

# The Catholic Record.

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

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### GERMANY SUES FOR PEACE ON PRESIDENT'S TERMS

The great news that has come to us since Saturday night impels us to unlock the forms for a word with our readers on a subject that will this week engross the attention of the whole wide world. Much will have happened between the present writing (Monday morning) and the time the CATHOLIC RECORD reaches its readers; but the great outstanding fact already known will remain true—Germany and her allies have sued for peace on the terms and according to the principles laid down by President Wilson.

The latest and greatest pronouncement of President Wilson was an address to the organizers of the fourth Liberty Loan campaign in the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, Sept. 27th. This speech we place before our readers in the present number of the RECORD. The daily press of Canada gave only shreds and patches of it. Even before its acceptance by the enemy powers we considered it the most important and vital pronouncement yet made on the objects of the War. Now that Germany and Austria have specifically accepted this pronouncement as a basis for peace its importance becomes paramount.

In the highest, truest, noblest and holiest sense of a much used and much abused term the President in this address is the spokesman of the world's democracy. Head of the greatest democracy in the world's history, commander-in-chief of its mighty military forces actual and potential, with all its inexhaustible resources of every kind freely placed at his disposal for the purposes of the War, President Wilson is a power greater than any sovereign, and a dominating force in a world in arms. But greater and nobler and infinitely more powerful is Mr. Wilson the spokesman for the poor, the weak, the little peoples, the oppressed nationalities, the workaday people, engulfed in a world war.

In this role he speaks with an incisiveness that must pierce the armor of traditional reserve that hedges round the rulers of nations, enemy or ally. In what nation will not the people, the common people, feel that he is their interpreter even to their own Governments when he says:

"I take that to be the significance of the fact that assemblies and associations of many kinds made up of plain workaday people have demanded, almost every time they came together, and are still demanding, that the leaders of their Governments declare to them plainly what it is, that they are seeking in this War, and what they think the items of the final settlement should be. They are not yet satisfied with what they have been told. They still seem to fear that they are getting what they ask for only in statesman's terms—only in the terms of territorial arrangements and divisions of power, and not in terms of broad visioned justice and mercy and peace and the satisfaction of those deep seated longings of oppressed and distracted men and women and enslaved peoples that seem to them the only things worth fighting a war for that engulf the world. Perhaps statesmen have not always recognized this changed aspect of the whole world of policy and action. Perhaps they have not always spoken in direct reply to the questions asked because they did not know how searching those questions were and what sort of answers they demanded."

Again he emphasizes that there is an essential and fundamental truth in the oft-repeated statement that this war is to make the world safe for democracy, a truth that has gripped the consciousness of the people to an extent not realized by their rulers:

"At every turn of the War we gain a fresh consciousness of what we mean to accomplish by it. When our hope and expectation are most excited we think more definitely than before of the issues that hang upon it and of the purposes which must be realized by means of it. For it has positive and well defined purposes which we cannot alter. No statesman or assembly created them; no statesman or assembly can alter them. They have arisen out of the very nature and circumstances of the War. The most that statesmen or assemblies can do is to carry

them out or be false to them. They were perhaps not clear at the outset; but they are clear now. The War has lasted more than four years and the whole world has been drawn into it. The common will of mankind has been substituted for the particular purposes of individual States. Individual States may have started the conflict, but neither they nor their opponents can stop it as they please. It has become a people's war and peoples of all sort and races, of every degree and power and variety of fortune, are involved in its sweeping processes of change and settlement."

National ambitions, imperialistic aims, the plans of statesmen, all the traditional outlook of the rulers of the world must give place to the dominant and paramount interests of the people, for it is the common people who have fought and won the War for freedom.

This is the burden of his mighty message:

"It is the peculiarity of this great War that while statesmen have seemed to cast about for definitions of their purposes and have sometimes seemed to shift their ground and their point of view, the thought of the mass of men, whom statesmen are supposed to instruct and lead, has grown more and more unclouded, more and more certain of what it is that they are fighting for. National purposes have fallen more and more into the background and the common purpose of enlightened mankind has taken their place. The counsels of plain men have become on all hands more simple and straightforward and more unified than the counsels of sophisticated men of affairs, who still retain the impression that they are playing a game of power and playing for high stakes. That is why I have said that this is a people's war, not a statesman's. Statesmen must follow the clarified common thought or be broken."

