

The Catholic Record

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LONDON, SATURDAY, OCT. 23, 1920

THE CULTURE AND INTELLECT OF ENGLAND REVOLTS

We published last week a remarkably outspoken protest against the "military lynch law" which now obtains in Ireland. The full significance and tremendous import of this public remonstrance will not be at once evident to the average reader without a few notes explanatory of the position the signatories hold in the intellectual life of England. In giving these notes we shall restrict ourselves to the barest outlines necessary for our immediate purpose.

ERNEST BARKER, Lieut-Colonel; served through the South African War and was Commandant of the Army Signal School for several years up to the outbreak of the Great War when he resigned to resume active service; received the Distinguished Service Order in 1916. His signature to the document, like that of General Gough, may be taken as the expression of disgust and alarm with which soldiers imbued with the old army traditions view the horrors of military rule in Ireland.

PHILIP GIBBS has published several novels and historical studies such as *Founders of the Empire*, and *The Romance of Empire*, &c, before he became world famous as the great war correspondent whose articles were read with intense interest throughout the English-speaking world. Since the War he has published the widely read, "Now It Can Be Told," and another War book, "Wounded Souls," is just from the press.

CHARLES GORE of aristocratic stock and great natural ability received the best education England could give. Fellow of Trinity College in 1875, vice-principal of the Theological College of Cuddesdon; and principal of Pusey House when it was founded to house Dr. Pusey's library and propagate his principles. There he "exercised a wide influence over undergraduates and younger clergy." From this time onward Bishop Gore, by his intimate and sympathetic knowledge of English intellectual life, grew to be the most outstanding figure in the episcopate of the Established Church. Here we have of course nothing to say as to the orthodoxy or heterodoxy of his views and conclusions on Christian doctrine; we are merely noting the fact that as a scholar and divine he has had a profound influence on the prevailing trend of High Church thought and theology.

HUBERT GOUGH—General Sir Hubert Gough distinguished himself in the South African War and since that time has been in the front rank of British Generals. Concerned in the Carragh of Kildare mutiny he has since disclaimed responsibility for that sorry episode in British military annals. His career as a general in the Great War is too recent and too unfortunate to need recalling. It is consoling to know that, representing the ethics and traditions of the British Army, he is horrified at the excesses of "the armed forces of the Crown" which the "authorities are deliberately encouraging and actually screening" in Ireland.

J. L. HAMMOND is a journalist eminent for many years. Editor of the *Speaker*, leader-writer on the *Tribune* and the *Daily News*; like most of the intellectual leaders of England, was educated at Oxford. Was a collaborator in the authorship of *Essays in Liberalism* by Six Oxford Men. Amongst his published works are the *Village Laborer*, *The Town Laborer*, etc., in which studies his wife materially assisted.

L. T. HOBHOUSE, Professor of Sociology in London University since 1907, born 1864, was, like Hammond, the son of a distinguished clergyman. Fellow of Merton College Oxford. Hobhouse is one of the leading thinkers as well as writers in the English language; a contributor to the *International Journal of Ethics*; he is recognized as an exponent of modern English philosophy. Amongst his works are *The Theory of Knowledge, Mind, Morals in Evolution*, etc. That he is a close student of the science of politics is evidenced not only by the chair he fills, but by such published works as *The Laborer Movement and Democracy and Reaction*. To the last named volume, if its title is not a misnomer, the distinguished author might add some striking chapters from very recent experience.

DESMOND MCCARTHY is a surgeon in the Royal Navy and his contributions to literature are of a technical nature, highly useful and effective in bringing about desirable ameliorations affecting the health and efficiency of sailors.

JOHN MASEFIELD is well known as a poet and playwright. His publications are too widely known to need enumeration. Suffice it to say that besides his *Sonnets and Poems*, at least eight of his plays have been produced on the English stage.

C. E. MONTAGUE, like so many others who signed the protest, was educated at Oxford. Well-known author; Governor of the University of Manchester. Though well past the half century milestone of life he enlisted in the 24th Batt. of the Royal Fusiliers where he rose to the rank of Captain in 1917.

GILBERT MURRAY, M.A. (Oxford) LL.D., (Glasgow), and quite a formidable list of degrees from various other seats of learning. Trustee of the British Museum; Regius Professor of Greek Oxford University since 1908. Fellow of New College Oxford. Though many of his works are of interest chiefly to the classical scholar his publications are not confined to the classical. Such works as *Liberalism and The Empire*, *The Foreign Policy of Sir Edward Grey*, etc., show that his scholarly interest embraces modern problems and persons.

