The Catholic Record Price of Subscription \$1.50 per annum. Unit.: States & Europe \$2.00 Rev. James T. Foley, B. A. Thomas Coffey, LL, D. Assetate Editors { Rev. F. J. O'Sullivan. H. F. Mackintosh.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, DEC. 8, 1917

LORD LANSDOWNE. THE POPE AND PEACE

The cable has just informed us that the Marquis of Lansdowne has published a long letter in which he nrges the revision of the Allies war aims and that an attempt be made to secure peace before "the prolongation of the War leads to the ruin of the civilized world." He further asks: "What will be the value of the blessings of peace to nations so exhausted that they can scarcely stretch forth a hand to grasp them." Mirabile dictu!!

The noble Marquis might have word for word, letter for letter, the great, dominant, overwhelming reason therein set forth by the Holy Father for that appeal which a Protestant has called his "Christ-like plea for the bleeding peoples of all the warring nations."

But not all Protestants have so characterized the Pope's Peace Note. We had grown accustomed to the charge that the Pope was only the catspaw of the Emperor of Austria, more recently that the "Roman Hierarchy," who are the agents of the Pope, are everywhere actively must obey the hierarchy. So there of the fruits of victory. "This that cut the cord that tied the bag that held the malt that lay in the house that Jack built." The fact that the Roman Hierarchy inhouse-that-Jack-built lesson, and it be growing very real in England. takes the place of intelligent conclusions from easily ascertained facts.

And now the Marquis of Lansdowne is in absolute agreement with the Pope on the necessity for peace riotic statesman who has the courto save civilization. If he were only a Catholic he would fit right in with the house-that-Jack-built theory. But he is not : far from it. He is in the forefront of those "who would wreck the Empire rather than give up their (Protestant) Ascendancy in Ireland." He was their spokesman in the Government's shameless breach of faith which wrecked Irish settlement a year ago last July. No. Lord Lansdowne is not a?Catholic. and we fear that he will be a stumbling-block and a rock of offence to all the glib little bigots who are now saying their little piece about patriotism and popery. He doesn't fit at all in the house-that-Jack-built story of Protestant patriotism and Catholic perfidy.

"His letter," the cable tells us, Wilson's policy of a league of nations.'

And so also did the Pope's Note. Again:

"Lord Lansdowne contends that an given to the peace party in Germany it were understood. First, that the annihilation of Germany as a great power was not desired; second, the German people a form of government against their choice; third, that, except as a legitimate war measure, we do not desire to deny to Germany her place among the great commercial countries; fourth, that we are prepared after the War, in with the other powers, to examine the international proble connected with the freedom of the up.

seas; fifth, that we are prepared to under which ample opportunities ould be afforded for the settlement of international disputes by peaceful

Each and every one of these points was advocated by the Holy Father in his Letter except the second, which was urged in express terms by the Cardinal Secretary of State in an authentic interview given to the press after President Wilson's Reply.

The fourth, concerning the freedom of the seas, although it had already been brought into question by President Wilson, drew down on the head of the Holy Father opprobrium unlimited. It was meaningless. It was a parrot repetition of the German cant phrase, and proof positive that the Pope was inspired by the Kaiser.

Now this question, the mention of which by the Pope aroused such indignation and was dismissed with such scorn, is deliberately proposed by Lord Lansdowne as one which England should declare her willingness to discuss.

Wonderful!

We shall never get back to the house that Jack built.

The despatch very justly adds:

"Lansdowne's long and intimate connection with foreign affairs and diplomacy lends unusual authority to such a pronouncement at the moment of the meeting of the interallied conference at Paris and be cause of Clemenceau's recent declar ation against a league of nations in cluding Germany.

