

## THE POPE'S ENCYCLICAL.

(Abridged from The Standard.)

The Encyclical letter of Pope Leo XIII on the "Condition of Labor," though primarily a letter of advice from the Roman Pontiff to those who acknowledge his authority, is of interest to all people who concern themselves with the great problem discussed therein. Before attempting to consider it we wish to disclaim all sympathy with those who question the right of the head of the Roman Church to advise Roman Catholics as to how they shall think or act in secular matters. Whether Catholics will be bound by his advice, or whether they will accept his conclusions as final and infallible, is for them to decide; but the relation they voluntarily maintain toward the Papacy surely gives the right to the head of their church to advise them as he sees fit. On the other hand, no sensible Catholic, whatever his own view as to infallibility, will expect any non-Catholic to regard this letter from Leo XIII as other than an important contribution to the discussion of a grave problem, which contribution must be subjected to that reason which the Encyclical itself says is "the chief thing in us," and that "which makes a human being human, and distinguishes him essentially and completely from the brute."

Looking at the matter from this standpoint, it is essential that we shall take into account the position and environment of the writer before considering the letter itself. Leo XIII is now in his eighty-second year, and during the fourteen years of his pontificate he has, for political reasons, preferred to regard himself as a prisoner in the Vatican, as a protest against what he regards as an invasion of his temporal rights as an earthly sovereign. He is surrounded by men who regard him not merely as the supreme head of the Church, but as their king. He cannot, in the nature of things, have come into close contact with the people, and it is even more impossible that he should really comprehend, much less sympathize with, the democratic spirit that dominates the modern world. Hence, though we find him explicitly declaring that the poor for whom he pleads "are by far the majority," he nowhere counsels that majority to exercise its undisputed power to set matters right by its own votes. The result is that we find in the Encyclical such declarations as these: "The gift of authority is from God;" those "whose advice and authority govern the nation in times of peace, and defend it in war," "clearly occupy the foremost place in the State and should be held in the foremost estimation;" "rulers should anxiously safeguard the community and all its parts;" Justice "demands that the interests of the poorer population be carefully watched over; most of all it is essential in these times of covetous greed to keep the multitude within the line of duty," and so on. These are the utterances of a monarch who believes in monarchy, and of a Pope who is called father by millions of men and women; and this must be borne in mind in noting the apparent conflict between many of his paternal recommendations and his sharp attack on Socialism.

On the other hand, bearing these facts in mind, it is remarkable that the Pope has so clear a conception of the modern and largely democratic questions that he discusses, for he does comprehend the problem; and, when passages scattered through the letter are massed together, it will be seen that he states it with great force and with a clear conception of its gravity. He says in the beginning: "The discussion is not easy, nor is it free from danger." Again come such sentences as these: "At this moment the condition of the working population is the question of the hour; and nothing can be of higher interest to all classes than that it should be rightly decided."

"The effect of civil change and revolu-

tion has been to divide society into two widely differing castes. On the one side there is the party which holds the power because it holds the wealth; which has in its grasp all labor and all trade; which manipulates for its own benefit and its own purposes all the sources of supply; and which is powerfully represented in the councils of the State itself. On the other side there is the needy and powerless multitude, sore and suffering, and always ready for disturbance," who "cannot but perceive that their grasping employers too often treat them with the greatest inhumanity and hardly care for them beyond the profit that their labor brings;" and this in the face of the facts, elsewhere proclaimed, that "it is only by the labor of the workingman that States grow rich," that "the blessing of nature and the gift of grace belong in common to the whole human race," and that "that which is required for the preservation of life and for life's well-being is produced in great abundance by the earth, through man's skill and labor." Though we are now bringing sentences from various parts of the letter together, we are not wresting them from their meaning in a single instance. Surely the Pope comprehends the problem, even if he does not see the remedy, and his statement of it does not differ in much else than clearness and literary style from that of Henry George.

Thus brought face to face with this tremendous problem, the Pope condemns two antagonistic proposals of a remedy, though he fails so completely to understand one of them that he regards the two opposing theories as one. Some happy instinct—possibly the traditions of the early Church and its efforts to maintain the rights of its members against the arbitrary power of tyrants—inclines him to an assertion of the rights of individuals that brings him into sharp antagonism with the Socialists. "Man," he declares, "is older than the State," and he held "the right of providing for the life of his body prior to the formation of any State." He has, in short, rights as an individual, which he did not derive from the State and with which the State ought not to interfere. Among these is "the right to possess property as his own." These individual rights, he says, become more apparent when we consider them in relation to man's social and domestic obligations. The right of property "which belongs naturally to the individual persons, must also belong to man in his capacity as head of a family," "for it is a most sacred law of nature that a father must provide food and all necessities for those whom he has begotten," and he ought to make such further provision as is needful to enable them to escape want and misery. This he can only accomplish through the ownership of profitable property. He further maintains that a family is a true society, having at least equal rights with the State, "since the domestic household is anterior both in idea and in fact to the gathering of men into a commonwealth." Holding these views, the Pope naturally denounces the proposal of the Socialists that private property should be destroyed and that "individual possessions should become the common property of all, to be administered by the State or by municipal bodies." He says that this remedy is "clearly futile," and "manifestly against justice," because it "would rob the lawful possessor, bring the State into a sphere that is not its own, and cause complete confusion in the community." Furthermore, he clearly describes the methods of the Socialists when he accuses them of "working on the poor man's envy of the rich." His argument against Socialism is on the whole strong and sound, but it is greatly marred and weakened by his own frequent proposals of paternal interference by Government for the curing of evils for which he can himself see no remedy.

