

done in the past. Under the Act of 1870 it is well known the voluntary schools were most unfavourably affected, and yet they have kept abreast of the highly paid public schools. We owe it to our teaching communities that we were able to survive those long years of starvation. Now that, in common with the general teaching body, they receive a more adequate remuneration for the work they do, there are critics not a few, and among them the stereotyped anonymous Catholic, always ready to render service, who ungenerously grudge them the fruit of their labor. But no one is deceived, and least of all the Government, by partisanship of this kind.

The Sisters receive nothing from any source which they do not fully earn, and it is greatly to their credit as a body that they enjoy the confidence, not only of the managers, but of the Board of Education itself. Catholicism may be assured of this, that if party tyranny should succeed in destroying the Catholic character of the schools, and driving us out into the desert, it is to the religious orders, in the first place, the Church will look to come to the rescue of her poor children, even at the cost of much sacrifice.

While we write these few pastoral words, the Bill is being considered by the House of Lords. The Lords will doubtless remove many of its glaring inequalities, but the measure, in its conception, is hopelessly unjust. In their zeal to seize their opportunity, and in their recalcitrance, the authors have outraged the country's sense of fair play.

THE DUTY OF CATHOLICS.

The monster meetings that have been held in Lancashire, in Yorkshire, in the metropolis and elsewhere, are strong evidence of the deep feeling of resentment the measure has aroused. Not Catholics alone but Anglicans have met in their thousands, yes, their tens of thousands, to war the government that they will pass this measure at their peril. No government, however strong, can afford to be indifferent to an opposition of such dimensions. Full well they know that were the Bill to become law, it would prove quite unworkable. Let us hope then they will be wise in time. Our duty as Catholics is clear. Hitherto we have lived under a sense of security as though our dear purchased liberties were assured to us once for all. We have fondly imagined the past could not live again, but we have had a cruel awakening these last few months. The new government with its gain strength has pronounced a contest with the Catholic Church. It has made a meretricious attack on her person and most defenceless members, namely the lambs of her fold. It has singled out for its onslaught the children of the poor—the artisan, the mechanic, the laborer. In its calculations the religion of the poor man's child is of no little account that it is left to be regulated by the varying whims of local authorities. Parental authority is set at naught, though it is the most sacred as it is the most ancient authority on earth. It is time Catholics should awake from their fancied security. It is not too much to say that this attack on our schools is an undignified attack on our faith.

Catholics have the remedy in their own hands. Let them once clearly understand that their dearest and most sacred interests are imperilled and the remedy is not far to seek. It is truth Catholics belong to various political parties in the state, yet where their religion is made an object of attack, they should know no party, but form but one solid phalanx against the common enemy. It is proverbial that "union is strength." Let us turn for a moment to Germany. It is now upwards of thirty years since a fierce persecution raged in that land from the German people of the French Empire. The great statesman who had brought about this marvellous change became the hero of the hour, the idol of his country. His heart was lifted up and, flushed with his victory over the great enemies of European States, he was emboldened to measure his strength with, and if possible subdue to his imperious will, the Catholic Church of Germany. He would complete the work that Luther had begun. Accordingly he banished the religious orders, imprisoned Bishop and priests, passed a series of penal laws against the Church, placed restrictions on the public worship, and interfered in every way the Old Catholic schism. The Catholics, scattered throughout the empire, a heterogeneous body hitherto disconnected and acting individually, now took courage together. They would do battle with tyranny on its own ground. They united their strength and organized their forces, and thus was created the great Catholic Centre of the German Parliament. Bismarck was chagrined at this unexpected result of his policy. By every means the wily statesman strove to discredit as unpatriotic a party that received its watchword from a "foreign power," as he was pleased to term it. The French ministers, much as the French ministers are doing at the present moment. In spite of the Iron Chancellor's every effort the Centre party grew in cohesion, in strength and numbers, so much so that without its concurrence no measure could pass through Parliament. In vain did the exasperated minister protest that he at least would make no terms with Rome; in spite, however, of his brave professions Bismarck was statesman enough to recognize when he was beaten, and if he did not take the journey to Cassosa, he had the grace at least to make peace with Pope Leo XIII. This moral victory was, under God, due to the great Centre party, which, with its perfect discipline and singleness of purpose, had been guided by the enlightened statesmanship and diplomatic skill of the great Pontiff. An example such as this ought not to be lost on their fellow Catholics wherever, as with us here in England, they are called upon to do battle in the cause of Christian freedom. It might be well for Catholics to consider whether they cannot (in the words of Pope Leo, March 19, 1902), "unite their efforts more efficiently for the common good,

