

seaboard a hundred years ago, the Republic has grown to be one of the greatest nations in the world, and from the few scattered colonies of Catholics after the Revolution the American Church is now one of the most populous and influential in Christendom.

THE DIRECTORY for 1920, which is published by P. J. Kennedy & Sons, New York, is in point of appearance and mechanical workmanship fully up to its predecessors, and the type page being larger, the book is to that extent more serviceable.

ENGLISHMEN AND ENGLAND

By W. F. P. Stockley, M. A. (Catholic Times, 13 March, 1920)

The Irish Statesman, some English readers may not know, is the organ for Sir Horace Plunkett's idea of Dominion Home Rule for Ireland—given by England. It denounces England's present bullying of Ireland; and it does not hesitate to bring up England's fine words to shame her brutal and fatuous acts.

Still, the Irish Statesman continually distinguishes Englishmen from England; to England's advantage. "England is not a tyrant though some of her people would like to make her so."

This is dreaming, surely. There were 18th century English Plowdens as historians, Englishmen just to Ireland; there were Members of the English Parliament, like Burke; high officials like Fitz William; even while penal laws were degrading the Irish.

Southey, good husband and good father, who himself, when "nothing can redeem Ireland but a system of Roman conquest and colonization, and shipping off the refractory to the colonies."

It is not that those of us who are no longer dupes are not all the freer to admire and respect many a thing in England and in the Englishmen to whom we feel we can be far fairer than are the flatterers or those who half feel responsible for what we look at as outsiders.

THE VICIOUS CIRCLE The more Irishmen read of their country's history, the more prepared they are for what is now going on. So like it is from age to age—so very like—faith unhappily forsworn and honor shamefully misplaced.

OFFICIAL MUTTERINGS You good English do not think that we Irish do not hear the official mutterings, "let us good them on, let us have it out with them, let us conquer them again, and thoroughly this time."

is not "common sense, common honesty, common justice" to us and to all concerned, not to acknowledge that England has not changed towards Ireland, and will not or cannot change.

JUDGING FROM EXPERIENCE

Why have so many of us today become convinced even at the eleventh hour of our lives? Because, in Burke's words again, we have at last "consulted our experience, and neglected our imagination"—vain imaginings. We need go no more over the ages past; we have but to go over the last five years—of Larnie v. Howth, of King's chambers v. prison cells, of quacking graves v. woolsecks; of perjured oaths and jesting promises, of dangling Home Rule, and pretended free Conventions for blinding America's English plans, and like German plots for inflaming blinded America against Ireland; and this year another play-acting of magnanimity on the part of the weary Titan, theorizing in commissions of enquiry about Ireland, and practicing martial law—like Joseph Surface hiding Lady Tezzel, *C'est a pouffer de rire*.

And now out again comes Dara, our doctor, and her forcible feeling with partition, and separatism bribes for the little ones' souls. England thinks, through her Tennyson, that "Ireland loves these in authority over her to have the iron hand in the silken glove." And if Ireland shows she doesn't, then repress her. Repression and crime; crime and repression. Decent minded men preach often on that text. There is not one of the men killed on both sides in the Ireland of today who might not be alive, had English politicians not played at partiality, made mockery of law, and both bullied and led. The Duke of Devonshire, in his last essays, tells how an Englishman hates two things: an Englishman hates a bully, and an Englishman hates a liar. That upright writer doubtless hated both; as he thought and felt. He had hard words for the Irish who—judged by the present writer's experience—always smile, from grave to gay, but always smile, when Ward on his English is quoted. For Englishmen, as the Irish have experienced, always support England, the England they never fail to smite, and of the word that no man in Ireland can trust.

THE Vicious Circle

THE VICIOUS CIRCLE The more Irishmen read of their country's history, the more prepared they are for what is now going on. So like it is from age to age—so very like—faith unhappily forsworn and honor shamefully misplaced. And so, one generation since, the late Charlotte O'Brien—Smith O'Brien's generous-minded daughter—was led to cry out, after another such revelation of real England: "They may be good men, Gladstone, Bright, or who you will; but I'll never trust another English statesman about Ireland, never, never, never." I think she did trust again, or half trust; so many of us Irish end in being, if not fools, yet fooled, by the Pharisees.

It is not that those of us who are no longer dupes are not all the freer to admire and respect many a thing in England and in the Englishmen to whom we feel we can be far fairer than are the flatterers or those who half feel responsible for what we look at as outsiders. (Like Catholics who are not excited about the Reformers, whom some sensitive Anglicans in the same boat keep telling us were "unredeemed villains.") But we need not be less honest than Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, who, as Stanley relates, lamented that "England cares very little for liberty for others, where her own interests are concerned."