C. P. SCOTT is also the product of Oxford University; Editor of the *Manchester Guardian* and Governor of Manchester University. Member of Parliament from 1895-1906. As editor of one of the too few great papers free to give expression to independent judgment few men in England exercise greater influence on public opinion.

H. G. WELLS is the author of many novels during the past 25 years, contributes freely to current English literature, and is often heard from public platforms. Mr. Wells seems to typify the average Englishman—whose name is legion—who has thrown aside definite Christian teaching and is endeavoring to puzzle out for himself the riddle of life. In "Mr. Britling Sees it Through" he became the most widely read of English writers during the stress of the War years.

BASIL WILLIAMS, like most of the others, is middle-aged, born in 1867. Educated at Oxford, served in the South African War. Resigned the clerkship of the House of Commons to take up administrative work in South Africa; Secretary of the Transvaal Education Department. He is the author of several works; amongst them "The Life of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, editor of the *Makers of the 19th Century*," etc.

Brief though the foregoing sketches be they are sufficient to show that the thirteen men who signed the public protest against the brutalities of the present regime in Ireland are representative of the culture and the intellect of England. Indeed it would be difficult to have a list more truly representative. And it is well to distinguish between England and the clique of discredited politicians who not in England's name. "Every solution of the Irish question presupposes a friendly feeling between England and Ireland" say the signers of the protest, "and we are stimulating hatred." The whole remarkable document is worth re-reading, worth studying. It helps one to realize that when we speak of England—or for that matter of Ireland—we are using a figure of speech, and personification may become a very dangerous figure of speech. The gentlemen whose names are appended to this outspoken condemnation of the Government's policy in Ireland have a better right to speak for England

than the politicians whose criminal folly is execrated by all that is best in England. Unfortunately it is all too true, as the signatories of the document under consideration point out that

"Few Englishmen have any idea of the length to which this policy [of repression] has been carried."

And again:
"A sort of military lynch law is in force, applied not to the culprits, but to the villages and towns of Ireland."

There is no blinking the fact that, as General Gough bluntly puts it, the authorities are not only encouraging but screening the foulest atrocities.

This is thus clearly pointed out:
"The Government have failed to restrain or punish this violence, and they have now taken steps to prevent any civilian Court from calling attention to it. They have issued an order forbidding the holding of coroners' inquests in nine counties. This removes the last vestige of protection from the civilian population."

And it is well, it is imperatively necessary, to remind the people of England of what ought to be a patent and outstanding truth, that "in Ireland Englishmen are judged by their actions alone." If Englishmen had a modicum of imagination, if they could put themselves in the place of the misgoverned and outraged Irishmen, they would make short work of the Turkish methods of the present Government.

In the interest of good-will, for the sake of faith in human nature, and as affording ground for the hope of better things, we urge our friends to read, and read again, the document published over names that represent more truly than the politicians, vested with a little brief authority, the culture and civilization of England.

Will the voice of civilized and cultured England be heard amid the clamor and clashing of selfish interests? Time was when the way to power was to flatter one's sycophantic way in the courts of powerful Kings. Today autocrats masquerade as democrats and pander to the ignoble passions of unthinking crowds; and in an age which is never done boasting of its democracy the worst of tyrannies are perpetrated in the name and with the sanction of a deluded and befooled electorate.

Lloyd George is a past master in the despicable art of the modern courtier—yet, we believe and hope.

THE FINAL COURT OF FAITH AND MORALS

"There should be a law against it," is the fervent wish often expressed whenever anything happens that disturbs the crude notions of propriety half-formed in minds untrained to serious thinking and uninformed as to the scope and object of positive civil law. Every reader will recall instances of such pious desires on the part of individuals and classes. If all were to be realized the liberty of the individual would be so hampered and restricted that it would be practically wiped out altogether.

One of the most amusing instances of such appeal to the civil power to square things with its individual likes and dislikes is that of the Christian Guardian which in large type expressive of its intense feeling has this on its front page:

"For any person or persons to allege or imply that persons lawfully married are not truly and sufficiently married ought to be made a penal offence throughout Canada."

And lest anyone should misunderstand the cause of this outburst of righteous indignation and fervid earnestness it adds:

"This journal is convinced that this would provide the only effectual relief from violations of the constitutional rights in the declarations and decisions of Roman Catholic ecclesiastical courts in the Province of Quebec regarding marriages between Roman Catholics and persons of other communions performed by lawful persons other than Roman Catholic clergy."