It is in his defence of the right of

property against Socialism that the Pope demonstrates that he has no conception of the opposing theory which seeks its practical application through the Single Tax. He has evidently never considered the difference between the title to ownership in the products of labor and the title to ownership in land; never even heard of the difference between land values proper, and improvement values, nor conceived of the possibility of permanent possession of land in use as distinguished from that ownership by which the idle and the useless are empowered to withhold from others land that they cannot use themselves. Had the Pope clearly understood these things his argument would have led him to approve the Single Tax, instead of condemning it, as he clearly does.

In fact the general reasoning of His Holiness runs so nearly parallel with that of the Single Taxers that we cannot but believe that it was deliberate misrepresentation of our aims and principles that misled him. We do not have to look far for a probable motive for this misrepresentation. The Archbishop of New York probably has more clearly defined ideas on political economy than a sockless infant wholly absorbed in the contemplation of its own wriggling toes. He had a quarrel of long standing with a brilliant but pugnacious priest in his diocese, and that priest, in defiance of his orders, publicly espoused the doctrines of Henry George at a time when a political movement headed by Mr. George threatened the supremacy of Tammany Hall. The expectation of further favors, the memory of former contempt for his authority, and the feeling that his opportunity had come, caused Archbishop Corrigan to take violent measures against Dr. McGlynn, and from that time on he has been intriguing for a Papal confirmation of his own blundering utterances.

The Encyclical will do good instead of harm. The refuge of those who disliked the discussion of the labor problem was a denial that there is any such problem. But Catholics can no longer make that pretense, and the world-wide publication of the Encyclical will tend to open the eyes of men generally to a question that the well-to-do cannot afford to ignore. The more the question is agitated the nearer we shall be to the remedy, and Leo XIII has made good use of the closing years of his long and active life in thus forcing the consideration of the gravest problem of the ages on the minds and consciences of Catholics throughout the world.

## "SCRAPS" FOR CIGARMAKERS

The presentation to Mr. G. S. Warren by the members of the Cigarmakers' Union of this city took place on Sunday, June 21, in their hall on St. Lawrence street. There was a large attendance of members and the hall was neatly decorated. The President, on behalf of the members, stated that this was but a small recognition for Mr. Warren's valuable services, rendered during his connection with the union since its inception, and though it was but a small memento for so long a service as that of his, he was sure that he had the best wishes, for success and prosperity, of his confreres. The address was read by Mr. Adolph Friedlander. Mr. G. S. Warren made his usual happy reply, during the course of which he stated that it was more than gratifying to know that he was held in such high esteem by his confreres, more especially now that he had ceased to be an active member of the union, of which he, from his infancy, had always taken such interest in, and which he was proud to say, stood second to none in this city. (Applause.) He thanked the members of the Union for their kindness, and urged them to continue in the good work for which they were organized for, and he hoped their efforts would be crowned with success, and assured them that should his services be required to further their interests they would find him, as in the past, always ready to lend a helping hand for the cause of humanity. Several other members addressed the meeting, after which they adjourned. The presentation consisted of an illuminated address, set in fancy carved oak frame.

The artist referred to in last week's issue

claims he was not at the meeting of the committee when the printing was given to that rat establishment. That is a poor excuse, his duty was to have made provision for such cases by having the club or the committee adopt a resolution only to patronize a union office.

The party who says he is the only competent person to represent Union No. — at the next convention of the Cigarmakers' International Union will shortly have a surprise. This is what he will say after the election: "I am the would-be delegate who is going to remain in Montreal during the convention."

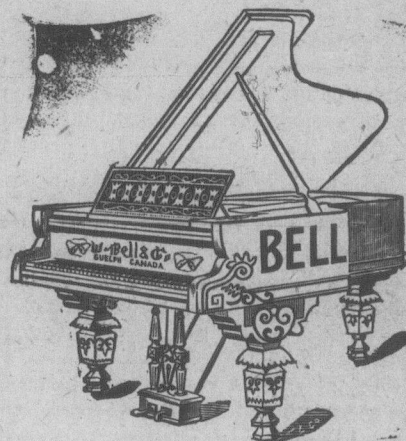
What is the matter with the delegates to the Central Trades and Labor Council. Out of six delegates two answered the roll call at last meeting. A more strict attendance ought to be insisted on by their respective unions.

The movement of a few disqualified members of Union No. 226 to not send a delegate to the Cigarmakers' convention, giving for their reason that no good would result from having their union represented in convention, ought not to be entertained. By all means send a delegate to represent your union, and assist his co-delegates from Canada in securing better legislation for the cigarmakers throughout the Dominion.

I wonder if the law of the International Union was amended so that members who appropriated union money to their own use could be eligible as delegate to the convention, would certain parties, who are now the loudest in their protestations against sending a delegate, change their mind?

The long-looked for financial report is at hand. I am pleased to see Union No. 58 in such a flourishing financial condition. It no doubt surprised a few members who were under the impression that they were in arrears.

During the last twelve years the total amount of benefits paid to members of the International Union, which includes sick, strike, death, travelling and out-of-work benefits, amounts to one million two hundred and ninety-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty-five dollars and fifty-nine cents.



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