

The Catholic Record

Price of subscription—\$2.00 per annum.
United States and Europe—\$2.50.
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ONTARIO, SATURDAY, APRIL 22, 1923

THE NATIONAL STATUS OF CANADA

London, April 11.—A Reuter despatch from Genoa says that the British Dominions at first were not put on the list for voting on the committee of the Economic Conference.

The foregoing despatch emphasizes the importance and the urgency of the greatest of all Canadian political questions, one far transcending those which occupy the attention of party politicians.

The success or failure of the League of Nations in no way lessens the importance of the fact that in its constitution Canada, with the other self-governing Dominions, was given international recognition as a nation among the nations of the world.

It will be remembered that Premier Smuts warmly resented the failure of the United States to recognize this fact and extend to the British Dominions invitations to the Washington Conference separate and distinct from the invitation extended to Great Britain; and he reproached the Governments of the "sister nations" for their failure to assert the international status acquired by the Dominions at the Paris Peace Conference.

Again, as is evident from the despatch quoted, it was to the vigorous self-assertion of our antipodean co-Dominions that Canada, on equal footing with the other nations there represented, will cast her vote at the Economic Conference of Genoa. As a matter of fact our status as a nation is still too inchoate to be clearly defined.

The famous Report of Lord Durham was a daring new departure in the matter of colonial self-government. Yet the British North America Act, thirty years later, marked a radical advance on Durham's radical policy. Still greater strides toward full and independent nationhood have since been made though the British North America Act remains in the letter unchanged.

We have reached a stage where some of the gains should be consolidated; where constitutional usage should be freed from restrictions imposed when the present development was unconsidered because unforeseen; where relations, instead of being left to the varying interpretations of succeeding statesmen, should be clearly defined; where rights conceded by everybody in theory should be always respected in practice.

For this the written Constitution which we have outgrown must be brought into conformity with the constitutional usage which has since developed and must go on developing.

The Canadian Historical Review for March has an illuminating article, "Some Canadian Constitutional Problems," by Sir Clifford Sifton. Its twenty-one pages are too long to summarize; but the importance of the subject and the clarity of Sir Clifford's exposition of it make this article highly useful and suggestive to all thinking Canadians.

Constitutional amendments, if any, the writer points out, would naturally fall into three divisions: (1) The relative jurisdiction of Dominion and province.

(2) Possible internal changes of constitution of Dominion and province.

(3) The relationship to Great Britain and foreign powers.

Having given illustrations that prove the necessity of changes in the first two divisions, he adds: "It

The Canadian Historical Review. Published quarterly by the University of Toronto Press. 50c the copy, \$2 the year.

is not too radical to suggest that after fifty years' experience we should clear up doubts, anomalies, and inconsistencies which have developed as between province and Dominion, nor will it be disputed that in matters of internal economy, as, for instance, the constitution of the Senate, should be capable of amendment."

But, as Sir Clifford points out, "the vital need for constitutional action arises in connection with external affairs, by which I mean Canada's relations with everything and everybody outside of Canada, including the parent Empire."

Those of us who have been so slow-witted as to despair of understanding some of the grandiloquent pronouncements on our new national status may have their self-respect restored on learning that this eminent Canadian finds himself in the same box.

"Our external relations," he writes, "are enveloped in what might be called a highly luminous but cloudy halo. The plain man who makes no pretence at the investigation of legal or constitutional subtleties must be in despair when he attempts to understand them. Not only is the subject in its very nature somewhat obscure and difficult to comprehend, but it suffers from the fact that almost everyone who debates it seems by an unhappy fatality to be seized with a desire to use high-sounding, sonorous, and sometimes self-contradictory language."

We have all heard or read statements thus aptly described. The confusion of tongues becomes evident when these pronouncements are placed side by side. Despite their obscurity, sonority and mutual contradiction, consideration of these pronouncements is vital to an understanding of the question in issue, of the problem to be solved.

Here is a quotation from Sir Robert Borden: "Equality of nationhood must be recognized, preserving unimpaired to each Dominion the full autonomous power which it now holds, and safeguarding to each by necessary consultation and by adequate voice and influence its highest interests in the issues of peace and war."

Here are three quotations from Mr. N. W. Rowell: "Does the Globe stand with Union Government? ... in maintaining in the councils of the Empire and at the Conference Table of the nations the unity of the British Commonwealth and the equality of the Nations which compose it and that our constitutional development be along lines of consultation and co-operation between the different self-governing nations of the Empire rather than the centralization of power in the hands of one?"

"Canada, not only in theory but in fact, has reached the status of a nation. On this vital matter affecting the policy of peace and war we have a right to be heard and the means is provided whereby our voice may be heard in determining those questions so vital to our future."