The principles the great President lays down are the very antithesis of German imperialism. They must gladden the hearts of all nations and races and peoples who have suffered and struggled to be free. Liberty-loving peoples everywhere will accept Mr. Wilson's definition of the issues of the War:

"We accepted the issues of the War as facts, not as any group of men either here or elsewhere had defined them, and we can expect no outcome which does not squarely meet and settle them. Those issues are these: Shall the military power of any nation or groups of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force?"

Shall strong nations be free to wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purpose and interest?

Shall people be ruled and dominated, even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force or by their own will and choice? Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress?

Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights? No man, no group of men, chose these to be the issues of the struggle. They are the issues of it; and they must be settled—by no arrangement or compromise or adjustment of interests, but definitely and once for all and with a full and unequivocal acceptance of the principle that the interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interests of the strongest."

And now in the official notes of Germany and Austria we have this speech of Sept. 27th, specifically referred to and accepted as a basis for the new order to be ushered in by the terms of peace!

Whether or not Germany is trying "to make a diplomatic virtue of a military necessity," we feel that the interests of the people, the workaday people of the world are safe in the hands of President Wilson. The Central Powers cannot deceive him. He has spoken of them and to them in unmistakable terms:

"They have convinced us that they are without honor and do not intend justice. They observe no covenants, accept no principle but force and their own interest. We cannot come to terms with them. They have made it impossible."

And he not only fixes the price of peace, but indicates that ample and adequate security will be exacted to ensure that that price is paid:

"That price is impartial justice in every item of the settlement, no matter whose interest is crossed; and not only impartial justice, but also the satisfaction of the several peoples whose fortunes are dealt with. That indispensable instru-

mentality is a League of Nations formed under covenants that will be efficacious. Without such an instrumentality, by which the peace of the world can be guaranteed, peace will rest in part upon the word of outlaws, and only upon that word. For Germany will have to redeem her character, not by what happens at the peace table but by what follows."

Whether or not peace comes immediately the freedom loving people of the whole world will feel that the issues of the War and the terms of peace are safe in the hands of President Wilson. It is a marvellous tribute to his honesty of purpose and to his sincerity in defining the great issues that have convulsed the world for the past four years, that even the ruthless enemies of his ideals and purpose turn at last to him and place their destiny in his hands.

It is the one common ground on which defeated world-dominion and triumphant democracy can meet.

Peace on President Wilson's terms means the end of imperialism in the bad old sense and the ushering in of that era in which "statesmen must follow the clarified common thought or be broken."

### WILSON'S 14 BASES FOR PEACE

On January 8th President Wilson formulated the following fourteen concrete propositions as bases for peace negotiations:

1. Open covenants of peace without private international understandings.
2. Absolute freedom of the seas in peace or war, except as they may be closed by international action.
3. Removal of all economic barriers and establishments of equality of trade conditions among nations consenting to peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.
4. Guarantees for the reduction of national armaments to the lowest consistent with domestic safety.
5. Impartial adjustment of all colonial claims based upon the principle that the peoples concerned have equal weight with the interest of the Government.
6. Evacuation of all Russian territory and opportunity for Russia's political development.
7. Evacuation of Belgium without any attempt to limit her sovereignty.
8. All French territory to be freed and restored and reparation for the taking of Alsace-Lorraine.
9. Readjustment of Italy's frontiers along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.
10. Freest opportunity for autonomous development of the people of Austria-Hungary.
11. Evacuation of Roumania, Serbia and Montenegro, with access to the sea for Serbia and international guarantees of economic and political independence and territorial integrity of the Balkan States.
12. Secure sovereignty for Turkey's portion of the Ottoman Empire, but with other nationalities under Turkish rule assured security of life and opportunity for autonomous development, with the Dardanelles permanently opened to all nations.
13. Establishment of an independent Polish state, including territories inhabited by indisputably Polish population, with free access to the sea, and political and economical independence and territorial integrity guaranteed by international covenant.
14. General association of nations under specific covenants for mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity of large and small states alike.

