to give expression to the growing conviction that in the historic Christian faith is to be found the one solution of the problems which beset the world." This is a good starting point, and of itself promises well, but with the chaos of ideas outside the Catholic Church as to what constitutes "historic Christian faith," and the undue prominence given to subjectivism in the religion of the day is by no means reassuring.

FOR EXAMPLE, we are told in the Prospectus that the "starting-point and home base" of the Pilgrim is the Church of England. Now the Church of England is in its way a venerable and historic institution, and, as contrasted with the negation of all belief in the supernatural, has, as Cardinal Newman once said, "doubtless been a serviceable break-water against errors more fundamental than its own." But from the start, and throughout its existence, the spirit of compromise in matters of belief has been its predominant characteristic, and "comprehensiveness" or the toleration of opposing beliefs, even in fundamentals, its very life. Such an institution, therefore, can hardly be said to possess qualifications as a leader and guide "back to the old paths." A certain parable about "the blind leading the blind" irresistibly suggests itself in this connection.

NEVERTHELESS, The Pilgrim, if wisely edited, and with a due regard to its own inevitable limitations, may do good. There is a school of thought in the Anglican church which steadfastly looks back to the Apostolic Age, which protests against the increasing laxity of belief and discipline in its own fold, and which aspires to a real re-union of Christendom. This is not that mere Ritualism which obtrudes itself so noisily upon public attention, and which too often is but a fad or fashion of the hour. It is rather that deeper undercurrent of serious belief and earnest piety which, fastening upon the "kernel" of the Gospel, usually issues in conversion to the Catholic Faith. Of such were the great Oxford converts of the last mid-cen-

tury, and the Bensons, the Rivingtons and the Kinsmans of our own day. If this school have any appreciable share in the councils of The Pilgrim, its aim may not be without realization. Meanwhile we note with interest that at least two Catholics, Father Plater, S. J., of Campion Hall, Oxford, and Baron P. Von Hugel, are among the prospective contributors.

10,000 REFUGEES FROM BELFAST

THE THIRD TERROR

I AM BEGINNING to wonder whether the public in Great Britain forms to itself any idea of what is happening in Ireland. It knows that there has been rioting in Belfast, causing hundreds of casualties and some thirty deaths. It knows also that the rioting has stopped. Does it realize that the towns in a ring about Belfast, so far south as Dundalk, are crowded up with refugees, who dare not return? But for the intervention of the troops there would probably not be a Catholic left in Belfast—the expulsion would have affected some 90,000 persons. As it is, there may perhaps not be more than ten thousand sufferers. There must, however, be at least that number because, according to the information which I receive from an organization of discharged soldiers, between 800 and 1,000 men who served in the War are among the expelled.

One would like soldiers especially to realize this, for there remains a certain solidarity of feeling among those who served. Nearly a thousand comrades of the great War—mostly men from the Tenth and Sixteenth Divisions—are driven out of home, out of employment, and out of both, simply because they are Catholics. One of them wrote to me because I had been his company commander. A picked man, both for courage and intelligence, he had served from the winter of 1915 to the end of the War, and had his full share of decorations, about which he spoke with a kind of bitter contempt. Is that wonderful? Another of my old company was killed in the first day of the attack on Catholics—and quite probably was killed fighting. Is it wonderful that he should have been fighting?

At all events, here are these survivors of the War thrown into misery and destitution by no fault of theirs. The Government, which in the first instance refused to allow out-of-work benefit to those so unemployed, has been forced and shamed by Mr. Devlin into altering its decision—a service for which I think every one who ever was a soldier owes Mr. Devlin thanks. But a fund is being raised, and will be sorely needed, and contributions can be made especially for the case of ex-Servicemen. Captain Harrison, M. C., who is not only secretary to the Irish Peace Conference but a leading personality in the Irish Nationalist Veterans' Association, can receive subscriptions at 13, Stephen's-green, Dublin.

HOSPITALITY UNDER DIFFICULTIES

HUMAN CHARITY in the North is taxed to the utmost, for sufferers on both sides—there are sufferers on both. In Catholic quarters also, Protestants have been driven out under threat of death. One such refugee, a doctor, went to the house of another doctor, who lived on a kind of borderland, and was consequently in receipt of threats from both sides. He had already two sets of refugees in the establishment—Catholic. But with the Protestant doctor came wife, children—and a servant. This Catholic girl, who in normal times had been rather less of a treasure than is usual, now under calamity blossomed into a ministering angel of efficiency and devotion, and announced her resolution to tie up her fortunes for ever with those of her Protestant employers. I ought to add, perhaps, that Catholic priest and Catholic bishop both intervened to protect this "citizen," well known and valued in his quarter. They were told to mind their own business. Protestant clergy have made public, and, I am sure, private appeals of the same sort with no better results. The ruffians have got into control on both sides. But ruffianism does not stop there. It is coming into control on the Government side as well.

