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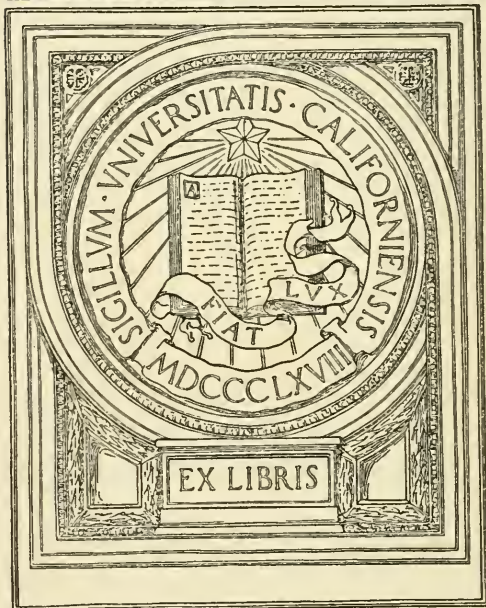
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BETWEEN CAESAR AND JESUS



GEORGE D. HERRON

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
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BETWEEN CAESAR AND JESUS

BY

GEORGE D. HERRON

A course of eight Monday-noon lectures given in Willard Hall, Chicago, for the Christian Citizenship League, upon the subject of the relation of the Christian conscience to the existing social system, beginning October 24 and closing December 12, 1898.

EIGHTH THOUSAND

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TO
My Colleagues in the Faculty of Iowa College,
TO WHOSE NOBLE TOLERANCE AND
SELF-DENIAL
I AM GREATLY INDEBTED.

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For the body is not one member, but many. . . . And whether one member suffer; all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it.

— PAUL.

A PREFACE FROM PLATO.

“AND can there be any greater evil than discord and distraction and plurality where unity ought to reign? or any greater good than the bond of unity?”

“There cannot.”

“And there is unity where there is community of pleasures and pains — where all the citizens are glad or sorry on the same occasions?”

“No doubt.”

“Yes; and where there is no common but only private feeling, that disorganizes a state — when you have one-half of the world triumphing and the other sorrowing at the same events happening to the city and the citizens?”

“Certainly.”

“Such differences commonly originate in a disagreement about the terms ‘mine’ and ‘his’?”

“Exactly.”

“And is not that the best ordered state in which the greatest number of persons apply the terms ‘mine’ and ‘not mine’ in the same way to the same thing?”

“True, very true.”

“Or that again which most nearly approaches the condition of the individual — as in the body, when but the finger is hurt, the whole frame, drawn toward the soul and forming one realm under the ruling power therein, feels the hurt and sympathizes all together with the part afflicted, and then we say that the man has a pain in his finger; or again, in any other part, when there is a sensation of pain or pleasure at suffering, or alleviation of suffering, the same expression is used?”

“Yes,” he replied, “that is as you say; and I agree with you that in the best ordered state there is the nearest approach to this common feeling which you describe.”

“Then when any one of the citizens experiences any good or evil, the whole state will make his case their own, and either rejoice or sorrow with him?”

“Yes,” he said, “that will be true in a well ordered state.”

BEING then desirous to know who I was, I saw a mass of matter of a dull gloomy color between the south and the east, and was informed that this mass was human beings in as great misery as they could be and live, and that I was mixed with them, and that henceforth I might not consider myself as a distinct or separate being. — JOHN WOOLMAN.

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THE only absolutely and unapproachably heroic element in the soldier's work seems to be — that he is paid little for it — and regularly: while you traffickers, and exchangers, and others occupied in presumably benevolent business, like to be paid much for it — and by chance. I never can make out how it is that a knight-errant does not expect to be paid for his trouble, but a peddler-errant always does; — that people are willing to take hard knocks for nothing, but never to sell ribands cheap; — that they are ready to go on fervent crusades to recover the tomb of a buried God, never on any travels to fulfil the orders of a living God; — that they will go anywhere barefoot to preach their faith, but must be well bribed to practise it, and are perfectly ready to give the gospel gratis, but never the loaves and fishes. — RUSKIN.

LECTURE I.

THE ETHICAL TRAGEDY OF THE
ECONOMIC PROBLEM.

LET us take the law of the competitive struggle for existence — which has been looked upon by political economists (perhaps with some justice) as the base of social life. It is often pointed out that this law of competition rules throughout the animal and vegetable kingdoms as well as through the region of human society, and therefore, it is said, being evidently a universal law of nature, it is useless and hopeless to expect that society can ever be founded on any other basis. Yet I say that granting this assumption — and in reality the same illusion underlies the application of the word “law” here as we saw before in its social application — granting, I say that competition has hitherto been the universal law, the last word, of nature, still if only one man should stand up and say, “It shall be so no more,” if he should say, “It is not the last word of *my* nature, and my acts and life declare that it is not,” then that so-called law would be at an end. He being a part of nature has as much right to speak as any other part ; and as in the elementary law of hydrostatics a slender column of water can balance (being at the same height) against an ocean — so his will (if he understand it aright) can balance all that can be arrayed against him. If only one man — with regard to social matters — speaking from the very depth of his heart says, “This shall not be: behold something better ;” his word is likely stronger than all institutions, all traditions. And why? Because in the deeps of his individual heart he touches also that of society, of man. Within himself, in quiet, he has beheld the secret, he has seen a fresh crown of petals, a golden circle of stamens, folded and slumbering in the bud. Man forms society, its laws and institutions, and man can reform them. Somewhere within yourself, be assured, the secret of that authority lies. — *Edward Carpenter.*

BETWEEN CAESAR AND JESUS.

I.

THE ETHICAL TRAGEDY OF THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM.

It cannot be wondered at that this general inquest into abuses should arise in the bosom of society, when one considers the practical impediments that stand in the way of virtuous young men. The young man, on entering life, finds the way to lucrative employments blocked with abuses. The ways of trade are grown selfish to the borders of theft, and supple to the borders (if not beyond the borders) of fraud. — EMERSON.

I do not come to you, in this lecture course, as one bringing any private revelation, or having special information to give. I do not expect to answer all the questions I shall raise, or to solve the problem I shall state. I am a fellow-sufferer with you in the wrongs which have intensified and grown mightier since we first began to discuss the social question, and a fellow-seeker with you of the truth that has power to set us free. If what I say has any

quickenings value, which is all I hope for it, it is only because I shall articulate what is most common in your thought and feeling, and most potent in your sympathy and faith. My purpose is to first state the crisis we all feel, and I shall not go beyond that in this opening lecture ; in subsequent lectures, I will try to point out what seems to me the position of a disciple of Christ in that crisis.

We live near the culmination of a social system. Over the chaos and strife we call civilization there broods the thought of love as law, changing the motives that make and remake the world. From the midst of our devouring industrial monsters rises the creative dream of equality and harmony. And this dream has already become a full-born working ideal, growing in stature and in favor with men. Unto us this child is born, and upon its shoulders will the government of the peoples be. For industry is about to be carried over from the individual to the social or spiritual plane.

So far as industrial organization has gone, man has been treated and associated as a creature for producing things. Upon the new plane, the production of things will be treated and organized as a means of associating men for

their spiritual education and liberty. The question of how to do this, or whether it can be done at all, is the social question, of which the world is so full, and the pressure and pain of which no conscience escapes or any longer denies.

Broadly speaking, the social problem is a problem of how to so organize the world that all men may be equally secure in the material means and social resources needful for a complete life. The hope of the social reformer is to open wide the gates of opportunity, so that every creature, from the least to the greatest, may make his life a moral adventure and a joy, and exhaust his possibilities in the thing he can best do. All that is good in civilization must be for the equal use of all, in order that each man may make his life most worth while to the common life and to himself; and there must be equal freedom for each to choose the work that will best fulfil his serving capacity and individuality.

Along with the culmination of the social system, indeed at the very heart of it, is culminating a new kind of conscience. The responsibility of the individual for the whole human life, the responsibility of the whole for each individual, is its distinct mark and quality.

The individual feels himself enslaved and oppressed in the enslavement and oppression of his brethren; he feels himself guilty of his brother's blood in every custom or necessity that makes for poverty, ignorance, and defenceless toil; he feels himself a traitor in the prosperity which political debauchery builds on the prostrate bodies of citizens, a destroyer in the luxury that feasts on the flesh of boys and girls, of women and men. No longer is it possible for men to be content to have, while their brothers have not. The physical misery of the world's disinherited is becoming the spiritual misery of the world's elect. Superior privileges of any sort now carry with them the sense of shame. The disgrace of wealth, the puerility of culture, the corruption that inheres in the possession of power, are making themselves widely and deeply felt. Few are so lost as to escape the feeling that superiority is a thing to be expiated in social sacrifice. "Now at last," says Professor Marshall, "we are setting ourselves seriously to inquire whether there should be any so-called lower classes at all: that is, whether there need be large numbers of people doomed from their birth to hard work in order to provide for others the requisites of a refined and cultured life, while

they themselves are prevented by their poverty and toil from having any share or part in that life." Thus the might and right of the social problem, with the immensity and intricacy thereof, are matched by the honesty and the searching subtlety of the new conscience.

In the light of the social awakening, there has come to men the vision of a life and destiny which belong to the race as a whole ; a race life and destiny in which all individuals are to share, yet which is altogether more than the mere sum of individual lives and destinies ; just as a college is more than the faculty, students, and educational machinery that happen to be present in any given year. The new conscience is teaching the individual that his life is a function of this race life, and that he can fulfil his individuality only through fulfilling this function. "A man passes like a traveller through the world," says one of Henryk Sienckiewicz's Polish knights ; "and should not be concerned for himself, but only for the Commonwealth, which is and must be without end. Amen !"

This conscience is the precipitation of the idea and initiative of Jesus ; it is the effectual working of the leaven which he put into mankind eighteen centuries ago. Slowly it has been leavening the Greek world of mind and

beauty ; slowly the Roman world of law and power ; slowly the Teutonic world of individuality and organization. Out of the whole slowly issues the universal democracy, which is to sacredly unfold every individuality, and reverently receive its contribution, from the dog and the ape to the poet and the statesman, the artist and the saint. "A new mankind," says Henry D. Lloyd, "has been conceived and will be born—a winged beauty out of the earth-measuring worm—which will not know force, and fraud, and hatred, and will let love, their natural tie, bind men and nations together."

When I call the new conscience Christian, I do not use the word in any professional or pietistic sense. I do not mean that any particular form of religion need be accepted. The social awakening does not come in the names or terms of Christianity. It comes without observation, almost as a new religion springing up from the human soil. Its most manifest activities and evolutions are unconscious of their relation to him we call Christ. The truest faith of to-day rejects much that is preached and professed as Christianity. Many things done in his name are the things which Jesus stood against ; and the things he stood for are done by many who call themselves materialist or agnostic. The

atheist or profligate with human sympathies and social ideals may be elementally Christian; while the professional Christian of faultless morality, conserving only his material and religious interests in the existing order of things, may be in fact solidly atheistic. We speak of our free-school system as secular; but it is probably our most concrete social expression of Jesus' idea. By the term Christian I mean that quality of conscience and sympathy which suffers not a man to rest short of some altar, however rude, on which he offers his life for the common service, the social good. He refuses to drink of the fruit of the vine until he can drink it in fellowship with all his brethren in the full come kingdom of God. Therefore doth the Father love him, because he lays down his life for the sheep.

Now, that which makes the ethical tragedy of the present moment is the chasm between the existing civilization and the new conscience. The social crisis discloses conscience and civilization becoming separate entities. Civilization no longer represents the conscience of the individuals who must find therein their work. The facts and forces which now organize industry and so-called justice, violate the best instincts of mankind.

Civilization affords no industrial machinery by which the Christ-spirit can express itself in things. This best force in society is helpless to effectuate itself in facts. The highest moral reason of the world has as yet found no way to enforce its dictates. The best faith of the world offers no method by which the individual can obey its principles. Without regard to his conscience, the economic system involves a man in the guilt of the moral and physical death of his brothers: their blood cries to him from the adulterated and monopolized foods he eats; from the sweat-shop clothes he wears; from his educational advantages, his special privileges, his social opportunities. "In a thousand ways, great and small," this economic system is "the monstrous evil that beleaguers society to-day;" it wounds us "with poisoned darts, and takes away our liberty, and fills the air with panic, so that the straightest and most fearless souls are hampered, and scarcely dare walk in the light of the sun, under the open sky." In fine, civilization denies to man that highest of all rights — the right to live a guiltless life, the right to do right.

For instance, I cannot come from Iowa College to this city, to speak to you of Chicago

against the existing order of things, without riding upon a railway system, the capitalization of which is largely watered stock. Now, watered stock is a method of high treason by which corporations forcibly tax the nation for private profit, and by which they annually extort millions from American toilers and producers. It is as essentially a system of violence, spoil, and robbery as would be the overrunning of the nation by Tartar hordes, laying hands on whatever they choose to take for their own. Although a large part of American industry is organized by this system of watered stocks, and we consent to it tamely and ignorantly, it is yet the worst historic form of indirect usurpation and tyranny; and it renders our national wealth in large part purely fictitious. Again, this railway system practically administers the government of the United States, in all things that concern the system, and the governments of the several states of the Union as well. The majority of the United States senators recently elected have been its mere appointees and lobbyists, and agents at the same time for other corporate properties. It took a shameless mob of railway attorneys to elect a United States senator to represent the people of the state of which I am a citizen.

In all this corrupt exploitation of the nation by the most degrading sort of economic force, in this debauchery of every citizen of my commonwealth, I am obliged to participate, in order to travel anywhere upon the national highways, whether I go upon God's errands or go in quest of evil to do. Yet it is my divine right as a son of God, and as a free-born citizen, to travel national highways built by the social service and political purity of the people; by good-will, virtue, and the common love. The only possible innocence that remains to me, while I pay forced tribute to the system, while I profit by its corrupting influences and agencies, while I bear my part in the culpable public ignorance and guilty moral apathy, is that of protest and exhaustless effort. I cannot deliver the people from the system by choosing to ride in the stage-coach with Mr. Ruskin, or by deciding to walk with Mr. Thoreau.

But the railway system is not all; indeed it is but the beginning. If I put sugar in my coffee, I support a trust that practically administered the finances of the United States for personal profit; that threw the national government into the hands of a Wall-Street receiver, where it still remains; that presented,

in its relation to the United States Senate, one of the most awful and unconcealed spectacles of national debauchery in political history. In a speech made in the American Senate, Senator John Sherman stated that this trust, "upon a basis of \$9,000,000 issued \$75,000,000 of stock, and \$10,000,000 of bonds, and paid upon it, watered stock and all, from six to twelve per cent interest every year, every dollar of which was at the cost of the people of the United States." Again, in order to send my children to the public school, that holy of holies in the temple of American freedom, I must buy the books ordered by a private corporation that has forcibly assumed the function of administering the free-school system of the United States as private property; that employs gangs of ruffians to go up and down these states and prepare school legislation for private profit; that appoints school superintendents, intimidates school principals, throws out of employment and blacklists teachers who dare reject its publications. I can no longer clothe myself, whether in good clothes or cheap, without the likelihood that my clothes are made under sweat-shop conditions, in which men and women and children toil together in hot-air slave-pens, fourteen to

eighteen hours a day, for earnings that range from two to five dollars a week. If I send my students to pursue further study upon subjects to which I have introduced them, I must send them to receive the benefits of endowments from the hands of a besotted philanthropy, drunken and sated with the wine of life pressed from the crushed and exhausted millions who feed the modern industrial winepress. By merely preaching the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount in their pulpits, I have been the means of depriving able and noble men of their positions and livelihoods, because of their economic dependence upon the few rich men who control the organizations of their churches. Whatever I do, whichever way I turn, I can neither feed nor clothe my family, nor take part in public affairs as a citizen, nor speak the truth as I conceive it, without being stained with the blood of my brothers and sisters; without putting my hands into the wickedness that prostitutes every sacred national and religious function. It matters not that I ask of society only such "keep" as will enable me to serve with peace of mind, and to the exhaustion of my possibilities; society denies me a guiltless "keep."

The economic system denies the right of the

sincerest and most sympathetic to keep their hands out of the blood of their brothers. We may not go to our rest at night, or waken to our work in the morning, without bearing the burden of the communal guilt; without being ourselves creators and causes of the wrongs we seek to bear away. At every step, when we would do good, evil is present with us, and exacts its tribute from the very citadel of the soul. If we stay at our posts, in order that we may change the system, we are on the backs of our brothers; if we desert our posts, in order that we may get off our brothers' backs, we take bread from their mouths, from the mouths of their children, and add to the army of the workless and hopeless. Upon the conscience which enthrones Christ, civilization forces this dilemma: seek extrication and peace for yourself, at the risk of losing your soul through the supreme selfishness of living to save it; or else remain in the thick of the wrong, enduring the ethical strain, the tragedy of soul, the moral suffering unspeakable, in order that you may help to bear the wrong away from the necks and souls of your brothers. And millions are denied even the right to this dilemma. The hard conditions of stupefying toil under which the vast majority of human beings live, even in

Christendom, destroys moral desire, or denies opportunity where desire exists, and converts man into a mere creature of profit, a beast of work. It is no wonder that heaviness and half-despair seem to be settling upon the age, upon its most aspiring thought and urgent effort; and that books about degeneracy and the decadence get themselves written.

It is only the densest ethical ignorance that talks about a "Christian business" life; for business is now intrinsically evil, whatever good may come out of it. Whoever says that a man can live the Christian life, while at the same time successfully participating in the present order of things, is either profound in the lack of knowledge, or else he deliberately lies. "The ways of trade," said Mr. Emerson, years ago, "have grown selfish to the borders of theft, and supple to the borders (if not beyond the borders) of fraud." "A tender and intelligent conscience," he declares to be a "disqualification for success." "The young man," he says, "on entering life, finds the way to lucrative employment blocked with abuses." There is no such thing as an ethical bargain; for bargains are matters of force, fraud, and chance. There are no honest goods to buy or to sell; adulterated foods, shoddy manufacture of all

that we wear, the underpaid labor and consumed life that make every garment a texture of falsehood, the hideous competitive war that slays its millions where swords and cannons slay their tens, all unite to baffle and mock the efforts of the awakened conscience at every turn, and make the industrial system seem like the triumph of hell and madness on the earth. Only by a sort of terrible daily denial of his spiritual self, a crucifixion of the principles by which he longs to organize his life, can a man wrest a stained and insecure livelihood from this terrible war for bread which we call industry.

Not long ago, a Christian merchant came to me in great anguish of spirit; he had tried, in what he considered a meagre way, to organize his business in a Christian fashion; he placed himself on terms of economic and social equality with his employees, and they together tried to be honest servants of their customers, with no competing thought in their mind; but the result was the bankruptcy and ruin of several competitors, and the increase of sweat-shop conditions in the goods the merchant purchased. "If I try to pay my miners just wages," said a mining operator to me, at the conclusion of the last national coal-strike, "I

will ruin them, for the combination will crush me, causing my contracts to be forfeited, and preventing my coal from being shipped ; I will be bankrupted, and the men who have been with me for fifteen years will be black-listed, wageless, and homeless." "What shall I do?" he cried ; "I care not for a moment for the loss of every cent of my property, if I could only find some way to do right without wronging others ; I am almost mad with the mental and moral strain." These two men are not exceptions ; they are revelations of a common tragedy of soul which the denial of the right to do right is regretting among men of economic power.

There is nothing in nature to bring about this conflict between civilization and conscience ; nothing that need have prevented material facts from being the perfect expression of spiritual forces. The persistent assumption that sheer economic might, with the inequalities and miseries it brings, is in accord with natural law, is a piece of academic bluff, a wanton abuse of science. All progress shows nature to be the friend of man and righteousness, and the enemy of force and fraud. The evils that we have been scientifically charging upon nature are due to the imbecile and ruthless self-

ishness of man. As Mazzini has pointed out, our inequalities are not in nature; they are in man's wasteful perversion of nature. Our trouble lies, as Henry George has said, in that we have "given into the exclusive ownership of the few the provision that a bountiful Father has made for all." Nature has never been lacking in providing resources and food for man; nature over-produces; nature is prolific and prodigal in bestowment and opportunity. We pray, "Give us this day our daily bread;" but our Father answered that prayer before the foundation of the world. Even in the present monstrous organization of production, the people could not by any possibility consume all that they produce in any given year. And the possibilities of production have scarcely been touched. A conservative statistician estimates that the state of Texas alone, if its resources were all organized to that end, could support the present population of the world. An eminent Austrian economist figures that all that is produced in the Austrian empire would require but three hours a day labor from each toiler, if production were rationally organized, and each man to toil; and that if the production of Austria were equitably distributed, each family would have enough for an

abundant life. "If," says Mr. George, "men lack bread, it is not that God has not done his part in providing it. If men willing to labor are cursed with poverty, it is not that the store-house that God owes men has failed; that the daily supply he has promised for the daily want of his children is not here in abundance." It is this abundance of natural resources which leads the highest commercial genius of the day to exhaust itself in organizing industry so as to limit and suppress production. We speak of great monopolies as created for the purpose of facilitating production. They are in reality organizations to forcibly prevent the people from producing for the common consumption; organizations for the sole purpose of compelling the people to produce for the profit of the few, instead of for the consumption of all. And this congestion of economic goods, which has been the historic destroyer of nations and religions, we are in habit of calling prosperity and the increase of wealth. This forcible appropriation of the resources of the people, and of the products of their toil, we are taught to view as the development of industry; while people starve in a world of abundance because, as Edward Bellamy says, too much is produced.

On every hand, we may see what desola-

tions are wrought by the economic wars and conquests of our lords of industry, our Napoleons of the market. In the early part of 1897, when meetings for the relief of the famine in India were being held in English and American cities, when contributions were received from newsboys and washerwomen, scores of ships laden with wheat, and carrying millions of money, arrived in English ports as rents from the people in India for the privilege of living on the lands which the English had taken from them. The recent forcible control of the American wheat-market, which enabled one man to "hold up" the earth, by precisely the same ethic with which the foot-pad with the sand-bag holds up his victim in the dark alley, occasioned the shooting down of hundreds of starving workmen in Italian cities, and may indirectly cost more human lives than some of the great wars. An eminent physician recently declared to me his belief that the control of the anthracite coal output, a few winters ago, by which a few men forcibly took a hundred and twenty-five million dollars from the American people, caused more deaths than Napoleon's retreat from Moscow. The economic advantage which our Spanish war has given to the controllers of the market will

probably result in the loss of more lives, by economic indirection, than there are people in the Island of Cuba; the chivalry and patriotism of the people furnish opportunity and prey for the speculators. "Where the Spaniard has slain us by tens," says Mr. Lloyd, "the American has slain his own by hundreds, by army contracts and 'pulls' for incompetents and politicians. The country stands pale with rage at the tragedy of the fever, the hunger, the nakedness, the delirium visited upon those who have labored for it on the fields of battle. But capitalism, business, has been visiting these horrors year in and year out on those who labor on all the other fields not less necessary to our safety and honor. Camp Wikoff and the other camps are only dress rehearsals of a drama of greed — greed for money and greed for office and titles — which now holds the stage in every department of our government and business life." While I write this, there is destitution and suffering in the city of New York because of the rise in the price of food products; yet a great manufacturer who is deeply interested in intensive agriculture, as well as in economic problems, tells me that he estimates that the entire population of the city could be abundantly fed on what might

be produced within a radius of twenty-five miles of the city limits.

We are told that there is lack of work. But there is no lack of useful and beautiful work to be done, and no lack of eager toilers to whom free and fruitful labor would be the gladness of life. Millions of fields are waiting for plough and seed, and for water from the hills, that they may sing to the ill-fed and over-worked millions with harvests of bread and joy. Millions more of valley and hillside acres are ready to blossom with cotton and the wool of sheep, that they may clothe the millions of ill-clad children and their miserable mothers. Millions of ore and fuel, in the hearts of mountains and the depths of earth, promise to come forth for the wealth and warmth of the millions asking to fulfil the promise by the labor of their hands. Millions of homes are needed for the millions who die in the moral and physical wretchedness of tenements, because they must buy from the lords of rent a place wherein to lay their heads on the earth God gave them; and millions of builders are waiting to clothe with homes of love and beauty an earth set free from owners and tribute-takers.

Lack of work, while the millions are starved and dwarfed and blighted for want of the

things and opportunities that make life whole and sweet, loving and lovely and worth while?

Lack of work, while exhaustless resources are at hand out of which to make the things and opportunities the millions need, with millions of workers praying only for the privilege of making them?

Yes, after all, amidst these boundless resources for countless billions of the children of God, offering ten thousand times ten thousand kinds of noble and useful and happy things to do, with myriad hearts and hands and brains asking nothing but freedom to do them, there is lack of work.

But wherefore comes this lack? Do you not see? It comes from the lords of industry and land, who have shut up the resources which God gave to all people, and who have made laws to keep what they took by force, and have made judges to keep their laws, so that the people may not use their own, nor earn their bread and rejoice, nor even live upon the earth the Lord God gave them, except they toil for the gain of the industrial lords, to whom they must sell their labor-power for the right to exist; whose wage-slaves they must become, or else stand all the day idle, and starve in

the market-place at night. And thus it is that the majority of human beings drag out impoverished lives of unsupplied physical and spiritual need amidst overflowing abundance, to have even their need destroyed at last by the everlasting lack.

Yet the majority of people are not bad at heart, and do not want to injure each other in the earning of their daily bread, nor gain their opportunities through the suffering and loss of their brothers. Mankind is naturally unselfish and loving; yea, the sacrifice of self for the good of others is man's deepest natural instinct. But in a competitive society, with its natural monopoly of opportunity and power by the strong, with its desolating conquests of sheer economic might, a complete ethical life is impossible to the weak and strong alike. "Equitable legislation not existing in a city," said Plato, "it would be impossible for a citizen to be good or happy." If civilization is organized industrial war, how can men live at economic peace with one another? How can we effectually obey Christ's law of love, when every industrial maxim, custom, fact, and principle renders that law inoperative? If we have only a competitive and monopolistic system to live in, how can we escape being competitors

and monopolists? Whither shall we flee from the presence of this evil system? If we group ourselves in colonies, and dig our living from the soil, we are still injuring our brothers in moral and economic competition, and are guilty of seeking a private property in righteousness besides.

It is thus that to the Christian with the ethics of Jesus, to the American with his political origins and traditions, the social problem is everywhere becoming a problem of conscience; a problem of how to effect an economic organization that shall express in material facts the highest spiritual forces, and thus liberate the individual soul from moral bondage. Only in a subjective and inadequate sense, and that through collision and suffering, can a man even try to follow Christ in the present system. The machinery of the world was constructed by the strong and cunning to be run by the motive powers of force and self-interest. Love and Christian conscience have as yet no machinery to apply the love-motor to; attempted applications often wreck the machines, and human beings with them. There must be a new social machinery, in order that love and conscience may organize the world for the common good of all. Except the system of things

be born again, the individual cannot be socially saved.

It does not lie in the nature of things that righteousness should be pursued and achieved only through tragedy. If man has a destiny, and if Christ and history reveal the presence of God in the life of man, a system which makes righteousness a conflict with civilization cannot stand. To accept a civilization so organized is to reject Christ and all that he stood for, quite as effectually as if we nailed him upon a wooden cross before the enraged city. To accept Christ, his idea and initiative, is to reject a civilization whose motives and methods, whose organized feast and forces, render the Christian life unlivable.

The highest right of every man is the right to do right; the right to obey an enlightened conscience; the right to earn his living in such a way as to help the living of every other man; the right to live a guiltless life. The right to do right includes every other right under the heavens; it has been God's hid secret at the heart of every movement for liberty since the world began. The right to do right is the substance of the economic problem; it is a problem of things only in the sense that conscience demands the right

to organize things as the supports of spiritual freedom.

We glorify our fathers who crossed the seas that they might find freedom to worship God according to the dictates of conscience. Theirs was the simple and easy task. The Pilgrim Fathers were but rudely fumbling the alphabet of the chapter now to be written in the book of progress. The new Pilgrim conscience is out upon an infinitely vaster quest, a more glorious adventure. It is searching the sources of life for foundations upon which to build a civilization in which conscience may find freedom to obey as well as worship; freedom for the common life to practise what the wise and good in all centuries have preached—the law of love. This is the first time in history that such a task has been seriously undertaken; and it is the mightiest task to which conscience ever summoned mankind. That man will be equal to the summons we need not doubt. It is enough that the thought of love as law has been born, and that the ideal of society governed by this law is upon the earth. “The only thing evil cannot withstand,” says a noble Englishwoman, “is the winged ideal; it cannot even fight it; its weapons are not made for that warfare.”

Potential within existing conditions is a reali-

zation surpassing our noblest ideals. Our social wrongs carry in themselves the seeds of their own regeneracy. Our economic evils are vital with the elements of their own redemption. Our monopolies are charged with the forces that will yet change them into the spiritual organs of a ransomed society; the organs of a progress without strife or struggle. The failure of self-interest as the organizing and executive law of society is a witness to the better law that lies indestructible at the foundations of life. In the midst of our social tribulation we may be of good cheer; for the better law is overcoming the world, and the justice of love will prevail. It is because the thought of love as law has become a full-grown working ideal that many voices are calling us to repentance. These are the voices of the truest optimism—the optimism that has so brave and joyful a faith in the right that it dares to faithfully portray the wrong. Repent ye, they cry, because the kingdom of heaven is at hand; because a good that is better than our best is rising up in the midst of us, calling us to judgment, freedom, and the peace of good-will among men.



“In this broad earth of ours,
Amidst the measureless grossness and the slag,

Enclosed and safe within its central heart,
Nestles the seed perfection.

.

“Is it a dream?

Nay but the lack of it the dream,
And failing it life's lore and wealth a dream,
And all the world a dream.”

LECTURE II.

THE SOCIAL SACRIFICE OF
CONSCIENCE.

