

## CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY.

## Latest Encyclical of Our Holy Father.

"To the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, and Other Local Ordinaries in Communion with the Apostolic See, Health and Apostolic Benediction:—

"Venerable Brethren:—Grave economic disputes in more than one country have long been raging; peace and concord are affected; the violence of the disputants grows every day. Inasmuch that the thoughts of the wiser part are laden with doubt and apprehension. These disputes arise in the first instance from widespread philosophical and moral error. The scientific resources belonging to the age, increased facilities of communication and appliances of all kinds for economizing labor and making it more productive have resulted in a keener struggle for existence. Through the maelstrom influence of agitators the gulf between rich and poor has been widened, so that frequent disturbances arise and even great calamities seem impending such as would bring ruin on a country.

"For our part, Our Pontificate had scarcely begun before we seriously commented upon the danger to civil society thus arising. We thought it Our duty to warn Catholics openly of the error contained in socialistic opinions, and the utter destruction with which they threatened, not temporal prosperity alone, but morality and religion. Such was the theme of the encyclical *Quod Apostolici Muneris* issued by Us on Dec. 28, 1878. As the danger grew more serious day by day, entailing public and private loss, we strove with yet more insistence to provide against it. Our letter, *Rerum Novarum*, of May 15, 1891, had a similar motive, whereas we spoke at length on the rights and duties binding together the two classes of capitalists and laborers, and at the same time pointed out the remedies to be derived from the precepts of the Gospel, remedies of especial utility, as we were assured, for maintaining the claims of justice and religion and for removing all occasion of strife between classes.

## CHURCH CAREFUL OF ALL CLASSES, BUT CHIEFLY OF THE POOR.

Our assurance, under God, has not been an idle one. Even non-Catholics urged by the force of truth have acknowledged that so much must be allowed the Church that she shows herself careful of all classes of the community, and in especial of the poor and miserable. Catholics have derived abundant profit from Our writings. They have not only got from them encouragement and support in carrying out excellent projects, but have obtained the light they wanted to direct charitable endeavor into safer and more prosperous channels. The result has been that differences of opinion have been partly removed, partly their acerbity has been softened. Practically, in places where poverty most severely felt many ameliorations have with a steady purpose been introduced afresh, or usefully extended, e.g., popular secretariats, as they are called, for giving assistance to the ignorant, country banks for making loans, societies for mutual help or relief, associations of laborers and several other aids, whether associative or operative of the kind.

Thus, therefore, under the guidance of the Church, some sort of concerted action and institutional provision has been set up among Catholics for the protection of the lower classes, who are very often as much the victims of dangerous machinations and snares as they are sufferers from hardship and poverty. The creed of the benefactor of the people had originally no name of its own; that of Christian Socialism and its derivatives, which some brought in, has not undeservedly grown obsolete. Afterward many wanted, very rightly, to name it Popular Christianity. In some places those who devote themselves to such work are called Christian Socialists; elsewhere it is called Christian democracy, and its supporters Christian democrats, as opposed to the Social Democrats, which Socialists uphold. Of these two appellations, certainly that of Christian Socialists, if not also of Christian democracy, is offensive to many right-minded people, inasmuch as they think there is a perilous ambiguity attaching to it. They are afraid of the name for several reasons—popular government may be covertly promoted or preferred to other forms of political constitution; the influence of Christianity may seem to be confined to the benefit of the common people, all other ranks being as it were left out in the cold; beneath the specious designation may lurk some design or other of subverting all legitimate authority whatever, being civil and religious.

"There is now commonly much dispute, and sometimes over-bitter dispute, on this topic, and we deem it Our duty to put an end to the controversy by defining what Catholics ought to think; moreover, we intend to give them some injunctions, so as to make their own action larger in scope and

more beneficial to the commonwealth. "What Social Democracy means, and what Christian ought to mean, does not surely admit of doubt. The former, more or less extreme, as the case may be, is by many carried to such extravagance of wickedness as to reckon human satisfaction supreme and acknowledge nothing higher, to pursue bodily goods and those of the natural world, and to make the happiness of man consist in attaining and enjoying them. Hence they would have the supreme power in a State to be in the hands of the common people, in such sort that all distinctions or rank being abolished and every citizen made equal to every other, all might have equal access also to the good things of life; the law of lordship is to be abolished, and every citizen made equal to every other, all might have equal access also to the good things of life; the law of lordship is to be abolished, private fortunes confiscated, and even socialization of the appliances of labor carried out. But Christian democracy, as Christian, ought to have as its foundation the principles laid down by Divine faith, having regard, indeed, to the temporal advantage of the lower orders, but designing therewith to fit their minds for the enjoyment of things eternal.

