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LONDON, SATURDAY, MAY 5, 1928

MORE ABOUT REP. BY POP. After the rebellion of 1887 Lord Durham was sent to Canada and his Report has always rightly been considered an epoch-making event not only in the history of Canada, but also in the development of British colonial policy. With regard to Canada, two main, concrete and positive recommendations were made-the introduction of responsible government and the union of the two Canadas under a single government. The two provinces were to be consolidated with the definite purpose of submerging French-Canadian nationality. "I repeat," he writes, "that the alteration of the character of the province ought to be immediately entered on, and firmly, though cautiously, followed un : that in any plan which may be adopted for the future management of Lower Canada, the first object ought to be that of making it an English province; and that, with this end in view, the ascendancy should never again be placed in any hands but those of an English popu-

lation.' Nevertheless the union which Lord Durham advocated was a real union of peoples, not a mere amalgamation of the Houses of Assembly.

Representation in the new assembly was to be determined by a parliamentary commission on the basis of representation by population. The principle of equal provincial representation was definitely discarded.

There can be no doubt that Durham saw clearly that representation by population would, for a time, defeat the scheme of English domination in the popular assembly; for on the basis of population French Canada was certain to dominate for some years to come. He probably relied on immigration to reverse the conditions; and, whether he did so or not, he might have counted on this just and generous treatment of the French the majority both justice and generosity toward Upper Canada.

the authors of the Union against priesthood of Lower Canada, and any attempt to favor the English that he had done these things in minority "by means of new and order that he might rule. And the and political dictator of Italy has gulf between wealth and poverty. strange modes of voting or unfair electors were solemnly assured no liking for the insecurity consedivisions of the country." A sys- that no amelioration of their condi- quent on the group system. tem of representation based on the tion was to be looked for until they census returns would have blotted had deposed Mr. Macdonald and representation and give to the party the same time made the poor for the House of Lords have not been out the interprovincial line at least put Mr. Brown in his place. The or group obtaining the largest the first time markedly jealous and those who were descended from a for electoral purposes. When, how- electors did not believe him; never- number of votes three quarters of envious of the rich. The landed long line of noblemen, but those ever, the two existing provinces theless he received the coveted the seats in the Chamber of Depu- aristocracy of the countries which who had been there only a were assigned an equal number of position from the hands of his ties; or, three quarters of the left the Church became the cham short time and were eager to members in the assembly a perma- opponent. 'Here,' said Mr. Mac- voting power regardless of the pions of the religious revolution; nent barrier was set up. They donald, 'you have long clamored number of seats. That is Mus- the leaders of new sects or their might in any case have retained for power; you have for years posed solini's idea of electoral reform. political protectors; and the judices. The most intolerant memtheir own laws and judicial proce- as the champion of Upper Canada, There is no manner of doubt that ardent exponents of a materialistic dure, but so far from neutralizing you have denounced me as the slave it removes effectively the paralyz- philosophy which made them rich often been those whose fathers the evil effects which this division of French influence; here is my ing weakness consequent on the at the same time that it removed would have involved, the electoral office; let us see what you can do.' multiplication of groups. It makes the most powerful protector of the bought their seats with cash payarrangements increased them. With eager fingers he grasped the the largest group dominant, poor and delivered those poor into ments into the party funds. Each section of the country had its prize, and withdrew to take counsel supreme; giving it initiative, respontheir hands without any authority For over two hundred years the representatives in the ministry and with his friends. After a brief sibility, and absolute power to to call them to a spiritual account in the party councils, and John A. space he emerged from his seclu- govern while it holds together. for the way they treated them; England has been a disgrace to Macdonald could contend at Con- sion. federation that the Canadian "Men looked with incredulity, its own ranks could thwart its in the rural districts of England is no essential difference between settlement of 1840 corresponded amazement, and indignation at the will, or even delay its triumphant were appropriated by the land more nearly with a federal than sight which was presented to their progress. To this measure of magnates, though they had been Dickens ninety years ago and those with a legislative union. But the gaze. The spirit of religious inpunishment which the neglect of tolerance for the existence of which congress of the Popular Party—the peasants; and they have 1920. Those slums were made Durham's advice entailed did not Mr. Brown, more than any living usually referred to as the Catholic remained in the hands of the possible by the abandonment in the stop there. The division into Canada man, was responsible, cried out in Party—offered opposition. Referr- descendants of the robbers to this sixteenth century of Catholic social West and Canada East, serious as it horror at the sight of the Protestant ing to Fascist movement as a pass- day. That is only one instance; and moral principles, and by the tures," receives a jolt from the might have been in itself, meant champion calling to his ministry no ing phase of Italian politics the there are hundreds of like cases wholesale robbery from the Church that the representation could not be less than six Roman Catholics, or Catholic Party congress pledged a scattered through the history of of a sacred trust to prevent just based on population so long as the one half of the whole Government. very conditional support to Must the nations which threw off the such conditions, which she used as Union endured. Canada East People recalled the fact that 'John solini and unconditional opposition authority of the Catholic Church; a balance of social and economic but at least one item has survived. suffered at the time, Canada West A., slave to the priesthood though to Mussolini's idea of "electoral the only authority that had ever power for the benefit of the whole and is now preserved in the Advolater, and the one or the other sec- he might be, never had more than reform."