THE appalling magnitude of the evil against which he felt himself especially called to contend was painfully manifest to John Woolman. At the outset, all about him, in every department of life and human activity, in the state and the church, he saw evidences of its strength, and of the depth and extent to which its roots had wound their way among the foundations of society. Yet he seems never to have doubted for a moment the power of simple truth to eradicate it, nor to have hesitated as to his own duty in regard to it. There was no groping, like Samson in the gloom; no feeling in blind wrath and impatience for the pillars of the temple of Dagon. "The candle of the Lord shone about him," and his path lay clear and unmistakable before him. He believed in the goodness of God that leadeth to repentance; and that love could reach the witness for itself in the hearts of all men, through all entanglements of custom and every barrier of pride and selfishness. No one could have a more humble estimate of himself; but as he went forth on his errand of mercy, he felt the Infinite Power behind him, and the consciousness that he had known a preparation from that Power "to stand as a trumpet through which the Lord speaks." The event justified his confidence; wherever he went hard hearts were softened, avarice and love of power and pride of opinion gave way before his testimony of love.—*John G. Whittier.*

II.

THE SOCIAL SACRIFICE OF CONSCIENCE.

In like manner also the chief priests mocking him, with the scribes and elders, said, He saved others ; himself he cannot save. — MATT. xxvii. 41, 42.

IN the social problem, we are confronted anew with the old question of following Jesus in Caesar's realm ; and it is the cross upon which the new conscience is crucified. Can we be servants of truth and love while paying tribute to fraud and force ? Do we believe in the laws of Christ when we continue to live and work under the laws of Caesar ? How can we free our brothers if we ourselves remain involved and enslaved ? If we cannot save ourselves, how can we save society ? What right have we to witness for a faith and a future which we do not realize in our present practice ? If we be indeed Christian reformers, let us prove our sincerity by coming out of the evil system, and separating ourselves from all its entanglements and iniquities ; let us

“do the thing we talk about;” let us “practise what we preach.” Thus we are commanded by both mocking oppressors and the suffering oppressed; and with the mockery of the one, as well as with the sorrowful doubting of the other, we can have but the deepest sympathy.

Both our religious experience and our political training go to create and increase the danger that we shall yield to this command and temptation to deal with the social problem from an individual point of view—treat it as a matter of individual salvation. Our passion to individually extricate ourselves from the communal wrong, our anxiety to prove our sincerity by our practice, above all our heart-ache for the people whom we would deliver, may betray us into an evasion of the real task to which we are summoned. We have here one of the many cases, common to both individual experience and historic movements, in which a hasty and uncomprehending conscience may prove to be our Judas, and drive us in spiritual panic from the field on which the battle for God and the people is to be fought. Already the times are full of new forms of old doctrines for saving men out of the world, as though God were somewhere else than in

the thick of the world's on-goings. The new conscience is beset by reforms and reformers with programmes for saving the world by giving it up. These doctrines and programmes are a return of the pagan renaissance that has brought betrayal and boundless self-deceit to the Christian conscience since its apostolic dawn, leading every revival astray, balking and defeating every attempt of that conscience to claim the world of fact as its inheritance and kingdom. The greatest spiritual menace to the cause for which we stand lies in this return of social unfaith under the guise of redemption. This denial of God in life and history is indeed the most hopelessly infidel position a man can take. It will take an exhaustless spiritual nerve, a revised set of spiritual qualities, to bravely and unevasively face the whole human question which the social problem sets for us to answer.

I. In the nature of the case, a social problem can have only a social solution for each individual member of society. There is no individual redemption from a social system; only a social redemption will free each individual at last. Society is an organism, and not a certain number of individuals; individuals are members of the social body, and can be

healthy only in the health of the whole body. The laws and customs which govern the relations of individuals to each other, and which make up the collective life, are the larger and ever-increasing part of the life of each individual. Whether the individual will or no, he is governed by the collective life, either through his willing acceptance of its facts and forces, or through collision with them, with the resulting tragedy.

In the present unity and complexity of life, there is no way for the individual to practise his social ideal, if he have one, until it is realized by society; he can only exhaust the possibilities of his life in bringing about the realization; he can plant his life in the common life and die, that he may not abide by himself alone, but may bring forth the fruit of a redemption which shall be to all people. An individual cannot practise national ownership of land, except the land be owned by the nation; if his zeal be at bottom a spiritual self-deceit and cowardice, he will spend his time devising ways whereby he may individually escape the curse of private ownership; if his zeal be social and Christian, born out of love for his brethren, he will spend his life in bearing away the curse from his nation, and from the world. An indi-

vidual cannot practise the public ownership of utilities, except the utilities be publicly owned ; his Christian sacrifice does not lie in keeping his hands clean of privately owned public economies, but in helping the people to own their economies in common. A Russian cannot practise political democracy, except Russia become politically democratic ; his service for freedom does not consist in his moving out of Russia, but in giving himself to making Russia free. A man cannot escape the slavery of the wage system, except the system be abolished, and there be no more hirelings under the sun ; indeed, to pay the best possible wages to the largest possible number may be the precise Christian sacrifice required of a consistent opponent of the wage system. A slave cannot practise freedom, except his shackles be broken, and his freedom be secured in the freedom of all his brethren ; for no man's liberty is safe so long as there remains any kind of slave upon the earth.

[Nor is there either escape for the individual, or redemption for society, in yielding to the seemingly noble impulse to withdraw from work or part in the order of things which we know to be evil.] The world is too well on to its blossoming to be further helped by schisms

or separations of any sort soever, social or religious. We shall miss God and his freedom, this time, if we journey into "far countries" in search of his promises, for the kingdom of God is within us; we must dig up God and freedom in ourselves. There are no more Canaans left to go to; the people must be their own Moses, and free Egypt, or remain slave. The Pilgrims can no more find Plymouth Rock across the seas; it lies inward, at the heart of the people. Let Abraham stay in Ur of Chaldea, and there fulfil the promises of God in the redemption of his city. Let Luther stay in his monastery, and justify his faith by making that a shrine of the people. Let every man stay at his post in "the machine," as Jesus stayed in the complicated religious and political machinery of his nation, either to capture "the machine" by mighty love and passion, or to be ground up in the cogs, that "the machine" may be broken, and the peoples set free to build for love and freedom. "Let us bear the burden and endure the trial," says a Japanese mystic, "till the world is rectified, and home is found for all." There is no other manful and apostolic course of discovery and achievement left open; we have tried everything else. We have long experi-

mented with ways of saving individuals out of the world ; it is time to adopt Jesus' original idea of bearing away the sin of the world, so that the kingdom of heaven may rise in our midst.

Social separation cannot be charged, of course, against the brave and self-denying men and women who associate themselves in co-operative enterprises and colonies, or who group themselves in social settlements, in order to concentrate their efforts, or to educate the people by illustrating social principles. But the value of these is in the attention they call to the social problem—their preaching and teaching value ; they do not profess to be a redemption either of or from society. Those who thus associate themselves have no notion of escaping the communal guilt ; they purpose only to more effectively bear that guilt. Their motive is not a giving up of the world as bad, but a taking up of the responsibility of making it good.

If New Testament philosophy comes to anything it is this : that no man liveth or dieth unto himself—the same conclusion to which, under different terms, the social sciences are coming. For good or ill, we are bound up together in one human life and destiny. With-

out us, the patriarchs and prophets, "the noble army of the apostles and martyrs," cannot be made perfect. There is no final salvation of any man from sin, until the last prodigal sets his face homeward. There is no ascending into heaven, save through descending into hell, to fight with the flame of the pit, and deliver our brethren therefrom. The secret place of the Most High, wherein is the life that is hid with Christ, on the bosom of the peace that passeth understanding, lies under the foundations of life, at the deepest roots of human need. Here, and here alone, at the sources of the communal pain and shame, in the thick of the collective life and struggle, may a man rest his soul in the heart of God, and work the works of him who came to save all men from seeking a righteousness that separates them from their brothers.

There is a sense in which God, as well as his witness, cannot "practise what he preaches," cannot "do the thing he talks about," until the whole human life co-operates with him in the practising or doing. "God has become free," Lacordaire used to say, "with the liberty of the citizen." If the theological doctrine of the incarnation is a moral fact, and not a mere metaphysical definition, it means that God him-

self is living in the life of the common man, bearing the sins of the downcast life as his own sins, suffering the sufferings of the people in his own heart, breaking their bonds and oppressions by the passion of his love in the midst of them. The coming of Christ is the disclosure of God as the innermost presence in every human prison-house, in every historic tyranny and wrong; it is the disclosure of the suffering love of God as the making-force of history, as the real power that is leading the collective life through successive forms of material captivity to a common spiritual kingship and liberty. "The greatest of the apparent contradictions of life," says Mr. Hamilton Mabie, "is the fact that God has led a human life." God himself, so we see in Christ, will have no righteousness or freedom that he may not have in the common life of man; the soul of God will not be satisfied until we are satisfied in being like him.

[II. There ought not, then, to be any individual extrication from a wrong social system. The impossibility of individual extrication from the communal pain and shame, with the Christian sacrifice of conscience for which that impossibility calls, is the divine method by which the good is to overcome and consume the evil.

They who stay in the existing order of things because they do not believe in it, are the ones who will make way for the better order. Their sacrifice of the individual right to do right, in order to give their lives to procuring a common righteousness for all, is the dynamic of the new society. Through their realization of their oneness with the communal guilt, they re-enforce the social movement with a tremendous gain of saving sympathy; they are able to approach the monstrous facts of the social problem without any spirit of condemnation towards individual men, feeling no man to be guilty above themselves.] "It will be noted," says the poet Whittier of John Woolman, "that in his life-long testimony against wrong he never lost sight of the oneness of humanity, its common responsibility, its fellowship of suffering and communion of sin." "Sin," continues the poet, "was not to him an isolated fact, the responsibility of which began and ended with the individual transgressor; he saw it as a part of a vast network and entanglement, and traced the lines of influence converging upon it in the underworld of causation. Hence the wrong and discord which pained him called out pity, rather than indignation." To thus stay with loving protest amidst the common wrong and

suffering, recognizing one's self as a causal part of it all, refusing to believe in strife and tyranny as social reality or fact, seeing God invisible as the living and becoming presence within the misery and prejudice, — this is an infinitely harder and Christlier course of service than to endure and protest as one apart from the guilt and shame; for there is a self-righteous satisfaction in treading the wine-press alone that one does not find in treading it in company with his brothers. But it is only those who toil and endure with their brethren, in the thick of the wrong and struggle with which society travails, who will furnish the sympathy and dynamic able to bring forth redemption and freedom. "Through the tangled thicket" of social and industrial wrong "there is but one deliverer that can make his way, and as of old his name is the Prince of Love."

Not for a moment would I excuse the individual from becoming, in the fullest sense of the term, the living incarnation of the truth which he proclaims. A profound and searching simplification of one's life is the beginning of social service. Under no circumstances, is private luxury tolerable; it is not only not Christian: in a world of wretched want and poverty, it is indecent and criminal. There

can never be any justifiable splendor save communal splendor, giving beauty and glory to each individual life. Most urgently would I agree with Edward Carpenter, that "there seems but one immediate step that the wealthy despoiler can take — which at the same time is a most obvious step — and that is, at once or as soon as ever he can, to place his life on the very simplest footing." Not only for "the wealthy despoiler," but for every one of us who live by the labor of others — as all of us do live who belong to the so-called educated classes — "the most obvious thing" is to cost our brothers as little of injury and toil as we can while we serve them. But the Christian will always simplify his life with reference to the service of others, and not with reference to an individual escape. And when he has done his best, he will count that best as but a preparation for the service of his brethren, and not as a solution of the problem of life. For their sakes he will sanctify himself, in order that they also may be sanctified in the truth that sets men free.

There is a passion for individual perfection, an effort to escape the sin and guilt of the world, that is at bottom a profound spiritual selfishness, an inverted egoism. There are

times when to do the absolutely right thing, as we call it, would be the greatest wrong a man could do. There are circumstances under which a man has no right to do right; when he can be individually guiltless only by being guilty of the blood of others, only by the betrayal of sacred trusts. There are places and crises in which a man must be morally wrong in order to be nobly true and spiritually right; and considerations of public morality may compel a man to endure relations which are profoundly immoral, from his point of view, but which are the embodiment of the highest legal and conventional morality. "There be climbings which ascend to depths of infamy," says Maarten Maartens; "there be also — God is merciful! — most infamous fallings into heaven." There are more senses than one in which conscience makes cowards of us all. Those of us who have sinned and suffered deeply, who have been caught unawares in complications to which we can see no end, who have been heart-broken and beaten to the dust by the knowledge of our part in the hideous things of the existing order, know well what it means to look a selfish and fearful conscience in the face and defy it as a liar and a tempter. The way of mere individual extrica-

tion and escape may always be put down as the way of selfishness and spiritual death. No spiritual values will be finally recognized as genuine that are not social values, that do not gain their worth from the sacrifice of service.

For instance, in the present system of things, a college education is a monopoly of opportunity; by teaching in a Christian college, supported by interest or profit on endowments, I am a monopolist as well as Mr. Rockefeller; but I do not see that I can further the kingdom of God by having nothing to do with colleges, or by bringing up my children in ignorance, in order that I may have a barren individual guiltlessness. I do not conceive that I can persuade the public to own its utilities by staying at home, and refusing to deliver whatever message I may have, in order that I may escape the moral suffering of riding on privately owned and publicly corrupting railways. I do not believe that I can help to bear away the competitive system by trying to get out of it, in order that I may "practise" the law of love by myself, or in company with a few kindred spirits; I should fear that such co-operative love might turn out to be a subtle and dreadful co-operative selfishness. I can not leaven the world by taking leaven out of

it, in order that I may monopolize some of it for my own salvation, for that is what it comes to; if I so save my life I lose it, as I ought to lose it. If I would have part in removing any individual or organized sin from among men, I must get under it: I can do nothing by taking a position in Mars, and then talking at the world from the long range of superior advantage; that is always immoral. The best that a guiltless onlooker can do for the world is to keep his mouth shut; it is an impertinence for him to come meddling with the affairs of sinning and suffering men.

Sometimes, when we hunger for a spiritual comradeship we fancy our day does not afford, we reach sad hands across the centuries, to clasp in ghostly fellowship with the renowned and saintly dead, who by great living and martyr dying glorified the early Christian ages. Here, think we, we shall find disentangled souls in perfect communion with goodness. But when the search-light of the historian pierces the mystic halo religious romance has gathered about these days of sanctity and martyrdom, we find the early Christian heroes involved and baffled like ourselves, serving often from false motives, learning wisdom through folly and failure, entering peace out of great pain. None

of the reformers were without a narrow and inadequate conception of their mission ; none of them wrought out the will of God unalloyed with selfish ambition, unbiassed by personal opinion and desire. Calvin was the power of God for political and moral progress ; but he consented to the burning of his antagonist. Cromwell was God's anointed champion of liberty ; but he was himself the prince of despots. Human life continues its rise because men strong in their very imperfections, rise up to press the race closer home to God, that he may ever be breathing into it the breath of new life. When the Son of man next comes, to quote sweet Edward Carpenter again, "he will present no stainless perfection ; but he will do better : he will bring something absolute, primal — the living rock — something necessary and at first hand — and men will cling to him therefore." We shall yet see that much of what seems for the time imperfect is, in its fitness for its function or service, divinely perfect. That which would be crude and faulty in the perfect society may be perfectly organized to regenerate the imperfect society ; perfectly organized to prepare man for the new earth which God may command, sooner than we think, to come forth from our social nebulae.

III. But if there is no individual extrication from a wrong social system, will not the effect of preaching this be baffling and paralyzing to individual responsibility? Some of you, I know, have been anxiously asking this question while I have been speaking. Yet it seems to me that I have been doing nothing else than heap up the responsibility which Christ and the times call the individual to manfully bear. I have tried to show that the charge a man has to keep is the common well-being of all his brethren, and not merely his own soul. I have not even allowed him the negative comfort, which some take unto their souls, of saying that if civilization gives him only adulterated food, sweat-shop clothes, corrupt highways, political falsehood, monopolized opportunities, he is not to blame, so he earn his "keep," and live "the life of love." I am contending that he is to blame; that the soul that consents to existing social or political or economic arrangements, whereby some of the sons of God are given privileges and opportunities above other sons of God, is a lost soul. The salvation of a Chicago man's soul may depend upon his attitude toward the subject of municipal franchises, or toward the tax-assessments of railway property; while his church and his prayers may

literally have no more to do with his soul than the geology of the moon. The sin that is destroying American souls is that of ignorance, apathy, and indifference concerning the political and economic evils that are eating out the heart of the nation, and making every man guilty of his brothers' blood. The evangelist who really wants to save American souls from spiritual death, and not get success for himself and approval for his doctrines, will set about arousing these souls against the national evils that darken and destroy. No man is saved until he is saved from silence and inactivity concerning every known evil, and has given his life to the procuring of all known common good. The substance of all salvation lies in redemption from living for one's self, in any spiritual or material form whatsoever. To preach any other sort of a salvation is simply a gross religious imposture, a leading of men into darkness, a fundamental denial of individual responsibility. The church that stands for a mere saving and culture of the individual soul is the abode of the lost, and not an ark of safety.

Private property in righteousness is the worst form of private property ; and self-interest in pursuit of righteousness is the essence of evil.

To be content to have while others have not, to be content to be right while others are bound and crushed with wrong, to be content to be saved apart from the common life, to seek heaven while our brothers are in hell, is deepest perdition and not salvation ; it is the mark of Cain in a new form. "Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also in prison," said Thoreau, who individually rebelled against his government, but remained at his post of service and took a rebel's punishment. If the Christian conscience of our nation would rise to the true measure of its responsibility, and behold the width and breadth and grandeur of its opportunity, it must first descend into the pain and shame of our economic system, to be beaten with many religious and political stripes, to be despised and rejected by the powerful and the respectable. Only through giving itself as a ransom for the many, through the emancipation of the whole human life, can the Christian conscience gain for itself the freedom and right to do right.

IV. There is, then, but one final answer to the question of the relation of the disciple of Jesus to the laws of Caesar. He must conquer Caesar's realm, and transfer the law-making

functions to Jesus. Caesar and Jesus will become one at last, and the prophecy for which the papacy stands thus be fulfilled: then the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall be the shepherd of the people, who shall hunger and thirst no more, neither in spirit nor body. Until the conquest is complete, the disciple has no choice but to fall into the chasm between Caesar and Jesus and die, that his sacrifice may form a living stone in the bridge over which the ransomed society shall pass into the realized kingdom of heaven. There is no way out of the social pain and shame, out of the communal sin and guilt, save deep through it, to the other side. We may not drink of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God be come: that is, we may not enjoy the abundant liberty of life and love, until we can enjoy it in fellowship with all our brethren, in a world of "rest from all self-seeking, and where no man's interest or activity would conflict with that of another." The only Christian innocence in a world of wrong is the sacrifice of one's life in bearing away that wrong. The world is overcome because of the blood of the Lamb, and because of the testimony of those who love not their life, even unto death. The sacrifice of conscience in service is the redemptive force that is to save society.

To this social sacrifice of conscience Jesus is no exception ; he is rather the most concrete example. Jesus used the Jewish synagogues, travelled the Roman roads, paid tribute to Caesar, and straitened himself by the common straits. Meanwhile, he put a life and an idea into the world that consumed the throne of the Caesars, and that will yet level all our plutocracies ; a life and an idea that will break every bond and free every man from the rule of man. But he did it by staying with the people, by being beaten with their stripes, by being ground up in "the machine." He identified himself with the common lot and bondage, refusing to separate himself in anything from the entanglements and hard experiences in which all his brethren were involved by the then existing social order and political system. It is by this quality of sacrifice that Jesus bears away the sin of the world.

If we would follow Jesus in the social redemption, it will not be by escaping Caesar and his tribute, nor by fleeing from competition, wages, and monopoly ; but it will be by the faithful service of outpoured lives that will yet count strong enough to storm the citadel of monopoly, take its weapons and engines, and thus end the economic war that wastes our

work and fields and homes. The powers that be are ordained of God to help us to create better powers and gain larger freedom. God ordained monopoly to compel us to industrial democracy. In the machinery of civilization the vast majority of human beings must live their lives; we can only save the people from being ground to profit by capturing the machinery, so that it shall become the organ of love and liberty. "Are we, the men of to-day," cried our beloved Dr. John P. Coyle, among the last words he left us, "divine enough, is there enough of God in us, to go through with what we have begun, and breathe the breath of life into these beings which we have created, that they may become living souls?" If we cannot make economic facts the expression of the highest spiritual forces, if the love of Christ is not strong and wise enough to capture and organize the world for perfect freedom, if the deepest life of the soul is not the real soul of material things, then the world is unredeemed, and we have nothing left but the immoral hope of escaping something of the misery which overwhelms and swallows our brethren. But we have not so learned Christ, and he hath not let us off with so unworthy a charge as the keeping of our own souls amidst

a common perdition. We are sent to declare the justice of love to the nations and their institutions ; to announce that love is both retributive and constructive law. Go ye, therefore, into all the world, and call laws and economies, religions and moralities, to answer for their ability to secure relations of equality and freedom among men.

The religious initiative for which the social movement calls, the spiritual dynamic that is to effect the social change, waits for that holy passion for the ideal, without which Hegel affirms "that nothing great in the world has been accomplished." To enlighten the yet untaught Christian conscience, to mobilize the spiritual forces of Christendom for the economic redemption, it will take the old apostolic faith in the value of fervent witnessing for simple truth. "Only let us accept and boldly profess the truth to which we are called," says Tolstoï, "and we should find at once that hundreds, thousands, millions of men are in the same position as we, that they see the truth as we do, and dread as we do to stand alone in recognizing it." "When a certain point in the diffusion of the truth has been reached," says this prince of individualists, "it is suddenly assimilated by every one, not by the inner way,

but, as it were, involuntarily." "Just as a single shock may be sufficient," he continues, "when a liquid is saturated with some salt, to precipitate it at once in crystals, a slight effort may be perhaps all that is needed now" to create a "public opinion consistent with conscience;" "and through this change of public opinion, the whole order of life may be transformed."

V. The Christian reformer is thus one whose mission is to preach what he cannot yet practise; one who has that quality of faith which dares to build on the substance of things hoped for, but as yet unseen. He shakes his ideal in the face of the world, unabashed by the demand that he shall prove his sincerity by his practice. Plausible as seems the demand, deep and distracting as is his yearning to individually realize the ideal for which he stands, he yet knows that the demand and the yearning are a temptation to desert the real battle the followers of the Son of God are sent to fight for the people. So, with the frankness and fidelity of the perfect love that casteth out fear, he testifies, early and late, that the kingdom of heaven is at hand with its righteous judgments; with the freedom of equality, and the justice of love. And when, while living the life of love entangled by facts of force and

fraud, he is able to so utter the law of love that his word will bring the practical man to organize the world by that law, he will then have done the greater works than Jesus did.

No such responsibility was ever laid upon men as that which is laid upon the Christian reformer by the crisis of social change; no such ethical strain ever came to the human conscience. A daily moral and spiritual crucifixion is the sacrifice which he has to lay upon the altar of human need, if he fulfils his service to the end. It would be infinitely easier to give up property, if property he has, or to practise something definite in company with kindred spirits, or even to give his body to be burned, than it is to nerve his whole being, to summon all his energies, to the never-ending task, to the matchless spiritual heroism, of pouring out his soul unto death for a public cause, for a common righteousness, for a future good, for a social destiny, in which he can have neither fruit nor part in the flesh. It is not a mere material sacrifice, or a physical martyrdom that is required; if it were only that, how easy and joyful would be the sacrifice! Who cares for poverty, for the stake, the fire, the dungeon, the gallows, or the rack, if that were all? If in such fashion the sin of

civilization might be borne away, thousands would respond without a second thought, and with hosannas on their lips. But it is this standing for an order of life which men together must accept or together be lost, and which he alone cannot practise save by deserting his brothers, that constitutes the moral tragedy in the soul of the Christian reformer, as he faces the social problem. In order to stay in the thick of the wrong and help his brethren, he must hang his head in shame at the consciousness of his own forced hypocrisy. He sees his own life as a hideous compromise and evasion, entangled and broken by all the things he hates. In order to save others, he literally cannot save himself ; in order to make possible a better human future, he must literally take part in the sins and oppressions of the present. It is by this daily spiritual dying, by this life-long denial of one's true and inmost self, by this hourly crucifixion of all one's ideals of life and love, that the social problem brings unique significance and suffering to the Christian conscience. These are the crosses, crowding every highway of service, on which the apostle of to-morrow's freedom is nailed for every word of truth, for every bold act of spiritual manhood. This is the martyrdom which

civilization exacts of those who would dedicate their lives to moral and social liberation, a martyrdom unlike anything since the days when the priests and politicians bid the Man of the Cross attest his power to save others by saving himself.

And who is sufficient for this martyrdom of soul? Where are the saints able to prove their sainthood in the willingness to be no saints, that the whole human life may be socially sanctified at last? Where are the anointed ones who will descend into the economic hell, that they may ascend with hell and its inhabitants into the kingdom of heaven? Where are the saviors who will lose their own souls, that they may save the soul of the race? Let them arise, and come quickly! For them wait the captives and captains of industry alike; for them wait the heart of God, and the destiny of the world.

LECTURE III.

PUBLIC RESOURCES AND SPIRITUAL
LIBERTY.

THUS the condition of the masses in every civilized country is, or is tending to become, that of virtual slavery under the forms of freedom. And it is probable that of all kinds of slavery this is the most cruel and relentless. For the laborer is robbed of the produce of his labor, and compelled to toil for a mere subsistence; but his taskmasters, instead of human beings, assume the form of imperious necessities. Those to whom his labor is rendered and from whom his wages are received are often driven in their turn, contact between the laborers and the ultimate beneficiaries of their labor is sundered, and individuality is lost. The direct responsibility of master to slave, a responsibility which exercises a softening influence upon the great majority of men, does not arise; it is not one human being who seems to drive another to unremitting and ill-requited toil, but "the inevitable laws of supply and demand," for which no one in particular is responsible. The maxims of Cato the Censor — maxims which were regarded with abhorrence even in an age of cruelty and universal slaveholding — that after as much work as possible is obtained from a slave he should be turned out to die, become the common rule; and even the selfish interest which prompts the master to look after the comfort and well-being of the slave is lost. Labor has become a commodity, and the laborer a machine. There are no masters and slaves, no owners and owned, but only buyers and sellers. The higgling of the market takes the place of every other sentiment. — *Henry George.*

III.

PUBLIC RESOURCES AND SPIRITUAL LIBERTY.

From possessions which have become private property, and which now, strangely enough, are regarded as the very foundation of good order, spring all the crimes, both of myth and of history. — RICHARD WAGNER.

LET it be understood that those of us who approach the social problem as religious teachers, are not departing from our specific calling as ministers to human souls. So far as we are concerned, there is still but one thing important and interesting, and that is the soul of man. Whatever else is or is not sacred, the soul is the one certainly and eternally sacred concern. "One soul," says Emerson, "is wiser than the whole world." It is for the sake of the soul that we are saying things about the problems and conditions of society. If the social movement meant simply more bread and a larger bulk of things for each man, we should not be so concerned about its outcome. It is in order that each man may stand free and

unafraid to face the problem of his own life, and make of his life an original and complete contribution to the human whole, that we seek for him more bread and better things. Our charge against civilization and its economic system is, that it destroys the human soul. We would not go so far as Mr. Emerson, who declares that "society is a conspiracy against the manhood of every one of its members." But we do declare that the present industrial order attacks the citadel of every soul's faith, and the foundations of its freedom. In trying to find the roots and sources of economic wrong, in seeking to set forth the principles of economic right, we are realizing the sole meaning and end of religion; for religion is relations. To save human souls is to individualize and establish them in right relations—that is, in outward and inward conditions of justice, harmony, and freedom.

In freedom alone does the soul thrive and blossom. Freedom comes to each man solely through an original vision of truth. Civilizations, religions, and things are valuable just to the extent that they are useful in procuring freedom for each soul to see truth for itself, and to individualize its truth in life and word. The freedom of each man to see truth face to

face, to stand erect and fearless in the light of his truth, to conceive and bring forth his destiny through his own communion with truth, is the only thing worth while. The truth, according to Mr. John Jay Chapman, is whatever so focuses our attention as to bring "all the life within us into harmony. When this happens to us, we discover that truth is the only thing we had ever really cared about in the world." "But," he says, "as the whole of us responds to it, so it takes a whole man to do it. Whatever cracks men up and obliterates parts of them, makes them powerless to give out this vibration. This is about all we know of individualism and the integrity of the individual. The sum of all the philosophies in the history of the world can be packed back into it. All the tyrannies and abuses in the world are only bad because they injure this integrity;" they "are only odious because they injure some individual man's spirit."

A man's spirit is injured, the citadel of his being is attacked, by whatever obstructs, binds, or destroys his freedom to see and live the truth for himself, no matter whether it be a statute law, a religious creed, or an economic condition. Ultimately, anything and everything that hinders this freedom will have to

go. The sooner we begin to take hands off the soul, take our things and laws off, the less of blood and agony the soul will have to go through in the inevitable achieving of its freedom. To emancipate human life from everything that begets necessity and fear, so that each man may have absolute command of his own powers, so that each may find perfect poise in his own individual faith, so that before each may open a clear path of spiritual adventure, this is the only evangelism, the real progress.