Despite the quasi-legal phraseology the accuracy of the ordinary statute is conspicuous by its absence. "Persons lawfully married" is a phrase that is susceptible of several meanings. We presume, however, that the Guardian is concerned solely with the sanctity and inviolability of the civil law and not concerned with the scruples of those superstitious persons who do not believe that the civil law has any authority or jurisdiction whatever over the Sacrament of matrimony. It deals

with the civil contract. If the State is to be the final court of appeal in the matter of Christian marriage, then a spiritual guide of the Methodist persuasion would be bound in the United States to recognize the present wife of a much divorced man as his "lawful" wife even though a round half dozen of ex-wives were still living. Indeed if the Guardian had its way it would be made a penal offence to allege or imply that such a man was not "truly and sufficiently married"—though he himself, thinking that he is not yet sufficiently married, may at the moment be seeking another divorce in order to marry someone else who has captivated his sensual fancy.

A Congregationalist minister, discussing the question of "Christianity and Marriage," said that "we should not blind ourselves to the grim challenge of a widespread sensuality. Unchastity has ceased to disturb the consciences of multitudes who in all other respects are straightforward and honorable."

Catholics who believe that marriage is one of the seven Sacraments instituted by Christ can not trust the civil powers in such circumstances to guard the sanctity and inviolability of holy matrimony.

Nor can the Church, which is the divinely appointed guardian and exponent of the eternal principles of right and wrong, abdicate its functions to the civil power.

The minister before quoted thus continues:

"The worst danger of all is the ignorance, levity, and frivolity with which men and women enter into marriage relationship. The giggling and cackling of middle-aged fools at wedding feasts is a correct symbol of all that many understand by the sacrament of marriage. The Church cannot remain passive and inert in the midst of an onslaught that threatens one of its fundamental institutions. The attack upon marriage is far more dangerous to Christianity than any new or even the old theology. Ought it not to be fought with worthy passion and determination?"

Honest and Christian-minded Protestants of this type would fully approve of and endorse the position of the Catholic Church if they really understood that position.

The State as such has no more right in Canada than in Turkey to make laws governing Christian marriage. If the Guardian would just master that simple proposition it would save itself from being ridiculously inconsistent when speaking of the Catholic Church and marriages.

We wonder what the Guardian means by "violations of constitutional rights?"

A constitutional right in Canada is one conferred and guaranteed by the British North America Act which constituted Canada. The exclusive control of Education is a constitutional right of every Canadian province; but there are limitations to that constitutional right. Catholics, for example, have precisely the same constitutional right to Separate Schools in Ontario.

With regard to the civil powers and marriage, each province—Quebec included—has the constitutional right to make laws governing the celebration of marriage and that constitutional right is also exclusive. The ecclesiastical courts in Quebec neither have nor claim any jurisdiction with regard to the civil law governing marriage as a civil contract, therefore they have never violated any civil rights, constitutional or otherwise.

If the civil law of Quebec does not suit Methodists or other Protestants their efforts should be directed toward securing such modifications and amendments as they desire—not in vilipending the Catholic Church.

ONLY HUMAN

By THE OBSERVER

General Sir Neville McCready, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Army in Ireland, did not say that the Black and Tans had cause to do justice themselves; he said it was only human for them to do justice themselves since there was no chance of its being done through the courts.

Of course it was "only human;" but it is human to do many things that are not done by people who wish to be respected. Burglary is human; and so is arson; and looting; and theft; and many other acts; all human. Would Sir Neville McCready excuse them?

It is "only human," too, that, after Irish homes had been raided at the rate of two thousand a week for a year, some few Irishmen should have begun to burn police barracks and kill policemen. Does Sir Neville excuse them?

Mr. Lloyd George, too, has taken up this "only human" apology or something equivalent to it. Well, he knows something of human weakness too. It is human to surrender a principle when it goes out of fashion; and he is human enough to do that. It is human to lie; and Mr. Lloyd George is a peculiarly effective liar; because he talks so plausibly; and pious liars always have much effect on people who believe in their piety.

Mr. Lloyd George's human weaknesses manifest themselves not only in Irish politics, but in English politics. It was "only human" for him to knife his leader Mr. Asquith, and to take advantage of popular emotion to make himself Prime Minister. It was "only human" for him to turn his back on Mr. Redmond, the man who kept him in office for five years, and to swallow at one gulp all his protestations of sincerity in regard to Home Rule.

The agile little opportunist was "only human" when he got the electors of England to return him to power by means of a dishonest promise to hang the Kaiser. "There's a lot of human nature in most folks"; and Mr. Lloyd George does not lack his full share of the worst sort.

