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London, Saturday, January 4, 1919

MR. ROWELL vs. MR. ROWELL

In our comments last week on Mr. Rowell's charge against the members of French Religious Orders living in Canada we took the report of the Free Press as quoting his very words so far as he touched in his Bowmanville speech, on his famous — or infamous — accusation. The Free Press report we find was incomplete.

Before us now is the Globe's full verbatim report of Mr. Rowell's Bowmanville address, and we shall quote his every word of explanation or justification. Our readers will have noted that we have always confined our comments on Mr. Rowell's North Bay speech to this single charge against the French religious. Cleverly enough, perhaps, for the audience, as well as that portion of the wider public to which he addressed himself, Mr. Rowell first appeals to anti-Bourassa and anti-Quebec prejudice, reiterates his general charge against the clergy of Quebec, deliberately and dishonestly transfers some of the very words of his particular charge against the French religious to the general charge against the French-speaking clergy of Quebec:

"The substance of my statement about the French-speaking clergy in Quebec was that the majority of them were supporters of Mr. Bourassa in his attitude on the War, and that in the course they were pursuing they were undermining Canada's strength in the struggle."

The words we have italicized referred, in Mr. Rowell's North Bay speech, solely and exclusively to the members of the French religious orders who had found an asylum in Canada. It must be admitted that Mr. Rowell is a good "mixer" — when he has reasons for not being straightforward.

Then the sometime Liberal leader poses theatrically as the bold and fearless champion of free criticism of any class of citizens. "If their objection was to my discussing the question at all, then I can only say that this country does not and will not recognize any immunity of the clergy from just and fair criticism of their acts as citizens or residents of Canada."

As no one ever hinted at or thought of claiming any such immunity the speaker delivered a knockout blow to this straw man which he had set up to show his prowess — and his courage. "Fair and just criticism" — that is an important limitation to all criticism. It is fair and just criticism to quote, in Mr. Rowell's own words, — the most serious accusation ever made against any class in Canada's population; to point out that if true the Government have a duty in the matter that cannot be shirked without such moral cowardice and betrayal of trust as would brand them as accessories after the fact to the alleged monstrous abuse of hospitality charged against the immigrant French religious; to demand, therefore, that the allegation publicly made by a public man be substantiated; or if made under misapprehension of the facts or misinformation, then for the sake of decency, honor, truth and justice, public and private, that the charge be withdrawn, the amends honorable made, and the injury repaired.

"While the War was on," asserts this high-minded patriot, "I ignored all these attacks." Yes, just such "attacks" as the Kaiser repelled when he inaugurated his war of self-defense! Mr. Rowell is even less frank than the Kaiser. The patriotic and long-suffering Liberal-Unionist leader conveniently forgets that it was he who made the attack, a wanton attack, an attack which he has never justified, against a whole class of Canada's population. He gently and virtuously insinuates that he has been wantonly attacked and plainly boasts that it was from patriotic motives alone he remained silent. Oh Spartan patriotism!

So far as Mr. Bourassa and the clergy and laity of Quebec are concerned they have their press, their full representation in Parliament, and are well able to take care of themselves. We have never troubled about them; Mr. Rowell is as disingenuous here as elsewhere in insinuating that it is only sympathizers with Mr. Bourassa and his Nationalist party who called him to account for his public accusations. Mr. Rowell of course knows better; but he is playing to the gallery.

The charge which we challenged Mr. Rowell to prove was this: "In this attitude," added Mr. Rowell, "they were undoubtedly encouraged and abetted by the members of the religious orders from France, who found an asylum in Canada, and used that asylum to undermine Canada's strength in the struggle."

This is a specific accusation against the religious from France; it is a sweeping charge without any reservation whatsoever against these men, all of them or at any rate as a class. If any doubt remained as to the general application of this sweeping charge Mr. Rowell cleared the minds of his hearers and readers most effectually by adding: "It is a misfortune that they did not follow the example of the priests of the Catholic Church in France, who threw themselves into the struggle of their people to preserve their national existence, and by their courage and sacrifice won for themselves a new place in the hearts of the French people."

Challenged to substantiate to grave a charge Mr. Rowell remained silent; confronted by the statistics adduced by Mr. Murphy in Parliament Mr. Rowell was dumb.

These statistics proved incontrovertibly that the maligned French religious who found an asylum in Canada not only emulated the priests of France, but by their courage and sacrifice, by their unselfish devotion to their beloved France whence they had been exiled, they wrote the most sublime chapter in the sublime record of patriotism during the Great War. We reprint in this issue that portion of Mr. Murphy's speech which dealt with these heroic dead and no less heroic living Frenchmen to whom Canada will ever have been proud of having opened wide her hospitable gates. Their glorious record cannot be read and reread without a thrill of pride by every Catholic, by every Canadian.