Only the absolutely freed soul can become the complete social man, the willing servant of the common good. In order that each may take his place as a true member and minister of the brotherhood, and thus make his life a perfect function of the social whole, he must be free to fulfil his serving capacity according to his own individuality and faith. This freedom is the goal which the extreme socialist and the extreme individualist alike seek. It was Fichte, "the ecstatic proclaimer of the glory of the individual will," who said: "Nothing can live by itself or for itself; everything lives in the whole; and the whole continually sacrifices itself to itself in order to live anew. This is the law of life. Whatever has come to the consciousness of existence must fall a victim to the progress

of all existence. Only there is a difference, whether you are dragged to the shambles like a beast with bandaged eyes, or whether, in full and joyous presentment of the life which will spring forth from your sacrifice, you offer yourself freely on the altar of eternity." This liberty to offer one's self freely is the worth and meaning of all liberty. It is the right to do right—the hid treasure for which every historic movement has been a search. To do right is to sacrifice one's self in the service of the common life. The quest for liberty for each to give himself to all, in an unfettered and unfearing service of his own choosing, is the substance of the social problem; which is thus the problem of spiritual liberty.

The social problem is fundamentally economic because all privileges rest upon economic supports. Every social question resolves itself into a question of the production and distribution of wealth; into a question of economic independence or dependence. Is it in the nature of things that the fields of natural resources, and the fruits of human toil, should be reaped as special privileges for the few, or as common benefits for all? Is superior ability a title-deed to as much of the earth as it can possess, and to the use of human beings for private profit,

or is it a divine summons to larger and humbler service for the common good? Did God create our world and race in order that the strong might heap up wealth out of the forced labor of the millions, and is such an order of things the destiny that man must accept? By what device or right are the sons and daughters of God daily sent to tasks of creating supplies out of nature, while their needs of body and spirit go unsupplied, and they have only toil and bare existence for their portion? Who gave this earth to the profit-makers, and by what authority do they set the children of the earth to making gain for them? By what process or alchemy have the resources of nature passed into the hands of the strong, and how comes it that human life is practically treated as mere grist for the capitalist mill? Is it the end of civilization that industry should develop into a monstrous universal profit-making machine, into which the multitudes are to be fed to be ground out as the increased capital for private owners? Every nation, every conscience that has a right to be called Christian, searches for the answer, and every reform waits for it. It is thus that the social problem is the problem of human destiny.

Now, the most fatal difficulty in the way of

economic change in behalf of spiritual liberty is revealed by the empty individualistic maxims persistently offered as social remedies. "If men's hearts are only set right," says the religious teacher, "the system of things will be set right." "Any man can get on," says the authoritative commercial instructor of both priest and people, "if he is only honest and industrious." Yet all classes alike are more or less shamefully conscious of the sneaking piety and wanton commercial hypocrisy of these maxims. The worst is, that the teachers of this hypocrisy ostentatiously masquerade as optimists; although the notion that the present state of society is the best we can have, or that existing wrongs and inequalities will be righted through individualistic piety, is our most mischievous and cowardly pessimism.

To begin with, our economic system denies any adequate moral responsibility to the vast majority of human beings; and there is no individual responsibility where there is no ability to respond. We destroy the ability of the people to morally respond, and then hold them morally responsible. We deny the people moral rights, and then demand of them that they be morally right. We build civilization on the backs of the people, and then piously enjoin

them to get up. We fasten yokes and fetters on the people, and then blame them for not "getting on." We go on creating and supporting an economic order that morally and physically exhausts the multitudes, and then condemn the social grist for the industrial mill out of which it has been ground. When Richard Wagner declared his faith that the people would be the artists of the future, and that from the most absolute democracy the true music would come, his critics pointed to the multitudes as a conclusive answer. "This mob," he said in reply, "is in no wise a normal product of real human nature, but is, instead, the artificial product of your unnatural culture; all the crimes and horrors which you find so repulsive in this mob, are only desperate incidents of the war which real human nature is waging against its cruel oppressor — modern civilization." "From possessions," he says, "which have become private property, and which now, strangely enough, are regarded as the very foundation of good order, spring all the crimes, both of myth and of history." The effort for economic equality and freedom is not an attempt, as the unthinking say, to relieve the individual of responsibility for his own character and conditions; it is an effort to place under his feet the founda-

tions of individual responsibility, so that for the first time he shall have opportunity to account for his own character and conditions.

Nearly all the evils which we are in the habit of attributing to bad hearts are in reality the moral fruits of our economic struggles and inequalities. It is a Biblical ethical exactness and social insight which leads Mr. W. D. Howells to conceive of economic inequality as the sum of "almost all the sins and shames that ever were." "In the body of this death," he confesses, "they fester and corrupt forever. As long as we have inequality we shall have these sins and shames, which spring from it, and which live on from inferior to superior." "Half the crimes committed by human beings," said John Brisben Walker to the students and faculty of the Catholic University at Washington, "come from frightful poverty, or an overabundance of wealth — or from efforts to escape the one, or acquire the other." "The study of the causes of poverty," says Professor Marshall, "is the study of the causes of the degradation of a large part of mankind." Notwithstanding that many of the poor lead less incomplete lives than many who have wealth, "for all that," he declares, "their poverty is a great and almost unmixed evil to them." "Morals rise and fluc-

tuate with trade," says Mr. Arthur Sherwell, in his philosophic little book on "Life in West London." "What are the results of your observations and investigations?" I asked an ardent rescue-worker, who had spent five years in dealing with what we are pleased to call "fallen girls," and who began his work without the slightest hint of the existence of an economic problem. "Do you see that great department store?" he asked in reply. "The system there embodied is the cause. In that department store, three thousand girls are employed at an average weekly wage of three and one-half dollars. Upon that wage they are expected to live, and appear neatly dressed in their places of work. They must pay room-rent, board, carfare, and clothe themselves. Those who do not pay board help support families at home. They cannot live decently in this city on less than six or seven dollars a week. At best, their life is one of helpless, rayless poverty. The evil we seek to remedy comes almost as a matter of course. This store is but an instance of a whole system of things that drags down thousands where individual effort can lift up one. There is no remedy but a changed economic system."

The experience and testimony of this rescue-

worker applies to the whole range of moral evils which we point out as causes, when they are in reality effects. Perhaps a quarter of a million people will sit down in the saloons of Chicago to-night; not to get drunk, or even to drink, for vast numbers of them do not drink at all; but because the saloon is the only social shrine, the only municipal drawing-room, in which the greater number of citizens can get together as human beings, and "shake their hearts out" to each other, as the Germans say. In this sense, the saloon fulfils a public and profoundly religious function, which the church and municipal system have alike failed to offer; it is the only social refuge that gives warmth and color, relief and fellowship, to millions of toilers. The drunkenness and crime which follow are the direct fruits of the social system. In her last years, Miss Willard declared poverty to be the cause of drunkenness as well as drunkenness the cause of poverty. We privileged classes are wickedly insensible to the fact that, to the majority of human beings in what we call Christendom, the sensations of drink and sexuality are the only experiences which make life interesting; the only things that give anticipation and romance to life; the only sacraments of human fellowship, save the common

misery and poverty. Centuries ago, the great Augustine declared physical immorality to be perverted divine yearnings after fellowship. And more than four hundred years before Augustine, Jesus declared that the harlots and publicans would enter the kingdom of heaven before those of us who belong to the privileged and religious classes, for the simple reason that they are infinitely better than we are : they still have yearnings, while we seek a private property in righteousness, and the safety of our interests in the existing order.

A newer and truer evangelistic effort will throw its energy and ardor into changing the system of things which destroys human lives by the thousand where the old evangelism can save one. An evangelism that has a genuine interest in really saving individual souls, instead of a subtle and self-deceiving interest in its own success as to numbers, will lay the axe at the root of the tree of economic evil, upon which all manner of moral evils grow as natural fruits. The individual, says Mr. George, "is a mere link in an enormous chain of producers and consumers, helpless to separate himself, and helpless to move, except as they move. The worse his position in society, the more dependent is he on society ; the more utterly

unable does he become to do anything for himself. The very power of exerting his labor for the satisfaction of his wants passes from his own control, and may be taken away or restored by the actions of others, or by general causes over which he has no more influence than he has over the motions of the solar system." It is because evangelists and philanthropists have refused to face the economic sources of moral evil, to confess the economic supports of moral superiority, that their honesty is rightly questioned, and their appeals either unheard or heard only with contempt. "These persons are not wrong in saying that poverty and the social problem have a moral cause," says Mr. John A. Hobson, "but they are wrong in the place where they seek the moral cause. It will be found ultimately to reside not in the corrupt nature of the poor, worker or idler, but in the moral cowardice and selfishness of the superior person, which prevent him from searching and learning the economic supports of his superiority, and which drive him to subtle theorizing upon 'the condition of conditions' in order to avoid the discovery that his 'superiority' is conditioned by facts which at the same time condition the 'inferiority' of the very persons whom he hopes to assist. The work of grad-

ually placing 'property' upon a natural or rational basis, offering that equality of opportunity which shall rightly adjust effort to satisfaction, is a moral task of supreme importance." Moses' first step in disciplining the individual Israelites in the ethics and politics of the Ten Commandments was the demand upon Pharaoh to let the people go; the first act in the moral drama of each man was the economic and political liberation of the whole people. The first step in the development of negro minds and souls was the abolition of slavery. The first step in the spiritual salvation of the present-day individual is the deliverance of the people of Christendom from economic servitude. This is the supreme evangelistic call, which no pious subterfuge proposing to "set men's hearts right" can any longer evade; it is the commanding spiritual task, which will not move aside for any theological or commercial bluff. Individual "regeneration does not precede reformation, and is not the cause of it," says Dr. S. C. Eby, an able Swedenborgian writer. "On the contrary, the reformation prepares the way for the regeneration, and is an indispensable condition of it." The time has come to distinctly say that civilization must be born again, in that the individual may see the kingdom of God.

But a changed economic system is essential to the salvation of the privileged classes from monstrous ideals of right. Every advantage which raises some above others, and thus divides society into privileged and unprivileged classes, is at bottom some sort of monopoly of opportunity secured by economic advantage. All superiority is thus inherently monopolistic, and therefore unsocial and immoral to begin with; it can only become moral by exhausting itself in making common the things and privileges which the economic system has made special. Privileges and powers that are special result in an utterly immoral standard of moral values; in the enormous magnifying of comparatively small sins, and the closing of eyes to the great parent crimes and sources of evil. "A thousand souls are probably destroyed through perjury to the tax-assessor," said Professor Macy, the other day, "where one is destroyed through drunkenness." "The half-developed animal man," says Horatio W. Dresser, "who commits one crime, and is then condemned to a life among those upon which a thoughtless society has set its stamp as incurably 'depraved' — instead of treating them as human beings to be elevated — may not be nearly as wicked as the cruel capitalist who

oppresses his employees as though they were slaves, or those who throughout their lives make it easy for the sinner whom society accepts as of good repute." Who can deny that successful coveteousness, although denounced by Jesus and the Scriptures as the supreme crime against God and nations, has yet been the great American virtue, commanding the highest respect of church and society? On the other hand, the New Testament virtues that make for simplicity and mutual service command scarcely any social respect, and debar from social privileges. "The evil base of our society eats right through," says Edward Carpenter; "that our wealthy homes are founded on the spoliation of the poor vitiates all the life that goes on within them. Somehow or other it searches through and degrades the art, manners, dress, good taste of the inmates." Our accepted standards of moral values train us to strain at gnats of moral weakness, and to swallow camels and whole caravans of economic and political iniquity. Morality has been degraded to a matter of sheer social might and privilege.

With the moral standards produced by our economic system, it is no wonder that our periodic appeals to "good citizens," to organize to save their city, or reform the nation, have be-

come grotesque and clownish. The "good citizens" we call upon to rise above their material self-interests — and that on the ground of more material self-interest, lest the political corruption they have begotten sweep their material things away — are in fact the socially worst; it is from them the city and the nation need saving. The social redemption will come, at last, through the people the "good citizens" exploit and fear. The "good citizens" are the chief enemies of goodness; the men of "blameless lives" are the high priests of wrongs that affront the skies, that blaspheme the universe, and that make the very stones cry out against the suffering of man. "The sinners are with us," bitterly cried Lord Shaftesbury; "it is the saints who fight against us." "Child murder in factories, chattel-slavery, prisoner-flogging — which of these has not had upon its side the majority of the good?" asks an English social writer; "leaseholds of tyranny, ignorance, and squalor would not be worth twelve months' purchase, but for the unselfish, devoted men and women willing to die in the support of any lie or injustice." "You are told," said Mr. Gladstone, in a speech at Edinburgh, delivered on June 30, 1892, "that education, that enlightenment, that leisure, that high station, that politi-

cal experience, are arrayed in the opposing camp, and I am sorry to say that I cannot deny it. I painfully reflect that in almost every one, if not in every one, of the greatest political controversies of the last fifty years, whether they affected the franchise, whether they affected commerce, whether they affected religion, whether they affected the bad and abominable institution of slavery, or what subject they touched, these leisured classes, these educated classes, these wealthy classes, these titled classes have been in the wrong." It is this defence of evil system by "good" men that constitutes the tragedy of progress. The Father forgives them, as the sons of men forgive them, because they know not what they do. They are as truly victims of a false system and training as the little children who are to-day working beside their mothers in West Virginia coal-pits. They are "the lost" whom the Christ comes to save in the social revolution. Let us hope that some of these, at least, will repent while there is yet time, before the day of dreadful reckoning comes on, and they are called to repentance by barricaded streets and burning cities, by wasted and trampled fields.

But public or political morality, even more than what we call individual and social morality,

is destroyed by the economic system. If any text for this proposition were needed, it was furnished, the other day by Mr. Charles T. Root, representing the Merchants' Association of New York City at a meeting of vast financial interests here in Chicago. His address, as reported by the *Times-Herald* of Oct. 6, 1898, began with this very candid and solemn thesis: "The commercial element in this country shall have its rightful due, and that due is nothing more nor less than a preponderating influence in national and state legislation." The political corruption of which we complain is simply the overflow of the business corruption by which "the commercial element" gains and maintains this "preponderating influence." Political corruption is an integral part of the present business system. In fact, political bribery, both direct and indirect, is the foundation upon which industry and commerce now rest. Behind every political "ring" you may find the private owners of public franchises. In New York City, the bottom municipal ailment is not Tammany Hall and its retainers, but the business interests that use Tammany Hall to buy legislation at Albany, and to buy franchises at the City Hall; Tammany is but a symptom, or a disease, of an economic system

that is through and through corrupt and morally exhausted. It is "business" that balks our attempts at better city government ; that easily bridles and saddles our feeble and halting municipal reforms, and mounts them with "good citizens" who will ride them in the direction of property interests. It is "business" that elects and corrupts our state and national legislatures, and debauches all our sacred political functions. There is scarcely any legislation in the land, municipal or state or national, that is not now bought and sold in the open market. What Justice Harlan intimated, in his dissent from the Income Tax Decision, is a fact : constitutional government has been practically overthrown in America by the "preponderating influence" of "the commercial element" in legislation. Our national courts are largely taken up with the crimes and difficulties which they themselves have created as the instruments of corporate properties ; as the agents of private owners of public utilities. The "commercial element" has, or is quickly gaining, control of every national situation, threatening the integrity and perpetuity of every existing government. It controls international diplomacy, makes and breaks treaties for its profit, and increasingly menaces the liberty of the

world. In my seventh lecture, I shall refer at length to some of the methods and combinations by which American economic and political liberties are being entirely subverted in the interests of private and corporate property.

Worse than all else, the economic system corrupts the sources of public opinion, and baffles the free expression of such free opinion as remains. "It would be hard to find," says Mr. Chapman, "a civilized people who are more timid, more cowed in spirit, more illiberal, than we." The reason is writ so large that even the blind may read. The money that owns the public press, that inspires its despatches and writes its editorials, also dictates what shall be taught in our colleges, and qualifies the utterances of the pulpit to an immeasurably larger degree than we are willing to admit; and it is gradually adopting legal, journalistic, and academic means to suppress freedom of speech. As an instance of the educational influence of money, let me quote from one of the speakers at the recent annual convention of Illinois bankers. "Largely through the efforts of the American Bankers' Association," says this speaker, "a school of commerce and politics has been established at the University of Chicago, and from it much may be hoped." I

quote from the address as it was published in the *Times-Herald* of Oct. 26, 1898. But the university referred to is in no sense whatever an exception; the smallest western college is just as much dependent on the good-will of money as Chicago University. All our educational and missionary organizations elect men to their boards for the bald reason, when divested of its pious phrases, that they have money; and this without a thought of how the money is obtained. The social conscience of our day, and the depthless human need from whence it cries, are as but dust in the balance when weighed with the subtle and indirect, yet absolute, influence of money over both religion and politics. If I were to stand before any representative religious gathering in the land, and there preach actual obedience to the Sermon on the Mount, declaring that we must actually do what Jesus said, I should commit a religious scandal; I should henceforth be held in disrepute by the official religion that bears Jesus' name. If the head of some great oil combination, though it had violated every law of God or man, besides the so-called economic laws which neither God nor man ever had anything to do with, and though it had debauched our nation infinitely beyond the moral shock of

the Civil War, were to stand before any representative religious gathering with an endowment check in his hand, he would be greeted with an applause so vociferous as to partake of the morally idiotic. And, mind you, the condemnation of the miserable spectacle rests not upon the monopolist, but upon ourselves; upon those of us who worship at his shrine, and teach and preach by the grace of his endowments. It is we, not he and his gifts, that represent the complete prostitution of public opinion. He incarnates an immeasurably robuster type of ethical manhood than the people who make his interests their lord. We have surrendered our spiritual liberties into the hands of money, and we have done it with an ignorance most culpable. We deserve to work our way out of economic bondage with shame and tears.

Retribution for the whole common life inheres in the nature of our property system. Historically and ethically, private ownership of natural resources rests upon fraud, violence, and force. "Nature," says St. Ambrose, whom I shall quote more at length in my next lecture, "gave all things in common for the use of all; usurpation created private right." Great private ownership has always been created out of sheer appropriation of the common lands

and resources, or else out of the private use of public franchises and functions. In speaking of a single instance of "the moral devastation which has been wrought in the community" by the private ownership of a public utility, Dr. Gladden says: "No despotic government on the face of the earth to-day possesses so much power over the economic welfare of a people as has been held and exercised by one hundred men, at the head of the great railway systems of the United States." "It is not true," he says, "that this is a free country. It is a rich country, a prosperous country, but it is not a free country." To permit an ownership which thus subverts the liberties of the people is the essence of public infidelity and irreligion.

The immorality of private ownership cannot take refuge in legal enactments. Legal ownership rests upon force, and not upon ethics; it is, as Mr. Carpenter has pointed out, a mere "power to prevent others from using." A man has no ethical right to possess what he is not using for the common good. Private ownership is social trusteeship, that is all; it is not private ownership in any real or right sense.

Nor can great private ownerships be said to grow out of the profitable use of public resources. There has never been such a thing

as profit. The so-called surplus value, from which profit theoretically springs, is a pure fiction. Profit is a form of forcibly appropriating the produce of the labor of others, an historical device for using human beings as the creatures of private interest. The use of human beings for private and corporate gain can only end in the enslavement of spirit on the one side, and the tyranny of power on the other side. Whatever form it may take, whether power be full of good-will or ill-will, the power to make profit out of things is the power to enslave and exploit human life.

Precisely such a form of force is the wage-system which Professor Letourneau calls the last evolution of slavery. Let the intent of the wage-master be as benevolent as it may, the wage-system is through and through a slave-system in its essence. Even at its best, the relation of employer and wage-earner is subversive alike of good workmanship, of high morality, and of freedom. Noble ideals and individual initiative do not inhere in, or spring from, the idea of master and men. "It is only after prolonged perversion of feeling and of ideas," says Rousseau, "that it becomes possible for a man to recognize a master in one like to himself." "Every created being is, by na-

ture, independent of every other," says Abbé Lamennais; "and if the highest of celestial spirits were to come of his own accord, and with no sanction but his own will, to dictate laws to man, to acquire dominion over him, I should see in him but a tyrant, and in his subjects only slaves." This is precisely what the private ownership of public resources, with its system of wages and economic dependence, comes to; it is essential absolutism and despotism, be it ever so kindly. Caesar is none the less Caesar, and Caesarism none the less against the divine course of things, though Caesar be full of piety and good-will. They who possess the world's resources have mankind at their mercy, its very freedom to think and breathe, with a certainty that no Caesar ever dreamed of. If a few men own the earth, we can live on the earth only on their terms. It is economic power alone that can reduce humanity to madness; that can bring the race to its knees in a way that would make the mightiest empire seem as but a rope of sand. The armies of emperors and conquerors are as mushrooms compared with the armies of dollars which human beings must have or starve. It is this economic throne, already casting its dread shadow of universal empire over a fearful

and anxious world, that wage-earners are building for their masters, good and bad alike. Only with the abolition of the wage-system, says Professor Letourneau, will humanity "be prepared for physical, moral, and mental perfection, and will realize for the first time the full meaning of life's happiness." The freeing of men from this system is the task to which the soul of freedom now summons the peoples and their institutions.

It follows, then, that the public ownership of the sources and means of production is the sole answer to the social question, and the sole basis of spiritual liberty. Private ownership of public resources is private ownership of human beings. "He who owns my sustenance," says Alexander Hamilton, "owns my moral being." Both body and soul are enslaved by a system which makes one human being dependent upon another for the opportunity to earn his bread and develop his life. So long as the resources of the people are privately owned, so that men are obliged to sell their labor-power to the owners for sustenance, they are not free members of society or of the state; they are not even free to worship God according to their own light and intuitions. He who sells his labor-power, under the compulsion of **necessity**,

for the mere means of existence, is in no sense a really free man. There is no security for any sort of liberty, no basis for a complete and free individuality, except in a civilization in which all shall work for the common good, and each have free access to the supply of every sort of need. In order that each may be secure in the private property wherewith to express his individuality, the resources upon which the people in common depend must by the people in common be owned and administered. The common ownership of the earth is the only ground upon which true property and liberty can be built, the only soil in which individuality may take root. Liberty as a human fact means communism in natural resources, democracy in production, equality in use, private property in consumption, and the responsibility of each for all and of all for each.

So we may trace back to an economic source every one of our social questions, and the whole immediate problem of spiritual liberty. Every religious and political question may be found to be fundamentally economic. Questions of the individual soul, questions of national politics, finally resolve themselves into questions of economic right and duties. Historic religious persecutions, when analyzed, are found to come

from political weapons in the hands of economic interests. Present day political corruption has its sources and supports in economic might. By economic force human beings are used as creatures of private and corporate profit. Economic necessity compels the millions to toil for the luxury and power of the few, and destroys the power of toilers to revolt. Every sort of freedom, religious and intellectual, political and social, rests back upon economic freedom.

That economic and spiritual liberty are inseparable lies in the nature of life and things. It is by the free use of things that spirit comes to self-realization and liberty. In a world where life is work and growth, the motives and conditions under which work must be done, the way and spirit in which the fruits of work are shared, involve the whole well-being of each man, and finally determine the quality of man's faith in God. The economic liberty which secures equality of opportunity is the only ground on which the sons of men can rise to the glory of the sons of God; the only ground on which man can achieve his destiny of organized love. The production and distribution of wealth for the common good will prove to be the highest form of spiritual liberty yet attained. The quest for this spiritual liberty is the motive by

which the social drama must be interpreted ; and the spirit of private ownership is the villain in the drama.

Out of no spirit of denunciation have I spoken of our economic evils ; for I judge no man, and I count no man guilty above myself. Nor do I speak in behalf of one class against another ; for the social movement is not a class movement, but an effort of the whole human life for spiritual emancipation. There is not one of us, no matter how rich, no matter how poor, who does not yearn for liberty to live the brotherhood we all feel. We are every one of us, without regard to place or possessions, miserable at heart over the existing order of things. We know that it does not represent us ; that it is not just nor noble ; that it compels us to deeds that violate our manhood and desecrate our life. Then let us meet our monstrous wrongs as brothers and not as enemies, and determine that they shall come to an end, so that we shall dare, at last, to look God and one another in the face, unashamed, unafraid, and free, with the justice of love to organize the world in an economic order that shall incarnate the peace of good-will among men.

LECTURE IV.

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND PRIVATE
PROPERTY.

HE showed that an economical question is invariably hidden beneath each religious evolution, and that, upon the whole, the everlasting evil, the everlasting struggle, has never been aught but one between the rich and the poor. Among the Jews, when their nomadic life was over, and they had conquered the land of Canaan, and ownership and property came into being, a class warfare at once broke out. There were rich and there were poor; thence arose the social question. The transition had been sudden, and the new state of things so rapidly went from bad to worse that the poor suffered keenly, and protested with the greater violence as they still remembered the golden age of the nomadic life. Until the time of Jesus the prophets are but rebels who surge from out the misery of the people, proclaim its sufferings, and vent their wrath upon the rich, to whom they prophesy every evil in punishment for their injustice and their harshness. Jesus himself appears as the claimant of the rights of the poor. The prophets, whether socialists or anarchists, had preached social equality, and called for the destruction of the world if it were unjust. Jesus likewise brings to the wretched hatred of the rich. All his teaching threatens wealth and property: and if by the kingdom of heaven which he promised one were to understand peace and fraternity upon this earth, there would only be a question of returning to a life of pastoral simplicity, to the dream of the Christian community, such as after him would seem to have been realized by his disciples. During the first three centuries each church was an experiment in communism, a real association whose members possessed all in common — wives excepted. This is shown to us by the apologists and early fathers of the church. Christianity was then but the religion of the humble and the poor, a form of democracy, of socialism struggling against Roman society. — *Émile Zola*.

IV.

CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE AND PRIVATE PROPERTY.

But if we say, on the one hand, that the Bible utterly condemns all violence, revolt, fierceness, and self-assertion, then we may safely say, on the other hand, that there is certainly communism in the Bible. The truth is, the Bible enjoins endless self-sacrifice all round; and to any one who has grasped this idea, the superstitious worship of property, the reverent devotedness to the propertied and satisfied classes, is impossible. — MATTHEW ARNOLD. ✓

THE common ownership of natural resources follows a clear line of Christian teaching from the beginning of that teaching with Jesus Christ. Nearly all his statements of religious principles are in terms of human relations; and his idea was altogether more communistic than we care to discover. Reduced to economic terms, the realization of his ideal of the kingdom of heaven could mean nothing less than an all-inclusive, non-exclusive communism of opportunity, use, and service. It may be a debatable matter whether any form of communism is practicable; but it is not open to question that

Jesus never contemplated anything else than an organization of human life in which all men should work together for the common good, and each have according to his needs or power to use.

The teaching of Jesus is a spiritual evolution of the social ideal that lay at the heart of the Hebrew Commonwealth and its history. His ideal of the kingdom of heaven is a synthesis of Biblical political and social philosophy. In this whole body of literature which we call the Bible, there is no significant message that does not come to practical human equality in all sorts of resources, if the message be carried out and applied. As Matthew Arnold has said: "If we say, on the one hand, that the Bible utterly condemns all violence, revolt, fierceness, and self-assertion, then we may safely say, on the other hand, that there is certainly communism in the Bible." Or take the way the prophets and apostles are characterized by Renan: "The prophets of Israel are fiery publicists of the description we should now call socialists or anarchists. They are fanatical in their demands for social justice, and proclaim aloud that, if the world is not just, nor capable of becoming just, it were better it were destroyed; a most false, yet most fecund mode of viewing the matter, for

like all desperate doctrines, as, for instance, Russian nihilism at the present day, it produces heroism and great awakening of human forces. The founders of Christianity, the direct continuers of the prophets, conclude by an incessant invocation of the end of the world, and strange to say, they really do change it."

No man can read the Gospels honestly without seeing that Jesus regarded individual wealth as a moral fall, and as social violence. He believed social inequality to be the manifestation of the religious apostasy and spiritual disorder that rooted in covetousness. Though he knew not our economic terms, he yet taught that one could enrich himself only by hardening his heart against his brothers. When he declared that it was hard for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God, it is clear that he meant that it was hard for him to yield to the essential thing in his case, which was the giving up of his property to the common good; because he was not able to do this, the rich young man went away sorrowful. When he said that a man must renounce all he had to become his disciple, he was not speaking vaguely; he meant exactly what he said. "There is," says John Brisben Walker, "no escaping the severity of the Saviour upon the matter of wealth and poverty.

Strange to say, to the casual reader of the sacred Scriptures, it seems the one subject upon which his words always ring with a terrible directness against the trespasser. The repentant thief—the outcast who turned in his misery upon the cross—had only to look to be forgiven. The sudden anger of St. Peter, and his unhappy denials of his Saviour, were made light of. Magdalen had but to fall at his feet to hear her pardon pronounced. But these rich, who know not their brothers, how relentlessly does he always speak to them.” Jesus could see nothing more irreligious, more defiant toward God or wicked toward man, than that men should use superior ability as a mere instrument for exploiting their brothers, making human need and ignorance their prey. From his point of view, the power to serve is not only the sacreddest gift, but is in itself, in its intrinsic worth, the highest human reward. The idea that serving power is something to be rewarded by things other than itself, something to be sold and paid for in the market, was to him a frightful profanation of life. The harmony of the most common economic and social facts with the highest subjective and spiritual ideals is the distinctive ground of the religion of Jesus.

Now apostolic Christianity took seriously the economic facts of the spiritual life. Men understood that, in becoming Jesus' disciples, it was incumbent upon them to surrender private interests to the brotherhood. "It is beyond all question," as Canon Gore says, that the early Christians took it to be the intention of Christ that they should live "by a certain moral law, which put the sternest restraints on the spirit of competition, on the acquisition of wealth, on selfish aggrandizement." "No one," says Mr. Walker, "can read the early history of the church and doubt that the spirit of the first Christians was communistic. Catholic writers dwell on their communism. There can be no doubt about these early conditions. The words, then so recently from the lips of the Saviour, were construed literally." When the Holy Ghost came upon the apostolic fellowship, "the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and soul : and not one of them said that aught of the things he possessed was his own ; but they had all things common. And with great power gave the apostles their witness of the resurrection of the Lord Jesus : and great grace was upon them all. For neither was there among them any that lacked : for as many as were pos-

sessors of houses or lands sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them at the apostles' feet : and distribution was made unto each, according as any one had need." We are nearly always told that the early Christians of Jerusalem were reduced to poverty because of their communism ; but we have not an iota of evidence that such was the case. In fact, the historical evidence is quite to the contrary. The siege of Jerusalem under Titus reduced the whole nation to such poverty that mothers ate their babes. In that awful rebellion and national extinction, the Christian communities alone seem to have fairly survived. In appealing to the churches for mutual help, in these times of peril and want, Paul lays down the law of such help, which I quote from the Catholic Bible : "For I mean not that others should be eased and you burdened ; but by an equality. And again in the present time let your abundance supply their want ; that their abundance may also supply your want ; that there may be an equality." The great argument of the apostle was the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, which consisted in his becoming poor for our sakes, he being rich in himself.

