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OFFICIAL

At the request of the Overseas Military Authorities, the Right Reverend M. F. Fallon, Bishop of London, has left to visit the Canadian Army in England and France.

During His Lordship's absence the affairs of the diocese will be in charge of Very Reverend D. O'Connor, V. G., Administrator.

THE DARK HOUR BEFORE THE DAWN OVER THE HILLS OF IRELAND!

"Politics are vulgar when they are not liberalized by history, and history fades into mere literature when it loses sight of its relation to practical politics."—Sir John Seeley.

With the menace and peril of ruthless German aggression deepening and darkening over England and the Empire it is easy to understand the impatience, even the anger with Ireland's present attitude on the part of those for whom the War dwarfs all other issues into insignificance. And yet in this very crisis of the War, and for the sake of the War, it is imperatively necessary to remember that only in the light which history sheds on politics can the situation in Ireland be understood or the problem of Ireland be solved. To the impatient concession that in the long past history records much wrong and injustice to Ireland we must answer patiently but firmly that it is the wrong and injustice of the living present that prevents the dead past from burying its dead. It were a crime at this juncture needlessly to revive age long resentments; they would be wiped out forever by one statesmanlike measure of justice which would carry a generous appeal to the heart of a generous people. Suspicion, distrust and injustice beget suspicion, distrust and resentment. Confidence and good will on the part of England can alone produce good will, confidence and trust on the part of Ireland.

Let us cite some English testimony to very recent, but apparently forgotten history which explains the present political situation in Ireland. Less than eighteen months ago A. G. Gardiner, editor of the London Daily News, wrote:

"We have lost the confidence of Ireland because we have refused to give Ireland our confidence. You cannot have something for nothing. You cannot tell a people on the one hand that you distrust them, and ask them, on the other hand, to trust you and come and serve you with the enthusiasm of those who have won their freedom under your banner. Remember all the long tragedy associated with British rule in Ireland, and ask yourself honestly, not what your feelings as an Englishman are but what your feelings would be if you were an Irishman."

"It is only in that way that we can see this question as we must see it if we are to find the remedy. There is only one remedy. It is a very simple one, but in all the history of our relations with Ireland we have never tried it. It is the remedy which won South Africa for us, and saved Canada to us. When the War broke out we were on the point of applying it, at last, to Ireland herself, and it was because Ireland believed we were sincere that her great leader was able to give us the promise, not of a grudging and unwilling support, but of a passionate sympathy. The belief has grown cold, and the confidence in our good faith has gone. We cannot revive that faith by words, still less by threats. We can only revive it by acts, by a generous statesmanship that will declare to Ireland that we are great enough to trust her and to the whole world that our faith and freedom and our devotion to small nationalities are not idle phrases, but the realities by which we abide."

Not only was this wise, generous, just and statesmanlike course not followed, but a few months afterwards the British Prime Minister asserted in the House of Commons that the subversion of the fundamental principle of democracy was to be a cardinal point in the British policy of governing Ireland; that a minority of one province should have a permanent veto over the constitutionally expressed will of the overwhelming

majority of the Irish people. Carsonism was crowned, rebellion and sedition consecrated; and the Irish people saw constitutionalism and democracy held in derision by the Prime Minister himself. This is but one of the long series of events which fanned the flame of Irish distrust, discontent and resentment; conscription, imposed not only without the consent but in open defiance of Ireland's representatives closes the series.

Many will honestly ask why Ireland any more than England or Scotland should be exempt from compulsory military service. Again let us cite sober English opinion. The Manchester Guardian when Irish conscription was last considered gave these reasons, which hold with equal force today, why the treatment of Ireland in this matter should differ from that of England or Scotland:

"We cooled the ardor of the Irish by our inability to forget our own divisions on Home Rule. Because we can get volunteers no longer it is now proposed to take conscripts. . . . To a man who is as keener for his neighbors for the War, though he has his reasons, good or bad, for not enlisting, it is not tyrannical to say: 'You must take your share.' To a man who cares nothing, or less than nothing, for our cause it is an outrage to say: 'You shall risk your life for an Empire which inspires in you no active and inward loyalty.' To do this thing would be, in a sense in which English conscription was not, an inhuman and immoral act. 'It would, moreover, be the act of a political incendiary.'"

