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A study in the development of the social ideal and the social method of Jesus Christ

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A STUDY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
THE SOCIAL IDEAL AND THE SOCIAL
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"I SAY THE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF GOD IN CHRIST
ACCEPTED BY THY REASON, SOLVES FOR THEE
ALL QUESTIONS IN THE EARTH AND OUT OF IT,
AND HAS SO FAR ADVANCED THEE TO BE WISE."

-The Death in the Desert.
Chapter I.
THE SOCIAL IDEAL AND THE SOCIAL TEACHING
OF JESUS.

History is a continued creative process due to the continued though conditioned activity of the original creative mind. From this arises the problem: By what method and through what agency have the ideas of order and law come into man's life and incorporated themselves in tribal, national, and finally in universal forms? In nature the operative form necessitates, but in history, there are forces that drive, and here, the "power that does not persuade will not be able to compel." Now, in spite of strong tendencies in human nature, personal and social, to selfish preservation and enlargement of being, has there been a development of the race toward a wider reason and a nobler mind? The conflict of passions of ungoverned human nature, up to a certain point, are efficient for the development of the social organism, but beyond that point tend to disintegration and dissolution. The power that can subdue these primitive passions in the struggle to live and evoke a higher principle must in the ultimate analysis be ideal, spiritual, ethical, universal. And such principle we find in Christ's Social Ideal and Social Method.

The teaching of Jesus is the sovereign idealism of the world, it has been said, and its influence outranks all other influences combined. Beginning at first not as literature, it has been the cause of the rise of all the best literature and moulded the learning of the centuries; the arts and civilizations of Europe are its creation; from it has come inspiration and exaltation in the speculation and the poetry of the modern world; it has transformed all that it has touched. Fairbairn, in his Philosophy of the Christian Religion, says: "God He translated into Father, and made man conceive the Being he most dreaded as the Being who most loved him and whom he must love. Man He interpreted by son
raised him to a majesty before which the accidents of birth and state were humbled when they thought themselves noble, and ennobled when they knew themselves mean; and set him as a being of infinite worth face to face with an infinite God. Duty he lifted from the dust into which it had fallen. Love he purified from passion and qualified it to be the bond which bound man to God, and man to man.

In our search for the dynamic of social and kindred developments and for the true method of progress, this teaching of Jesus is found to be the answer to the demands which the philosophy of history makes and the controlling element of the world's progress. Jesus had both a Social Ideal and a Social Method. His Social Ideal was expressed in His notion of the Kingdom of God, His Social Method was its way of realization.

Christ's Social Ideal.

Jesus represented the Kingdom of God as the chief end and the chief good of man, for whose sake all interests, all ambitions, all possessions should be subordinated. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness." The highest blessedness of man was the present possession of the Kingdom: "Blessed are they...for theirs is the Kingdom," It was the main concern and purpose of God to establish it: "Fear not, for it is the Father's good pleasure to give you the Kingdom." As one surveys Christ's teaching, he finds that the universe is moral and has a moral end, and that all things, even the creation itself, are to be the instruments in the hands of God, for the advancement of this end, the bringing in of the Kingdom of his love.

This was a present fact. "To those who speak to you of Heaven, and seek to separate it from the earth" wrote Mazzini "you will say that heaven and earth are one, even as the way and the goal are one." The Kingdom is within you. It is the Kingdom of the Beatitudes. It was nigh at hand so that a man could see and enter into it.
It was at the same time an endless hope, alluring and inspiring its subjects. For it they labored, praying, "Thy Kingdom come," and with something of Christ's optimism looked for the day when the kingdoms of this world should become theKingdom of our Lord and His Christ. They looked for a new heaven and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness, and had for their justification the doctrine of Christ that the creation has the Kingdom for its moral end.

This Social Ideal was based on a right relation between God and man,—man reconciled to God, God pleased with man,—and included a perfect obedience toward God embodied in perfect love to men. For out of a right relation to God is to spring that love of neighbor which is but the active and applied love of God. This love was the law of the Kingdom. A Law that was imperious, even to the laying down of life; inexhaustible, in that it distanced always, in its ideals, all progressive realizations.

The Social Method of Jesus.

To make from the Social teaching of Jesus a programme of social reform would be to mistake his method. The Bible is a book of principles and not a book of rules. Peabody terms this social teaching as one of the by-products of Christ's teaching. In the manufacture of coal-gas, out of the residuum, coal-tar, many substances of importance in the sphere of the arts are obtainable, and yet are but by-products. The end of Jesus, from which he will not be diverted, is spiritual renewal but, as a by-product, very precious and important, comes his social teaching.

Distribution of property was not within his province: "Man, who made me a judge and divider over you," Forms of government were not to be interfered with: "Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's." Social oppression and injustice were all around him, nevertheless, he moves in the midst of them serenely, passing beyond the outer circle of wrongs into the inner circle of motive and character. In this method, we find a reconciliation of the paradox: The Kingdom of God a present
fact and an endless hope. He looks at the world from above and sees a movement of the life of God on the souls of men. Wherever a man sets up the Cross in his heart, there the Kingdom of God has come. And yet He has His Social Ideal. When a man begins to love and serve another, the Kingdom passes on its way. It is like leaven hid in the meal, and like a grain of mustard seed. On the one hand, the Kingdom is the unfolding process of social righteousness, to be worked out through individuals, on the other hand, the individual character is unfolded and inspired by the thought of the bringing in of the Kingdom.

Christ's Social Method was spiritual, not political. We have noted his marked abstention from politics, for He had no political creed. When He stood before Pilate, He refused a compromise in declaring that His Kingdom was not of this world. John Watson says: "The sublime self-restraint of Jesus, His inexhaustible patience, His immovable charity, His unerring insight, did not descend to certain of His disciples. The 'City of God', first among Augustine's writings, created the Holy Roman Empire, but the Papacy did not redeem humanity. Savonarola purified Florence with a thunder storm. The Florentines cast out their Herods at the bidding of their John the Baptist, but soon they brought their Herods back, and burned the Baptist in the marketplace." Following the Puritan rule came the reaction which proved the movement a failure, high though that failure was. The method of Jesus was spiritual, not political.

The method of Jesus was individual not social. He was not content to change mere outward circumstance; He dared to attempt a higher and deeper thing, to change souls. According to Him, the social order is not the product of mechanism but of personality, and He taught that that personality fulfils itself in the social order. Character and social good are not antagonistic; one is the means, the other is the end. The first word is character, the second is
love. "For their sakes I sanctify myself" is his epitome of the social method. Fairbairn says: "Christ's method left the man in his old world, but changed the man. And the man He changed He made so loyal in all civil duties, while so hostile to civil control over conscience, that the state, to maintain itself, was forced so to change its functions and readjust its claims as to be able to include the man."

His Social method was to operate not through law but through spirit. "He disdained all positive laws, regulative, ceremonial, administrative, or coercive and founded His society simply on discipleship." In his presence, all differences vanish, whether of blood, color, or caste. His kingdom is to be constituted not like a state by positive laws but by affinities of the spirit. His sanctions are not physical penalty but are rational and moral, operating through ideas of reason and ideals of conscience. And as the result of this, His spiritual sovereignty, He created conscience in religion and with it the rise of a higher social, religious, and civil order.

His method centred in love and loyalty to Himself. "His society articulates His person." Kidd, in his Principles of Western Civilization, makes the controlling thought of his book what he calls the 'Law of Projected Efficiency'; that law, which at every point in the process of progress, necessitates the prevalence of conditions in which the interests of the present and the individual were subordinated to those of the future and universal. In his keenness to base theory on an evolutionary hypothesis, though careful in his interpretation of the processes and generalizations of history and though correct in his diagnosis of the church's conflicts with heresy, he has missed the real heart of the method of Jesus by leaving out that which gives unity and direction to this process of development. He neglects the real dynamic of the process, which differentiates it from all other religions, love for a living Christ.
This personal attachment to Jesus is the very heart of His Social Method. This passion of love, as old as man, more native to him than the air he breathes, 'so common, and large, so pitiful and tragic, so commanding the destiny which brings ruin or glory to the man.' He takes and lifts into a transcendent ethical power. To this love which appeals to sordid or earthly passion, men have for sixty centuries been loyal. He has made out of it the most self-forgetful of all forces.

Such is the Social Method of Jesus. His Starting point is the individual; His key of progress is the development of character; and back of all, His spiritual dynamic, however variously named as the enthusiasm of humanity, redemption of the fallen, the rightening of the wronged, the building up of the ruined, the beautifying of the wasted, His spiritual dynamic is this passion to serve men for the love of Christ. "His society did not die when He died, and what kept it living was the belief in his continued and active existence."

