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FRANCIS McCULLAGH'S ACCOUNT OF THE TRIAL

With commendable enterprise the N. C. W. C. news service secured for its subscribers the permission to reprint Francis McCullagh's graphic account of the trial of Archbishop Zepliak, his Vicar General and fifteen other Catholic priests.

The great merit of the article is that it is a faithful recital of the facts of the trial, of what Mr. McCullagh saw and what he heard—and not through an interpreter, as Russian is amongst his many linguistic attainments.

RED RUSSIAN PERSECUTION CALLS FOR MORAL CRUSADE

For centuries Christian Europe fought the menace of Mohammedan domination; the issue was whether the Cross should go down before the Crescent, whether Christian civilization, culture and liberty should survive or be submerged by the tyranny of conquering Islam.

Europe is America's motherland, and though to many that motherland now seems far off, with the fate of Europe the new world is inextricably bound up.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, heads of the Established Church, Cardinal Bourne, Rabbi Hertz, General Bramwell Booth, and the heads of other religious bodies, representing nearly every sect in Great Britain, have issued a solemn exhortation addressed to "all men and women of good will" to register their condemnation of the savage warfare of Soviet Russia against religion.

"The last few weeks," says the protest, "have witnessed a portent which has filled all generous-hearted men and women with horror. The ruthless warfare which the Soviet Government has long carried on against all forms of religious belief has come to a head."

"Hundreds of thousands of religious people and the ministers of religion, of all ranks and creeds, have been subjected to savage persecution, the express object of which has been to root religion out of the land."

"The Bolsheviks themselves have not disguised the purpose they have in view."

"We represent many religious communions and many political opinions, but we are united in the indignation and horror with which we regard the present policy of systematic persecution of religion in all its forms. Such a policy cannot be tolerated in silence by those who value religion or liberty. Our protest will, we are confident, evoke a response everywhere on the part of those who have at heart the well-being of the world."

This is an inspiring call to a moral crusade against a worse than Mohammedan peril to Christian civilization. It is based on the sane belief that even the Red tyrants of Russia can be made to feel the irresistible moral force of the outraged conscience of Christendom.

The Department of State has canceled the authorization for a visa for Madam Kalinin, wife of the President of the so-called Soviet Republic of Russia. The presence of Madam Kalinin in this country is rendered wholly undesirable by the deep feeling which has been aroused by the execution of Vicar General Butchkavitch.

Indeed, sad and deplorable as the immediate consequences to the poor Catholics left like sheep without a shepherd amid ravaging wolves, the martyrdom of Mgr. Butchkavitch and the more prolonged martyrdom of Archbishop Zepliak and his priests may, by arousing the Christian conscience throughout the world, be the most effective of counter strokes to Soviet tyranny.

To save Europe the Russian people must be saved; and to save the Russian people their religion must be preserved to them. Deeply religious as are the great majority of the Russians, Soviet persecution and Soviet education could destroy religion in a single generation.

"During this time the Bolsheviks have kept religious teaching out of the schools, have constantly assured the children that obedience to or respect for parents is a bourgeois prejudice, that marriage is an outworn institution, and have supplemented these negative principles with their own materialist and demoralizing doctrines. It is here, among the young, that their non-religious and anti-religious work shows the greatest results. They have developed a vast multitude of semi-literate, corrupt, immoral, godless young men and women whose highest ideals are to satisfy the cravings of their licentious appetites. The extent to which the rising generation in Russia is impregnated with physical and moral disease and vices is truly appalling."

"On the eve of the trial of the Orthodox Patriarch, Archbishop Tikhon, Grand Duke Alexander of Russia sends from Paris 'to the people of the United States of America' this heart-rending appeal: 'In the name of God and Christ, I appeal to the souls of all my spiritual sisters and brothers. Awake, if you believe in God and Christ, or only in God. Under your eyes, in my country, Russia, 150,000,000 souls like yours, who have the same divine Father in God, are suffering agony in their struggle for all that is holiest of holy for us and for their faith.'