Yes, the fact that Lord Lans

downe was for years Foreign Secretary, that even during the War he was recalled to assist Sir Edward (now Viscount) Grey in the Foreign office, gives to his pronouncement trequoted from the Pope's Peace Note, mendous importance, and, it may be, a significance deeper than is yet suspected. No other man in English public life except Mr. Balfour and, perhaps, Viscount Grey could give to this statement the importance and the significance which attach to it as coming from Lord Lansdowne. Another man might conceivably have blundered on such a time for such a pronouncement. It is quite inconceivable that one so deeply versed in foreign affairs could have chosen who is the tool of the Kaiser. And otherwise than deliberately the moment of the inter-Allied Conference and the Russo German peace negotiations. Out of the question promoting the "German Peace also is the thought that the ex For-Drive." And Catholics everywhere eign Minister did not realize the full bearing of the publication of his you are. Papists are trying to rob us momentous letter at this time. It may be true, as the cable says, that the is the cat that killed the rat Government had no previous knowledge of the letter, and that it is unwelcome to the Government. If so it indicates that the peace party in England is far and away stronger clude Cardinal Mercier, Cardinal than we on this side of the ocean Amette, Cardinal Bourne, Cardinal were given to understand. It may be Gibbons, and countless others whose that Lansdowne is again the spokespatriotism stands out in relief even man of his class, that class which has against the most patriotic of back. more in common with the Junkers of grounds makes no difference at all Prussia than with the proletariat of to those obsessed by the no-Popery Britain. In that case the menace of demon. They have learned their the coming social revolution must

> Or it may be that the Daily News is right and that the old aristocrat, whatever his prejudices of class or party, is in this the humane and patage to face facts squarely.

The Daily News says: "The letter is as conspicuous for its courage as for its largeness and sanity of vision. He does immeasurable service humanity in setting before all the nations the duty of a will to

"The way to which Lord Lansdowne points, to which President Wilson has pointed and which Asquith, Balfour, Von Bethmann-Holl weg, Czernin, Briand and Smuts have approved, is a way to restore to the shattered world the security and stability of peace.'

Many papers denounce the letter, and Bonar Law has characterized it as "a disaster." "On the other hand," the despatch says, "the Asquith papers hail the letter as one of the most remarkable documents of the

At this writing (Nov. 30) that is all gives formal adhesion to President that has reached us. Before the RECORD reaches its readers many developments will certainly have taken place. Whatever these may be one desirable result will ensue. The pitiable prejudice hitherto immense stimulus would probably be displayed in discussing the question of peace will have received a rude jolt, and the anti-Catholic superstition will need the careful attention that we do not seek to impose upon of those patriotic gentlemen, reverend and otherwise, who dry-nurse it so assiduously.

Since the above was written the morning papers contain further confirmation of the stupendous significance of the Lansdowne Letter and the vast possibilities thereby opened

The despatches read in part :

" Although at present the attacks against the Marquis of Lansdowne are mostly vocal, there appears to be a considerable body of Liberal and much interest is being exhibited in what the press of the United States has to say on the subject. There also is a deal of curiosity what support the Mar quis of Lansdowne may have had among the political leaders, it being believed that he was not likely to publish such an appeal without some acquiescence. According to reviewers, Earl Loreburn, Lord High Chancellor, and the Earl of Roseberry were consulted before the letter was given to the press. The Weekly Nation expresses the opinion that the war policy of Viscount Grev, former Foreign Secretary, is identical with the Marquis of sdowne's views.

"An interesting point of view of some of the political discussions bearing on the letter is that it points possible alternative Government and policy to that of the exist-

ing Government. Bonar Law intimated that should the Marquis of Lansdowne's letter stimulate the pacifist movement to the point of the Government losing support for needful war measures, there would be only one alternative for the Government. The Manchester Guardian de

clares the country has suffered too long from timid reluctance to face the facts and declare a precise purpose and policy of things wanted and not wanted. This is no sign of courage or

statesmanship," it continues. diplomacy.'

AN ENGLISH VIEW OF THE IRISH CONVENTION

The proceedings of the Irish Con-Conferences which led to Canadian a brief official communication indientirely ignored. "Nevertheless," sarily familiar with the broad outlines of what is going on, with the tion. progress made, if any, and with the from week to week."

