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LONDON, SATURDAY, DEC. 16, 1922

THE IRISH FREE STATE

The Irish Free State is an accomplished fact. The action of the British Parliament in carrying out with scrupulous loyalty the provisions of the Anglo-Irish Treaty has given Ireland her place amongst the self-governing nations of the British Commonwealth, that great, happy group of sister-nations that have realized the ideal toward which the nations of the civilized world are yearning and slowly groping their confused way. We have succeeded in reconciling essential autonomy in matters national with cordial cooperation in what concerns the common weal of all. And if at times there are minor causes for dissatisfaction because of the necessary limitations that cooperation imposes on national sovereignty we have only to look at the condition of the world where civilization itself is gravely imperilled because exaggerated national sovereignty refuses that cooperation which is necessary to save it.

We therefore welcome Ireland into this community of free self-governing nations with a joy as sincere as the most ardent of republicans might greet her achievement of full republican status and absolute political independence. For thinking men today realize that nations do not live by political independence alone.

A decade ago the measure of independence now obtained would have been hailed by Irish men and women at home and abroad with every manifestation of heartfelt joy and gratitude to God for thus crowning with success the age long and often seemingly hopeless struggle for freedom. But now instead of the sun-burst long yearned for, lowering clouds and the rumbling thunders of passion and fratricidal strife darken the dawn of Irish national freedom.

Let us hope that these are but the birth-pangs of a nation. The whole world is seething with unrest and the spirit of revolt. Institutions old and tried, principles long tested and accepted, are everywhere called into question or openly derided. There are obvious reasons. The War and its aftermath, the vicious peace are amongst those that are often cited. Yet there were forces at work that the disastrous War and still more disastrous peace but accelerated. And all the forces that menace civilization in many parts of the world operate in Ireland together with long-continued special conditions found only in that island of unhappy yet glorious history.

The orderly working of self-government is a thing of long and gradual evolution. In every country it traces its history down the ages. Ireland for long centuries had been deprived of that formative experience. The Penal Laws with their savage repression are only two or three generations away. The present writer's father left Ireland several years before Catholic Emancipation was grudgingly passed and by its benefits meanly emasculated. The incubus of degrading landlordism has been thrown off only within the recent memory of most of us. It is only a few years since Ireland (outside the ascendancy class) was given the opportunity of University education. It is less than two years ago when the most ruthless and repressive warfare ever waged by a strong power against a weak and almost defenceless people was in full and foul operation until the

outraged conscience of a world, caloused though it was by war, demanded its cessation. And this, we are glad to remember, included the conscience of England.

Throughout history revolutions have been succeeded by periods of unrest and disorder. Ireland has just emerged from one of the most radical revolutions in the history of nations. It is not surprising, especially considering the conditions precedent, that the Irish Revolution should be no exception to the general rule.

Dark and lowering as is the dawn we hail it with joy and hope and confidence, and we welcome Ireland into that great sisterhood of nations to which she yet may render service as joyously and as loyally as does the Dominion of Canada. Her status is ours, and should the occasion arise, in defending the common independence we prize and cherish the Irish Free State may count on every loyal citizen of every Dominion in the great British Commonwealth.

A PECULIAR VIEW OF MARRIAGE

A despatch from Ottawa last week was carried in all the newspapers and doubtless was seen by all our readers. It appears that two prisoners, married some time ago, were remarried by a Catholic priest in order that the previous legal marriage might be made valid according to the law of the Catholic Church. One might have thought this was quite a natural and praiseworthy thing to do; or, whatever one's own views might be, that it was a matter that concerned the parties themselves exclusively. Not so thought two local Anglican clergymen who made it the subject of a fiery protest to the County Council. "They were married," the Council members were told, "according to the civil law of the British Empire and this second marriage was nothing more than a mockery." And the Ottawa Citizen quotes the Rev. Mr. Steacy as asking the grave and reverend seniors in whose charge is the county jail, "Is the King the centre of authority in this land, or is it the Pope sitting on his throne?"

While such perfervid oratorical protest does credit to the reverend gentleman's sentiments of loyalty and patriotism, a little clear thinking and cool reasoning will convince him that he has rushed to the defence of King and country when no attack was made on either; and that the position he takes involves principles that as a Christian minister he must utterly repudiate.

The first of these is that Christian marriage is purely a civil contract governed exclusively by civil law. We hardly think Mr. Steacy would go so far; and if he should he would be placing himself in opposition to the stand taken by thousands of clergymen, including many bishops, of his own Church. There is of course no "civil law of the British Empire" governing marriage; the civil law varies in various parts of the Empire. But even if there were one uniform law the British Empire has just the same power over marriage as the United States, Russia, Turkey or Japan; no more, no less. The State has the right and the duty to legislate governing marriage as a civil contract; there its jurisdiction ends.

