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LONDON, SATURDAY, AUGUST 30, 1924

THE IRISH BOUNDARY QUESTION

The Boundary question is beginning to loom large on the political horizon of Great Britain and Ireland. The Labor Government have declared that the Treaty obligation will be carried out in letter and spirit regardless of consequences. Which is everywhere interpreted as going to the country in a general election should the House of Lords reject the legislation already introduced. Ulster having persisted in her refusal to appoint one of the Commissioners the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decided that since no provision had been made in the Anglo-Irish Treaty, nor in the British Act of Parliament ratifying the Treaty for this refusal of Ulster to act, further legislation would be necessary before the Boundary Commission could function with all the powers conferred on it by Treaty and Act of Parliament. It is the fate of this necessary legislation which the British Government has already introduced that will determine whether or not the "Irish Question" will be again an issue in British politics; whether or not a general election will be held this Fall. Parliament meets again Sept. 30 next to deal with the question if Ulster persists in her present attitude.

Maude Radford Warren in a special article in the New York Times gives her opinion of things Irish after a careful first hand study of them in Ireland. She was apparently inclined to think that this "I'll never give in" talk is often heard from people who know they are beaten; but she tells of two public utterances that rather shocked her out of that belief that Ulster opposition was likely bluster.

"I had gone to the opening of a war memorial in Belfast and was listening to a speaker who was none other than Lady Craig, wife of the Northern Premier. Her words were to the effect that in Ulster they always wished for peace, but if there should be any infringement of their rights and liberties, they would 'know how to act as they had done in the past.' What was this but a reminder of the gun-running in Ulster against the British law? Again, I dropped into a church, which I chose because the clergyman was called Redmond, a name one respects. And one part of his sermon ran: 'Should we be deserted by the British Government and should there be determined effort on the part of Southern Ireland to wrench from us the two coveted counties * * * it would be your solemn duty to resist * * * by resorting even to the extent of arms.'"

"Perhaps these two people never visited blood-drenched hospital beds during war or saw people mourning their dead. That Ulster should allow a woman and a clergyman, neither concerned in politics, to make such public utterances is significant. It is the same old story: the North terrified at the prospect of union; the South looking on Ireland as indivisible, wanting the boundary line changed as a step toward union."

This writer throws considerable light on other factors of the boundary dispute quite as important, and even more pressing for solution than the political. To understand the situation it is necessary to take these factors into consideration:

"There is more in this boundary matter than the wish of the Free State for unity and of the North for severance. To a spectator with an eye on ports and railroads, the boundary line appears artificial and economically extravagant. Consider Derry, inside the territory of the six counties. Three-quarters of her trade in dutiable and non-dutiable articles was with the

South, and of this, three-quarters with her neighbor, Donegal. Except for the item of tobacco, the trade of Derry in dutiable goods was almost twice as great as the trade of Belfast with the whole Free State. Derry wants to keep her natural market, does not want the customs difficulties to block her trade. Consider the port of Newry, whose political sympathies are Free State, but is geographically in the six counties. Her trade with the Free State is the greater part of her total trade. Her imports of grain and coal and her export of live stock bear comparison with that of Belfast. But as a commercial centre, the place cannot succeed so long as it remains in a political area dominated by Belfast.

And whoever goes to the boundary and listens to the talk there will find that the customs tariff has upset the trade habit of generations by changing trade areas. The Irish, like other people, don't care to be disturbed in their habits. Consider the market town of Clones in the Free State, over the border from Fermanagh, of the six counties. On three sides Clones the northern border marches up to within a mile or less of the town. Formerly, farmers from Fermanagh came every week with cattle and farm products to sell, and bought their groceries, to the mutual advantage of themselves and the shopkeepers. Now, because of the customs, they go to markets further off in Fermanagh, where they gain less and pay more. There are other towns suffering, either on the Free State or the Ulster side, and there are border men, Catholics or Protestants. Free Staters or Ulsterites, who are prepared to pay almost any price, just to wipe out the boundary."

