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IS CANADA A NATION?

In the higher politics of Canada there are two strongly marked but not very clearly defined tendencies: one to regard the Empire as all in all, and Canada as merely a constituent part whose interests are rightly subordinated to the welfare of the whole; the other to consider Canada first and to look upon her national interests as paramount even though they conflict with imperial interests or imperial policy. It is along these latter lines that Canada's political development and imperial relations have been, in spite of inevitable reactionary tendencies, as a general rule directed. Many will remember the time when the Liberal slogan was "No dictation from Downing Street," and when some forty years ago Protection was adopted as Canada's National Policy, to the objection that a tariff against British goods was a blow at British connection, the leading Conservative and Protectionist journal laconically answered: "Then so much the worse for British connection."

The late Liberal Leader after some undoubted advances along national lines, was wont to boast that he had made Canada a nation within the Empire; and now the Conservative or Unionist chiefs loudly assert that under their guidance at the Peace Conference a further advance has been made in our national and international status and Canada is now a sister nation of Great Britain. This did not prevent that gathering of thoroughly representative Canadians at the Liberal Convention last summer from unanimously condemning in unmistakable and vigorous terms the dreaded encroachments of Imperialism on Canadian autonomy. And now His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, takes up the fuge. His part is so naively put by the London Free Press that we cannot forbear quoting:

"The dominions are no longer colonies; they are sister nations of the British nation," declared the heir-apparent to the British throne. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, before the Canadian and Empire clubs at Toronto yesterday. An assertion upon authority of the royal house of Britain should dispose of the question of Canada's status. It should answer the contention set up by Hon. Mr. Fielding in the House of Commons on September 1, last, when he argued that the signature of Canada to the peace treaty was not essential, and that, indeed, as Hon. Jacques Bureau put it, signature by Canada "was merely a farce."

One would hardly think that the most gushing loyalism would hold that so well-informed a public man as Mr. Fielding must abandon his mature and deliberate judgment on a matter such as the political status of Canada because of certain vague phrases put into the mouth of the lovable young prince who lately paid us a visit. Nor ought it to be considered absolute sedition to say that men long in Canadian public life are probably better informed on matters Canadian than the young Prince of Wales in spite of his many admirable qualities. Nor will Canadians in public or private life, feel bound to abdicate their own judgment on matters political because of the complimentary phrases of the Prince, even if they pretend to see in them "the authority of the Royal House of Britain."

As a matter of cold fact Canada is not a nation.

In order, however, not to scandalize the weak, we shall take the presentation of certain indisputable facts from "The Problem of the Common-

wealth" by Lionel Curtis who devotes his life to the intelligent study of questions which he considers of vital importance to the Empire. Prominent in the Round Table movement he is sufficiently well-known in Canada and throughout the British Empire to place his writings above suspicion.

Speaking of our defective self-government which leaves our foreign relations and above all the vital issues of peace or war to be controlled exclusively by a government in which we are not represented, and which is responsible only to the electorate of the British Isles, Mr. Curtis says that the professional ruler "is as slow to admit such defects in the instruments familiar to him as he is quick in devising formulae which obscure them from himself as well as from his hearers." He then continues:

"Truth is falsified by concentrating light on the pleasant parts of it, and the public mind is diverted from the things which matter, because they are yet to do, by emphasis laid upon things which have ceased to matter, because they are done."

"To see these tendencies at work the reader has but to turn to the records of the Imperial Conference. Its members are never tired of insisting upon its character as a meeting 'of governments with governments.' Directly or by implication the development of self-government in the Dominions is described as complete, and they are constantly spoken of as partner-nations whose ministers stand on a footing of absolute equality with Britain itself. Such phrases are used as common forms; as though half-truths could be turned into truths by repeating them often enough."

Then quoting from Premier Asquith's address at the Conference of 1911 a lengthy extract the gist of which is evident from the criticism, Mr. Curtis proceeds:—

"This passage is an example of guarded speech from the lips of one who is master of the art. The autonomy of the Dominions though described as absolute, unfettered and complete, is skillfully qualified by the word 'local.' The right of each community 'to remain master inside his own household' is properly noted as the life-blood of the British polity—the cardinal principle by which it must stand or fall. And with equal propriety the taking of 'free counsel together in matters which concern us all' is mentioned as the 'primary object and governing purpose of these periodical conferences.' The local autonomy of the Dominions was too well established to call for conferences to discuss it, and clearly their ministers, when gathered in London, could take free counsel together on matters which concerned them all."