He continues :

"Visualize the convention. Political and religious opponents, divided by the most ferocious mutual hostil ity, are sitting and talking amicably together in one room. Many of them had over and over again declined to even meet each other; but they are sitting talking together in one room. They were separated by profound, desperate opposing convictions; but they are sitting talking together in room. Many had proclaimed that any compromise between the two parties was utterly inconceivable : but they are sitting talking together in one room.

'They have been doing so for months and nobody has yet assassinated anybody, nobody has walked out of the assembly in disgust crying that it was a shame and a farce.

They are in the main people of public position and reputation. are people with responsibilities, people whose time is valuable. They are not professional comedians nor plete idiots, why do they continue to meet and talk?'

The conclusion is obvious, requiring neither statement, comment nor emphasis. The prolonged discussion were otherwsse the delegates would cease to sit in conference.

Mr. Bennet very confidently asserts that it can safely be asserted that,

" The convention will not propose that Ireland should become an independent sovereign power. not propose that Ireland should be divided.

"The third and only remaining solution is that Ireland should be united under some Dominion scheme of selfgovernment."

We know as a matter of fact, from the official announcements that Dominion Self-Government is the solution to which the delegates have for a long time devoted almost

exclusive consideration. The English journalist then takes up the " major outstanding difficulties in devising such a scheme.'

First, he deals with representation. Unlike our good friend Mr. Harper Wade, of Quebec, who with great good will has given much thought to this subject and has urged his view that equal representation is a condition sine qua non, his fellow countryman, Mr. Bennett thinks that this subject will offer no insuperable difficulties He seems to think that any temporary arrangement might be agreed to, With this explicit condition Mr. Wade's scheme might meet with

Regarding the next rock on which the project might founder we shall give Arnold Bennett's own words

acceptance.

It is a subject the mention of which would have been scouted a few brief years ago. Its serious discussion now helps one to realize the startling progress made on the way of real and effective self-government for Ireland :

"The second is the military difficulty. Shall the Irish Government have control over the military force? This point has not embroiled the Dominions and I do not see why it should cause grave trouble in Ireland. If Ireland unitedly wants to control a military force Great Britain could not be seriously alarmed, because in the actual use of such a force the two parties would tend to neutralize one another. If, on the other hand, the two parties at first disagree as to the desirability of controlling a military force, the party which wanted the force would probably in the end yield to the other party. Why should it not, seeing that the other party would have no advantage over it?"

We quite agree that the third and last major difficulty is the most important.

"The third and to my mind the greatest difficulty is the fiscal difficulty. Shall Ireland have complete, absolute fiscal autonomy, naturally with the right to impose tariffs against any community beyond her own coasts, or shall she not? I am of the opinion that this difficulty will not be too much for the Conven

'Real or supposed financial advantage is at the bottom of it and even It is | if one party is primarily interested obfuscation of stale and faltering in finance—which I somewhat doubt diplomacy." which is not would give way."

This is the crux of the whole problem. Without control of fiscal policy self-government is a farce. Domin ion Government without local fiscal vention, like the discussions of the control would never have retained Canada within the Empire. Years Confederation, are secret. Save for ago Mr. John MacNeill, speaking on the subject of Home Rule before a cating in the most general terms the great meeting in Dublin, said: "I am subjects discussed the press is convinced that whatever they hold back from us will become a thorn in writes Mr. Arnold Bennett in the the flesh to them rather than to us." Now York World, "a considerable There is a profound truth in the number of outside people are neces- apparent paradox, a truth which has since received convincing demonstra

Mr. Bennett then takes up the general temper of the Convention chances of extremists wrecking the scheme which the Convention evolves. It must be ratified by the people.

"The extremists on both sides are admittedly a source of danger. But what would be the real power of extremists who opposed a Convention settlement? What would be the real power of Mr. De Valera and his colleagues? At present they have taken a splendid ideal, that of self-government, and, relying on a population justly irritated against England, they have pushed it beyond the limits of

"Beyond the limits of reason That great and good old Irish patriot Cardinal Logue, in the evening of a life devoted with singleness of mind and heart to God and to Ireland, agrees unreservedly with the English

Mr. Bennett disagrees emphatically with those who believe that bellion. Irish settlement will be thwarted by army for the avowed, deliberate purthe irreconcilable extremists of both pose of defying the British Parliacomplete idiots. But unless they the irreconcilable extremists of both are professional comedians or comsides. And remember that this Englishman studied the problem at first hand in Ireland.