Nevertheless these slandered dead and slandered living heroes Mr. Rowell allowed to rest under his baseless calumny for a full year. At last in his Bowmanville speech he makes this allusion to them:

"In order, however, to make political capital and stir up religious and racial feeling against Union Government, it is suggested that my references covered the French reservists who were members of religious orders, and who, when called to the colors by their Government, returned to France and fought as members of the French army. My references were not to men who had gone forth to fight but to men who stayed at home, men who were in the Province of Quebec during the war, supporting Mr. Bourassa. Of the men who went forth to fight none can speak in too high terms."

And this is all that Mr. Rowell feels called upon in honor and justice to say in explanation or justification of his wanton and unwarranted attack on the gallant religious, "a body of men," to quote Mr. Murphy when marshalling the facts to rout Mr. Rowell's slanders, "whose courage, devotion to duty and self sacrifice in the present War stamp them as worthy to follow the footsteps of that noble band of French missionaries who first made this land known to Europe and blazed the way for its colonization and development."

And the reason that even this tenuous, disingenuous, quasi-retraction, quasi-justification was so long delayed was that Canada's part in the War might not be impeded!

Note the impudent charge and the base appeal in the opening sentence; and then in what immediately follows:

"The trouble is, not that I misrepresented anybody, but that I told the truth about the situation then existing in the Province of Quebec. An explanation of the campaign of misrepresentation now being pursued by Mr. Bourassa and those associated with him in this Province is that they hope by representing that their faith is attacked, and by posing as defenders of that faith, to unite behind them in one party, for political purposes and political action, all those who share their religious views."

Dr. Johnson is sometimes quoted in a more comprehensive sense than he intended when he said that patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel; but that honest and sham-hating old Briton could find today in Mr. Rowell's speech an apt illustration of his meaning. "Patriotism" and prejudice, partisan, racial and religious, are the last refuge of Mr. Rowell.

Mr. Rowell's charge a year ago was plainly, unequivocally, directly, against the French religious resident in Canada, and against them as a class without qualification or reservation.

Now he has the effrontery to say that "in order to make political capital and stir up religious and racial feeling against the Union Government it is suggested that my references covered the French reservists who were members of religious orders and who, when called to the colors by their Government, returned to France and fought as members of the French army."

When Mr. Rowell meets Voltaire in the Elysian fields the famous French infidel will greet the Christian statesman from Canada as a man after his own heart — "l'audace l'audace, toujours l'audace!"

In the first place few if any of the slandered religious were reservists. They were not obliged to return and fight in the French army, as Mr. Rowell insinuates, though he dare not say so outright.

Mr. Rowell knew this. Mr. Rowell knows that it required a special treaty to enable the United States, after entering the War and putting conscription in force, to reach American citizens subject to the draft who were by accident or design in Canada or Great Britain. Mr. Rowell knows that with Ireland exempt from conscription Great Britain could not reach the tens of thousands of Englishmen subject to the draft who sought refuge in Ireland during the War.

Mr. Rowell knows that the French Government, which had exiled the men whom he maligned, had no jurisdiction over them in Canada to compel them to return and fight in the French army.

If Mr. Rowell had told his audience that every single man of military age and fitness of that class which he had slandered had, in spite of any feeling of resentment he may have felt at being expatriated, gone freely back to fight for France, that a score of them had laid down their lives in that cause which he had accused them of undermining, that military honors and military orders had recognized the valor and gallantry of those who still lived, the honest feelings of even that partisan and misinformed gathering would have found expression in applause and cheers. Then he might, in the contagion of that honest and honorable and manly feeling, have found it in his heart to admit that he was ignorant of the truth when he spoke a year ago at North Bay. But, like many other politicians, Mr. Rowell has too low an opinion of the sense of decency, the sense of honor and justice, the manliness and mental capacity of the common people if he does not realize that in honestly acknowledging his error he would stand in their estimation of mind and heart in a place which he has chosen to abdicate.

Some families gave their every member capable of bearing arms to the cause now crowned with victory. Not one of these exceeded the record of the French religious resident in Canada.

By their action at the beginning of the War in rushing to the colors and giving a tremendous impetus to Canada's effort, a magnificent inspiration to Canada's loyalty, the British-born who had chosen Canada as their home won for themselves undying honor and gratitude. The British-born as a class, magnificent as is their record, can not equal the sublime record of the men whom Mr. Rowell accused of monstrous abuse of Canada's hospitality and of undermining the cause for which they were ready to die.