"Accordingly, to Christian democracy let there be nothing more sacred than law and right; let it bid the right of having and holding be kept inviolate; let it maintain the diversity of ranks, which properly belong to a well-ordered State; in fine, let it prefer for human association that form and character which its Divine Author has imposed upon it. Clearly, therefore, social and Christian democracy can have nothing in common; the difference between them is no less than that between sectarianism of Socialism and the profession of the Christian law.

"Far be it from anyone to pervert the name of Christian democracy to political ends. For although democracy by its very name and by philosophical usage denotes popular rule, yet in this application it must be employed altogether without political signification, so as to denote nothing whatever besides this beneficent Christian action upon the people. For natural morality and the precepts of the Gospel, for the very reason that they transcend the chances of human existence, must necessarily be independent of any particular form of civil government, and adapt themselves to all, so long as there is nothing to conflict with virtue and right. They are, therefore, and remain in themselves, absolutely external to all conflict of parties and vicissitudes of occurrence, so that, under whatever kind of government, people may and ought to abide by those precepts, which bid them love God above all and their neighbors as themselves. This has ever been the morality of the Church; by it Roman Pontiffs have constantly dealt with States whatever might be their executive government. And this being so, the mind and action of Catholics, when devoted to promoting the good of the lower orders, cannot by any possibility aim at embracing and introducing any one form of government in preference to another.

## THE RIGHTS OF LAWFUL POSSESSION AND AUTHORITY.

"Just in the same way must Christian democracy repudiate the other ground of offence, which arises from paying so much regard to the interests of the lower classes as to seem to pass over the higher, who are nevertheless of equal importance to the preservation and development of the State. The Christian law of charity, which we have just mentioned, forbids this. It is large enough to embrace all ranks as belonging to one and the same family, the offspring of one Saviour and called to the same eternal inheritance. This is, indeed, the Apostolic doctrine and monition, 'One body and one spirit, as you are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all and through all, and in us all.'—Eph. iv. 4-6. Wherefore, because of the natural co-ordination of the common people with the other ranks of society, which is made more intimate by the law of Christian brotherhood, it surely follows that whatever diligence is bestowed upon assisting the common people must extend to these other classes, the more because it is clearly proper and even necessary, if the work is to be successful, as we shall show below, that they should be invited to take part in it.

"God forbid that under the name of Christian democracy should lie the surreptitious aim of throwing off all obedience and turning away from those in lawful authority. The law of nature, no less than that of Christ, enjoins respect for all such as in their several degree hold office in the state, and further enjoins obedience to their lawful commands. This is the only attitude worthy of a man and a Christian, and ought to be taken up heartily and as a matter of duty, for conscience's sake, as the Apostle himself has admonished, when he ordained:—'Let every soul be subject to the highest powers.'—Rom. xiii. 1, 5. It is absolutely inconsistent with Christian

profession that any one should refuse to submit and be obedient to those of superior office in the Church, especially to Bishops, whom—without prejudice to the authority of the Roman Pontiff over all and each—the Holy Ghost hath placed to rule the Church of God, which He hath purchased with His own blood.'—Acts xiii. 28. Any one who thinks or acts differently is convicted of forgetfulness of the same Apostle's most solemn injunction:—'Obey your prelates and be subject to them. For they watch as being to render an account of your souls.'—Heb. xiii. 17. It is most important that the faithful should all and each have these words deeply implanted in their minds, and should study in their daily life to put them in practice; and that those who minister about sacred things should also reflect upon them very diligently, and not fail to teach them to others by their words; yes, still more by their example.

"We have recalled these various topics on which we have before this found occasion to dilate according to Our ability, and we trust that all dispute over the name of Christian democracy may now be laid aside, as well as any suspicion of dangerous signification attaching to it. This trust we rightly cherish. For making exception of the ideas of certain persons regarding the force and virtue of this kind of Christian democracy, ideas which are not free from extravagance or error, surely there will be no single person to find fault with an endeavor, conformably to the law of nature and of God, to do merely this, to make the lives of laborers and artisans more tolerable, and gradually to give them the opportunity of self-culture, so that at home and in the world they may freely fulfil the obligations of virtue and religion, may feel themselves to be men, not mere animals. Christian men, not pagans, and so strive with more felicity and earnestness to attain that 'one thing needful,' that final good, for which we came into the world. This is the aim and the task of those who would have the common people in a Christian spirit on the one hand, suitably relieved, and, on the other, preserved against the contagion of Socialism.

