

VOICING ASPIRATIONS OF IRISH RACE

ADDRESS BY ARCHBISHOP GLENNON.

Following is the complete address made by Archbishop John J. Glennon in behalf of freedom for Ireland at the mass meeting in St. Louis, U.S.A., on Sunday evening, February 9:—

When our Government in 1917 made a declaration of war against Germany our people responded as one man. Never before in all history did a democracy answer the call with such unanimity; and that unanimity has been preserved until victory came for our arms and our cause. During these long months of anxiety and trial, not for once did our people waver or lose heart. We felt we were right, and knew, therefore, we must prevail. And one reason for all this must be, first, the time that was given us to think if not to prepare, and the clarity with which the case was presented in the various and opportune addresses of our President. Every one of these days brought an added reason for our entering the conflict, just as every day's postponement meant an added danger for America.

We entered the war, first, to destroy that militarism which aimed at the conquest of Europe and which we reasonably feared would be turned on us when their European campaign was over. But just as definitely, and perhaps more so, we entered the war, secondly, that thereby we, a democracy, would seek at this time to end the oppressions and wrongs inflicted and being inflicted on the smaller and weaker nations by the more powerful neighbors. And lastly, as representing a self-governed people, we felt we owed to humanity the establishment of this principle, namely, the right of nations, great and small, to determine for themselves how and by whom they shall be governed.

England May Assert Self on Sea.

That these ends be achieved and that these principles might obtain, we trained and armed our men, built our ships, floated our bonds, set our armies in motion, and followed them with all the love and support of the nation. Not in all history has an army moved into battle array with nobler cause, which by its definitions and its clarity, became the property and inspiration of all. Our arms were victorious, as they had a right to be. There now remains only to be seen whether the principles which inspired us shall also triumph.

One of our purposes has been solved—Germany with its militarism is conquered. The threat against us is removed. Neither now nor during the lifetime of any of us need we fear Germany as a foe nor flatter her as a friend, nor is there danger of militarism surviving unless it be in this new form of naval supremacy being asserted by England.

It is with the other, and more intimate principles, that we have to deal. It is with the question of whether oppression shall cease, and whether the principle of self-determination shall be established. Whether these questions shall now be taken up and solved, whether these principles shall be applied.

To this end our President crossed the seas. He representing America, was the first to announce them; and such was the clarity of his thought, its eloquence, and its honesty, that, though we were last to enter the war, these principles, accepted by friend and foe alike, became the basis. Our President felt, therefore, he

must defend them; and to do so he heads the American delegates at the Peace Council. In his going, we stand with him in the same unity and devotion in the Councils of Peace, as with our soldiers fighting in the trenches.

Of late, there is growing the fear that neither he nor his principles shall prevail—that secret diplomacy and national greed will take the place of the open treaty, and the honest principles which set the rights of nations and of men above the schemes of politicians and the tyranny of power.

Ireland Still Ignored.

True, our papers report some progress made—every day some boundary settled, some cause heard, some nation's definition made. We hear of the newly formed cabinets, of presidents elected, of contending parties following the ways of democracy, Belgium and Rumania on the way to restoration, Poland and Serbia will be recreated, the lost provinces restored to France and Italy, and so along the line. But over it all is the sinister shadow of an Ireland ignored.

In reading, as you have read, the declaration of our President, and in recalling the principles which he so constantly announced, it requires no logic to see that, just as clearly and directly as the rays come from the sun, or heat from the fire, or rain from the skies, so flows from these principles the right of Ireland to self-determination. Set beside any of the other races now emerging or being restored to independent nationhood, Ireland in point of time, location, persistent striving or previous oppression, outranks them all.

In saying so, I do not minimise the character of their rights. On the contrary, we stand for them all: but every element of justice and of right, every charge of oppression, every appeal of race and blood made by these is doubly applicable when Ireland's cause is named.

But the trouble is that Ireland's cause is not even named; and yet the presiding officer could readily go back in memory to a McMahon, who as President of France restored her from the ruins after her terrible defeat by the Germans in 1870. Has he forgotten the Ireland that gave McMahon to France, and gave to her her victories in the long ago? Has he forgotten Ramillies and Fontenoy?

Deny Irish Their Rights.

There also sits President Wilson, the one whose mission it is to see oppression ended, and democracy safe, and self-determination granted to the nations, great and small. It is he who demands the establishment of right. He is the apostle of even-handed justice, and yet what an exhibition is before him. The representatives of England have come to the council prepared to deal with nations and problems great and small, but, unfortunately, not with even-handed justice, not with broad-minded generosity, not in the spirit of fair play, of which they talk so much, for, while they claim the world mission of releasing other nations from thralldom, they challenge the world with a denial of Irish right to be free. The Kameruns interest them. They are the people of darkest Africa. They are still in the savage state, but some 10 or 15 years ago the Germans got control of this country, made it a colony, and, as the story goes, oppressed them; but now comes their rescuers: the mighty power of liberty-loving England will do them justice, will henceforth protect them, will call upon liberty-loving America to aid the cause. Yes, the people of

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