"The tyranny of Government, which is inspired and led by the forces of all that is evil, ugly and hateful, has declared desperate open war against God and Christ. Hundreds of thousands of children are being brought up in pure atheism and hate, and are encouraged to live in evil, in ugliness and in immorality. Think of the whole generations which are being prepared to poison humanity."

"To go on living, failing to remark this terrible calamity, is impossible. You must also give moral support to my countrymen who still are true to God and Christ—who prefer death to the betrayal of their Father and Saviour. I cry aloud that the duty of every Christian on earth is to help morally persecuted people."

Faith must be weak or dead, charity cold or lifeless, if the Christian world can see without shuddering horror "whole generations being prepared to poison humanity." If not inspired by Christian faith and animated by Christian charity, then in sheer self-defence Christians the world over must join the moral crusade against "the tyranny of that Government, which is inspired and led by the forces of all that is evil, ugly and hateful, and which has declared desperate, open war against God and Christ."

UNIT OF REPRESENTATION

A couple of months ago we recalled to the attention of our readers that in all former redistribution acts in Canada it was accepted as a principle, based on sound and convincing reasons, that the unit of representation for rural constituencies should be materially smaller than that for urban constituencies. We need not again enumerate these reasons. But, without knowing or caring how it may immediately or eventually affect the fortunes of particular political parties or groups, we may be permitted to say that we think Hon. Mr. Drury's suggestion of four distinct categories with varying units of population, is a reasonable and logical extension of that principle to conditions as they obtain in Ontario today.

At the other extreme is Toronto, the seat of Government, and able in various ways to bring to bear effective influence when its interests are concerned.

The position of Toronto is unique; other cities fall naturally into another category. That county boundaries should be left as far as possible undisturbed is a sound and reasonable contention. The ruthless application of a fixed unit of representation might destroy something more important, namely that the constituency should itself be an area united by common interests. What unifies the country is the cooperation of all the people and their common participation in municipal affairs. Rather than disturb these county boundaries it would seem to be better to leave counties over and under the recognized unit to balance each other.

In the neighboring State of New York conditions are in many respects similar to those of Ontario. It is interesting and may be instructive to consider how our neighbors solved a similar problem. The ratio of apportionment in New York State worked out mathematically would be a representative for every 65,000 people. Yet the constitutional provision—adopted in recent years—apportions one Assemblyman to every county "containing less than the ratio and one half over." Two members are apportioned to every other county, that is to every county containing over one and a half times the ratio of 65,000. The remaining members are "apportioned to the counties having more than two ratios according to the number of inhabitants, excluding aliens." The average population in a New York City Assembly district is 100,000; in some districts it reaches 150,000. In several rural counties the population runs from 10,000 to 30,000; and every county except one has a representative. This constitutional provision which, as has been said, was adopted in recent years by a majority vote of the people, is the compromise between the uniform unit of population and the balance thought necessary to be preserved between "up-State" and Greater New York, though, unlike Toronto, New York is not the seat of Government.

Considering the alarming urban drift from the farms, the handicaps of agriculture and the consequent agricultural sense of grievance, it would seem the part of wisdom that a similar balance be preserved between rural and urban Ontario.

In any case a principle, as we have before observed, that has always been recognized in Canada, that is much more emphatically pronounced in its application in

Great Britain, that is, with recent popular approval, practised in the State of New York, cannot be without such solid basis in reason as to demand careful consideration at the present time in Ontario.