A year ago last October in the debate the Nationalist resolution to bring Ireland within the scope of the loudly proclaimed principles for which the War is being fought, Lloyd George himself used these memorable but apparently already forgotten words, words which place responsibility for the present situation on other than Irish shoulders, and which brand many of the comments on the present situation by Canadian papers as ungenerous and unjust. We quote from the London Times report of the debate:

MR. LLOYD GEORGE: "I should like to be able to make a good Parliamentary defence to some of the criticisms of the hon. and learned gentleman, the member for Waterford, upon some of the recruiting methods in Ireland. Honestly I cannot do so. I am now referring to what was the most crucial period in the history of recruiting either in this country or in Ireland. That was the first few months. I wish I could give an answer to my hon. friend's criticisms, but some of the stupidities, which sometimes almost look like malignities, which were perpetrated at the beginning of recruiting in Ireland are beyond belief. I do not know who was responsible. 'I remember that I was perfectly appalled at the methods adopted to try and induce the Irish people to join the ranks. It really looked as if some one were deliberately discouraging them.'"

Though, under the Government threat of resignation, the Man-Power Bill was passed by Parliament criticism of the clause extending conscription to Ireland was emphatic and outspoken. Mr. Asquith definitely opposed it, asserting that the reasons against it were even stronger and more compelling than when the proposal was rejected by the Government on two previous occasions. And a large section of the English press reflects the conscience and understanding of the English people with regard to Ireland.

Two pronouncements on the subject were full of promise of an eventual solution of the menacing problem. Joseph Devlin, next to the leader the most prominent member of the Nationalist party, urged the immediate enactment of an adequate measure of Home Rule, promising that he would himself enlist as a private and appeal to the generous hearted youth of Ireland to follow his example. His evident sincerity and good-will impressed the House. On the other hand Lord Lansdowne hitherto the most implacable of anti-Home Rulers, has said that he would cast his prejudices into the dust bin, that he favored self government and opposed conscription for Ireland. Mr. Devlin and Lord Lansdowne evince that spirit that lovers of Ireland and the Empire have longed for, prayed for and almost despaired of. Millions will thank God for this harbinger of the dawn of a better day.

Again, Lord Montagu (head of the Spring-Rice family) a Unionist landlord who in recent years became a convert to Home Rule, has published a remarkable letter in which, while deploring Ireland's failure to contribute her full share of men to the War, he comes out as squarely opposed to conscription. "I desire," he writes, "to give Ireland the

opportunity to save her political soul by throwing upon an Irish Parliament the responsibility of making such a contribution."

Yes, give Ireland a chance to save her soul. Is it of no moment that England too should save her soul? Or will she be content to save her face?

Lord Montagu's proposition is good statesmanship, good psychology and good political sense. Let England trust Ireland and by this stroke, of statesmanship, never before tried in Anglo-Irish history, she will bring Ireland to her side with a mightier force than armored cars and machine guns. On that day the millions of Irishmen in the whole round world, deep down in their hearts will feel, what now can be no more than a reasoned conclusion of their intelligence, that the cause of the British Empire is the cause of their Irish motherland. No alliance could be so fruitful of far-reaching effects.

Last week we ventured an opinion of the political reasons for the apparently mad move of the Government in proposing conscription for Ireland in the present condition of Irish feeling. We are glad that we may reasonably believe that they were actuated by higher motives than we gave them credit for. It may be that their intention is to precipitate the solution of the hitherto insoluble Irish problem. The practical attitude of Joseph Devlin and Lord Lansdowne demonstrates the possibility, even the probability of the elements they represent coming together to avert disaster to their common country. In such a consummation conscription might go into force in Ireland with the consent of the Irish people, or its object may be attained even more effectively by voluntary enlistment.

