

real democracy. The modern representative assembly reflects, not so much the wishes of the voters, as the interests of those who hold economic power. Economic issues are the substance of which political issues are the shadow. Political power is seized and used by interested parties to protect vested interests. Demos is fooled, bought or prevented from enjoying the fruits of his nominal power.

"The present social system is virtually an economic dictatorship of the minority. Under its operation a few have much, a number little and the majority nothing; yet, the disinherited proletariat, though possessing the power of the vote, see their condition grow worse from year to year.

"As the only possible way out of this morass, Marxians recommend the turning of the tables on the propertied classes by the establishment of the dictatorship of the Proletariat. The workers should take advantage of any and every circumstance to seize power, dispossess the capitalists and give them a taste of their own medicine. They should then socialize industry, beginning with the big concerns and place committees of workmen in control. Afterwards, all public institutions should be purged clean of all taint of bourgeois outlook and recast in the true proletarian mould. Everywhere war must be waged on the capitalists and the bourgeois, till the very idea of old order has passed away and the sun looks down on a purely working class society.

"This system no doubt would have some advantages in theory, but in practice, in the only country, Russia, where we have a working model, the proletarian dictatorship is not attractive. The franchise there as elsewhere, seems powerless to enforce the wishes of the masses. The communists number less than a million, yet they have almost entire control of the political machine, and can get their nominees returned every time. Thus the Bolsheviks are mending on injustice by establishing another. There is no dictatorship of the proletariat, there is a dictatorship of the Communist party, largely aliens, who have little sympathy for the suffering masses. Naked force is exerted against the people at large on any and every pretext. Machine guns still grin from the Kremlin and wholesale executions are the order of the day. Resistance of any sort is treated as treason and punished as such and all who are not labelled as proletarians are systematically hunted down. Thus over a million manual workers and 700,000 mental workers are officially returned as executed up to February last. Add to these the millions killed in the wars won by Trotsky and the millions who have died of hunger, and the Russian experiment is seen to be very bad business for the plain natives of Russia.

THE MARXIAN HALLU INATION

"The Marxian idea of a working class dictatorship is a sheer hallucination, but a criminally dangerous one, especially for the workers. It takes every sort to make a world and, in point of fact, the types of humanity born into the world vary enormously, almost as much as do flowers. This variety is a salient feature of God's design in creation and it is impossible and undesirable to destroy it, because there is an equal diversity in the work humanity has to perform, from the delicate manipulation of surgical instruments to the emptying of dust bins. There must be people for every work, and for the best results there must be specialization. Any political regime which enables the dustbin man to dictate the standards of living for the throat specialist is merely a stupid form of tyranny, which would deprive the community, including the families of the dustbinman, of the services of throat specialists, because the profession could not be recruited under those conditions. Of course, in practice, the practical dustman would only do the shouting and the bludgeoning; the real dictator would be some ne'er-do-well, the dustbinman's boss, who never emptied a dustbin himself.

"Fortunately for the workers and for humanity, the attempt to regiment humanity along economic lines and level life down to one drab grade is foredoomed to failure, except in countries where special circumstances enable it to maintain a precarious existence for a while. In Catholic countries human individuality will always be vigorous enough to make class tyranny impossible, and nowhere will the idea of a working class social order find more solid resistance than among the workers' daughters.

THE POSITION IN IRELAND

"Class rule is then a grave evil, whether it be the veiled dictatorship of a propertied minority or the avowed rule of a proletarian majority. It is worth while seeing how we stand in Ireland in relation to these issues.

"The form of society under which we live, is an economic dictatorship of minority exercised under the forms of a broad democracy. At the same time, the Irish proletariat or propertyless class, is relatively numerically weak, owing to industrial depression and emigration. A large middle class is that of the small and holders and petty dealers, many of whom work for wages by times. Thus, in Ireland, while the wage-workers suffer from all the evils of the capitalist system, the situation at present makes a

proletarian dictatorship practically impossible. In 20 years time, with industrial development and the increase in the proletarian working-class, it might conceivably be otherwise.