entered in.

contention of Sir John A. Macdonald seven members (an absolute majorthat the Union was in its nature ity) pledged against it." rather federal than legislative there "Representation by Population" the province! became a political slogan and party cry in Upper Canada only when seems to have been complete. Upper Canadians outnumbered Lower Canadians; that when this which has been recalled by uninreversal of conditions had taken formed references to Representaplace it was a shameless breach of tion by Population as a Liberal the fundamental condition of the principle, has its obvious lessons Union to insist on representation for Canadians of the present generby population.

John A. Macdonald, resigned over sown by George Brown still bear the question of the Queen's select their pernicious harvest. For, to tion of Ottawa as the seat of change the metaphor, there have Government. George Brown, the seldom been wanting politicians to great champion of the principle of fan into flame for selfish purposes representation by population and the dying embers of religious and the denouncer, in unmeasured racial prejudice. terms, of subserviency to French upon to form a ministry. He did suffers. so, and Brown-Dorion administration lasted just two days. A vote of want of confidence was carried by seventy-one to thirty-one in the assembly; and a similar motion by sixteen to eight in the Legislative Council.

"The reasons," writes Sir Joseph Pope in his Memoirs of Sir John A. Macdonald, " for this prompt and apparently premature condemnation of a Government which had barely come into existence, and had as yet but scant opportunity of defining its policy, are to be found in the reports of this debate. Briefly summarized, they are-(1) an intense dissatisfaction with the personnel of the new Ministry, (2) the absence of any statement as to the policy of the Government, and (3) a feeling among the Upper Canadians that George Brown had sold them to Lower Canada. "It was believed that no announce-

reason that no policy had been

agreed upon. Mr. Brown had for years taken the ground that representation by population was, next perhaps to the repression of Roman Catholicism, the most important tendency is more problematical. question of the day. There was no The difficulties are obvious. The mistaking his views on this subject. In Parliament, in the press, on the was that the people always had an platform, he had enunciated them in language which, if it sometimes satisfied with the one charged with Canada had been told, through the of stability which weakens initiative columns of the Globe, that it was and responsibility as well as real John A. Macdonald who stood between them and equal representation in Parliament-that the same Canadians begetting on the part of John A. Macdonald denied to them privileges which he accorded to French Canadians-that, in short, In any case he expressly warned he had delivered them bound to the

tion always enjoyed a vested inter- four Roman Catholic colleagues at est in injustice. When, therefore, the same time in his Cabinet. The the Act of Union is described as advocates of representation by popu-Lord Durham's solution of the Cana- lation viewed with dismay the pres-

is and can be no doubt that the Eng- Governor-General to dissolve the that they imposed this as a condi- that harmony between Upper and tion of the Union on the French Lower Canada which, in the opinion majority despite strenuous opposi- of Mr. Brown and his colleagues, tion and violent protests; and that, was essential to the prosperity of

Well, the poor man's conversion

This bit of political history, ation. The evil men do lives after In 1858 the ministry, headed by them; the evil seeds so assiduously

In the long run their fate is the Canadians and Catholics, was called fate of George Brown. But Canada

PROBLEM

Much has been said and written favor of the old traditional twoparty system of political government; the tendency of parties to making. After the religious revoluplace to groups whose common ness and commerce became the patible with responsible govern- greatness was taken to be her comment. The course of evolution in mercial and industrial success. the Mother of Parliaments is not difficult to predict. Liberalism has been one of the commonest cance of the term coinciding with were more prosperous in dollars the literal meaning of the word- and cents than the Catholic nations. and Laborites. The tendency to This ideal, set before the eyes of break up will have come a full successive generations of people as distinct, definite and real-the unduly emphasized the importance ment was made, for the simple party of the Haves vs. the party of money; the importance of being of the Have-Nots.