Here are two quotations from Lord Milner: "The United Kingdom and the Dominions are partner nations not indeed of equal power but for good and all of equal status."

"The only possibility of the continuance of the British Empire is on a basis of an absolute out-and-out equal partnership of the United Kingdom and the Dominions. I say that without any kind of reservation whatsoever."

The resolution of the Imperial War Conference of 1917, with regard to imperial relations, may be quoted:

"The Imperial War Conference are of opinion that the readjustment of the constitutional relations of the component parts of the Empire is too important and intricate a subject to be dealt with during the War, and that it should form the subject of a special Imperial Conference to be summoned as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities."

"They deem it their duty, however, to place on record their view that any such readjustment, while thoroughly preserving all existing powers of self-government and complete control of domestic affairs, should be based on a full recognition of the Dominions as autonomous nations of an Imperial Commonwealth, and of India as an important portion of the same, should recognize the right of the Dominions and India to an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations, and should provide effective arrangements for continuous consultation in all important matters of common Imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several Governments may determine."

Here are some quotations from General Smuts. Speaking of his opponents in the South African

parliament, in September, 1920, General Smuts said: "They are dominated by pre-war conceptions and fail to take account of the fundamental changes which the War and the peace have effected in the constitution of the British Empire."

Subsequently, he used such language as follows:

"The British Empire as it existed before the War has in fact ceased to exist as a result of the War. The Dominions have in principle, authority and power not only in respect of their domestic questions but also of their international or foreign relations and the questions of peace or war which may affect them."

"If a war is to affect them they will have to declare it. If a peace is to be made in respect of them they will have to sign it. Their independence has been achieved."

"The last vestige of anything in the nature of subordinate status in the relationship will have to disappear. These are not my boastful words. I quote the considered language of the present Under Secretary of State for the Colonies. The South African party is out for a sovereign status for South Africa. So far as surrendering any rights to The League of Nations or to any Council of the Empire. We are for the fullest development and assertion of these rights."

"As regards our Imperial relationship the South African party favours the development of the periodical Conference system between the various Governments of our Commonwealth with a view to removing possible causes of friction and misunderstanding and furthering the interests of the Commonwealth and component States and discussing workable ideas of their policies."

"We are opposed to closer union." There has lately been another and most important declaration upon this subject. Speaking in the British House of Commons lately, upon the Irish settlement, Mr. Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Great Britain, went into the subject of Dominion relations very fully. Omitting what does not bear on the point at issue these are his words:

"Now I come to the question of external affairs. The position of the Dominions in regard to external affairs has been completely revolutionized in the course of the last four years. I tried to call attention to that a few weeks ago when I made a statement. The Dominions since the War have been given equal rights with Great Britain in the control of foreign policy of the Empire. . . . The machinery is the machinery of the British Government, the Foreign Office, the Ambassadors. The machine must remain here. It is impossible that it could be otherwise unless you had a Council Empire where you had representatives elected for the purpose. Apart from that you must act through one instrument. The instrument of foreign policy of the Empire is the British Foreign Office. That has been accepted by all Dominions as inevitable, but they claim a voice in determining the lines of our policy and at the last Imperial Conference they were here discussing our policy in Germany, our policy in Egypt, our policy in America, our policy all over the world, and we are now acting upon the mature and general decisions arrived at with the common consent of the whole Empire. . . . The advantage to us is that joint control means joint responsibility and when the burden of Empire has become so great it is well that we should have the shoulders of these young giants under the burden to help us along."

Lengthy as is this array of quotations they are necessary if we are to understand the state of the question. Comment and consideration must await another time. And we ask interested readers to preserve the quoted pronouncements. Despite the disparities, divergences and contradictions one great fact emerges: there confronts us at the present time a constitutional problem of vital importance to the future of Canada. How it will be solved depends largely on the intelligent interest of the average Canadian.

"INTO HELL" Under this heading the London Free Press had an editorial last week beginning with this paragraph:

A note at the foot of the Apostles' Creed in the revised Book of Common Prayer of the Anglican Church in Canada, explains the clause "He descended into hell" as meaning "He descended into the place of the departed spirits."

Then, after a philological and scriptural disquisition, the article thus concludes:

By this note to the Creed the Anglican Church in Canada reaffirms its position as Apostolic according to the usage of the Primitive Church.

All of which increases in interest when compared with the following questions and answers in the Catholic Child's Catechism:

Q. Where did Christ's soul go after death? A. It descended into Hell, Ap. Cr.; 1. Peter III. 19. Q. Did Christ's soul descend into the Hell of the damned? A. No; but to a place of rest called Limbo. Acts II. 24; Psalm XV. 10; Eph. VI. 9; St. Luke XVI. 22, 25. Q. Who were in Limbo? A. The souls of the saints who died before Christ. Eccles. XLVI. 23; Acts III. 13; Heb. XI. 39, 40. So the Catholic child who had reached the eighth chapter of the Catechism would find himself in no need of the note explaining that "He descended into Hell" means "He descended into the place of departed spirits." Even the little one who had reached the third chapter of the Short Catechism would have learned the above questions and answers without the Scriptural references; and every Catholic child realizes that what he learns in the Catechism is Apostolic and primitive.