that their union may rise like an impenetrable wall against the fierce violence of the enemies of God." There is a wide field, outside the domain of political action, for Catholic organization. The defence of Catholic interests and the promotion and encouragement of every moment tending to the moral, material and religious well-being of the people, offers sufficient scope for united action. In this way much might be done for the cause of temperance, so sadly needed; for the encouragement of thrift, and for elevating the masses of our people by bettering the conditions of their daily life.

The youthful and vigorous Church of the United States has federated its several Catholic organizations, with the approval of its ecclesiastical authorities, and already encouraging reports of good work done have reached us. Quite recently we received a copy of a resolution of sympathy with the Catholic Bishops of England in their struggle for the Catholic schools, passed by the New Catholic Federation numbering two million members.

Should we ever be fortunate enough in this country, with the cordial approbation of the ecclesiastical authorities, to federate our Catholic people in one solid body, its highest ends can only be attained by subordinating individual aims to the common good. Organizations of this character, if they are to effect their purpose, must be thoroughly united and perfect in discipline. They would do well to adopt the words of St. Paul to the Corinthians: "Now I beseech you, brethren," he says, "that there be no schisms among you, but that you be perfect in the same mind and in the same judgment." (1 Cor. i. 10).

While we organize our forces, and exert in God's service the power and influence He has placed in our hands as a talent for which account will have to be rendered, we must ever bear in mind that our efforts will be fruitless unless they are blessed by the giver of every good.

We must pray as well as labor. One of the most hopeful symptoms in the crisis through which we are passing is the union of so many suppliant and the cause of the little ones with Him Who said, "Suffer the little children to come unto Me." (Mark x. 14).

RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY IN FRANCE: THE CATHOLIC SIDE OF THE CASE.

AS STATED BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF WESTMINSTER COUNTESS LAFITTE, MEMBER OF THE CHURCH AS CRUEL AND UNMERCED SPOILATION—GOVERNMENT NOMINATED MEN AS BISHOPS WHOM POPE COULD NOT APPROVE.

The Catholic side of the controversy in France was stated for the English people by the Archbishop of Westminster (Dr. Francis Bourne), in his inaugural address at the Catholic Union Society's Conference at Brighton. On the Archbishop said that the accounts circulated by one section of the press gave the impression that the whole blame was with the Church, and especially the Holy See; that the one desire of the French government was to give a due measure of liberty and independence to the Church; and that all would be well were it not for the intolerance of the "clericals," as they were termed, who were the sworn enemies of the republican government. It was no doubt perfectly true that many Frenchmen, especially in the early days of the republic, hoped for a restoration of one or other of the previous forms of government. This they did, not because they were Catholics, but because by tradition, by family reasons, and by historical preference, they were convinced that such governments, identified as they were with glorious epochs of the past, would make for the honor and well being of their country. Hopes of such restoration had become very faint, and certainly for a long time past constituted no danger to the present order of things. But at no time had the authorities of the Church, whatever the preference of individuals might have been, departed from the loyalty which duty dictated, to a conflict now, authority. If there was no almost constant difficulty in the past, the fault was not with the Church, or with the authorities that ruled her.

The Third Republic had been in existence thirty five years. During at least twenty five years of that time the successive ministries which governed it had been imbued with the spirit of Christian spirit, and with the desire to banish the name of God and the gold of Christianity from the public life of the country. Because the Catholic Church represented the historic Christianity of that country she was attacked. Could she only be overthrown, there would be no Christianity surviving for any length of time in that country. There was no hostility on the part of the Church to the republicanism of government. When legitimate laws constituted it claimed and received full allegiance. That allegiance in all essential things had been given even to the Third Republic of France, and if her rulers had but been animated by a different spirit long ago, the republic might have gained not only loyal service, but the whole hearted affection of all its citizens without exception. Sympathy had been alienated, conflict had been aroused by a ruthless trampling upon the cherished convictions of millions of the most devoted sons of France.

