

The Catholic Record

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to the British name and to British interests than to reproduce here some of those ringing British denunciations of the brutal tyrannies of British mis-government in Ireland.

A. G. Gardiner—whose "Prophets, Priests, and Kings" will be familiar to many of our readers—writes in the Daily News, Oct. 2nd:

"There was a time not long ago when we used to read much about 'frightfulness' in Belgium and France. I suppose nothing did more to intensify feeling against the Germans in this country than the methods of barbarism they employed to put fear into the hearts of the civilian populations they passed through. Certainly nothing did more to prejudice them in the eyes of the neutral world and to mobilize public opinion against them in all countries. Well we owe the Germans an apology. . . . In all our annals there has been nothing to parallel this record of organized and senseless savagery [in Ireland]. . . . And there is this difference between the frightfulness of the Germans in Belgium and that of the English in Ireland, that the Germans only aimed at terrorism. They did not destroy for the sake of destruction. But a feature of the devilries in Ireland is the deliberate and calculated destruction of factories, shops and creameries. The object in these cases is not to create terror but to leave ruin, to reduce whole populations to worklessness and impoverishment. . . . This is the last depth to which English rule in Ireland has sunk. Beyond this it cannot go. Beyond this Tsarist Russia at its worst could not go. We are gibbeted before the world as a nation of hooligans, and before the world and before the bar of history we shall be condemned as the Germans were condemned. . . . It is not probable that the course suggested by Lord Grey will be adopted by the present Government. It is committed here as elsewhere to paths of ruin and disruption. But the obduracy of the Government is a command to all the forces of reason and sanity in the nation to combine to end this humiliating scandal. . . . Mr. Gardiner adds something which we have always urged our readers to bear in mind, that is, the distinction between the people of England and the English Government in Ireland. To speak of England as guilty of the atrocities in Ireland is to use a dangerous and misleading figure of speech; moreover it confuses the issue. . . . Mr. Gardiner makes this distinction clear in these concluding words: 'It will not be the fault of the plain people of this country if it is not ended and that soon. There are no terms consistent with reason, justice, and our own security that the English people would not agree to in order to get rid of this intolerable shame. If it is not got rid of it will be the fault of the party managers. If for no other reason than this of making an end of the Irish question it is the capital duty of Liberals and Labour to subordinate all their exclusive aims to the one task of sweeping away the present Government and substituting one which represents the true mind of the country and its passionate desire for domestic peace.' . . . But it is not alone 'the plain people' or their enlightened spokesmen, like the great journalist whom we have been quoting, whose conscience revolts and whose patriotism sickens at what is done in Ireland in England's name. Lord Henry Bentinck is an aristocratic Tory as thoroughly and entirely British as anyone between John O'Grady and Lord's End, but whose utterances would be branded as 'anti-British' by those Canadian papers that confound servility with loyalty, sycophancy with patriotism. . . . Lord Henry says just what friends of Ireland and friends of freedom and decency have been blackguarded for saying in Canada: 'I agree with General Gough that no truthful and sane person can doubt that the Government is encouraging the policy of reprisals by the armed forces of the Crown. Evidence is accumulating that these outrages are not spontaneous acts of savagery, but the deliberate policy of the Prime Minister, who has, at the dictation of Sir Edward Carson, adopted the strange doctrine that because the forces of disorder commit one murder the forces of law and order are entitled to commit two, and to ruin the homes and property of thousands of innocent individuals as well. Nowadays

there is so much Hunnishness in high places that one is forced to believe that there is much truth in the saying that the chief result of a great war is an exchange of qualities between the combatants!'

Farther on he answers the query that naturally arises as to why the English people do not oust a Government which misrepresents them. And who, with experience of the conflicting issues and confusing appeals of a popular election, can not feel the force of what he says: 'The prevailing pursuit of sectional interests obscures the reality. Public opinion in Britain is not divided into three groups, Liberal, Labour, and Conservative, as party managers would have us believe, but into two—that is, into those who believe in force and violence and those who believe in peace and conciliation. The first party is composed of violent revolutionaries and violent reactionaries, militarists and profiteers, who play into each other's hands and inflict infinite damage upon the body politic. The second is composed of those who hate violence and lies, and who believe that our national and international difficulties can be solved by the co-operation of all for the good of each. . . . Unfortunately, however, zeal for this faith has not yet developed sufficient heat and strength among the latter to cause them to unite in its defence. Herein they incur a great responsibility. So long as men like Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Asquith, and the leaders of constitutional Labour refuse to look beyond the rim of their party prejudices, so long will militarism ride rampant throughout the land, though its futility and ruinous expense is clear to all men. What is needed today is that faith in the healing virtues of liberty, justice, conciliation, and goodwill shall be elevated into a cardinal political principle, and not be reduced to a pious platitude, useful only at Pleasant Sunday Afternoons.' . . . Lord Morley bewails the shortsightedness rather than the barbarism of the present Irish misgovernment; warns against the loss of reputation and prestige; yet feels that "Hunnishness in high places" rather than its denunciation is what is really "anti-British."

