

The Catholic Record

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IMMIGRATION

That the only solution of the unemployment problem in Great Britain was "by resort to emigration within the Empire, until the world was in a more settled condition" was the astounding statement made by Lloyd George last week in the House of Commons.

At the elections of 1918 Lloyd George loudly proclaimed that the great problems of reconstruction could be solved only by eschewing party spirit and retaining the machinery of the Coalition until "the man who won the War" had inaugurated that new and better world of which he talked so eloquently.

Now the greatest reconstruction problem, the one overshadowing and involving all others, was the reabsorption into civil life of the millions the War had called to the colors. Long before the War ended this was pointed out and insisted upon as all-important.

Not only has the Lloyd George Government failed utterly to face and solve this problem, but as Mr. Asquith has pointed out, and the facts amply warrant his statement—continuance, after war conditions had disappeared, of Government control of industries has resulted in unemployment growing in every direction.

And now despite unbound of national expenditure wastefully and wantonly squandered, Mr. Lloyd George confesses absolute failure and abject helplessness in face of the greatest, the most vital of the problems he declared the Coalition alone could and would solve.

"He fears that the problem [of unemployment] can only be solved by resort to emigration within the Empire, until the world is in a more settled condition."

It is gratifying to see that the general expression of Canadian opinion is a prompt rejection of the British Premier's proposal to unload hundreds of thousands of out-of-work Englishmen on the Dominions, and an emphatic repudiation of any such conception of Empire.

Again: "Here, as in the case of tariffs the question has been determined by the best of all possible tests, that of experience. . . Clearly they cannot control their own social development unless they can decide whom to admit and whom to exclude. They must have that right or forego the power to mould the growth of their own national life. . ."

"As it is, the matter has been settled by the test of experience. The control of immigration has been conceded to the Dominion Government."

So that, underlying Lloyd George's shiftless shuffling off of responsibility for the solution of a purely domestic English problem, there is an assumption that runs counter to clearly defined rights, duties and responsibilities devolving exclusively on the self-governing Dominions whose people "have constructed for themselves national governments competent to interpret public opinion on these matters, to formulate policies, and to raise from the particular public to which they are responsible the taxation required to make them effective." ib.

An interesting side-light on the unemployment problem of England is furnished by the dispute between the Government and the building trades, which is thus summarized by The Globe:

"The dispute, which has been dragging on for months, has held up the Government's extensive housing program, with distressing results. The public authorities contend that millions of people must go homeless or submit to injurious overcrowding for an indefinite period unless more labor is forthcoming. As a means of speeding up construction and relieving unemployment they propose the 'dilution' of the building trades by the admission of thousands of workless soldiers, who would be assigned to jobs requiring the least experience, under the direction of skilled journeymen. The Government has tried to win the assent of organized Labor to the scheme by guaranteeing all qualified bricklayers, carpenters, plasterers, and other builders five years' steady work, with compensation for any time lost by bad weather. The unions have rejected the offer on the plea that the scheme would ultimately overcrowd their trades and break down the standards which they have built up through years of effort."

So that a quarter of a million of ex-soldiers, who spent at the front the years they might otherwise have spent in apprenticeship, are debared from earning a living; the people must go without needed housing accommodation; and the British Prime Minister, whose gallant forces are terrorizing a defenseless population in Ireland, dares not attempt a solution, fears there is no solution other than "emigration within the Empire."

The Class selfishness of Labor unions which clings so tenaciously to decent work and wage conditions hardly won as to exclude any consideration of those who risked their lives to defend the common country is an illuminating example of English patriotism. But it is not so sorry a spectacle as the cynical ingratitude and selfishness of the decadent ruling class whose figurehead and spokesman, Lloyd George, in effect, tells the sometime "heroes" that they had better get away to "the colonies," as the ruling class cannot be expected to endanger its privileges in trying to provide even a bare living for war-time heroes in that new and better world which the favored few are divinely called to possess and to govern.