There is a term "rectification of the boundary" that has now become a familiar piece of Ulster and Die-hard Tory propaganda.

The Treaty provides that the Commission of three, one appointed by Northern Ireland, one by the Free State, and one, the chairman, by England

"Shall determine in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, so far as may be compatible with economic and geographic conditions, the boundaries between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland."

On the other hand the Deputies or Ministers of the Free State uniformly and unanimously state their case in such terms as these: "This question," they say, "has nothing to do with the Government, but, is a matter of the wishes of the people. Great Britain said she was committed to the non-coercion of Ulster, and if Ulster voted to go out, it must go out. We agreed; we did not want to coerce, either. But as the Ulsterites were a minority, so in their six counties there was another minority. If Ulster could stay out, so should the others. If they want to come in, they must come; Great Britain agreed."

This proposition was so eminently fair, so exactly parallel to that which was applied to Ulster, that England perforce agreed. The Irish delegates doubtless saw in the Boundary provision of the Treaty the first step toward achieving complete national unity for Ireland; and it is not in the remotest degree likely that the representatives of England did not see this as clearly and wish it as devoutly as Griffith, Collins and their colleagues.

More "rectification of the boundary" was not intended nor considered; nor would it have been entertained by the Irish signatories of the Treaty if it had been suggested or proposed. On the contrary they insisted on and secured the precise terms of the Treaty of Versailles where large areas were transferred. For instance in Upper Silesia where this great province was divided between Poland and Germany after a vote of the population.

The situation is a good deal like it was nearly three years ago when the Anglo-Irish treaty of peace was being negotiated.

Then that great English newspaper, The Manchester Guardian, thus summed up the case:

"The fundamental error of the Covenanters' case is that it assumes the perpetuity of strife, the impossibility of any permanent reconciliation between the warring elements of Irish life. The first word of the last word of the Government

policy is that for all our sakes—for Ireland's, for Great Britain's, for the Empire's, for the sake of interests even wider than these—there has now to be peace. It is easily to be understood that Covenanting Ireland and even its leaders, living in their little world of struggle and resentments, have not realized this—have not realized the great change which has come over the whole mind of Great Britain and of its governing men. It is hard for us, even here, to realize its full extent. It has been long preparing. . . . Even while the Terror in Ireland was in full blast, all that was best in the mind of the country recoiled from its shameful excesses. People here are utterly weary of it, disgusted with it, increasingly conscious of its folly and futility. And all this time Covenanting Ulster has been unconscious of the change, almost alone has not shared in it, has resented the truce, has continued its faction war right through it, is at this moment only restrained from it by a strong display of military force."

The Guardian concludes by telling Ulster that the "no surrender" attitude is impossible. "It is not a question of surrender; it is a question of rational agreement and compromise." As in 1921 this irreconcilable and obstinate attitude of Ulster did not and could not prevent the stupendous step forward of signing the treaty of peace between Great Britain and Ireland, so in 1924, Ulster irreconcilable and obstinate will fail to prevent the carrying out "in letter and in spirit" an important provision of that treaty.

The Boundary question may be a very disturbing factor in British politics, it may even be the chief issue of a general election; but it can never be allowed to wreck all that has already been accomplished.

The N. Y. Times' writer concludes her article with this sentence: "For, allowing for natural human frailty, if ever a government wished to be understanding, just, sympathetic and progressive, it is that of the Free State."

Though this was not said with particular reference to the Boundary question, it is a fact that is generally and generously recognized in Great Britain. It is an important element of the situation. The contrast between the Free State Government and that of Northern Ireland is striking—and instructive.