Jesus still lived and reigned. In this loyalty to Him, Peter and John refused to keep silence, on the ground that they must obey God rather than man. Christ's presence was no longer local and temporal, but spiritual and universal; and so they commanded men everywhere to repent. Stephen died with this belief in a living Lord. The disciples endured as seeing Him who is invisible. Love of their Lord proved mightier than their fear of all visible powers, overcame their antipathies of blood and caste. The new spirit of love begot ethical ideals which rebuked old ethnic customs, and changed the atmosphere of society. And this it did without compromise or disloyalty to their invisible Lord. "To our own Master we stand or fall, but that master is neither the Emperor, nor the Senate of Rome; He is Jesus Christ."

Christ's Social Ideal is a Kingdom of God. The Law of the Kingdom is the Law of Love. Its Method is embedded in the thought of man's direct relationship to God and his individual responsibility to Him. Its dynamic is Love of a
living Christ born of a right relationship to God.

The attempt of this Thesis is to trace the influence of this Social Ideal and Social Method in the several spheres of Religion, Philosophy, Politics, and the Common Life of Western Nations.
CHAPTER SECOND.
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEAL IN THE HISTORY
OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

1. The Conflict with Heathenism.

The problem to be solved by this new power, before there could be an objective realization of Christ's Social Ideal, was most complex. It must create for itself a people, weave for itself a body; and what increased the complexity, no virgin material was to be found. Out of peoples, old, with rigid customs, of every variety of race and culture, with multiform religions, with antagonistic natures, this new ideal, that appealed to no selfish passion, exclusive privilege or national pride, must create a new people. Each new man who entered the society was a focus of centrifugal energies. The acute, fastidious, metaphysical Greek; The militant Roman with his political genius; the mystical Persian with his dualistic religion; the sensual Barbarian with his nature worship; the exclusive Jew, hating his idolatry; all these must be molded into a social unity and a homogeneous society. To become universal and thus realize its ideal, race barriers must be broken down; to become homogeneous, the limitations of kinship, caste, language and color must be transcended; to obtain a unity of consciousness, the prejudices and antipathies of races must be overcome; the idea of unity has ever been an offence to the natural mind. "His culture made the Greek scornful of the Barbarian; his religion made the Jew insolent to the Gentile; his law made the Roman jealous of the provincial."

2. Springing out of each man's direct relationship and individual responsibility to God alone, there arose a new conception of the dignity and worth of man independent of the accidents of birth, race, culture or place. With this came also a realization of a common humanity and a universal obligation of love, which is in striking contrast to ancient thought and custom. It was not the humanitarianism of a Marcus Aurelius to which the life principles of the ancient
civilizations were united, but rather to the almost savage exclusiveness of an Aristotle, who considered that the Greeks had no more duties to Barbarians than to wild beasts. A Roman or Greek could with calmness consign an educated fellow creature to all the unutterable degradation which the condition of a slave at that time involved. For the slave was a being to whom society stood absolved from all and every obligation of humanity, "and in whom all the deepest degradations were lawful, provided they were commanded by a master." The new principle of the Brotherhood of Man has triumphed over this conception.

3. This ideal of individual responsibility and the conception of a universal Kingdom of God has transformed the sphere of morality. In Plato's Republic, the ideal state was limited to the present; the appeal to the sense of relationship to the Unseen, the feeling of insufficiency, the element of aspiration is lacking. Individual virtue, social morality, sexual relations, as seen in his account of the best means of rearing children for the state, - even the rights of life itself are to be determined and limited by the present needs of the state. It reduced all virtue, to use the expressive word of Lecky, to a "majestic egoism". From the ancient system of morality, there is a sense of self-sufficiency, manifested as Robertson has shown, even in the contrasted systems of Greek and Gothic Architecture. Its great 'sumnum bonum' was to preserve the sense of its own equilibrium and sufficiency in a self-centred present. The contempt for life is revealed in the general custom of abandoning children, who are regarded as superfluous or useless, and that with no moral reprobation. This same contempt for life is seen in the usual refuge from despair or extreme suffering, - suicide. "Remember" said Epictetus, "if suffering be not worth your while, the door is open." "Every man's life" says Marcus Aurelius, "lies all within the present, and if your room smoke I leave it, and there is an end."
Against all this quietly worked the new ideals and principles of Jesus, victorious even in the first centuries. The view of life is changing; in place of the old imposing egoisms there has entered a profound abasement, an utter contempt of self. The contrast is startling. Lecky says: "No philosopher of antiquity ever questioned that a good man reviewing his life might look on it without shame and even with positive complacency." Contrast, with this, Augustine's word, "O, the abyss of man's conscience! my groanings bear witness... I am ashamed of myself and renounce myself."

4. The last illustration of this conflict with heathenism may be illustrated in the theory of the state. Mr. Fowler, in "The City State of The Greeks and Romans", says: "No difference is to be made in any governing principle between the Greek states and Rome as we see them in History. In each we have developed the same kind of polity, in which, although directed to different aims, the same governing principles carry the same form of political organization through similar stages of growth. In each we have the same conception of exclusive citizenship, the same condition and tradition of blood, community by descent, the same institutions of worship... in which all the functions relate to material ends, and in which the centre of all consciousness is in the present existing political organization." In Aristotle's 'Politics and Ethics', there is this same idea of the most perfect life possible in the existing political organization as being the goal of all human endeavor - an absence of that fundamental truth of Christendom, that "a man's reach should exceed his grasp". The state is the theatre of all ends to which consciousness is related. As Mahaffy has said: "All citizens, to their thought, should be regarded as the property of the state." or as Bluntschli elaborates the thought, "The sovereignty of the State is absolute, individual freedom as against the state was unknown, the existing political relations embraced the whole life of the individual,
the whole range of his duties and activities, civil, social, moral and religious." Rome detested every society which had not asked its permission to exist. Hence it is seen that the spirit of the Roman Law assumes that a person at war with the exclusive body of citizens, and who therefore stands outside its claims, had no right to exist. Hence the institution of slavery. In the institutes of Justinian, we find it asserted "that the slaves are denominated servi because generals order their captives to be sold, and by this means are wont to preserve them and not put them to death." Kidd thus comments on this: "This was a world in which the ultimate meaning of every human institution yielded on analysis was that there was nothing more important than the present, so there was nothing higher than the forces that ruled the present. It was the world where every form of human distinction and every essential of honor had hitherto rested on force: Where a rule of force had made all labor degrading; where idleness was a sister of Freedom and where the social, the economic, and even the intellectual life had rested on a basis of slavery. It was the world in which the spirit of aristocracy, resting ultimately on force, had breathed through every work of political genius of the most gifted people the race had produced." The State was transformed slowly by the introduction of the new ideal and social principle of Jesus.

In the new sense of a man's individual responsibility to God, with which the state could not interfere, in the new conception of man's value in this Kingdom; in the new sense of brotherhood, begotten of a common sense of unworthiness, a common experience of redemption, and a consequent love for their living Redeemer; In these, Christ gave a religion that slowly but completely broke with the old order, transformed the peoples for its own incarnation, develope the barriers of caste, race, custom, and religion, and began a progressive development toward a complete realization of
II. This sense of sin and the resulting inability of man to bridge the chasm between man and God; the redemption of Christ and the resulting sense of sonship; the passion for Christ and the consequent love and service of man; and these developing into Christ's social method for realizing his social ideal; these were the principles which waged a successful war against the slavery, cruelty, immorality and the self-sufficient egoism of heathenism and the autocracy of the heathen state. In its onward course, it was to meet within its own pale kindred foes, opposing the same fundamental principles of Christ with the old heathen spirit revived. The history of the Church's heresy trials illustrates this.

The church refused to listen to the Gnostic teaching, whose theory would deny, by its doctrine of emanations, the fundamental truth that the love of God through sacrifice bridged and alone could bridge the chasm that lay between man and God; and whose esoteric teaching was opposed to the teaching of Christ of a common individual responsibility of every man, and which in substance rejected the brotherhood of believers.

The Church wisely rejected Arianism with its denial of the Deity of Jesus. A philosophy it was, without saving power; a mere religion of culture; a doctrine, which eventually would weaken the sense of the antithesis between man and God, deny the need of an atonement, and dissipate the sense of a rigid personal responsibility to His will.

