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LONDON, SATURDAY, APRIL 9, 1921

JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS

The marvellous chorus of appreciation, arising from every medium through which a great, educated and democratic people can express itself, bears eloquent testimony to the stupendous influence unobtrusively exercised by the gentle American Cardinal who has just been called to his reward. Gentle he always was, with sympathies wide enough to enfold all men as brothers. And in all the varied relations with his fellow countrymen which his long life and exalted position imposed, this outstanding characteristic endeared him to his fellow-countrymen; but this quality alone would never have evoked the tributes, heartfelt and sincere, which a grateful country with singular unanimity now pays to his memory and to his life-work. Firmness, indomitable courage, unswerving fidelity to sense of duty, and an unflinching faith and trust in God, were equally characteristic qualities of the personality of the man who was intuitively recognized by his compatriots as embodying the very ideals of American citizenship, and who was known by all, whether or not of the household of the faith, to be Catholic in every fibre of his being.

Transparently sincere both as a patriotic American and as the head of the Catholic hierarchy in the United States, it would be no mean achievement if his life held nothing else than the convincing demonstration that a good Catholic, even a Catholic ecclesiastic of the highest rank, can be the best of Americans. For that is a truth whose recognition was necessary alike for the welfare of America and for the fulfilment of the mission confided to the Church of God.

The long lifetime of Cardinal Gibbons goes back to the childhood of the great Republic and covers that period when unfounded distrust of Catholics culminated in the unreasoning fury of the Know-Nothing movement against the Church and all things Catholic. At all times, in the providence of God were found fearless defenders of the Faith; but it may be questioned if the polemic even of a Brownson influenced American sentiment with regard to the Catholic Church in a degree comparable to that of the life and personality of Cardinal Gibbons.

The sanity and good sense, the wisdom and prudence as well as sympathetic vision of Cardinal Gibbons were well exemplified by his attitude on the question of the organization of the workers to effect a betterment of labor conditions. Thirty years ago organized labor was not so much a matter of course as it is today. There was a general organization of workmen, known as the Knights of Labor, which was regarded with so much disfavor and suspicion that Cardinal Taschereau of Quebec forbade Catholics to join its ranks after having obtained from Rome an expression of disapproval of the Canadian Association. Cardinal Gibbons, on the other hand, sent to the Pope a memorial stating that a committee of Archbishops and Bishops had examined the rules of the Association, and that only two out of twelve were in favor of its condemnation. No oath was exacted by the Society, Cardinal Gibbons pointed out, no obligation of secrecy was imposed; no blind obedience to the chiefs of the order was exacted from its members. There was no indication of hostility towards civil authority or the Church. He went at some length into the grievances

against which the Association protested, and sought redress only by legal means. No one, he insisted, could deny the existence of the evil nor the necessity of a remedy. Then the Cardinal very distinctly defended the methods employed by the Knights of Labor. To obtain any public object, he averred, the association and organization of multitudes interested in a reform must be the most effective means to the end—a means at once natural and just. Such a method he declared to be especially in conformity with the genius of the American Republic, and of its essentially popular social state; and, indeed, almost the only means of commanding public attention and giving weight to the most reasonable demand.

Cardinal Gibbons urged very strongly that the interests of religion would not be served by ecclesiastical opposition of so great a social movement. The condemnation of the Knights of Labor would cause keen irritation in the United States and would excite many Catholics to a rebellious temperament. It must be recognized, the American Cardinal urged in the plainest of terms, that in this age, and especially in America, obedience cannot be absolutely blind. The Catholic workmen in the United States believed sincerely that they were seeking nothing but justice, and by the most legitimate ways. A condemnation of their movement from Rome would be regarded as unjust, and would perhaps not be accepted. He admitted that things might be different in Canada, especially in Quebec, which was almost entirely Catholic. And he pointed out that the constitution of the Knights of Labor had been modified in the States to meet the objections of Catholics to secret society forms and fashions.

We give this rather lengthy summary of Cardinal Gibbons famous memorandum as it illustrates his clear, practical and statesmanlike grasp of important public questions, his keenly sympathetic realization of American conditions, and his courage and forcefulness in contending for what he believed to be the right course to pursue.

He went to Rome and personally supported and supplemented the arguments of his memorandum, and it is not unreasonable to think that his vigorous representations had their own special influence when, a year or two later, Pope Leo XIII. issued his immortal encyclical letter on the Condition of the Working Classes, which is becoming more and more widely known to students of social and industrial questions throughout the world, as a masterly summary of those principles upon which any sane solution must be based.