IRELAND
The special correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, who accompanied the Labor Commission to Ireland, writes in his paper under date Dec. 7th:
"The members of the Commission came here as sceptical people. Their tour is only half over, but they feel that the case about reprisals and the demoralization of the forces is fully proved. One could scarcely meet a more indignant set of men or men more ashamed of what is being done in the name of their country."

He goes on to tell that people were held up, searched and robbed everywhere on the streets of Cork. Even the writer and other journalists did not escape, though after examining their papers the journalists were allowed to go and retain their pocket-books.

The following is a specimen paragraph from the correspondent's

account of police lawlessness in Cork:

"A few doors further on is the little tobacco and sweet shop of Mr. Kenny, an invalid and, from all accounts a non-political man. Fast after the wrecking of Oudmore's shop there came a pounding at Mr. Kenny's shop door. His wife answered it, and five men came in. Two pointed revolvers at her while the others ransacked the till and took tobacco from the shelves and carried it outside. Upstairs they broke furniture, overturned tables, tore down hangings. They went to the second floor, where Mr. Kenny lay in bed, entered his room, and when he remonstrated, asked what religion he was. He replied, 'A Catholic.' 'That is enough,' was the reply, and the smashing went on. Nothing was left whole or in its place but the bedstead."

To two articles on Ireland in the present number of the CATHOLIC RECORD we call special attention. In his great speech Mr. Asquith holds up the mirror to the most despicable and brutal of English ministers "since England became a free country," and if that coarse-grained liar can still glory in his shame it is because the thick-skinned sycophant would enjoy the pillory itself if it brought him even the contemptuous consideration of the class into which he is crawling.

A. G. Gardiner writing with all the charm that makes his literary style unique amongst English journalists, with that incisive forcefulness and lucidity of which he is past master, makes an impassioned appeal to his fellow-countrymen to see the terrific tragedy which is exciting the horror and disgust of the civilized world.

THE UNIVERSITY QUESTION

Before the Universities Commission the other day Mr. Gordon Waldron presented the views of the Ontario farmers.

In part this was Mr. Waldron's presentation, according to The Globe: Referring to the University of Toronto, Mr. Waldron said rural Ontario last year, from a population of about 900,000, sent only 351 to the University, out of a total of 1,833 students entering. The records showed, he contended, that Toronto enjoys the educational benefits of the State University in a proportion far beyond its ratio of population. In all the faculties 1,928 out of 4,777 came from Toronto.

"Toronto should contribute \$500,000 toward the maintenance of the University of Toronto, in view of the greater benefits it receives from the University," said Mr. Waldron. In the University of Toronto culture education has been overdone and overdone by professional training at the public expense, and immensely for the benefit of the city of Toronto. The management of the U. of T. has not been representative of the people but of the city of Toronto.

"I am not instructed to claim that the University of Toronto should be the sole recipient of the bounty of the State, but rather, I am to urge that the financial and economic necessities of the time require a redistribution of the University question which may result in greater decentralization."

The London Free Press quotes and editorially endorses Mr. Waldron's views. Now it is an interesting fact that on May 31st, 1918 in the third of a series of articles entitled "The University of Toronto and the Schools of the People," the CATHOLIC RECORD took precisely the same grounds. The Globe had insisted that the University of Toronto was "The Provincial University" and as such was entitled to maintenance by the Province.

President Falconer in order to relieve the overcrowded classes of the University of Toronto had asked that the High Schools do the first year of University work. "Greater personal attention on the part of teachers" was urged as a consideration. Quite evidently this "personal attention" must be reduced to the minimum where one greatly overcrowded university tries to do practically the whole work for the Province and we asked:

Have we not arrived at a stage in the development of the Provincial University idea when we should take this consideration into account? Another consideration is suggested by the following statistics for University College:

Table with 2 columns: Year, Students. Rows include First year students, Second year students, Third year students, Fourth year students, and Occasional students, with counts for From Toronto and From Outside the Province.

From city of Toronto and from outside of the Province 637, from the Ontario, excluding Toronto, 469.

