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IRELAND'S "TWO NATIONS"

As the work of the Irish Conven tion draws to a close and anxiety deepens as to the outcome, our Canadian papers occasionally throw their powerful editorial searchlight on Ireland past, present and future and baffled, if it has not bankrupted, English statesmanship for centuries. While the resignation of Sir Edward oppose the only feasible Irish settlement some papers promptly justified such a course; when it appeared that it was to aid in such settlement that Carson resigned they as promptly repudiated their former position as an unmerited aspersion on the patriotism of a great statesman!

The London Free Press has several times strung together editorially the platitudes of an almost forgotten stage of discussion of the ever present problem of Ireland. A solution, must be found that will square with the solemn professions which justify the War or England must stand pilloried before the civilized world.

This from the latest of the Free Press series may be taken as more or less typical of the outcropping of the Lower Silurian period :

"The Nationalists talk as though 'the Irish people' were a nation. There are two nations in Ireland differing in race, religion, character and even in language, as the speaking and writing of Erse progresses. Today two peoples inhabit Ireland, each of which should be self determining, according to the principles gaining ground in the civilized

We shall let a staunch Ulater Protestant. St. John G. Irvine, answer this interesting survival of an exploded theory. In his" Sir Edward Carson and the Ulster Movement" he goes right to the point resurrected are no more Life than the gargoyles from the Free Press scrap-book :

nonsense that was said or written versy arose out of the talk about decorative aspect; but closely akin pire. But it will contribute power-the two nations in Ireland: Cath- to all other men in his essential fully to clear the minds of its readers. olic and Protestant. kind is the sort of twaddle that uttered by politicians and journal- and Hottentots." ists and persons who have never seriously thought about anything in their lives for ten consecutive min-

much bigger task of disabusing men and the men of Kent." English minds of a long cherished prejudice. His argument is even supervenes in Ireland, making a more useful in Canada where we material difference, he answers : have such a widespread though anaemic imitation of English prestrength about the time that the majority of Englishmen have out-

St. John Irvine declares a fundamental truth which G. K. Chesterton often emphasizes:

"There are two facts about men different. It is the confusion of England. these two facts which creates disfor men, ignorant of or inresemblances where there are differences, and differences where there or vice versa, in England." are close affinities."

generalizations about races which and refreshing revelation of the Daily Chronicle, cables the N. Y. make for "suspicion, distrust, con- mind and spirit of that young, sane tempt, hatred and all uncharitable- and vigorous Ulster which is superness," and which he believes are seding the factitious "Ulster" of the hangs in the balance. And that "Lloyd European Disaster.

erribly from loose generalizations as Ireland has, and few peoples have been so tragically misunderstood and misrepresented by the English

After a caustic reference to the take in asserting that they do not understand Irishmen, he says :

"When a man has learned to underunderstand all men. That, however, is an understanding at which me men refuse to arrive, and so it happens that the world is governed in the plan of tragical ignorance and calamitous generalizations. .

"Journalists and politicians have made and spread the false generali zations that antagonize men and obscure the truth. The Unionist journalists and politicians spend place mainly inhabited by archangels: the exceptions to the archangelic characters are, of course, the Catholics and Nationalists whose liabolical nature is too terrible to be calmly contemplated. The rest of Ireland. save for the saving grace of solated Unionists, is peopled by persons whose dispositions are of a kind that cannot be discussed in polite

To the Englishmen whose minds are still "moidhered" by false generalizations Mr. Irvine devotes some attention. Touching the familiar generalization about the industry and thrift of Ulster in contrast with the rest of Ireland he writes:

" Enormous energy and enterprise are to be discovered in Belfast settle off-hand a question that has but equal energy and resource may The skill and enterprise shown in the making of the biggest and best loats in the world are equalled, on Carson was believed to indicate that their own plane, by the skill and this Irish rebel sought a free hand to enterprise shown by the peasants on the western seaboard who have liter. ally turned bare bog-land into cul-tivable farms with few resources beyond their fingers and the kelp they tore from the sea. .