"We spoke just now advisedly of virtue and religion. For it is the opinion of some, which is caught up by the masses, that the social question, as they call it, is economical merely. The precise opposite is the truth—that it is first of all moral and religious and for that reason its solution is to be expected mainly from the moral law and the pronouncements of religion. For suppose the productiveness of capital doubled, the hours of labor shortened, food cheap; yet if the wage-earner listens to teaching, as he commonly does and acts upon it, which tends to destroy reverence for the Deity and to corrupt morals, his labor too, necessarily deteriorates and his earnings fall. It is found by practical experience that many a workman lives penuriously and miserably, in spite of shorter hours and higher wage, because of his character being bad and religion having no hold upon him. Without the instincts which Christian wisdom implants and keeps alive, without Providence, self-control, thrift, endurance and other natural qualities, you may try your hardest, but prosperity you cannot provide. That is the reason why we have never encouraged Catholics to form associations for the assistance of the poor, or to introduce other schemes of the kind, without at the same time warning them that such things must not be attempted without the sanction of religion, without its inclusion and aid.

"However, Catholic devotion to the pauper class deserves the greater commendation, as developing in the same field in which active charity has always and happily labored, under the benignant influence of the Church in various ages. By the law of mutual charity, which, as it were, completes the law of justice, we are bidden not only to give to all their due and interfere with the rights of none, but also to do kindness one to another, 'not in word, not in tongue, but in deed and in truth.'—I. John, iii. 18, remembering what Christ most lovingly said to His Disciples: 'A new commandment I give unto you; that you love one another, as I have loved you, that you also love one another. By this shall all men know that you are my disciples.'—John, xiii. 34, 35.

## JUDICIOUS ALMSGIVING.

"In addition to these marks of His approval of charity in either direction, whether as regards the good of the soul or that of the body, everyone knows that Christ gave the most significant exemplifications in His own person. The rule of charity delivered by Him the Apostles first industriously and with holy zeal observed; after them those that embraced the Christian faith inaugurated an abundance of institutions, designed to alleviate miseries that oppressed mankind. These institutions grew and increased, and became the peculiar and glorious ornaments of the Christian name and of the civilization thence derived, so that people of sound intelligence cannot sufficiently admire them, especially

when it is so natural for each to look after his own interests and put other people second.

"In the number of such benefactions must not be left out the distribution of money in the interest of almsgiving, to which the saying of Christ applies; 'That which remaineth, give alms.'—Luke x. 11. No doubt Socialists carp at this and would have it altogether abolished as derogative to the native ability of man. Yet it is done according to the precepts of the Gospel and in a Christian manner it neither feeds the pride of the distributor nor inflicts any humiliation on the recipient. So far from its being unbecoming to anyone it rather fosters the fellowship of human association by fostering the obligation of mutual service. There is no one so rich as to have no need of anyone else; none so poor that he cannot do his neighbor some good turn. It is human nature that we should confidently ask for and charitably afford assistance one with another. So justice and charity mutually conjoin, according to the equal and gentle law of Christ, maintain in a wonderful way the bonds of human society, and providently lead every member to cater for his own and the common good.

"It is a laudable charity not merely to relieve the temporary needs of the poor, but to have an organized system of relief; this will be a more real and reliable assistance. It must be considered still more laudable to desire to instill into the minds of the mechanic and of the laborer notions of thrift and prudence, so that they may at least in part make provision for their declining years. It is an aim which not only relieves the cost of the wealthy, but it is a moral step for the poor themselves; it encourages them to approve their position, while it keeps them away from temptations, checks self-indulgence and leads them on to virtuous behavior. Being, then, so useful and reasonable an endeavor, it deserves surely to be had in view by the energetic and prudent charity of all right-minded people.

"Only too abundant is the harvest of miseries we have before Our eyes, and formidable indeed is the impending danger of fatal disturbances, especially through the growing strength of Socialist opinion. Socialism cunningly works its way into the heart of the community; in the darkness of secret assemblies and openly in the light of day, by speeches and by writings, it excites the people to sedition, the restraints of religion are thrown aside, duties are neglected, and only rights upheld; daily larger and larger crowds of poor and needy are solicited, whose narrow circumstances make them open to deception and more easily hurried into error. Civil society no less than religion is imperilled; it is the sacred duty of every right-minded man to be up in defence of both the one and the other.

"To attain the desired unity of will it is essential, moreover, that we should abstain from contentious occasions which may give offence and cause division. Let there be no discussions in newspapers, in popular meetings of subtle and generally quite unprofitable questions, which are difficult to expound, and demand for their understanding suitable qualities of intellect and no ordinary study.