Down past the time of Augustine, who would

admit no one to the churchly offices save on the surrender of all private property, the communistic idea largely prevailed. "We must admit," says Professor Nitti, in his great work on "Catholic Socialism," "that Christianity was a vast economic revolution, more than anything else." "The early fathers of the church," he says, "faithful to the teachings of Christ, professed thoroughly communistic theories. They lived among communistic surroundings, and could not well have maintained theories contrary to those held by Christ and the apostles." Professor Nitti has done noble service in collating the sayings of the church fathers with regard to private property. "Opulence," says Jerome, "is always the result of theft, if not committed by the actual possessor, then by his predecessors." "All is in common with us except women," says Tertullian. "It is no great thing," writes Gregory the Great, "not to rob others of their belongings, and in vain do they think themselves innocent who appropriate to their own use alone those goods which God gave in common; by not giving to others that which they themselves receive, they become homicides and murderers, inasmuch as in keeping for themselves those things which would have alleviated the sufferings of the

poor, we may say that they every day cause the death of as many persons as they might have fed and did not. When, therefore, we offer the means of living to the indigent, we do not give them anything of ours, but that which of right belongs to them. It is less a work of mercy that we perform than the payment of a debt." "It was not until the thirteenth century," says Professor Nitti, in concluding these and many like quotations, "when the church was already immensely rich, that ecclesiastical writers appeared openly maintaining the right of property." When this came to pass, "the church was not only obliged to repudiate its original teachings, but it was forced, after a long struggle, to exclude from the fold those who obstinately maintained them." Many statements and sermons might be taken from the church fathers to verify Professor Nitti's position; but they are needless. The quotations he has gathered are fairly typical of the whole body of patristic teaching. It all comes to the same thing: that communism and equality are the only logical and obedient economic expressions of our Lord's teachings. With the single exception of Clement of Alexandria, nothing else was taught concerning property by the great fathers of

theology and the church. But I can make place for citing only three of these, Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustine.

The struggle of Chrysostom with the powers of church and state, at Constantinople, was purely an economic conflict, and but incidentally a theological controversy. The golden-mouthed preacher insisted on "the necessity of restoring at all costs community of goods." ✓ He could not conceive of great fortunes except as the fruits of theft and crime, of monopoly or usury. "Behold," he writes, "the idea we should have of the rich and covetous: they are truly as robbers, who, standing in the public highways, despoil the passers-by; they convert their chambers into caverns, in which they bury the goods of others." "You say that the poor do not work," he one day responds to some excuses of the rich, "but do you work yourselves? Do you not enjoy in idleness the goods you have unjustly inherited? Do you not exhaust others with labor, while you enjoy in indolence the fruit of their misery?" On another occasion, having violently censured the rich citizens of Constantinople, he exclaims: "They say to me, 'Wilt thou never cease from speaking ill of the rich? Still more anathemas against the rich!' and I answer, 'Still your hardness towards the

poor!’” It was because of his merciless denunciations of the rich, upon every occasion which he could find or make, that Chrysostom was finally driven from the city to his last exile and death. Once, during an exile, the authorities sent for him to return on condition that he would cease to stigmatize the rich. His reply was to the effect that he would return if they wished him to preach the gospel of the Lord, but that in so doing he would never cease to denounce the wealth of the rich as the robbery of the poor.

The majestic Ambrose was the greatest statesman of the church before Hildebrand, if not the greatest statesman who has made the church his sphere up to this day. He was himself a Roman patrician of the highest blood and dignity. Yet no man ever taught so explicitly that the common ownership of natural resources is the only Christian justice. He sometimes does this at once in the name of Christ and in the terms of the ancient Roman law. One could easily imagine that he gave Henry George and Rousseau their theses. “The soil,” he says, “was given to rich and poor in common. Wherefore, oh ye rich! do you unjustly claim it for yourselves alone?” “Nature gave all things in common for the use

of all, usurpation created private right." Compare this with Mr. George : The curse of poverty is due to the fact "that, impiously violating the benevolent intentions of their Creator, men have made land private property, and thus given into the exclusive ownership of the few that provision that a bountiful Father has made for all. Any other answer than that, no matter how it may be shrouded in the mere forms of religion, is practically an atheistical answer." Or compare Ambrose with Rousseau : "The first man who, having fenced off a piece of ground, could think of saying, 'This is mine,' and found people simple enough to believe him, was the real founder of civil society. How many crimes, wars, murders, miseries, and horrors would not have been spared to the human race by one who, plucking up the stakes, or filling in the trench, should have called out to his fellows : 'Beware of listening to this impostor ; you are undone if you forget that the earth belongs to no one, and that its fruits are for all.'" To the rich, against whose oppressions his voice was constantly raised, Ambrose said : "You clothe the walls of your houses and leave the poor unclad ; the naked wail at your gates, and your only thought is of the marble with which you shall overlay your floors ; he

begs for bread, and your horse has a golden bit. Costly apparel delights you, while others lack food. The very jewel in your ring would protect from hunger a mass of people." "When men were unjustly persecuted," says Dean Farrar, "he extended to them the rights of asylum. When multitudes were taken prisoners in the incessant battles against rebels and invaders, he unhesitatingly melted down the sacred vessels to purchase their ransom. Nobody spoke more boldly against vice. He denounced the custom of drinking toasts, and put down the vice of revelling on the feast days of martyrs. He rebuked the perfumed and luxurious youths; the women who reclined on silver couches and drank from jewelled cups; the men who delighted in porphyry tables and gilded fret-work, and cared more for their hounds and horses than for their fellow-Christians. Nor did he less faithfully denounce the idle multitude who patronized the madness of the circus and the vice of the theatre."

Augustine anticipated Cardinal Manning and Archbishop Lynch in declaring the divine and unlimited right of human need; he characterized the monopoly which limited the supply as murder. His whole philosophy of history pivoted upon the doctrine that both private

property and the state originated in sin. "God has made the rich and the poor of the same clay, and one earth bears them both," he says. "'Tis through emperors and kings of the world that God gives the human law of the human race. Take away the law of the emperors and who will dare to say 'This villa is mine'?" Though differing totally in substance, Augustine's doctrine of property and the state comes to the same thing as the philosophical anarchism of Kropotkin and Bakunin; it lays a perfect foundation for the Christian nihilism of Tolstoi. The best summing up of Augustine's doctrine is by Professor Nash, in his "Genesis of the Social Conscience": Property "has no ground whatever in equity as distinguished from positive law. In true humanity it lacks all root. To sin it owes its origin and to sin its continuance. Its title-deeds cannot pass muster in the supreme court of morality,—the monastery." "All who have a passion for goodness," continues Professor Nash, "find no stopping-place short of the monastic 'counsels of perfection.' On this level there is no private property. No saint can own his farm. In the Pseudo-Isidore, it is written: 'We know that you are not ignorant of the fact that hitherto the principle of living with all things in com-

mon has been in vigorous operation among good Christians, and is still so by the grace of God ; and most of all among those who have been chosen to the lot of the Lord, that is to say, the clergy.' ”

I am not contending, by all these quotations, that the church fathers had economic knowledge or authority. It is not with unqualified approval that I quote their hard sayings, or that I call upon them as witnesses in our social crisis. But I do insist that we must account for the fact that for centuries it was taken as a matter of course that Christianity meant communism, when actually practised.

It is to the monastery we must turn when the question of communistic practicability is raised. The monastery was a pure communism, and was originally a pure democracy. “A practical democracy,” says Dr. Richard S. Storrs, “existed in the monasteries, where all the monks elected the abbot whom they were afterward to obey, and where the distinctions of rank prevailing in the world had entirely disappeared, noble and vassal working together, the count and the ploughman side by side. This was a fact fruitful of consequences. Such an established, organized, Christian socialism had to do with all history.” Within its walls and among its

members, there was neither wage nor price, neither profit nor bargain. Every man did the thing he could best do, and had free supply for every recognized need. "The monks who built the abbeys of Cluny and St. Denis," says Mr. Brooks Adams, in his great work on "The Law of Civilization and Decay," "took no thought of money, or it regarded them not. Sheltered by their convents, their livelihood was assured; their bread and their robe were safe; they pandered to no market, for they cared for no patron. Their art was not a chattel to be bought, but an inspired language in which they communed with God, or taught the people, and they expressed a poetry in the stones they carved which far transcended words."

With enormous exaggeration, Protestant historians and sectarian agitators have dwelt upon the corruption of the monks. Wide and deep corruptions existed, it is true; but they came as the natural fruit of the great endowments which wealth and feudal powers brought to the monastery in later times; and they were but incidental in a system which was the channel through which came about all that is worth having in modern civilization. Through the monastery the Renaissance and Greek democracy came to Europe. Out of the monastery

rose the great arts, the university, the cathedral, the revivals of Francis and Bernard, the Crusades, and finally the Reformation. The monk was the pioneer of industry and agriculture, as well as of learning and the cross; it was he who founded cities and states in the forests, among the barbarians; it was he who defended the weak from feudal and savage oppressors, and sought to diminish the sufferings due to the wide poverty that was the creation of feudal wars and feudal monopoly of the land. "The monasteries," says Professor Marshall, "were the homes of industry, and in particular of the scientific treatment of agriculture; they were secure colleges for the learned, and they were hospitals and alms-houses for the suffering. The church acted as a peace-maker in great matters and in small; the festivals and the markets held under its authority gave freedom and safety to trade." "The Benedictine monks," says M. Guizot, "were the agriculturists of Europe; they cleared it on a large scale, associating agriculture with preaching." "We owe the agricultural restoration of the great part of Europe to the monks," says Mr. Hallam. "They found a swamp," says Cardinal Newman, "a moor, a thicket, a rock, and they made an Eden in the wilderness. They de-

stroyed snakes; they extirpated wild cats, wolves, boars, bears; they put to flight or they converted rovers, outlaws, robbers. The gloom of the forest departed, and the sun, for the first time since the Deluge, shone upon the moist ground." "So long as the church held its lands and its power, permanent pauperism was unknown," says Mr. Hyndman, who is certainly no friend of the church. "The general employment," he says, "which, as landlords resident among the people, they afforded, the improvements of the farms and of their own buildings which they carried out, the excellent work in road-making which they did—a task especially necessary in those times—in addition to their action as public alms-givers, teachers, doctors, and nurses, show what useful people many of these much-abused monks and nuns really were." "It is hard," says Mr. John Fiske, "to find words to express the debt of gratitude which modern civilization owes to the Catholic Church;" and this applies especially to the spiritual chivalry and enterprise which went forth from the monastery to subdue and organize both human and material worlds. The monks aimed, as Professor Harnack has said, at nothing less than "a Christian life of entire Christendom." They set the example and laid

the basis, the world over, for free labor and a Christian society.

It thus turns out that the best work of the world has been done, and the best things of the past produced, by communistic institutions. For that matter, the best things in our modern life, such as the free school, are the working out of the communistic idea; and only the other day, one of the greatest American lawyers, who is also chief attorney for a most powerful corporation, specifically arraigned our public school system on the ground that its continuation would destroy the existing order of things. Through ages of political anarchy, the monks were able to preserve for the future the intellectual and spiritual resources of the centuries, to give refuge to the robbed and the oppressed, through the power that inhered in their communistic order. No other economic method has ever proved to be so practicable and successful as the economic method of the purely communistic monastery; indeed, the question of practicability may all turn out to be on the other side. It is certainly a universal question to-day, as to whether the private ownership of resources and industry is likely to prove anything but impracticable and disastrous.

Of supreme significance, at this point, is the religious movement of St. Francis of Assisi, — the truest knight of Christ that ever drew the sword of love against the fortresses of oppression and strife. He aimed at nothing less than the entire social regeneration of Europe, beginning with the cities and castles that crowned his Umbrian hill-tops. His initiative rooted in the idea of the sacrifice of love in service as universal and redemptive law, and as the sole bond of political and social unity. To this end he gathered his friars, as the marshalled hosts of conquering love. He organized them, as M. Paul Sabatier has pointed out, not into a mendicant order, but into a laboring order. The monks were to work together for the common good, reducing their necessities to a minimum, in order that each might become a living evangel of the revolution of love. The prayer of St. Francis was that he might be denied all privileges, except the privilege of having no privileges. His Third Order was an attempt to extend the economic system or communistic idea of the monastery so as to take in the family and the community. "The enemy of the soul for him," says his great biographer, "as for Jesus, was avarice, understood in its largest sense — that is to say, that blindness which

constrains men to consecrate their hearts to material preoccupations, makes them the slave of a few pieces of gold or of a few acres of land, renders them insensible to the beauties of nature, and deprives them of infinite joys which they alone can know who are the disciples of poverty and love. Whoever was free at heart from all material servitude, whoever was decided to live without hoarding, every rich man who was willing to labor with his hands and loyally distribute all that he did not consume in order to constitute the common fund which St. Francis called the Lord's table, every poor man who was willing to work, was free to resort, in the strict measure of his wants, to this table of the Lord ; these were at that time true Franciscans." After many awkward discussions and entanglements, finding itself unable to withstand the movement, the church perverted St. Francis's original idea by adopting it, and Christ's sweetest and bravest knight died of a broken heart. But even in its perverted channels, the initiative of Francis was the real renaissance of Christianity, — a world revolution that is scarcely yet fairly under way.

Time would fail me to tell of the communistic base that underlies the thought and words of all the great mystics and religious teachers

through the centuries that unite the miscalled Dark Ages with the present time. It was the conviction of Anselm that "the riches of the world are for the common benefit of men, as created by the common Father of all, and that by natural law no one has more right than any other to any possession." According to the "*Theologia Germanica*," the fall of man was his "setting up of a claim, his I and me and mine, these were his going astray, and his fall. And thus it is to this day." "What else," continues the writer, "did Adam do but this same thing? It is said, it was because Adam ate the apple that he was lost, or fell. I say, it was because of his claiming something for his own, and because of his I, mine, and me, and the like. Had he eaten seven apples, and yet never claimed anything for his own, he would not have fallen: but as soon as he called something his own, he fell, and would have fallen if he had never touched an apple." Pascal teaches that the institutions of state and property rest upon sheer force; that they are unjustifiable to reason, and are the square contradiction of Christianity; that they are due to the fact that "not being able to make strong what was just, men have made just what was strong." He illustrates: "'This dog belongs to me,' said these

poor children ; ‘that place in the sun is mine !’ Behold the beginning and the image of all usurpation upon earth.” Listen to the preaching of one who is always set before us as our classic homiletic model, whom Matthew Arnold calls the “best and soundest moralist” of the English church, “a man sober-minded, weighty, esteemed ;” it is Barrow, in his famous Hospital Sermon of 1671, and that in the face of the wild orgies of the Restoration : “Inequality and private interest in things (together with sickness and pains, together with all other infelicities and inconveniences) were the by-blows of our guilt ; sin introduced these degrees and distances ; it devised the names of rich and poor ; it begot those ingrossings and inclosures of things ; it forged those two small pestilent words, *meum* and *tuum*, which have engendered so much strife among men, and created so much mischief in the world.” I might quote Bossuet and many others to the same effect, but I must hasten to briefly notice the teachings of the leaders of the Reformation.

Professor Nitti, himself an Italian Catholic, credits Wyckliffe, Huss, Jean Petit, and the Anabaptists with “making vain efforts to restore the theories of the gospel regarding property.” “If their disputes,” he says, “were

almost always of a religious nature, they nevertheless invariably bore an economic character as well. It should not be forgotten that during the Middle Ages all questions were discussed under a theological aspect." In the Introduction to "A Contemporary Narrative of the Proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler," edited by Thomas Wright, and printed in London for the Camden Society in 1843, appears the following: "The earliest instances of the direct combination of the charges of heresy and sorcery is presented by the sect of the Waldenses, or Vaudois. A singular account of the origin of this sect is given in an early anonymous tract on the history of the Carthusian Order, where it is stated that a Vaudois, who lived at Lyons, following the letter of the New Testament, quitted all his riches to embrace voluntary poverty." Hence he and his followers were charged with having entered into league with the devil.

Although the Waldenses and some of the Anabaptists lived in a beautiful communistic faith and practice, it would not be fair to classify the reformers of the Continent with the church fathers in their teachings concerning property or equality; they were not communists in any authorized use of that term. They were, how-

ever, social and political idealists of the sternest type ; idealists who believed that the actual facts of life should be made to express the law and equality of the kingdom of God. Though favoring too much the privileged classes, and betraying his own cause in his attitude towards the Peasants' War, Martin Luther yet preached against wealth in terms that would not be tolerated in any representative Protestant pulpit in America. The bulk of Calvin's writings lie buried in the archives of the University of Geneva, having never been published ; but M. Eugène Choisy, of the theological faculty of the University, has lately written a scholarly book of profound historical interest, entitled "*La Théocratie à Genève au temps de Calvin*," in which he shows that Calvin's theology was but fundamental to his ideal of a social order that should incarnate the spirit of Jesus Christ. Zwingli was a social reformer above all else, and was the initiator of much of the subsequent social development of Switzerland. Critical investigators point to John Huss's defence of the peasants against their lords as the real cause of his martyrdom.

Crossing into Scotland, we find that John Knox "utterly damned in Christ's servants" the careful solicitude of money. With all the

vehemence of his sweet yet terrible nature, he condemned interest, low wages, and the taking advantage of the necessity of the poor. The First Book of Discipline, which is called "the most interesting document in Reformation literature," is chiefly the work of Knox. "The book simply tingles," as Dr. Glasse expresses it, "with contempt for superstition, and with indignation against oppression." As to the part of the Scotch reformers on social and political questions, "there is simply no ambiguity," says Dr. Glasse; "they occupied an exceptionally advanced position, and endeavored to harmonize their institutions with their opinions." And there would be no ambiguity now, if we could take as representative of the Church of Scotland the address given, at the close of the General Assembly in 1891, by its moderator, Dr. Macgregor. "Ought we not," he said, "to keep more prominently before ourselves, and so before our people, that Christianity is the highest and purest socialism: that the Bible is the great text-book of socialism: that Jesus Christ was the greatest socialist who ever trod this lower world — himself a poor hard-working man — that he was the healer of all diseases, the Saviour of the body as well as the soul: and that what he was his church ought to be —

the implacable foe of injustice, oppression, and wrong, come from what quarter they may?"

But it is when we turn to Wyckliffe and the Lollards that we find the most explicit communism taught as the very essence of the gospel and freedom of the New Testament. Wyckliffe, even more specifically and severely than Augustine, taught that private property originated in sin. John Richard Green tells how the Lollards were put to death, not for religious reasons so much as for reasons that were, in the last analysis, economic. The preparer of Wyckliffe's way was John Ball, known as "the mad priest of Kent," in whose preaching Mr. Green says "that England first listened to the declaration of the natural equality of the rights of man." "By what right are these lords greater than we?" asks John Ball. "Good people," he cries, "things will never be right in England so long as goods be not in common. If we all came of the same father and mother, of Adam and Eve, how can they say or prove that they are better than we, if it be not that they make us gain for them by our toil what they spend in their pride? They are clothed in their velvet, and are warm in their furs and their ermines, while we are covered with rags. They have wine and spices and fair bread; and

we have oat-cake and straw, and water to drink. They have leisure and fine houses; we have pain and labor, the rain and the winds in the fields. And yet it is of us and our toil that these men hold their state." The usual irony of history — the irony of treason, murder, and despotism which the economic spirit always visits upon the people and their ideals and idealists — is seen in the political establishment of the Reformation by the miserable Henry VIII. and his court of basest plunderers, under whom the Reformation was converted into a *régime* of the most wholesale capitalistic robbery in the history of nations. The Anglican Church became, under him, as it largely remains to this day, a sort of an ecclesiastical flunkysm — a system of political retainers, a police vassalage, to the capitalistic landlords. It is perhaps this fact that moves an able writer, speaking from an academic point of view, to say that the faith of the Church of England varies with "the exigencies of real estate." The revolt of the people, and of the reformers who inherited the spirit of Wyckliffe, took the form of Puritanism, which was already ominous in Henry's time. These early Puritans were known as "gospellers." "It is reported," says the ever changeable Cranmer, "that there be

many among these unlawful assemblies that pretend knowledge of the gospel, and will needs be called gossellers." "I will go further," he continues, "to speak somewhat of the great hatred which divers of these seditious persons do bear against the gentlemen; which hatred in many is so outrageous, that they desire nothing more than the spoil, ruin, and destruction of them that be rich and wealthy." But the inherent nobility of Cranmer's sympathies could not always be suppressed in the interests of his masters, as his brave death afterwards proved; and in this same sermon, in which the "gossellers" are set forth as the despoilers of the wealthy, he also says: "And although here I seem only to speak against these unlawful assemblers, yet I cannot allow those, but I must needs threaten everlasting damnation unto them, whether they be gentlemen or whatsoever they be, which never cease to purchase and join house to house, and land to land, as though they alone ought to possess and inhabit the earth." Even down to the time of the Puritan exodus to New England, though many Puritans were rich, economic inequality was more or less outrageous to the deeper Puritan religious sense. John Winthrop's letters show that economic reasons had much to do with his migration; he

protested against the profanity of the talk of over-population, even then beginning, and which he declared would not be heard "if things were right." And it was among the hard-pressed and impoverished yeomanry that Pastor Robinson gathered the Mayflower seed of a great nation yet to be born.

The finest elements of the Reformation doctrines were gathered into the Society of Friends, or Quakers; and from them come the deepest and most wide-reaching utterances of spiritual truth in social terms, from the days of George Fox down to the days of Barnabas Hobbs. The Quakers were not communists; but they were most devout believers in an order of life that should express, in profoundest social realism, the brotherly love of Jesus Christ. The glory of their teaching appears in "The Journal of John Woolman," which stands beside Augustine's "Confessions" and Amiel's "Journal," as one of the three greatest religious and literary expressions of its kind. John Woolman always had before him the "prospect of one common interest from which our own is inseparable, so that to turn all we possess into the channel of universal love becomes the business of our lives." "When house is joined to house," he said, in a tract to the rich, "and field laid to

field, until there is no place, and the poor are thereby straitened, though this is done by bargain and purchase, yet so far as it stands distinguished from universal love, so far that woe predicted by the prophet will accompany their proceedings. As he who first founded the earth was then the true proprietor of it, so he still remains ; and though he hath given it to the children of men, so that multitudes of people have had their sustenance from it while they continued here, yet he hath never alienated it, but his right is as good as at first ; nor can any apply the increase of their possessions contrary to universal love, nor dispose of lands in a way which they know tends to exalt some by oppressing others, without being justly chargeable with usurpation."

Here my citations must end. I have called the noblest elect from a great cloud of witnesses to testify whether there be a Christian doctrine of property that we can trace, in any clear line of development, from Christ to the establishment of Protestantism. In order that I might not seem to be reading into their teachings any notions of my own, I have let these witnesses speak in their own words. In all that I have cited from them, I have tried to take such expressions as would fairly represent their faith

and thought. I do not want to claim for them foreknowledge or undue economic authority. But I do want us to let their consistency with each other, their common interpretation of the kingdom of heaven in economic terms, have its full weight with us, especially those of us who claim to be of Christ's household of faith.

The testimony of these witnesses agrees upon a fact of wonderful and imperative significance : that what we call the baptism of the Holy Ghost, when genuinely experienced by a religious group, immediately manifests itself in the reaching after economic brotherhood. The experience of the first Christians, told in the Acts of the Apostles, instead of being a singular experience, about which the less said the better, is precisely what occurs whenever Christian groups return to apostolic sources, to move upon the world with early Christian feeling and will. The apostolic succession is disclosed in the economic communion of Christian springtimes. The nearer men approach to being of one mind with God, the more impossible it becomes to hold anything as their own. When Christian experience becomes elemental, individual ownership becomes sacrilegious ; it becomes murderous, and behind it the shadow of Cain grows dark. The procession of the Holy Ghost keeps

step with the human reaching after economic brotherhood, without which there can be no real spiritual brotherhood. There is no true communion of saints apart from the communion of property.

The undeviating hostility of Christ and his witnesses to individual wealth cannot be evaded by following John Wesley's immoral advice to make all one can and then give all one can. The philanthropy of economic extortion is the greatest immediate menace to religion and social progress. The gifts that come not from wilful extortion, but from as clean hands as the system of things will suffer any man to have, are apt to be even more misleading than the benevolence of avarice, because they seem to justify and make Christian what is really anti-Christ. Let us honor such contributions as they deserve to be honored, or concede the economic and historical necessity of individual wealth in the social evolution; but let us not deceive ourselves, and become false teachers to the people, by speaking of such wealth as Christian. Wealth is a power in the world, and often a power for good, while a rich man may be very useful and generous, and his motives noble; but, however religious and philanthropic he be, the rich man stands in the antithesis of the

Christian attitude towards the world. We cannot honestly imagine one in Christ's state of mind, one feeling as Christ felt, one coming at the world from his point of view, giving himself to acquiring individual wealth. Strictly speaking, a rich Christian is a contradiction of terms. This is a hard saying, and it places every one of us in positions of dreadful inconsistency and difficulty; but it is the bald, naked reality of Jesus' teaching. Let us confess that we are all alike guilty; that none of us are really Christian, if it comes to this; but let us be men enough to look the truth straight in the face. As Charles Kingsley makes one of his characters say, the worm that dieth not and the fire that is not quenched are a great blessing, if one may only know the truth by them at last. The shame and sorrow that the truth brings, I must face with you; for none are guiltier for the existing order of things than those of us who teach in colleges endowed by individual wealth.


Of course, one should not throw away, nor destroy, nor desecrate any property that is in his hands. He ought not and cannot individually extricate himself from the system that now exists. But the very least that a Christian can do, in the existing order, is to administer what he possesses for the common good, in the most

literal sense of the term. A man cannot be Christian without being practically communistic; as a possessor of property, he is simply a steward having in trust what belongs to others. With this, he must exhaust his possibilities in changing the system from one of private ownership and competition into the common ownership and co-operative service of the kingdom of heaven. Sometimes, I think that a single man of great economic power, accepting such a stewardship, with the heart of Christ in him, could change the world.

The question as to whether economic brotherhood is practicable is a question of whether Christianity is practicable. If Jesus dwelt at the heart of God, and knew the law and secret of the universe, it is not worth while trying to establish society on any other basis than that of the universal communism of the Father who maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and unjust; the Father who, when his children had wasted the abundant resources of life which he had already given them, redeemed them by giving them more resources. Before we dismiss such a social basis as a dream, let us well consider our free schools, the free street railways in the Australian city, the free highways

unto the ends of the earth, and many other initiatives in the common life of to-day, which indicate that we are in the beginnings of a tremendous change upward into communism which Jesus disclosed as universal life and order.

In the fulness of its times, we shall have a new Christian synthesis upon which to base the religious movement which the social spirit seeks, and it will guide society through storm and change. The details of that synthesis do not yet appear; but in the outline emerging from the confusion of our faith, we may behold an economic of the kingdom of heaven. It will so state the facts and forces which are the sum of Jesus' idea, in such clear terms of present social need, as to afford a definite, tangible, working programme of social faith. It comes, after the long winter of apostolic faith, as a new religion springing up from the seed of Christ in the human soil. It promises a faith for which men will once more be ready to live or die with equal joy. It will be, as was prophesied by the last words of a beloved teacher, Dr. Edwin Hatch, "a Christianity which is not new but old, which is not old but new, a Christianity in which the moral and spiritual elements will again hold their place, in which men will be bound together by the bond of mutual service,



which is the bond of the sons of God, a Christianity which will actually realize the brotherhood of men, the ideal of its first Christian communities."

The original idea of Jesus, once out in the social open, as a mode and economy of life, to be seen as it humanly is, will sweep the world. His early standard, once lifted amidst the perplexity and strife, and millions will rally to it as if on wings, not one of whom can be changed by our system of religion. His kingdom of heaven once more at hand, and the Christian conscience that overran the Roman empire, that wrought the spiritual chivalry of Francis Xavier and Loyola, that went crusading at the call of Hermit Peter and Abbot Bernard, that endured Spanish rack and fire and English gallows and dungeons, that crossed winter seas to found Pilgrim homes and build Puritan states, will arise in a messianic passion vaster than any summoned to change the world by crises past, and our economic problem will dissolve away in its fervent heat, to disclose the friendly stars of the new heaven lighting the new earth with the everlasting truth that love is law.

LECTURE V.

THE CONFLICT OF CHRIST WITH
CIVILIZATION.

HAIL, spirit of revolt, thou spirit of life,
Child of the ideal, daughter of the far-away truth!
Without thee the nations drag on in a living death;
Without thee is stagnation and arrested growth;
Without thee Europe and America would be sunk in China's
 lethargy,
Smothered in the past, having no horizon but the actual.

Hail, spirit of revolt! Thou spirit of life,
Child of eternal love —
Love, rebelling against lovelessness — life rebelling against death;
Rise at last to the full measure of thy birthright,
Spurn the puny weapons of hate and oppression.
Fix rather thy calm, burning, protesting eyes on all the myriad
 shams of man and they will fade away in thinnest air.
Gaze upon thy gainsayers until they see and feel the truth and love
 that begat and bore thee.
Thus and thus only give form and body to thy noblest aspirations.
And we shall then see done on earth as it is in heaven
God's ever-living, growing, ripening will.