"The speaker thus chose to dwell on things already achieved by the system. But on needs which that system could never meet he was silent. For a few weeks the Conference was there to deal with outstanding business. But as soon as it adjourned new matters of common concern would arise which would have to be settled before it was due to assemble once more in 1915. The President omitted to note that such matters could not become the subject of free discussion in a personal conference. Nor did he observe that it is not enough to discuss matters of common concern. Sooner or later they must be settled, and some of them sooner than later. He failed to remark that the most important, those affecting the issues of peace and war, are habitually settled by the government responsible to the people of the British Isles and without reference to those responsible to the people of the Dominions."

"The whole truth he did not state, because in doing so he must have admitted that the existing system violates not merely a necessary condition of responsible government but the first and most essential of all its conditions. His own argument was fatal to any attempt to evade this difficulty by conjuring with the word 'co-operation.' . . . He must have admitted, that Dominion 'autonomy,' however 'absolute, unfettered and complete' in local affairs, did not extend to issues of national life and death, and that ministerial responsibility to Parliament and the people in the first, last, and greatest of public interests exists only in the British Isles, and has yet to be attained by the people of the Dominions."

Mr. Curtis proposes a solution for the problem; with his proposed solution we have not now to do. We are merely quoting his testimony to the outstanding, dominating fact of the

present status of Canada; and no formulae that can be devised by professional politicians can obscure that outstanding fact in the minds of intelligent Canadians.

Canada is not a nation, and will not become one by the use of soporific phrases which are intended to flatter and deceive.

Just how far on the road to nationhood Canada has travelled is perhaps not fully realized by Canadians themselves. Lord Durham's reputation as a far-seeing statesman is firmly based on his famous Report on the desirability of responsible government in Canada made over eighty years ago.

In that report Lord Durham wrote:

"The constitution of the form of government, the regulation of foreign relations, and of trade with the Mother Country, with the other British colonies, and foreign nations, and the disposal of public lands, are the only points upon which the Mother Country requires control. . . . A perfect subordination on the part of the colony on these points is secured by the advantages which it finds in the continuance of its connection with the Empire."

And this from that document which is considered, and rightly considered, as a marvel of statesmanlike vision; and which was thought by many as recommending perilous concessions in the way of colonial self-government.

The bare reading of the extract quoted above throws into relief the progress already made; makes clear the realization of the distance travelled.

There remains the all-important matter of the extension of self-government to foreign relations. That is the fundamental question of Canadian politics which sooner or later must be squarely faced. The writer from whom we quote above used to assert that no white people have ever remained content with the half-way stage of self-government to which the Dominions have now attained.

It is not easy to see, though one may guess just what is behind the iteration that Canada is now a nation, a sister nation, that she has attained a new international status, and similar variants of the "formulae devised to obscure" which meet with the outspoken contempt of the author of "The Problem of the Commonwealth."

But amid the rise and fall of new political parties bustled about many things the one fundamental political question that calls for study on the part of intelligent Canadians is the political future of Canada; and that question will not be solved by maintaining our present status and imagining ourselves or calling ourselves a nation.

THE UNITED FARMERS OF ONTARIO

The passing of the two-party system of government is causing real and well founded regret on the part of many who had no particular interest in the fate of either party but who accepted Edmund Burke's statesmanlike criticism of the system as a vindication of the superiority of the British system over the group system of European countries. The alarming—or comic—instability of French administrations served to illustrate the point and was hardly less intelligible to the British mind than the chivalric "rotation of parties" in Spain. In Canada as in the United States the two party system seemed firmly established. Third parties made several abortive attempts to assert themselves but their fate seemed to establish more firmly than ever that two great parties were a necessary condition for the orderly functioning of our system of government. The break-down of the old order in Canada is not surprising. In Great Britain there is, or was up to the present, a privileged ruling class, impregnablely entrenched in the coordinate branch of the legislature, the hereditary House of Lords; up almost to the present moment a greatly restricted franchise furnished a second line of defence. In such conditions the terms Liberal and Conservative had a real and abiding significance. Groups there were, but they ranged themselves inevitably with one or other of the great parties. Here in Canada we adopted the old country party names: but they have long since ceased to have any real meaning. With more or less good-humored cynicism it was often said that the only difference between them was that one party was in and the other out. The struggle between

the Ins and the Outs came to be regarded with ever-waning interest by the people who had to be galvanized into political activity by all sorts of factitious appeals to prejudice and passion, supplemented by reckless accusations of dishonesty and graft. Dishonesty and graft there were at times which demanded exposure and denunciation; but the politicians had been crying wolf so long that the moral of the fable was again exemplified.