CONDITIONS IN IRELAND

The American Commission on Conditions in Ireland has issued its first interim Report.

The Commission was appointed, it will be remembered, by a Committee of One Hundred (afterwards increased to one hundred and fifty) leading Americans representative of all classes, creeds and walks of life.

The members of the Commission which made the investigation were: L. Hollingsworth Wood of New York, Chairman; Frederick C. Howe, former Commissioner of Immigration at New York; Vice Chairman; Jane Addams of Hull House, Chicago; James H. Maurer, President of the American Federation of Labor of Pennsylvania; Major Oliver P. Newman, former President of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia; United States Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska; Rev. Norman Thomas, a New York Presbyterian clergyman, and United States Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts. All members of the Commission excepting Senator Walsh are Protestants.

Religious aspects of the Irish question are dealt with in a supplementary statement by the Protestant members of the Commission. These are summarized as follows:

"1.—Outside of a part of Ulster, Catholics and Protestants live in peace and harmony and their political opinions are not primarily a matter of religion.

"2.—Even in Ulster religious bigotry is not by any means wholly spontaneous, but is artificially stirred up by those whose economic and political interests are served by dividing the people.

"3.—While it obviously lies beyond our province to pass final judgment upon the various aspects of the Ulster issue, we have not only a right but a duty as American Protestants to

denounce the degradation of religion by such pogroms as occurred last Summer. Upon this subject we owe it to our fellow religionists both in America and in Ulster to speak plainly."

"No examination of the Irish situation can ignore the religious issue," they declare. "It seemed peculiarly appropriate that the Protestant members should deal with the subject, in view of the overwhelming predominance of Roman Catholics in Ireland and the charge sometimes heard in Protestant circles that Republican sentiment has its chief origin in ecclesiastical agitation."

They take up the disorders last Summer in Belfast in which fifty-six persons were killed and assert that "these riots between Protestants and Catholics, in which Protestants were the aggressors, partook of the character of Russian pogroms against the Jews."

"The Ulster pogroms," the statement declares, "were not primarily due to a spontaneous flare-up of smoldering bigotry, but were rather promoted by those whose economic and political interests were opposed both to strong labor unionism and to Irish Republicanism. Certain manufacturers and unionist politicians, it was alleged, had taken alarm at the solidarity of labor, Protestant and Catholic, shown in the great shipyard strike of 1919."

The statement then quotes a Belfast manufacturer as saying:

"I know and all the manufacturers in this city know, that the trouble is not a religious trouble except as it has been fostered by them to serve their political and their economic interests. . . . I warned them a long time ago that they were raising up a monster they could not control and which some day might turn upon them."

The statement by the Protestant members asserts that the "excesses of the British forces in Ireland" were "tending to dispose Southern Protestants favorably toward the Republican Government." They declare that the testimony indicated that a number of the republican leaders were Protestant, among them Ernest Blythe, Captain Robert Barton and Erskine Childers and add that some of the Catholics were anti-republican. They cite the case of a priest who refused to lead in prayers for MacSwiney during his hunger strike.

The Commission concludes that the Ulster pogroms were "not primarily due to a spontaneous flare-up of smoldering bigotry, but were rather promoted by those whose economic and political interests were opposed both to strong labor unionism and to Irish Republicanism."

The Report contains thirty-eight illustrations mostly depicting British atrocities and inevitably suggests comparison with the famous Bryce Report on German atrocities in Belgium. The Irish picture far surpasses the Belgian in the horrors described, which are based on a great mass of evidence quite as trustworthy and convincing as that supporting the Bryce Report.

The Commission concludes that the assassination of elected representatives of the people, wholesale destruction of public and private property, organized looting, robbery and acts of terrorism are all a part of a settled policy.

An instance of this policy is the recent official order of the British Command making mothers who give shelter to their Republican sons—and an overwhelming majority of the young men of Ireland are Republicans—liable to the death penalty.

This was precisely the offence of Edith Cavell in Belgium, so the Commission declares:

"This procedure would seem to be directed not only against Irish womanhood, but also against the noblest of Englishwomen, Edith Cavell; for by it the British High Command would appear to make the heroism of Edith Cavell a crime and to confirm her sentence."