BROKEN FAITH The mystery (if it is one), or the strange weakness of Ireland is seen in a letter not long since to the Irish Statesman, by a grandson of Smith O'Brien, a naval officer in England's late War, which post never would have been his, he generously writes, had he known that England would so break her fine 1914 word, and betray the Ireland she had nursed in. Mystery, or weakness. Was it, if it is a mystery, how any man could find cause, in the history of men, for thinking that if you make men great and strong they will not use their strength tyrannously, it is indeed the mystery of all mysteries why a man should draw from the history of England in Ireland any such conclusion, that if you crowned England with quick brilliant victory in 1914, she would then look upon Ireland's coming as still more evident when we find Mr. Macpherson introducing an Education Bill for an undivided Ireland, while Mr. Lloyd George at the same time sets forth his scheme for carving the country so as to meet the wishes of the Covenanters, without the least regard for the sentiments of the Catholics of Ulster.

CONDEMNED BY PUBLIC OPINION If his proposals are condemned beforehand by both British and Irish opinion, for whose benefit are they being staged? How little consonant they are with the claims of right and justice may be judged by the condemnation he predicts for them both in Ireland and England when they appear in their full gear. The want of reality behind the whole show he comes still more evident when we find Mr. Macpherson introducing an Education Bill for an undivided Ireland, while Mr. Lloyd George at the same time sets forth his scheme for carving the country so as to meet the wishes of the Covenanters, without the least regard for the sentiments of the Catholics of Ulster.

CONSCIOUS OF INJUSTICE And that Mr. Lloyd George is conscious of the injustice of his proposals may be seen from the following pronouncement: "Settlement," he says, "will not be found in the enactment but in the working of it." It would take all the ingenuity of the Prime Minister to develop justice from unjust principles, freedom from tyranny or to reconcile a state of slavery to a people rightly striving to gain their freedom. No, a real settlement can only be found in an enactment based on justice and liberty, on the principle of a nation's rights to govern itself in accordance with its own ideals, a principle proclaimed on many a platform by Mr. Lloyd George till the War was over, and one to which he has since subscribed when ever England had nothing to lose by following such a course.

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such standing, waiting, times in life. At least we will not rush and do the wrong thing. At least we shall not consult our imagination and neglect our experience. By experience we do not believe that England will "concede" independence. We quite agree with the Irish Statesman. We do not believe the ever meant to apply to herself the fine words she got men to die for, as applied to her enemies. We have read some of her secret treaties; we see her at work; we hear her fair words still. We can be silent, disillusioned, helpless, and, if you like, hopeless. But we have been hardened into a conversion which, I venture to say, will be deaf to the voice of the charmer, that he never so wisely. The voice of the siren will be heard by us no more. And that means that we can live with peace in our hearts, and can honor, there, justice, wisdom, and mercy, wherever acted, and can respect impartiality, and can reflect on hypocrisy; even though, without, the tyrant may batter at our peace.

Never trust again; never, never, never. Were we to trust, we again should be the laughing stock. To us, distrustful when now she talks, the laughing stock of the whole world today is England. And nevertheless hers will be the laugh when—or if—England compasses the ruin she is preparing for Ireland to the sound of Englishmen's self-satisfied verdict: "Ireland has got but her deserts." But yet the pity of it, lingo; Oh! lingo; the pity of it, lingo.

BISHOP OF DERRY

ANALYZES LLOYD GEORGE'S ALLEGED HOME RULE BILL

In a letter to the Irish Independent of Dublin, the Most Rev. Dr. McHugh, Bishop of Derry, trenchantly exposes Lloyd George's late Home Rule Bill. His Lordship writes: "I offer no apology for expressing my views on this momentous question, as it is one that intimately concerns every Irishman, and particularly the Catholics of Ulster."

Some people may feel inclined to think that this is a purely political affair which by right belongs to the laity only, but I am one of those who never could subscribe to the opinion that because a person happens to be a minister of religion he thereby relinquishes his rights as a citizen. Besides, in the present case, there is more at stake for us in this corner of Ulster than purely national rights; for the interests of religion and our position as Catholics are inseparably connected with any proposals that may be put forward for the solution of the Irish problem.

To remain as we are, and as we have ever been, part and parcel of the Irish nation, and to share in the fate and fortunes of our fellow-countrymen, whatever they may be, is a position for which we are prepared; but, to become serfs in an Orange Free State carved out to meet the wishes of an intolerant minority, to this we will never submit.