FRANCE WILL NOT AVOID HER FATE

By THE OBSERVER

France seems to be determined to rush forward to meet her fate. We have already alluded to her madness in alienating the sentiment of her friends in other countries; notably in Canada, by her policy of intolerant oppression in Alsace. More recently, we have read of a return to intolerant meddling with the legitimate work of the Catholic Church; in the administration of naval affairs. It appears that the new minister of Marine has taken a series of measures which are as contemptible as they are politically foolish.

A sailors' club has been under construction at Toulon on land belonging to the Government. It was intended as a rest and recreation centre for sailors passing through that great naval base. The corner-stone was laid by Mr. Millerand in 1923. The plan of the building was made to include a chapel for the celebration of Catholic services. It is now ordered that the chapel be put to some other use; on the pretext that the neutrality of the State must be respected. This is a repetition of the old hollow mockery of the neutrality of the State in regard to religion. Every fair-minded reader of the news from France these last thirty years knows that the State is not and has not been at any time neutral in regard to religion in France.

If the State wants to be neutral in regard to religion, it has the methods of neutrality in use in the United States and in England, before its eyes. But there is no intention amongst French statesmen of giving to the Catholic religion as much freedom as it has in the most Protestant of the nations of the world. Neither has anything ever been done by French law to restrict the activities of those who make it their business to attack religion. If the plea of

neutrality in religion were honest, which it is not, it would be extended to apply to the case of those who have for their aim to extirpate the very idea of religion from the minds of men. The State would, if that plea were honest, shut them out from teaching against religion at the same time that it shut out the priest and the Catholic teacher.

Is it neutrality to prevent the sailors of the French navy, who are ninety per cent. Catholic, from having a chapel for divine service in their club? But the instructions go further: Before the War, a rule was in force that no priest could enter an hospital room or prison unless sent for, and being there he could have no conversation with anyone except the man who had sent for him. Thus, if a man was unable to speak, and therefore could not personally send for a priest, no priest could approach his bedside even to utter a prayer. Because, forsooth, the State is neutral in religion. What a mockery! What a shibboleth! What a hollow fraud! Do the authors of this fake expect to be believed? Do they think that anyone ever believed them? Canada is neutral in religion; but no man in all this country ever thought of such a mockery of neutrality as to deprive men of the most unquestionable of their natural rights.

Well, the object lesson has come at a good time. France has been slowly isolated by her allies; that is by most of them. Canadians have been disposed to support her claims. How can they keep up their enthusiasm? If Germany is practicing fraud she at least is practicing it in a mere matter of money. She is not extending her hypocrisy to the field of religion, not making herself the ostensible champion of religious liberty while at the same time practising on helpless sailors who have fought her battles, that form of tyranny which in every age and in almost every country has been regarded as the most detestable. Germany at least does not thrust in her secular arm between her dying sailor and the priest of his faith, with mock neutrality on her lips. But in this year 1924, that tyrannical order has been renewed in respect to French naval hospitals. That is the latest news from the land of our admiration; from the brave champion of the liberties of Europe.

Is it any wonder that we are getting tired of sympathizing with a country which outrages in this gross manner all our best sentiments of religious liberty and political propriety? France is running forward to meet her fate. In 1870 she had thirty-eight million inhabitants; and Germany had thirty-seven millions; Britain only thirty millions; and the United States only thirty-six millions. Now Britain has forty-eight millions, Germany has sixty-four millions, and the United States has a hundred and ten millions; and what of France? She has thirty-nine millions; and in fifty years from now she will be down to twenty-five millions. That is one of the fruits of neutrality in religion. That is one of the results of a forcible and fraudulent detachment of the people of France from the Catholic faith which teaches all nations to increase and multiply. France is rushing upon her fate.

That fate, in a political sense, lies in the hands of an alliance between Germany and Great Britain. That alliance might be prevented by the influence of the Catholics of this Empire, and of the United States. But how we continue to care what becomes of a nation which is determined to outrage our sense of decency and honor, and to cast herself down from the pedestal on which we placed her whilst we looked upon her as the great champion of liberty?