What Mr. Steacy has failed altogether to grasp is that marriage must be considered from two distinct and separate points of view: the civil and the religious. The marriage of a man with two or more women at one and the same time is in some parts of the world perfectly legal from both the civil and religious point of view. That is the case with Mohammedan marriages. Even within the limits of the British Empire, it may surprise the Rev. Mr. Steacy to learn, a man may by "the law of the land" have four wives at one and the same time! This is of course a concession to His Majesty's Mohammedan subjects. These favored fellow-subjects of ours are not rigidly limited to four, but if one of them marries a fifth a judge may annul this marriage on the application of the woman. But up to four wives to one husband these marriages are just as "legal" as those solemnized by the Rev. Mr. Steacy in Carleton County. So the "civil law of the British Empire," so sacrosanct in the eyes of our reverend friend from Westboro, can hardly be imposed on all loyal consciences as the law of God governing Christian marriage.

No, Mr. Steacy, we Catholics take from the Catholic Church the law governing what we hold to be one of the seven sacraments; and who are you, Sir, that you assume to dictate to your Catholic fellow-subjects what they shall think and how they shall act with regard to marriage as a sacrament? Must we accept your pronouncements as our infallible guide in religious matters?

No Catholic denies that a marriage contracted anywhere according to the civil law of the land is a legal marriage; but no Catholic is bound to consider such marriage to be a valid Christian marriage. And any Catholic who has contracted a legal marriage that is not a valid Christian marriage in the eyes of the Church has the undoubted right to have such marriage validated. Any interference by State or individual with this exercise of religious liberty is intolerant and intolerable.

It is because our reverend friends have failed to make this plain distinction between marriage as a civil contract and marriage as a sacrament that they have put themselves in the unenviable light of mischievous meddlers in matters that do not and can not concern them.

It appears now that, contrary to the despatch as it appeared in the press, both of these unfortunates are Catholics; at any rate the Sheriff has made known that the supposed Protestant is registered in the jail as a Roman Catholic. Whether he is really a Catholic or not we do not know. But it makes not the slightest difference in the world. If he is a Protestant and wished to set at rest any scruples of his Catholic wife by having their marriage regularized by the Church, is not that his own business? If they are both Catholics it may be more manifest to some minds that the interference of Protestant clergymen in the matter is intolerant and intolerable.

To our mind it is not a particle more or less so in either case. Nor does the fact that the parties concerned are prisoners affect in the slightest degree the question Mr. Steacy has so clamorously raised.

We boast of freedom of conscience and freedom of worship in the British Empire. Yet Mr. Steacy insinuates that we Catholics are disloyal to the King, that we are un-British, when we exercise these boasted rights!

If freedom of conscience and freedom of worship are cherished rights of British subjects the charge of disloyalty of being un-British, recoils on those who would interfere with the full and free exercise of those rights which we enjoy as British subjects. They are the loyal defenders of British liberty who insist on exercising it and who resist encroachment by State or individual.

The fiery and impetuous clergymen, who so valiantly rushed to defend the King and save the Empire on this occasion, might render the cause they have at heart better and more intelligent service if they tried to remember that Catholics as well as Mohammedans have rights that should be considered and respected; that if the Empire is to last it must be broad-based on principles of liberty that they, when their zeal outruns discretion, would deny to their Catholic fellow-subjects.

PRICES AND PRICE-FIXING

By THE OBSERVER

I know of a case where a man who kept a shop was visited by the agent of a manufacturer who said to him: "You are handling our goods and selling them lower than the other dealers in this town." "Yes," answered the dealer, "I am; and I am satisfied with my profit." "That is not the point," said the agent. "You had better take the same profit that the others are taking." The dealer answered that he would not do so. "Well, in that case, then," he was told, "you will get no more of our goods to sell."

Thus, that dealer found pressure applied to him; and the price he was to charge for his goods in a little Canadian town, dictated from Montreal or Toronto. That, on the face of it, is a serious matter. Organized control of anything in the trade and commerce, extending over a whole country, is always a serious matter. The history of the past is the history of long and painful contests between those who wanted freedom and those whose

interest it was to keep great masses of the people in one or another kind of subjection. Need I say to any intelligent person that if those who sell goods in a country, and especially if those who sell to the public the necessities of life, can no longer decide what price they shall charge for those goods, we have suffered a loss of freedom which goes far to offset the political freedom we have gained in the past. Political freedom is very important; but if it does not involve as a necessary consequence the right to trade and buy and sell in competition as freely as we see fit to do, why, then, in the net result, we are not a free people at all.