CAMOUFLAGE WITHOUT REALITY OR JUSTICE

Few, no doubt, attach any importance to the Lloyd George proposals. They are generally regarded as camouflage intended chiefly for America, and designed to throw dust in the eyes of the world by leading it to believe that England is prepared to grant self-determination to Ireland, whereas the scheme set forth by Mr. Lloyd George would keep her in poverty and bondage for ever.

One need only read the introductory remarks of the Prime Minister when propounding his partition scheme to see that he is conscious that there is neither reality nor justice behind it. "I cannot," he says, "think of any proposals that you can put forward from this House which would be in the least practicable or acceptable to British opinion at present, or which would have any chance of acceptance now in the present condition of Ireland."

CONDEMNED BY PUBLIC OPINION If his proposals are condemned beforehand by both British and Irish opinion, for whose benefit are they being staged? How little consonant they are with the claims of right and justice may be judged by the condemnation he predicts for them both in Ireland and England when they appear in their full gear. The want of reality behind the whole show he comes still more evident when we find Mr. Macpherson introducing an Education Bill for an undivided Ireland, while Mr. Lloyd George at the same time sets forth his scheme for carving the country so as to meet the wishes of the Covenanters, without the least regard for the sentiments of the Catholics of Ulster.

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LLOYD GEORGE VS. LLOYD GEORGE

How different is the Lloyd George of today from what he was when trying to climb into office. We do not forget the unmeasured terms in which he denounced the Balfourian regime in this country because it was calculated to produce a state of things similar to that caused by the present reign of tyranny and oppression to which Ireland, with his approval, is subjected.

INCONSISTENCY In the laboured effort to clear the way for Partition, the Prime Minister says that there are two fundamental facts which must be taken into consideration. One, he says, is that "Irishmen claim the right to control their own concerns without interference from Englishmen, Scotchmen, or Welshmen. They have fought for it for hundreds of years. They have never held it so tenaciously as they do today," and the other is that "a considerable section of the people of Ireland are just as opposed to Irish rule as the majority of Irishmen are to British rule."

"AN OUTRAGE ON TRUTH" "In the north-east of Ireland," he says, "you have a population, a fairly solid population, in race, alien in sympathy, alien in religion, alien in tradition, alien in outlook, from the rest of the population of Ireland, and it would be an outrage on the principle of self-government to place them under the same rule as the remainder of the population."

HOMOGENEOUS POPULATION But to return to the "homogeneous population of the north-east" we consider the situation more in particular. How ignorant Mr. Lloyd George was of the facts of the case, or if not ignorant of the facts how grossly and deliberately unjust he is in presenting to Parliament and to the world, whose opinion it is his chief aim to conciliate, such a groundless statement about what has come to be known in popular parlance as the "north-east corner of Ireland."

"PRIVILEGED MINORITIES" Mr. Lloyd George must then confine his attention to the counties of Antrim and Down and the City of Belfast if he is to find the homogeneity of which he speaks. But even here he is so anxious to make, for in Co. Down he will unexpectedly knock up against 64,485 Catholics, in Antrim 39,751 Catholics, and in the City of Belfast no less than 93,243 Catholics.

WHERE IS HOMOGENEOUS "ULSTER?" The Prime Minister tells us that the first question to be determined in the preliminary process for partition is "what precisely should be regarded as the homogeneous North-

East." As well might he try to describe a square circle as endeavour to effect the object he proposes to himself. It would be to discover a thing that has no existence. It must be that the word "homogeneous" is a term which in its application belongs exclusively to the Protestant section of the community, else, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Armagh and Derry City, with their combined Catholic majority of 16,896 souls, would be regarded as homogeneous.

But, supposing an effort were made to manufacture a "homogeneous Protestant North-East Ulster" it may reasonably be asked, who is to be the judge? Is it to be a Government that has already shown its bias by practically declaring that the undefined North-Eastern entity has a right to impose its will on Ireland no less in the matter of education than in the form of government under which the majority of the Irish people are to live? Or is the whole affair to be arranged in accordance with the demand of Sir E. Carson, regardless of justice, fair play, or even common decency, trampling under foot, the rights of the Catholic majority in three counties and the city of Derry, while ignoring the claims of the large Catholic population in the remaining three of the six counties marked out for the carving knife?

to the groundless and unjust claims of a minority confined to a little corner of Ulster which he disregards of the other "fundamental fact" which he spoke, viz., the voice of Ireland as a nation.