It again rejected Pelagius, who also struck at the foundations of Christ's social ideal and social method, by controverting the innate depravity of man, by reaffirming the old heathen doctrine of man's self-sufficiency, and by the denial of the atoning blood. These were all definitely seen, by this long conflict, to be but the attempt of the heathen spirit to reinstate its old idea of the normalcy
of the individual, and to reestablish a heathen morality, which lay in a conformity to nature, where the wise man was held to represent a kind of equilibrium and all evil regarded as but disease. This first stage of the development reveals the process by which the central ideal is freed from foreign and antagonistic elements.

III. The third period of development is ushered in by the Protestant Reformation. The great idea that man's responsibility was to a power beyond the temporal; that allegiance was due first to God, gave rise to the truth that man's spiritual welfare is of more importance than all temporal interests. Now it took the form of asceticism, the root idea of Monasticism; and, again, it was the strengthening of this, that led to the conflict between the church and the state. I follow in large part Kidd in his "Western Civilization". First Charlemagne conceives that the state should be directed to the realization of the ideals of spiritual welfare; and then from this he assumes himself to be the head not only of the political organization, but also to be the head of all morality, religion, and the church. Next ensues a long drawn-out controversy of a hundred years, beginning with the practice of lay-investiture and the bestowal of vacancies in Bishoprics by the head of the state; advancing through a deepening conflict to the spectacular contest of Henry and Gregory until, at the Concordat at Worms in 1122, it resulted in a manifest triumph of the See of Rome. The power, in whose hands the spiritual interests were placed, has become established as superior to all temporal power. Then, as Adams says, in his "Civilization of the Middle Ages", "The possibility of assuming control of the whole Christian world, political as well as ecclesiastical, dawned upon the consciousness of the Church." There thus arose a potential absolutism, a universal empire in which a particular belief has become absolute; in which it is again conceived that a rule of
religion, in the last resort, be a rule of civil law. But this absolutism is a return with increased virulence of the ancient idea of the supremacy of the state and is in direct antagonism to the whole genius of Christianity. Against this absolutism, so foreign to the principles, method and social ideal of the Kingdom, the forces are gathering, which culminate in the Reformation.

This protest was based on no new principle but on a rediscovery of the primitive creative principle of Christianity. It began in an ardent desire for peace and righteousness. The conditions were favorable for the growth of the seed, which had lain dormant in a winter-bound Mediaevalism, but was quickened by the many favoring influences of the Reformation springtide. The soil was ready. The mind had been disciplined by a labored Scholasticism, otherwise barren of much fruitage. Nature study had enlarged the universe. The discovery of America had provided a theatre for the development of the new truths. The Fall of Constantinople and the resulting Renaissance, notwithstanding it was in reality on the direct road to the paganism of Rome and Athens, manifest in a social exclusiveness and religious hypocrisy, contributed, nevertheless, negatively to the result by undermining Scholasticism. A continued emphasis on the inner experience of the individual created inflammable centres in the convents, universities, closets, castles and courts. And now the vital principle of Christianity, absolute independence of all particular historical realizations, this declaration of individual responsibility, manifested itself in its moral absolutism, in its spiritual purity as a life principle which might well create new theologies, forms, societies, without being exhausted or absorbed. The old fight seems to be repeated, when we note that, through all the contests of the period, the concepts of "the insufficiency of the natural man for good," "the need of reconciliation," and "the justification by faith" are the battle cries in the controversy. It was a struggle.
It was a struggle between a religion of authority and a religion of the Spirit. So we may look for the real development of Christ's Social Ideal and the true significance of Christ's Social Method in the countries most directly influenced by the Protestant Reformation. At first, this will emerge with slow conflict, held as it is in the grasp of old ideas, but at last set free in the principle of RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE, in which the religious consciousness is dissociated from all civil authority. Religious Toleration, so manifest in Western nations to-day, is the last and completest outcome in the religious sphere of the teachings of Jesus, and is the unconscious expression of a faith that truth is larger than any creed's grasp of it.
CHAPTER THIRD.

THE TRIUMPH OF THE SPIRIT IN MODERN PHILOSOPHY.

1. The Reformation was a triumph of the religion of the spirit over the religion of authority. It was a return to the revolutionary teaching of Jesus, which was a practical abrogation of all authority, and a proclamation of the spiritual independence of the individual and the universal priesthood of all believers. Although the Church in its history reveals a gradual hardening of the enclosing crust, in its substitution of the word of the bishop for the word of God, the rule of faith for heart faith, ritual for repentance, and legal discipline for inspiration, yet there was always a subterranean stream of tendency which grew stronger and more free until it burst the barriers in the Reformation of Luther and Calvin. Self-assertion of the conscience, individual inspiration, became the worst of heresies to the Catholic system. The Church was deified. Still the Church had its Origen, its Clement, and the Augustine of 'The Confessions,' its St. Bernard and Gerson, its Tauler and The Brothers of The Common Life, its Waldo and Francis of Assisi. These constituted a true Apostolic Succession. At last, the stream rose so high as to break the barriers that resisted its flow. The shackles were broken from the human mind and conscience, and as a result the whole life of Europe was quickened.

In transferring their allegiance from the Church to the Word of God, the Reformers practically asserted their right of private judgment. As a consequence, intellectual liberty, freedom of thought and inquiry were realized. "Of all the countries" Fisher says, "in which the Reformation failed France was the only one in which literature was not blighted! Science received a new impulse, but the Reformation's intellectually quickening character is to be particularly seen in its influence on Philosophy.

The new spirit in Philosophy is akin to the Reformation spirit in religion. Kuno Fischer declares: "As the Reform-
ation sought to restore Christianity out of its original sources, God, man, and the Bible, so philosophy desired to renew human knowledge out of its inexhaustible sources, independently of all traditions of the past, of all conditions which do not lie within itself, i.e. in its own faculty of knowledge."

The new period in philosophy began when its problem was conceived, its independence was declared and the search was begun in the spirit of the Reformation.

Bacon, though not the originator of a new method, in his weighty appeal against the authority of tradition and in his insistence on independent investigation by the inductive method, shows the influence of the Protestant spirit. Descartes, taking Augustine's principle of internality, so fruitful in its applications, put it to the front of his system, separated it from theology, rejected all traditional assumptions and all authority, and appealing to primitive intuition, by a logical method built up his system. The spirit of the method and the original starting-point reveal the influence of the Reformation.

I. Materialism and Rationalism, the two opposing schools, develop side by side. On the one hand, in the philosophies of Bacon, Hobbes and Locke, and on the other, led by Descartes, in the systems of Spinoza, and Leibnitz. Hume, with his method of 'rigor and vigor', troubles the dogmatic slumber by his scepticism that denied even the possibility of knowledge. Kant awoke first and, by his transcendental critique, put his controlling hand on the philosophy of the century.

Compressed into a brief statement the Empiricist affirms that the content of the human mind proceeds simply from sensations or as seen in Herbert Spencer's type of Empiricism, proceeds from the past experience of the individual or of the race. Kant has started a movement which has revealed the speculative paralysis of Hume's doctrine and theory of knowledge, and consequently the ineffectiveness of Spencer's theory, (for Spencer ignores the difficulty which Hume attempted to solve,) and by way of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel,
has arrived at a syncretism through the labors of a Lotze and others, which may be termed an objective idealism.

Now, in Materialism, we find the absence of the controlling ideas of Christ which are revealed in His Social Ideal and Social Method. Human conduct, according to this school of thought, in its Ethics, requires no principle of support whatever but that of self-interest. All faculties of the human mind are the consolidated experience of the race, all ethical ideas are but inherited utilities, all human conditions are but the outcome of economic conditions. The mere mention of their thought shows how at variance it is with the principles which have been at the root of the world's progress. In the overthrow of this system of philosophy, in the discredit with the metaphysician of to-day, and in the resulting contrary theories in Ethics, Economics, and the State, I see the triumph of the Spirit and the influence of that fundamental teaching, which has proved so powerful in other phases of human development.

III. In the last statement of Modern Philosophy, that of Objective Idealism, the outer world has a phenomenal reality only; it is in essence a thought-world, which has neither meaning nor possibility apart from Thought. All matter is but action and matter's laws are but methods of the Divine procedure. The Will of God is the energy of the Universe. Nature thus takes on a larger and richer meaning than is known to physical science; it includes thought, the whole kingdom of the spirit, through which it is and for which it exists. From this point of view, the arbitrary distinction between the natural and the supernatural ceases. For the supernatural is conceived usually as a cause or will above nature and opposed to its laws, but, in this philosophy, it is to nature as mind and thought are to man. "Without the supernatural the natural can neither begin nor continue to be." It gives us a supernatural natural. The Universe is spirit.