At the conclusion of his recital of the evidence which crushingly refuted Mr. Rowell's charges, Mr. Murphy on the floor of the House of Commons thus summoned their author to retract: "If the hon. gentleman's statements were not made for a wicked and malicious purpose, then by every standard of public and private honour he is required to retract what he has said, to offer an apology to the living and to make reparation to the memory of the dead."

Mr. Rowell's friends can hardly be proud of the way he has attempted to measure up to the standards of public and private honor. THE MENACE OF BOLSEHEVISM Russia gave us the word and exemplified what it means. So many people think of Bolshivism as a Russian condition, a Russian curse it may be, but Russia is a long way off and the War is over. Few think of Bolshivism as a menace to the world's peace, as real a menace and as far-reaching as was the Great War itself four years ago.

The other day Emil Bartha, a prominent German Socialist, admitting Germany's guilt in starting the War, urged that in this dark hour it is in the interest of the Entente to help Germans organize their country, go to work and pay off their debts. "We have no cotton, no leather and very little other raw materials. Millions of our people are hungry." That way, as President Wilson was quick to recognize, lies madness. The madness of Bolshivism, of subversion of all social order, threatens what was once the German Empire, with Russia and what were once the Balkans, given over to Bolshivism can the tide of anarchy be kept from submerging the rest of Europe? The Globe the other day predicted short shrift for it in Bavaria, "the most conservative of German States."

Since then we read that conditions have become so chaotic there that three of the leading statesmen joined in addressing the Bavarian Government in these plain-spoken terms: "Recent occurrences, especially those of the last few days, leave no doubt that we are facing danger from anarchy. The press is threatened, freedom of assembly exists no longer and the ballot is at stake. Will the national assembly, if it is ever chosen, be able to count on meeting? Has the Government no will to rule or no power? Does the Government want order, or does it want anarchy?"

We direct these questions openly to the Provincial Government, especially to the present minister, President Eisner. We expect and demand a definite and unequivocal answer; not only in words, but in action, with conservative and aggressive acts that will brook no delay. "Should this answer not be given we will know and all Bavaria will know that neither from the present Government nor from the assembly to be elected under its responsibility is there anything else to be expected than steady degeneration into the Bolshivist abyss."

And Bavaria is predominantly Catholic. If its people, brought up in that Church which the Protestant Guizot, reviewing the civilization of Europe, declared to be a veritable school for respect of authority, face this prospect what hope is there where radical Socialism has, practically unhindered, sowed the seeds of class hatred and antagonism? It is to be noted that the Socialist party in Bavaria did not join with the others in signing the above appeal.

In Russia, Carl W. Ackerman after several months travelling through that country, writes: "Russia is a nation divided against itself, an Empire of chaos. Financially bankrupt, economically starved and war-weary, it is nearer collapse than regeneration."

A distressing and disappointing feature is that Russia's civil war is not a fight for freedom, but a contest for power between anarchy on the one hand and militarism and autocracy on the other. Of democracy, as we conceive it, where rich and poor, educated and uneducated, bourgeoisie and proletariat, all have their proportionate voice and influence, Mr. Ackerman found not a trace. Bolshivism is the antithesis of democracy and leaves as the only alternative autocracy supported by armed force.

France it appears is beginning to question the wisdom of armed intervention in Russia; and from the workmen of England, the United States and Canada we have protests against interference. Resolutions of sympathy and encouragement have gone forth from Canadian labor congresses to the Red revolutionists of Russia. Even amongst clergymen Bolshivism finds its advocates. The Rev. S. Banks Nelson, D. D., of Hamilton, in "an excellent and illuminating address" at Waterloo, extolled "brotherly and kindly spirit," the high "ideals and purposes" of Russia's

red-handed murderers. After all this is not so very surprising, for the Protestant principle of substituting private judgment for lawfully constituted authority in spiritual matters is religious counterpart of civil anarchy.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable evidences of the recognition of impending peril to civilization and social order is an interview given by Lord Northcliffe to John F. Bass, representing the Chicago Daily News Company. Turning from the discussion of what in normal conditions would be the subject absorbing the world's interest — the peace terms — the great British journalist said: "Vastly more important in the situation at present is the Bolshievik army like a great snake crawling westward into Poland. Behind the Bolshievik the Russian factories supply munitions. They pay the soldiers enormous sums and they help themselves to whatever they can lay their hands on."