### WILSON'S FOUR FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF PEACE

(From the President's Address of Feb. 11 Before Congress)

- First—That each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.
- Second—That peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power; but that,
- Third—Every territorial settlement involved in this War must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims among rival States; and,
- Fourth—That all well defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and consequent ly of the world.

### GERMANY'S APPEAL TO PRESIDENT WILSON

Associated Press Cable

Amsterdam, Oct. 6.—The text of the note forwarded by the imperial German chancellor, Prince Maximilian, to President Wilson, through the Swiss Government, follows:

"The German Government requests the President of the United States to take in hand the restoration of peace, to acquaint all the belligerent states of this request, and invite them to send plenipotentiaries for the purpose of opening negotiations. "It accepts the program set forth by the President of the United States in his message to Congress on Jan. 8, and in his later pronouncements, especially his speech of September 27, as a basis for peace negotiations. "With a view to avoiding further bloodshed, the German Government requests the immediate conclusion of an armistice on land and water and in the air."

It is announced that Turkey will take a similar step.

### THE AUSTRIAN NOTE

The text of the proposal follows: "The Austro-Hungarian monarchy, which has made only defensive warfare, and has borne witness several times to the desire to put an end to the bloodshed and conclude an honorable peace, proposes by presentation to President Wilson to conclude immediately with him and his allies a general armistice on land, on sea and in the air, to start without delay negotiations for peace. These negotiations will be based on the 14 points in President Wilson's message of January 8, and four points of his speech of February 12 (February 11), 1918 and those equally of September 27, 1918.

### THE VATICAN AND THE ALLIES

A NEW ATMOSPHERE

FROM A ROMAN CORRESPONDENT  
London, Eng., Daily Telegraph, Aug. 30, 1918.

It is on the Pope's "impartiality" that England and the Pope split. He is "Sovereign Pontiff" and he is also "Common Father of the faithful," and the two cardinal points of his policy are that he desires peace and that he cannot take sides. It is because the two conceptions go together in his mind that his and the British Government points of view clash, though both want the same thing, just and lasting peace. In the minds of the British consideration of the original responsibility and guilt must go together with the consideration of the just and lasting peace desired, and that, even apart from moral reasoning, simply for the sake of ensuring on the material side that the peace shall be lasting. The ingrained bad faith of Germany, the lies and trickery by means of which she caught the world unprepared in 1914, are known, and we must safeguard ourselves against the repetition of such a disaster. The evidence of these things so overwhelming that they are perfectly well known to the Pope, too, but, unhappily, he does not allow himself officially to recognize them. He cannot say that Germany is responsible, guilty of this War, any more than he can lay on her the guilt of a thousand crimes that he and all the world know she has committed in the course of it. That is his impartiality—the line of conduct which his position laid on him. In the Consistorial Allocation of Jan. 22, 1915, he said:

"If it is not given to us to hasten the end of a course so heavy, would that we could, at least, mitigate its sorrowful consequences. With this aim we have, as you are well aware, hitherto done everything possible for us. And we shall not cease in the future while the need lasts. To do more than this to-day is not committed to us by the Apostolic office. To proclaim that for nobody is it lawful, on any plea whatever, to offend justice belongs chiefly, beyond all question, to the Roman Pontiff, as to him who is by God appointed the supreme interpreter and defender of the eternal law; and we do proclaim it without phrases, condemning openly every injustice, by whatever side it may have been committed. But to involve the combatants in one of the very contests of the belligerents would surely be neither appropriate nor useful. Certainly, anybody who judges carefully cannot fail to see that in this enormous struggle the Apostolic See, though filled with the greatest anxiety, must remain perfectly impartial. The Roman Pontiff, as vicar of Jesus Christ who died for men, one and all, must embrace all the combatants in one sentiment of charity; and as the Father of all Catholics he has among the belligerents a great number of children for whose salvation he must be equally and without distinction solicitous. It is necessary, therefore, that in them he must consider, not the special interests which divide them, but the common bond of faith

which makes them brothers; were he to do otherwise, not only would he not help at all the cause of peace, but what is worse, he would create aversions and enmities to religion, and would expose to grave disturbance the very tranquillity and internal concord of the Church.

