

The Catholic Record.

"Christianus mihi nomen est Catholicus vero Cognomen."—(Christian is my Name, but Catholic my Surname)—St. Pacien, 4th Century.

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HOPES AND FEARS

VIEWS OF EMINENT ENGLISH WRITERS ON IRELAND

The following passages are taken from an article in the October Number of *The Month* by Rev. J. Keating, S. J., under the above title:

It was hoped that by the Acts implementing the Treaty of December 6th, 1921, the Irish question would cease to be a party question in the British Parliament. All parties there combined to settle that question on the lines of the Treaty. The domestic affairs of Ireland were by common consent to be as remote from interference from London as those of Canada or of any other of the self-governing States that form the Commonwealth. Vain hopes, as the event has proved and as might well have been foreseen. For the Act recognizing the substantial unity and autonomy of Ireland contained one fatal flaw. It gave an option, on well-defined conditions, to the subordinate legislature, set up by the Act of 1920 in six of the Ulster counties, to contract out of the settlement which it had elaborated. As a result the new self-governing State was mutilated. The Six-County Government immediately took advantage of the option to withdraw from the Free State, and thus made actual the unnatural division of the island into two separate Governments, unequal in area and status and much else besides. The Six-Counties remain part of the United Kingdom and have strictly limited and defined powers of local Government. The rest of Ireland, provided it remains part of the Commonwealth and shares in the common obligations of the other self-governing Dominions, has practically complete independence. It contains a considerable number of citizens, rather confusedly called 'Loyalists' who, for one reason or another, would prefer the old political connection, but who have thrown in their lot with the new arrangement and are well represented in the new Government. The Six-County fragment in the North East also includes a large minority averse to separation from the rest of the country, but this, by dint of the abolition of the proportional representation system of voting and by a one-sided re-arrangement of voting areas, has been deprived of its due share in the municipal and political government. The contrast is open, manifest, notorious, and increases the resentment of that minority at the fact that the provision in its favor in that Clause of the Treaty which allows the Six-Counties to separate themselves from the rest, has not been put into operation. In the two or more years that have elapsed since December, 1921, the inhabitants of the areas along the border between the two governments have not been consulted in regard to their political desires, nor given the option promised them of enrolling themselves finally, either under the Free State or under the Six-Counties.

"The fact is, opposition has arisen to the fulfilment of that provision not only in the Six-Counties but also in England. Hence the ominous return of the Irish Problem. For once more political opinion in this country becomes divided, the question is tossed into the party arena, there is little chance of agreement, and no possibility of the necessary enlightenment from the Party press. No journal gives all the facts or bases its comments on adequate knowledge: each speaks for its own side, selecting the arguments that favor it, ignoring, misconstruing, denying those that oppose it, and, where facts fail, readily substituting fiction. Lovers of justice and peace must surely grieve at this. The disadvantage of party politics is that no subject is debated on its merits. The first thought of the opposition advocate in regard to a Government measure is—how can this be used to damage or overthrow the Government, and that first thought often remains the only thought. It is not our purpose or province to follow the party debate in this matter, to expose misrepresentations or to amend half-truths. The Boundary Dispute looms large at the moment but its settlement one way or the other will not settle the Irish Question—which finally resolves itself into two—Ireland to be permanently partitioned? Is Ireland to maintain political union with the Commonwealth? To the first question the Free State and its adherents say—No; to the second those who think with 'Ulster' say—Yes. But not a few, even of the Ulster majority, would answer the first as the Free Staters do, and not a few Free Staters would agree with 'Ulster' that the Commonwealth connection should be supported as advantageous to Ireland. If only Ulster as a whole would say—No, to the first question and the Free State as a whole would say—Yes, to the second, the Irish question or questions would be effectually settled.

"Meanwhile, with just one word of comment on the situation we may pass on to wider considerations affecting the destiny and fortunes of our neighbor. The Six-County Government, in protesting against the proposed legislation declared necessary to make the Boundary Clause effective and thus fulfil the Treaty, appears to forget its own complete subordination to the Westminster Parliament. From the terms of the Act which set it up, not only might its boundaries be changed, but its very existence brought to an end if that Parliament thought fit. What Parliament makes it can, legally, unmake. Notice the wording of Section 75 of the 'Government of Ireland Act, 1920,' on which the Six-County Government depends for status and powers:

"Notwithstanding the establishment of the Parliaments of Northern and Southern Ireland, or the Parliament of Ireland, or anything contained in this Act, the supreme authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters and things in Ireland and every part thereof."