Now if Toronto were to pay half the \$500,000 a year that Ontario gives Toronto University, or better, if the City were to supplement the Provincial grant by another half million it might solve some problems. Toronto is growing very rapidly. It will become a great city. The University of Toronto will become in a large measure the University for Ontario. It will need greatly increased subsidies. It wants them now. Will the City of Toronto rise to its opportunities and its duties in the premises? Well, not while the Provincial University idea can be imposed on country politicians. It would be too much to expect of human nature. And there is a whole lot of human nature in the city of Toronto and in its press. . .

Even if we include medical students, dental students, veterinary students, summer session, and all the rest, as well as those who are supposed to be getting a liberal education, we have 4,136 in all. The grant therefore, from the provincial exchequer is about \$1,200 a student. When the representative of a constituency remote from Toronto compares this with the \$170 a pupil for primary and secondary education combined, he might be pardoned if he left the "sacred trust" of a Provincial University to others and promised to look after the educational interests of his constituents.

In the High Schools and Collegiate Institutes of the Province there are 890 teachers, 646 of them University graduates. Of these 646, Toronto University supplies 373 or 58%, 179 are graduates of Queen's, and 94 of other universities. So it would appear that those "vivifying streams" that vitalize our secondary schools take their rise in other parts of the province as well as in the Provincial University. Queen's having succeeded in pushing to the front, gets recognition and help; Western is legally permitted to live, and though it will not be killed by kindness its demise would be gratefully recorded. Have the members for Western Ontario seriously considered President Falconer's wise remark that "it would benefit Provincial cities and towns by taking the higher education into their midst"? Are we under the guise of a Provincial University pampering an institution which even now is well on the way to become the University for Toronto, a centre (to re quote) "where wealth accumulates and men decay"?

Are we starving elementary education and hampering secondary schools? We are glad to see that our views expressed seven and a half years ago are becoming general outside of Toronto.

Other equally important criticisms of our educational system were given at that time, and often since that time; when the educational powers that be by some cataclysmic force are shaken out of their ruts it will be found that the common sense of the common people endorses these also.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Now they are agitating in the United States for an "Abridged" Bible. Why not negotiate with the Ontario Department of Education for the "Ross" Bible? Ontario never found any use for it and might be induced to dispose of the copyright at a modest figure. Then see what labor and controversy it would save!

ONE of the books through which M. Emile Zola, the late French novelist, directed his anti-Catholic and anti-Christian propaganda was "Lourdes," in which an insidious attempt was made to ridicule and cast odium upon the far-famed shrine, upon miracles generally, and, ultimately, upon Christian revelation. The recent death of the original of one of his characters, in the person of Marie Lebranchu, has directed public attention once more to Zola's methods, and again exposed the nefarious character of the anti-clerical propaganda in France.

MARIE LEBRANCHU was miraculously cured at Lourdes in the year 1892. Zola saw her both before and after her wonderful recovery, but in his novel made her die on her return journey to Paris. But on seeing that she gave unmistakable proof of the genuineness of her cure he offered, it is said, to pay her a large sum of money to disappear. This unworthy proposition was rejected with indignation and contempt, and Marie has lived thirty years to testify to the efficacy of her faith and devotion. Some years after her cure she was married, but upon the subsequent death of her husband entered a Convent of the Good Shepherd where she remained until her last moments.

THE DAILY American Tribune of Dubuque, Iowa, is again referred to as the first Catholic daily paper in America.

In the narrower meaning of the term "America" as describing the United States, the statement is probably true. But in the larger sense of the term it requires qualification. For, as pointed out in these columns some years ago, both Montreal and Toronto have been able to boast of Catholic dailies in English. Their existence was not protracted, it is true, but the venture was made and the honorable distinction remains to Canada. We note that the editor-in-chief of the Dubuque paper rejoices in the name of "Gonner." We trust that in the years to come the name will not be descriptive of the enterprise.