"The aggregate wealth of Ulster is probably greater than the aggregate wealth of the rest of Ireland, but the individual wealth of the rest of Ireland is now almost certainly greater than the individual wealth of Ulster.

"Another twenty-five years of development will mean a remarkably prosperous agricultural Ireland. exceptional suffering caused by the European Disaster to the no suffering caused by the chaos of the industrial system, and will remember that Belfast has a deplorable record as a centre of sweated industries, it will not be difficult for him on the whole, is a happier and more prosperous one for the peasant (generally speaking, a Catholic) than it is for the workman (generally speaking, a Protestant).'

Our author is at infinite pains to demonstrate an obvious and irrefragable fact which, nevertheless, has been obscured by lazy generalizations

"All men are alike, fashioned according to type, 'made' as the Bible has it, 'in the image of God.' They resemble each other in fundamentals; they differ in inessentials. The inessentials are of great importance since they give color and varto human existence, but they orm the Free Press scrap-book:

"Perhaps the most stupid of all the prince that was said or written prince that was said or written prince the last Home Prince control." Talk of this aspect; that is to say, he is very twaddle that much like Englishmen, Frenchmen of all too prevalent cant.

Admitting "the decorative" differences between Ulstermen (Protestant inaction in case the Convention fail very conscience of men and women clusive. Even it true the greater ap and Catholic) and the rest of the should read carefully what the Wash of all nations. But Albert, rejoicing plication of the foreigners as an index This vigorous assertion of a truth | inhabitants of Ireland, Mr. Irvine | ington correspondent of the London | in the deep love of his own people self-evident in Ireland would be quite who knows his England as well as Times says of the effect such shirk. sufficient if Mr. Irvine were address- Reland asserts that "these differ- ing of responsibility would have in estly grateful for the approval of the ing himself to his fellow Irishmen ences are immaterial and no greater the United States. It was quite to be highest moral authority of Christenin or out of Ulster; but he essays the than the differences of Lancashire- expected that some one unnamed dom, moves the heart as well as the

To the objection that religion

member of an Ulster Protestant iudice which attains here its greatest | family, as great a difference between a Manchester Dissenter and a Tun-Cork Catholic. There is certainly as much bitter feeling; and in some inwhich probably contain all the truth | tween members of the Church of ants and Catholics in Ireland, generally speaking, feel as antagonistic different to truth, insist on seeing towards each other as Low Churchmen feel towards High Churchmen,

onsecutive minutes.

With such "twaddle," as we have quoted from the Free Press, the counterpart of which our readers will meet with in other papers, Mr. miserable pride" that Englishmen Irvine has scant patience; but its prevalence he recognizes and despite its silliness he vigorously refutes it. And the utility if not the necessity of his refutation will be our excuse for another extended quotation :

in the end of all Ireland contains only Irishmen, that the Ulsterman is as flercely in love with his mother Ireland as any man in Connacht or Leinster or Munster.

"When the last Home Rule con roversy was at its height, some born fool proposed that Ulster should be politically detached from the rest of Ireland and politically attached to Scotland or the Isle of Man or some proposed that it should be pay-detached. I have never yet met any detached. I have never yet met any sed that it should be physically Ulsterman to whom this proposal did not sound like a proposal to commit a horrible act of outrage. It was made and supported by people who cannot rid their minds of the belief that Ulstermen are not Irishmen. These people speak of us as 'Ulster cots, a description which westrongly resent. It is as inept as I should be if I were to describe the fishermen in the Devonian village in which I am now living as 'Devon Spaniards' be cause they have Spanish blood in their veins, and are, some of them, less 'typically' English looking than anyone, not a foreigner, can be. At the risk of being tedious and vainly repetitious, I wish to impress upo the mind of the English reader this that Ulstermen are Irishmen that they are proud of their Irishry and that they dislike intensely any suggestion that they are aliens in a hostile land. It is important, English reader should know that Ulstermen have been as rebel--against the English as the 'Irish have been.