He writes: 'It is the worst fault to forget among obvious and central truths that the long spell of coercion that our Ministers seem to contemplate means a whole generation born and brought up in associations bitterly hostile to England. In Cromwell's ever-memorable words, 'The mind is the man.' What sort of 'minds in the men' are prepared for Irishmen by the short-sighted ultras who today are understood to talk of completing Oliver's half-done work? . . . It is folly to forget that the heart of Nationalist Ireland is tenacious. However we may differ as to the utility of coercion to law and order, there is on the other hand no question of its bearing on our national credit and character—in India, for instance, where in these feverish days the standing common impression of our devotion to the sovereign principle of justice and equal law is a living asset of British power. Say what we will, it is no better than a commonplace to realize that resort to a policy of exceptional repression must be counted, so far as it goes, an admission of failure and a mark of weakness, not of abiding strength.'

The Nation, the mouthpiece of a thoughtful and very influential section of the English people, says: 'Were Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman alive, a single speech on the methods of barbarism would rally the conscience of the nation. Were Gladstone alive, the country would ring with his indictment, and no Government could maintain this nefarious course for twenty-four hours. Today the British people have no taste for their bloody work, but the leaders, Labor and Liberal, give no expression to the indignation and concern of the majority of people. A Unionist historian saw with clearer eyes. One of the keenest opponents of Irish Home Rule had a prophetic glimpse in 1896 of the catastrophe to which we have been brought. 'If the time should come when the effort to maintain the unity of the State is too great for the power of Great Britain, or the only means by which it is found maintainable are measures clearly repugnant to the humanity and the justice and the democratic principles of the British people; if it should turn out that after

every effort to enforce just laws by just methods, our justice itself, from whatever cause, remains hateful to the mass of the Irish people—then it will be clear that the Union must, for Ireland, come to an end. The alternative policy will then be, not Home Rule, but separation.' So wrote Professor Dicey in his statement of England's case against Home Rule. Are the murders and burnings of Fermoyle, Tuam, Balbriggan, Trim, Mallow, and scores of towns and villages, are the midnight raids on houses from which men and boys are taken to be bayoneted and shot, at the caprice of this or that scoundrel in uniform, are the evictions of hundreds of peasants at the point of the bayonet, are all the hideous methods of terrorism and espionage known to a political police bidden by its employers to forget the law—are these methods repugnant or not to the humanity and the justice and the democratic principles of the English people? If they are, let public men speak out, for at present it looks as if we were bent on bringing on ourselves a worse reprobation than Germany earned in 1914 when she went into a great crime almost without a protest. The German politicians had at least the excuse that their country was at war. That is a bad excuse, but it is better than any that Englishmen will find for their silence today.'

We could multiply these extracts from the "anti-British" press and "anti-British" public men of Great Britain. Of course they are the only truly British expression of real British opinion. But we shall conclude with this passage from an article in Truth.

"If these acts and words are to be condoned, and if the policy which they express is to be continued, I trust that protests will be heard in this country [England] as loud as any that have been raised in the past against the calculated atrocities of Turks or Germans. If not we shall be branded for all time as the most shameless race of hypocrites that ever walked the earth. Whether we are so or not, we shall certainly deserve to be regarded when we tolerate in our own Government what we denounce as the blackest crimes in the Government of foreign countries."

Anti-British! Is A. G. Gardiner anti-British? Is Lord Henry Bentinck anti-British? Is General Sir Hubert Gough anti-British? Is Annan Bryce anti-British? Is Lord Morley anti-British? Is Professor Dicey anti-British? Is Herbert Asquith anti-British when in righteous British anger he brands the present atrocities as "the hellish policy of reprisals"? Was Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman anti-British? Was Gladstone anti-British when he denounced Bulgarian and Armenian atrocities? Is the Nation anti-British? Is the Manchester Guardian anti-British? Is Truth anti-British? Is The Daily News anti-British? Is The Times anti-British?

No, the anti-British are the servile and sycophantic newspapers of Canada which betray their trust, misrepresent and mislead Canadian public opinion and uphold the most un-British and anti-British of governmental tyrannies that ever disgraced Great Britain. And generations of Britons in more enlightened days will point to the utterances and reverence the names of those who today have enough moral courage and true patriotism to denounce the infamies that would otherwise indelibly disgrace the British name.

