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What It Means

The election of 1928 proves conclusively:

1. That all the splendid record of the Catholic Church in the United States and of individual Catholics since discovery of America, in the War of the Revolution, in the Civil War, the Spanish American War, in the World War, in Civil and official life has not dispelled the innate bigotry of a great proportion of the citizens of the United States sufficiently to permit them to elect a Catholic as President.

2. That as Norman Haggood told the City Club last week, not in fifty years at least will that prejudice be dispelled enough to nominate another Catholic or Jew for President.

3. Every Catholic and every Jew running for state office in New York state, except one was defeated on November 6 and that one would have been defeated except his Jewry by some Germans.

4. That while the voters of New York state could stomach a Catholic governor for four terms, these self-same voters could not bring themselves to vote for that same Governor for President.

5. That oil and water do not mix. The stand pat South, the Western farmers and the urban communities think and talk differently and cannot be reconciled. The Democratic party of the future must be either urban or rural in its candidates and platform. Instance Texas electing its state and local candidates by ten to one and defeating Smith. The same applies to Florida and North Carolina. A similar condition prevailed in the corn belt states. They elected United Senators of the Norris-LaFollette stripe but withheld their electoral votes from Smith whose environment and training is liberal.

6. That while varied causes were and are assigned for the landslide of 1928, in every statement, in every editorial all over the country the fact of Al Smith's Catholicism is listed as a determining cause of his defeat.

Musa Caravan, Order of Alhambra, has a live commander in Herman Heltzer.

Applicable Here

Initial public utterance of the new Archbishop of Liverpool, Most Rev. Richard Downey, is as applicable to this country as to England—

"Why should we be tied to ancient hates that have long since paled their fires?" the Archbishop asked.

"Let the dead bury their dead, and let us who are numbered amongst the living, whatever be our religious beliefs or political opinions, salute with the kiss of peace those who are opposed to us, waiving nothing of our essential principles because we respect those of others, standing fast by the known truth whilst holding out the right hand of fellowship to all within the city gates."

"Surely to hurt another's feelings is the most intimate and sacred of all subjects, in the vital sphere of religion, ought to be the last thing which a world any citizen worthy of the name should ever desire to do."

"If there are hatchets to bury, in God's name let us bury them, and face the future with mutual trust and goodwill."

Archbishop Downey quoted the old saying: "In the things that are doubtful, let us have liberty, and add: 'We may indeed, differ in things that are doubtful, but we are poles apart in outlook and action, and yet keep the reality of the spirit in the land of peace.'"

"It is a matter of ordinary observation that bigotry and intolerance are not born in a really cultured people, rather they are the weeds usually most will. And this good result is due to the candidacy of Governor Smith. Vote for or against the man as you please, I care not."

But, I do know and I rejoice that he has made American politics clearer, cleaner and more worthy of the respect of mankind.

Rabbi Wise, Tolerant

During the campaign we refrained from publishing certain information lest it be charged we were guilty of what we had derided of playing partisan politics. Now that that is over we want to reproduce for the record and the benefit of our readers, the following excerpts from a masterly address on tolerance vs. intolerance delivered in Madison Square Garden on November 3d:

I shall vote, or, first of all, I shall vote for a man, not because or despite the fact that he is a Catholic. I know that if elected he will be the President of all the American people, and that Protestants, Catholics and Jews will be alike in his sight as American citizens, that he will do injustice to no man, that he will do justice to all men.

And even as Gov. Smith has done justice throughout his life to men of all faiths and irrespective of their faith, and even as he would as President mete out justice to every citizen of the Nation, whatever the form and manner of his communion with God, so let every American do justice to Gov. Smith in the ballot box, scorning to do him less than justice because he is a devout member of one rather than another religious communion, and judging him justly as a public servant and a fellow American.

There are those who have dared to say that it is dangerous to elect Gov. Smith President—because, if elected, he will as a loyal Catholic be controlled by the Pope. To say this is to question the Americanism, the American patriotism and integrity of Gov. Smith, who will no more be controlled by the Pope in his actions as President than he will be controlled by the Episcopal Bishop of New York or by the Moderator of the Presbyterian synod.

Gov. Smith, if elected, will listen to all honest, disinterested, unselfish, patriotic American counsels. He will be governed by no man, at home or abroad. Gov. Smith is his own man. His conscience is his own, his mind is his own, his decisions are his own, his acts are his own—the acts and decisions of a true, fearless and great American.