The first of the many illusions held about Ireland by English people which must be dispelled is that there are two nations in Ireland : one, the minority, resident in Ulster and composed of Protestants, all of whom e thrifty, industrious, sober, nest, intelligent, brave and highly enlightened; the other, the majority resident in the remaining provinces and composed of Catholics, all of whom are spendthrift, lazy, drunker corrupt, ignorant, often cowardly invariably superstitious. In Ulster itself, nearly half of the population is Catholic, possessed of all the characteristic virtues and vices the typical Ulster Protestant, differing from him only in the ex-

pression of their belief in God. There are not two Irelands and two kinds of Irishmen: there are four millions of Irish, men, women and children, each of them varying from all the others, but all of them closely akin in their needs, and there is only one Ireland, whole and in divisible, a nation knit, as all nations are, out of the incalculable dissimilarities and resemblances of its people into an unperishable unity."

St. John Irvina is a Protestant : his book may not be entirely pleasing to the Catholic Home Ruler who is disposed to put Ulster Orangemen outside the pale of Irish nationality and Ireland except that which furnishes soothing syrup for his own particular | been proclaimed and that the highprejudices. It will be utterly shocking to those who regard Carson as a of men." statesman and Carsonism as an different from all other men in his heroic form of devotion to the Emfully to clear the minds of its readers

should semi-officially disavow inter ference on the part of the President; for justice: but the Times representative in The British Parliament cannot at one "There appears to me, who am a and the same time usurp the right and shirk the responsibility of governing Ireland. No rehash of such bridge Wells Anglican as there is tawdry fictions as "two nations in between a Belfast Protestant and a Ireland "can save England from able conditions of a just peace so far people with a blasphemous travesty being branded as a hypocrite if her as concerns Belgium.

"Any settlement that would not own rite. We believe that bogus treatment of Ireland is in flat constances more. I believe that there is more amonity in a small Irish tradiction with her loud and selfand Protestants than there is bea people stand for a tyranny on the about them: one is that all men are length and Nonconformists in a people stand for a tyranny on the author alike; the other is that all men are town or village of similar size in part of an ally that mocks at the profit. I doubt whether Protest- basic principle for which both profess to be fighting: "Governments derive all their just rights from the consent of the governed." This is quite keenly realized in England, ditions: On the whole the book, which was and therein lies reason for hope. Our author deprecates the fatuous published in 1916, is an interesting Robert Donald, editor of the London Times that "the prestige of Great of Belgium to Germany form a point Britain at the peace conference" in the program of German policy. responsible in great measure for the "politicians, journalists and persons George as Prime Minister cannot

"Few countries have suffered so about anything in their lives for ten tion to the small races and nationalities of Europe and have the Irish problem unsolved on his back."

Let the Irish convention succeed or fail, it must not be forgotten that it is an expedient of the British Government. Its failure removes not a jot of responsibility from the Government which must solve the Irish problem or leave it to be solved by Ireland without help or hindrance from outside.

BELGIUM

The public peace negotiations go on apace. Both Count Czernin, the Austria-Hungarian Foreign Minister, and Count von Hertling, the German Chancellor, have answered Lloyd George and President Wilson. The German Chancellor takes up seriatim the fourteen specific points laid down such place. He might as well have in the President's peace program. The belligerents are quite evidently making distinct advances toward a common basis for formal negotiations.

One point emphasized both by the British Premier and the American President as a sine qua non is the absolute independence of Belgium. It is impossible to imagine any compromise here. A victorious Germany could impose no more humiliating dian West of natives from countries condition a defeated Entente Alliance of Europe are availing themselves of than the refusal of independence and reparation to Belgium.