On last Wednesday night Mr. Lloyd George when replying to the amendment to the Address on the Nationalisation of Coal Mines, is reported to have said: "If Mr. Lunn claimed that a privileged minority should decide this matter (the nationalisation of mines) against a majority the Government would fight him on that to the end. . . . If it succeeded, there was an end to Constitutional Government."

It would be interesting to hear Mr. Lloyd George's explanation why a privileged minority in the N. E. corner of Ulster should rule the majority of Irishmen while in England such procedure would be "the end of constitutional government."

SAUCE FOR THE GANDER

But granting, for the sake of argument, that Belfast and the area immediately adjoining it has a right to have special safeguards and special provisions made for its interests, regardless of the united demand of the majority of the nation, have not the Catholics of the north-east an equal right to similar consideration seeing that they are relatively more numerous as compared with the Protestants of the north-east than the Protestants of the north-east are to the whole of the Catholic population of Ireland.

It must be clear as noonday to the least observant that the sole cause for such discrimination in favour of "the alien in race, alien in sympathy, etc." is the religion they happen to profess. If the facts that Protestants are alien in religion, alien in sympathy, etc., is regarded as a sufficient argument to show the necessity of making special provision for them, why does it not hold also in favour of the Catholics of the North-east, who, though not aliens, certainly differ from the aliens in religion, sympathy and outlook.

How often we hear of the intolerant position that would be created for Protestants if they were placed under a Dublin Parliament, but never a word is uttered about the infinitely more intolerable position that would be created for the Catholics of the North-east were they placed under the domineering sway of their Protestant friends.

With us it is not a mere speculation that the future might bring. We can see the future foreshadowed in the actions of the past. Experience has taught us that wherever Protestants are in the majority, whether it be in the county council, borough council, urban council, in fact, in any council or committee, and have positions of emolument at their disposal, "No Catholic need apply."

And this is the condition of things that the Government is prepared to perpetuate and render even still more galling by establishing an Orange Free State and calling it homogeneous.

HARD UP FOR ARGUMENTS

The Premier must have been very hard pressed for arguments to make a case for the partition of Ireland when he had to fall back on the isolated and singular statements of two priests whose ideas on the subject are, to say the least of it, out of harmony with the sentiments of Irish Catholics almost without exception. Of this fact Mr. Lloyd George could not fail to be aware. That he should have recourse to such special pleading exposed the weakness of the cause, which, in opposition to his own openly avowed convictions, he was then advocating.

THE REAL MOTIVE OF PARTITION

But, he was not long in showing his hand, and making known to the world, unintentionally, I presume, the real motive cause behind his new Partition scheme. That his object is not to serve Ireland or any part of it, but, by dividing her territory, and separating her people, to weaken her power, the following statement makes clear. "You have only to look," he said, "to what happened in the late War to realize what would have happened if Ireland had been a separate unit." Divide and conquer, then, is his motto. Ireland cannot be allowed to remain a "separate unit," because such a condition of things would not serve England.

For Mr. Lloyd George's proposals in the concrete Irishmen can have nothing but contempt. Whether viewed from the national or financial standpoint they spell bankruptcy. They show a complete disregard for Irish sentiment, for the claims of justice, and for those principles of freedom, liberty, and self-determination which the people of the world are determined should govern the destinies of nations.

The proposed concession to our friends in the south of a nominal Parliament without resources and without power can only be regarded as a sop to the weak and the selfish for the purpose of dividing our people. Divide and conquer is the principle that governs the two Bills which English statesmen in their pretended anxiety for our welfare propose to force upon Ireland, but the bribe as he is so anxious to make, for in Co. Down he will unexpectedly knock up against 64,485 Catholics, in Antrim 39,751 Catholics, and in the City of Belfast no less than 93,243 Catholics.

WHERE IS HOMOGENEOUS "ULSTER?" The Prime Minister tells us that the first question to be determined in the preliminary process for partition is "what precisely should be regarded as the homogeneous North-

land. The Globe claimed that the "better class" of Americans were against the action of the Senate. It wondered how that bold claim was proved by clippings from papers numbering, I think, three, the friend of Northcote leading.

I consulted the U. S. Census for 1910, to see if I could gain any evidence that the "better class" of Americans were, to put it very plainly, unfriendly to Ireland, which little "gem of the ocean" was proved by our Irish-American historiographer, to have given 35% of Washington's soldiers, without whose aid America might not have won freedom. The reader will find it all recorded from the Muster rolls of Washington's Army, in "A Hidden Phase of the Revolution."