Ernest H. Crosby.

V.

THE CONFLICT OF CHRIST WITH CIVILIZATION.

The chief priests therefore and the Pharisees gathered a council, and said, What do we? for this man doeth many signs. If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him: and the Romans will come and take away both our place and our nation. But a certain one of them, Caiaphas, being high priest that year, said unto them, Ye know nothing at all, nor do ye take account that it is expedient for you that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not. — JOHN xi. 47-50.

WE are in the habit of saying that Jesus had nothing to do with institutions or with politics; that he went about appealing to individuals to "be saved." We have a fatal way of viewing Jesus apart from his history and social perspective, apart from the human facts which form the setting of his career. "Theological writers have not," says Dr. Baring-Gould, "laid sufficient stress on the great social revulsion with which the Jewish world was threatened by the teaching of Christ." "The public to whom Christ appealed has not been adequately considered," he continues, "nor has it been shown

how large it was, how uneasy was its position."

It is absurd to suppose that Jesus was put to death for going about healing sick people and appealing to individuals to "be saved," or to "be good," as we understand these terms. He was crucified for disturbing the existing national order of things; crucified as a national menace, because he was aiming at the wrong at the heart of the nation. His avowed purpose was to make the Jewish people a messianic and redemptive nation to the world. When he was rejected, it was a governmental as well as an ecclesiastical rejection. His death was brought about by the politicians, who were also the priests, or belonged to the priestly party. The chief actors in the drama of the crucifixion were such as we call the "good people," or "judiciously progressive," whose plans Jesus spoiled, and to whom he seemed altogether unamenable to reason.

More clearly than Renan or any of the Continental critics, Principal Fairbairn has analyzed and set forth the wholly political nature of Jesus' trial and death. But there is a fact of greatest significance, which the critics seem to me to have scarcely touched. It is the fact that the four extremely antagonistic parties

concerned in Jewish politics — parties which had never been able to unite on anything else — found a meeting-ground and common interest in the putting to death of Jesus. There were the Pharisees, or Puritan party; there were the Sadducees, or party of the national aristocracy; there were the Herodians, or party of the existing and usurping dynasty; there were the Romans, interested in maintaining their conquest, and in subjecting all parties to the perpetuation of their power. These parties watched each other with bitterest hatred, and day and night plotted for each other's destruction. Yet each party believed itself driven by self-interest to destroy Jesus. All parties alike, whether social or religious, economic or political, agreed that there was no safety for their interests so long as Jesus was left alive. What Principal Fairbairn says of the Sadducees, in their attitude towards Jesus, can be said of the three other parties as well: "They had no concern with his claims, only with their own safety. They knew him at once as the enemy of their order."

But we are not dependent upon the critics. We have only to read the Gospels, with even a little historic sense, to see that the career of Jesus was as certainly political, in relation to

his times and nation, as the career of Joseph Mazzini in Italy, or that of Joan of Arc in France. His words reveal him in closest touch with the political situation and the economic and social facts of his day. He planted his feet amidst the actual conditions and problems of Jerusalem, spending a large part of his ministry there in vain before he turned into Galilee. His hands were always in the human clay, and he went about his work with a knowledge of the complications and forces with which he had to deal. He was no pietist or mere dreamer, but a re-maker of men and of the conditions that make men. The first year of his ministry was spent in trying to get some sort of a national recognition. We must believe that he was sincere, not making believe or acting, when he sought to gain acceptance at the hands of the rulers of Jerusalem; that he was honest in offering himself to them as their King and national Messiah. Nothing more truly lays bare his heart than the cry, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem," which went forth from the baffled patriot, on the slopes of Olivet, to the beloved capital of his doomed nation.

There is one instance of Jesus' political action which has been a subject of much dispute. According to John, the first public act

of his ministry was to go up to Jerusalem and clean out the Capitol. Whatever attitude we take towards this action, whether we place it at the beginning or the end of Jesus' ministry, it has a significance which we have too long evaded. The Jewish temple, which Jesus purged, was the political Capitol of the nation. He did precisely what one of us would do if we should go up to Washington, and suddenly drive from the Senate chamber the lobbyists, the chief of whom are our elected senators — elected to represent the corporations for which they are paid attorneys. I am not saying that Jesus was right about the proceeding; nor am I discussing Dr. Farrar's hint and Renan's statement that he acted from an over-wrought moral passion; I am simply noting the fact that, according to the beloved apostle, his public introduction was at the capital of his nation, in the Capitol building, through what seemed to the authorities a high-handed act of political and economic outrage. He was finally put to death by the supreme court of his nation, on the ground that he endangered the nation's existence by doing the things he was doing, by saying the things he was saying. The judges of this court had often personally enjoined Jesus from saying the things that he

said, and he had as often refused to obey their injunctions.

When Jesus' ideal is viewed in its historic setting, the conflict between that ideal and the civilization into which it came is seen to have been politically inevitable. The preaching of the kingdom of God, which never meant other than a righteous human order, was the revolutionary cry of the Palestine of Jesus' day. For raising this cry, the Romans put men to death as anarchists, so Rabbi Hirsch and other able Jewish scholars tell us. It was the synonym for social justice, and was so understood by the people. Both John the Baptist and Jesus put this divine social order before the individual as his spiritual motive and perspective; then they appealed to him to accept it, and renounce all he had in behalf of its realization. This ideal "gave utterance," as Dr. Baring-Gould has pointed out, "to an immense inarticulate craving that for long had been felt by a large section of the Jewish people." To the priests and politicians subservient to Roman power through self-interest, as well as to the Romans themselves, it was certain that Jesus would seem a destroyer of all that was socially fundamental. Even to the best, his presence and teaching would seem an increasing menace to religion and civilization.

I can never understand the bald and persistent statement that Jesus had nothing to do with politics or economics, except on the ground that we are anxious to keep him out of politics and economics. It is only an apostate Christianity that asserts that the Christ has nothing to do with politics. The reign of Christ will never be unless it comes as a political reign. The notion that it can come otherwise is the accursed fruit of that worst and blackest of all heresies, — the heresy that religion is one thing and life another. The kingdoms of this world belong to Christ ; and the Christianity that says that the preaching of Christ must be kept separate from politics and economics is simply the betrayer of Christ into the hands of his enemies. The price paid for this treason is the money of political and economic self-interests, as it ever has been and ever will be, until we have the revival that shall show forth Christ as the giver of economic and political law.

Any genuine religion must be a science of righteous politics, — a science of individual liberty. It is a Hegelian principle, as well as the substance of Hebrew social philosophy, that the political life of the nation is the final revelation of the moral worth and living power of religion. The real religious creed of the people, the un-

mistakable evidence of what they actually believe, is their politics. A corrupt state is simply the expression of a decadent and formal religion; and a merely respectable religion is the worst human enemy.

Now, the history of Christianity is the book of an unresting conflict between Christ and civilization; between an ideal and the political supports of the material things which civilization takes to be realities. Edward Carpenter is right in declaring that civilization has always hated Christ, as it has always hated the communism which it forever seeks to destroy, yet which it blindly builds. Through a more exact study of history, we now know that the so-called religious persecutions have been really political. All through our Christian era, when we come to deal with actual facts, we find political interests availing themselves of religious reasons for killing men who, either wisely or mistakenly, propose to bring right things to pass; just as we now find monopolists trembling for the safety of "the faith," and eagerly supporting so-called conservative religion. Of course, plenty of religious reasons have always been available for the politicians and the economic interests; but the actual reasons were the menace of Christ's teachings to the modes of life existing

as civilization. From the day when the cross lifted its matchless victim into eternal view, down past the day when St. Bartholomew massacre was planned as a political expedient, we may trace the progress of the Christ ideal, as Mr. Lowell has said, "by the blackened stakes of martyrs," in conflict with material power. Over and over again, our Lord pointed out how it must be so, until his reign should be established throughout human life. This is the whole meaning of the mystic yet terrible imagery of John in the Revelation. It is the blood of the Lamb, and of those who are immersed in its sacrifice, that overcomes a material civilization with its mark of the beast.

If there were time, I could bring to you the testimony of the church fathers and the reformers, witnessing to the political and economic causes of religious persecutions. Out of the mouth of these witnesses, I could show you how Christ's conquest of the world has proceeded, at every step, through conflict with the various forms and powers of what is known as civilization. But I must confine my citations to two particular periods of Christian history, — that of the conflict of early Christianity with Rome, and that of the martyrdom of Savonarola in Florence.

The Roman attitude towards Christianity as the enemy of society is vividly stated by the words which Henryk Sienkiewicz puts into the mouth of Pilate, in his little story, "Let Us Follow Him." "Answer, Cinna," demands Pilate, "thou art a man of sound judgment, — what wouldst thou think of me were I, neither from one cause nor another, to bestow this house in which thou art dwelling on those tattered fellows who warm themselves in the sun of the Joppa gate? And he insists on just such things. Besides, he says that we should love all equally, — the Jews as well as the Romans themselves, the Romans as the Egyptians, the Egyptians as the Africans, and so on. I confess that I have had enough of this. At the moment when his life is in peril, he bears himself as if the question were of some one else; he teaches — and prays. It is not my duty to save a man who has no care for his own safety. Whoso does not know how to preserve measure in anything is not a man of judgment. Moreover, he calls himself the Son of God, and disturbs the foundations on which society rests, and therefore harms people. Let him think what he likes in his soul, if he will not raise disturbance. As a man I protest against his teaching." More vividly still is Christianity

seen through Roman eyes in "Quo Vadis." To Vinicius, "that religion seemed opposed to the existing state of things, impossible of practice, and mad in a degree beyond all others. According to him, people in Rome and in the whole world might be bad, but the order of things was good. Had Caesar, for example, been an honest man, had the Senate been composed, not of insignificant libertines, but of men like Thrasea, what more could one wish? Nay, Roman peace and supremacy were good; distinction among people just and proper. But that religion, according to the understanding of Vinicius, would destroy all order, all supremacy, every distinction." "I made the acquaintance of a wonderful man," writes Vinicius to Petronius, "a certain Paul of Tarsus, who spoke to me of Christ and his teachings, and spoke with such power that every word of his, without his willing it, turns all the foundations of our society into ashes." "I know not how the Christians order their own lives; but I know that where their religion begins, Roman rule ends, Rome itself ends, our mode of life ends, the distinction between conquered and conqueror, between rich and poor, lord and slave, ends, government ends, Caesar ends, law and all the order of the world ends." "I told Paul,"

he concludes, "that society would fall apart because of his religion, as a cask without hoops ; he answered, 'Love is a stronger hoop than fear.' "

Questions have been raised as to the historical accuracy of "*Quo Vadis*." While Sienkiewicz has used the license and historical imagination permitted the novelist, in his great romance of early Christianity, it is evident that he writes with thorough scientific knowledge of the facts and forces of the struggles between Christ and Rome. No one need expect either to verify or to disprove these facts from any of the church histories, or indeed to learn anything about them from such source. As a matter of fact, probably nothing is more unreliable and partisan, and indeed so wholly without knowledge of the thing it is supposed to record, as church history. The church histories, even at their best, are attorneys' briefs, written in the interest of theological or critical schools, or from ecclesiastical points of view. The beginnings of some very noble work, monumental in its character, was done by the beloved Dr. Hatch, in his "*Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages Upon the Christian Church*," and in his "*Organization of the Early Christian Churches*." If his life had been spared, we might have had

from him a history of the Christian peoples, instead of the annals of the combats of theologians and ecclesiastical politicians. Some very skilful and useful beginnings in this direction have been made by Professor Nitti, in his work on "Catholic Socialism," which shows us clearly the economic and political causes of the early Christian persecutions. From many sources, he discloses the effect of Christianity in a vast economic revolution, destroying the foundations of the Roman order of things, even when questions were discussed in theological terms. In his "Law of Civilization and Decay," Mr. Brooks Adams points out how the position of the early Christians in the Roman empire was practically that of the nihilists of to-day in the Russian empire; the light in which they were regarded by Roman civilization was much the same as that in which the nihilists are viewed by European civilization. "It was indeed," says Cardinal Newman, "an old, decayed, and moribund world, into which Christianity had been cast. The social fabric was overgrown with the corruptions of a thousand years, and was held together, not so much by any common principle, as by the strength of possession and the tenacity of custom. It was too large for public spirit, and too artificial for patriotism, and its many religions

did but foster in the popular mind division and scepticism. Want of mutual confidence would lead to despondency, inactivity, and selfishness. Society was in the slow fever of consumption, which made it restless in proportion as it was feeble. It was powerful, however, to seduce and deprave; nor was there any *locus standi* from which to combat its evils; and the only way of getting on in it was to abandon principle and duty, to take things as they came, and to do as the world did."

It is the critical study of history — history written with the spade and pickaxe — that makes clear the nature of the struggle between Rome and Jesus, between the Sermon on the Mount and Caesar's legions. This critical study reveals how the early Christian persecutions were caused by no hostility to their religion as such. Every man could worship whom and what he pleased, so far as the Romans were concerned; they were hospitable to all religions; they opened temple doors to all the gods, and stole such gods as hesitated to enter their Pantheon. "The sceptical masters of Rome," says Henry George, "tolerant of all gods, careless of what they deemed vulgar superstitions, were keenly sensitive to a doctrine based on equal rights; they feared instinctively

a religion that inspired slave and proletariat with a new hope; that took for its central figure a crucified carpenter; that taught the equal fatherhood of God and the equal brotherhood of men; that looked for the speedy reign of justice, and that prayed, 'Thy kingdom come on earth!'" The Roman upper classes keenly discerned that the spread of a society, and the growth of communities, based upon the teachings of Jesus, meant the ultimate submerging of the whole Roman political and economic fabric. Hence the early Christians were tortured, imprisoned, exiled, and put to terrible forms of death, on the charge of anarchy and atheism; on the charge of being destroyers of morals, religion, property, and the state. The conflict was a social conflict, a life and death meeting of two antipodal conceptions. Both social conceptions could not stay together in the same world, any more than light and darkness, love and force, could stay together. There was not room in humanity for both Caesar and Jesus.

Now, the best and most impartial work which has been done along the line of critical investigation upon our subject is that of Professor Rodolfo Lanciani of Rome, some of whose lectures it was my privilege to hear in that city.

I wish that every student of social and religious problems might carefully read Professor Lanciani's book on "Pagan and Christian Rome." All his authorities, and the results of his researches, are carefully given. And, best of all, it is manifest to any one that he has investigated without the slightest taint of any sort of partisan motive; indeed, with a sweet unconsciousness of there being any other than the truly religious as well as scientific motive of finding out the facts. He writes simply as a most patient and critical archæologist and historian. His work comes as near being authoritative and final, so far as it has gone, as such work is ever likely to be. Without any thought of supporting anything or any position, but purely as an archæologist and scientific historian, he presents the facts which support precisely the position assumed by Sienkiewicz in "*Quo Vadis*." "We must not believe," he says, "that gentiles and Christians lived always at swords' points. Italians in general, and Romans in particular, are noted for their great tolerance in matters of religion, which sometimes degenerates into apathy and indifference. Whether it be a sign of feebleness of character, or of common sense, the fact is, that religious feuds have never been allowed to prevail among us. In no part of the

world have the Jews enjoyed more freedom and tolerance than in the Roman Ghetto. The same feelings prevailed in imperial Rome, except for occasional outbursts of passion, fomented by the official persecutors." "The transformation of Rome from a pagan into a Christian city was a sudden and unexpected event, which took the world by surprise." But "it was not a revolution or a conversion in the true sense of these words ; it was the official recognition of a state of things which had long ceased to be a secret. The moral superiority of the new doctrines over the old religions was so evident, so overpowering, that the result of the struggle had been a foregone conclusion since the ages of the first apologists. The revolution was an exceedingly mild one, the transformation almost imperceptible. No violence was resorted to, and the tolerance and mutual benevolence so characteristic of the Italian race was adopted as the fundamental policy of state and church." "In Rome itself the apostle could preach the gospel with freedom, even when in custody, or under police supervision. And as it was lawful for a Roman citizen to embrace the Jewish persuasion, and give up the religion of his fathers, he was equally free to embrace the Evangelic faith,

which was considered by the pagans a Jewish sect, not a new belief."

The first persecutions must be attributed, says Professor Lanciani, not to the Romans, but to the Jews, who found it of vital importance to "separate their cause from that of the new-comers." The church, thus being "repudiated by her mother the synagogue, could no longer share the privileges of the Jewish community. As for the state, it became a necessity either to recognize Christianity as a new legal religion, or to proscribe and condemn it. The great fire which destroyed half of Rome under Nero, and which was purposely attributed to the Christians, brought the situation to a crisis. The first persecution began. Had the magistrate who conducted the inquiry been able to prove the indictment of arson, perhaps the storm would have been short, and confined to Rome; but as the Christians could easily exculpate themselves, the trial was changed from a criminal into a politico-religious one. The Christians were convicted not so much of arson, as of a hatred of mankind; a formula which includes anarchism, atheism, and high treason. This monstrous accusation once admitted, the persecution could not be limited to Rome; it necessarily became general." Of the subse-

quent historic persecutions of the Christians, Professor Lanciani says: "Strange to say, more clemency was shown towards them by emperors whom we are accustomed to call tyrants, than by those who are considered models of virtue. The author of the '*Philosophumena*' (book ix., ch. 11) says that Commodus granted to Pope Victor the liberation of the Christians who had been condemned to the mines of Sardinia by Marcus Aurelius. Thus that profligate emperor was really more merciful to the church than the philosophic author of the '*Meditations*,' who, in the year 174, had witnessed the miracle of the Thundering Legion. The reason is evident. The wise rulers foresaw the destructive effect of the new doctrines on pagan society, and indirectly on the empire itself; whereas those who were given over to dissipation were indifferent to the danger; 'after them the deluge!'"

Let us now pass on to the conflict of Savonarola with medieval civilization. Protestants complain because the inscription on the enormous statue of Savonarola, in the great hall of old Florence, is to the effect that he was a martyr to Italian unity. They smile at this as a Catholic evasion of the facts of Savonarola's martyrdom. And yet if a smile of pitying de-

rision is ever rightly evoked, there is reason enough for it in the Protestant prejudice and ignorance which makes this complaint. Savonarola was always a faithful Catholic. He never departed, nor was he even charged with departing, from strict adherence to both the religious and ecclesiastical teachings of the church. He was in no sense what we call a Protestant, either in his faith or his religious reforms; and he was a forerunner of Protestantism only in the same sense that St. Francis or even Pope Gregory the Great, might be called such a forerunner. The charges against Savonarola were political charges; his trial was a political trial; his death was a political martyrdom. His reforms were none the less religious because of their social and civic nature; but they had nothing to do with the theological and ecclesiastical problems that afterwards occupied Protestantism.

Savonarola had constantly before him the dream of a regenerated and united Europe. In a true sense, he and Dante were the political heirs of the religious and social ideal of St. Francis. Savonarola sought a free and righteous Florence as the city of God, from which the salvation of Christ would go forth to redeem and unite Italy, and then move northward to

regenerate and unite Europe in the full come kingdom of heaven. We critics, who take our little profundities so solemnly, and who spend our days analyzing and criticising the men who have done something, in order that we may lay wise foundations for doing nothing ourselves, are quite clear and agreed that the mistake and failure of Savonarola's life was in committing his cause to a political party. Be that as it may, it was a political cause, with a religious revival for its dynamic. It was a deliberate attempt, steadily adhered to unto the hour when the great martyr swung from the historic piazzzi in Florence, to establish the political reign of Christ in Europe. The purification of Florence, the banishing of those practices which seemed to him to defile citizens and city, was intended to culminate in a solemn declaration to the world that Christ was king of Florence. "God permitted," he says, "that I should come to Florence, which is the light of Italy, that you might spread the knowledge of repentance to all the other cities of Italy. But thou, Florence, hast heard of this only from the report of others; and, therefore, thou, Florence, wilt have no excuse if thou repent not. Believe me, Florence, it is not I, it is God who says these things." "Florence, wilt thou have liberty? Citizens,

will ye be free? First, love God, love your neighbor, love one another, love the common good. If you have this love and this union among yourselves, you will have true liberty." Later, and in anxious urgency, he exclaims: "I warn you that already Italy is near the beginning of her tribulations. O Italy! O princes of Italy! O prelates of the church! the wrath of God is upon you, and you have no remedy unless you repent! O Italy! O Florence! for thy sins these trials are coming upon thee! Repent while the sword is yet unsheathed, while it is not yet stained with blood! The conclusion is this: I have told thee all these things, with reasons divine and human, with moderation, restraining my language. I have besought thee. I cannot command thee, because I am not thy master, but thy father. Do thou act, O Florence! I can only pray that God may enlighten thee." Then at the end, keeping unbroken faith with his ideal, he comforts his brother-monks with these words: "My children, before God, before the consecrated host, with the enemy already in the convent, I confirm to you my doctrine. That which I have spoken I have received from God, and he is my witness in heaven that I do not lie. I did not know that the whole city was to turn against

me ; but the will of the Lord be done. My last counsel is this : let faith, patience, and prayers be your arms. I leave you with anguish and grief, to put myself into the hands of my enemies. I know not whether they will take away my life ; but I am certain that if I must die, I shall be able to aid you in heaven more than I have been able to do on earth."

Savonarola failed in the end, we say, speaking historically. Yet his ideal still dominates the Christian apostleship of the world, and he actually succeeded, for the time being, as no other man has ever succeeded in a like undertaking, unless it be Moses, or the great Ambrose at Milan. Neither Isaiah at Jerusalem, nor Calvin at Geneva, nor Cromwell in England, nor Mazzini at Rome, held spiritual sway over a political and social situation with any such definiteness of effect or length of time as Savonarola ruled Florence in the name of Christ, and from the pulpit of the Duomo. "For years," says his greatest biographer, "Savonarola worked in the midst of successes which have seldom, perhaps never, been attained in the civil reform of a state by one whose days had been spent in retirement and preaching." And his triumphs were achieved in steady and open war against the most magnificent and popular tyrant of

medieval times, Lorenzo de Medici, who was also master of all the medieval arts of intrigue and power.

The conflict between Christ and civilization still goes on. It must go on, until Carl Marx's ideal of a perpetually fluid civilization is realized by the universal acceptance of the love of Christ as the sole human law and liberty. Christ and civilization are building upon two entirely opposing principles: the war between them is the war of love against self-interest as the governing principle of mankind. It is this law of self-interest which makes civilization the antithesis of all that the name of Christ rightly stands for. "For all industrial matters," says Frederic Harrison, "in modern Europe and America, a moral code has been evolved, which makes the unlimited indulgence of self-interest, pushed to the very verge of liability to law, the supreme social duty of the industrious citizen." "Economists, politicians, moralists, and even preachers," he says, "urge on the enterprising capitalist that the industrialist does best his duty by society who does best his duty by himself. Banker, merchant, manufacturer, proprietor, tradesman, and workman alike submit to this strange moral law. It is assumed as beyond proof that the rapid increase of business, the

great accumulation of wealth, is a good *per se* — good for the capitalist, good for society. No account is taken of the business ruined, of the workmen thrown out of employment, of the over-production, of the useless, mischievous, rotten trade created, and of all the manifold evils scattered broadcast among the producers and every one within range of the work. It is enough to have made business, to have accumulated wealth, without coming within the grasp of the law." "Here, then," concludes Mr. Harrison, "is the all-sufficient source of industrial maladies. We have come, in matters industrial, to treat duty to others, and duty to society, as only to be found in duty to self."

If any one doubts the fundamental antagonism between existing civilization and the teachings of Jesus, let him read certain editorials in the *New York Post*, which is the ablest organ of the new bourbonism and of the present order of things. These editorials are not exceptional in their tone, but are indeed fairly typical of the protests which abundantly issue from the public press, the political platform, the representative pulpit, the academic chair. Certain college professors, whose crime is that they have sought social justice through the application of Jesus' teachings to social conditions, are classified as

“offenders who must not escape.” These seekers are accused of inflaming the masses “with passion to overthrow the courts, to the end that they might place themselves where ‘law cannot touch us’ — that law which college professors told these poor men, many of them new-comers in America, was only a synonym for injustice. They have told the ignorant who looked up to them for instruction that Jesus Christ was an anarchist, and that every good Christian nowadays should be the same, and sent away their audiences with murder in their hearts.” “We have said,” continues this editorial, “that these men and their like have not been indicted, and probably cannot be punished under any law on the statute-book — though their offence differs little in its essence from that of Parsons, the Chicago anarchist, who was convicted and hanged for inciting others to murder, rather than for actual participation in the killing.” Hear the conclusion: “Even if the statute-book does not yet contain a penalty for such offenders, they can still be made to suffer. The power of public opinion can be brought to bear, and the indignation of the right-minded can be directed against them. They should be made to feel that the people recognize their guilt, and will take care that a repetition of such incite-

ments to crime shall be properly punished." In another editorial, the tender wisdom and touching discrimination of this same writer appears: "The church for ages did excellent work in preaching content to the poor and unfortunate, for there was then really no escape from their misery. These teachings have now been dropped, or fall on leaden ears. The new doctrine that no man should be content, that all should try to rise, has been converted into a proposition that all can rise, and that if anybody does not rise, it is because somebody is keeping him down. Herein lies the source of all our woes. Anybody who goes about spreading this view is really an accessory before the fact to all anarchist crimes." Put over against all of this a cry from the beautiful soul of George William Curtis, not long before he left us: "Is there anything more certain than that the Christendom which actually rejects the Christian ideals and principles as impracticable, denounces most savagely those who practically illustrate them, even if they theoretically reject them?"

As I have already tried to point out, in preceding lectures, the conflict between Christ and civilization is made very specific, to us of this day, by the economic problem. The problem has been made threatening to our nation

by the subversion of every human interest to money. In no nation on earth is there such abject submission to mere money, in both church and state, as here in America. The emancipation of life, of our nation and its institutions, from the rule of money is our religio-economic problem in its first and political aspect. It presents the national and social situation for which we are each responsible. It points out the deliverance for which we must individually and collectively give ourselves, and that with divine urgency.

Organized money menaces the integrity and perpetuity of every existing government. It is causing the peoples international to question, as never before, the utility of government ; they are beginning to distinguish between government and the nation, between legalism and law, between power and liberty. From St. Petersburg to the plains of the Dakotas, toilers and producers are asking why they should toil to produce billions to support governments which are the instruments of the privileged classes to further exploit them. They are asking why they must support navies, armies, and parasitic legislatures to protect them from each other, when they are in reality brothers and need no such protection. The idea of government as

fraternal co-operation, as brotherhood, as friendship, is the living dynamite that is getting underneath the thrones of the Old World, and underneath the legislatures of our American money lords.

It is time for the Christian apostle to plainly examine and challenge the social right of great possessors of wealth to their possessions. Of this wealth, the possessors are neither the creators nor the rightful owners ; it was created by the people, and to the people it belongs. To say this may be dangerous ; but there is infinitely greater danger in leaving it unsaid.

If the teachings of Jesus are dangerous and destructive, if he spake impracticable things which he did not understand, if his words are the cries of an over-wrought enthusiast, then let us quit worshipping him, and put an end to this colossal thing we call Christianity. If Jesus is the Son of God and the Redeemer of man, if he is the true teacher of practicable teachings, then while it is yet day, before dreadful judgment comes on, let us begin to preach what he taught, and to divinely enforce the justice of his love.

We shall meet with misunderstanding and complaint, as we speak against the existing order of things in the name of Christ, but we

may meet it with loving faith. We have the whole of Christian history behind us; it was to show this, that I briefly and rudely sketched two great scenes in the on-going drama of Christian conquest, and pointed to our own place in the scene now upon the stage. What else can the humblest disciple do, and be true, than stand for an order of life that shall incarnate the ideal of his Lord? "Revolution is for us," says Mazzini, "a work of education, a religious mission." No disciple, without being apostate, can suffer any order to exist or crystallize short of Jesus' goal of the realized kingdom of heaven. We are not here to preserve the existing order, but to establish the Christ order. "The existing order of things," said Judge Gaynor in Brooklyn, not long ago, "may be the worst possible order of things. The existing order of things crucified Jesus because he was a denouncer; and in this enlightened nation the existing order of things, even during the lifetime of those of us who are still called young, was that one human being might own another, and good men were mobbed for objecting to it. We owe all that we have to the steady advance of the human race against the compact mass who always cried out, and still cry out as lustily as ever, 'Don't disturb the existing order of things.'"

No doubt the thought of love as law is still the most revolutionary idea that can be introduced into society. The liberating truth for which Jesus gave his life, for which the prophets before and the apostles after him gave their lives, is certainly disturbing to much of what we have learned as truth in our schools and churches, in our politics and commerce. "No book could be distributed among the servile population more incendiary than the Bible, if they could only read it," said Mr. Lowell in his famous Tract Society address. A great English ecclesiastic declares that the application of Jesus' teachings would destroy existing civilization to the foundations. Shall we therefore be silent? Nay, it is our silence for the sake of peace that has brought upon us our present universal tragedy. No superstition is so gross and dangerous as the superstition that it is dangerous for a man to speak the truth he sees. In liberty only is safety found, and we are atheists to the extent that we fear to trust liberty. If the Anglican bishop is right, then safety lies in building a civilization that will stand the test of the highest truth we know. We really do not care what becomes of what is called civilization; we care only for what becomes of human beings. The right of the

humblest human soul to the resources and liberty needful for living a complete and unfearing life is infinitely more sacred than the whole fabric and machinery of civilization. We may serenely bless every passing of institutions or systems that makes way for what our one great poet calls "the institution of the dear love of comrades."