Lloyd George put this condition as first and most essential:

"The first requirement therefore always put forward by the British Government and their Allies, has been the complete restoration, political, territorial and economic, of independence of Belgium, and such reparation as can be made for the devastation of its towns and prov-

This is no demand for war indemn-

It is no more and no less than an istence that before there can be any hope for stable peace, this great breach of the public law of Europe must be repudiated and so far as possible repaired."

words, expresses the self-same condition with no less emphasis as absolutely indispensable:

"Belgium, the whole world will gree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and deter mined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of internation

al law is forever impaired. King Albert's Government answera tone and spirit worthy of the Catholic King "who kept his soul' rebukes the bigots who under preence of love for Belgium vent their hatred of the Pope.

"The honest people of all countries will rejoice with the Belgian Government that the injustice of who enjoys reading nothing about which Belgium was the victim and oral authority of Christendom est me remains watchful amidst the passion

Canadian editors who think they of Belgium and their unequivocal can justify the British Government's demand for reparation, touch the the lists" is interesting but not conand the respect of all others, mod-

"For the integrity of Belgium, the Washington is hardly a gullible fool. territory of the mother country and colonies, political, economic and military independence without cor against a renewal of the aggression of 1914—such remain the indispens-

recognize them would shake the very foundations of justice, since it would town or village between Catholics righteous professions in the face of forever more be established in international domains that tion of right creates a claim for its | Statues and crosses mark the limit author and may become a source of

> Chancellor von Hertling disclaims all intention of annexing Belgium; but, as will be seen, he refuses to assent to the Allies unalterable con-

"Point seven: Belgium: My pre

our opponents have not unreservedly taken the standpoint that the in-tegrity of the Allies' territory can offer the only possible basis of peace discussion, I must adhere to the standpoint hitherto always adopted and refuse the removal in advance of the Belgian affair from the entire

Until Germany realizes the abso lutely essential condition precedent with regard to Belgium, peace negotiations must be abortive, or Germany must be able to dictate the

CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT CHURCH EXTENSION

Under the heading "Foreign Children Head the Classes" the Free Press gave this interesting account of a London meeting of what we may call Presbyterian Church Extension

Startling and at the same time convincing facts and figures of the inroads the foreign element is making on what was formerly British rights, in the Prairie Provinces, were forcibly presented last evening at the evening sessions of the Women's Mis-sionary Society's annual meeting of the Presbytery of London, which opened yesterday afternoon in New St. James' Church, by Miss Eliza MacGregor, travelling secretary of

This great influx in our Canaevery opportunity along material lines," said Miss MacGregor, "but I m sorry to say their aptitude for things spiritual is not so keen. These foreigners, chiefly Russians, have their farms and homes and are being educated and are making great strides commercial life. It is already estimated that within the next ten or ern Provinces will be in the hands of I have been told that the children

of these foreigners have far greater mental ability than Canadian chil dren with whom they associate daily in the public schools and while I do not agree with this statement that they have equal or greater ability, I am firmly convinced that the children of foreigners in the West have far greater application of their mental ability. Whether in the And President Wilson, in different primary or in the advanced school classes, foreigners almost invariably are heading the lists, which represents another avenue that is being entered upon by the newcomers. Money and power are within their grasp and it is just here that the work of the missions is being applied. Unless they are told of the lo Jesus Christ and religious liberty Canada will have to cope with

serious problem."

Miss MacGregor outlined the work in the mission homes throughout the are supporting and in which children foreign birth are being instructed Christian ways. While presenting the facts Miss MacGregor made a ing Pope Benedict's Peace Note in foreign and home fields.

We have no apology to make for so engthy an extract; rather we invite you to read it again. "These foreigners, chiefly Russians," are, we have good reason to think, chiefly Poles and consequently chiefly Catholics. Coming from what used to be Russian Poland it may be justifiable to call them Russians; but it is none the less misleading. Talking with the Vicar-General of Winnipeg the other day we were told other small nations; while in far off ent coal crisis in Canada and the that the Poles were making just the Australia the Archbishop of Mel-England would never sheathe the advancement described by Miss ence of over thirty thousand Irishmen hardship and suffering to many George and President Wilson in their of why "foreigners whether in the scathing condemnation of the rape primary or in the advanced school classe almost invariably are heading of character suggests a comparison quite as embarrassing for the native Canadian as that which is concerned only with mental ability.