The following cable to the Toronto Star, April 18th, from its London correspondent permits us to hope that such development is well within the limits of probability:

"My statement that conscription will not be enforced in Ireland, except with the consent of the people is supported by events. Thus Sir William Robertson Nichol, long Premier's ablest Free Church chaplain, states: 'It becomes day by day that Irish conscription cannot be carried out as things are. By conscription we shall enter on a fresh chapter of wreck and tragedy. We shall alienate a generous, passionate, vindictive, lightning-blooded race.'"

Coupling Home Rule and conscription for the motives we intimated last week would be cynical political fiddling while Rome is burning. If, as we are now inclined to think, the motive was to force the Irish factions together, and what is equally important, the English factions also, in order to create such a situation as would make both Home Rule and conscription (or the object of conscription) a matter of consent all round, then it is a piece of marvelously shrewd politics intended to subvert the highest statesmanship.

THE CITIZEN AND THE POPE

The evolution of up-to-date no-popery is very interesting; though it seems hardly to conform to the recognized laws of development, closer examination will reveal the working of the evolutionary principle. First, the Pope was a tool, a catspaw of Germany. Then, if not quite that, he was necessarily and intimately pro-Austrian and Austria is Germany's vassal. Next his neutrality was suspect; outwardly he might be neutral, but—now his neutrality is admitted and branded as a crime against civilization and Christianity. The final stage is indicated by the Ottawa Citizen—the Pope is not pro-Ally. Abandoning one position after another—presumably because they were of no strategic value—the up-to-date no-popery forces have finally taken up the impregnable position that as the Holy Father is neutral he is not pro-Ally. We must sorrowfully admit the fact and make peace on those terms. The Citizen's deep studies in international law, world politics, Church history and the New Religion have given the no-popery forces the advantage of supreme genius in leadership. We feel almost like quoting: "Change leaders and we will fight it over again!"

But in case the Pope, seeing that the game is up, should be shamed out of neutrality we would respectfully, reverently ask the Citizen what should be his pro-Ally course? Should he mobilize the Swiss Guard? (there must be 18 or 20 of them all told.) Or should he absolve German and Austrian Catholics from their civil allegiance? Would such action on

his part be recognized by his new Allies as resting on a solid basis of international law?

The Citizen says: "Victory for Germany in the War would mean fastening upon the world a religion above Christianity." We should like to know from the Citizen whether or not, in case the Pope joins up, he would be infringing the Mohammedan copyright should he attempt to fasten Christianity upon the world or even on Germany by force of arms?

In case there should be insurmountable obstacles in the way of the Pope's active participation in the War, would the Citizen be content if the Holy Father sent through the British Envoy at the Vatican a personal assurance of his warm appreciation of the Citizen's solicitude in his behalf?

GOING ABROAD FOR NEWS OF HOME

The Globe publishes the following press despatch; but, so far, in spite of the fact that the Globe is guilty of making the charge therein referred to it is too pitifully ungenerous and unfair to publish the glorious casualty roll which no other class of clergymen in Canada can remotely approximate. Even in its headings of the despatch The Globe carefully refrains from indicating that the expatriated French priests are precisely those whom The Globe and Mr. Rowell malign.

London, April 15. — Chaplain (Major) O'Gorman, Ottawa, wounded in France, now serving in London, writes to the Times defending the French priests expelled from France from the charge of responsibility for the failure of enlistment of French-Canadian. Major O'Gorman declares that no class of clergymen in Canada has a casualty roll remotely approximating the expatriated French clergy.

It requires only patient, generous sympathy and statesmanship to win over the main body of the French-Canadian to a wholehearted participation in the War. The most effective single step that could be taken would be to increase the number of French-Canadian battalions in France.