The conclusions of the Commission are as follows:

"We find that the Irish people are deprived of the protection of British law, to which they would be entitled as subjects of the British King. They are likewise deprived of the moral protection granted by international law, to which they would be entitled as belligerents. They are at the mercy of Imperial British forces which, acting contrary both to all law and to all standards of human conduct, have instituted in Ireland a 'terror' the evidence concerning which seems to prove:

1. The Imperial British Government has created and introduced into Ireland, a force of at least 78,000 men, many of them youthful and inexperienced, and some of them convicts; and has incited that force to unbridled violence.

2. The Imperial British forces in Ireland have tortured, and indiscriminately killed, innocent men, women and children; have discriminately assassinated persons suspect of being Republicans; have tortured and shot prisoners while in custody, adopting the subterfuges of "refusal to halt" and "attempting to escape;" and have attributed to alleged "Sinn Féin extremists" the British assassination of prominent Irish Republicans.

3. House-breaking and wanton destruction of whole villages and cities by Imperial British forces under Imperial British officers have been countenanced, and ordered by officials of the British Government; and elaborate provision by gasoline sprays and bombs has been made in a number of instances for systematic incendiarism as part of a plan of terrorism.

4. A campaign for the destruction of the means of existence of the Irish people has been conducted by the burning of factories, creameries, crops and farm implements and the shooting of farm animals. This campaign is carried on regardless of political views of their owners, and results in widespread and acute suffering among women and children.

5. Acting under a series of proclamations issued by the competent military authorities of the Imperial British forces, hostages are carried by forces exposed to the fire of the Republican army; fines are levied upon towns and villages as punishment for alleged offences of individuals; private property is destroyed in reprisals for acts with which the owners have no connection, and the civilian population is subjected to a constant inquisition upon the theory that individuals are in possession of information valuable to the military forces of Great Britain. These acts of the Imperial British forces are contrary to the laws of peace or war among modern civilized nations.

6. This "terror" has failed to re-establish Imperial British civil government in Ireland. Throughout the greater part of Ireland British courts have ceased to function; local, county and city governments refuse to recognize British authority; and British civil officials fulfill no function of service to the Irish people.

7. In spite of the British "terror" the majority of the Irish people sanction by ballot the Irish Republic; give their allegiance to it; pay taxes to it; and respect the decisions of its courts and of its civil officials."

The Commission desired to hear all evidence that the British could offer in rebuttal. The British Embassy refused to submit any, though it now issues a sweeping denial unsupported by a shred of evidence. The character and value of the denial may be judged from this paragraph:

"There are the strongest grounds for attributing to extreme Sinn Féiners the murders of prominent Republicans, such as Lord Mayor MacDonnell, of Cork, and the mayor and aldermen of Limerick."

This is quite of a piece with the affront of Sir Hamar Greenwood whose brazen denials of notorious facts have turned the hardy stomachs of his own supporters and subjected him to the scorn and contempt of the independent English Press. Even the pachydermatous Greenwood abandoned the untenable position taken up now by Sir Auckland Geddes.

The report of the Labor delegation, the Report of County Court Judge Bodkin, K. C., the representations of the Ulster Protestant, George W. Russell, together with his urgent demands for judicial investigations—which are refused—the suppressed Strickland Report, and innumerable other testimonies of prominent Englishmen quite beyond all suspicion of sympathy with Sinn Féin, all go to support the findings of the American Commission and demonstrate that the British ambassador who refused to present the British case before the Commission chose the safer course. He is not indifferent for all that; though he ran away from the investigation he does not consider it beneath his dignity now to flood the press with facile denials, without the awkward necessity of refuting substantiated charges or supporting his own assertions with credible testimony.

FREEDOM TO EXPLOIT THE PUBLIC

By THE OBSERVER

A couple of weeks ago I made some observations on the methods pursued in the exploitation of the public by way of price-fixing. That prices are fixed in Montreal and Toronto for the retail trade for all Canada, in many cases, is beyond doubt or question.

What is the attitude of the public on this question? At first sight, one would be disposed to say that there is intense public indignation at the exorbitant prices charged. But, while I do not doubt the existence of such indignation, I doubt that it is very deep. If you ask the ordinary citizen what he thinks about it, he will say it is a shame; but the extent of his feeling about it depends on the difficulty he experiences in paying the prices demanded.

If he has the price, his feeling is not very deep. Most men regard money as a thing to be spent, and spent quickly; and not as a thing to be taken care of and saved. Consequently, those who can pay their way, do not feel deeply concerned about prices; and it is precisely on this complacency that the profiteers count. They know that the patience of the public is long-enduring; and that a public evil must become very nearly unendurable before any effective public protest will be made.