"Starvation gives them recruits who go with the army in order to keep alive. Poland offers fertile fields for them in resources and probable recruits because the Polish peasants, like the Russians, want the land, which is in the hands of the big owners."

"However, the patriotism of the Poles may hold the nation against the Bolshieviki."

And then he added this observation of startling significance: "The people will not pay any attention to the situation, but it may come to pass that we shall have to unite with Germany to arrest this malignant force which is moving towards us."

It is not necessary to admire Lord Northcliffe, much less to agree with all his policies, to recognize that he is a great force in England and in the world. The correspondent who interviewed him says that he "is considered by some to be the most powerful man in Great Britain because of his control of many daily, weekly and monthly publications, from sensational to the most conservative. A certain ruthless determination in his method of handling his papers lead people to suspect him of ill controlled ambition. His influence with public men like Lloyd George causes him to be feared. Yet he alone has had the strength and courage during the War to fight incompetency in his own Government and the stupid censorship which protected it."

He is now advocating publicity at the peace conference, the only means by which the interests of the common people of all countries can be secured amid the clash of national rivalries, cupidities and ambitions carried on by representatives of the ruling classes and protected from democratic indignation by secret proceedings.

No one can deny to Lord Northcliffe discernment, insight, and exceptional sources of information; without these he could not have attained the eminence he has achieved in journalism. If he is right in this matter then is Bolshivism indeed a serious menace to established social order in Europe and in the world.

THE HOLY NAME SOCIETY

Of the various confraternities in the Church there is none that makes a wider appeal not only to Catholic men but to those not of the faith than the Holy Name Society. One reason for this, especially as regards Catholics, is that the conditions of membership impose no new obligations upon the initiated. To avoid cursing and swearing, the use of vulgar and indecent language, and the giving of scandal in any way is incumbent upon everyone whether he be a member of the Holy Name Society or not. Then as regards quarterly Communion it may be reasonably presumed that a faithful member of the Church is prepared to do a little more than comply with the minimum condition that is essential to the avoidance of mortal sin and excommunication.

The main attraction, however, of this society, that commends it to Catholic and non-Catholic, to civilian and soldier alike, is that it appeals to that sense of chivalry which, though sometimes latent, is in the heart of every man. The good soldier believes in devotion, loyalty and obedience to his commander. He therefore appreciates the merits of a society in which those, who were made soldiers of Christ in Confirmation, league themselves together to defend the honor of their Commander's Name and to advance the cause for which He laid down His life. Everyone, who has a spark of manhood in him, prides himself upon being called a Christian gentleman, and however lacking he may be in the

qualifications that are essential to a gentleman. You cannot give greater offence to a man than to tell him that he is no gentleman. He will therefore view with approval a society that makes for the realization of those ideals of gentlemanly conduct which he instinctively admires, however much he may personally fall short of their attainment.

Perhaps it is because this society aims at the cultivation of the virtue of reverence that the thinking men of the world, who see the danger of irreverence, hold it in such high esteem. A non-Catholic writer, whose name is a household word in Ontario, penned these lines: "The curse of the age and of this country in particular is irreverence. If any woe shall befall the nation in consequence of it, the Roman Catholic Church can plead not guilty; but I have always contended that our Protestantism, and more particularly Methodism, has much to answer for. The Church of Rome is the only Church which offers a solid front to the oncoming wave of irreverence — irreverence for sacred things, for the marriage tie, for the home, for tradition and worse than all for women and children." This picture is not overdrawn, as everyone who is cognizant of the trend of events will admit. The profanation of churches, blasphemous attacks upon religion and its ministers, the prevalence of perjury in our law courts, the ridiculing of those social customs that had their origin in Catholic tradition and that make for the protection of virtue, the daily record in the press of marital infidelity, of divorce and infanticide confirm the writer's words. The daily press is itself the chief offender. Its greatest sin is not the lessons of disrespect for virtue and parental authority that it inculcates in its Sunday supplement. It is its betrayal of truth. God is Truth, and those who have no reverence for God. Listen to the testimony of an American journalist, quoted by Hamilton Holt, in regard to the American press: "There is no such thing in America as an independent press. I am paid for keeping honest opinions out of the paper I am connected with. If I should allow honest opinions to be printed in one issue of my paper, before twenty-four hours my occupation, like Othello's, would be gone. The business of a New York journalist is to distort the truth, to lie outright, to pervert, to vilify, to fawn at the foot of Mammon, and to sell his country and his race for his daily bread. We are the tools or vassals of the rich men behind the scenes. Our time, our talents, our lives, our possibilities are all the property of other men. We are intellectual prostitutes." Who will contend that our Canadian daily press is a whit better?