"The social gospel of the great German Jew, Karl Marx, is however installed here in Ireland in the place of honor and in possession of the Labor field. The modern Irish labor movement owes all its vigor and achievements to Marxian leaders, and its success to the prudence with which Marxism has been applied to the Irish conditions. It was taught by James Larkin and by James Connolly and at the present day a small group called the Communist Party of Ireland are its official exponents, with very few exceptions. Irish labor speakers have for years paid homage at the same shrine. There is no official organ of the Irish labor movement in existence as yet, but the organ of the Transport Union, to which its chief officials belong, is frankly Marxian in tone.

"Officially the Irish Labor movement has no connection with Communism and in fact the test question of affiliation with Moscow has never even been raised. Actually the strategic plan of the Labor Party's actions can only be explained by a reference to the Marxian doctrine of the proletarian dictatorship. The tactics adopted are negative and obstructive. There is a persistent refusal to accept responsibility for anything constructive or helpful and a constant readiness to attack the proposals of others. The Labor Congress in August last endorsed the inauspicious speech of the Chairman, in which he advised the workers to stand aloof from both the Government and the Irregulars. The Labor Chiefs are teaching their followers to think of themselves as a nation within the nation, a people apart, whose interests are diametrically opposed to the interests of everybody else.

To mention this viewpoint is to court its disastrous consequences, but the suggestion that it is founded on a bias conscious or unconscious in favor of Marxism, gives at least a foundation of reason for what otherwise looks like folly.

COMMUNITY RULE

"If it be true that the ultimate object of the Labor movement is the welfare and happiness of its members, then Labor in Ireland must get ready to re-export Karl Marx to Palestine or Russia and to take its place in the Irish community on terms. While it is fiddling with fallacies, and turning its back on its responsibilities its members are dying of hunger in a fertile land. There is no future for the working class, as such, except as a factor, a determining factor, in an economic democracy. There is no hope for its success, until it drops the pursuit of the will-to-the-wisp called power and settles down to its own job, the concrete problems of scientific reconstruction.

"By the term 'Community Rule,' I wish to suggest such an organization of society, political and industrial, as would render it impossible for any one element or type of individual to override the human rights of any other section of citizens and which would make it easy for any minority to assert its rightful claims in an effective manner. In such an order of society, all elements would get organized encouragement to make their best contribution to the common welfare and the poet would not be compelled by the pressure of poverty to wash dishes for a pittance and eke it out by writing potboilers in a public-house snug. All classes would share the power and responsibility of government and have guaranteed to them in return free access to the necessities of life, food, clothing and shelter.

"How can Catholics afford to be backers of the Darwinian principle, the survival of the fittest, applied to human affairs? Yet is not Society at present run on that plan? Do not the strong crush out the weak and are not thousands of Irish Catholics now without food, clothing or shelter? That is the automatic result of our commercial system, but this system is not from God, it is from men and from non-Catholic men at that. If Catholicism is ever to function with its maximum influence, if our daily prayers 'Kingdom Come' is ever to be realized, then the injustices which are of the very fibre of our social system must be removed and replaced by social justice.

JUSTICE VERSUS GREED

"Social justice will demand, as a maximum, a just curtailment of the enterprise and initiative of some individuals in deference to the rights of the community at large, at present menaced or annulled by the activities of these individuals. The organized community must dictate industrial policy while leaving the onus of carrying out such policy on the operatives engaged in the industries concerned. If the people at large are to 'pay the piper,' they are entitled to 'call the tune,' especially when a wrong one is being played. At present building policy, for instance is decided by the master builders and despite enormous demand, no houses are being built. Is it unjust then to suggest that the community should step in and assume the responsibility of getting houses built, even if it has to take the means necessary to this end, viz. regulating building finance. Justice and morality demand adequate housing accommodation, and justice and morality are surely more sacred than high finance or builders' profits.

"Community rule will mean government of the people, for the people, by the people. But government by the people will mean the rule of the demagogue and the mischief, unless deliberate measures are taken to prevent it. Community rule would then involve a process of selection for office and responsibility, by which those functionally best fitted for authority or service would be so employed. To maintain that all offices should be open to the incapable egotist, is to sound the death-knell of true democracy.

"It is the present system that is wrong and not so much the people who run it. Capitalism is taken for granted by some as if it were sacred, by others it is blindly attacked as if it were so wholly evil that everything pertaining to it must be destroyed outright and the world begin its history over again from the hear of ruins. On the other hand, the financial system of the world seems to have broken its back in the Great War and to be tottering to its ruins. It is obvious that the issues involved in such a catastrophe are the concern of all classes and either their rectification must take place as a result of an agreed policy or else these radical issues must be decided by a civil war between the 'haves' and the 'have-nots.'