Indeed, one may go further in remarking on the complacency of the public. It is certain that, during the past few years of artificial prosperity, a large number of the people of Canada have thoroughly enjoyed the pleasing sensation of having money to spend, and of not being obliged to consider prices very closely before paying them. That there has been a general riot of extravagance is common knowledge; it is not so generally known; but it is equally true; that many thousands of deserving and excellent people have been on the ragged edge of want all the time while the riot of money-spending was going on around them.

Between the many who were half-indifferent about prices, because they could pay their way; the many who took a positive pleasure in paying high prices, thereby flattering a sort of vanity; and the money-grabbing exploiters, this class—a large class—of low-paid men and women workers, have had no chance to make their discontent heard. It is they who have the strongest claim to public sympathy.

Taking all these facts into consideration, it is plain enough that the profiteers have had very little to stop them in their career of plunder. In fact, they would hardly have been turned from their mercenary purpose by any public outcry, however general or passionate, unless actual punishment impended; and not once in all these years of enormous commercial piracy has any profiteer been in serious danger of any punishment that would touch his fears. Money fines, even when large, would not have stopped the profiteers; and they were not even fined, or seriously menaced with fines.

Here is matter for reflection by students of human nature and of present-day public society. Every one knows of this evil. Everyone knows that he or she has suffered by it. Everyone knows that our system of government is such that 25% of the victims of the profiteers, acting in even imperfect union, could at any time, send our rulers tumbling over each other to put profiteers in jail. Why was no real growl of anger ever heard from the throat of the public; the kind of anger which politicians dread, because they know it is serious and will record itself in the ballot boxes? Why? Because no great public movement ever takes place except when it proceeds from a deep conviction of injustice; and there is not in the people of Canada, any such deep conviction of injustice. Grumbling there is, in plenty; but it is the grumbling of the man who sees an advantage taken of him; but is not indignant on moral grounds; only vexed that the other man holds cards that will beat his hand.

"I don't blame them," he says, "if they can get away with it," meaning that he would do the same if he had the chance. And he would. That is to say, there is such a widespread acceptance of the evil and false principle of "get all you can," or "all you can get," that the public give tacit consent to the very methods by which they are exploited, in the very moment when, superficially, they seem most indignant.

Public opinion is not able to raise up such a movement of moral indig-

nation as will sweep away conspiracies to fix prices; because there is too commonly, a disposition to condone what is, except at occasional angry moments, considered as "smart business."

No reform can be looked for through a public opinion thus vitiated; and so I do not believe we shall ever see profiteering effectively, or even seriously, dealt with by law. But it is possible, and not only possible but practicable, to take it in the flank, and smash its power in that way.

Co-operative enterprise is the hope of the future; and all roads out of the present social difficulties lead through Co-operation.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

ONE of the striking passages in Mr. Gilbert Chesterton's lecture on "The Ignorance of the Educated," is that no scientist of this generation who values his reputation holds to the theory of natural selection which was one of the essential features in the doctrine of Evolution as formulated and expounded by Darwin little more than a generation ago. "This doctrine of the evolution of species has in the interval undergone multitudinous changes and modifications at the hands of other investigators, and as time goes on will undoubtedly undergo further changes. It is now recognized that Mendel in the seclusion of his monastic garden did more to unravel the secrets of biological development than any investigator of his time."

JUST TWENTY years ago the late Mr. Martin J. Griffin, then librarian of Parliament, wrote:

"During the last half century the intellectual leanings of great masses of thinking people were guided by a comparatively small number of men of strong character and striking views. They were either 'scientists'—using that word in its popular and well understood sense—or men who had so far yielded to the influence of the scientist that their views of literature and its object, of life and its purpose, of religion and its sanction were deprived of all notion of certainty, of finality, of authority. Man, in their estimation, was a being destined to continually investigate without discovering anything; to think perpetually without arriving at any definite conclusion; to wander always in a valley of shadows in pursuit of an unapproachable mystery. These men expressed themselves in the language of practical science, the language of philosophic discussion, the language of literary criticism, and the language of poetry. They appealed to the receptive minds of the young. They created schools of thought. They had a following. They influenced the studies of many thousands. The terminology of their various forms of thought permeated the literature of our age. To doubt them was feeble; to deny them was bigotry; to agree with them was the note of emancipated intellect."