For, let me impress this fact, not one of the tyrants of the ages long ago ever tried to organize the control of the prices of a country. The worst robber baron who oppressed a countryside in Europe long ago never prevented the people he oppressed from selling the goods they had bought and paid for as cheaply as they pleased. In the darkest days of autocratic tyranny in Russia, no despot ever thought of interfering with the prices in the markets and in the fairs, where men met to buy and sell. This particular kind of tyranny is the invention of the twentieth century.

Sometimes the people will find out that they are being villainously dealt with; at present they are only dimly conscious of it; and though they believe they are being cheated they do not know just how it is done. I have pointed out one way in which it is being done. How can the people get all the facts? I recommend the forming of cost and price clubs in every community in the land, for the purpose of finding out the facts about the cost of things. All the facts may perhaps not be found out by that means; but it can be ascertained what the normal and usual cost of manufacture of all ordinary and well-known articles, with sufficient accuracy to put a decided check upon price-fixing in most of its phases. Exact accuracy is not necessary for that purpose. Traders do not care to be exposed too clearly before the public.

There are and have been too many persons connected at one time or another with the manufacture of staple goods for it to be possible to keep the cost of manufacture a dead and inviolable secret. A cost and price club can get the facts approximately in most cases; and approximate accuracy would be enough for the purpose I have in mind, that is, to prevent the grosser abuse of the power of fixing prices. I know of cases where articles were sold for \$17 that had been bought for \$17. In that case the information was not hard to obtain; it came from the man who got the \$17 and from the man who paid the \$47. And in thousands of cases the facts are easy to obtain; the trouble is that no one cares to take the bother of looking them up.

Labor cost can always be ascertained; the labor unions would assist there. Transportation cost can be always ascertained exactly—at least in the case of a government railway. The first cost of raw materials is not hard to find out in most cases. The sources of supply are not hard to find out; they are generally common knowledge. If more information is not common to all the public about all those matters I have mentioned, it is not because it cannot be made available for the public, but because every one is waiting for some one else to start finding out and publishing it.

There is a great and vital truth in the old saying that what is everyone's business is nobody's business; and many a great fortune has been made out of the plunder of the public just because what is everyone's business never gets done by anyone. The way to start is to begin. Begin locally; there is money to be made in this; for what is the difference between ten dollars a month added to one's wages and ten dollars a month kept off one's expenses? It is the same thing exactly; though it is hard to get some people to see that it is. Now, why not start at once? Get a few fellows together and appoint a secretary, and a committee to look up prices; and start in at once. Get retail prices first; then wholesale prices; then labor costs; then transportation costs; then the cost of raw materials. Take these items in whatever order is convenient; they will all come into one at last; which is the cost of

goods. The Department of Labor will supply a great many facts, such as the numbers of workmen employed, output, prices, &c.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

ATTENTION has recently been redirected to the simple rules to which the long life of Pope Leo XIII—a life characterized by hard work, and culminating in a beautiful old age, with brain clear as crystal and responsibilities faithfully shouldered to the last—is largely attributed. To what was this due? Leo has himself given answer to the question. Simply, by carefully choosing the kind of food he ate, by moderation in all things and by work.

LIKE SENECA, the pagan philosopher of ancient Rome, the great Pontiff counselled moderation at table as an essential to long life. "Too many dishes are the cause of many ills," wrote Seneca, long ago, and Leo gave expression to the same sentiment in another form: "Restrain your appetite if you want to live long." It is to be noted too, that just as Seneca, in agreement with St. Paul, counselled a "little wine for the stomach's sake," so Pope Leo all his life used wine, but wine of the purest vintage, and always well watered.

IN THIS the Pontiff but adhered to the custom of his people. In Italy everyone uses a little wine at lunch or dinner, and it forms so much a part of the meal that this light beverage is never absent from the table. It is always, however, diluted with water. And the Italian people have the reputation of being the most temperate in the world. "During a period of residence in Italy of twenty years," writes an observer, "I have not seen that number of people under the influence of drink."

SINCE ALMOST everything under the sun is "collected" now-a-days, a suggestion in the London Evening News that attention should be given by someone, to doorknockers may lead to unfortunate results. London itself is full of interesting specimens, and if the suggestion catches on the palatial residences of Mayfair and Belgrave may have to deplore the loss of these treasured street-door ornaments.