EDUCATION

We would suggest as a very appropriate subject of discussion for our teachers, who have recently met in convention, the meaning of the word "education." It is a good thing to take our bearings from time to time to see that we are on the right track before we expend our energy on exploring by-paths. The autocratic ruler of our Ontario Educational Department wrote in his earlier days a work on the composition of Latin prose. It may be presumed, therefore, that he knows the derivation of the word "education." Judging, however, from the curriculum of studies that has been foisted upon unwilling teachers and pupils, that worthy gentleman has forgotten his Latin lessons.

The word "education" means etymologically to draw out from or to develop. It does not imply any filling up process such as one would suspect from seeing the present system in action. The function of education is to bring to perfection, as far as each one's natural powers of development will permit, his physical, mental and moral faculties. Those who train young men to take part in some athletic contest, and who are, strictly speaking, educators in the physical department, are the only ones who seem to have held in practice to the orthodox theory of education. They do not give the youth who is training for a race a ten-course dinner. They give him just as much nourishing food as he is able to digest properly. They see that he keeps regular hours and that he exercises himself sufficiently to develop his muscles and preserve his health. Furthermore, they strictly forbid him any indulgence that would weaken his physical powers or stay the progress of his development. These young men willingly submit to this discipline. As St. Paul remarked many years ago, "everyone that striveth for the mastery refraineth himself from all things." It is worth while to note that the trainer does not develop the athlete. The latter, aided by nature, does that himself under the direction of his trainer who contributes very little directly to the process.

It were well if the intellectual training of our children were conducted along similar lines. If they were given only as much mental pabulum as they could easily assimilate there would not be so many cases of mental indigestion; there would not be so many youthful prodigies that never attain to maturity.

Unnecessary food or food that is not digested only weakens the body and sometimes causes disease. In like manner a too generous and diversified mental diet dwarfs the faculties of the mind instead of enlarging them. Just as the body is strengthened only by that food which being properly masticated goes to the building up of bone and tissue, so only such knowledge as is made, as it were, a portion of one's self is of any enduring value.

If children were left more to their own initiative and given to understand that the onus of securing an education rested upon themselves, the process would not terminate, as it does now in so many instances, when the child leaves school. School days are not so much a time for the attaining of knowledge as a time in which to learn how to acquire it, a novitiate for the forming of methods and habits of study that will enable one to make the best use of his manhood days.

The same object lesson, drawn from the method of physical training, finds its application also in the moral education of the child. The athlete, in order to win a corruptible crown, labors and resists his natural inclinations. His trainer obliges him to do this. The teacher who has not convinced his pupils that labor is a necessity, and who has not succeeded in making them submit their wills to the discipline of obedience has failed in the most important of his duties. If a colt is properly broken it will, if it is healthy, be in time a valuable horse. If, however, this important process is neglected it is apt to become a balky, breachy animal of little value to its owner. The will of a child, like a colt, is prone to jump over the cold decree of rule; and if that propensity is not checked in the formative years, an otherwise valuable man may become a danger to himself and to society.

Of course, the sacraments of the Church are the chief factor in this sphere. It is doubtful, however, if those who are deprived of those supernatural supports are receiving those natural aids that a sane system of education should provide for them.

THE GLEANER

NOTES AND COMMENTS

PRESIDENT WILSON'S Baltimore address on the War, delivered unmistakably under the deepest sense of duty and responsibility, will take rank among the greatest of his deliverances. In comprehensiveness of view, in incisiveness of phrase and in all the elements which make for literary immortality it merits, in our humble judgment, to be placed in the same category as Lincoln's Gettysburg speech. No President since Lincoln, it is certain, has possessed Wilson's conspicuous gift of expression. And no utterance of the latter is likely to be more cherished or longer remembered than this, his latest arraignment of the iniquitous ambitions of Germany's military rulers.

THE ADDRESS was cabled in full to all the capitals of Europe immediately after its delivery, and it could not fail to have had a heartening effect upon the Allies in this time of stress and anxiety. Extracts only appear to have been reproduced in the Canadian dailies. It would have been an act of wisdom on the part of the Canadian Press Association to have arranged for its publication in full in every newspaper in the country. We could not imagine an utterance more calculated to hearten our people and to stimulate their determination to see the War through to a successful conclusion than this assurance on the part of the President that the United States having put its hands to the plow there will be no slackening or no turning back until "righteous and triumphant Force shall make Right the law of the world and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust."