And when that word love is spoken, the whole problem of society is stated. "What is the disease from which our entire civilization suffers," asks Richard Wagner, "but want of love?" Yet is it the want of love, or the lack of faith in it, that ails civilization? Surely, the thought of love as law could never have been born, if love were not the substance and reality of the common life, in spite of the strife and tragedy of historic experience. With each new experience, with the appearing and vanishing of each problem and its crisis, humanity is anew and more fully committed to the law of love as the sole bond of unity, and the sole ground of liberty. That this love will triumph at last, and have the human future for its own, is the world's beatific hope that will not die. The successive steps by which this hope may be fulfilled, I cannot tell, nor lives there a man who can. We ought not to be told by an indi-

vidual, for the day of the individual initiative has gone by, and the day of the people is coming. Man's destiny of organized love will be wrought out by the common experience, the common suffering, the common faith, the invention of the common love. But, though I cannot see the steps that lead to the goal, I see that the social future of love is sure, and I am not wrong in pleading that we commit ourselves to the vision. Already human life is so settled in discontent with all that is not love, so glowing with brotherly feeling and so active with saving forces, so near to breathing the heavenly breath and so watchful for the holy city, that it may be that the social crisis will open the gates of the nations for the universal revolution of love, and the peoples enter upon the strifeless progress of the ransomed society.

LECTURE VI.

THE CONFLICT OF CHRIST WITH
CHRISTIANITY.

REVOLUTION is then for us a work of education, a religious mission. Had we naught to sustain us in our struggles but the impulse of anger or of reaction, we should long ago have been disheartened by doubt and wearied by delusions. Had we drawn our inspiration from the love of power, we could, by sacrificing our convictions in part, have at once satisfied the low desire. As there exists no church save one hostile to the spirit of the truth, and degenerated from its first institution, we are now the Militant Church of Precursors to the temple which shall be rebuilt, invoking the kingdom of God, upon earth as it is in heaven. We are the Church of Precursors until the virtuous who feel the necessity of a true and living faith, as the unifier of all human efforts, and inspirer of all human faculties, having assembled in council, having interrogated progress, having explored the evils, and decreed the remedies for our state, shall lay the first stone of the Universal Church of Humanity. And then only, the world being conquered by his teaching, Jesus will be able to repeat to the Father with an ineffable smile: "I have manifested thy name unto the men which thou gavest me out of the world; thine they were and thou gavest them me; and they have kept thy word." — *Joseph Mazzini.*

VI.

THE CONFLICT OF CHRIST WITH CHRISTIANITY.

I was then carried in spirit to the mines where poor oppressed people were digging rich treasures for those called Christians, and heard them blaspheme the name of Christ, at which I was grieved, for his name to me was precious. I was then informed that these heathens were told that those who oppressed them were the followers of Christ, and they said among themselves, "If Christ directed them to use us in this sort, then Christ is a cruel tyrant." — JOHN WOOLMAN.

AMONG all classes, there is a growing feeling that some sort of a new religious movement is the sole hope of a peaceful social revolution. As the problem of society grows more portentous and complicated, as the stress and strain of soul increase, it is seen by all that the revolutionary methods of the past will not help us; that we must somehow look for the incoming of spiritual forces sufficient to procure a revolution of love and fraternity. The social conscience craves a religion, the social shame and woe cry for a salvation, the world waits for a faith, for which men are once more ready to die

or live with equal joy. We need, as Mazzini said, "a social faith which may save us from anarchy, the moral inspiration which may express that faith in action and keep us from idle contemplation." And the faith for which men seek death, he says, "is neither the frenzy of culpable agitators, nor the dream of deluded men; it is the germ of a religion, a providential decree."

It is also felt by all that the spiritual movement for which we wait, if it answers the universal social need, must come in the terms of the economic problem. The religious question of to-day is an economic question; the spiritual task before religion is that of making property a medium and an expression of spiritual aspirations and ideals. The economic question can never be separated from the religious question, nor the religious question from the economic; the two are one, from Moses to Jesus, from Buddha to St. Francis, from Wyckliffe to the present time. Émile Zola is right in declaring "that an economical question is invariably hidden beneath each religious evolution, and that, upon the whole, the everlasting evil, the everlasting struggle, has never been aught but one between the rich and the poor." The life of man is objectively an economic life,

grounded in religion, and showing forth its fundamental faith in political conditions. As I have already said, political corruption is the overflow of economic corruption; and behind economic corruption lies an inadequate and unethical religious experience and organization.

But there are some who feel the need of this religious movement most deeply, and who wait for its coming most intently, who will yet nobly object to my association of the economic problem with the name and teachings of Jesus. The idea is gaining ground, among pure and heroic men and women, ready to lay down their lives for the brethren, that we must give up the Christian terminology, in order to procure the great human movement toward a co-operative society. Largely because of the attitude of professional Christianity, there is subtly at work the same deadly scepticism that wrought such disaster in France, both before and after the Revolution. It is bearing the social leadership of our nation toward the same abyss. And to maintain one's integrity of faith against the social unfaith of organized religion on one side, and against the doubt of that faith on the part of holy servants of men on the other, is sometimes the most strenuous spiritual test of those

who believe that the name of Jesus is able to summon mankind to the social task.

It is true that I speak as one who believes that Jesus disclosed elemental and universal principles of life : principles which not only give us a social ideal and philosophy, but which are capable of practical realization. The feeling deepens with me that we shall not have social rest, nor a harmonious and happy progress, until we adopt these principles as a law and mode of society. But I do not appeal to Jesus because I wish to claim for him any superimposed authority, or in order to convert any one to what is known as the Christian religion. I am quite aware that other teachers and religions, that philosophers and modern sciences, have reached many of the same ideas and principles that Jesus reached. I am sure that many will come in other names than his, from the east and the west, from many points of view and schools of thought, from fields of noblest effort and highest sacrifice, to sit down with him in the realized kingdom of God. But I think that all will agree that he more vividly generalized certain great truths, and that he more fully focussed them in his life, than any other teacher or personality we know. It is just because that Jesus gathered up and dramatized what is common to the world's

best thought and highest aspiration that I appeal to him. My interest is in human life, its meaning and destiny; and I turn to Jesus because of his matchless interpretation of life and its problems. I find no other interpretation which offers so universal a basis for that religion which the social conscience craves.

Now, the most significant fact of the hour is the appeal of the social conscience from Christianity to Christ. The rising faith of the people and the discernment of both scientific and economic prophets are alike turning to Jesus, while turning from the church. To the Christian religion and its official attitude, there is the strongest antipathy and social distrust; for Jesus, there is an increasing reverence and social loyalty, having in it heroic elements, and strong enough to call churchless men to martyrdom for his name's sake. Not long ago, no less a materialist than Professor Lombroso expressed his conviction that the solution of the anti-Semitic and social problems lies in a new religion, "which should take as its standard the new social ideas which Christ has already preached;" it would be a "neo-Christian socialism," in which Jews and Christians might at last unite. "God only knows the remedy," said Louis Kossuth, speaking sadly and gloomily

of "the manifold crimes which society has committed against the people;" but "if the doctrines of Christianity, which are found in the New Testament, could be applied to home society," he said, "I believe the solution of the social problem could be got at."

But we can have no such revival as that for which we wait, until we have in mind a clear distinction between the Christian life and the life that is conventionally religious. There can be no more reckless or mischievous misuse of language than the indiscriminate way in which the term Christian is used. To accept the existing Christian religion may be very remote from accepting Christ and the order of things for which he stood. A man may be devout, generous, good, and just, according to the best current standards of the church, and yet be in no sense a follower of Christ. The Christian life is not in our creeds as a theory, much less in our practice as a Christian society. It is not in our religious doctrines, much less in our life. The church does not even profess faith in Christ in the sense of taking him at his word, and believing his life livable and workable in the world. I know of no church that requires or expects, or that pretends to require or expect, that its members shall really do the things

which Christ commanded. "The disastrous results of a diffusion of Christianity at the cost of its intensity," says Canon Gore, "is very apparent to those of us who are greatly interested in the social problems of the present moment." "How is it," he asks, "that we have reached a condition of things when men cannot only utter, as multitudes of men always have done, the maxims of worldliness and selfishness, but utter these maxims without any sense that, by simply giving expression to them, they are repudiating Christianity, as far as words go quite as really as if they were denying the Christian creed, or as if in the old days of persecution they had offered incense to the divinity of the Roman emperor?"

In a profound sense, the religion of Jesus is coming upon the world as practically a new revelation. In the discussions which have come and gone with the centuries, in the theological battles in which councils and kings, imperial armies and massacred peoples, have played their part, the essential question of the religion of Jesus has not been touched; nor has it been touched by either the vulgar or the scholarly debates between so-called believers and so-called infidels. The debates and wars of the church have been over questions that are not essential, so far as

Jesus is concerned ; they have been about things that have nothing to do with his religion and programme. The real proposition of Christianity is this : that love is the elemental law of being, in God, in man, in nature. No man, no philosophy, no religion, has ever disputed the law of love ; no scepticism has ever argued against it. To destroy Christianity, we would have to destroy the law of love ; to believe and practise Christianity, we must believe and practise the law of love. And love has as yet had so little to do with the motives that direct social organization, that we have no data by which to determine what society might be under its rule. "The power of love has been but meanly and sparingly applied," says Thoreau ; "it has patented only such machines as the almshouse, the hospital, and the Bible Society, while its infinite wind is still blowing, and blowing down those very structures, too, from time to time." To bring Christ "into history, to found on him the relations of the people, to create the love of our neighbor in the historical sense, — that is the mission" which Sienkiewicz sees before his Slavic world, and which we may see as the mission of all who have grasped the thought of love as law.

Jesus did not make the law of love, but it

made him ; he simply interpreted and dramatized the love which had always been the law of all being, whether he had come into the world or not — the law which never had a beginning and which can never have an ending. It is the law which has always governed man, whether he knew it or not, whether he would have it govern him or not ; only man has compelled love to govern him retributively, instead of through his willing acceptance of its rule. It is this law of love that the cross stands for ; and it is this which is bringing Christ into conflict with the Christianity which claims his name.

Christianity began, so far as it issued from Jesus, not as a new religion, but as a mode of living by this law of love. In religion as a thing in itself Jesus was not interested ; rather, he looked with profound distrust upon what was then, and is now, both officially and popularly understood by religion. Religious forms and dogmas he regarded as of little consequence, except as they darkened and oppressed human life. A religious cult was something he could not tolerate ; an official religion was an usurpation. Religion as a thing in itself, as an absorbent of life, was to him the worst blasphemy, a cruel and outrageous imposition. He presented no system of religion for acceptance, and noth-

ing indicates that he came expecting to found a new religion. Neither the people who heard him gladly, nor the disciples who followed him, had any thought that a new religion was being founded. It was human life that interested Jesus, and that seemed to him, even at its worst, to be the sacred matter of concern. Every phase and expression of life caught and held his attention to the point of intensest fascination. Forming no cult of worship, in fact avoiding such as the most deadly moral fatality, his blessing was upon those who divinely gave themselves to the service of humanity. "As I understand it," says Amiel, "Christianity is above all religions, and religion is not a method, it is a life." Human life is the real presence of God which Jesus taught men to see and worship.

Jesus had nothing occult or transcendental, mysterious or supernatural, to teach. Although we idly distinguish between natural and revealed religion, it was to show natural religion as right relations that Jesus taught and worked. The spirituality of the natural, the naturalness of the spiritual, the social oneness and ethical sympathy of spirit and nature, was the ground of his faith. To have proposed a supernatural mode of life directly opposed to the natural organism in which it was to be lived would

have been moral insanity. To rid the human mind of the distinction between the natural and the supernatural — a primitive pagan superstition which still clings to us — was one of Jesus' most faithful efforts. He knew that this false distinction was fatal to sane or right relations; that it was the ground upon which official religion built its tyrannies. It was the superstition that peopled the unseen world with demi-gods, invested priestcrafts with their authority, forever hiding the face of God from his people, keeping man ignorant of his divine sonship. To show forth his own divine sonship as the natural life of man, with the brotherhood it brought as the normal human order, was to Jesus an unfailing inspiration.

He put life before men as an unending spiritual adventure and discovery. He invested the pursuit of righteousness with a fascination which no romance has ever given to an absorbing love. He made goodness supremely attractive, from whatever source it came. He made truth a glorious quest, through whatever depths the quest led him. The only people he seemed unable to tolerate were the virtuous who had lost their enthusiasm. He had a deep-seated aversion for what we call moderation. He could get along with almost anybody, or any-

thing, except the "judicious," the "impartial," and the "safe." The respectable moral dullness of professional religion he abhorred as wickedness in its worst and stupidest disguise. If a man could not find a righteousness that exceeded the best current righteousness, then he was not interested in righteousness at all, and could in no wise enter the kingdom of heaven. To be content with the existing order of things, was downright apostasy and atheism, from Jesus' point of view.

Yet we must not mistake Jesus for a mere teacher of ethics, either individual or social. While no teacher is so ethical as Jesus, he never dreamed of presenting a mere system of ethics, or even of giving a final ethic. A system of ethics can have only a relative ethical value. Obedience to ethics may not result in an ethical life, and it is as idle to assume that God has given a final revelation of ethics as to suppose that he has given a final revelation of astronomy or theology. It is the unfolding life alone that is ethical, and life increases only to know a better ethic to-day than it knew yesterday. It was as a teacher of elemental life and law that Jesus came.

He did not come as one teaching something new so much as one unfolding what was old ;

he came as an interpreter of what had been the human meaning of religion from its beginning. Many of his sayings are an assimilation and living reproduction, a rich bloom and perfect fruit, of what was best and hid in current Hebrew teaching. He had abundantly fed his spirit upon the thought of the later Isaiah, and had formed his ideals in part from that prophet's glowing visions of the redeemed nation, leading the world into a regenerated civilization. He talked in an ethical and social language that was then no more unknown to the Hebrew church than it is now unknown, in another way, to the Christian church. It was the language of the redeemed society, calling men to repentance as the condition of its realization; the tongue of the kingdom of God, calling men to a new moral birth as the first condition of citizenship.

In neither Old nor New Testament, does the term kingdom of God, or kingdom of heaven, mean other than a righteous society upon the earth. It was the term commonly used to signify social justice — a justice to be fully realized when the Messiah should come. It was expected that he, whenever he came or whoever he proved to be, would bring in an order so just, so free from oppression and righteous in freedom, that it would be nothing else than the

direct reign of God in human affairs, the manifest and indisputable setting up of his government in the world. While Jesus' ideal of the kingdom was surpassingly purer than the popular or orthodox ideal, and his conception of the kingdom's law and method radically different, it was none the less this same kingdom of heaven he came to initiate; it was a social deliverance that he brought. He did not expect, nor did he once lead the people to expect, anything other than the realization of the kingdom of heaven as a holy society of universal justice. His interpretations of the kingdom have far more to do with relations, with social facts and forces, than with what we understand by religion. His teachings disclose the kingdom of God as not only a subjective condition, a state of mind, but as an objective and perfectly organized society. They furnish not only a social ideal, but a working principle and a dynamic for its realization. They deal more specifically with questions of economic equity, and far more frequently with the subject of property, than we care to know. It could not be otherwise, with the early Christian apostolate borne on by Jesus' idea of the kingdom of God as a heavenly economy of the earthly life, with all its things and persons.

For the redemption of human life to this kingdom, Jesus endured the cross, with his glorious disgrace, and gained the secret of power. Through the knowledge that his broken life and shed blood would be the living meat and drink of the world, that out of the travail of his soul would finally issue the salvation of the righteous society, he carried with joy the shame heaped upon him by a faithless church and nation. For this he drank his cup of sorrow to the dregs, bore without murmuring the sufferings by which he learned obedience, and went shelterless into the assailing storms of avenging evil. The righting of wrong, the realization of the brotherhood, was the sanctifying motive that raised him to the moral glory of the cross, and makes his sacrifice the world's highest social revelation.

The age that finally changed the revelation of Jesus from a social ideal to an official religion, from a mode of life to a theological system, was one of moral and religious anarchy, insanely wicked and licentious. It is a strange thing, but not so strange as the small account we make of it, that the great councils that formulated the church's system of truth were composed of members from whom the sense of truth had almost died out. The facts about

their riots of creeds and destroying factions we probably can never know. As Dean Farrar says, with reference to this time, "we can never trust the accounts given either of the opinions or characters of men by their theological opponents." The Nicene council, which laid the foundation for all subsequent theology, was so without sense of right and human honor, as to appall even the ethical decency of Constantine, who scarcely pretended to be other than an atheist as to morals and a sceptic as to faith, though fabled the first Christian emperor. It is a far downward journey from Jesus to Athanasius, farther than from Athanasius to either Hildebrand or Calvin. When the philosophers of Alexandria and Athens finally got the Christian directorate, and the Roman upper classes began to make Christianity a fad, its spring-time of moral glory had gone, while the summer was soon ended, and the long winter of the faith of Jesus began. The organized cult of worship, the great ethnic religion, that has grown up bearing his name, is something that Jesus never contemplated. We need not call it evil, and doubtless it was an inevitable historical process in the evolution of the universal society and religion. But it is foreign, and in a large measure antagonistic, to the idea and outlook of Jesus.

Of course, the church has been receiving moral discipline, yet to bear its best fruit, during these centuries of wandering in the wilderness of theology and ecclesiastical politics. But this wilderness, in which we still wander among the bones of our fathers, is not the land of social promise which Jesus viewed for his nation, and his human race. Though men know not what they see, and see it dimly yet, the recovery of Christianity from the system of religion imposed upon it by Greek theology and Roman law, from the baneful moral and social effects which this system has so deeply wrought, with the restoration of the idea of Jesus to Christendom, is the process now at work in society, and is the beatific vision mightily and hopefully attracting the common life to a wider and nobler faith. "Jesus will always supply us with the best criticism of Christianity," says Amiel ; "and when Christianity has passed away the religion of Jesus will in all probability survive."

Before Jesus can have his day and social way, there will have to be done for Christianity what Jesus did for Judaism. The Christian religion we know is not the religion of Jesus ; he is no more the author of existing Christianity than Moses was the author of the Judaism out

of which Christianity was born. The sum of what is taught and practised as his religion represents Jesus in only the most meagre sense, and in a large sense represents the things his soul hated ; the things he came to save men from. We preach in his name the things he did not preach, while the things he preached, as well as the things for which his name really stood, we leave unproclaimed. The pulpits in which the ministry of Jesus' actual word would be tolerated are few and scarcely representative. The church has become of the world, even as Jesus was not of the world. It has lost its power of moral appeal, and has no programme of faith to offer the social cry. It is impotent to effect the social synthesis, or to initiate the religious movement which alone can bring social salvation. Social things which are the worst abomination in the sight of God are not more highly esteemed in the world than in the church. It is to the church, rather than to the world, that the cross has become foolishness, in this day of material values and measurements. There is practically no organized effort to put into practice the mode of life which Jesus initiated as redemption ; no real attempt on the part of the church as a whole to learn, much less to preach or to practise, Jesus' religious

idea or social ideal. The problem of getting Christianity, or the church, to accept Christ is the most momentous difficulty which the social situation presents. "The socialistic theories," says Dr. Edwin D. Hatch, "which formulate in modern language and justify by modern conceptions such an exhortation as 'Sell what thou hast and give to the poor,' meet with no less opposition within than without the Christian societies." "The conversion of the church to Christian theory," he says, "must precede the conversion of the world to Christian practice." "We have," says Herbert Spencer, "a thin layer of Christianity overlying a thick layer of paganism. Christianity has the nominal honor and the professed obedience; while paganism is nominally discredited but practically obeyed." It is this antithesis between Christ and Christianity which leads President Tucker to declare that the arrest of foreign missions is due to the fact that the heathen are finding us out.

In saying that the religious ideal prevailing in the church must have an end, I do not denounce the church, or question the effective faith or martyr-effort it has wrought, or doubt the noble men and women who work within it, any more than I denounce a garment, or deny its past utility, by saying that it is worn out,

and that a fitter and more useful garment can be conceived; I merely say that the present organization of Christianity has done its work, however great its value as an historic provision, and that it is hence no longer adequate and constructive, but rather baffling and destructive. To conserve the present religious system in the face of the social epoch, means death to faith, and anarchy to action. To continue in the system because of what God has wrought through it in the past, is to be guilty of the very apostasy that hurried Jesus to the cross. If we, at this moment of greatest human effort toward righteousness, suffer the past to circumscribe our religious thought and social faith, we are recreant to the Jesus we worship and preach. It is not simply that we have the same right to think and act that Moses and Paul had, or that Athanasius and Calvin had, but that we are under the same obligation to God and man to think and act; to think and act, too, with the spiritual adventure by which their faith achieved progress. Only that spiritual adventure which made Jesus the Christ, which spoke by the mouths of prophets and apostles, which has prepared every highway of progress, can save the church as the shrine of the people.

You say we have been making progress. Of course. For some thousands of years the world had been making progress before Jesus was crucified by "the conservatively progressive." The world had been making progress before Bernard and Francis came; before Huss and Luther arose; before Oliver Cromwell was hurled as the incarnate judgment of God against political vice and religious tyranny. The world had been making progress before the French Revolution put history backward as well as forward, changing the shadow of progress on the dial of history. When the Hebrew church gave birth to Christianity the sun grew dark, the earth trembled like a stricken life, the natural elements articulated the universal travail, the dead were driven from their tombs by the new life, and the heart of God was broken. Whether the social birth be a universal tragedy or a universal harmony, depends on whether we hide our guilt and sloth in the progress bought by the shed blood of the past lovers of man, or whether we press on to live for our brethren and the social future. As Dr. Josiah Strong says, though he would by no means endorse my application of his saying, we have only to keep on making our present kind of progress

long enough and our destruction is inevitable.

The present attitude of the church cannot be charged against the clergy alone; it is quite as much the fault of the men upon whom the clergymen depend. The pastor is involved in a religious system which has become thoroughly dependent upon the economic system. In fact, almost more than any other class, the men who minister from our pulpits are becoming the helpless victims of the most brutal intimidations of money interests. If they preach the truth which Jesus preached, they will disrupt their congregations, destroy their own reputations, and will be practically black-listed by the churches. Long years of preparation are required for their calling, and the financial returns to ability are small. Helpless economic dependence is not a good school in which to train men for spiritual boldness and liberty. With the doors of the church closed against him, after years of preparation, and with a dependent family about him, it is not wonderful that the pastor seeks truth in the terms of the existing order. Yet, notwithstanding all this, some of the best social agitation of America is proceeding from the young men in the pulpits, or from young men who

have been trained for its ministry. The most eager listeners to social discussions, and the most anxious inquirers, are the pastors. It is no exaggeration to say that probably a hundred clergymen are studying the social problem, where one politician has given it any consideration, or has even remotely heard of it. Here in Chicago, the various ministerial associations will invite the labor leader, the socialist, the philosophical anarchist, to come and address them; I do not hear of the Board of Trade, or any of the various commercial associations, doing anything of this sort. There is a saying in Italy to the effect that there has never been a revolution in Europe without a monk at the bottom of it; and when the social crisis culminates here in America, you will find behind it the hundreds of young ministers of the gospel who are getting ready to throw away their churches, their reputations, and their lives if it need be, in order to follow Christ in the social redemption that is to set the people free. Whether the church go with them or not, they will go with Christ, and share with him the fate of the people.

So we come back again to where this lecture began: to the economic question as the supreme question which Christianity has now to

answer. It is this which makes the social crisis the crisis of the organized religion which bears Christ's name. Without regard to the institutions of Christianity, the question as to whether love is law is the field on which the economic battle is to be fought out. If the church would furnish the faith which the people crave, and deal with the human fact we now confront, it must bring forth a new Christian synthesis, in the form of an economic statement of the teachings of Jesus—an economic of his law of love. It must accept the full logic of his teachings, with all the communism and the liberty from institutional authority which these teachings mean, if it would absolve mankind from social guilt. It must call this civilization to Christ's judgment seat, or it will itself recede, and a new form of Christianity arise from the midst of the people. 'If the church is in such relations to the existing order, and is so dependent on its money, that it cannot examine the social titles of organized wealth, nor cry aloud and spare not against our political and economic crimes, then the sceptre of redemption will pass from it, and a new redemptive organ will arise.

Whatever becomes of the church, the new social faith in Christ comes not to destroy, but

to fulfil the church's present and past history; only the church's fear and conservatism can destroy it. "The necessary revolution which would change the spirit of Christianity without changing a dogma, a rite, a priestly gesture," says James Darmsteter, "would make of the church — now an obstacle — a living force." "On that day," he says, when the words of the prophets and of Christ are again heard from the pulpit, "will the church take a new lease of life, and be able to assume once more the supreme direction of human society." It is to this end that the new social faith has asked the church to lose its present life in the cause and service of the people. It sees, what the religionist and the sceptic alike see, what industrial wrong and political craft fear, that if the idea of Jesus should once be given an economic interpretation, and again be taken with apostolic seriousness, with an organized initiative and support, there would be an end of the civilization which now exists. This social faith sees, too, that if the men who cry so devoutly for "the simple gospel," whenever the industrial problem is approached in the name of Jesus, were once to hear that gospel, they would cry for almost anything else under heaven. But "the application of the gospel must be

made," wrote Dr. George B. Cheever in 1857; "nor is there any time to be lost, since the argument of possession, custom, and law is every day growing stronger." "If the probing" of "every dear, cherished, fashionable evil," he says, "occasions agitation, anger, strife, that very thing is the proof of so dealing with it, and if it is warmly contested not to be an evil nor a sin, that itself just clearly shows the danger and ruin of letting it alone and the necessity of pouring the light of God's word upon it. If it be interwoven with the politics of the state and of society, so much the more hazardous to meddle with it, but so much the more necessary."

But, after all, what becomes of the church is really not an important question; it is the development and freedom of human life that is alone important. God is not dependent upon the present organization of Christianity to save the world; and man and truth do not exist for the sake of building and perpetuating institutions. An institution of religion is inherently a spiritual aristocracy, and can have no place in a pure democracy, except to remain as a shrine for those who need it. John saw no temple in the perfected humanity, and Jesus taught that worship consists in spirit and in life, and not in locality or institution.

The peoples are turning away from the churches, not because they are becoming less religious, but because they are becoming more religious, more reverent toward God and man ; because the meaning of religion is at last being disclosed in the relations of the common life. The religious movement for which we hope will not be hostile to the church ; indeed, it will probably move on almost in ignorance of the church's existence. It will be a distinctly human revival, drawing its motives and supports from human need and yearnings. It will have little or nothing to do with the church, but will have everything to do with human life as the real presence of God. It will displace our wanton distrust of moral enthusiasm with a passion for righteousness so sacred as to again be called the baptism of the Holy Ghost. It will come with the joy of the springtime, a new religion springing from the human soil, and that because Christ is in the soil.

If there is not in the people a spiritual reserve sufficient to bring forth such a religious movement, then the social revolution will doubtless come through force instead of love. I thoroughly believe and advocate Jesus' doctrine of non-resistance. I am opposed to war in every form, military, industrial, or theological. But

a mere conservatism always compels progress to make its way through conflict and tragedy. "The stubborn opponents of reform are invariably the real parents of revolution," says Kosuth. If Christianity cannot be made to see the day of its visitation, nor be persuaded to accept its messianic opportunity, God may conclude that revolution of the sort that wrested the Great Charter from King John, or wrote the Declaration of Independence, would be nationally healthier than the moral apathy with which we tolerate organized money, from the money lords of the Senate down to the rural legislator, to prostitute every sacred national interest, to debauch every holy national function, for private and corporate profit.

We Americans have yet to learn from Jesus that love alone is the fulfilling of liberty ; that the social service, not the material gain of the individual, is the end of freedom. Our national wealth, in which we ignorantly glory, has become both spiritual and economic poverty, and faithlessness to trust has become with us a national characteristic. Our mad individualism, now heavy with the conscience of Cain, has fastened upon us such tyrannies that the economic problem is now with us a problem of national existence. The problem of American

law and liberty is a problem of how to realize the love of Christ as industrial and social law.

Whether we would have it so or not, Jesus holds the key to the social situation, and the initiative is his. From his cross, his ideal has passed into the vision of humanity, and is now the richest social value in possession of the race. With each crisis and change, the outlines of his kingdom of heaven appear more distinct amidst the world's thought and activity. After all that has come and gone, he remains the most interesting and fascinating, the sweetest and strongest, the most wholly human figure we know. His simple, matchless figure is still the world's greatest moral attraction. He has suffered always, as he suffers still, in the house of his official friends ; in monstrous frameworks of hard, unsympathetic and unsocial systems ; in cruel doctrines of God, and wicked doctrines of man. Yet he lives, and grows in stature and in favor with men. We love him, we cling to him, as the bone of our bone, the flesh of our flesh, the soul of our soul, the light of our social future. As we behold him praying, on his last mortal evening, for peace and power to drink all his cup, to finish all his work, we feel that here is one who has found perfect poise, found eternal ground for human hope, in what is ele-

mental and universal. Who he was, how he came to be what he was, what we are to do with his idea, what is to be the end of what he did, — these are still questions of absorbing content, affecting as no other the destiny of the race. As never before, the feet of Jesus stand solid in the human fact, and his hands are in the human clay, with his ideal the mould in which God will cast and recast our social forms and unmake and remake our human facts, until made perfect in that ideal.

But let us not seek the living among the dead, as many devout souls would have us do. The Christ we need is not in the tomb of metaphysics, where theology has stood guard these many ages, obedient to ambition in the church, agreeable to craft in the state. The messianic idea is risen, and goes before us in the sons of men committed to the social redemption, to lead on to the holy society. The Jesus of reality, whose beauty of life our pagan ethics yet disfigure, whose hope for man our wealth and theology would crucify afresh, is being glorified in the rise of human faith to his ideal, and in the social expectancy of his initiative.

Then not back, but on to Christ, is the divine meaning of the social cry; and the universal suffering that raises it waits for the social faith

in his name to answer and save ; no other name among men has so great power to summon the world to its social task. The recovery of the lost cross, yesterday abandoned by the church to gain the world and lose its soul, yet to be found in the strife of to-day and the woe of to-morrow, is the fundamental social need. Only the reaching light of the Lord Christ's cross can disclose the social heaven in human fact. They who plant that cross in the social forefront, to be seen and read of men in its real meaning, to have its law interpreted in terms of labor and justice, freedom and growth, will bring the peace of good-will, through the justice of love, to human society.