ON ONE door, Lord Aberdare's, for example, as the News goes on to particularize, is a bronze knocker in the form of Neptune rising from the sea, which is reputed to be the work of the celebrated metal-worker of the Italian Renaissance, Benvenuto Cellini. On another well-known door in Curzon street is a knocker in the form of a single dolphin, and close by there is one of silver with a ribbon scroll and a circlet of acanthus both of which have great artistic value.

MERMAID KNOCKERS are said to abound, one of the best examples being at 24 Cheyne Row, Chelsea, Carlyle's old home. Then, in St. John's Wood, on a house once occupied by Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, is a rare specimen copied from a Roman mask. On Dr. Johnson's famous house in Gough Square is an elaborate brass knocker in the shape of a clasped hand, probably placed there by the great lexicographer himself. The finest knockers in the West End, however, hang on the gates of what once was the entrance to Devonshire House.

ALL THIS is interesting to lovers of old things and opens up a no less interesting field of study. The very fact of public attention being called to it, however, lays it open to abuse on the part of those soulless vandals who under the name of relic-hunters prey promiscuously upon every object consecrated to the memory of the great ones in human history. To such nothing is sacred. They will rob even the tombs of the dead. Let us hope that the suggestion of the London paper will not precipitate a new catastrophe in this particular.

THE ARRIVAL in New York is announced of a former Russian priest who having been expelled from the Orthodox Russian Church for good and sufficient reasons will now ally himself to the Baptists, and become a minister of that denomination. That this "Mad Monk," as he was called in Russia, will find congenial soil in the Baptist garden, which has ever been the hospitable

pasture of "Ex's" of every description, goes without saying. Nor will his past record in another communion and the fact of his expulsion therefrom detract in the least from the cordiality of his welcome into his new environment. He will prove all the better drawing card on that account, and that he will be fully advertised as an "ex-priest," or "ex-monk," leaving the public to assume that he was a Catholic, is the natural deduction from the past.

THE COMMERCIAL Intelligence Journal of the Department of Trade and Commerce prints a long letter from its Trade Commissioner at Buenos Aires descriptive of the wine industry in the Province of Mendoza and the trade prospects in that commodity and its accessories between Canada and the Argentine. It looks as if quite a profitable trade might be worked up in that direction by Canadian manufacturers of cork and barrel staves, gasoline engines, pumps, sprayers and the numerous other articles which enter into the production and marketing of the fruit of the vine. But, since several of the Provinces of Canada have adopted Prohibition, and as the Dominion Alliance assure us that there will be no rest until the Prohibition flag flies over all Canada, the question of the consistency of Government Agents seeking markets for products that tend to stimulate trade in alcoholic beverages in other countries seems fit subject for consideration.

THE LEGACY OF HATE

OUTSPOKEN CONDEMNATION OF RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE BY METHODIST JOURNAL

The hatred and prejudice spawned by war have so sapped our moral vitality as apparently to destroy the spirit of good-will which it was so fervently hoped would follow the advent of peace. After the great conflict was over and the soldiers were returning home, says the Western Christian Advocate (Methodist), which thus confesses its alarm at the situation, the "blasting plagues of a reprobate mind" were released among us, and the aftermath of War is as much to be regretted as the days of carnage themselves. Even good men, we are told, are victims of this spirit of the age, and, instead of peace for which the world had hoped, we have race prejudice, religious intolerance, group arrayed against group, and a spirit of Americanism which is the very antithesis of that which animated the founders of the nation. Hardly had the War ended, we are told, than the evil of race prejudice began to rear its head, driving a cleavage through the social and even the political life of the nation. Anti-semitism demanded a hearing, and, exclaims the Advocate.

"It drove home with a prejudice against the Jew that was frightful, violent, without reason and with a blindness that defied the Spirit of Jesus Christ and suspended the application of all his teaching." It came with a narrowness; it blundered forward with a blindness; it acted with the violence of ignorance and sought to encourage the Spirit that rules in the depths where despair and darkness dwell. Hatred and suspicion of the Jew have been a bugaboo of the twilight after all wars for almost 2,000 years. It came upon us during the last three years as a thief in the night. It sought to work a cleavage from the highest economic realms of the nation to the lowest and most humble unit of the community circle. But when Christians hate the imp of hell rejoice and rise to claim a place in the little world drama of tragedy and comedy upon which all the company of the damned are witnesses.