SOCIAL EDUCATION

Birth control is now openly advocated for sordidly selfish reasons; some years ago it was the interests of the children that were stressed. "Not more but better children" was the watchword. It was assumed to be self-evident that parents with only one or two children could bring them up much better in every way than could those burdened with large families. Cardinal Gibbons, with that clear-sightedness and gentle forcefulness which characterized him, took issue with the underlying assumption of these would-be reformers. He pointed out that the children of a large family had performed a training of inestimable social value. Each member had to learn to recognize and respect the rights of the others; each learned that they had duties and responsibilities as well as rights; selfishness had not room to grow in this school of practical social service. Sir Michael Sadler, the eminent English educationist who recently lectured here, denounced as an utter fallacy the notion that education was something received exclusively through schools, colleges and universities, important and indispensable as these may be. And though he spoke not of large families, we have no doubt from the whole tenor and spirit of his discourse that he would readily admit that in family life several children would find that "discipline," that "living influence," that "stimulating force" which made Cardinal Gibbons call it the most effective school of all the social virtues.

We are led to recall the gentle Cardinal's clear-headed reply to the specious race suicide argument by an article in The Farmers' Sun. A contributor describes a family of seventeen children in the heroic days of pioneer settlement of northern Ontario.

"I drove over with Mr. and Mrs. Barnett one Friday night. I can remember yet the wonderful moment when the house came into view—across the lake. I remember, too, the bunch of youngsters that poured out of that front door and came bounding down to meet us. They climbed on the sleigh and swarmed around it and all talked at once. Talk about a greeting!"

"And, oh, such a bunch of girls—pretty girls, too—I fairly gasped at the sight—and big, bonny boys from the six-month-old baby to twenty-year-old 'Sonny,' who was sick in bed, and who was especially delighted to have visitors."

"The mother of this wonderful family still lives, hale and hearty, as fine and friendly an old lady as you'd meet in a year's travel. 'Children and grandchildren have grown up around her and called her blessed.'"

The children and the children's children of pioneer settlers, who hewed out homes for large families in the forests primeval of Canada, have like memories that should be cherished to the third and fourth generation.

But it is the following obiter dictum of the writer that expresses in homely common sense phrase the very gist of Cardinal Gibbons' contention which, doubtless, she had never read:

"No wonder the past generation was pluckier and hardier and healthier than what is coming on the boards today. Instead of one or two spoiled darlings there were enough boys and girls in a family to 'punch the stuffing' and the meanness out of each other, and they went out into the world with a full-size regard for the rights of others."

"A full-size regard for the rights of others" is a tremendously important lesson in civic and social virtue that will not easily be taught so effectively in any other way.

THE FUTURE OF JOURNALISM

By THE OBSERVER

Every little while we hear it said that "personal journalism" is passing, and whenever some old-time journalist dies we are reminded that few are left of the old-school who made their papers influential by sheer force of personality. I suppose that is what is meant when it is said that personal journalism is passing; that slowly but certainly the men are passing who made their personal opinions respected during many years of conscientious and faithful work, and that they are not being replaced by men of the same type. They are being replaced by men who might have been of the same type if they had been trained in the same way and allowed to take advantage of such training when they had reached a point in their career where they could give away to their natural force and ability and talents.

The journalism of today is, indeed, a different thing from what it was a generation ago. Many things have combined against the old-time forcefulness of the journalist. First we may put the dependence of the modern paper on business interests for its support. This is not absolutely inevitable but it is a real problem, and it must be said that the efforts to avoid it or solve it have not been very faithfully made. Many papers are rather proud of their slavery to the advertisers who hold a threat over their heads that if they assert too much independence they will be made to suffer by the withdrawal of advertising patronage.

Another factor is politics. Papers have always been in politics, but the position of the political paper of today and that of the political paper of forty years ago are very different. The ablest journalistic supporters of political parties, formerly, were very independent in their attitude; they were more influential in their status; they were counsellors of their party; political programmes were made after consulting them; they were reckoned with and consulted, instead of being, as most political papers are today, expected to follow blindly wherever the party leaders beckon to them to follow. They were amongst the leaders themselves.