There are two distinct Commandments that we both agree upon: Thou shalt not steal and Thou shalt not commit adultery. These forbid acts. If these are and should be distinct and separate why not these: Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife and Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods.

These two forbid entertaining the thought or the desire to commit the acts forbidden by the other two. Our numbering of the Commandments is in accordance with their obvious meaning, is sensible and logical. They are not numbered in Genesis. And we object to the Protestant variation from Catholic tradition being imposed upon our school children.

CORPORATIONS AND CO-OPERATION

By THE OBSERVER

The needs of a country such as Canada were, and to some extent still are, well supplied by the corporation as we have it now and have long had it. I know a demagogic orator who speaks the word "corporation," with a venomous emphasis, and a contemptuous tone, and with a suggestion of loathing, as though the word for him expressed or described all that was repulsive and hateful. Yet, the corporation has made possible the development of Canada industrially.

Corporations built our railways. How else could they ever have been built? There are a couple of exceptions. We have some State-built railways. Perhaps the least said about that the better. Corporations built our factories. How else could they have been built? Corporations opened our mines. How else could they have been developed?

Only one other way was possible for the doing of these things. They could have been built by the State; but they never would have been; and had they been, they probably would not have given half the employment or half the satisfaction, or led to half the industrial development that the country has enjoyed. Individuals could never have done these things, acting individually. Individuals, associated together as partners, could not have done them; because of the limitations of partnership action, the dangers of individual liability, and the too great number of partners required.

I believe that the day of the corporation in its present form is passing. I believe the business and industry of the world now done by the corporation in its present form, ought, in the best interests of all concerned, producer, distributor, and consumer, to pass, and will pass, into the hands of the co-operative societies; in which producer and consumer will co-operate. But I must be allowed to smile when I hear men denounce the corporation with every sign of loathing and horror as though it were an accursed thing; an evil thing in itself; of which no good could be said; to which no credit, even the slightest, belonged; and which it was the first duty of all good citizens to hate. That is all nonsense. Corporations have robbed and cheated and profited, of course. So have individuals; and much more, in the total, than corporations; yet no one will say that man himself, the individual citizen, is completely corrupt and has no right to exist.

Corporations will give way to co-operative societies for two reasons: First, because the country has reached a stage in its development in which small individual investments can be multiplied to an amount sufficient to finance the largest enterprises; in proof of which I cite the Victory Loan subscriptions; and secondly, because greed has so far vitiated the business conduct of corporations that legitimate industrial and commercial development are made secondary to the amount of the profits; and justice to the whole people from whom corporations hold their charters and their franchisees, is not given its due place in corporation policy.

Exploitation of the public has reached its peak; at least it is not necessary to let it go further. Corporations are not more hardened sinners in this matter than individual traders or owners; but they are in a somewhat different position; and that difference in position

does distinctly affect the question of whether they shall be replaced by co-operative societies.

An individual trader may be, and often he is, an exploiter and a profiteer; but he is in greater danger of being hurt when he is found out. A corporation which swallows up a dozen or a score of smaller corporations, and exploits first the small investor, and then the workman, and then the consumer, is not so susceptible to public opinion as is the individual. When found out and exposed, blame is not personally laid; shifter is taken by the individuals responsible behind the corporation name; and "the company" is cursed without any of the curses finding a personal application.

This may not have much bearing on the merits of the corporation system; but it does distinctly increase the public dissatisfaction with the corporation as we have it today; and the demand for more personal relations and a more personal accountability is one of the forces which are gradually shaping the public mind for the reception of the co-operative idea and principle.

The frothing and foaming of demagogues against corporations can do no good; unless it may be that it helps to turn the public mind towards co-operation; the last thing, sometimes, that the demagogue is thinking of, or would want to see. I am convinced that the change from the present-day corporation to the co-operative society must begin by using, not by destroying the corporation principle. And I need only, in support of this, point out the fact that the co-operative society must be incorporated; must be a corporation; and must be a limited-liability corporation; unless every man who takes a share in it is to be required to risk his home and all his future earnings in it, liability must be limited by shares.

The difference, essentially, will be the adoption of the co-operative principle. The start can be made with the corporation as it now is.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE HOLDING OF THE Eucharistic Congress in Rome this year makes the Eternal City in an especial manner, apart altogether from its permanent and overshadowing attraction as the centre of Christendom, the point of pilgrimage for devout Catholics the world over. Not that beyond the comparative few they can make the journey in person, but that in the plenitude of that spiritual bond which unites all the faithful, they can individually rejoice in this manifestation of faith in the city of Christ's Vicar, and participate in its benefits.