I shall cast my ballot with immeasurable satisfaction for one whose election will mean the end of the accursed notion that 20,000,000 and more of American citizens shall be proscribed and treated as if they were citizens of an inferior quality and status in American life. I shall vote with great joy for Alfred E. Smith, because my vote will do something, as your votes will do more, to bring about, at the solemn referendum of Nov. 6, the final and irrevocable ratification of that third section of the sixth article of the Constitution, which declares "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."

Monsignor O'Hern as administrator of the Diocese of Rochester will continue the splendid work of the two Bishops who have presided over this See.

Forced Into The Open

A letter published in the heat of the campaign from Rev. Lucian Johnston is just as true now that the campaign is ended and the votes are cast.

"To my fellow Catholics I say the same that I say to Protestants, namely, vote as you think you ought to vote, no matter whether the candidate be Catholic, Protestant, Mason, Jew, Gentile or Pagan. Vote for President. Now, I think, that is fair and square enough. So that's that."

This Presidential campaign will in the long run be, therefore, good to Americans, because it will force them to face a plain issue. Already this good is appearing.

Americans at last are thinking, because they have to, because Smith's candidacy has made them think. And so I say again and again that I am glad that Smith has run, because his candidacy has clarified American politics such as no other thing could have done.

We are thinking more clearly in consequence and maybe, therefore, we will become what any respectable human should become, i. e., honest. A something refreshing like a new spring has seemed to steal over American politics. True! Just now the campaign is about the foulest that I can remember. But, its very foulness is a good sign, because the foulness is forced out into the open. Heretofore, it has sneaked along in gum-soled shoes and stabbed in the dark and in the back! Now it must fight in the open. The America is waking up to "real politics," as the European waked long ago. The time is passing when he can be led by the nose by that typically American politician who combines outward piety with inward rascality, who is "all things to all men" for his own gain.

We are getting down to real politics. Not all of us but in sufficient number to argue that eventually most will. And this good result is due to the candidacy of Governor Smith. Vote for or against the man as you please, I care not.

But, I do know and I rejoice that he has made American politics clearer, cleaner and more worthy of the respect of mankind.

Rebuked

Presumably, Madame Louise Homer, the contralto singer, has not stipulated that she desires only Protestant admission money for her recitals but she had the "front" in Hartford, Connecticut, a few days before election that "it would be a terrible thing if a Catholic were elected President of the United States."

This open declaration drew sharp rebuke from Robert P. Butler, former Corporation Counsel of Hartford. In an open letter forwarded to the singer Mr. Butler asked:—"What can the election of a Catholic President bring to our country one-half so terrible as the un-Christian tolerance to which you have given such cruel utterance?"

Mr. Butler said he knew religious intolerance existed in America, but that he had liked to think that it lurks only in the foul and murky darkness of ignorant minds.

"But you, madam," he continued, "are not an ignorant woman. For a generation you have stood before your countrymen as a cultured, enlightened being; a great artist, a refined and gentle wife and mother, the embodiment of all that is good in the life and culture of our people. And now, out of this background, you have chosen to indict more than 20,000,000 of your fellow-Americans, and to cast a slur upon that spiritual faith by which they live. If you have sinned, it is not in ignorance. For you no such excuse may be offered. For your offense there is no such palliation. You have sinned against the light!"

The writer said that it was not his purpose "to come to the defense of that Christian faith upon which, with such un-Christian grace, you cast a gratuitous slur."

"It needs no defense from me, nor from any other Protestant," he added.

"If my memory serves," said Mr. Butler, "your voice, your God-given voice, was raised in song not once but many times during the Great War, while our boys, millions of them were offering their young lives upon our national altar of freedom. Did you pause in your song then to ask by what road they were traveling the pathway of life to the one God who is the Father of us all, and whom Protestant, Jew and Gentile were soon to see face to face? Did you ask them that your safety and freedom, and the safety and freedom of your children and your children's children be bought only with the blood of your own faith, in order that that 'Protestant tradition' might be preserved?"

Let us all unite in fervent prayer that our beloved Bishop Hickey may be restored to health.

Proof Positive

Typical of the feeling in the hearts of thousands of loyal Catholics, is the following declaration by Cardinal Mundelein at the recent dedication of the new Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Springfield, Illinois:—

In these days when we Catholics are so often needlessly called upon to make our profession of faith, and to give proof of what we felt long since should have been evident to and granted by all—our loyalty to our country—the placing of this church is timely, as a monument in Lincoln's city of our readiness at all times to obey the command of Christ, Himself, and render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's.