LECTURE VII.

INDUSTRIAL FACTS AND SOCIAL
IDEALS.

It is clear, however, that this unbridling cannot last. The modern soul is better than its doctrines, and beneath the scum on the surface the fount of the ideal flows on as deep as ever. The soul well knows that this cannot be the final expression of the emancipation of thought; but that there must lurk somewhere a dishonoring and deadly sophism. The impulse which drives a part of the young generation to mysticism is nought but the first reaction of conscience seeking an outlet towards the pure air, — a sterile reaction, — for mysticism is death for the soul, but the forerunner of a fruitful revolt. In endeavoring to retrace its steps and bend again under the yoke which it had broken, the modern soul attempts the impossible. It knows that it cannot abjure science, and it knows, too, that it can only be saved by an assertion of conscience to which science cannot dictate, and which should control science.

The truths that would save us are not far to seek. They are current in the streets, but anæmic and bloodless. In order to become again living and triumphant realities, they require only to be conveyed to us by a voice speaking with authority. The one heard eighteen hundred years ago is hushed, because some of its words are repealed, words that were spoken to help men to die, and not to help them to live, and impotent in a world eager for justice, for life, for light. And now, behold humanity unwittingly ascending towards the higher source, towards the misunderstood masters of Christianity, "whose disciples we are, we all who seek a God without priests, a revelation without prophets, a covenant written in the heart." — *James Darmstadter*.

VII.

INDUSTRIAL FACTS AND SOCIAL IDEALS.

When a man feels in himself the upheaval of a new moral fact he sees plainly enough that that fact cannot come into the actual world all at once — not without first a destruction of the existing order of society — such a destruction as makes him feel satanic ; then an intellectual revolution ; and lastly only, a new order embodying the new impulse. When this new impulse has thoroughly materialized itself, then after a time will come another inward birth, and similar changes will be passed through again. So it might be said that the work of each age is not to build on the past, but to rise out of the past and throw it off ; only of course in such matters where all forms of thought are inadequate it is hard to say that one way of looking at the subject is truer than another. As before, we should endeavor to look at the thing from different sides. — EDWARD CARPENTER.

FOR every man who has an ideal, the most difficult lesson is that of learning that ideals are formed for men, and not men for ideals. The most seemingly worthless life has rights that eternally transcend the loftiest ideals of right ; and life is eternally more than any of its ideals and forms. The ideal life is indeed not a pursuit of ideals, but of life itself ; it is the life that uses its ideals for the day, and returns them to

God at night, to be consumed, or to be changed and enlarged. An ideal is an outline for the moment, for the man, for the age, for the millenium, to be taken down as the larger outline opens to view. But the fatal mistake of idealists in the past, and of social reformers in the present, is that of each treating his ideal as an end in itself, just as religions and institutions are made ends in themselves. He who, without a second thought, would be burnt to ashes for his ideal, defeats its leadership through refusing to attach it to the conditions and movements he means it to lead. When one resolutely determines upon an ideal in such way that it detaches him from human facts, and he thus becomes a mere moral or spiritual absolutist, he crushes where he means to heal, obstructs instead of leads ; he falls to worshipping his ideal instead of God, and will henceforth have God's will done only in the terms of a self-will and unfaith which he mistakes for fidelity ; he takes the ideal which was sent to liberate and to lead, and establishes it over himself as an impersonal tyrant ; he makes a new house of bondage more impregnable than the one from which he has escaped — more impregnable, because he binds his soul with the truth that was meant to set him free.

The problem of the idealist is the problem of how to attach his ideal to the conditions and movements which seem to be its antithesis. The world of fact has no patience with the idealist; the idealist detaches his ideal from the world. The practical man has no faith in the power of the stars to safely draw his chariot; the stars lose their friendship for the practical man, with his stupidity and compromises.

Jesus seems to have solved this problem for himself and his friends. He was the most radical of idealists; but he was also the most rational and hopeful of men in his attitude towards the wrongs he confronted. His economic of progress was one of fulfilment, not of destruction. He used his ideal, but did not let his ideal use him. It was an ideal that united him with all the facts and forces of his times, and separated him from nothing. He was always seeking to disclose the principles of that ideal in the monstrous things which the world mistook for realities. He pointed to the seeds of regeneracy that lay within every degeneracy; to the right that was the reality of every wrong; to the good that was the substance of every evil; to the truth that supported every falsehood. He looked for the new and the lasting

amidst the old and the passing. He sought the elements of the world's redemption in the men and conditions that needed redeeming. He constantly appealed from phenomena to reality ; from apparent and observable facts to facts unseen and substantial. He clearly saw the elemental forces in the things with which he had to deal, and he kept his feet in the human soil, in order that he might use these forces and things to make future out of the past and the present. True to his ideal to the last, he yet never detached it from existing facts ; he always kept his hands in the human clay which his ideal was to mould and make alive. It was thus that he, the most transcendent of all idealists, got his ideal so deeply under human facts and conditions that he has ever since made it bear the world on its shoulders.

With a habit of mind more truly scientific than that of the modern scientific method, Jesus surveyed the possibilities of righteousness in every movement of his time. From the beginning of his career, he was eager to learn righteousness from any source. We read of his questioning and arguing, when yet a boy, with the doctors of the national religion. He seems to have gone among the Zealots, the revolutionary party of the nation ; and there

are indications that he considered deeply and well, to finally reject, the method of revolution by force. It is evident that he had been among the Essenes, the strict Puritan party of his day, the leaders of which party may have brought their ascetic doctrines and practices from the Buddhist monasteries of the far east. He learned much from the Essenes, while he saw how impossible to mere asceticism was the real redemption of human life. So to every man and movement, however inadequate or mistaken, Jesus came with the generous ardor and adventure of the finest spiritual chivalry. He accepted what there was of worth in each, even when holding most loyally to his ideal; even when the man or movement could take but the feeblest or blindest first step toward the goal, and could see no goal at that. Discoveries of fatal lack did not discourage his faith; he rather turned from each failure to a more hopeful quest. Finally, he joined himself to the movement of John the Baptist. The Baptist did not understand Jesus' ideal, and only in the rudest sense did he represent the cause of spiritual and national liberty. Yet John's initiative was the best that Jesus could find; and whatever was good, it was his purpose to learn from and to help. He would be in the

sweep of whatever righteousness was moving in his day. While thus giving himself to a movement that promised better things to his people, rude and insufficient as the movement was, the heavens of larger truth opened to his vision, and the full tide of his spiritual consciousness swept into his soul. The fulness and glory of his ideal was disclosed while he was making his way through the thick of human struggle and baffled effort.

The ideal of Jesus took possession of his apostles — unlettered fishermen; and vast resistless forces — forces of mind, body, and soul — which they knew not existed in themselves or in any men, awoke and moved out of their lives to the moral and intellectual conquest of the world. Intellectual greatnesses and physical endurances, of which they had never dreamed, made them the amazement of themselves and the marvel of the nations. Their spiritual passion burned up their selfishness, and tore open their stupidity; so that out of the ashes of their dead selves, from their gross Galilean darkness, they emerged as men of Christ, to shine as lights of God across long ages. Out of their ignorance and obscurity they went as the teachers of the world; as the makers of its progress; as the philosophers of its history. They found

their life and its ideals, as Jesus found his, by always attaching themselves to the best discoverable movements towards righteousness ; by working with facts and conditions ; by seeking to make Jesus' ideal the mould in which every man and movement should at last be cast.

Now all this may seem quite mystical, but it has a most immediate and practical bearing upon the relation of those of us who seek social righteousness to the facts and conditions we would set right. There are many of us who have widely different ideals of social method and organization, but who are all reaching for about the same goal : that is, we all want brotherhood, equality of opportunity, and the justice of love for all men. But we are not seeking points of agreement and contact whereby we may summon to action the people, who are not only waiting to be organized, but who are crying out to be led in the first steps towards the achieving of a better civilization. Each of us who have programmes and ideals of social reform is in danger of working for our programmes, instead of making our programmes work for the people. We are not ready, as we ought to be, to help each other's movements toward righteousness, and to join ourselves to anything and everything that aims at bettering society. We

are trying to make the wagons of industry hitch themselves to our stars, when we ought to be finding how to hitch our stars to the wagons. If we really have faith in our ideals and programmes, we will risk them in any sort of conjunction, and lend their energy to every kind of effort, that will take a single step toward the liberty, fraternity, and equality that we seek. The effort we join may be very rude and imperfect, or it may be lame and weak ; it may have a very different motive from ours behind it, and a very different perspective before it ; but if a great love for the people be our master, and if we really trust our ideals, we can join in movements that seem to us awkward and inadequate, with the serene faith that only what is best and true will issue from the conjunction at last. Our ideals must stoop to conquer ; they must attach themselves to the efforts they would lead. If our own programme of the kingdom of heaven is not yet clear in our minds, or if the moment has not come for proclaiming it, let us attach ourselves to John the Baptist, to Karl Marx, to Henry George, to Edward Bellamy, to Mr. Gronlund's co-operative commonwealth ; to anything and everything except the mere conservatism, or the idle and bewildered waiting, which our economic tyrannies are using to build

their thrones. If we believe that God is in the midst of the people, and that human life is his real presence, we shall not be afraid of the broadest intellectual and spiritual democracy; we shall not be afraid to trust each other's minds and motives. If we fear to have intellectual and spiritual democracy, how can we expect to achieve economic and political democracy? If we cannot have co-operation in mind and spirit, how can we have co-operation in production and distribution? Or, if we prefer the term, "equality in competition," we must remember that free competition, in a real democracy, means that every man's opinion, without regard to our opinion of the man, whether he be fool or sage, blackest sinner or whitest saint, has a moral and social value, worthy of positive and sympathetic consideration. Whatever be our ideals of social reform, they must scale the whole octave of human effort, if they would bring forth the social harmony for which mankind suffers and toils.

But let me be specific. There are certain beginnings which we all agree to be necessary, before there can be any effective social change, whatever be our programmes of reform. Among these are the initiative, the referendum, proportional representation, and kindred measures,

which look towards a restoration to the people of the power which they have ignorantly and wickedly surrendered to their so-called representatives. The Marxian socialist, the Fabian socialist, the single taxer, the Jeffersonian individualist, the philosophical anarchist, all agree that representative government has broken down; that it has become a plutocratic bureaucracy; that if the people would effect any political or social change, they must get into their hands the power by which the change is to be made. All of these are also pretty generally agreed that the present judicial system is an usurpation and a tyranny; that it is subverting the law-making power of the people, and destroying the foundations of popular liberty. Furthermore, the most of these are coming to agree that the private ownership of public utilities is practically the private ownership of human beings; that private property in public resources is destroying private property in individual resources, making even the ownership of their daily bread a wretched uncertainty to the vast majority of human beings. Now, why not pool our differences for a while, and form a national reform trust upon the basis of the things we all want? Why not at least agree to clear the field for our differences,

before we undertake to settle them? I fear that if we do not very soon come to such agreement, we will find no field left on which to dispute; the most of it is already in intrenched and fortified possession of the common enemy. And if we could waive our differences, and summon the sinking energies of the people, long enough to make the initial movements towards a better civilization, perhaps we should find at last that we had no differences of consequence to settle; that we were being kept apart, while the people suffered, by words and definitions rather than by sympathies and ideals. There is no measuring the power of a common passion for righteousness to consume differences, to enlighten willing minds, to fuse and unify self-sacrificing energy. It is in spiritual passion and action, and not in speculation and argument, that human beings find themselves marching side by side in the same great cause, their hearts beating to the same hope and harmony, their eyes beholding the glory of the same liberty.

The Marxian socialist will say to the single-taxer that merely making the land common property is not enough; that the resources and instruments of production must be owned in common by the people, or the people in com-

mon be enslaved. Very well ; that does not prevent the socialist from working with the single-taxer for the freeing of the land, in order that each may have a chance to propose and carry out his programme. The single-taxer will say to the socialist that the public ownership of public utilities will only raise the price of rents, and thus chiefly benefit the landlord, or the already well-to-do and rich, if public ownership be established while private property in land remains. The single-taxer is right ; for without free and common land for the children of God, nothing and no one can be free ; but that does not prevent the single-taxer from working with the evolutionary socialist for the public ownership of the utilities which each agree should be publicly owned. In fact, single-taxers and Fabian socialists have already adopted programmes that practically come to about the same thing. And there is every reason why the philosophical anarchist of the Kropotkin type, or the Christian anarchist of the Tolstoï sort, or even the Jeffersonian individualist, should work upon a social programme which would take power out of the hands of the few and put it into the hands of the many. The man who believes only in the free and unrestricted play of individuality, who believes that the Golden Rule is the

natural law which men would practise if they were free, who believes that governments and institutions of force have no natural or ethical right to be, even he ought to see that the only way into the freedom he seeks is through completing as quickly as possible the experience through which mankind is now passing. For we cannot escape by reversion; we cannot go back on history; we cannot prevent the blossoming of the world.

I know that what I have been saying is not likely to please anybody, at first. But I know, too, that while we each go our halting and feeble ways of reform, the bulk of the population of Christendom is being reduced to helpless economic serfdom. While we stand bewildered and disputing, fetters of steel are being forged for every citizen of this nation — fetters that, if not broken soon, will bind our children's children, to be broken at last by the mortal agony, the bleeding and the dying, of their children. While we argue about what is to be done, there is no question as to what is being done by those who are quickly enslaving the nation; who are gathering the whole people as grist for the monopolist mill. While we reformers wait to convince each other, and the people wait as sheep for the politicians to lead to economic slaughter,

the legislative, executive, and judicial functions of both National and State governments, with the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence thrown in, are being used to destroy what political and economic independence remains, so that our power to even peacefully revolt will soon be gone with our liberties.

We may well consider, at this point, the power of the nearly three billions of capital organized in combinations, in open defiance of law. If the great steel trust, which has lately been capitalized at \$200,000,000, fulfils the possibilities of its charter, that one monopoly alone can wipe private industry and ownership from the face of the earth. It has been granted powers that will enable it, inside of ten years, to destroy the last vestige of the middle-class. In less time than that, it can have the whole wage-earning population so helpless, its unions and organizations so throttled, that the slave before the civil war was an economic freeman in comparison. According to *The Banking Law Journal* of September, 1898, the articles of incorporation of this trust, which was organized "under the guidance and direction of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan," whose banking-house is to "finance the new company," "state that the objects of the company are to engage in mining,

manufacturing ; the transportation of merchandise and passengers on land and water ; building vessels, boats, railroads, engines, cars, wharves, and docks ; operating and maintaining railroads (outside of New Jersey), steamship lines, and other lines of transportation ; the buying, improving, and selling of lands ; the manufacture, purchase, acquiring, holding, owning, mortgaging, selling, transferring, or otherwise disposing of, investing, trading or dealing in or with goods, wares, merchandise, and property of every description ; the acquiring and undertaking of all or any part of the business assets and liabilities of any person, firm, association, or corporation, and the making and performing contracts of every kind ; the holding, purchasing, mortgaging, leasing, and conveying of real and personal property in any State or Territory of the United States, and in any foreign country or place, and in carrying on any other business in connection therewith. The board of directors is authorized to increase its number without consent of the stockholders, and to make, alter, amend, or rescind the by-laws, to fix the amount of the company's working capital, and to execute mortgages and liens on the property of the corporation ; but there shall be no sale of all the property except by a vote of two-thirds

of the directors. The directors may, by majority vote, appoint three or more of their number to be an executive committee, with the full powers of the board, to manage the company's business. They shall also determine whether, and at what times and places, and under what conditions, the books of the corporation shall be open to the inspection of the stockholders; and no stockholder shall have power to inspect the books or accounts except as authorized by statute, by determination of the directors or in accordance with the terms of a resolution adopted at a meeting of the stockholders." The article concludes with warning those persons who see only iniquity in the New Jersey laws which permit the incorporation of such trusts that they "are but gnawing a file." In fine, here is a trust which deliberately proposes, by sheer economic might, to centralize the industry of the nation in a single great economic despotism; that deliberately plans to reduce labor to complete economic subjection; that already practically owns the machinery of government as literally as you own the coat on your back. An authoritative English financial journal, *The Investors' Review*, reports an eminent American citizen and politician, who is also prominent in the great steel organization, as

saying: "We have the mines and the mills, and the railroads connecting them, and the shipping facilities, and many subsidiary enterprises; and we are going to manufacture our steel with economies that will make it cheaper than before, and cheaper than it is anywhere else in the world. But we are going to raise the price. In the past we have had to make concessions to our workingmen. As long as the mills were competitors, when one gave way as to hours or wages the others had to do the same. But there is an end to all that sort of thing now." And this subjection of the wage-earner comes at a time when, according to the *Engineering and Mining Journal* of Oct. 8, 1898, the average annual earnings of miners in the United States range from \$192 in Ohio to \$277 in West Virginia, while the annual earnings of miners in Germany range from \$180 to \$282. "In addition to this," says the *Journal*, which is an organ and friend of the existing order of things, "the German miner is insured against sickness and accident, and is provided a small pension when old age disables him. A small deduction is made from his wages for the insurance fund, but that charge is not included in the average wages given. Moreover, the miner in West Virginia and some other States draws

most of his necessities from the companies' stores, and it is notorious that many officials depend upon these stores for any margin of profit they may realize in their business. So far as living expenses go, the advantage is with the German. It costs less to live there than it does here."

The organizers of the steel trust are already asking the public precisely what I am asking you: what do you propose to do about it? "How long will the American people tolerate this sort of tyranny?" asks the *Chicago Tribune*, in a recent editorial, which declares "this centralizing of capital" to be "the most important and the most menacing of all the industrial movements of the present day." "The sowing is tremendous," continues the editorial, "and the reaping is likely to be momentous and disastrous." "Before long," it says, "there will be a savage fight between the plain citizens, irrespective of party, and these gormandizing, law-defying trust vultures. The present state of things cannot last indefinitely in a free republic;" for "consumers are absolutely at the mercy of a power that has set itself up to be greater than the people and stronger than the government."

If we reformers can find no basis of agree-

ment as to what is to be done, while the industry and the moral well-being of the entire nation are massacred by a single trust, then Nero fiddling while Rome burned is a paragon of innocence in comparison with ourselves. If we can do nothing to save the people unless we can save them within the terms of our own particular programmes, or until some day of dreadful judgment forces us together, then the fury of that reckoning may tear all our programmes to shreds, and the people be saved by fire and by suffering unspeakable, because the leaders were too blinded by self-will to see the day of their opportunity. "My mind," says John Woolman, "is led to consider the purity of the Divine Being, and the justice of his judgments; and herein my soul is covered with awfulness." "Many slaves on this continent are oppressed," he says, "and their cries have entered into the ears of the Most High. Such are the purity and certainty of his judgments, that he cannot be partial in our favor. In infinite love and goodness he hath opened our understandings from one to another, concerning our duty towards this people; and it is not a time for delay. Should we now be sensible of what he requires of us, and through a respect to the private interest of some persons, or through a regard to some friendships

which do not stand upon an immutable foundation, neglect to do our duty in firmness and constancy, still waiting for some extraordinary means to bring about their deliverance, God may by terrible things in righteousness answer us in this matter."

But there is an infinitely more important reason for considering this centralization of economic power than the tyranny and wrong it presents ; we need to discern whether or not it discloses a method and basis for economic justice and industrial liberty. It is the Christian and historic method to always look within the problem for its solution ; to find the ways and means of redemption in the conditions and men that need redeeming. We must look for our revelation of God in human life, and seek our ideals in the facts and forces in which we and our times are caught. Tyranny builds for freedom without knowing it, and the worst is but the inverted best. Every historic wrong has carried in it the means of its own righting, and the old is always pregnant with the new. Within every evil order or exhausted system may be discerned the outlines of the order or system that is good. Christianity followed the lines of organization drawn by Greek democracies, and took the Roman universality of the

Caesars for its perspective of spiritual conquest and universal brotherhood. By this method, we may see that our combinations of capital, or trusts, are not merely matters for fear ; we may behold them as revelations of the safety and liberty that are from God. Centralization and unification seem to be the providential decree which has gone through all the world. We can no more withstand it than we can restrain the stars from pursuing their courses. Our part is to co-operate with this manifest revelation ; to see to it that the centralization of production and distribution, as well as of all things else, is by and for the people, who are the sole lawful owners of the earth's resources, and who alone can safely wield the power that springs from their possession and usage. In spite of their monstrous purposes, the monopolists are the providentially bad builders of a finally good civilization, which the people are too stupid, indolent, and selfish to build for themselves. As Laurence Gronlund has said, "Providence is actually under our very eyes making human greed and lust of power forge weapons against themselves, train men in co-operation and organization, and, indeed, construct the whole new social order, so that all that will be left to do is to knock down the scaffolding."

Yes, in their positive and important aspect, our combinations of capital are revelations of God and his purposes ; and in them we may discern the outline and goal of future social evolution. If we the people have not the moral gumption and social foresight to organize the industries of the nation for our common good, let the Federal Steel Company do it for us. We may smartly say that we will dismiss the trust, when it has done for us in a terrible way what we ought to have nobly done for ourselves. But if, through our failure to co-operate with each other in the pursuit of social good, we fail to co-operate with the providential decree writ large in our industrial conditions and tendencies, so that the glorious purposes of God shall have to be wrought out for us by the hands of the enemies of those purposes, then unreckonable suffering is the price we will have to pay for social obedience and sanity ; and the trust builders will not be dismissed until we have paid the uttermost farthing.

But there is still time for a better way ; for what the glorified woman, to whom this hall is a memorial, calls "the frictionless way." "I would take," she says, "not by force, but by the slow progress of lawful acquisition through better legislation as the outcome of a wiser bal-

lot in the hands of men and women, the entire plan that we call civilization, all that has been achieved on this continent in the four hundred years since Columbus wended his way hither, and make it the common property of all the people, requiring all to work enough with their hands to give the finest physical development, but not enough to become burdensome in any case, and permitting all to share the advantages of education and refinement. I believe this to be perfectly practicable." This is the order, she concludes, which will eliminate "the motives for a selfish life," and enact "into our every day living the ethics of Christ's gospel."

The co-operation and method by which this may be done is not compromise, but democracy and brotherhood in service. It is the divine opportunism by which all evolution proceeds; by which God makes all things work together for good to those who love the good. I do not compromise my ideal by availing myself of every step and agency by which that ideal can be realized; by co-operating with every man or movement or experience that I can make to carry my ideal the least part of its way; by giving joyous sympathy and help to every man or movement or ideal seeking to emancipate or renew human life.

This divine opportunism may often lead us into associations we do not like, and join us to movements and men that are judged scandalously disreputable. It cannot be otherwise, if we would look truth in the face from day to day, and walk fearless and hand in hand with God's kind of progress. For truth is always showing up just where we do not want to see it, and the best things that come to us are never booked in our contracts with our ideals. Christ is always appearing in the wrong quarter; he compromises us by coming from among the mongrel folk of Nazareth, when he ought to have come out of Jerusalem, clothed with the authority of the church, and arrayed in the glory of a conquering state. He comes as an unlettered laborer with his hands, speaking the rude and familiar accents of the common people, when we expected him from the imposing ignorance of the schools. He comes eating and drinking with publicans and sinners, fraternizing with the mob and the discontented, chivalrously receiving the affection of outlawed women, when we looked for him among our "good citizens." He calls us to repentance and judgment in socialist platforms, or in the revival meetings of the single-taxers, or by the dread notes of the anarchist, when we listened for him in the churches. He

comes in clouds of social threat and storm, when we supposed him to be upholding the pillars of the existing order. He proclaims the peace of good-will among men in the materialistic terms of the social democracy of Germany, while the churches of the empire atheistically celebrate in his name the triumphs of materialistic force. This eternally embarrassing habit which truth has of appearing in disreputable clothes and company will have to be reckoned with, if we wish to keep company with truth, and follow its leadership. It is God's test of our own spiritual reality ; for it judges whether the love of self or the love of our brothers be the motivity in which we live. When we are ashamed of any fellowship into which truth leads us, we are false to both man and the truth. "The most unblemished virtue," says Edward Carpenter, "erected into a barrier between one's self and a suffering brother or sister — the whitest marble image, howsoever lovely, set up in the Holy Place of the Temple of Man, where the spirit alone should dwell — becomes blasphemy and a pollution." It is Browning who says :—

"Knowing ourselves, our world, our task so great,
Our time so brief, 'tis clear if we refuse
The means so limited, the tools so rude

To execute our purpose, life will fleet,
And we shall fade, and leave our task undone.
We will be wise in time: what though our work
Be fashioned in despite of their ill-service,
Be crippled every way? 'Twere little praise
Did full resources wait on our good-will
At every turn. Let all be as it is."

Again, this divine opportunism will not let us wait until we can see whither the movements we join may lead us. Revelations of larger truth wait upon our obedience to the truth we know, in whatever form or disfigurement it comes to us. Better modes and ideals of righteousness are disclosed when we get into the thick of the crude and imperfect movements for righteousness already on their way. The heavens opened to Jesus, and showed him what to do, when he joined the multitude gathered about the vehement skin-clad prophet by the Jordan. "One never mounts so high," Cromwell used to say, "as when one knows not whither one is going." All progress is led by the moral adventure of the faith that sets out not knowing whither it goes. Nothing is more misleading and dangerous than the demand that we keep silent about social wrong, and hush our appeals for social right, until we can tell every man what to do, and state just how the better social country we seek is to be reached.

We can pronounce the doom of the old order and herald the new, as we are divinely commissioned to do, long before we understand what the new order is to be, or by what steps it is to come. It was this that John the Baptist did, and that all the prophets who have spoken Christ's larger comings since have done.

Let us not be betrayed by the demand of the scribes that we wait for their "clear thinking," and that we act with their "moderation." We must keep a divine poise, of course, and be serene withal, but with a serenity shot through with the fires of an exalted enthusiasm for the justice of love, and the liberty thereof. "A deep-seated immorality does in fact lie at the root of the theory and system of the moderates," says Mazzini; for they constantly sacrifice "the eternally true" "to the wretched reality of the passing day." It is not primarily the sort of moderation and clear thinking for which the scientific and prudent call, but high and holy passion that teaches and changes the world. The light in which progress finds its ascending way always shines from the white heat of spiritual passion, without which, says Hegel, "we may affirm absolutely that nothing great in the world has been accomplished." The economic despotism enthroning itself over the people will

not be overcome by the so-called clear thinking of the schools, but by the rich social feeling, the exultant faith, of the friends of Jesus who love not their own life unto death.

Nor can the Christian opportunist wait until he is satisfied with his own spiritual state, before he joins himself to movements for the deliverance of the people. It is true that the value of the sacrifice we make in service depends upon the purity of our own lives and motives. They who wage the war of love against social wrong should be men of clean hands and pure hearts; men whose souls are not lifted up unto vanity, and who are not betrayed by self-deceit. They who ride forth against the economic infidel should be knights of the Holy Grail indeed; knights who have themselves drunk deeply of Christ's cup, and who bear that cup to the thirsting peoples; knights with souls made white by selfless love, every blemish washed away in the blood of the Lamb; knights with shields of stainless spiritual honor, with the peace of good-will toward all men in their hearts, with blessings for those who curse them, and with gifts of life for those who would visit them with death. But it is only through suffering in the service of our brethren, after all, through the blood and dust of the human strug-

gle, through descending into the communal pain and shame, that the individual soul finds the purification and disentanglement for which it yearns. "If we waited to do any good act," says Dr. John Bascom, "until our motives and feelings were all irreproachable, we should hardly make a beginning." Broken and shameful as our lives are in our own eyes, we may yet count that the Father loveth us as we lay down our lives for the sheep.

And now let me speak for myself. Since this lecture course began, many of you have been trying to classify me, either among those who are of Karl Marx, or of Henry George, or of Leo Tolstor, or of some other social or religious initiator; and I have steadily refused to be classified. Perhaps some of you may have seen why. I object to being called a socialist, not because socialism is too radical, but because it is too wholly conservative; I can see in socialism at best but a transition method and period, a new wilderness journey and discipline, on the way to liberty. I object to your looking for me in the single-tax camp, not because that camp is too far in the social advance, but because it occupies no more than the place of a surveying or engineering corps; when the land is once free, and the depraved system of force,

fraud, and perjury which we call taxation is removed, with the parasitical governmental functions which the system entails, we have then merely cleared the ground for the social problem; the question of human relations and destiny remains to be answered, and to this Mr. George would agree. I object to being named with those who confess their faith in the Christian anarchism of the lofty Russian prophet, not because his programme is extreme in the direction of the future, but because it seems to me very reactionary. Rudely and inadequately as I interpret him, I prefer to stand before you simply as an interpreter of Jesus, as an advocate of his ideal of human relations. The world is not yet ready for an economy of society that shall incarnate the principles of his teachings. Men are not yet sufficiently emancipated from fear, from faith in evil and material force, to trust the law and liberty of love. But we will come to it at last, this justice of love, perhaps after we have tried the failure of everything else to bring forth the social rest of a strifeless progress. And when Jesus' programme of life and relations is once adopted, you will find that, in comparison with him, Thomas More, John James Rousseau, Karl Marx, Henry George, Edward Bellamy, and all

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the rest, are but rude and conservative pioneers on the social frontier. Judged by the elemental principles of being which Jesus brought to light, the most of what you call civilization is but an immense negation, a wasteful though necessary tragedy of experience, to pass away when the soul of man awakes to the freedom and sanity of love. Judged by these principles, your governments and institutions of force are but a scourge for the moment, coming out of the sin of dividing the gifts of nature into mine and thine, and having no ethical or final right to be ; they are but travesties, but hideous and lawless outlines, of the inward government or spiritual order slowly emerging from them. When the law of love has subdued all men and things unto itself, there will be nothing of what you call economics, for there will be neither mine nor thine, nor any more question of how much one shall have above another than there is question of what price to put upon the sunlight, or of how to divide the air we breathe between us ; there will be neither wages nor profit, nor will anything be bought or sold, but every man will freely have according to his needs and power to use, and will rejoice to make his life a function of the common life and good, while the reward of the man who serves best will be

the capacity to serve still better. I believe that this ideal of life, which Jesus has lifted into eternal view, which is the ideal of all the dreamers or creators of the ages, is not only practicable and predestined to be realized; I believe that any other ideal is impracticable, and is a collision with human destiny and with God. This ideal is not only no mere dream, but the lack of it makes the whole of human history and experience a monstrous dream of the night. Following this ideal as our social vision, we shall find ourselves at last in the universal communism and liberty which are the outcome of obedience to the law of love. With this confession of faith therefore, with Christ's kingdom of heaven as the only social goal I can see, I am yet ready to follow any man, or to work with any programme, or to march in any camp, that will take but the blindest single step towards making way for the organizing and evolving power of the peace of good-will among men.