"My strong impression is that Ireland is just as sick as England is of the Irish question, that the mass is big with hope. If the outlook of the people on both sides now are too reasonably minded to commit such an outrage against common ense as the rejection of any convention scheme, and that no mere electioneering tactics of the extremists could defeat the secret desires of the mass of the people on a crucial issue if the issue is unobscured. The issue could only be obscured with the consent of the Cabinet of the United Kingdom which-unless the Cabinet is finally and definitely unable to learn from the bitter experience of history-would take care to eliminate the risks by having an election held here."

The English journalist is a shrewd observer :

"They talk tremendously, but all oppressed peoples talk tremendously, nd the English, not the Irish, attach far too much importance to talking

If the English attach too much importance to "talking in Ireland," the Canadian press simply loses its head altogether in spite of the fact that, without any oppression to excuse it, we do some "talking" in Canada also.

Mr. Bennett continues: "I do not think that 10% of the Sinn Feiners care two pence about sovereignty. If they saw the immediate prospect of Home Rule by consent and their leaders told them not to consent, I think that the bottom reviewable after a term of years. would instantly drop out of the official Sinn Fein movement. For a hardworking small farmer or trades man or artisan there is no fun in rebellions, and there is so much loss

and unpleasantness.
"Ireland has had one grievance-

over thirty years after one of the greatest English statesmen formally proposed it. The official Sinn Feiners have artificially added to this grievance another one—the denial of sovereign power. But this other grievance is new to the bulk of the nation and has never really laid hold of its imagination. It could not possibly survive the removal of the original grievance, it would expire of its own absurdity.'

Sinn Fein is not a revolutionary society; it is rather at present, and so far as the multitude is concerned, a wave of sentiment or emotion, a natural and highly commendable feeling of resentment, a revulsion from Constitutional methods made farcical by the Unionists of England as well as of Ireland. The Irish people have had the old lesson insolently driven home again. "You will get nothing from the Englishman by rubbing him down," as Dr. Johnson puts it, "rub him up, sir, rub him up."

Though the political game may be fraught with danger as Cardinal Logue apprehends, it is reasonably certain that many who lend it countenance regard Sinn Fein as the best way to attain a satisfactory measure of self-government. Amongst the Northern extremists

Mr. Bennett found extremists indeed. "Ulster" does its full share of the 'talking" in Ireland-and then some.

Yet this student of the Irish situation says:

"Further inquiries showed me that these people were by no means representative even of Unionist Ulster which, by the way, is not more than half Ulster. And after all I had emerged from beneath their hammering dizzy, but sound in wind and limb.

My firm belief is that if the Convention reaches a settlement the majority of the Ulster Unionists will make their representatives look silly by going back on them.

'It is to be remembered that just as the convention is gradually educating its members, so each member is gradually educating his entourage at ome. Every sitting of the Convention weakens the influence of the

And Sinn Fein is educating the Covenanters who by the way have ipso facto abandoned the Covenant the street or at public meetings. humanity which go far to offset the by participating in the Convention.

Mr. Bennett emphasizes an extraordinarily important consideration with regard to the extremists of Ulster :

"And there is another point of immense importance. The extremists are only extreme because experience has taught them they can rely on extraordinarily powerful in fluences in London.'

It is worth while quoting in extenso Mr. Bennett's recapitulation of some very recent history, which nevertheless seems to have receded into the remote and mythical pastso far as some of our Canadian journalists are concerned.

"When Carson organized a larger army than the King's regular army, even in Dublin he had far more drilled potential fighters than the Sinn Feiners could get for their re-When he organized this -who were most alarmed about the German danger. He was supby distinguished Generals, and on the day when the famous solemn covenant was signed Bonar Law as the Conservative leader solemnly and officially pledged the support of the whole Unionist Party, the party of law and order, to this vast conspiracy to overthrow the supreme authority of the empire.