As the Manchester Guardian puts it: 'It is to the infinite credit of men like General Gough and Lord Henry Bentinck that they have seen this clearly and announced it strongly. Here at least is the spirit of honest, right-thinking and plain speaking Englishmen.'

MR. ASQUITH'S IRISH PLAN

The London correspondent of the Manchester Guardian has this very significant comment on Mr. Asquith's recent pronouncements on Ireland: 'Mr. Asquith's new Irish plan must be taken, and undoubtedly will be accepted, as the Irish programme of the Independent Liberal party. He is a cautious man. He knows very well that in conceding to Ireland complete fiscal independence and the same right in military and naval matters as any other Dominion he is not going beyond the judgment of his followers, and, I may add, is not going beyond the judgment of many of the younger and more intel-

ligent supporters, both Unionist and Liberal, of the Coalition Government. . . . 'There is, I think, no doubt that Mr. Asquith will carry with him all the Independent Liberal party in the House of Commons. One wonders whether he will carry with him the Labour party too. So far the leaders of the Labour party have been more timid than he proves to be, but it will hardly be possible for them to hang back now that he has pushed aside as unpractical the strategic objection to full Dominion status for Ireland.'

ARCHBISHOP McNEIL'S JUBILEE

"On one of the shelves in a certain museum lie two small boxes filled with earth. A low mountain in Arica has furnished the first; the contents of the second came from the Island of Barbados. When examined with a pocket lens, the Arica earth is found to be full of small objects, clear as crystal, fashioned by some mysterious geometry into forms of exquisite symmetry. The substance is siliceous, a natural glass; and the prevailing shape is a six-sided prism capped at either end by little pyramids modelled with consummate grace. . . . When the second specimen is examined, the revelation is, if possible, more surprising. Here, also, is a vast assemblage of small glassy or porcelainous objects built up into curious forms. The material, chemically, remains the same, but the angles of pyramid and prism have given place to curved lines, so that the contour is entirely different. The appearance is that of a vast collection of microscopic urns, goblets, and vases, each richly ornamented with small sculptured discs or perforations which are disposed over the pure white surface in regular belts and rows. Each tiny urn is chiselled into the most faultless proportion, and the whole presents a vision of magic beauty. . . . Judged by the standard of their loveliness there is little to choose between these two sets of objects. Yet there is one cardinal difference between them. They belong to different worlds. The last belong to the living world, the former to the dead. The first are crystals, the last are shells. . . . No power on earth can make these little urns of the Polycystine except Life.—Natural Law in the Spiritual World, by Henry Drummond.

The Catholic Church is an Organism not an Organization. All Life from the lowest vegetable to the highest, most complex and highly organized forms of animal life are clearly, definitely, and forever distinguished from inorganic matter; and this is evident not to the scientist alone but to the rational perception of the average normal man. . . . What distinguishes living things from inorganic dead matter is Life. Scientists may discuss and dispute learnedly or otherwise about what constitutes life, just as they question the existence of the objective existence of the things of the material world; but man, every man, knows that matter exists and life exists. What matter is, what life is, are questions that in no way affect the certainty of human knowledge of the existence of life and matter. . . . The living thing living by some inherent, vital principle of its own, shaped, formed and vitalized by this principle, we call an Organism. . . . The most wonderful and complex machine ever devised by the ingenuity of man lacks this inherent vital principle—it is not living, it does not and cannot possess life. In this it is infinitely inferior to, as well as absolutely distinct from even the lowest form of microscopic life. . . . Societies of men, from the smallest to the greatest, are social organizations, they are not organisms. The cementing bonds of language and religion, of common ideals and purposes, the strong, even passionate ties of national sentiment, do not give a living soul to any human society. There is but one living social organism among men, and that is the Catholic Church—the Mystical Body of Christ. This is no mere analogy. It is reality. It throws light on a hundred texts of Scripture and reveals the full depth of their meaning. . . . St. Paul indicates this truth very clearly in the Twelfth Chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. . . . We are not going here to develop further this great truth: let it suffice to call it to mind on what is always a great occasion, the celebration of an Episcopal Jubilee. . . . For the bishop is an essential, vital organ, with indispensable functioning power in that wondrous Organism of which the soul and creator is Christ Himself. Catholics always and everywhere instinctively recognize this in their deep respect and