Human nature has had many a riot of evil-doing in Ireland; and it was always considered by English statesmen to be "only human" to encourage the worst manifestations of it. It is not for the first time that English statesmen are apologizing for and encouraging Prussian methods in that country.

But why say "Prussian methods"? What is there about pillage and frightfulness that is distinctively Prussian? The sacking and burning of the French and Belgian towns had precedents which no Englishman who knew Anglo-Irish history, in any age since the first English occupation, could ascribe peculiarly to the Prussians.

Neither Prussian nor Turk nor any other race has historical pre-eminence in brutality when the red record of English brutality in Ireland is read and understood. The worst acts of the Turks are not worse than Cromwell's massacres; the forced evacuation of Armenia was not worse than the forced flight of the Celts. The horrors of the Balkans present nothing worse to the horrified reader than the lighted pitch-caps on the heads of the Irish peasants in the '98. The little hypocritical Baptist psalm-singer is making no mistake when he appeals to human nature. Ireland knows well the little weakness of English human nature.

The sack of Balbriggan was a manifestation of human nature; not more so than the sack of Louvain, but just as much. The Turks are not the only people who have believed in forced emigration; Lord French believes in right now, and says so. The wanton destruction of private property; the terrorizing of whole towns; the destruction of the people's means of livelihood, are methods that were not first thought of by the Germans; England has practiced them in every generation since she first began to misgovern Ireland; and she is practicing them at this moment.

Of course, Dublin Castle does not post up orders to do these things; it only looks the other way and permits them to be done, and then says it is "only human."

Mr. Lloyd George does not announce a policy of general reprisals for the acts of a few; (and the Government's own statement says they are the acts of only a few;) but he takes the platform to say it is only human, quite natural that those reprisals should be made.

It is "only human" also to refrain from punishing those who took part in such atrocities as those at Balbriggan and Tubercary. The Prussians talked of what they would do to officers and men who committed atrocities; and they did just what Mr. Lloyd George is doing and going to do; and that is, nothing whatever.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE LONDON (England) man who in the matter of poetical production claims to have outdistanced all others, having written one "poem" per day for twenty years, or a grand total of over six thousand, might have been kinder to his own reputation had he written but one in the twenty years. In poetry, as in most other spheres of intellectual en-

deavor, it is quality, not quantity that counts.

THE DEPARTURE of the first missionary for China from the China Mission College, Almonte, in the person of Rev. J. J. Sammon, is an event which may have far-reaching consequences. Father Sammon is the first fruit of Father Fraser's zealous endeavor to at once put the Canadian Mission in China on an enduring basis, and thereby to perpetuate the results of his own pioneer apostolate. We congratulate both the President of the College and the first missionary on this happy outcome. It is an event in which readers of the CATHOLIC RECORD will be directly interested since they have all along participated by their prayers and their material contributions not only in the fruits of Father Fraser's own labors, but in the founding of the China Mission College, which in time must become the source and centre of a host of prosperous missions.

THE FINING under the Lord's Day Act of a returned soldier for working on his house on a Sunday under what he pleaded was stress of necessity, is one of these incidents which tend to create popular distrust of and dissatisfaction with enactments of the kind. The defendant stated that he had been forced to vacate his house in the city and move to a new one in the suburbs before the roof was on. The days being chilly and his family suffering from the exposure in consequence he naturally wanted to rush the building to completion before rough weather set in—hence his taking advantage of a fine Sunday to further this end. A meddlesome neighbor, however, in his blind zeal for Sunday observance, laid information against him, and conviction under the Act was the result.

THIS INCIDENT recalls another which took place many years ago in a leading Ontario City. A child had strayed from her home on a Saturday morning and later in the day could not be found. She had wandered into the woods and been lost. A search party was organized by kindly neighbors and vigorous efforts made all Saturday afternoon and evening, and late into the night, to find the lost one. Early Sunday morning the search was resumed, and one of the neighbors being a printer, went down to his office and printed off a number of hand-bills descriptive of the child's appearance, and posted these up in several conspicuous places in the vicinity.

THIS is what under the circumstances normal men and women would call an act of simple Christian charity. Not so, however, another neighbor, who promptly took it upon himself to lay information against the printer, with the result that he was brought into court and fined, the presiding magistrate remarking at the same time that while under the Act he had no option but to impose the fine he had not words to express his contempt for the man who had laid the information. Strange, is it not, what fanaticism, forgetful of Christian precept, will do! The saying of the master: "If a man's ox or his ass fall into the pit on the Sabbath day will he not draw it out?" "And how much are ye greater than these!" are texts quite unknown in the application to many who call themselves by the Master's name.

