

"There are two, but one is a stranger," volunteered a bystander. Before they got a look the two men were hustled into a sleigh and taken away.

The next morning brought the news. Edna read it to Marion. After the first two lines Edna felt Marion grip her arm and then sink into a chair.

An hour later Marion was hastening to St. Agnes' hospital. She asked the nurse if she might see him. In a few minutes Marion was shown to Room 24.

Bob seemed greatly surprised to see her, but not as pleased as she had expected. "Marion," he sighed at length, "so you've come at last. Why did you keep me waiting so long? Why didn't you answer my letter?"

"What letter?" she asked, a quiver in her voice. "Didn't Terry—Oh! I should have had more sense than to give it to him," Bob groaned.

"Why, I've seen Terry but once since you left," she said, puzzled. "He was driving Spike Hecman's mules. He was busy he didn't even hear me call to him."

"Confound that little ape, anyhow. His neglect came near to killing—" "Both of us," Marion flushed as she finished the sentence for him.

A noise was heard in the corridor and the door of No. 34 flew open. Terry stood there grinning. He hesitated a little, smiled and then walked over and handed Marion a soiled envelope.

Bob grabbed an ash tray, but Terry ducked.

JUST NATIONALISM DEFINED

DR. JAS. H. RYAN ADDRESSES OXFORD CONFERENCE

The fifth annual Catholic Conference organized by the International Catholic League met at Oxford, England, recently, at the invitation of the British Catholic Council for International Relations, with delegates present from the principal nations of the world. Discussions and addresses centered around the two announced objects of the meeting:

"To make more widely known Christian principles concerning the mutual rights and duties of nations in their dealings with one another, according to Catholic tradition in general and especially to the pronouncements of the Supreme Pontiff and of his predecessors in modern times."

"To promote friendly cooperation in different branches of life between the Catholics of all countries."

Special sessions of the Conference were devoted to the subjects: "What is Nationalism?" "The Nation and Humanity." "The Jewish Problem." "Self Determination." "The Nation and the State" and "The Nation and the Use of Force." On the final day there was a meeting for Catholic Journalists.

The Rev. Dr. James H. Ryan, one of the representatives of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, addressed the Conference Tuesday on the subject "Nationality." He held that nationalism "as a Christian understands and interprets it, has its place, a great and honorable place."

DR. RYAN'S ADDRESS

Dr. Ryan's address was as follows: "I have been asked to speak on Nationality. At the very outset, may I say that I approach the problem from the angle not only of a Catholic, but of an American Catholic. As a Catholic, the dogmatic and ethical principles which underlie an acceptable analysis and expression of nationality, as well as the limitations which must be put upon such an idea, are a common heritage of all of us. As an American, I look towards the practical aspects of the question from an acquaintance with nationalism as it is understood by Catholics in the United States.

"That nationalism, like every other movement or idea, may be abused and is abused no one doubts; that the true meaning of nationalism is often distorted and is made a cloak to cover wicked and unjust deeds need not be questioned; that no two peoples have practically the same conception of the duties and obligations of nationality is a patent fact. But that nationalism, understood as an American Catholic understands it, is anti-Christian, immoral, and unjust; that it is, as some one has said, 'the next heresy to be condemned,' is something quite unintelligible.

"It is true that we have not had the intimate contact with the manifold manifestations of nationalism, such as most European countries have experienced. To us, therefore, the word scarcely connotes all that it does to the Continental mind. However, we have been struggling for a long time trying to weld together into a nation the heterogeneous elements which make up our vast population. We feel we have achieved nationality; we are no less certain that we are today a nation; we have developed likewise a philosophy of our national existence. We are not, however, in such a position that we are committed irrevocably to one particular theory of nationality, and emphatically we are not committed to an extreme interpretation of nationalism which would either exalt our nation at the

expense of all other nations to make of us in the end but another of the great imperialisms which have disgraced the history of mankind, or which would, on the other hand, submerge the nation in a nebulous association of peoples from which all individuality, freedom and national responsibility should be excluded from the very beginning by the end."

BIRTH OF MODERN NATIONALISM

"Historically, nationalism as we know it today is a product of the French Revolution. The patriarchal empires of antiquity, as well as the feudal states of the Middle Ages, never approached identity with any cultural or national entity. What is more, the universalism of the Middle Ages was in great contrast to the modern ideas of a national state. Dante's 'De Monarchia,' picturing a universal state and a universal church, was the dominant ideal of the times. The dynastic states of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were a result of the commercial revolution brought about by the great discoveries and the revival of trade, and in no sense of the word a product of the Renaissance or the Reformation.