"This latter would mean the creation of fresh injustices and thereby prevent a permanent solution or any solution at all.

SOCIAL SURVEY

"Where then shall a beginning be made? Every democratic advance, help, self-government, franchise, education, etc., but in order to proceed to the legislative measures necessary for the creation of a true democracy, certain knowledge must be ready to hand, which is not now readily available. So as to base the seat of economic power on the masses of the people, we must have data authoritatively determined which can be referred to with confidence by all the elements concerned.

"I therefore suggest that the Government be requested to appoint a Commission on which the Government, Labor and the Church would be represented, whose function would be to carry out a social survey to get and collate information on the following points among others:

- Occupations of the people.
- Incomes.
- Property held.
- Living conditions.
- Physical and educational fitness.
- Charitable institutions and benefit societies.
- Total value of their transactions.
- Social and industrial organizations.
- Natural resources and possibilities of immediate development.

"The work of such a Commission would be carried on afterwards by a Government Department of Statistics which would deal with the cost of living, etc.

"If this work were done there might be an end to vague generalizations in social matters, and social workers would have a grip of the salient facts of the situation they proposed to handle. With the facts thus determined, the country could be taught to see Ireland as she really is from year to year, the Ireland of fact, and this knowledge would give the maximum chance of success to remedial legislation.

CONCERNING LABOR

"Labor is capable of playing a great and glorious part in the recasting of the social system in Ireland, provided it keeps well to the forefront the single idea of the welfare of the workers. At present the labor situation is extremely confused and very little progress is to be expected from Labor itself. The organizations are doing an immense mass of detail work, a great deal of which is useful and necessary, though temporary in effect. Much of it, however, is futile, if not actually injurious to the workers' claims and present position, and there is a distinct absence of any coherent policy calculated to lead to a definite objective. Until there is a decision arrived at in Labor ranks that the working-class is part and parcel of the community, and is willing to accept its share of civic responsibility, the lot of the wage-earner will go from bad to worse. At present the responsible leaders of Labor pretend to hold a neutral position and to stand apart from every public issue unless and until they have the machinery of government in their own hands. Then we shall see what we shall see. They are neither practical reformists nor socialists nor Communists, and as a result Labor is losing its chance. The heart of the movement is sound, honest, sensible, strong and Christian, but the minds of the rank and file are not fed on sound teaching and they have no real guidance.

"To my mind, Labor can afford to be frankly patriotic and frankly Christian and register nothing but a net gain from the Labor point of view. The only programme at present before it is Marxian in origin and atmosphere, and this should be definitely set aside as only making matters worse. The present industrial and commercial system is equally indefensible from the social and Christian point of view. It is then up to organized Labor to table a national substitute and in the effort to evolve this and get it adopted, Labor is entitled to and would receive immense help from all the other elements in society that are conscious of the defects of the present system. Meanwhile, the duty devolved on

every Christian in and outside of the Labor movement to see that the purely disruptive programme of Karl Marx as expounded today by his coreligionists Trotsky and Lenin, does not make the Irish worker the instrument of his own undoing.

GENERAL INTENTION FOR JANUARY

RECOMMENDED AND BLESSED BY HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS XI.

SAINTLY PRIESTS

A few months ago, the Director General of the Apostleship of Prayer went to the Vatican for the purpose of asking the Holy Father to bless the General Intentions for 1923. Hoping to touch what seemed to respond to the needs of the present age, our Director General had set down for the January intention, "An increase in the number of saints." Pius XI. took his pen and changed the phrase so that it read, "An increase in the number of saintly priests." The incident is significant and shows what at the beginning of his reign was uppermost in the mind of the Pontiff. The burden that had been recently placed on his shoulders was being vividly felt, and it was his wish that those who would share his work with him should be strong of heart and soul. In asking prayers for his priests, throughout the world, the Head of the Catholic Church asked spiritual help for the individual soldiers of his great sacred army, for he realized how well equipped spiritually they should be in order to cooperate worthily with him in the struggle for souls.