"The 'Southern Parliament,' thus constituted, was not accepted by those concerned but the Act remained in full vigor in regard to the Six-Counties. Whereas by the subsequent Treaty of 1921 the status of the whole of Ireland was declared to be that of a coequal member of the Community of Nations forming the British Commonwealth, a status which, with all its implications, is still retained by the Free State, now that the Six-Counties have withdrawn from it.

"A year ago, in an article entitled 'Ireland in Transition,' we ventured to predict that partition would be found an unworkable policy. It is contrary to the real interests of the Commonwealth, of 'Ulster' and, of course, of the Free State. Notwithstanding the present clamour about the Boundary, and the foolish beating of the Orange drum, we are of the same opinion still. The Protestant Ulsterman is an Irishman, and, although in the words of Mr. Bernard Shaw, 'Protestantism in Ireland is not a religion: it is a side of a political faction, a class prejudice, a conviction that Catholics are socially inferior persons,'—such impressions are not founded on fact and will be dissipated on contact with reality. During the War such contact was established and North and South were much nearer union than ever before. The Labor interests of each section are identical, and the same tendency which is operating in the larger field of Europe had its effect in the smaller theatre of Ireland. That effect is destined to grow stronger. There are liberals also in 'Ulster' as well as Labor folk, and more than one-third of its whole population is Catholic and in natural sympathy with the South. Once some measure of prosperity is restored to the Free State, its character as the natural market for the industrial North-East will re-establish the previous close economic relations between the two, and make the artificial Boundary intolerable. If it is true, as has been asserted, that the income tax in the Free State will presently be reduced to 3s. 6d. and ultimately to 2s. 6d., that fact alone would do more to promote union than the reduction of the Northern Government from Six Counties to Four. We can measure the injury done to the prospects of Irish unity by the wanton destruction of property during the 'civil war' from the fact that taxes in the Free State—a country which need not maintain an Army or a Navy or a costly Civil Service—are higher than those in the North, which retains the British scale. Ireland which produces in abundance most of the essential items of food and clothing should be a cheap country to live in, but now the cost of living is appreciably higher than it is in England.

"There is far from being that homogeneous and inevitable antagonism between the two sections of the country that the party-press is apt to assume: there is no greater and more mischievous fallacy than to declare that Ireland is inhabited by two distinct nations. It is the hope of the country's well-wishers that the large Catholic minority in the N. E. may combine with the Liberal and Labor elements there—there are said to be 60,000 Liberals in the Six Counties—to assert or regain their due position in the Government and so neutralize the intransigence of the fanatics, who claim to represent 'Ulster.' The proportion of Catholics to non-Catholics in that area is much the same as it is in Germany, yet in the latter country Catholics, owing to their energy and organization, have a considerable voice in the government of the State. Both in the Senate and the judicature of the Free State, on the other hand, non-Catholics are represented much more largely than their numbers warrant, which shows that religious intolerance does not characterize that Government.

"It seems always to be assumed by partisans of 'Ulster' that the Free State is aiming at severing two whole counties from its dominion by means of the Boundary Commission. That assumption has been officially disclaimed by the President and other responsible Ministers in the Free State, and, indeed, since both Tyrone and Fermanagh contain large Protestant minorities, county-transference would involve as much injustice to them as the Catholic majorities at present suffer. In the excellent map published by the North Eastern Boundary Bureau and based on official statistics concerning the 'District Electoral Divisions,' it is shown that the areas in South Fermanagh, South Down and South Armagh which abut on the present frontier, are predominantly Nationalist, and therefore if the inhabitants desire a fitted geographical to be transferred to the Free State, whereas the Nationalist areas of Tyrone, Londonderry and Antrim, large though they are, are nearly altogether cut off from contact with other Nationalists by Partitionist traces and can hardly be brought within the scope of the Commission. However that may be, the map at least indicates how far from homogeneous is Partitionist sentiment in the Six-Counties.