"With the French Revolution begins the era of national states. The bourgeoisie revolting against the power of kings and emperors, raised the cry of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, and succeeded in overthrowing a series of bloody wars, the despotism of their old rulers and erecting in its stead the democratically governed state. Professor Hayes describes the revolution in thought in the following words: 'By the French idea of fraternity every European country was soon affected, so that formerly latent sympathies were galvanized into a most lively sentiment and theorists from the domains of history or philosophy or even of economics could find popular approval for their solemn pronouncements that people speaking the same language and sharing the same general customs should be politically united as nations.'

"The revolutionary contagion, originating in France, spread to both America, and from the wars of the early nineteenth century arose the great and small nations of the world today. The development and spread of nationalism in the modern world is due to two principal factors—democracy and the industrial revolution. Democracy changed the political thinking of the people, industry transformed their economic life. Both of these great tendencies have resulted in various and conflicting theories of nationality, and have pointed the way in some cases to imperialism or to internationalism as the logical conclusions of a people's emphasis on different aspects of the nationalist philosophy.

CHRISTIAN NATIONALISM

"No conception of nationality which contravenes or contradicts the truths of Christianity can be acceptable. If nationality is of itself opposed to Christian belief, then the sooner it be done away with the better. But who shall say that we cannot state, at least in the abstract, a doctrine of nationalism which is in perfect accord with the truths of the Gospel? As a matter of fact, such a concept, founded on Christianity and directed by Christian philosophy, can be stated. Being Christian, it is the only conception of nationality which we can subscribe to, as it is the only kind of nationalism under which we can live and help to promote.

"At the basis of every true nationalism stands, as its secure and lasting foundation, the truth of the solidarity of the human race and of the dependence of every creature upon every other creature. We were created men, not Americans, Europeans, and Africans, and by a tie which has its origin and its sanction not in the human but in the divine will. Divisions based upon race, color, or language are all subsequent to the original unity of the human race; they are good in as far as they promote that unity, and they may be evil in the proportion in which they act as divisive factors, as elements sundering apart the indivisible unity of mankind.

"That this is Christian doctrine, no one possessing even a superficial acquaintance with the Gospels can call into question. The 'brotherhood of man' is the bed rock principle which must govern and direct both our views of human nature and our everyday relations towards other men, viewed either as individuals or as members of an organized society.

"The unity of mankind, this essential and far-reaching solidarity of which we speak, exists for two fundamental purposes. In the first place, the protection, development, and general well-being of the individual hinges upon an acceptance of this great truth. If each man were a microcosm, he would be expected to lead his own life over and above, as well as outside, any assistance from other men. He would thus necessarily become self-centered, egotistic, and what is quite as bad, perfectly futile. Given, however, the fact of this solidarity with others, his education and well-being begin and grow apace as a co-operative enterprise in which not only he but all men play a part.

MANKIND AS A UNIT

"Again, mankind is a unit in the interests and advancement of the race as a whole. This latter pur-

pose is beyond question the larger and greater end of human existence. The individual is called upon at every step to serve this all-embracing purpose of the race, and in serving it he, at the same time and *pari passu*, develops and accentuates his own personality. There is no redemption, either of the individual or of the race, from the suicidal vice of selfishness except by service in the interests of others. A world in which selfishness reigns supreme would be a world unfit either for men or beasts. But let us accept a conception of the universe in which one acknowledges its essential and inherent purposiveness, there follows immediately the truth that every act of the individual affects not only the individual himself but every other individual with whom he comes into contact; that is, his acts affect his family, his neighbors, his community, his state, his nation, all nations, the entire world.

"By an instinctive urge of human nature man makes secure this solidarity for which he seeks by the formation of families, groups, states and nations. We not only owe our physical existence to our parents; to the family which protects, defends, and develops our heritage of common human interests and, as it were, the core about which is built our national existence, the center from which radiate those truths which are our guide and our salvation, we owe a great debt both of appreciation and of protection. The nation has been an inevitable outgrowth of the conditions under which families live; it is at the same time the surest bulwark which the family possesses against the many evils menacing individual existence.