This is largely changed. In former times papers were started in the first place for reasons other than political reasons, and had other main reasons for existence. They were often personal organs, and some of the best of them were representative of individuals of a high character and manly independence who through their columns read lessons, on occasion, to the most powerful political chieftains. This has, largely, been changed. Political leaders, both local and national, have learned to buy up the ownership of papers, and to make sure that there shall be no undue amount of independence shown by the man who has the task of writing editorials for the information and guidance of the readers. Many editorial writers complain bitterly that they are not permitted to write what they believe, or what they know, but only what the owners of the paper want written. The old-time system of personal journalism is largely justified by the means that had to be used before its influence was broken; as it is now largely broken.

Another factor is, the immense increase in vanity. There is a great increase of egotism without a corresponding increase in the capacity which might mitigate that egotism if not excuse it. This is the great and glorious day when every reader is supposed, in popular theory, by reason merely of the fact that he is a man and has a head on his shoulders, to be a competent critic of any editor anywhere. The editor is therefore likely to find some resentment against him when he asserts something with which some readers do not agree.

Readers are no longer pleased to read an argument unless they agree with it; nothing is so agreeable to egotistical mediocrity as flattery and for years we have been engaged in a perfect fury of flattery of the public under the pretext of asserting democracy. An American humorist told of a visit to the Kaiser, who took him to see some military maneuvers. "What do you think of my army?" asked the Kaiser. "I told him," said the American, "that he could whip the

world; but how could I know the fool would believe me?"

The people who have unduly flattered the public and have told them they know as much as trained men about any subject have sometimes meant only to be civil, and sometimes they have had worse motives; but the lamentable thing is, that they have, to a great extent, been believed.

Upon these considerations, it seems certain that the future of journalism will be very different from its past, and unless we can develop a new generation of independent writers, and unless in addition the reading public can be got to respect and trust them, journalism will gradually sink to the relative unimportance of the catalogue or the novel, or, as is not at all unlikely and as is even now true of some papers, to the curious status of a combination of novel and catalogue.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

WHILE SECTARIANS in this northern continent are indulging in their customary glib talk about the "darkness," "ignorance," and "general depraved state of religion" in South America, the Catholics of Chile have been holding an Eucharistic Congress which, because of the fervor and enthusiasm with which the great body of the people participated, has excited the wonder and admiration of even the forces of irreligion which unhappily exist there as elsewhere. Recent papers from Santiago glowingly describe the proceedings of the Congress, which is said to have surpassed anything of the kind ever before held in South America.

THE GREAT event of the whole Congress was of course the Procession of the Blessed Sacrament, which brought it to a close. Practically the entire population of the two cities, Santiago and Alameda, took part, together with representatives of every part of Chile and many from beyond its borders. Away from the route of the Procession the streets of Santiago were deserted; and most of the houses closed; while at Alameda both streets and houses were gaily decorated with flags and flowers and with illumination at night. The Blessed Sacrament was borne by the Papal Nuncio, upon a huge gilded bier, decorated with flowers and electric lights, and guarded by sixty young men. He was preceded by the entire Chilean episcopate, and a great concourse of priests, religious and devout laity. Among the latter were Senators, deputies, cabinet ministers, the judiciary, representatives of the university, the learned professions, mercantile classes and the people generally. Santiago has a population of about 400,000 and it is estimated that 200,000 walked in the Procession.

THE CONGRESS lasted seven days, during which time every church in the city held its own triduum, with an altar of Exposition. But what is after all the real test of the faith of a people, is the degree to which they avail themselves of the Sacraments. The number of Communions made during the Congress ran into the hundreds of thousands, 30,000 children alone having approached the altar. The priests, it is related, were in their confessionals from early morning until late at night.