"With this hatred of the Jew has come a dislike and distrust of the Negro. Violence has broken out against him in different parts of the country that has staggered the conscience of the best citizenship. Indeed, mob aggression has nullified the Constitution and desecrated the most sacred principles of our liberties. We have had to hide our faces in shame at the ruthless manner in which the Negro has been dealt with during the past four years. That ugly, diabolic thing, 'race prejudice,' would scourge the Spirit of Jesus Christ, and when aroused would spit in his face if he should presume to protest against its actions. It would again press down upon his brow the crown of thorns. It would again crucify him amidst fire and flame on a wicked cross; for there is no restraint to human wickedness when it is commanded by race prejudices.

"Then there is that growing hatred of the foreigner. It cries out, 'American for the white man—for the native sons.' It calls for 100% Americanism; it wants to close the gates of the country against immigration; it is fearful and suspicious; it is patriotic; it is narrow and blundering. If it had its way it would undermine all our national liberties. It would restrict free press, free discussion, free

speech, free assembly, free religion, free development. It is having its way in a most unusual manner. Who will rise to call its régime to an end?"

"In the face of these statements, do not forget that hatred and prejudice have also shown their presence and activity against the Roman Catholic Church. There has been sent forth for public consumption propaganda against this historic communion of such violent character as to stir into action age-long ill feeling and of such ugliness as to blot out the face of God in the life of any man who makes place for it. The deadly opiate for the Christian conscience is hatred. One should fear it as fire and deadly explosives."

Adding fuel to the fires of hatred and encouraging race animosity is a fraternal organization which "appeals to those fundamental human prejudices that can never be released or encouraged without great loss to the Christian spirit. It announces that it is against the Roman Catholic Church, against the Jews, against the Negro, against the alien, and stands out and out for Simon-pure Americanism."

Yet, we are told, the organization is thriving and commanding unwittingly the support of some of the most level-headed citizens. This appeal to prejudice has a deadly aim, and the Advocate warns us: "Watch the man or the organization who appeals to your prejudices. They will bring a poison into your soul that will rob you of your friends and take away your peace of mind. They will in the end becloud the face of Jesus Christ and turn your path into spiritual darkness. No man can afford to sympathize with or encourage in the least any man or group of men who appeal to hatred and prejudice. The ministry must be free and quick to see the peril. Keep themselves aloof, and in the name of Jesus Christ save the members of their flocks from the evil that walketh at noonday."

"And now abideth hatred and prejudice and violence, these three; but the greatest of these is prejudice."—The Literary Digest.

KLAN ISSUE TO BECOME FEDERAL QUESTION

APPEALS FOR ACTION

Senator Walsh's letter to the Attorney General, which is commonly described here as a call for a "showdown," quotes excerpts from letters received by the Senator "from a former Assistant District Attorney of one of our Western States" and "from a leading Attorney of Texas," for the standing and reputation of both of whom the Senator vouches. In these letters to the Senator, the outrages of the Klan are enumerated and it is suggested that the Government might seek indictments against Klansmen on the ground of conspiracy under Section 19 of the Federal Penal Code which reads:

"If two or more persons conspire to injure, or oppress, threaten, or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the Constitution or laws of the United States or because of his having so exercised the same, or if two or more persons go in disguise on the highway or on the premises of another with intent to prevent or hinder his free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege so secured, they shall be fined not more than \$5,000 and imprisoned for not more than ten years and shall moreover be thereafter ineligible to any office or place of honor, profit or trust created by the Constitution or laws of the United States."

HOW GRANT DISPERSED ORIGINAL KLAN

In the proclamation issued March 24, 1871, President Grant referred to the duty of the National Government to preserve constitutional guarantees in cases where the local governments do not do so and called upon the Ku Klux Klan in South Carolina to disperse within twenty days. He later issued several other proclamations, in the last of which he ordered the members of the "conspiracy" to turn in their arms to the federal authorities within five days and suspended the privilege of the writ of the habeas corpus in nine South Carolina counties in order to aid in the enforcement of the proclamation. In these later executive pronouncements President Grant cited as his authority besides the general provisions of the Constitution, the provisions of the Act of Congress approved April 20, 1871. That act was repealed by implication in a later statute, but was re-enacted without modification and is now the Section 19 of the Federal Penal Code referred to in Senator Walsh's letter to the Attorney General.

The letter written to Senator Walsh by the Texas Attorney declares that during the last eighteen months there have been 500 "tar and feather parties and whipping bees" in Texas and men and women and children have been subjected to outrages at the hands of the Klan without any of the offenders being brought to justice. The Texas attorney includes this observation:

KLAN NATURALIZES FOR ITS GOVERNMENT

"The crusade in Texas is directed not only against the Negro, Jew and Catholic Church, but against any and all persons who do not subscribe to 'Klanocracy.' They have