"Although sympathizing with the natural desire of those Nationalist districts to belong to the Free State, far-sighted observers are beginning to deprecate any decision which would tend further to divide Irishmen from Irishmen on a religious basis. It would better serve the cause of ultimate unity if 'Ulster' were made continuous with the province of that name, for then its population would be at least 45% Catholic and able to assert itself whereas the greater number of Catholics that are joined to the Free State, as a result of the Boundary Settlement, the more exposed would the rest in 'Ulster' be to unjust discrimination. It is hateful to have to argue these civil matters on religious grounds which in well-ordered, justly-administered States would have no relevance, but owing to the evil heritage of Orange bigotry in Ireland one has no choice.

"One concludes, therefore, that the Boundary Commission must be made to function, otherwise in the eyes of the Free State the Treaty will be violated and an immense impetus given to the Republican cause, but that, on the other hand, the frontier so established, in so far as it constitutes a barrier, will be merely a temporary one, pending the union of all Irish folk for the common good of their common country.

"When we wrote last year, the first regular elections in the Free State had just been held, resulting in a decisive majority for the Treaty. Since then, as far as one can judge and in spite of not a few blunders on its part, the Government has proved the bulk of the community support of the bulk of the community. It has been able to release from prison those political opponents whose offences were mainly political. Although at present in the throes of an internal crisis, it has survived several similar storms, connected both with the Army and the civil administration. It has legislated in the main with sobriety and, although its Tariff-Act is of questionable wisdom, it is avowedly therein only experimenting. There are many things which need doing, one is slow to complain because of the unparalleled difficulties with which it has been confronted, but it has not won all its opponents over to tolerate and work the Treaty. It may be that bigger men would have rallied the country more completely to their side but perhaps bigger men would have made bigger mistakes. The Government seems at any rate to have won the adhesion of those who used to be called Unionists. Many even of those who served 'the Castle' in the old days are now in the employment of the new authority, so that it has in fact been blamed for thus using the experience of those officials. And it has shown the widest tolerance in its nominations to the Senate. It may be presumed that the old Nationalist party is now absorbed into the ranks of those that displaced them, but it would have been a graceful act if some of the more prominent of them had been appointed to the Senate. The one remaining bar to Irish unity on the basis of the Treaty is the attitude of the Republicans, who have an ideal no democrat can quarrel with, if only they would pursue it constitutionally and with due regard to higher considerations.

"And how that fair land needs development! Everywhere Nature has been lavish with her physical beauties and her reserves of power. But poverty and ignorance have everywhere overlaid Nature with hideous contrivances to satisfy human needs, and allowed her forces to run to waste. Take the ancient city of Galway, once a famous port for trade with the Continent, situated on a noble river

flowing deep and strong through the town in many channels from a picturesque lake, commanding a mighty bay, and backed by the wild loveliness of Connemara. Few spots on earth combine so many natural advantages. But man in the past has woefully disfigured this beautiful site, has left undeveloped the amenities of the coast.

"As for natural resources, a recent Commission, reporting on the water-power developed by the Shannon, asserts that all the railways and industries of the South of Ireland could be run by harnessing this cheap and abundant source of electric energy. And no one who has seen, for instance, the torrential Corrib rushing through Galway, or the rapid Erne at Ballyshannon or the Moy at Ballina, can doubt that all the electricity Ireland needs for lighting, heating and industrial purposes might easily be furnished by her rivers.

"Mention of Galway recalls one enterprise, more than a century overdue—the development of that port to take trans-atlantic traffic. It has often been talked of, nay, once in a small way attempted, for last century a small line of three steamships began to ply between Galway and the States. But one ship caught fire and another struck a buoyed rock in the Bay, and so it became obvious that the stars, or some other influences, were fighting against the success of that shipping line. It will require great financial power to combat the interests which are sure to oppose any development of Galway as a trans-atlantic port. Yet its use as such would bring these islands about a day nearer to America, and would therefore be of great advantage for passengers, goods and mails. At present we are told surveys are being made and estimates are being prepared with regard to the construction of a harbor on the north side of the Bay where the water in-shore at low tide is forty feet deep, so that it may be that finance is awaking once more to the commercial possibilities of the scheme.