The Archbishop continued: I allude in the first place to the treatment of religious orders and congregations. These institutes of various kinds are an integral, though not an essential, part of the organization of the Catholic Church. Without them a great part of her work can hardly be accomplished. They exist for every kind of benevolent and educational work, in which by their devotedness

they surpass, while in efficiency they fairly compare with, the efforts of those around them. On these institutes the wrath of various French ministries has descended, not because they were inefficient, nor because they could be taxed with crime, but simply and solely because they were a great power in the Catholic Church, and thereby in the defense of Christianity. Twice have they been scattered, once twenty five years ago, when churches were closed, monasteries disbanded, and worshipers scattered by the armed forces of the State, without trial, without opportunity of defense, for no reason save that, in exercise of their inherent rights, men had chosen to live together and to unite all their powers and energies in the service of the Church. During the last few years the same violation of individual liberty has been accomplished with greater completeness and with greater ostentation against the feelings of every civilized man. In every way save by the shedding of blood the religious of France, both men and women, have been treated in a manner that is simply inhuman. Their houses have been taken from them, they have been deprived of their property wherever the government could lay hands upon it, they have been obliged to leave their country or abandoned to the community to which they have devoted themselves for life. I often wonder whether folks in England understand all that has taken place; that hundreds of houses which were private property have been seized; that their inmates have been expelled and that the property has been put up to public auction; that thousands of men and women have been driven out of their country as the sole means of continuing the life which they had chosen; that thousands, especially of the women, have been unable to find a new home for themselves, and are condemned to poverty and to want of the necessities of life, because their dwellings and their means of subsistence have been arbitrarily and brutally taken from them.

Forced to seek a livelihood in domestic service, others have had no resource but to tend cattle in fields, while large numbers have failed to find any means of existence. And these things have been done in many cases after the religious had been assured that they and their belongings would be respected, if only they would seek authorization from the State and make known what they possessed for the information of the government. Truly they were deceived and duped in order that they might be more effectually despoiled. Who will be bold enough to assert that the existence of these religious women was a menace to the safety of the State or that the treatment which they have received can be characterized as other than a cruel, unmerited and incredibly harsh spoliation?

THE ACTION OF RECENT FRENCH MINISTRIES towards the Holy See has been marked by the same disregard of elemental rights. I will pass as briefly as I can over the various points in which, in the judgment of every Catholic, the supreme authority of the Church has been set aside.

1. By the first article of the Concordat of 1801 the free exercise of the Catholic religion was formally recognized. The Holy See conceded to the French Government the right of nomination to episcopal sees, reserving to itself the granting of canonical institution. It is absolutely impossible for the Sovereign Pontiff to pledge himself to grant such institution unless he is satisfied as to the canonical fitness of the nominee. Hence occasions may arise in which the Pope, for conscientious motives, is bound to refuse canonical institution to a person named to a Bishopric by the government. Every Catholic knows that this is the case, every minister in France is perfectly aware of it. Happily such occasions have been very rare. But M. Combes, in search of a quarrel in which he might make a name for himself, took care that such occasions should arise. He made choice of men to whom the Holy Father could not, without violation of his duty as supreme pastor on earth of the flock of Jesus Christ, grant canonical institution. In every point in which he could yield he gave way; in proof of this witness the controversy on the clause "Nobis non dabitur." M. Combes insisted. See after some time vacant, and remained the Holy Father expressed his willingness to accept some of the candidates put forward by M. Combes, but he said that in conscience he would not accept them all. Then M. Combes invented a new and previously unheard-of thing, namely, that sees must be filled in the order in which they became vacant, and that candidates whom he had chosen, or that all the widowed dioceses must remain without Bishops. He then proceeded to the unpardonable impertinence, contrary to all agreement and precedent, of publishing the names of his choice, leaving the holders of them to arrange matters as best they could with the authorities in Rome. This state of things continued until the violent breaking of the Concordat, and at that moment at least fourteen sees were without Bishops.