WE MAKE NO apology for reproducing one or two extracts from this notable deliverance. If we mistake not, these and others like them will burn themselves into the memory of vast multitudes, to be cherished while life lasts. For example, after contrasting the avowal of Germany's statesmen that they wished peace and were ready to discuss its terms, with the acts of Germany's military masters in Russia, Finland, the Ukraine and Roumania, the President said: "That programme once carried out, America and all who care or dare to stand with her must arm and prepare themselves to con-

test the mastery of the world, a mastery in which the rights of common men, the rights of women and of all who are weak must for the time being be trodden under foot and disregarded, and the old age-long struggle for freedom and right begin again at the beginning. Everything that America has lived for and loved and grown great to vindicate and bring to a glorious realization will have fallen in utter ruin and the gates of mercy once more pitilessly shut upon mankind."

"THE THING," he went on, "is preposterous and impossible; and yet, is not that what the whole course and action of the German armies has meant wherever they have moved? I do not wish, even in this moment of utter disillusionment, to judge harshly or unrighteously. I judge only what the German arms have accomplished with unpitying thoroughness throughout every fair region they have touched. What, then, are we to do? For myself, I am ready, ready still, ready even now, to discuss a fair and honest peace at any time that it is sincerely proposed—a peace in which the strong and the weak shall fare alike. But the answer, when I proposed such a peace, came from the German commanders in Russia, and I cannot mistake the meaning of the answer."

NO MAN can mistake the terms of President Wilson's rejoinder to Germany's insolent proclamation. It has penetrated to every part of the world by this time, and will have borne a solemn warning to the German people. "I accept the challenge," he concluded, "I know that you accept it. All the world shall know that you accept it. It shall appear in the utter sacrifice and self-forgetfulness with which we shall give all that we love and all that we have to redeem the world and make it fit for free men like ourselves to live in. This now is the meaning of all that we do. Let everything that we say, my fellow-countrymen, everything that we henceforth plan and accomplish, ring true to this response till the majesty and might of our concerted power shall fill the thought and utterly defeat the force of those who flout and misprize what we honor and hold dear."

FINALLY: "GERMANY has once more said that force, and force alone, shall decide whether justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether right, as America conceives it, or dominion, as she conceives it, shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore, but one response possible from us: Force, Force to the utmost; Force without stint or limit; the righteous and triumphant Force which shall make Right the law of the world, and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust." (Not even German stolidity can fail to grasp the significance of that answer.)

THERE IS nothing quite so much needed, at the present time, suggests the New York Journal of Commerce, as clear thinking about Russia, and, it may be added, there is nothing more difficult. To the outside world that great empire has become a seething mass of turmoil and disorder, so that it is impossible to say whether the Germans and the Bolsheviks are actually, instead of nominally at peace, or whether the whole thing is a make-believe. As matters stand Lenin, Trotsky and their supporters are to all intents and purposes allies of the Central Powers. They have, whether designedly or not, placed their country under the heel of the Kaiser, and the Allies must deal with them no longer (for the time being at least) as allies, nor even as neutrals, but as actual enemies. Such at least is the judgment of the sanest and acutest observers of events as they are unfolding themselves day by day in Europe.

WHEN IT IS accepted, therefore, as a primary principle that the Allies cannot afford to abandon Russia, it is because to do so would leave the country penetrated and entirely dominated by Germany. That the Bolsheviks are really representative of the Russian people is an axiom not generally believed. But if the salvation of the country is not to be looked for in that quarter, the question arises, whence? As it relates to European Russia the problem must be admitted to be insoluble; as related to Asiatic Russia there are at least some fixed points which may be used

as a basis for common action. What there are is likely to become apparent in the not-distant future. Meanwhile the world looks on with anxious expectancy.