Carson was the arch plotter, but the whole Unionist Party was in the plot and equally to blame

It is now persistently stated that Carson himself is intensely anxious for a convention settlement—that is to say, for a settlement which unites Ireland under Home Rule-and that the leaders of the Unionist Party are again with him. If this is so (and I am inclined to credit it) then the Ulster extremists would not have a chance when the pinch came."

The trouble is not between Nation-Fein and Orangeism: nor is it between conflicting ideals or opposing factions in Ireland, it is between England and Ireland. The ascendancy faction aided and abetted by stupid and reckless English Toryism has bedevilled Irish politics. Remove that factor and the Irish problem solves itself. England must learn its lesson. Arnold Bennett is lishmen who recognize this esssenby pointing it out:

"During the last thirty-five years the Irish legislation has been benefi- gregations. cent. Ireland has prospered under it. When the War broke out, Ireland characteristically generous, was thrilled with loyalty from end to end. the withholding of Home Rule for But England, instead of responding

to trust with trust, responded to trust who perhaps are more influenced in with distrust; and broke her word and deliberately spoiled Irish recruiting and gave a place of honor in Par. | part with a quarter than by any great liament to the man who had defied Parliament with arms. The sequel was Easter. Of course

"The sequel still persists Of

"And the sequel will continue to amount of beneficent legislation can take the place of self government, and that the sole way to tranquillize Ireland is to put faith in her.'

If the Convention fails? Mr. Bennett considers that complete failure is cent games of chance. impossible. Good results are inevitable. Formal failure is possible and would call for great patience and forbearance on the part of England "for something would come out of the Convention that might be nearer peace than strife."

We gave recently the views of another distinguished English journalist who studied the Irish question perhaps with greater sympathy and insight; but Mr. Bennett's article is another proof that the chief stum. bling block in the way of a real and final settlement of the ancient quarrel is on a fair way of being removed. And that stumbling block is not Ulster obstinacy or Sinn Fein enthusiasm, but the ignorant, inconsistent and outworn tradition of the English governing class. The principles underlying the world-struggle now going on cannot fail to shame the obscurantists along the way that good-will, good sense, and understanding sympathy have led the mass of the English people.

LAUDE DIGNA

Sunday supplement, nor does, her name appear in the social column. You will look in vain for her in the automobile group of gaily attired, enthusiastic' young ladies who were prominent on tag-day. Her maidenly reserve and natural manners of heroic acts, which not infrequently would scarcely harmonize with their lies hidden away in the most unexhysterically laughing pose. She pected quarters, and only with opporworks for the Red Cross, but she tunity comes to revelation. In this does her knitting at home, not on consists one of the great gains to She is not strong on speech-making awful toll of blood and tears. or on applauding patriotic orations, but she has a brother at the front, She goes to Mass frequently on week days and is at Communion every Sunday. When she meets her pastor ships ruled the seas, that of iron or she does not say "How'd you do ;" she says "Good morning, Father." the concrete vessel before the out-Who is this paragon?" you impatiently inquire. Permit us to Now the ship of concrete is an actintroduce to you Miss Laude Digna, uality, and indications are that it is the young lady who sells tickets at entering upon an era of its own, the parish bazaar.

As we leisurely partook of a dish of ice cream, we watched her in great amount of tonnage sunk by the action. She smiled so sweetly that German U-boat, in the last two years, one would really imagine that she Norway bids fair to lead the way in was thoroughly enjoying herself, the adoption of concrete marine con-Even when she received a curt struction. This contingency has refusal the smile did not come off. been brought about through the The rebuff seemed but to give added shortage and consequent high cost of zest to her efforts. The thought the customary building material, occurred to us that while many have and it is under such circumstances eulogized the Little Sisters of the that the building of ships and lighters ment by force he was supported by Poor, who gladly bear with oppro- of concrete has made subst the very people - such as Lord Roberts | brium for sweet Charity's sake, we | headway in Norwegian yards. The have not realized, perhaps, that the method originally was the invention same supernatural motive supports of a Norwegian engineer named ported by such grave persons as Mr. Walter Long and Lord Hugh this young girl in performing a task Fougner, so that Norway would seem Cecil. He was notoriously supported that is not too pleasant to a sensitive to have a prescriptive right to the nature.