A FATEFUL MOMENT AND A MISSED OPPORTUNITY

Mr. Asquith has never delivered a more stirring appeal to the nation, nor made a more effective criticism of the blunders of the Coalition Government in its financial, foreign and Irish policies than that which is contained in the remarkable speech he made to a great meeting under the auspices of the National Liberal Federation at Bradford, yesterday. The Daily News, Nov. 27.

We omit the other topics in Mr. Asquith's great speech. Perhaps the most eloquent tribute to the Liberal Leader's effectiveness was the boycott of the controlled press. See editorial from Citizen on another page.

Mr. Asquith next dealt with the Irish problem. In these two years, he declared, things in Ireland had gone from bad to worse. He pointed out that there was a fateful and decisive moment when a good judgment might have been fruitful of the most beneficent results, but when, unhappily, a bad judgment was taken—the morrow of the report of the Irish Convention. For the first time in the history of our relations with that country there seemed to be a real, genuine, hopeful, even a fruitful prospect of reconciliation upon lines of agreement. That was in the spring of 1918.

The Coalition Government, with a fatuity to which I know of few parallels, selected that particular moment to seek to impose upon Ireland compulsory military service. It was no use, it produced no result, it did nothing for the successful prosecution of the War, it was accompanied by a promise of a large measure of extended self-government, and while the coercive proposals took their place upon the Statute Book, where they remained a dead letter, the promise of self-government was delayed, and delayed for the best part of two years, and when finally an attempt was made to redeem it it was made in a form which Irish opinion, with unanimity, repudiated and condemned.

The Home Rule Act of 1914, Mr. Asquith continued, was about to be repealed, and in its place a scheme substituted for which no Irish member of the Commons could be induced to vote, and meantime Ireland was being given up to the worst excesses of Civil War.

GREENWOOD'S RHODOMONTADE

The Chief Secretary, Sir Hamar Greenwood, two nights ago ended up a speech in defence of the Government policy with this declaration: "The question is," he said, "who is for Ireland and the Empire, or who is for the assassins? A more insolent piece of rhodomontade—(cheers) has never in my memory proceeded from the mouth of any responsible Minister. Who is he? A Liberal—(cries of "No!")—returned, at any rate, as a Liberal for an English constituency. Who is he to say to you and me, who are carrying on what he has deserted—(cheers)—the great Gladstonian tradition, who is to charge us with sympathy, with the assassins? Assassins, indeed! In that a charge which can be made upon one side without reflecting upon the other? (Hear, hear.)

To say the Liberals had any sympathy with or condoned the vile and cowardly attacks upon the police and military, such as culminated in the brutal murders of last Sunday in Dublin, was a vile and malignant calumny. (Cheers.) But they believed the more inexorable and wicked these excesses the more necessary they made it for the Executive to keep its own hands scrupulously clean. To suppress crime by crime, murder by murder, to visit the sins of the guilty upon the innocent, to make the unoffending and law-abiding pay in life and property for the misdeeds of undetected malefactors, was to substitute vengeance for justice. It was to step down from the judgment seat and engage in a competition with the organs and ministers of crime. It was a degradation of Government, against which those who detested crime the most, whatever its motives might be, should be the first and the loudest to protest. What was the Government's attitude in regard to this matter of reprisals?

He should like to see the speech of the other night circulated to the Liberal Associations of the country, for it showed that whatever lip service the official exponents and apologists of Government policy might pay, in effect they were not only condoning, but encouraging reprisals.

able and including special provisions to meet peculiar needs. Is not it more than provision made for the right to assemble peacefully, to form associations and to petition, along with the inviolability of domicile, the secrecy of correspondence and the freedom of press and conscience, but woman suffrage, the right to form labor and economic unions, the principle of proportional representation, and similar features tend to the establishment of real government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," and make the document a veritable landmark in the history of free government.