But what concerns us most as Catholics is the need of this society for our men and boys. The Catholic Church has been truly termed "the greatest school of reverence in the world." The one thing that most impresses those not of the faith when entering our churches is the reverential spirit of Catholic worshippers; and the one thing that scandalizes them most is the ungentlemanly bearing and lack of reverence for God's holy Name among those same men when they mingle with them in the daily business of life. Our Catholic men should realize that they owe it to themselves and to their Church to always act the part of a gentleman; and that they cannot with impunity approach the altar rail and then sink to the vulgar level of men who perhaps have not even received the regenerating sacrament of Baptism. The great lessons that the feast of the Holy Name teaches, and that the society which is being happily established in so many parishes today aims at putting into practice, are reverence for God and the things that pertain to God, His teaching, His laws, His sacraments and His ministers, reverence for our fellow-man as a child of God and a brother of Jesus Christ, and lastly reverence for ourselves as temples of the Holy Ghost, as soldiers in the army of Christ, as heirs to that Christian chivalry that pays homage not to social glamour but to the man in overalls whose speech and whose conduct measure up to its requirements.

THE GLEANER King Albert of Belgium intends to create a new military order to be known as the Order of the Year, The Echo De Paris says. The first man to be decorated with the new order will be Marshal Foch.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

NEW YORK is leading the way in the boycott of German manufactures. Over seven hundred stores are already displaying the sign "No German Made Goods Sold Here" and the movement is spreading. The Women's National Committee of the American Defence Society has instituted an active propaganda in this direction. This is a form of nemesis over which the Peace Conference has no immediate control.

THE ANNOUNCEMENT that Mgr. Bickerstaffe-Drew, better known to lovers of good literature as "John Aycough," is shortly to enter upon a lecture tour in the United States and Canada, should be of especial interest to Catholics, whose literature he has enriched by a score or more of good novels and by other books of an informing and elevating character. Of the latter, "French Windows," (Longmans, Green & Co., New York) being the intimate reflections of an Army chaplain which reveal a phase of the War beyond the vision of the ordinary correspondent and told with great charm and pathos, is particularly noteworthy. Those who have not already made its acquaintance will find it worth their while to do so. It is easily among the first half dozen of the innumerable books to which the War has given birth.

THE CANADIAN Pacific Railway has inaugurated a good lead in the matter of retraining and rehabilitating the Canadian soldier. From the office of the President has issued an order which is bulletined at every station on the lines to the effect that all officers and employees should so far as possible place themselves in the position of the father, mother, wife, sister or other relative of the returning men, and deal with them as they would wish to be dealt with under similar circumstances. As a summing-up of a long list of instructions designed to facilitate despatch of troop trains, etc., agents and all members of staff concerned throughout the system are exhorted and will be expected "to deal courteously and patiently with all enquirers and to give them correctly and clearly the fullest information possible in response to their enquiries." This lead should be followed always and everywhere by the citizens of Canada. Nothing is too good for the heroes of Ypres, Vimy, Passchendaele, Amiens and Mons.

THE TOTAL population of Europe is about 400,000,000. Of the eastern Asiatic peoples the Chinese alone number more than that, which fact may help to a realization of what the "Yellow Peril" would mean should it ever assume concrete form. As one result of the Great War, we are informed, South Russia, Hungary and Denmark alone have sufficient food supplies to last until next harvest without imports. There are problems enough and to spare to cement the white races into a common bond of friendship.

"BRITISH AMERICAN Discords and Concord," is a new book issued from the press of G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. It has been compiled by the "History Circle" of that city, and is but the first of a series which the Society has in contemplation, designed to foster and cement the good feeling engendered by the War. While the chief object of the book is simply to present all the facts in the case, an effort is made to analyze these facts and to elucidate their bearing upon the present situation and future prospects as to the relations between the two great English-speaking nations. No better foundation can be laid for lasting peace and concord than a thorough understanding of the issues which have given rise to friction in the past. This book is designed to facilitate such understanding.

IN "THE Last Independent Parliament of Ireland," Dr. George Sigerson has in the estimation of competent authorities made a most valuable contribution towards an understanding of the whole problem of Ireland. Sir Horace Plunkett's aphorism that "Irish history is for Irishmen to forget and Englishmen to remember" may be beautiful in theory, but, as has been well said Ireland will never forget until England begins to learn. To hasten that day has been Dr. Sigerson's motive in writing the book, and we are persuaded that only along such lines will understanding, reparation and mutual sympathy ever be achieved.