History also becomes, according to this conception, a continued though conditioned activity of the creative mind.
Man is environed with an intelligible nature and a rational society, the background of both being the Eternal Spirit. The course of human society reveals an ethical as distinct from a cosmic process, whose chief inspiration are ideas and ideals which have been strong enough to master primitive passions and organize an ethical society regulative of selfish ambitions. History, for this School of thought, is ethical.

This Objective Idealism, established through critical thought, lends itself to and satisfies the longing of the soul for something spiritual. There is a moral order and an ethical process working toward an end whose best description is Christ's Ideal of the Kingdom. Yet this philosophy does not ally itself with a surface optimism that would deny depravity, punishment, or sin, an optimism that would defend the spiritual by a denial of the existence of evil. Such an optimism is but half brother to Pessimism. May not the elements of evil, hated and objects of wrath, be a part of the world as good, in so far as they are hated and overcome? As traits, unchristlike in man, deplored, condemned, and yet the very occasion of temptation, if overcome, become stepping stones to higher things, so may not these dissonances in God's world, fought and overcome by Him in the Cosmic Process, become elements of the completed perfection?

As I read after Bowne and Harris and Royce, I see that the philosophy that is triumphing is showing itself increasingly to be another embodiment of the ideal of Jesus. The Universe is Mind. History is a record of a development toward a completed and perfected whole. Life is ethical and has ends which become the motive power of action. Is not this one of the links which show the conquest of that principle which has operated on the human mind until it has risen to a sense of personal responsibility, to a principle of sacrifice cosmic in its significance; Which has resulted in a gradual disassociation of the religious consciousness from all alliance with the powers and purposes of the State; the disintegration of all absolutism in opinion, government, ethics and religion?
CHAPTER FOUR.

THE SOCIAL IDEAL AND DEMOCRACY.

Lilly, in his 'First Principles of Politics', says: "The known and the natural do not suffice for human society. It requires the supersensuous, spiritual ideals, which point beyond the phenomenal; ideals which witness to a moral Governor who shall bring about the realization and triumph of the right. This is not a principle in Politics but a first principle underlying all politics."

The next department of society, in which we will trace the influence of the Social Ideal and Social Method of Jesus, is the department of Politics. Democracy is not a creation of Jesus. Greece and Rome are our political ancestors. From them have come to us, through some process of descent, the idea of nearly all our political arrangements. But in a comparison of Modern Democracy with these ancient forms, we note the transforming influence of Jesus. From Aristotle we get the idea of government by universal suffrage, but, since all the laboring classes were slaves in the ancient state, and were excluded from all share in the government, the modern experiment in Democracy can be said to have been tried by no state of antiquity. Real citizens were then in a minority, for all strangers, sojourners, and slaves were refused the right of suffrage. Democracy, whose very foundation is equality, whose spirit is fraternity, and whose end is liberty, was an ideal impossible before the coming of Christ.

The development of human society into the present modern Democracy is interesting. At first, when men perceived the advantages of practical cooperation, and social cohesion, and that a certain homogeneity was essential, the only homogeneity possible to their comprehension was a blood relationship. The circle of brotherhood was limited to the children of the same mother. The second stage was reached when, for political, military or fiscal purposes, a wider circle was needed, and so a device of a wholesale adoption was
tried. All within a tribal domain were for certain purposes considered members of one family.

The next step was to supplement the spontaneousness of assimilation by social and commercial intercourse, through the employment of force. Vast military empires were created. Soon the spirit of revolt was engendered, and brought in chaos and anarchy, out of which, by the gradations of Feudalism, petty principalities and city states, new political forms arose. The spirit of liberty, well nigh crushed, was growing and coming to maturity, until it swept all before it in the vast movements of the Renaissance and the Reformation. This was an outbreak against the despotic pretensions of the Roman Church, which once, in its antagonism to the temporal power, had befriended the liberties of the people, but had, since Boniface VIII, sought to enslave them in a worse tyranny than that of irresponsible king or emperor. In this rediscovery of the teaching of Jesus, we see clearly the power that has worked toward modern Democracy. Since that event, the Protestant party has been identified with the cause of liberty and the Roman party with political absolutism. It has been said with truth that "the Reformation made Netherlands. The Reformation made free England; the Reformation made the free Republic of America." DeToqueville says truly: "The greatest part of America was peopled by men who, after having shaken off the authority of the Pope, acknowledged no other authority. They brought with them into the new world a form of Christianity, which I can not better describe than by styling it a democratic and republican religion. This contributed to the establishment of a republican democracy in public affairs."

What then is the underlying cause which has brought about this evolution of Democracy? It is the conception of the responsibility to a principle superior to the claims of all systems of authority in church, state or philosophy. This teaching of Jesus, the direct and immediate accountability to God, of a personal relationship to a living Lord, this new dynamic of Love to Christ, which slowly begot in the new societies it
entered a new spirit of Brotherhood, whose only law was love, this new ideal of a Kingdom above all others; this is the underlying cause which is reversing the universal order of the past. It has broken in turn the theory of absolute right in the church, in the sovereign, in the state, and ushered in the new era of Modern Democracy. It has created the modern conception of the people. Homogeneity of blood, of faith, of habit have all been tried; in the Democracy of to-day, the vast empires of England and America have a new principle of homogeneity, namely ethical likemindedness, which consists in a common loyalty to a common judgment and will, in a common willingness to share a common destiny, and in a common conviction of the priceless value of individual, religious and civil liberty.

This formative social principle is at the base of all social progress. All the older religions, against which Christianity was to make headway, had grown into an elaborate social systems with their priestly ranks and classes, rituals and forms and festivals. Christianity protested against such formalism and enunciated a social principle, as inward and spiritual as was its individual principle. The central principle of Modern Democracy, finely stated by Paul, "Be of the same mind one toward one another" is Fraternity, whose bond is love. This is Christ's principle of Social Method. Likemindedness alone, however, would become a social Nirvana.

"The element of variation and unlukemindedness must be retained", says Giddings. An unlukemindedness which can coexist with likemindedness. This is found in the religion of the spirit, the sense of individual responsibility, which gives rise to the second great word of Democracy, - Liberty. Out of this also comes the third word, - Equality, for Fraternity cannot long continue, unless there be practical equality of economic, political and educational opportunity. Christ's doctrine of the Son of Man and the Son of God supplies the basis and inspiration. Lastly, there is needed motive power
for all progress and advancement and conquest in all social evolution. There must be a perennial faith in progress. Is not this need also met in Christ's Ideal of the Kingdom? And so, a better expression than Kidd's evolutionary principle of Projected efficiency is this truth of the social Ideal and Social Method of Jesus. What he declares has been unseen hitherto and which he proclaims to be a great discovery has been confessed by the Church since its inception.

As a result of this development, if our account be correct, we might expect a concrete manifestation in the Democracies of to-day. "For western Europe was reserved a final development of the ideal of an expanding rational life. India did not get beyond the notion of wisdom, attained through renunciation; Athens developed the idea of a symmetrically rounded life of rational knowledge and political activity, but did not conceive of an indefinite improvement of all mankind; Rome took up a self-denying work for future generations, but rather to conserve the past than to create new possibilities. Only in the West has the thought of an ever-continuing emancipation and enlightenment of the whole human race become a conception of progress." To-day there is controlling the nations of the West, the spirit of liberty, love and faith in limitless possibilities of development. England, according to the same writer, supremely values individual liberty and highly individualized character; France supremely values Equality,—a love of economic equality blending with a shadowy notion of the subjective equality of all men; America sympathetically combines the two, Liberty and equality, in the spirit of Fraternity. These are the ideals of the Western nations.

Much criticism from theoretical considerations can be and has been made against this modern Democracy. "False Democracy logically and inevitably moving to a deadening socialism," says Lilly. Lowell, in his noble essay on Democracy says: "The beggar is in his saddle at last, cries Proverbial Wisdom, Why, in the name of all former experience, does he not
ride to the Devil? Because, in the very act of mounting, he ceased to be a beggar and became a part owner of the piece of property he bestrides." Lecky's thesis for his interesting book, Democracy and Liberty, is: "One of the great divisions of Politics in our day is coming to be whether, at the last resort, the world should be governed by its ignorance or by its intelligence. According to the one party, the preponderating power should be with education and property; according to the other, the ultimate source of power, the supreme right of appeal and control, belongs legitimately to the majority of the nation, told by the head, or in other words, to the poorest, the most ignorant, the most incapable, who are necessarily the most numerous. It is a theory which assuredly reverses all the past experiences of mankind. In every field of human enterprise, in all the competitions of human life, superiority always lies with the few and not with the many, and success can only be maintained by placing the guiding and controlling power mainly in their hands." Mr. Lecky has sustained in his interesting book a serious indictment of the political democracy of the hour. The charge is an old one, as old as Aristotle: - Democracy is not always favorable to liberty, and breeds jobbery, extravagance and disregard of justice.