NOTES AND COMMENTS

ONE of the most notable events in the literary, no less than in the ecclesiastical world is the celebration this year of the fiftieth anniversary of the ordination to the priesthood of his Eminence, Cardinal Gasquet. His profession as a Benedictine goes three years beyond that, since it was in 1871 that he took his solemn vows as a member of the great Order which he has ever since adorned. There have been few careers in our time more fruitful in good works than that of Cardinal Gasquet, which fact is acknowledged by not only his own Order, and his own Church but by the

world of letters at large, and by those especially who share his zeal for historical studies.

IN the field of English history the Benedictine Cardinal has made for himself a place that is peculiarly his own. Those still in middle life can recall the sensation created by the publication of his "Suppression of the Monasteries" which by general consent completely revolutionized the tradition which had so long held sway as to both the causes and the results of that "great pillage," as another historian, the Anglican, Dr. Jessop, has so aptly termed the escape of the eighth Henry. Men of shallow minds and superficial study with a sinister purpose to serve, may still harp on the old string, but no man who values reputation as a scholar, or even as what is colloquially known as a "well-read man," will venture to do.

THE BOOK on the Monasteries proved to be but the forerunner of a long series of erudite studies on Saxon and Mediaeval England, all of them of unique value for these little understood periods. They gave to the Cardinal a world-wide reputation, and placed him among the first historians of his generation. And, on top of this, came his crowning achievement as President of the Commission appointed by Pius X. to supervise the Vulgate. This still unfinished work has mainly occupied his time for the past fifteen years, and as recently announced the end is in sight. The publication of the first part, now pending, will open up a fresh field for scholars and no doubt inaugurate a new period in Scriptural exegesis.

PRIDE in the possession of one of the most beautiful ruins in all Scotland, and a sort of pining regret for the lost secret of the Middle Ages, which made such structures possible, were the distinguished notes of the local ceremonies commemorative of the 700th anniversary of the foundation of Elgin Cathedral. The Lord Provost, in his address said that as long as he could remember the people of Elgin had looked upon the Cathedral with a great, loving regard, and something approaching reverence. It appealed to them, he said, as representing all that was best in the generations of its four hundred years of active service. "No thoughtful person could look on such a glorious ruin without realizing the fine religious fervor, and equally fine art that raised such a splendid edifice to the glory of God."

DEVELOPING this thought the Rev. William Burnett, avowed that while it was apparent that in those old days Moray had produced monks, "it is equally true that the monks had produced the province of Moray, and that if prosperity had come to that fringe of the coast along the Moray Firth, it was because the monks were the farmers and fishermen, the merchants and administrators, the physicians and philanthropists."

DEALING with what he called "the political importance" of the Cathedral, Dr. Douglas Simpson of Aberdeen referred at length to the "new feudalism" which, as he expressed it, "the crown sought to enforce through the Roman Catholic Church."

From his somewhat restricted viewpoint he asserted that the northern Celts looked upon this new feudalism as tyranny, and the "new" Roman Church as "an alien hierarchy, seeking to block out the memory of the great saints of the early Pictish Church." But, he went on to say, "every candid mind had to allow that the great revolution, of which the Cathedral was a symbol, was, in the long run, not only beneficial, but also an essential step in the formation of Scotland as she is now." All this, he said, "without the least desire to minimise the greatness of the early Celtic past, or to deny the immense debt which all owed to our Celtic heritage and civilization." Where he went astray was in adhering to the old covenanting fallacy that the "great saints of the Pictish Church" were independent of Rome, or that the Roman Church at any time disowned them.

Take pride in doing the simple things well and then you will be assured of the great things, and you will in addition have the confidence in yourself to handle them worthily and efficiently.

