

morals, the Church varies her discipline to suit the needs of the times and the temper of the people, remembering that her mission is to save the people, not to destroy them.

Finally, the government of the Church has many points of resemblance with the American Republican form of government. The Pope, like the President, is elected. Bishops are appointed by the Pope, but only after the priests and bishops of the territory concerned are heard, just as justices of the Supreme Court in the United States, and Federal judges are appointed by the President, but not without the approval of the United States Senate. The Ecumenical Council, the supreme lawmaking body in the Church, made up of the Pope and the bishops, resembles the American Congress composed of the delegates from the various States with the President at their head. The Pope's College of Cardinals is like the President's Cabinet. The members of the Cabinet are the heads of various departments of the administration, just as the Cardinals in the Roman Curia are heads of the various congregations which transact the business of the Universal Church. Every American citizen has access to the supreme tribunal at Washington. So the humblest child of the Church has the right of appeal to the highest court in Rome, and no question is decided until it has been given the fullest consideration.

Whether we consider, therefore, its government and disciplinary legislation, or its constitution, mission, doctrine, and morality in their human applications, we find that the Catholic Church, far from being an autocracy, is in fact a great religious democracy.

II.—What about the second statement—namely, that the Catholic Church cannot live or thrive in a democracy?

The Catholic Church can live under any form of government, because she carries in her hand the promise of her Divine Founder: "Teach all nations . . . and, behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world." Her life, therefore, is independent of all forms of government. Still, she thrives best in a democracy. The conditions most favorable to the growth and prosperity of the Church are freedom and peace, and these are more likely to be guaranteed in a democracy than under any other form of political rule. She lived and made converts during the hundred years of Roman persecution, but with the freedom granted by Constantine she extended her conquest to the ends of the Roman Empire. Still, peace was not complete under Roman domination. Peace presupposes order. St. Augustine defined it to be the tranquility of order. Order in civil government requires the presence of authority and liberty. In Rome there was authority, but no liberty. The authority of the State was absolute, and thus absorbed the liberty of the individual. The doctrine of the Church regarding the dignity and rights of all men and their equality before God could not but create in time a feeling of unrest and a spirit of revolt against the absolutism of Roman authority. This disturbed the so-called "Roman Peace," and necessarily hampered the free action of the Church. Then came the barbarians who destroyed the Roman Empire and with it Roman autocratic power. But the barbarians went to the other extreme. They indeed substituted individual liberty for the tyranny of the Roman absolutism, but the spirit of liberty was too strong and it frequently degenerated into anarchy. Thus the order and peace of society were again disturbed. Pope Leo III. restored authority to its rightful place when he revived the imperial dignity in the person of Charlemagne. All the elements of a peaceful society were now present. The Emperor represented authority, the barons or feudal lords represented liberty, and the Church mediated between them. But the elements were not properly adjusted. The freedom of the barons was not extended to the peasants, burghers, and serfs who constituted the great mass of the people. Hence, according as their interests swayed them, the people united now with the barons against the Emperor and now with the Emperor against the barons. Finally, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, the mon-

archy triumphed. Then came the so-called Reformation, which, nationalising religion, made it the slave of the State, and this weakened the only power which could successfully champion the liberties of the people. The old autocracy of the Roman Cæsars, who arrogated to themselves the double title of King and Pontiff, was brought back again to earth—an autocracy which the Church had banished from the world—an autocracy which was destined to haunt the political and religious peace of mankind until it was finally destroyed in the world's greatest war, with the aid of the world's youngest and greatest democracy, the United States of America.

In the meantime, Providence opened up a new world beyond the Atlantic which became the haven of the downtrodden and persecuted peoples of Europe. These in time set up a real democracy where authority and liberty are equally balanced. The people under God are the source of all political power. This they transmit to their rulers. And lest the rulers should become despotic, a wise constitution defines the limits of their authority, and, in case of dispute, a court of final appeal interprets the constitution. Liberty and authority are thus permanently safeguarded. Free from the age-long struggles of liberty against despotism, and of authority against anarchy, the Church has enjoyed the peace necessary to work out her destiny. Is it any wonder that, in less than 150 years, the Church has made more progress in America than in any previous equal period in the history of any other country in the world?

Now, if the democracy of America is going to spread to all the peoples of the world, the Catholic Church may reasonably expect, in the world at large, what she has achieved in America. She has therefore nothing to fear from the new-world democracy. She welcomes it with radiant brow and a heart full of confidence.

III.—But what kind of democracies are going to be born out of the world's travail? That is the question which is filling with misgivings the members of the Peace Conference and statesmen and Christians the world over. In countries where the old order has disappeared license and anarchy are showing their head. Bolshevism has overrun Russia, entered Poland and Germany, and is appearing in the United States. What is the remedy for this alarming condition of things? "Food for the starving and the unemployed," say some. "The strong hand of the Government," say others. What says the Catholic Church? Why, "justice"!

First of all, international justice—justice to all nations, great and small—justice to all nations, whether hostile or friendly during the late war. "Nationalities do not die," said Pope Benedict XV. in one of his first public statements after his accession to the chair of St. Peter, "and any attempt to crush a nation can only leave a legacy of hate which will be the fruitful seed of future war." "International aspirations must be respected"—said he again, when addressing the heads of States regarding the terms of peace. Finally in his message to the American people, last New Year's Eve, he uttered these solemn words: "On the eve of the New Year in which humanity is at last to enjoy the blessings of peace, we are glad to send cordial greetings to the American people as the champions of those same principles which have been proclaimed by President Wilson and the Holy See, insuring for the world justice, peace, and Christian love. In this solemn moment, when a new era in the history of the world is about to begin, we pray that the Almighty may shed His light on the delegates who are meeting at Paris to settle the fate of mankind, and especially upon President Wilson, as the head of the noble nation which has written such glorious pages in the annals of human progress. May the Conference be of such a nature as to remove any resentment, abolish for ever wars among brothers, establish harmony and concord, and promote useful labor. Out of the Peace Conference may there be born the League of Nations, which, by abolishing conscription, will reduce armaments; which, by establishing tribunals, will guarantee to everyone independence and