It is too soon to say, however, that Democracy must continue to be a rule of ignorance. Democracy is a child of liberty and originated in a resistance to oppression, but universal suffrage is only the first of two historical stages. We have not seen the final outcome. Lowell says: - "To the door of every generation there comes a knocking, and unless the household, like the Thane of Cawdor and his wife, have done some deed without a name, they need not shudder. It turns out at worst to be some poor relation who comes in out of the cold. The porter always grumbles and is slow to open. 'Who's there in the name of Beelzebub?' he mutters. Not a change for the better has ever in our human house-
keeping, taken place, that wise and good men have not opposed it....suppression of the slave-trade, abolition of slavery, trade unions, at all of these, excellent people have shaken their heads despondingly, and murmured, "Ichabod". But the trade unions are now debating instead of conspiring, and we all read their discussions with comfort and hope, sure that they are learning the difficult business of citizenship."

In the development of the internal policy of the great labor organizations, there are signs that the wage earners are learning the truth that, whether or not liberty is the mother of order, she is at any rate the mother of progress. Besides this possibility of progress, in the SECOND historical period of Democracy, there is the other possibility that the voting masses will follow a rational guidance. Leadership of some kind men must and will have. The ignorant masses of Mr. Lecky's foreboding, will not rule through their ignorance, but through their deference to 'great humbugs, great scoundrels, great priests, or great men.'

To quote Lowell once more, "President Lincoln defined Democracy to be the government of the people, by the people, for the people. This is a sufficiently compact statement of it as a political arrangement. Theodore Parker said that Democracy meant not 'I'm as good as you are, but you're as good as I am.' And this is the ethical conception of it, a conception which, could it be made actual and practical, would easily solve all the riddles of political and social economy. In this sense Christ was the first true Democrat that ever breathed. A beautiful and profound parable of the Persian poet, Jelalladeen, tells us that "One knocked at the Beloved's door, and a voice asked from within, 'Who is there?' and he answered, 'It is I'. The voice said, 'This house will not hold me and thee,' and the door was not opened. Then went the Lover into the desert and fasted and prayed in solitude, and came again to the door; and again the voice asked, 'Who is there?' and he said, 'it is thyself.' and the door was opened unto him. This is mere idealism? I grant it; but I am one of
those who believes that the real will never find an irremov-
able basis till it rests on the ideal."

Christ, the first true Democrat, has supplied the ideal and
the dynamic, which has been slowly evolving a democracy, which
will eventually be established on a solid basis. When we see
this ideal overthrowing all closed imperiums of religious
absolutism and, in its stead, begetting a spirit of toleration;
undermining the closed imperium of a materialistic philosophy,
and on the ruins, constructing an Objective Idealism; warring
against all tyrannies of the State, and bringing in the reign
of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity; we will not despair for the
future of this world. This earth, as one says, is surely incom-
bustible or else God would not let foolish man get so freely
at the match-box.

Two civil institutions, which unconsciously are embodying
the core of Christ's social teaching, remain to be considered.
The first is 'Government by Party'. In spite of a sweeping
condemnation of this, outside of the countries where it exists,
absurd as it seems that sane government can arise out of a
struggle between two parties, each of which proceeds from the
point of view that it, itself, is right and the other is entirely
in the wrong, yet it is the most potent factor for good gov-
ernment, from an historical point of view, among English-
speaking peoples. And the important point to be noted is this:
The effectiveness for good government is made possible, because
of the tacit assumption that the claim of Right upon men goes
deeper than the claim of loyalty to any system of government,
than the claim of any party, or of any authority which for the
time being may be its expression. Through this continuous
conflict of criticism, discussion and debate, there is the
conviction that no one man or party is the ultimate depository
of truth. Intellectual tolerance, as well as religious toler-
erance, and what is more, political tolerance has gained the
day.
A consideration of the second institution, Universal Suffrage, the conception of which would have been deemed absurd by the whole world until the recent past, and which Lecky terms a government by ignorance, shows that it is to be defended and explained by that other truth bound up in it,—namely, that every man has equal voting power, because of his native manhood, irrespective of birth, creed, intelligence, or capacity. This could have originated only in Christ's teaching: The essential dignity of each man apart from all the accidents of life.

From the same source has arisen to-day, the question of questions, to be solved in the twentieth century,—the master passion of Democracy. This passion of Democracy has the perfectly rational aim expressed in the phrase,—Multiplying Life's Chances. The abler Socialist writers know the limitations of equality; they do not ask for fantastic equality of gift or possession. They ask for a social reconstruction, that shall give new social and economic freedom for race development. Mr. Webb says: "We want to bring about the condition in which every member of society shall have a fair chance to use and develop the gifts with which he happens to be born."

Equality of chance or of opportunity, though a trite expression is as good as any to express the conditions, which are the object of search to the Democracy of to-day. This ideal of Democracy, this dream of the socialist, and this vision of Jesus, all seem to be facing in the same direction.
CHAPTER FIVE.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL IDEAL AS MANIFESTED IN ENGLISH LITERATURE.

The present age is one of the most dramatic periods of that struggle by which Democracy and Freedom are slowly realizing themselves. The conviction has slowly dawned upon earnest minds that in a substantial sense the earth is the heritage of all the children of men. Year by year, new episodes, written and unwritten, have quickened in such minds a sense of special responsibility for the realization of its ideal. The current to swerve, forming cataracts, eddies and whirlpools. Again it has seemed lost in desert sands, only to reappear with froth and foam and tumult. In the midst of bewildering fluctuations, false starts, recoils and advances, is there a steady trend in one direction? Is there an ideal of man's right to earth's heritage? Is there a purpose behind men, a power not ourselves making for righteousness, slowly realizing itself? Has the Social Ideal and Social Method of Jesus, which has been so powerful in the realms of religion, philosophy, and the state, influenced the economic life of to-day? In the presence of the modern situation, social, industrial, and political, thinker after thinker relapses into helplessness. Some offer panaceas. Some take refuge in criticizing these panaceas. Some betake themselves in sedative to the laws of nature. What if by watching earnest minds, we may come to recognize through all vagary and contradictory clamor the slow advance of a great idea, A MIGHTY STRUGGLE FOR SOCIAL SALVATION & NOT YET FULLY IN EVIDENCE BUT INEXORABLY PREPARING. I find a clue to the reading of the story of such development, paralleling the account in the preceding chapters, in English Literature. Speculations of social thinkers reveal the advances and recoils of the stream of development, but the speculations that are of the truth sift at last into literature and thence into life. "Literature does far more than illustrate phases of history; through it the higher consciousness of the age dimly feels its way. For the
author, the leader, critic or opposer of his generation though he be, is yet always mysteriously compelled to utter the age he may despise." By a study then of literature, we may get a glimpse of the development of a social ideal, a vision of a new heaven and a new earth. Such a study will reveal three phases, which will serve as divisions of this chapter.

1. **THE AGE OF VISION.** This period lasts up to the beginning of the Victorian period. It belongs to the Poets.

2. **The AGE OF PROBLEM.** This covers the Victorian Era and belongs to the Essayists and Novelists.

3. **THE AGE OF EXPERIMENT.** This is found in the present and belongs to the men of action.

**1. THE AGE OF VISION.**

The Middle Ages were rigid. The literature of the time expresses a feeling of satisfaction with things as they are. Light begins to break in these dark ages with that first expression of the common people, The Piers Plowman by Langland. To be sure there were ripples of revolt faintly disturbed the placid stream of content, expressed in the Chaucerian literature and the Animal Epics of the time. What more incisive than this? "The beginning of the Holy Gospel according to the Marks of Silver: At that time the Pope said to the Romans, - 'Friend, when the son of man shall come to the seat of our majesty, first say, - 'Friend, for what hast thou come?" But, if he should persevere in knocking, without giving you anything, cast him into outer darkness." And it came to pass that a certain clerk came to the court of the Lord, the Pope, and cried out, saying, 'Have pity on me at least, you doorkeepers of the Pope, for the hand of poverty has touched me. For I am needy and poor, and therefore I seek your assistance in my calamity and misery.' But they, hearing this, were highly indignant, and said to him, - 'Friend, thy poverty be with thee in perdition; get thee backward, Satan, for thou dost not savor of those things which savor of money. Verily, verily, I say unto thee, thou shalt not enter into the joy of thy Lord, until thou hast given thy last farthing."
"Then the poor man went away, and sold his gown, and all that he had, and gave to the cardinals and to the doorkeepers and to the chamberlains. But they said, 'What are these among so many?' And they cast him out of the gates and going out, he wept bitterly, and was without consolation. After him there came to the court a certain clerk, who was rich and gross and fat, and who, in a tumult had committed manslaughter. He gave first to the door-keepers and secondly to the cardinals. Then the Lord, the Pope, hearing that the cardinals and officials had received many gifts from the clerk, became very sick unto death. But the rich man sent him an electuary of gold and silver, and he was immediately made whole. Then the Lord, the Pope, called before him the cardinals and officials, and said to them, 'Brethren, see that no one deceive you with vain words, for I give you an example, that as I take so take you also.'"