"The action of Catholics, of whatever sort, will proceed with a larger effectiveness if all their associations, while the rights of each remain secure, have one and the same directing and moving force at their head. In Italy we desire this office to be undertaken by the Institute of Catholic Congresses and Assemblies, which we have often had occasion to commend; this charge of controlling the common action of Catholics, but always subject to the guidance and direction of the Bishop, was committed to it by Ourselves, as by Our predecessor. Let the same be done in other nations, if there is anywhere any chief society to which the office may legitimately be intrusted. "Finally, we again enjoin with greater insistence that whatever schemes people take up in the popular cause, whether individually or in association, they should remember that they must be entirely submissive to episcopal authority. Do not let them be beguiled by an excessive ardor for charitable enterprise, which, if it induces any relaxation of due obedience, is itself false, unproductive of solid benefit and displeasing to God. Those who please God are those who are ready to give up their own ideas and listen to the bidding of the rulers of the Church, absolutely as to His own. To such He readily gives aid, even when attempting very difficult enterprises, and is wont benignantly to bring their undertakings to the issue they desire.

"We exhort you, venerable brethren, to set these things with your wonted prudence and assiduity, as the individual and local circumstances demand, and take counsel with one another, about them in your customary meetings. But let your vigilance be on the watch and your authority exercised; regulating, restraining and resisting; that on no pretext of promoting good the vigor of holy discipline be relaxed; or the rule of order disturbed which

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Christ laid down for his church. With right and harmonious and progressive action on the part of all Catholics, let it be more conspicuously seen that orderly tranquillity and true prosperity especially flourish under the favor and protection of the Church, whose most holy office is to admonish all of their duties according to the precepts of Christ, to unite the rich and poor in fraternal charity, and to uplift and strengthen the spirits of men in the adverse course of life's affairs.

"Of which good things let us add as a pledge of the Apostolic Benediction, which We impart most lovingly in the Lord to you, venerable brethren, to your clergy and people.

"Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, this eighteenth day of January in the year 1901, the twenty-third of Our Pontificate."

LEO XIII., Pope.

## REVIEWS.

"The Balloonist" is the hero of Cleveland Moffett's third paper on "Careers of Danger and Daring," which appears in the March number of St. Nicholas. Capt. Charles D. Rhodes, U.S.A., tells "How Armies Talk to Each Other With Flags, Hellographs and Flash-lanterns." "The Pets of Noted People," written by Bury Irwin Damsel; besides his serial, "The Story of Barnaby Lee," John Bennett has a Jingle, "The Snake Charmer's Tune," with a humorous illustration by himself; and there is a "Sewing Song" by Laura E. Richards.

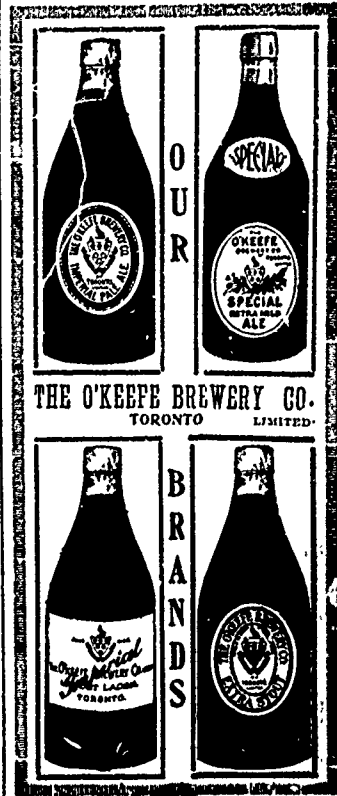
The second volume of "The Nineteenth Century Series," which is to be complete in twenty-five volumes, is at hand. This volume handles the question of the "Literary Progress" of the past century. A. B. De Mille, of King's College, Windsor, N.S., is the author of this volume. Beginning with a short survey of the conditions that led up to the nineteenth century literature proper the author plunges at once into his difficult subject. It is handled with clearness and conciseness, giving at once an intimate knowledge of the literature of the age and doing so entertainingly. English literature both in England and America is taken up first and is given somewhat over five hundred pages. German, French, Italian, Spanish, Russian and Northern literature is given some two hundred pages. The work is well done, and is illustrated with excellent cuts of the leading literary lights of the age. The work is being published by the Linscott Publishing Company, of this city.

The March Atlantic prints a vigorous editorial call upon the President to give the Country the Facts about the Philippines; Henry B. Macfarland, contributes a striking analysis of Mr. McKinley as President. Woodrow Wilson discussed Democracy and Efficiency—can our democracy hold its own against the present reaction towards monarchy? J. W. Root discusses the lessons of British Confederation; W. C. Dreher in A Letter From Germany gives a year's achievements of that nation; and the Atlantic's farewell tribute to Queen Victoria round out a notable number.

The March issue of "Success" has a description of the origin of the life-saving service, from the pen of former Governor Newell, of New Jersey, whose career has been full of romance. Miss Gould writes her first signed magazine article for this issue, devoted to the work of the ladies among the enlisted men of the army and navy. The other contributors include Edwin Markham, Helen Nicolay, Senator Hoar, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Cy. Warren, Madame Melba, Mrs. Russell Sage, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson. The entire issue is characterized by virility and grace.

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