ON THE BATTLE LINE

OTTAWA HAS NEWS that at least one Canadian Division, believed to be the First, is now taking part in the battle of the Lys.

THE EVACUATION of the British "forward positions east of Ypres" is officially announced, the troops holding them having been withdrawn on Sunday night and Monday to a new line without interference by the enemy, and apparently without his knowledge. The advanced positions thus abandoned are not specified, but it is reasonably certain that they include all those upon the Passchendaele Ridge captured during the offensive of October-November, 1917, by the Canadian Corps after a fiercely contested battle. Retirements to lines nearer Ypres was necessary as a precautionary measure, in view of the steady German advance toward the Ypres salient from the south. A further retirement may become necessary if the enemy's advance proceeds beyond Kemmel Hill. In the salient were many great storehouses, ordnance yards and clearing stations for wounded men. The bulk of the stores will be on the move to the west and toward the coast by this time.

THIS CESSATION of the German attack, when every day's delay enables the British and French to strengthen their defensive works at threatened points, is of the greatest benefit to the Allied cause. Hindenburg set out to smash his way through to the Channel ports in a hurry. The battles of the past month have cost the enemy casualties that must now considerably exceed four hundred thousand. The only positions of real importance secured by this huge casualty list are the Passchendaele and Messines Ridges, the hills about Bailleul, and the high land south of the Avre on the Amiens front. The devastated region in the Valley of the Somme, and the low-lying stretches of country on both sides of the Lys are of little military value. That underestimates the case. In the carrying out of Hindenburg's declared purpose—which was to destroy the British army and occupy the Channel ports after Haig's men had been swept aside—the devastated Somme region and the bogs of the Lys Valley are handicaps. The carrying of guns, food and munitions over the wilderness of the Somme, where the enemy himself cut down the trees, destroyed the isolated farm houses and levelled the villages, has become an extremely difficult and hazardous task. The lack of shelter gives the bomb-throwing aviators and the gunners of the Allied armies a wide outlook, and enables them to inflict severe and continuous losses on marching infantry and transport columns. In the Lys Valley the marshy nature of much of the country forces the advancing enemy to follow roads on which the long-range guns of the Allies pour projectiles continuously.

THE ENEMY'S offensive has not collapsed. The pause is but a lull before the renewal of the storm, but it is significant that on the Somme the pause has continued for the better part of two weeks, and that on the Northern front there has been little change for three days. There are still many German divisions in the rear of the Northern battlefield available for carrying on the advance, but the wastage of men and the expenditure of munitions at the front have proceeded so rapidly that replenishment of both has become necessary. In the Flanders battle Kemmel Hill must still be regarded as the immediate German objective. If the enemy fails to secure it his hold of the Messines Ridge must remain a precarious one. On the front along La Hassee Canal north of Bethune official despatches issued early yesterday confirmed previous statements that the attacks of Wednesday and Thursday cost the enemy severe casualties, alike from artillery and rifle fire, and brought him no appreciable advantage.

ITALIAN TROOPS are now posted on the right of the Allied battlefield on the Oise. Italy has a surplus of trained men, it was explained by Italian military experts at Washington yesterday, who are available for service if they can be equipped and maintained. It is understood that the French and British War Departments are prepared to supply the needed arms and equipment. The American and Italian reinforcements now coming into position in the south will enable General Foch to divert a considerable number of French troops to the Flanders front. The benefits of unified command become apparent.

Zurich, April 19.—German papers received here intimate that Austrian troops are soon to clash with the Americans on the west front. These papers claim that 250,000 soldiers from the dual monarchy have been sent to the trenches opposite Gen. Pershing's men.

WHILE ITALIAN troops are helping in France, British soldiers who hold the line on the Asiago sector of the Alpine front in Italy have been engaged in lively outpost fighting with the Austrians. Only at a few points, as in Roumania and Galicia during the retreats of 1916 and 1917, have British troops come to grips with Austria's fighting men since the War began. There is now a considerable body of our men in Northern Italy,