We can understand the solicitude conscience of mankind in his demand for people of whom it is said "money and power are within their grasp. We recall the missionary zeal which 'told" young Ruthenians" of the love of Jesus Christ and religious ditions or restriction, reparation for liberty" and sent them to solve damage suffered and the guarantees | Canada's "serious problem" by posing as priests and deceiving their priests and bogus Masses proved too strong and malodorous a meat for honest Presbyterian stomachs.

There is another item in the report of the Women's Missionary Society's proceedings that is or

"The financial statement of the W. M. S. for the past year makes a most creditable showing. The total decessors in office repeatedly declared that at no time did the annexation general fund represent 86,797.15, to pression that the Englishman is an Cathalia Hard at Indian Cathalia Hard Indian Cathalia Cathalia Hard Indian Cathalia Cathal general fund represent \$6,797,15, the supply fund, \$258 60. Value bales sent, \$2,685.86; from the mis-The Belgian question belongs to sion bands for the general fund, those questions, the details of which \$926.06; to the supply secretary, are to be settled by negotiation at \$6.80, and bales valued at \$731.

ceipts for 1917 of \$7.696.64, showing an increase of \$12.65 over 1916.

Home and Foreign Missions?

The Vicar-General of Winnipeg told us that one Polish priest had twenty-two missions to serve in that diocese. Catholic Church Extension is the Home Missionary Society for Canada. Father Fraser worthily represents Canada in the Foreign Mission field.

IRELAND AND THE HAPPY IRISH

The Irish problem was old when our great grandfathers were young ; it is perennial. But never did Irefor the result, which may be made are being bled white to fill the economic and industrial life. broken ranks at the front, England, If the reader is looking for scathas a measure of safety, retains an ing invectives let him turn to the army of 180,000 men in Ireland. pages wherein Begbie the English-Sinn Fein candidates have been man vents his scorn upon those who elected by overwhelming majorities would crush out the very life of Irein every recent bye election. De land, and whose brutal soldiery im-Valera, the present leader of the paled infants on the ends of their movement for national independence, spears, accompaning the action with is received everywhere with acclaim. the ejaculation "Nits will be lice." Some Irish Americans have intimated If he wishes pretty pictures let him that any resistance on the part of read this Protestant's description of Ireland to England at present would religious home life in the West of be construed as an offense against Ireland. No Catholic pen could have the United States. The venerable paid a higher tribute to the joyous-

cates of the new movement.

advocates. Lindsay Crawford, an to the author's description of the part that Ulster played in the years sway, where people are concerned stirring appeal for greater service for to bring them back to the side of Ire. the ugly treeless streets, enter the land, to make them stand, as their melancholy army of mill workers, fathers stood, for the defence and whose brief life knows no sweetness, maintenance of Irish Nationality, no joyousness and, alas, often no We are asking nothing from England | hope. that is not ours. We are simply asking her to restore the title-deeds of our Nation." Miss Jeanette Rankin of Montana, the first female of motion that, when peace negotiations begin the United States should insist that Ireland's claims should be thankfulness that our lot is cast on considered together with those of this side of the Atlantic. The presthat he was heartily in accord with thousands. But we have not as yet the present movement for national had to flee from our homes in disindependence, and that, by reason of order and terror, as multitudes have the blood that their sons had shed in had to do in Italy (to cite only the men in Australia had a right to of hunger on any extended scale. receive justice and receive it now.