"These conditions, geographic, economic, social, cultural, and religious, account for the grouping together of families under a political organization which embodies their collective views of law and order, their economic and social aspirations, their cultural impulses and religious beliefs. A national union, therefore, in the last analysis but a step forward which a race takes in its progress towards unity and solidarity. In a word, a nation is a people living and acting as a unit, and just as the individuals who make up a nation possess the right of self-government, self-expression, and self-preservation, so the nation which concretizes their collective wills and purposes has the right of self-government, of self-expression, and of self-preservation.

LIMITATIONS IN LOVE OF COUNTRY

"Of the essential morality of nationalism defined in these terms, no Christian can doubt. If nationalism so defined is wrong, then the Christian world-view is wrong, and we are thrown back into a maelstrom where selfishness rules and unity becomes either an unattainable aspiration or a worthless ideal.

"I venture to assert that as Christians we are called on to love the nation which embodies our individual and collective aspirations, our cultural history, our common language, and very often a common religion. Love of country, or patriotism, flows as a necessary corollary from the principles just stated. However, we must love with moderation and according to the laws of justice. Again, as love of self does not entail hatred of our neighbor, so love of country does not mean hatred of peoples of other nations. Justice fixes, and within readily discernible limits, the amount of love we must bestow on our country, as well as the attitude we must take towards foreign countries.

"Nationalism, therefore, is not a rigidly fixed system of ideas or of acts, a supreme end in itself, the attainment of which *eo ipso* justifies any and all things which may be done under its name. The good of the nation is a proper end; it is an end which must be defined and regulated, however, by taking due consideration of a higher principle to which it is subordinated, the law of justice. To attempt to apply the principle of nationality in any absolute sense, that is, without any regard for other and higher purposes, or to seek to achieve national outcomes by any and all means which may come to hand, is to erect into a guiding principle for our national life the vicious doctrine of might over right, and the no less vicious theory that the end justifies the means.

LAW OF JUSTICE PREEMINENT

"Every Christian must acknowledge that the law of justice outweighs every consideration based solely on the so-called rights of nationality. The State, as the individual Christian, is bound by the great fundamentals which underlie all human rights and all human responsibility. In the first place the State as a whole may not transgress the rights of other States; it is bound even at the cost of great sacrifice to serve the greater whole, the well-being and advancement of the race. Neither may the State be so tyrannical that an occasion it violate the inherent human rights of the very least of its subjects. This doctrine is contrary to that of Hegel, for whom the State was supreme, was an organic being which possessed rights other than those of the individuals who make it up, and in the pursuit of these so-called rights had unlimited power and could with impunity negate any personal right which conflicted with its own supreme purposes. Such a philosophy of nationalism, the organic conception of the State,

is palpably false. It is a heresy, pure and simple, and as such deserves condemnation.

"That many modern nations have acted and guided their policies towards other nations and their own subjects along Hegelian lines, contemporary history proves only too well. The rise of industrialism has favored such nationalistic aggressions. A widespread acceptance of this false philosophy, too, has made it easy for us to submit to the injustices which have followed in its wake. The present-day world I believe, is awakened to the folly of such a belief and condemns in forcible terms the injustices perpetrated under its so-called authority. There should be no place in the modern world for this un-Christian ideal of the State. And whether this ideal comes to us in the guise of a well developed and respectable philosophy or in that of a merely popular and fanatical jingoism, we must reject it in the name of justice and truth.

OBLIGATIONS AS WELL AS RIGHTS

"Unfortunately, every nation has its false philosophies of nationalism, yet this falsehood should not close our eyes to the truth of Christian nationalism. Every nation, too, has its jingoes, who like our own Secatur, shout, 'May my country be always right in its relations with all nations' but my country, right or wrong.' And need scarcely add that such exaggerated self-sufficiency is miles removed from the true love of country which should burn brightly in the heart of every patriot.

"Nationalism is generally looked upon as a right; a sovereign right, it is called. Few indeed question the right of a nation to do all that lies within its power to promote its own and the welfare of its citizens. Too much or unwise insistence upon a people's rights, however, to the exclusion of the proper emphasis on their duties towards others can only result in a narrow, one-sided conception of nationality, and as often as events indicate in manifest injustices, Christian thought recognizes no rights which do not carry along reciprocal obligations. National rights, therefore, run parallel with national obligations, and no nation can be true to its better self which over-emphasizes its rights or refuses to recognize fully its obligations.

"The tendency to exaggerate national interests has been in the past an altogether too prominent characteristic of the policies and activities of many nations. Under such specious pleas as national honor, the protection of national interests, the safeguarding of territorial integrity, the spread of democratic ideals, crimes have been committed against weaker neighbors and justified before the world as the necessary consequence of a proper appreciation of what nationalism entails. True nationalism, on the contrary, gives rise to a balanced policy wherein rights and duties play a mutually helpful role.