AT THE same time we are bound to say that the generality of Catholics in this generation are far from having that keen sense of the sanctity of the Sunday which was characteristic of their fathers. One of the latest pastorals issued by the late Cardinal Amette, Archbishop of Paris, was on this subject, and to his words, coming to us across the tomb, it would be well if Catholics gave due heed. The Cardinal weighed the excuses, both genuine and imaginary, which are adduced by those who seek to justify their turning of Sunday into a week-day, and urged all Catholics to unite in combating this abuse by not only abstaining from servile work themselves, but also, and chiefly, by aiding others to do so.

AS EMPHASIZING the many evils which spring from neglect of this precept the Cardinal cited from a prediction made by the Blessed Virgin herself in one of her apparitions, to the effect that grave conse-

quences would befall France if the people, as many have done, continued to profane and usurp the day which her Divine Son had set apart as His own. And another great prelate has attributed to the violation of this commandment many of the ills, including the great War, from which humanity has suffered in recent years, and still suffers. The prostitution of the Sunday to either a day of labor or a day of mere recreation, is the sure parent of social disorder and unrest.

THE FRUIT CROP tragedy in the Niagara peninsula and elsewhere in Ontario is in some respects the greatest scandal that Canada has ever known. Following upon the stringency resulting from the most devastating of wars, a bountiful Providence has bestowed upon us the greatest fruit crop in our history, and so far as quantity is concerned, put it within the reach of everybody within this wide Dominion to participate in this great abundance. What Providence has provided, however, the folly, or stupidity, or perhaps cupidity of the few has dissipated, until we are confronted with the melancholy spectacle of thousands of tons of the finest fruit ever grown lying rotting upon the ground, and our administrative authorities standing helplessly by with no means provided for getting this abundance into the homes of the people or of otherwise utilizing it for the common good. It is, we repeat, nothing less than a great national scandal, and the people of Canada are likely to have a long memory in regard to those responsible for it.

LORD GREY'S PROPOSAL

"THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE IS TO CALL ON IRISHMEN TO SETTLE THEIR OWN PROBLEM"

We publish on our front page today a communication of the highest importance on the Irish question from Viscount Grey of Fallodon, whose right to speak on this subject will be questioned by none of his countrymen. He has been a member of two Liberal Administrations which staked their fortunes on the attempt to give Home Rule to Ireland; he knows from personal experience what the consequences of the British failure to govern Ireland are both in Europe and America; he is in a position, so far as any Englishman can be, to take a detached and disinterested view. He has given the editor of the *Westminster Gazette* a free hand in this communication, and in the editor's judgment there could be no more opportune than the present. It is not the less effective because it was written before the recent reprisals gave an even sharper edge to an unceasing controversy. After the events of the last week serious people in both countries are more than ever convinced of the need of a new departure which shall radically change the attitude of British to Irish and Irish to British. The value of Lord Grey's communication is that it is in this sense constructive and positive.

Lord Grey asks us to start from the plain fact that British schemes to pacify Ireland have failed, and to make that the basis of a new departure. "Faulty as all Governments may be, and as many British Governments in Ireland certainly have been, the Irish question," he says, "would have been solved before now but for one thing—the difference between Irishmen themselves—that is, between Ulster, or part of Ulster, and the rest of Ireland." And "the lesson of past years is," he adds, "that this difference is inflamed and not composed by British proposals for the government of Ireland." We have now reached a complete deadlock, in which "nothing that is in the nature of a bargain between the British Government and one part of Ireland has any chance of success: if Sinn Fein accepts it, Ulster will denounce it; if Ulster accepts it, Sinn Fein will reject it." Whatever its merits or demerits, no one wants the Home Rule Bill now before Parliament; no one accepts it as a solution, and Irishmen refuse to put it into operation. There remains only one way of escape, which is that Irishmen should draw up their own scheme. But it is no use merely to say this, or to assemble fresh Irish Conventions of an advisory kind, without guarantees that their recommendations will take effect. There is one thing essential to make Irishmen agree on their own problem, and that is that they should act "under pressure of a real sense of responsibility." But, so long as it is understood, as it has been hitherto, that if Irishmen differ, Great Britain will go on governing Ireland, or proposing plans for the government of Ireland, this sense of responsibility will never exist, and Irish Conventions or Constituent Assemblies "will either differ and break up in internal discord, or propose something which they know we cannot agree to." Probably they will do both these things, and the present intolerable state of Ireland will continue indefinitely.

Therefore, Lord Grey proposes a definite announcement of three cardinal points to the Irish people or