PRESIDENT LOUBET'S VISIT TO ROME.

2. The same indifference to Catholic right and sentiment was evinced in connection with President Loubet's visit to Rome in 1903. To understand the attitude of the Holy See on this point, we must briefly recall the events of 1870. It is of sovereign importance to Catholics all over the world that the Supreme Pastor of the Church should be absolutely independent in the exercise of the authority divinely intrusted to him. To this end he must not be the subject of any temporal ruler, lest the temporal interests of that ruler should be made to interfere with his spiritual authority, and thus lessen his influence and independence in dealing with the world wide religious interests which are committed to him. This Pontifical independence as it is termed is essential to the free, full and unobscured exercise of the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff. Whenever it is

lessened or impaired, the Catholic World protests, and rightly complains that an essential right of the Church is being violated. For a thousand years it was felt that this Pontifical independence could not exist without a Temporal Sovereignty, and the Temporal Power was conceived as a necessary correlative of Spiritual Independence.

By force, by deceit, by the mockery of a Plebiscite, that Temporal Sovereignty was set aside, thirty-six years ago, by men who believed or feigned to believe that their cherished dream of a United Italy rendered this outrage of international law, and this spoliation of a weaker neighbor, an action of which men might approve. The order of things which had guaranteed the independence of the Holy See for many centuries was swept away. What was offered in its place? The so-called Law of Guarantees. I need not discuss the provisions of that law. Were it all that its framers and adherents contended that it is, did it satisfy every wish and desire of the Holy See, still it would be utterly worthless and valueless in the eyes of Catholics as the safeguard of that which they hold sacred, on account of the radical and fundamental flaw in the creation of that most unstable thing, a fluctuating Parliamentary majority. The power that made it can make it to-morrow, and this is all that is offered to the Holy See and to the Catholics of Christendom in place of the Temporal Power which was the safeguard of the Pontifical independence amid all the changes which have since transformed the face of Europe. Can we wonder, therefore, that Pius IX and Leo XIII, and Pius X have never ceased to declare that the present position of the Papacy is unsatisfactory and abnormal, and most detrimental to the sacred cause of which it is the highest embodiment? And on this account the Holy Father has never consented to receive at the Vatican the official visit to the King of Italy at the Quirinal as seemed to accept as normal and satisfactory the existing conditions which the government of Italy has forced upon the Holy See. A visit to the King of Italy in such circumstances could not be regarded as other than an intentional affront to the Sovereign Pontiff. These things were perfectly well known to the President of the French Republic, and in 1902 the then Minister of Foreign Affairs officially denied the disquieting rumors that M. Loubet intended to pay a visit to this character. But in 1903 such a visit was actually paid, and the hope was ill conceived that the Holy Father would feel himself so affronted as to break off all diplomatic relations with France, and thus enable the French Ministry to avoid the odium of that rupture of the Concordat to which they were so rapidly hastening.

3. I need not reiterate as to the incident of the resignation of the Bishops of Laval and Dijon. Any unprejudiced man who will read the actual documents as they are set down in the Vatican White Book, that can be so easily procured, must admit that the action of the Holy See was characterized by the greatest prudence, gentleness, and patience, while the French Ministry could not conceal their anxiety to find fresh grounds of difficulty and to hasten to the end of the fatal dispute which culminated in the abrupt breaking off of diplomatic relations on July 30, 1901. Throughout the whole of this excessively painful controversy the Holy Father could not have acted otherwise than he did with out failing in the duty of his office.

THE LAW OF SEPARATION.

4. The events which led up to and immediately followed the breaking of the Concordat of 1801 are very recent history. But it remains to be said that the Concordat was a bilateral contract, entered into by the Holy See on the one hand and by France on the other. In spite of this it has been set aside without any communication with the Holy See, without any attempt at arriving at a mutual agreement as to modification or abrogation. This anti-Christian action was determined to bring about a rupture, they endeavored to rally to throw the blame upon the Holy See, and at last they broke the agreement which had lasted more than a hundred years.