After reviewing some of the difficulties of the times the article concludes: "All these things notwithstanding, hopes are stronger than fears in regard to Ireland's future. Her first need is internal peace, and that is only attainable on the basis of the arrangement with Great Britain which, however theoretically illogical, gives her well-nigh complete power to make or mar her destinies. Peace will give her prosperity the opportunity of developing her great natural resources, benefitting by her advantageous position and of recovering her alienated children in the North East. Above all, a peaceful Ireland, possessed of and governed by the Christian tradition will be able to prove the truth of the Scripture proverb that it is 'Justice, not military strength nor commercial wealth, that exalteth a nation.'"

THE LATE MGR. GRAVETTI

Montreal, Dec. 3.—The funeral service for the late Monsignor Gravetti was held at the Basilica yesterday morning. His Excellency, Monsignor Pietro di Maria, officiating.

Monsignor Gravetti, Secretary to the Apostolic Delegation, Ottawa, died on Saturday at the Hotel Dieu after an operation. The late Secretary during the years of his mission in Canada was a very highly esteemed. Practically all the archbishops and bishops of Canada were present either in person or by representatives at the funeral Mass. A great number of priests from Canada and some from the United States by their presence paid the last tribute of respect to a great priest.

STONE CROSS MARKERS FOR OVERSEAS GRAVES

Washington, Nov. 21.—Final approval of white stone crosses to replace the present temporary markers of American War dead graves in France is expected at the next meeting of the Battle Monuments Commission, according to intimations given by General Pershing, Chairman of the Commission.

The General said here that the crosses have already been approved informally. As soon as the formal vote is taken the plans will be presented to Secretary Weeks for approval. After that the actual work of planning the stone crosses will be undertaken by the cemetery division of the Army Quartermaster Corps. Crosses will be used as markers on overseas graves only. Graves of soldiers whose bodies have been brought back to the United States will be marked with the regulation stone slabs which have been in use for that purpose in all military cemeteries since the Civil War.

HERRIOT ANSWERED

PRIEST VIGOROUSLY ASSERTS HIS RIGHTS AS CITIZEN

Paris, Nov. 14.—Even though the persecutions against them may be removed, the religious of France are fully decided not to leave their country. This is thoroughly understood. It is a resolution which has been manifested unanimously and which has been expressed in particular in a striking manner in a letter addressed to Premier Herriot by the Rev. Paul Doncoeur, S. J., the publication of which has caused a real sensation.

After reminding M. Herriot of the fact that he caused the passage of an amnesty law permitting the return to France of insurrectionists, deserters and traitors, Father Doncoeur evokes the sorrow he felt in 1902 when he was forced to take a train for Belgium in order to remain faithful to his religious vows: "I lived twelve years in exile, he writes, from the age of twenty-two until the age of thirty-four, the best part of my man's life. I forgive you for it. But on August 2, 1914, I was on my knees before my Superior: 'Tomorrow it is war,' I said, 'and my place is on the firing line.' And my Superior kissed me and gave me his blessing. On crazy trains, without mobilization orders (I was a reformer) and without military booklet, I followed the guns to Verdun. On August 20, at dawn, before the renewal of fighting, I went out to look for the wounded of the 115th and advanced beyond the outposts when, suddenly, I was surrounded by the crackling of 20 rifles; and I saw my comrade stretched, full-length, on the ground beside me, with his head crushed. The German post was thirty steps away. I felt at that moment that my heart was protecting my whole country. Never did I breathe the air of France with such pride nor tread her soil with such assurance.

"I do not understand how I was not killed at that time nor twenty times since. I was thrice wounded. I still have in my body a fragment of shell being demobilized. I committed the crime of staying at home. . . . And now you show me the door! You must be joking, M. Herriot.

But one does not joke over these things. Never, during fifty months, did you come to seek me out either at Tracy-le-Cal, or at the Fort of Vaux or at Tahure. I did not see you anywhere talking about your 'laws on religious orders' and yet you dare to produce them today! Can you think of such a thing? Neither I nor any other man, nor any woman will take the road to Belgium again. Never!