As was to be expected in these Latin countries where, in this age, extremes often meet, there was a socialistic and atheistic element which tried to make trouble. But these were promptly taken care of by the police, and the Congress may be said to have passed without a serious hitch. One Radical parliamentarian was shocked into the expression that he would not have believed such a majestic public exhibition of faith possible. And those who in this Northern continent would fain delude themselves and others into the idea that faith is dead in South America, will in their efforts to extract funds from a credulous following have to fall back upon some other plea. Meanwhile their efforts might be better directed to the growing paganism of their own surroundings.

IT MAY BE news to many on this side of the Atlantic that a recent estimate from official statistics shows the Catholic population of England, Scotland and Wales combined to be now second only to that of adherents of

the Established Church. The preliminary figures given are 1,965,787, but as one leading journal says, it is possibly higher, and certainly not lower. The Methodists who were generally assumed to outnumber Catholics, can, according to the same authority, lay claim to not more than 1,700,000. But even were the figures reversed there is no comparison between their respective positions in regard to the public service, now, or for many years back. Methodists, for example, do not appear to have produced a High Court judge, or an Ambassador. Yet Catholics are to be found in the highest posts in the diplomatic service, and there is at least one Catholic High Court Judge, the Hon. Mr. Justice Frank Russell, son of the famous Lord Russell of Killowen, himself Lord Chief Justice of England.

IN VIEW of the near approach of the centennial of Catholic Emancipation (it is just six years away) these facts are exceedingly significant. When Emancipation at length dawned Catholics had been for centuries a prescribed and persecuted handful. No position in the public service was open to them and many then living could remember the time when the public celebration of Mass was prohibited and their religion had to be practiced by stealth. Who that can call up the spectacle of that venerable confessor of the Faith, Bishop Challoner, to whom the Catholics of England owe so much, being hidden away by his faithful followers from the fury of the mob in the Gordon Riots, but will thankfully marvel at the change. The Bishop was then past his ninetieth year, and survived the shock but a few weeks. When the Act of Emancipation finally passed there were many Catholics still in their prime who had known or seen Bishop Challoner. Now, less than a century having elapsed, Catholics have won back somewhat of their ancient prestige and can look the future in the face with hope and confidence.

OPPOSE PROHIBITION

London, March 23.—Cardinal Bourne, in company with the Archbishop of Canterbury and other high Protestant dignitaries, declared at a public meeting in the London Mansion House that Prohibition was nothing more than a confession of failure.

Mr. G. K. Chesterton, speaking at a public debate on the topic "Prohibition is anti-Christian and anti-social," declared that if alcohol was a poison, as the prohibitionists say it is, then he could only say that the jolly farmers of England and the happy peasants of Europe, torn with this hideous and ghastly poison, were bearing up with remarkable fortitude.

Mr. Chesterton objected to the prohibitionists using the word "temperance." They could not say "he declared—that they were temperate about a thing they did not do."

"It is a fallacy," he continued, "to argue that the remedy for an abuse is suppression. Take the question of the liberty of the press."

"There is nothing in the world which has done more ghastly and hideous harm on an enormous scale than the press. It can do direct and deadly harm to the whole of society, and to the corporate body of the nation itself; it could rush the nation into an adventure which would perhaps lead to the destruction of the whole national power, and to evils which might last for centuries."

"But I doubt if anyone would contend that the remedy of this evil is the prohibition of printer's ink!"

"I predict that if they try the Prohibition experiment in this country it will not succeed, and the great mass of the civilization of Christendom will march past and forget us."

FOR GERMAN RELIEF

By Rev. Dr. Wilhelm Baron von Capitaine

Several large donations to be devoted to relief work among starving German children and the students of German universities have been received recently. The Pope has sent 40,000 lire to Cardinal von Faulhaber to aid in the fight against tuberculosis among German students.

Chinese students of the German universities have collected a fund amounting to 12,700,000 marks for welfare work among their German fellow students.

The Ameron News, the paper of the American Army of Occupation, before the troops left, turned over 909,225 marks and \$15,091 to the Mayor of Coblenz. This money, it was specified, is to be used to provide milk and other nourishing food for the poor children of the city.