The Concordat made some slight provision for the needs of the Church to replace the endowments which had accumulated during many centuries and which had been confiscated in the Great Revolution. These subsidies, in defiance of all justice, are now denied to the Church.

Ecclesiastical buildings may still be held for ecclesiastical purposes, but in such a way and under such conditions that the constitutive rights of the Church are ignored. The associations, outlaws which under the new law are to be the holders and administrators of

ecclesiastical property have been condemned by the French Episcopate, and that condemnation has been solemnly confirmed by the Sovereign Pontiff.

The Bishops and clergy of France are thus deprived of all legal right to the endowments which were undoubtedly given for ecclesiastical use, and to the buildings which had no purpose but an ecclesiastical one in the minds of those who founded them; and they are told that, if they wish to continue to enjoy the use of these buildings, they must conform to regulations which are at variance with the constitution of the Church. It is the old attempt in a disguised form to set up a Civil Constitution of the clergy without regard to the law of the Church herself.

We have been told already, and we shall hear the same thing again, no doubt, that the only object which the framers of these laws have had in view is to deliver the Church from the burden of Clericalism, and to make it truly free and independent. These things are said more frequently here in England; they would cause a smile in most quarters in France. No one who knows the facts will be misled for a moment by these pretty speeches. If there is a fierce conflict to-day between Church and State, it is because men are in power who hate Jesus Christ, and who hate the Christian faith, and they know full well that the one real opponent with whom they have to count is the Catholic Church. To destroy her, if they can; to weaken her by internal dissensions or by schism, if they cannot destroy; this is their aim. In moments of candor they do not deny it, though for the most part their object is disguised.

We shall be reminded, of course, that, whatever their purpose may be, it has received the approval of the French people, indicated by increased majorities at every Parliamentary election. I am very skeptical, even in England, as to the reality, and still more as to the definiteness of the mandates said to be given at general elections. I know there are some who would attach to the will of a passing parliamentary majority a sacredness, an infallibility, an inalienability, greater than that which belongs to any other declaration on earth. I cannot share these views. But in France, where until the other day the Episcopate was not able to speak with a united voice; where vast numbers of people take no interest in political life; where the best and the ablest regard political careers under present conditions as unworthy of honorable and self-respecting men; where government is so centralized that elections can be very effectively controlled; where the secrecy of the ballot is not beyond suspicion; where State officials are oftentimes expected to sacrifice conscience, or to forego promotion; where a man's private concerns are spied upon and related to his official superiors—I confess that I cannot regard the Ministry or the Chamber as representing in any true sense the articulate and conscious voice of the great French nation. We have seen elsewhere and nearer home how a faction can be taken to represent a nation, and I thank God that we are not obliged to judge the glorious French nation by the words and actions of her present rulers.

May the entire cordial flourish and grow strong and be permanent. May France be powerful and great; but her greatness and her power cannot achieve their fullest development until the Christian name is more respected and until the French Church is left free to do the work for the salvation of the souls, and the bettering of the lives of the children of France, that work for which alone she exists and which alone she desires to accomplish. The Church is ever desirous of acting in the closest harmony with the civil power in every country. She gives way continually in order to avoid conflict, relinquishing over and over again privileges legitimately acquired, and even rights which are not essential to her existence. No where has she shown greater patience than in dealing with the French Republic, and the policy of Laval in this respect has been followed very closely by Pius X. But a moment comes in which compromise is no longer possible and in which people and government must be reminded that the Church possesses rights and obligations which she cannot yield without being untrue to her Divine Mission. A time comes when the only answer to the unjust demands of governments is, "Non possumus, haec non licet." We cannot do this thing, because it is unlawful. Like Peter and John of old, the Sovereign Pontiff can give but one reply: "If it be just in the sight of God to hear you rather than God, judge ye." Questions of expediency, of worldly interest, of avoidance of difficulties, simply danger: the thought of duty to God only remains. Such is the moment that has come in France.

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