"Any exaggeration leads inevitably to the development of an attitude wherein a people concentrating too much upon themselves and their interests see blindly and act wrongly. 'Unquestionably there arise situations in which the national need must be regarded as supreme. Such situations are the exception, more exceptional than the average politician is willing to admit. The citizen who does not, contentment every act of his government merely because it was done under the impulsion of a false reading of the nation's rights, is no less, in fact he is a better patriot, than one who closes his eyes deliberately to the morality of his country's acts and follows her lead because she so commands.

SIN OF NATIONAL SELFISHNESS

"There is little need to call your attention to the sin of selfishness or to emphasize the fact that selfishness may be not only the sin of an individual but of a nation as well. Modern history is crowded with examples of national selfishness and, as Pope Pius XI. has pointed out repeatedly, it is unnecessary to go further in the search for the cause of most of the evils which afflict the world today. Selfishness runs like a bad thread through the whole fabric of the national life of some peoples. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that they are blind to every ideal and deaf to every appeal except one which can be turned to their advantage. Thus, the individual citizen is often intent solely on his own welfare; he uses every one to advance himself. The family employs its power at the expense of immediate neighbors to make the family rich and powerful; the nation, either through deliberate official act or through the uncontrolled acts of its citizens, abuses its power to impose on the needs or weaknesses of other nations, to open up opportunities, as they say, for the nation's business or the nation's influence. In each of these cases the acts are wrong, but the selfishness of a nation a more urgent violation of the canons of justice than would be the acts of a mere individual. And the reason why national selfishness is more sinful than individual selfishness is because it entails more serious and more widespread hardships and injustices.

"Nationality need not connote selfishness, need not lead to injustices, and could with impunity negate any personal right which conflicted with its own supreme purposes. Such a philosophy of nationalism, the organic conception of the State,

times deprecate and condemn. The humanity of all mankind, the oneness of our race, the common justice by which we are all bound—these limit, oblige, and exalt nationality. When nationalism recognizes fully these principles of justice and governs itself accordingly, we need have no fear that it shall ever refuse to appreciate its obligations towards all the world, or that it shall fail to maintain with every resource at its command its own rights against unjust aggression from whatsoever source such aggressions may arise.

DEBT TO CHRISTIAN CHURCH

"The world is indebted to the Christian Church for a correct evaluation of human personality. To her is due the philosophy which recognizes the supreme place that always must be accorded human personality in any correct construction of human affairs, needs, and purposes. The universe is not a world of blind forces acting according to blind law, the control and direction of which are outside the range of the human will. There are mechanical forces in this world, over which we have little or no control, it is true. But there are likewise human forces, originating in man, directed to purposes known and approved by man, and to be judged good or bad as they attain ends which are in themselves good or bad. For this reason man stands at the very centre of the universe. And the union of all men in one great family is a conception founded on Christian philosophy, and can only be maintained if Christian philosophy is maintained.

"The Church did not work out this philosophy of the dignity of human nature from purely rational postulates, nor did it inherit the belief from the ancient Greek philosophers. The Christian conception of the solidarity of the human race is a truth which has been brought home to us only by the Incarnation. This dogma has influenced man's thinking and lives because when they accepted the Divinity and Humanity of Christ they believed a truth to which they could not subscribe, were they to deny the universal brotherhood of man, for whom the God-Man came to suffer and to die. The truth of the Incarnation is a sacred truth; in a less degree the truth of the oneness of the human race is sacred. And nationalism must respect both these truths; in fact it cannot respect one without respecting the other.

THE PLACE OF NATIONALISM

Nationalism, therefore, gives us no right to violate this truth and its consequent obligations, but rather it places upon the nations the responsibility of living and following it. And that, above all things, regards solicitude for the weak, both because such solicitude is a moral obligation on every nation and because in no other way than by helping those weaker than ourselves can our own life and self-expression as a nation be extended and fully protected.

"Nationalism, therefore, as a Christian understands and interprets it, has its place, a great and honorable place. We could not advance save by our loyalty to it. But nationalism is circumscribed by the very power of which it is such a holy part. It is a step towards the higher and fuller realization of our common humanity, exalted into a living kingdom of equal men here, because it is the expression of the Kingdom of Christ that is to be."

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