"I trust you will hear with me if for a few moments I bring in the personal element, but I do so only because I believe that my own case is so typical of many others. Next year a century will have passed since my ancestors first came to this land. The names of three generations of them are found on the baptismal register of a little church in New York. It is nearly seventy years since a grand sire answered Lincoln's first call for volunteers, fell on the field of battle in the first year of the war and rests where he fell on the bloodsoaked soil of Virginia. But your sacrifices for the country did not end there. For two generations we endured poverty because when the war had ended only the women of the family remained. With these traditions in our very blood, it is no wonder that our attachment to our country and our flag was so strong that it has never been questioned."

"Again, for nearly fifty years, man and boy, I have served my Church. Gradually, step by step, I have risen in its service until now I occupy a place second to honor and jurisdiction only to the Pontiff who rules the Universal Church, and yet in all that time these great allegiances of my soul, these two great loves of my heart, these two causes of my passionate devotion, have never come in conflict; never once have I had to choose between them."

"Nor does my own story differ in any way from that of even the recent immigrant, as the records of the last twelve years will show. How absurd it is, how ignorant of our country's history it is, to question the loyalty of the Catholics of the United States to their country and their country's institutions, how unfair it is to ask the Catholic alone to repeatedly make his profession of his love of country and flag and all it stands for."

Let Us Discriminate

It is an oft quoted remark of the great Irish statesman, Edmund Burke, that "an indictment cannot be drawn against a whole people." The wisdom of this contention, we think, should be urged against those who are indicting Protestantism instead of Protestant bigotry for the result of the recent election. That is not a distinction without a difference. To pin the badge of bigotry on Protestantism is undiscriminating. The popular vote for Governor Alfred E. Smith will reach, if it does not exceed, 16,000,000. Now there are only 21,000,000 Catholics, according to the highest estimate, in the United States. The Catholic vote could not have been in excess of 5,000,000. Therefore, if every Catholic vote had been cast for Governor Smith—a preposterous assumption he must have received in excess of 10,000,000 non-Catholic votes to make up his grand total of 16,000,000, the greatest vote ever given a Democratic candidate for President.

That the determining factor in the result was religious bigotry seems to be true—at least that is the prevailing editorial sentiment of the country and the opinion of most political experts who have analyzed the returns and expressed their opinion as to the cause of the cataclysm. But that does not warrant an indictment against Protestantism.

We think Catholics, as victims of intolerance, should be the last to give expression to such an undiscriminating view. Say Protestant bigotry did it—yes, but do not say Protestantism. For to say Protestantism would be to include in the indictment of bigotry all of those valiant Protestant champions of religious liberty in the South and the North—such as John W. Davis, Senator Carter Glass, Senator Pat Harrison, Senators Blaine, Norris and Bruce, ex-Senator John Sharpe Williams, Professor Henry Van Dyke, Professor Nicholas Murray Butler, Professor John Dewey, Ellery Sedgwick and scores of others equally admirable for their patriotic attitude and their courage—and also the 10,000,000 strong non-Catholics who stood their ground against every assault of the hosts of religious fanaticism. It would be to include also many millions among the 20,000,000 supporters of Herbert Hoover who are as firm for the principle of freedom of worship as those who supported the Democratic Catholic candidate.

Remembering, then, our debt to those not of the Faith for their unshaken allegiance to the Constitutional guarantee of religious freedom, let us separate the sheep from the goats in our criticism.

Whatever degree of depression or indignation we may feel as Catholics should not influence us to any ill-considered and unjustified expression that would serve to alienate from us a single friend of our Constitutional rights.

James M. E. O'Grady's death removes from this city an estimable citizen, an honest lawyer and a loyal son of Holy Mother Church.

City Manager Story does well to look ahead toward a larger and better Port of Rochester.

If we hazard a prediction it would be this: Governor-elect Roosevelt will try to reorganize city and town government in New York state along the lines Governor Smith has reorganized the Government of New York state.

It is up to President-elect Hoover to put a quietus on the Stratonas, the Cannons, the Willebrandts, and the Hellins who have been so proudly asserting that this is a Protestant country per se.

Football has succeeded politics as the great American pastime.

Mr. Hoover will be beyond the reach of the politicians for several weeks at least.

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