You may do as you please, you may take our houses, you may open your prisons—there are many places in them left empty by those whom you know—so be it. But leave as we did in 1902? Never. Today we have more blood in our veins, and then, you see, as soldiers of Verdun we were in the right place to learn how to hold our ground! We were not afraid of bullets, or gas or the bravest soldiers of the Guard. We shall not be afraid of political slackers.

And now I shall tell you why we shall not leave. Disposition does not frighten us. We own neither roof nor field. Jesus Christ awaits us everywhere and suffices until the end of the world. But we shall not leave because we do not want a Belgian, or an Englishman, or an American or a Chinaman or a German, to meet us, far from home some day and ask us certain questions to which we would be forced to reply with downcast head: 'France has driven us out.'

For the honor of France—do you understand this word as I do?—for the honor of France we shall never again say such a thing to a foreigner. Therefore, we shall stay, every one of us. We swear it on the graves of our dead.

PAUL DONCOEUR, S. J.
The author of this letter is an officer of the Legion of Honor and was decorated nine times on the field of battle. One of the citations drawn up by his commanding officers declared that "he has exposed his life many times in order to save the lives of others."

MGR. SEIPEL REMAINS FIRM ON RESIGNATION

Vienna, Nov. 21.—Mgr. Ignaz Seipel, priest-premier who brought Austria out of a seemingly hopeless chaos after the War, has declined to form a new cabinet or to remain as premier, and Dr. Rudolph Ramek, formerly Minister of Interior, has become chancellor of Austria.

Monsignor Seipel reached his decision when it became apparent that his reconstruction program would fail of endorsement by Parliament. When the railway strike broke out and he resigned, he announced that his resumption of the premiership

would be contingent on the uniting of all parties to carry out the program without compromise.

While the Government won out in the strike, a part of the program which demanded the transfer of taxing power from the provinces to the central government met with strenuous opposition among some provincial officials, including members of Monsignor Seipel's own party. It was largely the fight over the financial reforms in the provinces that brought the failure of Parliament to endorse the great premier's program.

ATTACK ON NUNCIO

SHOWS IGNORANCE OF ACTUAL FACTS

By M. Massiani

Paris, Nov. 22.—The oratorical attack of M. Francois Albert having called forth a protest to the French Government by the Apostolic Nuncio, it may be of interest to quote the exact words used by the Minister of Public Instruction: "We have had the strange surprise," he said, "of seeing the representative of a foreign power depart from the habitual reserve of diplomatic agents to lend the authority of his presence and speech to the Catholic Institute, proclaimed the sole inheritor and legitimate successor of the ancient Sorbonne."

The speech of the Nuncio to be difficult for M. Albert to maintain that this is an exaggeration. And Mgr. Baudrillart proves that the Minister commits an error in history if he denies the Catholic Institute the right to call itself the inheritor of the ancient Sorbonne. Was not the Sorbonne a religious college, and as such was it not closed by the Revolution?

The last vestige of the ancient Sorbonne re-established in the University of the Sorbonne was the Catholic faculty of theology of Paris, which was suppressed by the radical politicians of 1886. It is they who renounced the heritage of the faculties of the Middle Ages. M. Albert would certainly have been well advised had he studied the question before speaking.

Whatever may be the value of these assertions, it is inadmissible that he should involve, in his speech, a diplomatic agent regularly accredited to the Government. The protest of Mgr. Cerretti naturally was based on this point, and was presented by the Nuncio in person, during a visit to the Premier. In presenting this protest, Mgr. Cerretti knew that he was supported by several members of the diplomatic corps.

A cable to the N. C. W. C. announced that the incident has been declared closed, after a second visit of the Nuncio to M. Herriot. Although the note communicated on this subject is couched in involved terms, it is certain that M. Herriot has found himself forced to express his regrets over the action of his Minister.

FILIPINOS TO HAVE CATHOLIC PAPERS IN NATIVE DIALECTS

Manila, P. I., November 3.—Plans for the publication of Catholic papers, books and pamphlets in the native Filipino dialects to combat anti-Catholic propaganda, have been announced here by the Very Rev. Henry Euerachen, S. V. D., Superior of the Missionaries of the Divine Word in the Islands.

The Missionary Fathers are now engaged in raising funds with which to establish a printing press here. A trade school in which Filipino boys will be taught typesetting, bookbinding, electrotyping, and some of the mechanical trades will be conducted in connection with the printing plant. A four year high school course will also be offered.