reverence for the Episcopal office; a respect and reverence that is deeper and more soulful than can easily be expressed in words. The enemies of Christ's Church—whether consciously so, or unconsciously misled by some diabolic illusion—also recognize the vital function of the episcopate; witness their invariable suspicion of and opposition to "the Roman Hierarchy." God knows what monstrous conception they have under that dread name. . . . The Church is an organism; if it were a mere organization like other human societies it would go to pieces in twelve months. . . . Perhaps we might give here an illuminating definition of the office of bishop by a scholarly member of the Canadian episcopate, Bishop McDonald of Victoria. It will be instructive to Catholics not less than to non-Catholics: 'The Bishop, in his Diocese, does not represent the people; he does not represent the Pope; he represents Jesus Christ. He does not represent the people, because he does not get his office nor his authority from them. He is set, as the Apostle has it, by the Holy Ghost to rule the Church. He does not represent the Pope, because in all ordinary Church affairs, he governs, not by delegated authority, but by authority inherent in his office of Divine Right. . . . Hence, as you may have observed on occasion of the late visit of the Pope's Delegate, he does not give up his throne to the Pope's own direct representative. In this the Episcopal Office is without example in the civil order of jurisdiction, as we know, though there is something analogous to it in our own local parliament. Viceroys and Governors of countries and Lieutenant Governors derive whatever power they have immediately from the Supreme Head of the State. But the Bishop's power of ordinary jurisdiction in his own diocese is derived from the very constitution of the Church founded by Jesus Christ, and is therefore by right Divine. True, he has to get canonical institution from the Pope, the Supreme Visible Head of the Church and Vicar of Christ on earth, and to give him an account of his stewardship from time to time, just as he will have to give some day a far more rigorous account of it to Christ Himself. But, though he has to do this, and though it is by the Pope that he is appointed to his office, and assigned to a given diocese, the Office itself carries with it the right to teach and rule the flock committed to his care in the name and by the authority of Him who said, 'All power is given Me in Heaven and on earth. Go, therefore, teach all nations . . . and lo! I am with you all days, even to the end of the world.'

His Grace, the Most Reverend Neil McNeil, apart from the high office he holds in the Church of God, has qualities and attributes that would give him distinction amongst men of high position irrespective of religion. Scholarly, urbane, quietly tenacious of purpose amid apparently insurmountable difficulties, always gentlemanly, always affable, always the serious, earnest Churchman yet always broadly sympathetic to whatever may be proposed from any source for the general good. Archbishop McNeil is not the least distinguished nor the least successful of the chosen few who have been called by the Holy Ghost to rule the Church of God throughout the world. . . . The Catholic Record in the name of its readers and in its own name very sincerely wishes Archbishop McNeil ad multos annos.

THE BRITISH COAL STRIKE

The magnitude and the stupendous consequences of the British Coal Strike almost daze the understanding. It has been freely and emphatically asserted, however, for six weeks past that Lloyd George would provoke this strike in order that he might have a plausible excuse for precipitating a general election and a popular catch-cry with which to obscure all other issues. When one considers that the coal strike must necessarily cause inconvenience and misery to the overwhelming majority of the English electorate it is easily understood that the merits of the dispute may be lost sight of altogether in the resentment at the consequences. . . . Our papers have informed us that the mine owners are quite willing to grant the increased wage demand provided the miners will guarantee increased production. Perhaps Canadian readers would just at this time

appreciate the following illustration of the meaning of this condition: Canadians would be quite willing to pay twenty one cents for sugar if the refiners would only give them two pounds instead of one for the twenty-one cents! . . . Mr. Smillie has pointed out that the condition of increased production is a most difficult one, because the output of coal at the present time was largely, if not entirely, in the hands of the mine owners and mine managers. The workmen had absolutely no voice other than the influence which the leading men among the workmen could bring to bear on it; they had no voice in making any arrangement for an increase of output. . . . Making an earnest appeal to the Prime Minister before the strike was declared for the two shilling increase in wages Mr. Smillie said: "If the increase were given and the output were not materializing, it would be the duty of the mine owners and ourselves to meet together and ask why it was not materializing. They say they have the capacity for putting it out; we say our men are willing to put it out if they have the opportunity. . . . It would be our duty to keep in touch with each other, the mine owners letting us know they were doing their best, and we proving to them that we were doing our best, and the output should reflect a joint effort of that kind." . . . Now this is exactly what the most enlightened students of industrial problems advocate. Joint control by the owners who invest their capital and the workers who invest their skill, their work, their lives. But apparently the British mine owners still want to regard work and workmen as mere items in a profit-making undertaking rather than as human beings who are partners in the business.

ONLY A CONSULTATIVE VOICE

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