When things were about at this pass the leading men of both parties formed a Union Government. The stress of War conditions made this intelligible, even in the eyes of many, commendable. But the War and war conditions passed, and the leading Liberals and the leading Conservatives composing Union Government found that principles supposed to be fundamentally opposed were no bar to the peaceful enjoyment of the emoluments of office and the sweets of power. They confirmed the popular verdict: the real distinction of parties, is that one is in and the other out. All principles and professions were swallowed up in the great fact that they were in power. It is even proposed to make the present Ins into a new Unionist party. And as it was with the party politicians so it was with the party press. And there are people who seem to be shocked at the break-down of the old party system!

Then at the last federal election when conscription was the issue definite and unequivocal assurances were given to the farmers that they and their sons would be exempt. Food production was essential to the carrying on of the War. To take conscripts from the farming class would be to defeat the very object of conscription. Nothing could be clearer, nothing more unequivocal; no undertaking could be more solemn. Yet within a few weeks of the election that solemn promise was broken; the scrap of paper was torn up. It was not a very creditable thing that farmers should vote for conscription only on the assurance that they themselves should be exempt; but this in no sense excuses or palliates the Government's flagrant breach of faith with the farmers.

In the heat of their indignation and resentment the farmers sent a huge delegation to Ottawa which was cavalierly dismissed. It is said that some farmers called on their local member telling him how deeply they felt the outrage put upon them, and of their determination to punish such perfidy at the polls. The member laughed at them. "Give us," he said, "six weeks; we will raise the religious cry," and smiling his assurance he added, "you can't do a thing to us."

The previous decadence of the parties made this insolent flouting of their promise to the farmers by the Liberals and Conservatives of Union Government the needed spur to the farmers' political organization. The U. F. O. Government of Ontario is the first fruit.

There is little fear—or hope—that they will mess things so badly that they will be discredited before the federal elections when in all probability they will take over the reins of government for the Dominion.

It may not mean the end of the two-party political system; but it will not be revived by conjuring with the old party names. Its revival, if it comes, will be effected by principles and policies held honestly and advocated with sincere conviction by men who regard public life as something higher than a means of promoting private interests or ambitions.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

ACCORDING TO AN antiquarian writer of name in England it has recently been discovered that the real author of the book on the Seven Sacraments, which procured from the Holy See for Henry VIII. the title "Defender of the Faith," which, despite the change of religion, has ever since been retained by British Sovereigns, was Bernard Andrew, the then Prior of the Austin Friars in London, and the King's tutor.

THE REPORT that an Italian professor of name, addressing a gathering of scientists, has declared that as the result of a long series of experiments he has concluded that Newton's theory of gravitation will not invariably hold, has aroused world-wide interest and attention. Newton's theory which has come to be regarded as absolute is, declares Professor Maiorana, only an approximate hypothesis, and offers as proof

of his assertion that a ball of lead floating in mercury becomes slightly lighter. From this fact he makes certain deductions which, if established, seem destined to re-open the whole question of the laws of physics as governing the motions of celestial bodies.

THE SUBJECT is one of surpassing interest and importance not only to men of science but to scholars of every description. Newton's theory has in the course of centuries worked itself into every department of human knowledge. That it should now be set aside—if it should be set aside or qualified in any material degree—means the recasting of man's whole conception of the physical universe. It would be premature to dogmatize upon Professor Maiorana's "discovery" at this stage, or even to moralize upon it. This much, however, it is safe to say, that the very announcement of his theory and the respectful attention of scientists which it seems to have met with, proves beyond doubt that science has not said its last word on the question of matter or physics, and until it reaches that stage, which, from the very nature of things it never can, it is idle for scientists to assume the role of mentors towards revealed religion.

NOW THAT the Commission appointed by Government to investigate the Guelph Novitiate affair has completed its labors and submitted a detailed report to Parliament, it will be in order for the Government to render a bill of costs to Rev. Palmer and Sir Sam Hughes. The Report proves beyond cavil (what every intelligent, fair-minded Canadian knew beforehand) that the raid was a gratuitous and unwarranted invasion of individual rights; that it was instigated by a clique of meddlesome fanatics for no other purpose than to fan the flames of religious bigotry, and was carried out with every accompaniment of insolence and indecency. That being so why should the people of Canada, and not the instigators of the enquiry, foot the bill.