Mr. M. J. O'Brien, the historiographer, proved the Irish help was given by Catholic Irishmen. He found 100 ancient Irish names, whose owners gave over 12,000 men to Washington, including 695 Kellys, 494 Murphyys, 327 Connors and O'Connors, 331 McCarthys, 322 Ryans, and so on. There were many other Irish names besides the 100 who gave 12,293 Gaels to fight for freedom under Gen. Washington. Admiral Jack Barry and Gen. John Sullivan, etc. In over 32,000,000 of white stock in the U. S. A., I could not see why 30,000,000 of them should be unfriendly to the brave, generous men from Catholic Ireland, who have given so much to Britain, France, Austria, Chili, America, Canada, etc. but who received so little in return. Alas! One could write a mighty sermon on human ingratitude.

Reader, look through this section of the U. S. Census, and see if you can see who were the "better class" Americans unfriendly to Ireland.

The 13th census of the United States, 1910, shows a total of 32,243,382 people of foreign white stock, native-born or foreign born, in the United States:

Table with 2 columns: Nationality and Population. Includes entries for Germans, Austrians, Dutch, Hungarians, Irish, English, Welsh, French, Italians, Belges, Portugal, etc., with corresponding population figures.

During 35 years I have been privileged to defend Ireland and its Catholic children in Canadian and American papers. Slander still flows from enemies who should be Ireland's friends. America has championed Ireland, but even in America the "interests" have produced enmity to the little island that, practically, won freedom for it.

England has grown rich and powerful on Irish money, Irish land and Irish soldiers. Is it grateful? Listen to this: I have just re-perused the finding of the Childers' Commission in 1896. Such a Unionist as Lord Darnley commented most bitterly on the fact that this British Commission reported Ireland as having paid annually (even all through the famine and horrors that robbed Ireland in 70 years of 4,000,000 people) \$18,000,000 more than its just share of taxes into the British Treasury!!! With interest it would amount to over two billion dollars—enough to pay for building the British Fleet! It would produce, at interest \$100,000,000 annually, sufficient to permanently build up Ireland, and render any future collection of taxes unnecessary! But, that mystery, Lloyd George, is not only not grateful to Ireland, but actually asks Ireland, in the hybrid home rule which he offers the distressed Gael, to contribute another \$90,000,000 annually for the upkeep of Great Britain!

Keep these marvellous Irish truths in mind, and never let yourselves be deceived by the consciousness propaganda now rampant everywhere. GARRETT O'CONNOR, Bridgeburg, Ont.

POLAND FREE, LIGHT CANDLE KEPT IN ROME SINCE 1867 The Osservatore Romano publishes an account of the reception in Poland of the votive candle, kept here since 1867, waiting for the day of resurrection of that Catholic country. Their Eminences, Cardinal Kakowski and Cardinal Dalbor, were charged by His Holiness to bear it to Poland; and there was both devotion and enthusiasm at Warsaw on the occasion of this, the religious ceremony of the restoration of Poland.

Monsignor Ratti, the Papal Nuncio, was the speaker of the occasion, from which he drew the happy lesson of the happy union of Poland with the Holy See. Among the principal ecclesiastical dignitaries were the Archbishops of Lemberg, of Latin and Armenian rite, and the Bishops of Vilna and Przemysl, also M. Paderewski, the Marshal of the Diet, the President of the Council of Ministers, the Syndic of Warsaw.

After the ceremony at the Archbishop's residence, a procession was formed to the Cathedral where the Mass was celebrated by Cardinal Dalbor. It was "the Gloria" the Marshal of the Diet lit the votive candle, which had been waiting over half a century in Rome. Cardinal Kakowski gave Benediction.

Editor CATHOLIC RECORD: When the War was young, I clipped this list from a Buffalo paper of many papers alleged to be working in the interest of the London Times: New York Times, Philadelphia Ledger, Washington Times, Atlantic Constitution, N. Orleans Times-Picayune, St. Louis Republic, Louisville Courier-Journal, Chicago Journal, Chicago Herald, Detroit Free Press, Boston Post, Providence Journal, Springfield Republican, Hartford Courant, Philadelphia N. American, New York World, Chicago Tribune, Washington Post, Cincinnati Enquirer, also Buffalo, Los Angeles, Denver, Brooklyn and Seattle papers. The Toronto Globe, last week, had all of which criticized the U. S. Senate for having passed a motion favoring self-determination for Ire-