THE ESSAY from which these words are taken is entitled "Dying Speeches and Confessions of the Nineteenth Century," and its purpose was to show the fleeting character of so much that passes for a generation as scientific finality. It is indeed a most telling indictment of those multifarious schools of speculation which would make of science a species of idolatry, and out religion, natural or revealed, from the pre-eminence in the affairs of mankind which it has held from the beginning of time. Going back to the early years of the century Mr. Griffin passes in review the greatest names in science and criticism from Mill to Huxley, and assembles together their dying testaments, indicating, as he says, what may be asserted to be the final failure of all they attempted to do, all they tried to teach, all they had hoped to establish. Revelation, it had been confidently proclaimed, was on the defensive in their presence. Historic Christianity was a mass of narrative fatalities. The saints and sages, martyrs and doctors, the guides of mankind during a thousand years were persons with "inadequate knowledge of scientific data." And so, for half a century, these new lights of a scientific dispensation lorded it over their adherents with a security of intellectual tenors surpassing the sternest claims of the feudal barons or the pontiffs of the middle ages.

BUT, AS Mr. Griffin went on to show, the great body of the work of these cranks had by their own dying confessions, failed to endure. Time,

"that gathers all things mortal with cold immortal hands," had heaped much of it with the dust. Herbert Spencer, for example, whose industry, learning and intellectual capacity was scarcely surpassed in his generation, and whose life had been given to the effort to interpret the mystery of being with the weapons of science came to this at the last: "But one truth must grow ever clearer—the truth that there is an inscrutable Existence everywhere manifested to which he (the man of science) can neither find nor conceive either beginning or end. Amid the mysteries which become more mysterious the more they are thought about, there will remain the one absolute certainty that he is ever in the presence of an Infinite and Eternal Energy, from which all things proceed,—that is that there is a Living, All-wise Intelligence before which all must bow in lowly adoration. To the Christian that Intelligence is God."

WE WISH we had space to reproduce here this interesting essay. We can but cite the closing paragraph. "Most of these self-styled prophets have passed away and with them much of their intellectual influence on mankind. Other forces have followed them, more assertive if possible, more destructive in intention in their warfare on revelation. They, too, shall go down in their turn. But, across the centuries there comes to us a message of more authoritative moment, and with a promise and a menace which give us a stronger assurance of truth and a higher sense of our destiny and duty; for our assurance—I am the Lord thy God; for our guidance—'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye Him,' and for our consolation and reward—'I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever believeth in Me shall never die.'"

SORROW IN FOREIGN CAPITALS

(By N. C. W. C. Special Cable)

Rome, March 25.—On hearing the sad news of Cardinal Gibbons' death, the Holy Father expressed the following sentiments:

"The death of our dear Brother, the Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore, is a great grief not only for his diocese and his country, but also for the whole Church. Cardinal Gibbons was the living testimony of the magnificent development and the powerful organization which the Catholic Church has attained in his country, and for this reason he, more than anybody else, could show to the people the marvelous fruits that the Church can produce for the good of mankind even in our times, and notwithstanding numerous difficulties."

"Cardinal Gibbons, excellent priest, learned master, vigilant pastor, was also an exemplary citizen, and by the example and preaching of Christian virtues in private as well as in social life, he contributed efficaciously to the sound progress of his great country. His memory therefore must be cherished with profound veneration not only by every Catholic but also by every citizen of the United States of America."—Cardinal Gasparri.

London, Mar. 28.—News of Cardinal Gibbons' death has made a profound impression here likened only to the general feeling produced in all quarters at the death of Leo XIII.

All leading daily papers without distinction of creed have printed obituary notices which speak of the Cardinal not only as an outstanding American churchman but as the first patriot of his age. Special stress is laid on his unexampled influence upon the life of the American nation and how under his leadership the Catholic Church in the United States has become one of the most powerful factors in the Americanization of immigrants.

Cardinal Gibbons' visit to the Eucharistic Congress in London in 1908 is recalled by the Morning Post which says that after the Papal Legate, Cardinal Gibbons was the outstanding personage present.

The Times and other London journals say that "The Faith of Our Fathers" was the most effective and least controversial of such books and that Cardinal Gibbons would have been a figure in literature even if he had not been a great churchman.

Cardinal Bourne, who received the news immediately after celebrating Pontifical Mass in the Cathedral, expressed the sympathy of the Catholics of England with the Catholics of the United States at their grievous loss. Cardinal Bourne was greatly moved at the death of the American Cardinal.—Watts.

Dublin, Mar. 28.—Profound sympathy with America is being expressed here over the death of Cardinal Gibbons, both clerics and laymen paying him high tribute. Old men who remembered the Gibbons' family in the days of the Cardinal's childhood have been eagerly interviewed by the press for reminiscences.