THE "CITY Temple," the well-known Nonconformist conventicle in London, England, made somewhat famous by a succession of original-minded and convention-defying pastors, has under the guidance of its present leader projected a new departure. Recently this good man took on a lady preacher as assistant. Now he designs another feature in the form of "Smokers"—that is, holding that the church is too much bound by convention, and that its "respectability cramps good-fellowship," he has given out that men may bring their pipes and cigars, even their cigarettes to meeting with them, and while the pastor expounds the text of the day they may puff away to their hearts' content.

AFTER ALL, considering the place, its history, and the theory of religion behind it, one may be permitted to ask—why not? The religion of Protestants in our day is rapidly resolving itself into an effort to make the most of this life, and to break down the apostolic demarcation between the "Church" and the "world." If, then, physical comfort is of the essence of religion, as these people seem to think, why not transform its temples into recreation halls at once and be done with it? And, as an overcast contemporary somewhat cynically asks, if it is good-fellowship that is wanted, why not further extend the "City Temple" privilege and set up a buffet in a side aisle? Right here in Ontario under existing or any conditions, any denomination that can develop sufficient enterprise and initiative to arrange that the stein be passed around at every service will be assured of large and appreciative audiences.

MEANWHILE it is pitiful to witness the desperate clinging to the raft of revelation on the part of so many good people who see it day by day slipping from their feeble grasp. There was ample evidence of this in the Baptist convention at Ottawa last week, where during an acrimonious discussion on hymnology one minister who made a stirring appeal for the "old fashioned God," and the "old fashioned Christ," was, according to press accounts, howled down with excited cries from "several venerable ministers" to "throw him out." Evidently the battle is to the death between the opposing factions, and having regard to the trend of the age it should not be difficult to visualize the outcome.

COMMISSION FINDS

GUELPH NOVITIATE CHARGES UTTERLY BASELESS

Ottawa, Nov. 8.—Hon. Martin Burrell, Secretary of State, in the Commons this afternoon tabled the report of the royal commission which inquired into the Guelph novitiate charges. The report is signed by Mr. Justice W. R. Middleton of Toronto and Mr. Justice J. A. Chisholm of Nova Scotia, the two commissioners. As anticipated, the report exonerates Hon. C. J. Doherty, the minister of justice, and Major-General Mewburn, minister of militia and defence, and declares that "upon the evidence before us, we think that the conduct of this raid (the raid on the Guelph novitiate conducted by Captain Macaulay) was open to all the adverse criticism found in the memorandum of the adjutant general."

SPECIFIC CHARGES

Dealing with the specific charges referred to the commission, the report quotes the charges and gives the findings on each in turn as follows:—
"1.—The department of justice at Ottawa interfered with the military board at Guelph in their efforts to obtain information as to the status of the inmates of the Guelph novitiate. There is absolutely no foundation for this charge. The minister of justice, the responsible legal head of the Dominion Government, was charged under the statute with the duty of seeing that the administration of public affairs was in accordance with the law, it having come to his knowledge that Macaulay was acting illegally he adopted the entirely proper course of warning him of the illegality of his conduct and of communicating with the minister or the acting head of the department having charge of the matter and advising that instructions be sent to Macaulay to desist until a full investigation could be made. In no other way is it suggested that the minister of justice or department of justice interfered."

SPECIAL PRIVILEGES

"2.—That in doing so the department extended special privileges to an institution which should have been treated like any other institution. There is no foundation for this charge. The only institution against which a raid was directed was this particular institution. It is not shown that any privilege was ever extended to it."

"3.—That the Honorable C. J. Doherty interfered with Captain Macaulay on the night of June 7, while he (Captain Macaulay) was carrying out the instructions of his superior officers. This is covered by what has already been said."

"4.—That the department of justice, through its minister, prevented the placing in military service of young men of military age, residing in the institution. There is no foundation for this charge. When applied to by the Hon. Mr. Guthrie the minister of justice gave his opinion as to the true construction of the military service act. Later the opinion of the minister of justice as to the position of the inmate of this novitiate under the provisions of the military service act was asked for under the department of militia and defence. The question was carefully considered by the deputy minister of justice, who gave his opinion to the effect that residents of the institution who were bonafide members of the order were not liable for service."

J. A. G. CONCURRED
"This opinion was concurred in by the judge advocate general. It was followed by correspondence with the factor of the novitiate, who was asked to give, and gave, very full information as to the service of each inmate. Each case was carefully investigated and it was found that no one claimed as a member of the order was liable for service. It may here be said that there was no foundation whatever for the charge freely made in the letters and documents appearing in the file that young men were being harbored by this institution so as to enable them to evade military service. At the time of admission of each member to the order his case was carefully investigated by the factor, and in no case where admission followed was there found to be any improper motive."