> It is not our intention to offer any to George Bernard Shaw. Our pur# insults levelled at the Holy See, and pose in making these citations, in at Catholics in general in this period duce to our readers two recent pub- score of their expulsion from Gerlications dealing with Ireland, that many in Bismarck's time. The same should have weight owing to the writer remarks on the significant first-hand information that their fact that whereas the Jesuits were authors possessed. We refer to "The really driven from the Fatherland Lady Next Door," by Harold Begbie, certain secret societies, which it is which was warmly recommended by unnecessary to name, are still the RECORD four years ago; and "hugged to the Imperial bosom.', which appeared recently in this Evidently the Kaiser had nothing to country under the title " The Happy | fear from the latter, but the Jesuits Irish;" and to "Ireland," by Kather- were considered to be an ever-present ine Hughes, the accomplished writer menace to his schemes for the subjuwho has given us that charming gation of mankind. biography, that fascinating story of pioneer missionary life in the West, Father Lacombe the Blackrobe Society of Jesus, and the reasons

pression that the Englishman is an Catholic Herald of India in a recent unemotional prosaic individual who issue of that well conducted journal. is concerned only with pounds, shill- His words we do not scruple in this ings and pence; and that the Irish- instance to paraphrase and make our who have never seriously thought preach the policy of self-determination as the peace conference. So long as Sixty-eight representing total regetter unpractical person, wholly the Reformation is read in conjuncman is a quixotic dreamer, an alto own. It is only when the history of

hour. Most people would naturally This represents the financial activ- suppose that Harold Begbie being a ity of the Women's Missionary man, an Englishman and a Protest-Society in one Presbytery, that of ant at that would have discussed the London and the surrounding district. Irish question from an economic and Our Lord commended the prudence political standpoint, and would have and foresight of the unjust steward. been incapable of appreciating the Have Catholics nothing to learn strength of those unseen forces of from Protestants in the matter of religion and tradition that contribute so much to the formation of the national character. On the other hand, Katherine Hughes being a woman with Celtic blood in her veins and the Catholic faith in her heart, should by all the rules of causality have given us pretty pictures of Irish home life, touching references to the days of famine and persecution, and emotional appeals to men of Irish blood to come to the aid of fair Kathleen ni Houlihan But she does nothing of the kind. She deals largely with the Sinn Fein movement in its attitude to education, agricultural pursuits and Irish land occupy such a prominent place industries. She arraigns Lloyd in world politics as at this very George before the tribunal of hismoment. An Irish convention is tory, of fair play and of his own holding its long protracted sessions, public declarations, and in arguand the people are feverishly waiting ments that are irrefutable in the force and cogency of their reasoning known before this reaches our read. and in the wealth of facts and figures. ers. A few days ago the Imperial she marshalls so adroitly, she proves Parliament, by a vote of 136 to 48, the injustice that is being done to decided not to enforce conscription Ireland not only in her lawful in Ireland. While British colonies national aspirations but also in her

Cardinal Logue utters his warning ness in the midst of poverty and hardagainst any recourse to arms that ships, the almost targible nearness would be criminal by reason of its to heaven, the charity, the poetry, very impotency. On the other hand the sweetness and the purity of that many of the clergy are ardent advo- life as personified in Maggie Mullen of Port-na-Blah. If he wishes to In other countries Ireland's realize still more by way of contrast national claims find many zealous the beauty of that life let him turn Ulster Protestant, tells a Toronto slums of the Orange Capital, where audience that "We cannot forget the the "Gospel of Mammon" holds gone by in the national fight. If in not with Life but with Wages, where later years, through the intrigues of there is no childhood, where the British statesmen, these men have been "pinched, peevish, unlovable" babies weaned from the national cause, it is of the squalid homes of West Belfast, not, I am convinced, a hopeless task after a short term at school and in

NOTES AND COMMENTS

A GLANCE at photographs of scenes member of Congress, has given notice being enacted daily in the harassed countries of the Old World should inspire us all with a sense of devoutdefence of Belgium and Servia, Irish latest example), nor to feel the pangs demand that their Motherland should | And these even are among the lesser evils in the War zone.

opinion on this question. We will AN OVERSEAS contemporary calls leave that to the omniscient editors attention to the singular circumof some of our Canadian dailies, and stance that amid all the jibes and pointing to these straws which show of trial, we hear nothing of the old how the tide is flowing, is to intro- charge against the Jesuits on the

THE ATTITUDE of the world to the therefor, have seldom been more These two books afford a striking accurately or more succinctly ex-