Written in a spirit of mischief, it reveals beneath its rollicksome words, a relentless mockery of the double oppression of the poor by the church and the nobles. More significant still are the animal epics of the time. There is Noble the Lion-king, always mentioned with respect; Isengrif, the Baron-wolf, grim as his name; Reynard the fox, in friar's habit. The people come on the stage as innocent geese, whom Reynard always pursues with whining words, 'God is my witness how deeply I long after you all in my bowels.'

But Piers Plowman is the first great light to shine out clearly in the darkness. Its burden is: the investiture of labor with a religious significance, the glorification of poverty, the conscious, unanswerable plea for the brotherhood of man. He sees the terrible wasting poverty of the poor but has no remedy. Like Carlyle he is both conservative and radical. Each longs for peace, yet each becomes a destructive power; the work of each was prophetic, two voices crying in the wilderness, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord." The counsel of Poverty is the burden of Langland's preaching, but the poverty for which he pleads is no sentimental ecstasy, but a voluntary con-
secration to productive work. He calls on men not only to accept the word of the Lord, but to follow his example of love and labor, and to join the congregation of His poor. If obeyed, the appeal of this old poet would result in the formation of a sort of voluntary Christian Socialism in the midst of a rigid social order and an unheeding world. "This appeal is the first word of the social literature of England."

The next work of importance, in this age of vision, is the Utopia of Sir Thomas More. This remarkable work, so unreal as to give its name to all that is visionary and impracticable, still startles us by its sanity of tone. Sane in tone and shall I say prophetic? Three ideas control the book and all of them must have seemed absurd to the men of his day. One was his conception of Penology, which is in harmony with the modern humane system. His second idea was the plea for universal toleration, accepted without question by modern thought. His industrial system, which is but England reversed, is still confined to Utopia, but do not our modern political economists at times take journeys into its friendly borders? While our dreamers, Morris, Howells, Bellamy, and Ruskin have had summerings there. The quest of More is for Freedom that the life of the mind may flourish. "Life to him is neither to the end of selfish indulgence nor of toil. It is for the cultivation of the activities of the soul." The social bearings of the teaching of Jesus are proclaimed more boldly in the Utopia than in Piers Plowman, and there is also an optimistic spirit pervading the book, which is like the spirit of Christ. In More the age of patience is passed and the age of hope has begun.

We approach now the time of Swift, -"The Age of Authority, The Age of Finality, The Age of Conventions." Augustan Literature has lost the social with the industrial outlook. They reamed no dream of progress, lifted no banner of the ideal. The literature despised while it depicted humanity. And here in its midst is a man who might have been a great prophet, a man whose business was to preach a religion of hope and love, becoce our greatest cynic and pessimist. Swift, looking
on a world, which others accepted with complacency and admiration, saw nothing but gloom and despair. No mystic like Langland, no philosopher like More, he could not escape the sordid present. What fierce hate in his *Modest Proposal*:—I do therefore humbly offer it to public consideration that of the one hundred and twenty thousand children already computed that twenty thousand may be reserved... that the remaining one hundred thousand may, at a year old be offered for sale to the persons of quality and fortune, always advising the mother to let them suck plentifully in the last month, so as to render them fat and plump for a good table. I grant that this food will come dear, and therefore very proper for landlords, who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to their children." But the French Revolution draws near and despite all appearance, this age of Swift, with its self-satisfactions over which he despaired, is doomed.

II. THE AGE OF PROBLEM. The Victorian Era discloses a new ideal, dreamed by poets, and pictured by novelists. The influence of the French Revolution, though operating quietly, is as deep and pervasive in England as in France.

The poets, from Wordsworth to Byron, are all aglow with the new social outlook. Their spirit of revolt at the established order, their spirit of Democracy and their revolutionary political ideas, with the tragic notes of hope and despair, were but means to an end,—the free full life, natural and spiritual, for every man. There is, as well, a new seriousness that their scheme was for no Utopia, but a plan for men now on the earth. They insist that they are no dreamers but prophets of a new order.

Then the novelists, from *Rip Van Winkle* to Sir George Treasy, with now and then a digression into the Romantic field, are alive with this new spirit of Democracy. Now it is Dickens and Thackeray, with surface pictures of the social strata of the period; now, it is an indictment of society, as seen in Eliot's *Middlemarch*. And what a change from Dickens and Thackeray! The minor characters of this important social picture of
the middle Victorian era, character which Dickens or Thackary
would have treated with jest or contempt, Eliot touches with
never failing tenderness and redeems to human dignity. Yet
her obvious intention is to furnish through them a typical
background. Against this conventional society, she places in
clear warm relief two figures: Lydgate, the representative
intellectual force, and Dorothea, the representative moral force.
Both rebel against convention, both are in different ways
routed by the world.

A great advance is revealed in the later novelists, Meredith
and Hardy and, among lesser folk, Reade, Kingsley, Trollope,
Disraeli, and Macdonald, an avowed utopias, or in schemes of
reconstruction in literary garb.

But interesting as this field of inquiry may be and real-
istic as the novelists are, the development of the social
ideal is best seen in the work of the Essayists. There is the
awakening in the powerful and wierd Sartor Resartus of Thom-
as Carlyle, the indictment of the age in the work of Carlyle,
Ruskin and Arnold. Then the attempted solution by each of
them, not pursued to the end but appearing to open toward the
light.

From 1830 to 1880, no men of pure letters held the public
ear as these three, Carlyle, Ruskin, and Arnold. They have
played a vital part in the evolution of the social ideal.
"Three men of any modern nation more diverse in antecedents,
it would be impossible to find. Carlyle was of peasant origin,
indifferent to beauty and delicacy. Ruskin, the dreamer, was
the son of a rich merchant, softly born and bred. Arnold,
observer, scoffer, silenced poet, sprang from the professional
class, the intellectual elite of England. Carlyle's eyes were
in his conscience, Ruskin's, in his heart, and Arnold's, where
they ought to be, in his head. Each turned away from the dom-
inant interest of his youth, history, art or criticism, to
focus the most earnest thought of his prime earnestly and
eternally on the social anomalies and paradoxes of modern life."
Their social diagnoses have much in common, and are worth noting. They all, in varied tones, arraign the spirit of modern life. In their keen analyses of the day, they not only agree with one another, but also see and dissect the same society which novelists picture. Here is one of the scathing satires of Carlyle, which he leveled against the 'unworking aristocracy.'

"A high class without duties to do is like a tree planted on a precipice, from the roots of which the earth has been crumbling. . . . You ask the aristocrat at the year's end: 'Where is your three hundred thousand pounds? What have you realized to us from that?' He answers, in indignant surprise, 'Done with it? Who are you to ask? I have eaten it, I and my flunkies and my parasites and slaves, two-footed and four-footed, in an ornamental manner. I am realized by it to you.' It is, as we have often said, such an answer as was never before given under the sun."

Dilletanteism and Mammonism, to Carlyle's saddened mind, divided the world of fact.

"This intense apathy is the greatest mystery of life," Ruskin cries, as he describes the frivolous of Thackary and the Mammon worshippers of Dickens. While Arnold's keen phrase rings in our ears persistently, "An upper class materialized, a middle class vulgarized, a lower class brutalized." His famous labelling of the three classes of society have the brilliance of finality about them: - Barbarians, Philistines, Populace."