### CONDEMNATION OF WRONG

To paraphrase, the Pope says: "I condemn all wrong. That is my business. But it is not my business, and it is obviously impossible for me, to form myself into a court of judgment on every single accusation of wrong doing. I could not get the evidence; I certainly could not sift it sufficiently satisfactorily to give a judgment." There is reasonableness in that. Take the first flagrant case, the Belgian atrocities. The report of Lord Bryce's Commission established the guilt of the Germans beyond a shadow of doubt; the Pope himself could have no doubt about it. But German diplomatic agents in Rome denied it all. They had an answer ready and they said they could bring evidence if only circumstances allowed—to rebut every accusation. The same with the Lusitania crime and every crime that followed. Faced with the situation, the Pope has been able to condemn explicitly one crime alone—the violation of Belgian neutrality. "The invasion of Belgium is directly included in the words used by the Holy Father in the Consistorial Allocation of Jan. 22 last, when he condemned openly every injustice, by whatever side and for whatever motive committed." (Cardinal Gasparri's letter to the Belgian Minister to the Holy See, June, 1915.) And this not through any examination of evidence, but because the guilty party, the German Chancellor, had himself confessed.

But examination of Pope Benedict's important pronouncements shows that he has condemned implicitly practically all the German crimes as they were committed. The Consistorial Allocation above mentioned had an unmistakable, if tepid, reference to the German excesses in the early days of the War in Belgium: "That the districts invaded be not devastated more than is strictly required by the reasons of the military occupation, and the souls of the inhabitants be not wounded in what they hold most dear, the sacred temples, the ministers of God, the rights of religion and of the faith." To quote in every case would occupy too much space, but anyone who cares to make the references will find the following official acts and words of the Holy See: March 20, 1915, the Concordat with Serbia was ratified in spite of the fierce opposition of Austria. The Pope went as far as it was possible to go in courteous words to the new Belgian Minister in an audience in the same month: "In April he bore a Belgian flag offered to him, before being taken to Paray-le Monial. In June the Cardinal Secretary of State wrote the letter to the Belgian Minister referred to above, and one to Sir Henry Howard, our Minister to the Holy See. These, with a letter from the Pope to Cardinal Amette, Archbishop of Paris, had the purpose and effect of destroying the suggestions of Papal pro-Germanism arising out of the "faked" Liberté interview. A letter to the Bishop of Ravenna in July condemned the Austrian bombardment of that undefended city. The Pope showed his good will towards France in letters to Cardinal Luçon in the same month, and to the Bishop of Arras in August. The Consistorial Allocation of December of that year contained condemnation of the Armenian atrocities. In February, 1918, the bombing of Ravenna gave occasion for a strong protest.

### THE POPE'S ACTIONS

When Cardinal Mercier left Rome in March the Pope gave him a photograph with these words above his signature: "To our venerable brother we heartily grant the Apostolic blessing, assuring him that we are always with him, that we share his sorrows and anxieties, because his cause is ours too." The Pope knew as well as the rest of the world what Cardinal Mercier's cause was. In May of that year Mr. Aguirre saw the Pope. What passed between them has never been published, but there is no doubt about the cordiality of the sentiments the Pope expressed towards the British Empire. His good will towards France was emphasised in a striking way in an interview given by Cardinal Gasparri to M. Helaye, of the Journal, in August. . . . There was another protest against the bombing of undefended cities in the Pope's letter to the Bishop of Padua in November. . . . The Consistorial Allocation of Dec. 9 went a step further in explicit condemnation of German methods.