It is proposed that the Congress of 1923 should be held in Paris, and a committee has already been formed in that city for the purpose of facilitating that end. In which event it is probable that Montmartre, so closely bound up as it is with devotion to the Sacred Heart, and the scene of St. Margaret Mary's Revelations, will be the chief seat of the Congress. Should the movement thus initiated be brought to a successful conclusion, a great demonstration of the Catholic faith of France will be the result.

WE ARE reminded by the foregoing of the earnest plea voiced by the Baltimore Catholic Review in behalf of the Catholics of Maryland that the next Eucharistic Congress be held in that city. Our contemporary urges that as but one of these congresses has as yet met on the North American continent—that at Montreal in 1910—a second would be a timely recognition of the important place the Catholic body of the United States has now come to occupy in the Church. The tercentenary of the founding of the Catholic colony of Maryland will occur in 1934, and the Review postulates that the occasion could be made doubly memorable by the simultaneous assembling in Baltimore of the Eucharistic Congress.

TWELVE YEARS is, however, a long time to look forward to, and it is not at all improbable that those with whom the decision lies in this matter may see their way to bringing the Congress to North America before that time. "The choice of a country or a city for the Congress," we are told, "is usually determined by the happy influence it would have in awakening the faith of the people and in rendering homage to the Blessed Sacrament, or by the

religious history of the place, especially if it recalls some great historical event or miracle relating to the Holy Eucharist." Judged by this standard Maryland, however far removed the majority of its people in our day may be from the Faith, possesses in its past history paramount claims to consideration on the part of the Congress executive.

IN AN address at the annual meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society held recently in New York, Rev. John La Farge, S. J., of St. Mary's County, Maryland, laid special emphasis upon the sacred character of the soil of that section as the landing-place of the first Catholic pilgrims and the birth-place of religious liberty in the United States, and added a strong appeal for its proper recognition, and for a fitting celebration of the Tercentenary in 1834. He, apparently, made no reference to the International Eucharistic Congress, but his words may be taken as the strongest possible plea for Maryland in that connection.

He said: "Old St. Mary's chapel disappeared in 1706, having been closed by the order of Governor Seymour and his council. But although the very bricks of which the chapel was built were transported elsewhere, its erection marks the beginning of the Eucharistic Residence of Our Saviour in the heart of our future Republic. Certainly the arrival and beginning of a permanent residence for the Blessed Sacrament in this country, a residence which from the date of the first Mass, March 25, 1634, has been practically unbroken to the present day, is a fact of infinitely greater interest and value, both spiritually and historically, than the arrival of any pilgrims or colonists on our shores. St. Mary's County, therefore, and St. Mary's City in particular, call on us for national veneration as the first Eucharistic Home of Our Saviour."

A YEAR ago the press of the United States fairly exuded enthusiasm over the tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on Plymouth Rock and with little regard to historical fact extolled those worthies as the pathfinders of civilization in the Republic. How far this was removed from the truth even those who sang Puritan praises the loudest must have known. But no such petty consideration was allowed to interfere with the maintenance of a pet tradition. It would have been out of keeping, too, with that same tradition to have called up the memory of the Catholic Pilgrims of Maryland, who, unlike the Puritans of New England, not only sought religious freedom for themselves but guaranteed by statute that great boon to others.

LAMENTING the indifference or forgetfulness from which St. Mary's City suffers, and which is so hard to explain in face of the continuous exploitation of the Puritans on a basis of bald assumption, Father La Farge made practical suggestions towards a remedy. One is the national observance of the 25th March as "Catholic Day," throughout the United States, which happily coincides with one of the feasts of Our Lady. Another is an educational movement, in the spirit of the first Lord Baltimore, to provide proper educational facilities for the Catholics living in the neighborhood of St. Mary's City—a work already being prosecuted by the Jesuits residing there. The third suggestion is the erection of a suitable monument, looking eventually to the foundation of a shrine, on the very spot made sacred by the celebration three hundred years ago of the first Mass in this part of the American continent.

ST. JOHN, N. B. SHOWS THE WAY TO MEET GREAT NEED

Few Catholic organizations can boast of a Catholic club or institute so well equipped and so popular as the Young Men's Catholic Institute in St. John, N. B., of 40, 00 people, of whom about one-third are Catholics.

To call it Young Men's is rather misleading for it is for men of all ages, and for boys and girls as well. There are separate gymnasiums and swimming baths for both sexes. There are facilities for billiards, bowling, baseball, basket-ball, volleyball and other sports, as well as a library.

The Institute is maintained at a cost of approximately \$11,000 a