It is a strange thing that these three should agree in the indictment of modern civilization, this prophet, Carlyle, this artist, Ruskin and this scoffer, Arnold; It is a stranger thing that they, so diverse in nature, arraign that same society which the novelists portray; It is also very strange that in them all is the sense of impending change. It is a far cry from these essayists back to Macaulay, with his serene com-placency with things as they are. The men of 1830 believed that the Revolution was in the past; the men of 1840, 1850 and 1870 believe that it is to come. They live facing its approach.
Of its nature they are not aware. How to meet they are uncertain, but of a more certain and subversive change than the world has ever seen they are completely assured. Again and again, they lift up their warning. Carlyle, beginning with Sartor Resartus, reiterates warning and protest. In 1850 he writes: "There must be a new world if there is to be any world at all." To sober men this may seem hysterical, yet twenty years after, Matthew Arnold, who always understates his case, gives the same warning: "Our present social organization has been an appointed stage in our growth; it has been of good use, and has enabled us to do great things, but the use is at an end, and the stage is over. Ask yourselves if you do not sometimes feel in yourselves a sense that in spite of the strenuous efforts for good of so many excellent people among us, we begin somehow to flounder, and to beat the air; that we seem to find ourselves stopped on this line and on that, and to be threatened with a kind of standstill. It is that we are striving to live on with a social organization of which the day is over."

Is it aludicrous or a sinister thing, this constant prophesying of disaster? Is the great change any nearer in 1906 than in 1840, 1850 or in 1870? Is there any significance in the warnings? Men asked a similar question at intervals through the eighteenth century; they were asking it in 1788; and the next year the Bastille fell.

Carlyle, out of a profound distrust of human nature, feared human nature and Democracy. A ship trying to round Cape Horn in bad weather by the vote of the sailors, instead of by will of the captain; A troop of unbridled horses kicking their heels and scampering where they would; these are the contemptuous figures under which Democracy appears to Carlyle. "A king given, an aristocracy given" writes Frederick Denison Maurice, "and I can see my way clearly to call on them to do the work God has laid upon them; to repent of their sins, to labor that the whole mankind of the country may have a voice, that every member of Christ's body may be indeed a free man. But to reconstitute society on a democratic basis, and I anticipate a
nothing but a most accursed sacerdotal rule, or a military despotism."

Ruskin tries to reach the masses and month by month addresses the British workingman in "that beautiful and unintelligible medley, 'Fors Olavigera'". Yet, to him, this one hope, one suggestion of help never occurs,—that the people should work out in any degree their own deliverance. The idea that the initiative to social salvation should spring from the working classes, an idea always clearly held by Mazzini, exemplified already in the life of our great Lincoln, was as yet contemplated, or at least voiced by no Englishman of imagination, until Arnold's 'Convertimur ad Gentes'. He says: "Political freedom may well be established by aristocratic founders....social freedom, equality, that is the field rather of the conquest of Democracies."

Langland has voiced the woes of the common people and has counselled patient submission; More has dreamed his audacious dream but it is a mere Utopia, and the age has no ears for his sweet message; Swift has poured his contempt upon a complacent age that has no vision; submission, hope and despair is followed by complacency. That, too, has vanished in a noble unrest, and in a groping after a new earth and in a sense of impending change. The problem is handed to the twentieth century for solution. For, while the thinkers of the Victorian age indict modern society, while they are sure of a change, they are pathetic in their attempt to show a way. No one could better expose quack medicines than Carlyle, but he was of little value when he came to prescribe. "What is to be done? Allow me to reply, 'Almost nothing. Thou there, the thing to do is, if possible, to cease to be a hollow sounding shell of hearsays, egoisms, purblind dilettanteisms, and become, were it on an infinitely small scale, a faithful, discerning soul." This call to sincerity, the kindred call to labor, and the final command, 'find your superior and obey him', pretty well sum up the personal gospel of Carlyle.

The most vital factor of Ruskin's social teaching,
according to Vida Scudder, is: "The extension of the moral consciousness through all relations of production and consumption, the simplification of life and the abandonment of luxury, and the active devotion to some form of social service." Ruskin's great generalization is: "The final aim of any civilization is the production and happy maintenance of men. Would the merchant exalt his profession? Let him find his occasion of death. Where shall he find it? In refusing to sell poor goods, or sacrifice the vital welfare of his workmen to his own prosperity." That he will be often ruined by this policy, Ruskin plainly perceives; but that there is any reason for any employer to escape ruin at the present crisis, any more than an officer to preserve his life in time of battle, or a physician, in time of plague, he fails to see. "The captains of industry are verily the leaders of the world" Carlyle has said, and Ruskin believed that the captain must hold himself ready to fall, if need be, by the way.

He had a message to the consumer also. Indulgence in luxury, in the presence of the terrible poverty that weighs down our modern civilization, is a crime. More than once he disposes of the time-honored fallacy that the purchase and encouragement of luxuries relieves economic distress. With this message to the consumer and to the producer, he gave an urgent call to some form of social service.

Arnold lay stress on sweetness and light, but that leads straight to the conviction of the responsibility of the privileged, a responsibility that should never be abrogated until the highest joys of life become the common heritage of all. Arnold's plea was for a recoil into inaction until more light should break. Clough's urgent and humorous appeal, "For G d's sake, do not stir there," expresses the watchword of Arnold. But in 1880, new light is to break.

A glimpse now must be taken of America. She has stood for assured Democracy. With a perhaps too confident optimism of youth, it has stood for that toward which the people of
England were slowly struggling. It is most instructive to see how this Democracy, coming to claim its own, was first denied by English thinkers, then deplored, and at last investigated with perplexity but still with hope. And what of America? If, according to Arnold, social freedom and social equality are the field for the conquest of Democracies, what is the equipment of America for the impending and inevitable conflict and problems of the twentieth century? She has a noble heritage in her past. Although her founders had not grasped completely the modern idea of social democracy, yet they never expected a privileged class to have a monopoly of luxuries, nor did they dream but that every man would have a fair chance to enter the struggle of life on equal terms with all citizens. A plutocracy was assuredly the last result of their hopes, contemplated either by our Puritan Forefathers, or by the great statesmen of the Revolution. They also left us a fine tradition of unworldliness, a simple social life, free from complications, and personal types singularly pure and high. And to these a great cause to fight for was added.

Here was a subject race, avowedly deprived of a simulacrum of liberty; here was a national unity, somewhat hastily assumed to be firmly established; and to meet these, was only the plain people of Lincoln, optimistic, with undimmed faith and with a fervent religious devotion to an ideal. They saw the vision and did not doubt.

"Truth forever on the scaffold, Wrong forever on the throne. Yet that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown,

God is standing in the shadows, keeping watch above His own."

"They followed Truth and found her,
Where all may hope to find,
Not in the ashes of the burnt-out mind,
But, beautiful, with danger's sweetness round her.
Where Faith, made whole with deed,
Breathes its awakening breath
Into the lifeless creed;
They saw her plumed and mailed,
With sweet stern face, unveiled,
And all-repaying eyes
Look proud on them in death."

A generation has passed, and disillusion is dimming her bright-eyed faith, bringing a dubious note into her fine optimism. This ringing note of optimism was slow to die out of our literature. It echoes in Lowell's noble essay on Democracy, and its high conviction, its beautiful confidence in Freedom, its assurance of victory, sound courage to our more uncertain age.

Our literature is now invaded by a note of pain. Witness Sidney Lanier:

_Yea, what avails the endless tale_
_of gain by cunning and plus by sale?_
_Look up the land, look down the land,_
_The poor, the poor, the poor, they stand_
_Wedged by the pressing of Trade's hand_
_Against an inward opening door,_

That pressure tightens evermore.
They sigh a monstrous foul-air sigh
For the outside leagues of Liberty,
Where art, sweet lark, translates the sky
Into a heavenly melody.
Each day, all day, (these poor folk say),
In the same old, year long, drear long way,
We weave in the mills, and heave in the kilns,
We seive mine-meshes under the hills,
And thieve much gold from the Devil's bank tills,
To relieve, O God, what manner of ills?
But who said once in lordly tone
Man shall not live by bread alone,
But by all that cometh from the throne?
Hath God said so?
But Trade saith 'No',
And the kilns and the curt-tongued mills say, 'GO':

There's plenty that can if you can't, we know;

Move out, if you think you're underpaid.

The poor are prolific; We're not afraid:

Trade is Trade."

With a political Democracy, in which it is not wholly easy

to exult, America has fallen in line with other nations, and

must bear with them, under more complicated conditions, the

onus of the modern struggle. But if our conditions are in

some respects even more complex, what with the American Constitu-
tion for our ideal, and for its realization, material such as

Poles, Hungarians, Russian Jews, Italians, Germans, Bohemians,

Armenians, and Irish, still we have an immense over those

other nations, in the different foundations on which our nation-
al life is laid, in our assumption of equality, in the absence
among us of any solidified class feeling. "Ours only to main-
tain our tradition of Freedom and apply it."