POPE'S ENCYCLICAL

BLESSINGS AND GRACES OF HOLY YEAR

(By N. C. W. C. News Service)

Proclamation of the Holy Year and of the indulgences to be obtained by the faithful is made in the Encyclical of Pope Pius XI., of which the following is a translation:

Pius Bishop Servant of the Servants of God to all the faithful who shall read these Letters Health and the Apostolic Benediction. The Church, taking as example the infinite mercy of God, and proposing to send out an invitation for expiation and atonement of guilt to such as neglect the ordinary means of salvation, either because they have drifted away from the Catholic Faith, or through negligence or sloth, and who not only do not reflect seriously and to good effect, but do not even think of rendering account to Divine Justice for guilt committed.

One of these means out of the ordinary, beloved children, will be offered to you in the "Great Jubilee" which next year will be celebrated in this beloved city according to the custom and tradition of our ancestors, called also, as is well known, "Holy Year," being inaugurated and carried out with very holy rites and considered the fittest means to promote holiness of life.

If ever there was need there is the greatest need today that We should repeat to you St. Paul's warning words: "Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile, ecce nunc dies salutis." ("Behold, now is the day of grace; behold, now is the day of salvation.") And, indeed, no time could be more opportune and convenient that each of you may ensure for yourselves the treasures of reconciliation and grace.

MODELLED ON SABBAIC YEAR

It was surely a Divine inspiration that the Church established this year of expiation at a given interval of time; for as she drew other rites from the Old Testament—and with far wider and more efficacious significance—so she has introduced this rite into Christian customs on the model of the Sabbatic Year. May it not, indeed, be that in the great privileges which that Divine institution conferred on the Hebrews every fifty years, the graces to which We invite the faithful in the Holy Year were pre-announced and pre-shown?

In character the two are not unlike, but the graces of the Holy Year surpass those of the Sabbatic Year, as spiritual things surpass material. All those things, indeed, which happen during the Sabbatic Year, when the Hebrews recovered all that which had fallen into the hands of others, came back into their own; slaves came back into freedom into their own families; debts were forgiven to debtors.

Even more happily does all this come about in the year of expiation among us Christians: for all who are penitent and conform to the prescriptions of the Apostolic See during the Great Jubilee recover in their entirety all the abundance of merits and gifts which they had lost by sin; they free themselves from the terrible domination of Satan, regain the freedom with which Christ has freed us, and, as a culmination, obtain through the most precious merits of Christ Jesus, the Blessed Virgin Mary and the Saints, full remission of all punishment due to their sins.

AN OPPORTUNITY OF GRACE

Nor is the work of the Great Jubilee, which goes on for a full year, confined to this purification and healing of individual souls. In this "acceptable time," in addition to visits to holy places and increases of public and private devotion, the special outpouring of celestial graces will have the greatest importance to raise minds generally to a higher grade of holiness and for the restoration of human society.

For just as unchecked license of individuals brings harm to all, so, when individuals are turned in the direction of what is good and tend to a more holy life, inevitably human society must improve and come closer to Christ Jesus. True it is that Catholicism has made no small progress in the most recent times, and that the multitudes who have learned from long experience that without God it is vain to hope for better things and peace of soul—are showing a more burning thirst for religion; but it is still necessary that the appetites of the peoples and the immoderate and unjust desires of the nations be curbed according to the precepts of the Gospel, and that men re-unite themselves in Divine charity.

Never can this habit of brotherly love among the peoples be restored, never can there be lasting peace, unless that charity—too long extinguished, indeed entirely forgotten, as a result of the last War—be once more taken to heart by the peoples and taken as inspiration by Governments. There is no one but must realize how the Holy Year can help towards this pacification of individuals and peoples and how opportune the moment is.

TO INCREASE CHARITY

What could bring individuals and peoples together better than that a great multitude of pilgrims should come together from every part of the world in Rome, this second country of the Catholic nations, should gather round the common Father, approach in holy

freedom of association that cement of union the Most Blessed Eucharist, and there reach up to and increase that spirit of charity which the sacred monuments of Rome record and so wonderfully put into the hearts of all as a characteristic note of all Christians? And in this perfection of charity it is Our earnest prayer that the churches which have been held apart from the Church of Rome by age-long and unhappy dissidence may join with Us.