Approval for the project has been expressed by Monsignor Piani, Apostolic Delegate to the Philippines; Archbishop O'Doherty of Manila; Bishop Hurth of Nueva Segovia; and Bishop Verzoza of Lipa.

At the present time the Catholic press in the Philippines consists almost entirely of Spanish and English publications, mostly the former. What Catholic publications in the native dialects there are, it is said, are inadequate to meet present needs.

CATHOLIC NOTES

Dublin, Nov. 22.—Bishop Browne of Cloyne becomes, by the death of Cardinal Logue, the oldest member of the Irish Hierarchy. He has just completed his eightieth year. He has been Bishop of the diocese of Cloyne in Cork County for thirty years. Prior to his appointment as Bishop he had been President of Maynooth College.

New York.—Fifteen Catholic educational and charitable institutions of the Archdiocese of New York were made beneficiaries in the will of William Peterman, manufacturing chemist. The estate is valued at more than \$400,000, and the residue is to be divided evenly among the institutions after paying annuities.

In the Archdiocese of Boston there is an average attendance of 800,000 including men, women and children at Mass each Sunday of the year. Daily Communion in that Diocese have mounted in number to 3,000,000 a year, and First Friday and Feast Day Communions have reached the splendid figure of 10,000,000.

Three thousand members of the New York Post Office Holy Name Society participated in an inspiring march up Fifth Avenue to St. Patrick's Cathedral to attend the third annual Holy Communion Mass of the branch. Later more than 2,000 of them attended the annual breakfast, in the Grand ballroom of the Hotel Astor.

Cologne.—For five hundred years, by the strict archives, the office of organist and sexton of the Catholic church at Herkenrath, near Cologne, has been in one family, handed down from father to son. This month, the long line comes to an end. For the venerable man who at present is sexton has just given up his post because of his extreme age, and he has neither son nor other relative who can take up his task.

Arrangements have been made through The Mission, the Catholic paper published in Chinatown, to conduct parties through that picturesque section of the city without payment of the customary donations which for many years have been offered to support a pagan cause. Guides working under the direction of The Mission are now able to show the visitors all the sights of Chinatown. The offices of the publication are at 5 Beekman Street.

A boy of Downside, England, who is only seventeen, M. J. Turnbull, has been making a sensation in the cricket world. He was chosen to play for his county team, Glamorganshire, and made the highest score of the first day's play against the bowlers of three of the most famous bowlers in England, who were playing for Lancashire. Turnbull belongs to a leading Catholic family of Cardiff, and his uncle is Alderman Turnbull, K. C. S. G., first Catholic Lord Mayor of Cardiff.

A microphone and an amplifier have been installed in Old St. Patrick's Church, Pittsburg, Pa., for the convenience of the overflow crowds which attend the Lourdes devotions each Sunday afternoon. The microphone is in the pulpit and the amplifying apparatus is in the basement where approximately as many persons can be accommodated as the main body of the Church above. One Sunday afternoon recently there were four hundred persons who were unable to crowd into the main floor of the Church and who followed the services from the basement.

Tampa, Fla.—The will of Joseph Mickler, prominent local business man who died recently, directs that the sum of \$2,700 be set aside from his estate to provide for the publication in the Tampa Daily Times in weekly installments of three books of Catholic teaching: "The Faith of Our Fathers," by Cardinal Gibbons, "God and Myself," by Father Martin Scott, S. J., and "The Prince of the Apostles." The will was filed October 8, and states that this provision is made "in the hope and belief that the publication of the books herein designate may produce harmony and good will among our Catholic people and their non-Catholic friends."

Unless they are trained in Catholic schools, teachers will not be recognized by the Catholic authorities of the Glasgow archdiocese. Bishop Graham has issued a stern circular letter on the matter, and says that the abuse which has gone on in the past "cannot be tolerated." "Let it be distinctly understood," says Bishop Graham, "that the law is that intending teachers, whether male or female, must attend Catholic centers only, on leaving the primary schools; that they will not receive approval as Catholic teachers if they fail to observe this law; and that a dispensation from the law can be obtained only from the Bishop on sound and grave reasons being shown."