In Canada where there is no permanent or even real basic dis tinction between the "two historic parties" the future of the group chief advantage of the old order power to govern.

While in England the tendency is plainly to revert to the old two. Envy, as a powerful factor in social party political system, on the continent of Europe multitudinous groups are a permanent feature of political life.

That is the explanation of recent the common people in cases where demanded the resignation of his interests of the aristocracy. "Catholic" ministers,—which is not dian problem, we should always ence of such opponents of that prin- the same thing by any means as remember that where the Act deciple as Messrs. Dorion, Drummond, demanding the resignation of all the Church. The huge private the evils of the great spoliation of portions read to them daily by one parted from his instructions the and Thibaudeau, and shortly after- his ministers who are Catholics. fortunes which later furnished the the Church? Is there any sober, of their number. Each took his germs of decay and dissolution wards learned without surprise Neither in Italy, nor in Belgium, from the lips of one of them that in nor in Germany, where there are industrial enterprise, were built on return to the principles of the way in the course of the ecclesiasti-Whether or not we agree with the Mr. Brown's Administration were political parties popularly known as the plunder of the capital which Church? Is the golden calf to be cal year a large part of the Scripall Catholics. It is, in each case, a In the memorandum asking the political party or group. So the and noblemen and held for the poor worshipped afresh, instead of Minister of Education in the lish minority insisted on equal rep- House Mr. Brown expressed the in- Mussolini Cabinet though a staunch resentation while the French had tention of his ministry to propose and loyal Catholic and one of the the major portion of the population; measures for the establishment of glories of modern Italy as a man of learning was not affected by the

> Just what effect this divergence may have on the politics of Italy is

'Catholic''-Fascist split.

not at all clear at present. Even conceding that Mussolini is trust which he seems to have inspired, that he will use his power in a wise, just and statesmanlike manner, his "electoral reform ' when he passes away might casily become the instrument of tyranny in the hands of an unscrupulous minority of the Italian population.

OLD ERRORS AND NEW PHASES

BY THE OBSERVER

When the nations of Europe which broke away from the Church, took for the main purpose of their existence the making of money, their influence and example were strong enough to affect those A-SOLUTION OF THE GROUI nations which still remained in the Church. England was as dominant and successful in war when she was in English-speaking countries in Catholic as after she became Protestant; but she was in her Catholic days less intent on moneybreak up into groups, or to give tion of the sixteenth century, busioccupational interest forms a bond main purpose of national existence: of union, is deplored as incom- and the main test of a nation's

Since the seventeenth century it will disappear and there will be stock arguments against the Catholic Conservatives-the political signifi- Church that the non-Catholic nations circle and the two party system the only ideal worth striving for, be restored. The basis will be could have but one effect; it well off. At the same time the new social organization of the Reformed countries put the wealth into the hands of a small minority of the population : and this set up a new ideal, one of social aristocracy.

Social aristocracy was never Catholic ideal. In the Catholic days, the nobility had always a alternative government when disthe great land owning institutions share of the wealth and that they held it as the trustees of the poor. Therefore there was not much envy. relations, was born of the changes which took away the patrimony of

The new spirit of commercialism and greed made the rich more He would abolish proportional selfish as they grew richer, and at Nothing but defections from the lands of the poor, the commons "electoral reform" the recent used and enjoyed for centuries by given by Sir Auckland Geddes in been exercised in the interests of nation.