We behold in one place vile treatment inflicted on sacred things and on ministers of worship, even of high dignity, although both the former and the latter should be inviolable by Divine law and by the law of nations (an unmistakable allusion to Belgium and Cardinal Mercier); in another, numerous peaceable citizens taken away from their homes amid the tears of mothers, wives, children (the enslavement of the civil population of

Belgium and the French occupied territory.) in another, open cities and undefended populations made victims, especially of aerial raids (only one side had done this), everywhere by land and sea such misdeeds perpetrated as fill the soul with horror and anguish (an explicit condemnation of Germany's methods of submarine warfare.)

It was in that Consistory that the Pope paid France signal honour by creating three French Cardinals; Germany and Austria pressed for nominations, but got none. There are now in the Sacred College one German and four Austrian Cardinals, as against eight French, four from the British Empire, three from the United States, two from Portugal, and one, the outstanding figure of all, from Belgium. There are thirty-three Italians, too, but there are always so many Italians that it is not fair to quote the number for the sake of comparison. . . . It was at this time that the first rumors were circulated that the Pope was working for peace on behalf of Austria. They were explicitly and officially denied, and have been denied equally distinctly every time they have appeared since. In April of that year it was believed in Rome that Austria had approached the Pope directly for "peace help," but had failed. The Emperor Charles' letter to Prince Sixte of Bourbon is evidence that Austria would have gone far at that time to obtain peace, and, given the friendly relations between the Holy See and the Empress Zita, a belief that the help of Rome would be sought was not unnatural. The Holy See has authoritatively stated (April, 1918) that it knew nothing of the letter in question, and, more than once, that it was not helping an Austrian or German peace. Further, as regards the special activities of Herr Erzberger, in July, 1917, the German Catholic paper, the Kolnische Volkszeitung, have stated that his peace action was taken on the request of the Vatican, as the Pope was anxious to be peace mediator, and that the Papal nuncio at Vienna indicated this wish of His Holiness to the Austrian Emperor, who then communicated with Erzberger; it was at once authoritatively stated in Rome that the Holy See knew nothing whatever about the pushing German Deputy's peace move, the first news of which it got from the newspapers, and that it regarded his movements simply as those of a private individual, the Vatican not being connected with them in the slightest degree.

### OCCUPATION OF JERUSALEM

In August of that year it was said that Mgr. Szeptycky, Archbishop of Lemberg, who had been imprisoned in Russia and after his release had been to Vienna, was coming to Rome at the request of the Pope. As a matter of plain fact, much as the Holy See sympathized with the Archbishop in his unmeritedly severe treatment inflicted on him by the old Government of the Tsar, as soon as it learned that he had been in the Austrian capital mixing in politics since his release, it let it be known that it had no desire at all that he should come to Rome, and he did not come. . . . In November of that year it was certainly at the wish of the Pope that the Cardinal Vicar issued instructions to the Society of Catholic Youth and other official bodies to place their organizations at the service of the refugees from the occupied Venetian Province, and ordered prayers for "the complete salvation, civil and Christian, of our Italy." . . . In December came the occupation of Jerusalem and the striking comment of the Osservatore Romano on the pleasure felt by all Catholics that British troops had carried it out. Even stronger testimony to this effect was given later in a letter from Cardinal Gasparri to Cardinal Bourne, May 2, 1918, in reply to some unfounded suggestions in London papers. It ran: . . . On several occasions I have stated that England, preferably to any other Power, would inspire absolute confidence, by her perfect impartiality, her entire respect for vested rights, and her zeal for progress in the Holy Places. . . . Early in January, 1918, the air was full of rumours of the connection of the Vatican with the Caillaux anti-ally machinations. The Holy See denied absolutely any connection at all, successfully refuted every single one of the circumstantial accusations made. . . . In the same month the Osservatore Romano, in an authoritative article after the publication of Mr. Lloyd George's and President Wilson's peace programme pronouncements, noted "the perfect harmony between them and the Pontifical document of last August." . . . In the consecration of the first British Episcopos Caerensis in February the Pope found occasion for a courteous act. It was by his wish that it took place at the English College Chapel in Rome, and he allowed the Cardinal Secretary of the Consistorial Congregation himself to act as consecrating bishop and the Vicar-general of Rome to be one of the co-consecrators.