It will suffice to reflect for a moment to see the wisdom of this plea and this initiative on the part of Pius XI. It is the individual priest who is in the battle-line; it is he who is in contact with the enemy; it is he who, single-handed in his own little corner of the world, does the actual fighting; it is the number and the quality of his victories that in the aggregate measure the progress of the Church everywhere. Whatever the individual fails to achieve is a gain for the enemy. A general may give his orders on the battlefield, but if the individual soldier is not brave enough to carry them out, the day is lost. In like manner, our Commander-in-chief issues orders from his headquarters in the Vatican; if his army is not brave enough to face the enemy, if the units composing it lack the qualities of mind and heart of good soldiers of Christ, is not the day equally lost?

It is in the designs of Providence that the souls of men shall be saved through the ministry of their fellowmen. This is the mission of the Christian priesthood—an admirable one, but laden with responsibilities. How necessary, therefore, that those chosen for work among souls should be men of God, and how ready we should be to aid them by our prayers to become such!

And yet we rarely assume that our obligations are very pressing in this respect. We are so accustomed to the ministry of the priest that we do not often stop to think what the ministry means in our individual lives, what it means in the life of the commonwealth and what it would mean were we deprived of it. Supposing the ancient sage, when he dreamed of an Ideal Republic, had imagined the placing of a man not merely in every city but in every hamlet, whose unique aim in life was to do good, who felt that his most pressing obligation was to be at the service of all, who even at the cost of personal sacrifice and suffering had for his special mission to cure moral infirmities; a man charged with dispelling ignorance of the only things that matter in this life; a man charged with the task of strengthening virtue, pardoning crime, reforming vicious habits, placating enmities, sweetening the bitterness of poverty, alleviating the pains of sickness, banishing the fear of death; a man who belonged to everybody for the sole purpose of bringing everybody nearer to God; a man who would be prompt in telling the rich what their duties were, and who would remind the poor of their dignity—supposing some ancient sage had sketched such a career, the world would have admired and wondered, even though it felt that the vocation was too lofty for poor human nature to undertake.

And yet, under the New Dispensation, this career has become a reality in the Christian priesthood. What was practically impossible in pagan times is now so common that we take it as a matter of course, namely, the presence of a man amongst us who continues the sublime work of Christ on earth, and who, after the example of his Master, is engaged in the arduous ministry of divinizing humanity. We have here consequently an object worthy of our prayers, and which would remind the poor of their dignity, and who would remind the poor of their dignity—supposing some ancient sage had sketched such a career, the world would have admired and wondered, even though it felt that the vocation was too lofty for poor human nature to undertake.

the flames of envy and hatred that were sure to arise? If there was no priest to kneel near the bed of the sick, to point out the way to heaven or to fortify the dying for the dread passage, what other real consolator could brighten the dark perspective of the tomb and the still darker perspective of eternity?

What we owe to the ministry of the priest from the font of baptism to the side of the grave can never be reckoned in terms of gold or silver; our debt can be paid to them only in the coin that counts in heaven, namely, prayer. Through the priest the work of Christ is carried on in the world, and both the world and those who live in it are the better for it. We should, therefore, pray for our priests that God may give them all the graces necessary for success in their lofty ministry, especially the grace which the Holy Father asks for them, namely, saintliness, which means the reproduction in their souls of the character and the virtues of Christ; among other gifts, a perfection of detachment and entire devotedness and zeal in their life-work.

In the first place, we should ask for them the spirit of perfect detachment. In a generation that esteems everything in gold and in what can be bought for gold, lofty examples of disinterestedness are needed to influence mankind. The less the world is able to understand this virtue the greater should be our efforts to force the world to believe that it may exist. Not an easy task, since we should force it to believe what seems to it impossible. Notwithstanding the examples that are before their eyes in their own cities and villages, the people of our age—and Catholics among them—are too often unwilling to believe in the disinterestedness of the clergy. Their worldly and critical spirit can distinguish in the pastoral ministry only a profession like any other, and until some evidence to the contrary dazzles them they will persist in believing that a priest, like other professional men, is caught by the bait of worldly and personal interests. But when examples of the contrary are put before their eyes, this striking proof overcomes their prejudices, and they are forced to admire not merely the man who teaches, but the doctrines that can produce such effects. If the living word has lost its influence, living examples have not. A spirit of detachment has an eloquence all its own.