"Catholic" do these parties include the Church had by long and hard pulled down, once and for all? tures were gone over and the monks work got out of the hands of kings Or, is it merely to be re-shaped and familiarized with their contents. until kings and noblemen took it being, as it ought to be, abanaway from her. In the Catholic doned? Not so, we fear. The Chesterton's method as applied to Church, and in her lands and passion for money is no less; moneys held in trust for the poor, the aristocracy had always seen a passion for money for the sake of formidable obstacle to their dreams money itself or for pleasure, has the Catholic apologist," he says. of complete and absolute domina- seized on whole peoples; notably tion of the whole of the people. on this side of the Atlantic. Where Catholic attack. Our opponents When the Church was deprived at that passion once swayed thousands are perpetually busy not only in one stroke of her spiritual author- it now sways millions. Money is the changing their ground of argument, the man of destiny for Italy, that ity, of her possessions and her dear dream and the heart's delight but in actually reversing their social influence, the landed aristo- now of great masses of the popula- reasons for dislike. Anyone who crats had no longer a rival to fear tion; and they are told that it has seen anything of modern conor a check on their greed. All her is the supreme good. acquisitions of nine hundred years they took from her in four or five years, and then the workingman was at their mercy. The social situation which then arose was only possible after the Catholic Church was first destroyed in those countries.

Then came the invention of machinery: and a new impulse to the manufacturing of goods. Who furnished the capital? Those who alone had capital. Those who had fortunes on the ruin of the Church. They had the money of the country and its land and its mines: and they had a social and political influence that had always been modified and checked and challenged by the Catholic Church when she believed to have been the dormitorhad the power; but which there was no longer any power to check or the Middle Ages, has quickened charge that the Church is opposed

time and then shaded off into religious centre. In his book has been the pet reproach of Proanother. A powerful middle class, half way between the workingmen published in 1913, Mr. J. B. Mackie this age, when so-called Higher and the aristocrats, and in part gives an interesting account of the Criticism has made such headway recruited from the workingmen, growth of this monastery, founded among the sects and the integrity of came into existence; traders and in the thirteenth century. At one the sacred books become almost a manufacturers of humble birth, time it had under its patronage no universal question with them, the who had made money in trading, less than 37 churches in Fife, the Catholic Church, because she manufacturing, exporting or import- Lothians, Stirlingshire, Perthshire presents an unbroken front against ing became members of a new and Rossshire and maintained active all such onslaughts is taunted with order. The attitude of this class missionary supervision over a large towards Labor was modeled on that section of the country. But to enlightenment and progress. And of the aristocratic class; for the unfortunately the English King, so, as Chesterton has shown, it goes aristocratic class not only were the Edward I., ("Longshanks") in one all along the line. wealthiest class, but also the of his many depredatory incurclass of the socially elect; and sions upon Scottish independence as they had eliminated spiritual laid the monastery in ashes notand theological considerations withstanding that he had been from their conceptions of the hospitably entertained by the tion of the theatre, Catholics in relations of the social classes, their | monks on more than one occasion. attitude was a purely materialistic one, and this was copied faithfully by the newly rich middle class.

The rise of this new class seemed to emphasize the two extremes wrote the life of Wallace, once certainly has its uses, and when lacked polish, was always plain the duties and responsibilities of the Catholic Church which were between which they stood. Their lived as a Benedictine brother kept free from degrading influence of the Catholic Church which were between which they stood. Their lived as a Benedictine brother kept free from degrading influence of the Catholic Church which were between which they stood. enough to be understood. For governing. The chief disadvantage always the friends of the poor. The power did little for the working- within the sacred building, and ences, has educational, even religmany years the people of Upper of the group system is the lack poorer classes of the people, in man, though many of them had Bruce, we are told, did not lack the lous, as well as recreational value those days, saw that the Catholic themselves been workingmen, for encouragement and assistance of We know how, in the Middle Ages abbeys and monasteries had a large the reason that their ambitions, the holy men, whether he was fight- it was utilized as a means of social and political, turned their ing against English domination or, instruction in the truths of revelaeyes towards the aristocratic class (a senseless but not entirely tion, and while in this particular and not towards the working unsuspected innuendo from such a it has in our day been largely classes. The worst oppression that quarter) resisting the crafty states- superseded by the printed page it land came, not from the hereditary Rome." We know from other with great possibilities for good. the poor which had been held by the aristocrats, but from the newly sources that, Dunfermline was no Church in her great institutions of | rich; in some cases from the work- less zealous in the cause of educa-The energetic Prime Minister beneficence and dug deeper the ing men of yesterday turned by tion and that many of the leading ated a "Catholic Little Theatre success into purse- proud imitators men of Scotland of those days Movement," with the presentation of the aristocrats; longing to be received instruction within its under episcopal patronage of themselves aristocrats to-morrow.