And if you citizens here gathered this noon-tide are really in earnest about doing something for social righteousness, if it is clear to you that liberty and justice are being overthrown by economic wrong, if some of you wish to glorify Christ in human facts and conditions, you can

begin by uniting to wrest this city from the hands of its masters, and by giving it back to the people to whom it belongs. You can take this wilderness of ruin and greed, this habitation of every conceivable industrial and political monstrosity, and make the people the lords of its despoiled lands and highways, so that the wilderness shall blossom into a municipal and spiritual commonwealth, and the streets rejoice in the traffic and song of the plenty of justice. There is enough of God and manhood left in you, enough of common spiritual reserve, to co-operate to this end if you will. And when you have taken this initiative, you will find a larger and still more uniting programme rising out of your co-operation and experience, to lead you as a flaming ideal by day, and as a vision of God by night.

LECTURE VIII.

THE VICTORY OF FAILURE.

Originally given, in substance, as an address before the religious societies of Harvard University, Nov. 19, 1895, and afterward published in "The Christian World Pulpit," London.

WHEN you see a man dragged to prison or to death, do not hasten to say he is a bad man, who has committed a crime against his brother.

For perhaps he is a good man who has tried to serve his brothers, and who is punished by their oppressors.

When you see a people loaded with irons and given over to the executioner, do not hasten to say that is a turbulent people seeking to trouble the peace of the earth.

For perchance it is a martyr people dying for the human race.

Eighteen centuries ago, in an eastern town, the pontiffs and the kings of that day nailed upon a cross, after having beaten him, a rebel, a blasphemer, as they called him.

On the day of his death hell trembled, but there was joy in heaven.

For the blood of the just had redeemed the world." — *Lamennais*.

VIII.

THE VICTORY OF FAILURE.

I have glorified thee on the earth, having accomplished the work thou gavest me to do. — JOHN xvii. 4.

THIS was said of himself by one about to be nailed upon a criminal's cross. His life would soon be going out in what appeared to be wretched failure, with endless disgrace. In a few swift hours, Jesus was dying as an outlaw. This was the strange climax of the most daring moral adventure, with the purest and largest purpose, ever undertaken by human faith.

Jesus was brought to his death by those accounted the best and wisest of their day; by the religious teachers, and the prudent men of the state. To the "judicious" and "conservatively progressive," to men of "reasonable minds" and "wise methods," his denunciations of the order of things then existing were exaggerated and outrageous beyond endurance. His manner of life was not respectable; in fact,

to the religious and social proprieties, his conduct was scandalous. The most disreputable elements of society, the worthless and always discontented, the fanatical and revolutionary, vagabonds and publicans, gathered about him as their leader. He came to be regarded as the enemy of religion and government, of faith and morals. His words were taken as inviting the rabble or the mob to the overthrow of all that was sacred. He respected not conservative reasonings nor official positions; neither had he regard for organized interests or threats. It seemed that nothing was safe so long as Jesus was left alive; his presence was an increasing danger to both temple and nation; from the standpoint of both patriotism and recognized religion, this man had to be made to die. While the Romans consented to his death that they might be rid of an over-religious troubler and fanatic, the leading Jews demanded his crucifixion for blasphemy and treason. To the political and religious authorities his words had outraged, this death of shame seemed to be the fit ending of Jesus' life. They nervously thought themselves well done with the man, with their interests conserved and saved.

If we should measure the life of Jesus by

the notions of failure and success that still prevail, in both church and society, it would prove to have been a failure from beginning to end, mistaken to the point of moral insanity. He divided households; he drew people away from their authorized teachers; he ruthlessly beat down the accepted religion of the day as an intolerable hypocrisy. He built no temples and made no creeds. He taught no system of theology and organized no schemes of work. He was betrayed by one disciple, denied by another; in the crisis of his seizure, he was forsaken by them all. His beloved nation, for which he conceived a universal mission, met his ardent patriotism with deadly rejection. His life was spent among the poor and wretched, the outcast and despised, the diseased and vicious; and he expressed larger hopes for the vile and ignorant than for strict observers of religious ordinances. He had to go among sinners to get a following; the religious would have none of him. He had small entrance to what we call the "better classes" of society. He was, says Dr. Young, in "*The Christ of History*," "without a single complete example of success while he lived."

When he came from the tomb, to collect, commission, and inspire his disciples, they were

few in number. He plainly told them that their mission would render them worthless, religious and social outlaws in authoritative opinion. The will of their Lord was to bring the disciples into unending conflict with the will of the world, causing them to be hated of all men and persecuted by all institutions.

Withal, Jesus was the most wholly and intensely human of men ; no other man was ever so finely responsive to every influence. He felt that horror of publicity which every nobly sensitive spirit feels ; only his exalted interest in his glorious undertaking, so intense as to make him forgetful of himself, enabled him to endure the public gaze and discussion, in which his offered life was a spectacle to the curious, an opportunity to the religious debaters, an affront to the official classes in church and state. As none of us can, he suffered the sorrow of soul, the helpless ache of heart, which comes with the absence of affectionate and intelligent fellowship with one's deepest life. One shrinks from even a momentary look into the holy pain of the enforced loneliness that was his — a loneliness most keen when thronged by the multitudes. We cannot read the Gospels sympathetically without seeing how often and patiently, how eagerly and expectantly, he tried to make him-

self understood ; and did ever man so completely fail? He was always seeking and waiting for the moment when he could take his near disciples into his full confidence, which he was unable to do, even after the resurrection. His soul felt about for friends who could understand, and perhaps help him to understand, his visions of his own life, and of the world life, which he must often have been tempted to doubt. Some of his appeals to his disciples reveal his great and increasing hunger for sympathy with his strangely commissioned life ; for a comprehension of his purpose and work, as, under the deepening and glorious shadow of the cross, he moved towards his destiny, matchless alike in suffering and in service.

Yet the life of Jesus was the most joyous ever lived among men. Unto the cross and even upon it, through all his measureless sorrows, he was the glad child of the universe. Compared to others, his life was a song of joy. His was the one free spirit, the gladdest heart, that has ever rejoiced our world which sin has troubled awhile. No one else ever so delighted in the spirit of nature, so rejoiced in the nature of spirit, so enjoyed the fulness of life, to which he opened his soul as the flower opens to the sun. He sensed the sweetness of all life's ele-

ments, heard the music of its forces, and saw the beauty and concord of its movements. He had no concern for his reputation, no anxiety for his individual future, but trusted himself to the Father's keeping as unquestioningly as the babe rests in its mother's arms. His Father's will was the peace of his soul and the power of his work, so that he went about doing good with the expectant eagerness of a child at play. His deeds were done as the sun shines, and his words spoken as the rain falls. He was free from all care of self, that he might give his life to be meat and drink to the impoverished lives of his brothers. In his character were united the passion of a supreme sympathy for man with the peace of a faultless faith in God. Before him was set the joy of perfect obedience toward God and perfect sacrifice in the service of man — the joy that swallows alike all joys and sorrows.

The life of Jesus is thus a perfect synthesis of human experience. He became in all things like unto his brethren; not some things. He was the incarnation of, as well as in, the common life. He accepted all the limitations of our humanity, and linked himself with the widest human relationships. He was tried by our temptations, and learned obedience by our sufferings.

He submitted to every kind of injustice, and died the most desolate of deaths. He had to conquer doubts that pressed in upon him from without, and walk by faith, as we must walk. In solitary prayer, he had to dedicate himself over and over again, sustaining himself only through continuous consecrations, in order to bring himself into unshrinking obedience to the Father's will. Three times he prayed, in the garden, for the mysterious cup of the world's woe to pass from him, before he arose serene and strong to meet his betrayer and pass on to his crucifixion. Day by day he had to grow to the cross; grow in the knowledge of his Father's will, as all must grow. The Gospels make it clear that he saw his way to the cross step by step. We can see that his conception of his mission enlarged, and his wisdom deepened, with each new experience. There came no time when faith was not the spring of his action. There were things he did not know. He was amazed at the hardness of human hearts, and found it hard to understand the unbelief of his nation. He grieved over the conduct of his disciples, and marvelled at the slowness of their spiritual growth. It is evident that he had, in the early part of his ministry, expectations of the conversion of the

Jews — expectations which were not realized, to his inexpressible sorrow and disappointment. Though his faith in the triumph of righteousness endured to the end, while his belief in the divine sonship of man was always deepening, and his vision of truth, with his power to love, continually increasing, the sin and shame of the world yet broke his heart before his work was done.

It is the human reality of Jesus' experiences that is slowly, yet more swiftly than we see, winning for him the world's heart and confidence. The world is coming to believe in Jesus as the Christ of God, because it believes in him as a man. His love and faith toward man are the witnesses that God was in him. Because he came to his mission with the familiar garb and language of the people, a peasant born and bred, a carpenter and a carpenter's son, brave and joyous under the heaviest burdens, a partaker of the common lot and a sharer of the common life, through and through a man, we therefore believe in him as the Son of God.

Had Jesus' experiences been different, escaping any of the trials and moral perplexities to which we are subject, he could not have been the Saviour of man ; his life would not have

been a fulfilment of our humanity. If his divinity had been essentially different from the divine nature and development of other men, his life would not have been the light of human life.

Jesus' nature thus being whole, and his life perfectly poised in love, it was the necessity of his being that he should either declare open and endless war against organized wrong, or else exhaust his possibilities in a service that would prove a universal spiritual revelation and attraction. Both his faith and his reason would have been left without foundation, had he long sought any middle course between directest antagonism and fullest sacrifice. It was his only possible self-expression that he should exterminate all the forms and structures of evil, sweeping with destruction the religious institutions and their political hypocrisies and tyrannies, or else make the completest sacrifice by which the law of love might be so redemptively dramatized in human life as to at last draw all men unto that law.

There are indications that Jesus met, in temptations beyond the power of our sympathy to interpret, the question of revolution. Civilization was a Roman dominion, making one vast, splendid, slave-pen of the earth, with suicide

the only escape for fettered, crushed, and despairing lives. Roman virtues had been terrible. But when these virtues were dissolving in still more terrible vices, the earth became the arena of unmitigated suffering, seeming like the creation of devils. Could anything prevail against this exhausted system, save the attack of forces of its own kind—forces it could understand? Then there was the Jewish church, in which Jesus was born, which he never left, in which he was crucified. This church had become, perhaps not relatively more morally corrupt than ours, but a mere professional and official religion. Its teachers strained at gnats of traditional differences, and swallowed camels of social iniquity, laden with all manner of crimes against the nation. The church made merchandise of the truth, dealing out past inspirations as religious wares, while it was always rejecting the God of the living. It had thus come to stand for religiousness rather than righteousness, and had become an organized misrepresentation of God, making God seem a taskmaster and tyrant like unto the tyrants over the people. Could anything prevail against this apostate church, which had become the friend of oppressors and the mere patron of the oppressed, save fire and sword? How could God

get at the world through such misery in society and tyranny in state, through such moral atheism in organized religion, save in the revolution of terrific and destructive forces? Could not a strong and intense character, with wide comprehension and sympathy, in almost any corner of the earth, gather independent spirits about him, sufficient in numbers and in politico-religious zeal, to overthrow both the religious despotism of the Jewish church and the political despotism of the Roman state, and thus clear the way for God to manifest himself to the people as their deliverer, and make them his people? The people, too, would accept with universal acclamation and joy the advent and progress of such a deliverance. And history has never dreamed of such a revolutionist as Jesus would have been, had he taken the sword.

But Jesus saw in Hebrew history and in nature, working out the evolution of human life in a holy society, an eternal force which man had not yet recognized. Perhaps after years of prayer and noble waiting, his brooding thought perceived love to be the real constructive force operating in the world of man, and throughout the universe of God. In spite of the failures and expedencies of unfaith, and by the use of them, the love that was in God was

evolving in man the heavenly moral kingdom. Jesus saw that the kingdom of heaven, which he felt called to reveal and realize on the earth, could be nothing else than the organization of human life in the freedom of perfect love. The establishment of a new civilization, upon what would be merely a new religion, through the power of an appeal to forces the world could then understand, in the place of the order then existing and cursing the world, would have been the failure of the kingdom of God, a failure of the freedom for which man was created. Even if he could have scourged hypocrisy and tyranny to a judgment so terrible that they could never again rise in the old organized religious and political forms, he saw that some time the beginning had to be made, never to be taken back, by which human life would be consciously committed to love, with its redeeming and perfecting law of sacrifice.

But, though God would give salvation through the spirit and power of love, the world would have salvation through the power of might. It was thus that by no other than a life of entire mortal failure, could Jesus accomplish his work in perfect oneness with the will of God, and glorify God as our Father. The will of God and the will of the world were squarely antag-

onistic ; in Jesus they met in mortal combat. The attempt to make his life a fulfilment of both the will of the world and the will of God was the temptation which Jesus met at the beginning of his ministry, alone in the wilderness, and conquered in the faith that he was the Son of God. He must lose the world, and suffer death at its hands, before he could save it ; he must fail in the eyes of the world, or the purpose of God in man would fail. He saw that the failure of righteousness in conflict with wrong is really the overthrow of wrong ; that the inheritance of the earth by the meek is both the natural law and the manifest fact which the unbelief of power does not see. Between the contending passions of an overturning indignation against wrong, and a saving love for the wronged and the wrong-doer, his spirit seems to have often been troubled and torn. Through faith and vision, through experience and suffering, he learned obedience to the sacrifice of service as the great law of redemption. Had not Jesus learned and obeyed this law, his ideal of the human world become a kingdom of heaven would have tormented him to his own and perhaps the world's destruction. Trusting that in committing himself to this law he would commit humanity thereto, Jesus made the matchless adventure of his life.

So, he being what he was, civilization being what it was, the mission of Jesus forced him to choose between the sword and the cross as the weapon by which he should undertake to deliver his nation, and to establish God's royal reign in the world. Others, like Mahomet and Cromwell, have come to this choice, and have taken the sword. In one way and another, so long as the processes of redemption continue, all true disciples of Jesus will have to make his choice between the failure of victory and the victory of failure. Many are called to the cross, while still few are chosen. Between the way of the sword and the way of the cross, the faithful witnesses of Jesus may have to choose, before the law of his sacrifice is accepted as the law of society. No man knows ; but in an hour when we think not the Son of man may come to us in such a choice.

Jesus committed himself to sacrifice as love's revelation and law, in the faith that love is the mightiest force in the universe, and the ultimately triumphant and organizing force in human life. He would put this law to the test, through whatever experiences and to whatever end it might bring him ; though there should come the awful sense, as there did come when he cried from the cross to God as one who had

forsaken him, that he had been mistaken, his career a failure in reality. Sometimes strongly tempted to doubt what he did, struggling between the cross and the sword, Jesus accepted the full issues of the law of sacrifice to which he had committed himself, in order that he might reveal it to men as the law of their common unity with God. It was thus that, in the face of the worst to be done to him, he made the holy assertion that he had accomplished the work given him to do, and that he had so served man as to make his Father in heaven appear glorious on the earth; it was thus that he attached so high value to his service, in the face of failure and disgrace. The eternal value of his failure was the revelation of God in human life in terms of social sacrifice. It was the victory of failure.

The tragedy by which the priests and rulers thought to close the spiritual adventure of Jesus was not due, as Renan says and Dean Farrar hints, to a baffled and overwrought moral indignation; it was not, as Richard Wagner said, in one of his early writings, "the imperfect utterance of that human instinct which drives the individual into revolt against a loveless whole." The sacrifice of Jesus was voluntary; it was his deliberately chosen way of disclosing to

man what he took to be the whole law of the universe, the secret of all living and growing, the uttermost depth of God's moral nature, so that there need be no more mystery in the universe to seeing eyes. The law of life disclosed by his failure is not a law that is accidental, historical, or merely remedial ; it is the law that holds the stars in their places, that pulls the rose from the bud, that unfolds all life to the measure that it is perfect. Jesus on the cross is the heart of the Father laid bare, so that the heart of man may become attuned thereto, and harmony of heaven thus become the established order of the world.

The revealing of God's law and way of living, in such manner as to gain men to that law and way, and so redeem them from the independent and lawless ways of life that separate and destroy, was the work given Jesus to do ; the work which he accomplished by his failure. In this real and vital sense, the death of Jesus is the redemption of the world ; it is the universal moral revelation. In theological terms, this is called the atonement. But the word largely stands for the opposite of what it means. Notwithstanding the newer theological thinking, it is still used to define one and another arrangement by which God is supposed to be satisfied

with the sacrifice of Jesus as a substitute for a real righteousness in man. The atonement which Jesus made and which his apostles knew, the only atonement to be made or known, is the uniting of man with God in one law of life. And we have not received the atonement until our wills have been united with God's will in obedience to the law of sacrifice by which we are atoned.

Only through the sacrifice of man does the sacrifice of Jesus effect itself redemptively in the world. Jesus was under no greater obligation to sacrifice himself in bearing away the sin of the world than is every one of us. It is the failure to keep foremost this fact that constitutes the shameful weakness of Christendom in the face of the great needs and duties which are calling the church of our day to a new career and a more comprehensive mission.

But the sacrifice of the Christ-life is not a mere renunciation, as the religious conceptions of the middle ages, as well as of later pietism, would make it seem. Nor is it the negative expression of life it is conceived to be by philosophy. Sacrifice is not so much the laying down as the taking up of life. It is not the denial of life, but the denial of self as the centre of individual interest and effort. By sacrifice

the things of life are not renounced to be destroyed; they are sanctified and saved through right and social usage. Even the largest renunciation which Jesus requires is not the giving up of something, but the surrender and consecration of something to its natural and holiest uses. Sacrifice is more than renunciation; it is the divinely positive expression of life, making life sacred through fitting and ordering it for the common good. True sacrifice is co-operation with God in his work and ends; it is the offering of life to God for his service of man, making life fruitful and joyous through fellowship with God in his human work. Through sacrifice, life is detached from self as its centre of interest and effort, and its interest become universal, with its energies a social mission. Life is not crushed and broken through the sacrifice for which Jesus calls, but is enriched with the fullest moral virility, and made whole through the faith that surrenders it to be God's organ of human service. Our individual life is not marred, distorted, and thwarted by sacrifice; by sacrifice life is saved, healed, and glorified. Sacrifice saves and perfects life through bringing it into right relations; through fulfilling its mission as a social function in the one human life, of which we are all members.

The sacrificed life is life becoming whole, while the unsacrificed life is a fragment.

Now, so long as the will of the world is not at one with the will of God, the apostles of every new human initiative find their souls, as well as their mission, becoming fields of widest and deepest conflict. So long as human conditions are not the kingdom of heaven, while the things that are an abomination in the sight of God are highly esteemed among men, no son of man can become the organ through which God shall reveal and do his will, without colliding with the will of the existing order, and suffering some degree of failure and disgrace at its hands. Hence the real history of the Christian evolution of man is a perpetual book of martyrs. The largest redemptive and social values have been gained for human life through the individual failure inevitable to those who seek to realize the ideal of Jesus, and who conform not to the mind of organized selfishness. "Christianity," says James Russell Lowell, "has never been concession, never peace; it is continual aggression; one province of wrong conquered, its pioneers are already in the heart of another. The mile-stones of its onward march down the ages have not been monuments of material power, but the blackened stakes of

martyrs, trophies of individual fidelity to conviction. For it is the only religion which is superior to all endowment, to all authority,—which has a bishopric and a cathedral wherever a single human soul has surrendered itself to God.”

It is through the sacrifice and failure of the individual idealist that human emancipation has proceeded from the beginning. The prophets the Scriptures glorify were mainly disgraceful failures in the eyes of their times. Jesus and his disciples were outlawed. John the Baptist, who prepared their way, was beheaded in the interests of official peace. Paul, that daring spiritual adventurer, was loosed from prison to be led to his execution. St. Francis died of a broken heart. Savonarola was both hung and burned, after fearful agonies of torture. The Protestant reformers were the hunted and hated heretics of their day. Wesley, Edwards, and Finney were driven from their churches. Mazzini and his friends were vagabonds on the face of the earth. Not long ago, Garrison was dragged through the streets of Boston by a commercially inspired mob, and Lovejoy met his death at the hands of political retainers. Which of the prophets of progress, whose faith we glorify with our words, but whose truth we

make the refuge of our social cowardice and religious lies, was not outlawed, mobbed, or slain?

To eulogize these is easy, requiring no adventure of faith or risk of reputation; to defend them is always safe. "But while we thus ape our fathers," says Mazzini, "we forget that their greatness consisted in the fact that they aped no one." To the prophets gone we are never so untrue as when defending them against the larger truth calling for our own adventure of faith. We truly honor the apostles and reformers of the past, and best defend their name and faith, by being as ready as they were for failure and disgrace. Have we their faith to put the righteous judgments of God over against the false judgments of organized covetousness? Can we bear the shame of no reputation, in order that we may face the religious and political lies now darkening the social mind, cursing our methods and institutions, and bring them to judgment before the truth of Jesus? "One must face failure, or one is no true missionary," says a Jewish reformer. Our ability to divinely fail for right's sake is the real measure of our faith. It is the victory of failure that overcometh the world.

This gain of human values through failure is not in harmony with our modern notions of

success, which prostitute every sacred human power to the gross and hideous lust of money, and make a religion of covetousness. It accords not with the spirit of Anglo-Saxon enterprise, which exalts rights above service, and rates commercial success above all that makes up the real life. It is not agreeable to that patriotism which consists chiefly in loyalty to one's property. There is no welcome for it in the world of business, the greatest corrupter of nations and enemy of man. The respect of the political economist it has not, nor is it in keeping with the greedy maxims of Benjamin Franklin. It is disturbing to the theologian, and frightful to the ecclesiastic. It will not mix with the moral nostrums prescribed by pulpit and press as, "The Secret of Success," or "The Way to Succeed in Life," and like wretched imposture upon the suffering world by those who are called its teachers. It comports not with the vicious motives for excellence upheld by the ethical imbecility of much of our so-called education. But Jesus' doctrine of life is either the delusion of history, the divine tantalism of hopeless human suffering, or our ruling standards of success are worse than pagan ; they are devilish, and the destroyers of life. The efforts of the church to reconcile

the commercial morals of modern industrialism with the revelation of social law and life in Christ, is treason to the kingdom of God, and the worst apostasy of the church ; yea, it is a chopping down of the cross, and a setting up of the throne of mammon in its place.

Our destructive maxims of success all proceed from the doctrine, in some form or other, that personal existence is the chief end of life and its energy. They who thus teach build life on a lie. Not the preservation of personal existence, but the increase of the power to love, is the first law of man's nature. "We must," says Hegel, "banish from our minds the prejudice in favor of duration, as if it had any advantage as compared with transience : the imperishable mountains are not superior to the quickly dismantled rose exhaling its life in fragrance." Life consists not in duration of years, any more than it consists in the abundance of the things one hath, but in the quality of service. All life becomes as great, in the end, as the idea and the affections in which it invests itself ; and these have nothing to do with place or length of days. Life is as valuable and immortal as the things for which it sacrifices itself ; and the value of the sacrifice depends on the purity of the victim.

True, we must "get a living ;" we must work for our bread ; but bread is not the end of work, and man does not live by bread alone. The end of work is distributive justice, social character, the divine individuality of the sons of man ; these are the work of God in human life. Our first and fundamental duty is to seek in what manner and by what work we can best fulfil the righteousness of Christ in the life of the world. Our life has but one meaning, in fact ; and that is the individual and collective seeking of the highest knowable right, in the faith that this universe is so principled and organized that only right can in the end bring food to the producer, and abundance to the working children of men. Our best service to God or our nation, our best gift to our family, is to illustrate in our life the sacrifice of Christ, who is the righteousness of God made manifest for the practice of men. He that preserves his life wastes it, while he that wastes his life in loving sacrifice finds it eternally. "Remember," says Thomas Hardy, "that the best and greatest among mankind are those who do themselves no worldly good. Every successful man is more or less a selfish man. The devoted fail."

Never was the choice between the sword and

the cross, between the failure of victory and the victory of failure, more pressing than now. We stand near the social crisis of the world. The existing order has already served overtime. It is now senseless, and growing worse. To spend and be spent in mending it, is to waste one's life, and to involve the common life in still deeper and wider complications. Too long already have we been laying the axe at the leaves and branches of the tree of economic evil; the axe must now be laid at the roots. The present order cannot be mended; it can only give birth to the new order, the regenerate civilization. "The gathering blackness of the frown of God," as the poet Watson calls it, warns us to repent quickly.

Revolution of some sort is not far off. The social change will bring forth either the revolution of love, or the tragedy and woe of a leadership inspired by a love of revolution. Either a revival of love, an outpouring of love through the messianic fellowship of some vast social sacrifice, or a universal French Revolution will come. Either a spiritual movement, producing a revival such as the prophets dimly or never dreamed of, or blood such as never flowed will remit the sins of the existing order. For a religious revival, springing from some vast and

wondrous social love, Christendom waits in fear, anxiety, and expectancy.

If the revival comes, bringing in the revolution of love, it will have to be initiated through the sacrifice of those who have settled their accounts with the world, who value not their personal existence, who love their brethren and not themselves, who can live as men who are already dead. Before civilization experiences its redemption, the Son of man will have to be somehow lifted up in offered lives. We need not expect that we, in the midst of this exhausted yet sovereign industrialism, can accord with social custom and religious opinion, and at the same time obey Jesus, any more than the disciples who followed him through his conflict with Jewish religion, and then went abroad as his witnesses and martyrs in the Roman civilization. Sooner or later they who stand for the social order of the kingdom of God, who believe and teach, in work and word, that the facts and forces of Jesus' life are wise and strong for the perfect organization of society, will meet the existing order of things in clearly defined lines of conflict. The Pilates of monopoly have already made friends with the Herods of the state, and the high priests of the church are blessing their union. It is no longer best to

evade or conceal the divine inevitable : there may have to be some dying done before our social wrongs are thoroughly righted.

The supreme need of the social crisis is that of strong men willing to fail, that they may prove the justice of love, and the wisdom of love's sacrifice. Above all else, society needs deliverance from the impracticability of the practical man, from the failure of his successes. A single generation of Christians, yea, a single generation of preachers and teachers, great enough to fail, could regenerate the world ! If the religious leaders of our day would be willing to suffer the loss of all things, and become sin that civilization through them might be made the righteousness of God, they could bring in the thousand years of peace. They would not drink of the fruit of the vine until they could drink it new in the Father's kingdom ; they would not enjoy the fruits of the earth until they could enjoy them as sharers with all human life, redeemed to the holy society. As the Father sent Jesus, so sends he each of us, to bear away the sins of the world, and become completest worldly failures, that the social order of his kingdom may appear amidst the wrecks of organized selfishness.

And yet I could not close this course of

lectures without saying that I truly have a boundless hope that the Christ may come into human life, this time, without being put to shame at the hands of man. There are moments when I seem to see the revolution of love as a nearing reality, bringing forth the new birth of nations in a day. The full power of incarnate love has never yet been tried, save in Jesus. When it is finally tried, and we in any considerable measure learn how to love, problems may vanish from progress, and a thousand years of yesterday be achieved in a moment of the concord of to-morrow. As the legion of demons left the Gadarene, when confronted with the full vitality of the love of Jesus, so when there are a sufficient number messianic enough to commit themselves to the social power and wisdom of love, with all the spiritual adventure and divine risk involved, what legion of demons they may cast out no prophet can tell. In even the most disastrous failure, they would stir the world's blood to the purer life of a holy and undying discontent, and thus accomplish the work given them to do. But the fund of love, the spiritual reserve, the distrust of selfish motive and action, the deeds that are better than our creeds, all bulk so large that it may be that the Son of man will now at last be

welcomed by his own. It may be that the truth which we need for to-day and to-morrow will find a prepared highway of love upon which to travel to victory and freedom.

The chasm which the social crisis has opened between classes, right here in our American life, had no right to be. Men, you are brothers ; in your heart of hearts you know it. In your better moments, you know that the feeling of manly comrade-love you have for your fellows brings you more of joy, more of all that makes life worth while, than all the possessions of the earth. This affection and brotherhood of sympathy are your inheritance from the ages of sacrifice, bloodshed, and heartache ; they are your birthright. You cannot, men, you will not, let strife over mere things, over pieces of iron and paper and gold, array you against each other, and steal your birthright away. You are not enemies ; you are not classes ; you are not the guardians of interests ; you are friends, comrades, and lovers one of another. Your fears about your rights are unmanly and unworthy ; your interests are superstitions ; your gains are delusions ; your classes make you ashamed, for you know that they are not noble. Do not suffer things and prejudices to rob you of your fellowship, for that is your life. Rise to the noblest

that is in you, and dare to trust it. Act as men too strong to be made the tools of interests and things, men too brave to become the slaves of fear and prejudice. And in the conquest of your fears, you will conquer yourself; and the God in you will conquer the world for love and liberty.

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