### A CHANGED ATMOSPHERE

In March, during the absence from Rome on leave of the British Minister to the Holy See, rumours were spread here by persons ill-disposed to the British Empire, that Count de Salis was in disgrace and would not return. The Holy See does not as a rule take notice of such paltry rumours, and there was distinct significance in a formal note published in the Vatican organ to the effect that the British Minister was expected back shortly and expressing pleasure thereat. In the same month a formal denial was given to the story that the Pope was supporting or would support a plea from Germany and Austria—now hoist with their own petard—for general suppression of air raids on cities distant from the war zone. It has been made clear that the Vatican had nothing to do with the Irish Bishop's attitude with regard to conscription. Lastly, there is the visit of the Prince of Wales to the Pope. There are degrees of cordiality, and it is abundantly evident that nothing was left undone by the Holy See to show all the cordiality and all the honor possible.

The above list does not pretend to be a complete summary of the Pope's public acts and pronouncements, but it surely does furnish consecutive and cumulative evidence that, while the Pope has remained strictly impartial, the atmosphere at the Vatican has entirely changed since 1914. German Catholic writers have seen this and attributed it to unscrupulous British propaganda. It is not that which has damned the German cause in the eyes of the Holy See; it is, first, the facts of the awful facts, which have shown up the criminal character of the German war enterprise and war methods, and, secondly, the realization that the Allies' aims and the Pope's aims, the "true and lasting peace," are identical, even if agreement with the Pope is not attained as to the means of reaching the end we both desire. That became evident after Lloyd George's and Wilson's pronouncements in January, 1918. It became so evident that a semi-official warning appeared in the Vatican organ that, however similar the Allies' programme and the Pope's programme might be, the neutrality of the Holy See remained as before.

Germany, in fact, has gone crooked and has lost the Vatican: the Allies have gone straight and have gained it. If—as was said at the beginning of this article—it is worth anything, then let it be kept. Many will no doubt, continue to disagree profoundly with the Pope's conception of his duty in general, and find themselves unable to understand his actions on several particular occasions. In general one is inclined to ask whether he has not, by failing to condemn openly evident and flagrant German crimes, abdicated the moral authority he claims to possess. The answer of the Pope to that is given in the long quotation set out above from the Consistorial Allocation of January, 1915. The reasoning may not be convincing, but it is at least intelligible, straightforward reasoning. Let the Pope be given credit for being honest, even if we disagree.

### TO BE CONCLUDED

### CATHOLIC NOTES

Rome, Sept. 19.—China has decided, owing to the opposition of France, not to receive a Papal Nuncio while the War lasts.

Rome, Sept. 19.—The Vatican has received confirmation of the news that a general massacre of Christians by Kurds has taken place in Persia the victims including Archbishop Sontag of Ispahan, Apostolic Delegate to Persia.

The gift of the clergy and laity of the Archdiocese of Baltimore to His Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, on the occasion of the celebration of his episcopal golden jubilee will take the form of a \$50,000 Liberty Bond, according to a press dispatch from Baltimore.

Copenhagen, Sept. 17.—King Christian has bestowed the Grand Cross of the Order of Dannebrog on Dr. Maurice F. Egan, former American Minister to Denmark. This is the highest decoration which can be awarded anyone outside of royalty.

London, Eng.—The well known English Dominican, Father Raymond Devas, O. P., the author of "Dominican Martyrs of Great Britain" and "The Dominican Revival in the Nineteenth Century," who has been serving for some time on the western front as chaplain to the forces, has been awarded the military cross for conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty in visiting the front line trenches during heavy fighting, where his coolness and courage assisted greatly in maintaining the confidence and morale of the men.

Baltimore, Md.—One of the greatest ecclesiastical celebrations ever held in this country will take place in the Baltimore Cathedral on Sunday, October 20, when Cardinal Gibbons will publicly observe his golden jubilee as a bishop. A solemn pontifical Mass will be celebrated by Cardinal Gibbons in the Cathedral Sunday morning, October 20, at 10.30 o'clock. The service will be delivered by Most Rev. George W. Mundelein, Archbishop of Chicago.