"5.—That the press censorship instigated by a minister of the crown intensified the feeling that special protection was being given to the institution at Guelph. There is no foundation for this charge. The press censor and the minister of justice desired that the incident should not be given publicity. This was not with any desire of promoting the interests of the Jesuits, but entirely by reason of the fact that publication of the full details of the harsh and unjustifiable conduct of the military toward the members of this religious order might arouse in other parts of the Dominion the feeling that members of the Catholic Church were not being treated fairly under the law."

"Under the terms of the order-in-council we were instructed to investigate these charges with the view to ascertaining whether any of the acts alleged were wrongfully done or improper in themselves."

WITH GREAT PROPRIETY

"In our opinion the minister of justice, the minister of militia, the adjutant-general and the provost marshal acted with great propriety and with no other idea than to see that the law was fairly, firmly and uniformly enforced and the rights and immunities granted by the act were duly recognized. There is no foundation for the suggestion of any wrongdoing or impropriety in their conduct."

Turning to the charges made by Sir Sam Hughes:

"First, that the Government improperly failed to make the occupants of the novitiate register for medical examination or for service under the military service act, and the Government also failed to punish those harboring defaulters in the novitiate."

"This charge is not proved and is unfounded. According to the terms of the act and the opinion of the minister of justice as expressed to Mr. Guthrie, the members of the order residing in the novitiate were exempted from the operation of the act and were not called upon to register for medical examination or for service."

ONLY ONE LIABLE

"There is no foundation whatever for the allegation that the novitiate was a harbor for defaulters. There was only one man resident in the novitiate at the time of the raid who was liable for military service, a man named O'Leary. This man was a postulant for admission as a lay brother and had been rejected, but as he was very insistent he had been allowed to remain for a short time in the institution. It is said that he had already been overseas and had been returned as unfit, but this was not proved. After the raid he was examined by the medical board and placed in Category 'D.' He appealed to the medical board of review from this decision and was placed in Category 'A2.' He was then accepted for active service."

"Second, a member of the Government (Mr. Guthrie) informed a member of the Ministerial Association that 'Doherty says they are all right and they are to be left alone.'"

"This was improper interference. According to the evidence of the Hon. Mr. Guthrie which we accept, after he received the telegram above referred to from the minister of justice in October, 1917, he read this to the Rev. Mr. Palmer. This is the incident referred to and does not constitute any improper interference."

IN GOOD FAITH

"Colonel Godson Godson, the provost marshal, stated that it was his duty in the course of his investigation to have taken away from London, on the occasion of his first visit, the original documents concerning the matter which he was investigating. By oversight he did not do so, and upon a subsequent visit he took the letters from the file and removed them. In doing so he was within his rights, as the production of these documents was called for by the adjutant-general and the minister. He would have acted more prudently had he communicated the fact that he had removed these documents to Major Hirsch. At any rate, he should have left a memorandum stating the fact of removal in the files at London. In all Colonel Godson-Godson did he acted in absolute good faith."

In regard to Sir Sam's charge that Macaulay was improperly removed to Winnipeg by the militia department, the report says:

"In view of what has been already said, in our opinion Macaulay was treated most leniently by those in authority. Even if his own statement as to what he did is accepted, he behaved with the utmost lack of tact and discretion in the discharge of a mission which called for the exercise of these qualities; he was cautioned by the document under which he was acting as to the necessity of exercising tact and discretion upon this occasion."

UNDERLYING MOTIVE

"It is quite obvious to us that underlying the attacks made upon the administration in connection with this matter was the suspicion entertained by many that the minister of justice was in some way seeking to shield his son, who was an inmate of the Guelph Novitiate, from being called upon for active service. It was admitted before us by the Hon. Sir Sam Hughes and by counsel for the Rev. Kennedy H. Palmer, that there was no ground whatever for his suspicion or the statements which unfortunately had been widely published by the Rev. Kennedy H. Palmer and others. It was shown that these statements were absolutely unwarranted by the facts. Mr. Marcus Doherty had been examined by the medical board at Montreal and was placed in category 'B.' An endeavor was made in the course of the hearing before us to show that the raiding of this institution had been in express terms authorized by the memorandum of the minister of militia and defence and by the instructions issued by Captain Burrows."

"The original memorandum of the minister was produced in evidence before us and the copy of the letter of Captain Burrows is a true copy of the letter as written (save for the uncertainty as to whether the expression