POLICE OUTRAGES

RESPONSIBILITY for the consequences of civil war rests firstly, as I have said recently here, on those who started civil war; but for the other fact, which should be brought home to people in England, the Government is solely responsible, and is shirking responsibility. Under the name of police it has created a force of irregulars who are being used to stop crime against the police by committing other crimes in retaliation.

From the point of view of results, it is only necessary to read the morning paper in order to be convinced that the frequency of crime is increasing—including crime against the police. But only a knowledge of the country can make one realize how widely extended is the destruction of property. Government talked about industrial reconversion and about house building—but has done nothing. What it has done through its agents has been to destroy creameries and business premises and to burn houses.

THE "BLACK AND TANS"

MR. BONAR LAW gave as his chief reason for refusing to liberate the Lord Mayor of Cork that if he were let go the police force would disband itself. This to the English public is impressive. An Irishman asks first, Of what service is the police force at present to Ireland? His answer to that will be: "Of none." He asks secondly, "Which police force are you talking of? The 'old police' or the 'Black and Tans'?" It is not realized in England, I doubt if it is realized even by the Prime Minister, that you have in Ireland two categories of police—differing even in uniform. The old police have been trained as policemen, of a special type, though for long months they have been living and working under conditions which are neither those of a police force nor of a regular soldier. The "Black and Tans" are the new recruits from England, who have no police training and who come over here to act in a special capacity—that of irregular troops attached to a regular army. They are essentially part of the military machine—of the machine for holding Ireland by force; but they are not under the control of the Commander-in-Chief.

This is a very important matter, and one should be quite plain about it. The police force does not get its orders from General Maccreedy, nor is he responsible for its discipline. Theoretically, it is under the control of the civilian power in Dublin Castle.

These men are recruited from among the ex-soldiers who have not got back to civilian life. They include, I am sure, many of high character; the best and steadiest man I ever knew in the ranks offered himself for this service. But I am equally sure that they include a number of "hard cases." It is a grave thing to loose a body of such men on a country and let them get out of hand.

THE FIGHT AT GALWAY

TAKE TODAY'S news. On Wednesday night, in Galway, when the train with the evening papers arrived just before midnight, there was a fight. There was no possibility of reconciling the official report published on Thursday with that which is given on the Dublin Unionist press—except as to this, that an English constable, one of the Black and Tans, and a civilian were shot dead. The official report goes on to say that there were no reprisals by the police. According to the civilian account, about two o'clock in the morning bodies of police burst into three houses and took out a man from each. Two were shot dead. The third saved himself, when stood up against a door, by falling down at the word "Fire," and shunning death. One of the houses visited was set in flames. A Sinn Fein newspaper office was broken up. According to the civilian account, the shooting at the railway station was begun by the constable.

At all events, here is a test case. It does not concern the military. Sir Hamar Greenwood is directly and publicly responsible. What is he going to do about it? But occurrences like this explain why, for instance, Sir Algernon Coote has resigned his position as His Majesty's Lieutenant in Queen's County, and Dr. Cox, a very distinguished physician, his privy councillorship—Manchester Guardian.

BELFAST TERRORISM

To Editor of Derry Journal: Sir—On Wednesday, September 1st, the Belfast Evening Telegraph, in its leading article, commenting on the sanctious conduct of the bad Sinn Feiners attacking the poor harmless Islandmen going to their work said—"The military will not out the snipers thoroughly, as they are bound to do, it having become plain what the game is. The authorities will doubtless have realised that there are certain well-defined zones that are danger spots for workers going about their lawful business. These should be thoroughly dominated, even should it be necessary to clear out the inhabitants to do so." Just think of it. The vile Popish idolaters must be cleared out of houses and homes because they dared to retaliate on the cowardly, callous skunks who drove them from their employment. The Orange rag has not a single word to say against the merciless fiends who set over 600 Catholic shops on fire during the "Mad Month." Talk about the "Massacre of Glencoe." Why, it has been paralleled a dozen times in this "City of Blood." I will give you the name of the "intelligence" of many of Carson's "guile." Just imagine them burning two wretched hens alive, because, they said, "they were Papists." Then the lovers of the Bible (on a wooden pole) rushed tumultuously into the house to look for a Popish Pomeranian dog. But, alas, it was gone. Some sane person had taken the poor animal away. No wonder they want schools built at the Catholics' expense. They are required, honestly, to would pay the Nationalists to build them for the savages. Again, in the Woodstock Road, the "Apaches" attacked a Catholic house, and proceeded to loot it, as usual. In the parlor window there was a canary in a cage. One cowardly, mean lad got a hold of the poor bird, tore its head off its body, saying, "You are a Sinn Fein." In Coates Street, about a dozen fiends caught a poor Catholic mill girl, brought