Secondly, we should ask God to keep up in our priests a spirit of zeal and devotedness; for just as detachment and unworldliness can gain over a generation enslaved by avarice and love of worldly things, so will charity, which flowers forth in zeal and devotedness, conquer souls given over to selfishness. Never did men feel so greatly the need of this charity. It has been driven from its rightful place in many a heart, into which worldliness and love of luxury have penetrated; and many a Christian home has ceased to give it a refuge. Charity and self-sacrifice are words whose meanings are quite forgotten nowadays, and there should be some people in the commonwealth brave enough to recall them to memory. Who other than members of the Christian priesthood can do this? None more fittingly surely than they who are called upon to continue Christ's work upon earth, and Christ was a God of love. After the example of the Good Shepherd our priests must be all things to all men, and prove that they are so by their devotedness and zeal which are the offspring of their charity. Pastors who strengthened by these virtues will exercise a powerful influence over their flocks; all the more easily will they find under many a thick crust of vice and prejudice some forgotten spark of faith and good will. Their charity for souls and their zeal will give them the patience required to revive this spark. In view of the eternal interests that are at stake, is not the trouble worth the cost? And are not such victories the result of the saintliness that our Holy Father asks us to pray for during the present month?

We have here consequently an object worthy of our prayers, and which would remind the poor of their dignity, and who would remind the poor of their dignity—supposing some ancient sage had sketched such a career, the world would have admired and wondered, even though it felt that the vocation was too lofty for poor human nature to undertake.

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zeal and devotedness in our priests, and we, their faithful children, should ask nothing better than to see them equipped with these virtues; for their struggles are ours as well as theirs; through our prayers their victories become ours as well as theirs; and in the end our cooperation gives us a right to share their reward. If we are devoted to our priests, and wish to see them working in God's vineyard, we can do nothing that should be more welcome to them than to remember them in our prayers. Let us, therefore, ask the Heart of Jesus to give them all the graces needed to become saintly men. Their saintliness will be the magnet which will draw others to them, whom they may instruct and edify unto salvation.

E. J. DEVINE, S. J.

NEW YEARS EVE

Ring out, wild bells, to the wild sky,
The flying cloud, the frosty light,
The year is dying in the night;
Ring out, wild bells, and let him die.

Ring out the old, ring in the new,
Ring, happy bells, across the snow;
The year is going, let him go;
Ring out the false, ring in the true.

Ring out the grief that saps the mind,
For those that here we see no more;
Ring out the feud of rich and poor,
Ring in redress to all mankind.

Ring out a slowly dying cause,
And ancient forms of party strife;
Ring in the nobler modes of life,
With sweeter manners, purer laws.

Ring out the want, the care, the sin,
The faithless coldness of the times;
Ring out, ring out, my mournful rhymes,
But ring the fuller minstrel in.

Ring out false pride in place and blood,
The civic slander and the spite;
Ring in the love of truth and right,
Ring in the common love of good.

Ring out old shapes of foul disease;
Ring out the narrowing lust of gold;
Ring out the thousand wars of old,
Ring in the thousand years of peace.

Ring in the valiant man and free,
The larger heart, the kindlier hand;
Ring out the darkness of the land,
Ring in the Christ that is to be.

—TENNYSON

GOD BE WITH YOU ALL THE YEAR

God be with you in the springtime,
When the violets unfold,
And the buttercups and cowslips
Fill the fields with yellow gold,
In the time of apple blossoms,
When the happy bluebirds sing,
Filling all the world with gladness—
God be with you in the spring!

God be with you in the summer,
When the sweet June roses blow,
When the bobolinks are laughing,
And the brooks with music flow,
When the fields are white with daisies,
And the days are glad and long,
God be with you in the summer,
Filling all your world with song.

God be with you in the autumn,
When the birds and flowers have fled,
And along the woodland pathways
Leaves are falling, gold and red;
When the summer lies behind you,
In the evening of the year,
God be with you in the autumn,
Then to fill your heart with cheer.

God be with you in the winter,
When the snow lies deep and white,
When the sleeping fields are silent,
And the stars gleam cold and bright,
When the hands and hearts are tired,
With life's long and weary quest,
God be with you in the winter,
Just to guide you into rest.

Remember your failures are but your stepping stones to success.

Under all the false and overloaded and glittering masquerade there is in every man a noble nature.

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