The most intolerant members of prove to the older peers that they were free from any low-class prebers of the House of Lords have were workingmen, and who had

civilization. It still is; for there the descriptions given by Charles

NOTES AND COMMENTS

and Empire refers to the late Mrs. Meynell as a "much over-rated Atlantic must now meekly bow their heads to this crushing rebuke.

THE METHODIST conference has proving the charge that the condecided that the time has come plundered and appropriated the be taught in the Public schools. when definite religious truth must sin, when the same man the next capital. Those who had robbed The magnitude of the problem of ing the seriousness of sin? the Church and had built their imparting what one does not possess does not appear to have licism when it is first derided for been considered

arches, establishing the existence

of crypts and cells which are

interest in Scottish antiquarian to the dissemination of the Scrip-This situation went on for a long circles in this ancient and important tures? For time out of mind this "Dunfermline Historical Idyls," testants against her, and yet in

"Scotland," says the Edinburgh purify and rejuvenate it. It should Scotsman, "owes not a little to this not be difficult to determine which Monastery. Arnold Blair, who is the wiser course. The theatre was ever seen by the poor in Eng- manship and selfish intrigues of nevertheless remains an institution walls.

> "THE MONKS," says Mr. Mackie, the writer already quoted, "led wellordered and busy lives. They attended seven services daily. They sewed their own garments, cultivated their own gardens, grew and ground their own corn, and performed the necessary domestic duties. They did their own cooking and cleaning. They washed each other's feet, and also the linen used for the wiping of the feet. They ministered to each other in sickness. Habituating themselves to a life in which personal wants were reduced to a minimum, they avoided as a rule sumptuous fare. Thus in religious, educational, agricultural, and industrial matters the monks did their share in the advancement of the cause of civilisation."

THE OLD figment, too, about Catholic "suppression of the Scripsame source. Most of the literary and is now preserved in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh. This is during the battle.

Is justice at last to prevail. Not a MS. copy of St. Jerome's Latin despatches from Italy. Mussolini those interests were contrary to the by the passing of old errors into Bible, from which, as Mr. Mackie new phases; that is sure. What is careful to remind his readers, the The foundations of industrial is the main impulse of the hour in monks of Dunfermline, as they sat expansion were laid in the spoils of every country which has inherited in their spacious refectory, had money for the development of sensible, considered and calm turn at this holy task and in this

> IN REGARD to this Bible question the Protestant attitude towards indeed it is growing greater. The things Catholic in general might very well serve. "The difficulty of "lies in the fickleness of the antitroversies could give a hundred examples of this one situation. What is the good of a Catholic THE LITERARY critic of the Mail proving to a patriotic Protestant that Rome is not the enemy of his nation or his natural affections, if person." The best appraisers of the Protestant turns into a literature on both sides of the Tolstoyan and begins to denounce Rome because she is not the enemy of nationality or natural affections? . . What is the use of our dis-

fessional evades the seriousness of minute will revile it for emphasiz-What can be the attitude of Cathoclaiming to work miraculous cures, and then derided again for not THE DISCOVERY of buried groined working as many as Mrs. Eddy?" and so on.

Now APPLY this to the Bible quesies of Dunfermline Monastery in tion, and what becomes of the being intransigent, and opposed

> WHILE A Canadian Baptist minister was gaining notoriety in New York by indiscriminate denuncia-Richmond, Virginia, were inaugurating a movement designed to

IN RICHMOND they have inquour-"Columbus," a three-act romance of the discovery of America, which was produced successfully in Washington last year. The play, rendered by capable amateurs under expert direction, was produced with every attention to historical accuracy in setting and costuming, and made an excellent impression. The scenes at Fordinand's court, the landing at San Domingo, and the return to Spain are described as particularly striking, and the production as a whole much above ordinary amateur work. The movement, we repeat, is praiseworthy and if maintained should have for the drama generally an influence in the right direction.

MARSHAL MANOURY'S LAST LETTER

Paris, April 13.-Since the death of Marshal Manoury, M. Maurice Barres has published one of the last letters written by the victor of the battle of the Ourcq, which was treasures of the monks were addressed to M. Barres, requesting destroyed with the monastery itself. his interest in helping to complete the construction of a Catholic Church in the town of Raincy where the marshal had his headquarters