"GIVE IRELAND FREEDOM"

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heavens! said Mr. Asquith, is not it enough? Is not it more than enough?—(hear, hear)—if it is admitted, and he does to a large extent now admit it—but whether he admits it or not, it is proved by irrefutable and indisputable evidence—that certainly three-fourths, and probably nine-tenths, of those cases of "destruction were due to unprovoked attacks of uniformed officers of the Executive.

He told us only three weeks ago that there was not a little of evidence that the military or police had been engaged in the destruction of a single crematory. It is now proved, and admitted by him, that a fortnight before that statement was made in the House of Commons there was in Dublin Castle, sufficiently well known to be given out to members and representatives of the press, a report of the police which has described in detail the destruction of one, if not two, of those crematories by the officers of the Crown.

"TAINTED SOURCES"

He talks about our getting our information from tainted sources. I am sorry to say there is no more tainted source at this moment than Dublin Castle itself—(cheers)—and you cannot have a better illustration of the attitude and mind of the Chief Secretary which, of course, percolates and conveys itself to his subordinates throughout the length and breadth of Ireland, than the perfectly astounding statement which I heard him make with my own ears, which I quote now from Hansard:

"I can assure you, if there is one crematory in Ireland now which is the rendezvous of the Irish Republican Army or of one manager who is a member of that army, that manager and that crematory are in peril."

What does that mean? Do you realize the significance of that? It means that if a manager, a single manager, of one of these crematories is or is suspected to be a Sinn Féiner, a member of the Republican Army, in the view of the Chief of the Executive in Ireland, without investigation, without evidence, without trial, that crematory is to be subject to blind indiscriminate vengeance and destruction by the officers of the law. ("Shame!") I have never heard, and nobody has ever heard in this country since we became a free country, not even in the worst days of Lord North or of Lord Sydeman, the worst days of reaction, I never heard, I undertake to say, from a Minister of the Crown a doctrine so anarchic or subversive of the very foundations of order. (Cheers.)

In the House, on the division two nights ago, continued Mr. Asquith, they only mastered 88 in support of his motion condemning this policy. He might parody the old rhyme, and say, "He is a slave who dare not be in the right." It was a disgraceful indication, for the case was unanswered, and the majority must have been deemed to have accepted the doctrine of the Chief Secretary he had just quoted. Liberals and Labor had two Unionists, two Tory Coalition members, with them—all honour to them! (Cheers.)

Where were the Coalition Liberals? (Voices: "Ah!" and "Where?") Over 70 of them, although some had the grace to abstain and hide themselves, went into the Lobby in opposition to our motion and in support of the doctrine and declaration of the Chief Secretary. (Cries of "Shame!") If one wanted clear and conclusive proof of the importance of keeping free and independent Liberalism by itself and of rejecting all these more or less feeble, though not very insidious evasions for what is called reconciliation, ask them first this question. Wasn't and where was an what he company did you mean the doctrines which are the lifeblood of the Liberal faith, and what inducement or reason is there for us, as self-respecting politicians, who still believe in these doctrines, and are prepared to maintain and support them through good or through evil report, to join your company and to abandon our principles as you have done yourselves? (Cheers.)

MR. ASQUITH ON THE REMEDY FOR IRISH CHAOS

After reviewing Ireland's position, apart from the tragedy of civil war, as it was today, the inclination of its young men to remain in the country, its increased sense of nationhood, in fact a new Ireland as compared with what it was 50 years ago, with a self-contained stay-at-home population, Mr. Asquith proceeded to consider the remedy for the chaotic condition into which it had been reduced by the follies, fatuities and misunderstandings of so-called statesmen.

He pointed out that Ireland had no quarrel, except an historical quarrel, with Great Britain. Her interests and ours, economically, socially, and, indeed, politically, were so interlaced and interdependent that the very idea of permanent separation was inconceivable.

Give Ireland freedom, he urged—(cheers)—freedom upon the largest scale, freedom with the fewest irritating restrictions and restraints, and unless all our reading of history since it has produced elsewhere, its old result, the reconciliation of past animosities and the creation of a new sense of unity and brotherhood. I have put forward as you will my own outline of the way in