pastor or the workers of a parish. those of concrete can be completed The former would gladly choose in much shorter time, which in face some other means of raising the of Germany's ruthless piracy on the equally efficient. "Why does not sideration. Three wharves are al-Father," says a parishioner of very ready engaged in this new departure tender susceptibilities, "tax the and several motor boats of about people instead of having those beg. one hundred tons each have already ging bees? I, for one, would gladly been launched, and larger vessels, of subscribe ten dollars." Ah, but one thousand tons and more, are in would be? Some of these vain process of construction. No limits. boasters are found wanting when it at this stage, can be set to the possicomes to the test. But, granting his | bilities of this interesting enterprise. sincerity, he overlooks the fact that there are in every parish a large number of people who are unable to of England is making an appeal for alist and Unionist, not between Sinn make a substantial donation in support in its efforts to provide for money but who will gladly give of the physical comfort and spiritual their time and labor to assist in any well-being of the Catholic soldier at good work. This manner of bringing the front, and of those dependent the members of a congregation on them, and in safe-guarding the together has, besides, very real advangreat army of women workers in tages. It promotes sociability, the many munition works, factories which unfortunately has become, in and public offices, which the exisome places, a not too striking characteristic of our Catholic people them. The organization is also It stimulates a healthy rivalry in making special efforts to provide for only one of an army of honest Eng- church work, and fosters a laudable the welfare, spiritual and temporal, sentiment of parish pride. In small of the 12,000 Belgian refugees whom tial fact and he concludes his article parishes, where the help of each one Teutonic ruthlessness has deprived more in evidence than in large con- most active in the administration of

as gambling by some ultra-moralists | Westminster and the other Arch-

their views by their unwillingness to zeal for morality. As a matter of fact no one ever contracted the habit of gambling by plunging at a church fair. The invitation to buy a ticket is but a veiled way of asking a man to give a persist until England realizes that no donation. His chief motive in taking the ticket is not to win the prize, which after all but serves the purpose of introducing that element of luck that gives interest to all inno-

But someone must volunteer to do this asking. Miss De Style positively refuses to sell tickets. Her highly sensitive and refined nature recoils from the idea. She will stand on the busy street corner and pin bouton nières on the breasts of all manner of men. But then, other society girls do it. It is so spectacular, you know. Besides-Ah, there's the rub-it does not entail any profession of faith.

So Laude Digna comes to the rescue. She believes that if her religion is the consolation of her life, she should make some little sacrifices for it. To enjoy in private the sweets of piety, and to decline to make outward profession of her faith is ah. horrent to her sense of honor and gratitude. She accedes to her pastor's request with that cheerfulness and spirit of whole-souled generosity that is like a burst of warm sunshine. Her morning offering will be made with greater devotion on the days that follow. She has counted the cost : but she knows that He, at Whose altar she will wear the blue ribbon on the coming feast days, will not let the smallest particle of her good She never gets a write-up in the gift escape His memory.

THE GLEANER

NOTES AND COMMENTS

WAR, SAYS a well-known writer, is the great discoverer of the pure gold

ONE OF the notable material developments of the War is the concrete ship. In the old days, when wooden steel was as little thought of as was break of the present great conflict.

IN HER endeavor to replace the honors of the pioneer in the enter-A bazaar is not looked forward to prise. Besides being much cheaper with joyful expectancy either by the to build than steel ships and lighters necessary funds if he knew of any high seas is a very important con-

THE CATHOLIC Women's League gencies of war have thrown open to is needed, this latter quality is much of home and country. While those the work are preserving in their A usual feature of these entertain- public appeal a laudable anonymity, ments is a prize-drawing contest. We the fact that it is under the patronknow that this has been stigmatized age of the Cardinal Archbishop of