Nothing could give Us greater happiness, nothing could touch Our heart so much, than that many from among them, if not all collectively, should pass into the one fold of Christ, so that We may, on the occasion of this great Jubilee, embrace them with special affection and write them down in the number of children most dear to Us. And We have real hopes that this precious, this most longed-for fruit may not come as not the last result of the celebration of the Holy Year.

It would be of great help for the devotion of the people and for the reaping of an abundant harvest if the course of the Jubilee could be directed and could run as in past ages, but if that cannot be so in its entirety, through the circumstances of the times or the necessities of the offices and committees formed to prepare and direct the coming solemnities, We pray God that anything lacking will supply in abundance with the riches of His mercy.

BEGINS WITH NATIVITY VESPERS

Having in mind, meanwhile, the great benefits for the Catholic religion and for the souls redeemed by the Precious Blood of Jesus Christ, and in full trust that they may be obtained, imploping the aid of Almighty God, author and giver of all good, that He may favor Our purpose and invite and move souls that may be penitent and profit by so singular a grace, following the example of Our Predecessors Roman Pontiffs, with the consent of Our Venerable Brothers the Cardinals of Holy Roman Church, by the authority of Almighty God, the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul and Our own, for the glory of God Himself, for the salvation of souls and the increase of the Catholic Church, by these Letters We notify and promulgate, and We will that there be notified and promulgated, the universal and great Jubilee in this Holy City, which shall begin from First Vespers of the Nativity of Our Lord of the year 1924, and shall close with First Vespers of the Nativity of our Lord of the year 1925.

In the course of this Holy Year We grant and impart in the Lord fullest indulgence, remission and pardon of their sins to all the faithful of both sexes who, having confessed and communicated, shall visit the basilicas of St. Peter, St. Paul, St. John Lateran, St. Mary Major, and pray for Our intention at least once a day "for twenty days," continuous or interpolated, natural or ecclesiastical—to be reckoned that is from First Vespers of one day to sunset of the following day—if they reside in Rome; "for ten days" only if they come from abroad.

You know, beloved children, what are, in general the intentions of the Roman Pontiff; this Jubilee, however, gives Us occasion to ask of Almighty God something in particular which you too will ask together with Us. We mean Peace, not so much the peace written in Treaties as that impressed on souls, that which must be restored among the peoples. It may not indeed be so far off as it was in past times; nevertheless, it is farther off than Our hopes and the hopes of all would desire.

If, then, you live in Rome and you who come here, with your souls purified of sin and dust up by charity, pray at the tombs of the Apostles for such a precious blessing, shall it not be that we may hope that Christ the prince of Peace, who once calmed with a gesture the waves of the Sea of Galilee, moved at last with pity for His people, may ordain that the storms by which now for so long Europe has been overcome may be checked and calmed?

PRAYERS FOR NON-CATHOLICS

And further, Our intention is that all who live in Rome or come to Rome to gain the privileges of the Jubilee should offer in unfeigned prayer to the goodness of Almighty God another matter, which is a source of thought and prayer to Us and of great import for religion, that is that all non-Catholics may seek refuge in the true Church of Jesus Christ, also that conditions in Palestine may finally be ordered and arranged in the way required by the rights of the Catholic religion.

For those who, in Rome, are prevented by illness or other legitimate cause, on the journey are prevented from finishing it, or perhaps are overtaken by death, and cannot carry out, possibly cannot even begin, the established number of days and visits, We modify what We have established above for gaining the privileges of the Jubilee, in such way that, confessed and communicated, they may share in the Jubilee Indulgences as if they had really visited the basilicas above mentioned.

INVITATION TO ROME

Nothing remains to Us now, beloved children, but to ask you,