The question is now no longer between Aristocracy and

Democracy, but between a socialistic Democracy and a socialist

State. Democracy, once looked upon with suspicion, is an assured

fact. And the solution of social Freedom rests to-day with the

Democracy of the future.

Parallel to this movement towards Democracy and the Free-
dom of the individual, there has been developing a second move-
ment. A second impulse begins to measure itself against the

individualism of the Victorian Era: - "The growing desire for
unity, a social impulse towards the common life and the common
duty. "The growing desire for the authority which plays through
our literature mingles in a baffling way with a sense that
the old forms of authority vested in a class or a man are effete; Contempt or indifference towards existing political
machinery meet curiously an impulse to lay fresh stress on
the possibilities of political action; and the converging
lines of nearly all social speculation move toward a new in-
sistence on the opportunity, the duty, the responsibility of
the state." Thus we see the common life of the people,
since the literature of the age reflects the ideals of the age and reveals the atmosphere of the time in which it is created, has also, along with the Church Philosophy, and Politics, felt the quickening touch of the social ideal and the social teaching of Jesus.
CHAPTER SIXTH.
THE SOCIAL IDEAL OF JESUS AND THE ECONOMIC PROCESS.

The Age of Vision has passed. The poets have dreamed their dreams, while the forces were gathering for the conflict. The Second Period, the Age of Problem, ended with the year 1880. The Essayists and the Novelists discovered the real issue and made their indictment. Today is the age of Experiment. The centre of the social passion has shifted and passed over from the poets, the novelists and the essayists, into the hands of the men of action. Today is the Era of Social Living. Not that the literature of today does not teem with social suggestions; three out of every five respectable novels of the present have a latent social animus, whether they deal with mere picture, or with arraignment or with constructive suggestion. Librarians can hardly introduce quickly enough the great yearly output of economic books. Lectures, sermons, addresses without limit on this theme are being heard. A tentative attempt to group the varied phenomena of our day and country shows that they lie in the field of action, and reveal three chief forms.

I. The surprising fellowship between the members of alienated classes.

II. The vigorous young Socialist Movement, springing with seeming suddenness into existence in the decade between the years 1880 and 1890.

III. The Change in the spirit of the Christian Church.

I. Practical fellowship between the members of alienated classes.

The principles of Jesus and His method of realizing His ideals are influencing in multiform ways the current economic process. We have seen it molding Philosophy until the truth of Objective Idealism, with its Immanent God in Nature and History working for ideal ends, has overthrown the closed system of Materialism; we have traced its triumph in the church when a religion of the Spirit is the only finality, and all the mediae-
val absolutisms in the Church are disappearing in a downward curve; we have traced its political effects, as the direct outcome of the Reformation, in Democracy, with its root ideas of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. We have seen, through a glance at Literature, the slow permeating of the masses with this leaven, which to-day is manifesting itself in a social unrest. As yet, the sphere of Economics seems to be unregulated and unbroken by this dominating idea, and yet, the old policy of 'laissez faire' is being challenged. It is now clearly seen that under this policy it is absolutely impossible to get such a thing in the modern world as free play in the competitive forces. The rapid formations of trusts and combinations, "the most remarkable economic phenomena of the modern world," in spite of temporary checks, in relation to its competitors, must, by a principle inherent in the very constitutions of present conditions, tend to ultimately embody some colossal absolutism toward society; the trend of tradesunionism, in self-defence, restricting output, and diminishing employment; the influence of gigantic organizations to control legislation; the influencing of national and international affairs; the struggle finally degenerating slowly to the level of the lowest qualities governing it, namely those contributing to success and survival in a free fight for private gain; the above all reveal the ultimate conditions of free competition do not in reality and never have existed. Professor Henry Sidgwick, in examining the relation of Political Economy and Ethics, has succeeded in bringing clearly before the general mind the lines, along which the principle, that produced the political transformation, is working the economic transformation also. Kidd says: "As in politics the movement has been toward equal political rights, so in economics, it is a movement towards equality of economic opportunity." Economics is challenged by the Kingdom of God.

Among the phenomena, which reveal this challenge, notice must be given to the demand for the regulation of the conditions of the employment of women, children, and unskilled labor,
the cry for a living wage; the struggle for a standard of life; a new sense of responsibility in society to interfere and to break the absolutism in economic as in political life; a responsibility to the new idea of social justice; accumulating signs that, as Professor Sidgwick says, "the inequality of opportunity cannot be justified before the common social conscience". In this consciousness, fundamentally religious, we see a cause intensely active, inherent, and unmistakably operating to prevent the absolutism in the present economic situation from closing us in.

In the light of this movement, which worked for toleration in religion, idealism in philosophy, and democracy in politics, what may be said of the character of Marxian Socialism? The entire movement of modern socialism, real as some of its faults and failings are, completely as some of its leaders have missed the very meaning and spirit of the movement, nevertheless, represents, in very true sense a general revolt of our times against the economic conditions which tend toward absolutism. And yet the Marxian Socialist has missed the real meaning of history when he holds that all human beliefs and institutions are ultimately the outcome of economic conditions.

Mr. James Bonar thus describes the causes which tended to impress the German Socialists with the idea that all social progress is nothing but economic progress: "what impressed the German socialists was the demonstrably economic character of the political changes of the last 300 years. In the course of industrial changes the mediaeval land-owners gave up their power to the capitalists and the capitalists to the employers. Therefore, said the German socialists, all is due to a change in the prevailing form of production. Where agriculture prevails we have a territorial aristocracy, a certain political system and certain social institutions and laws; where commerce prevails we have another system, where manufacture, another. This explains the rise of the middle classes into political power, but also the advance of the working classes as a power that will displace them and be all in all. Economic
progress is thus the only real progress; the essence of all history is economics; the essence of all economics is labor."

This theory of social development and deliverance in fundamentally opposed to that spiritual movement that has broken the despotism of Church, Philosophy, and State. It is a reversal of that evolution of the past, and a return to that materialism of the old philosophy, proved intellectually impotent, and is a denial of that mainspring of progress, 'an ideal of the future toward which men and nations work'. The struggle is not a mere gigantic class war between capital and labor in the present, but a cosmic movement and struggle between the Kingdom of God, whose dynamic is love of Jesus, whose ideal is righteousness, on the one hand, and the Kingdom of the World, whose whose dynamic is self and whose ideal is power and whose method is Force. Social Democracy of the Marxian type denies wholly and unreservedly, any spiritual purpose in the Universe. Marx rests his doctrine, not on justice preached by Utopia mongers, (as he calls his socialist predecessors) not on a sentimental love of man, which he never mentions without immeasurable scorn, but on historical necessity alone, on the blind growth of productive forces, which must in the end swallow up the capitalist." Such a theory of Social Democracy, founded on a materialistic interpretation of history, in the light of the foregoing discussion, receives its answer and final criticism.

Apart, however, from this materialistic socialism, there is an underlying truth which embodies the awakened moral protest against present economic distress. Says a recent writer: "The professed socialist is a rare, perhaps an unnecessary person, who wishes to instruct and generally succeeds in scaring humanity by bringing out into the light of day the dim principle, that is working at the back of the course of events." Yet socialism is no mere sentiment. As Miss Scudder says: "It believes in expressing through the actual constitution of society, that faith in the social organism as a whole, which we see works in so powerful a manner in the writers of to-day. To
thus end it holds the policy of collective control in all matters of collective concern. The recognition of a common duty toward productive labor; the demand for stable living conditions that shall relieve from all classes the hideous pressure of material anxiety; the desire for opportunity equally shared, and hence for the diminution of the inequalities of wealth; the reiterated plea for better and more economical use of labor through the agency of the state; all these things enter the socialist spirit and find their home there."

But how may the profound instinct of the Manchester School of thought in England, that the future of the world belongs to the principle of free competition, be reconciled with the equally profound instinct which has come to express itself through the theories of Socialism, that the 'let alone' theories of competition are nothing more than a relic of Barbarism in its conditions of strife? May we not find it in the Social Ideal and Social Method of Jesus? There has come a change in the spirit of the Christian Church. The churches of every creed in their attempt to understand and to practise the social truths innate in Christianity are moving toward results which we cannot yet see. What potency in the appeal and influence of Jesus, with his profound radicalism and his penetrating plea to utter unworldliness, to the perfect love which is the perfect service! A study, however, of the aims and spirit of Christ in comparison with the aim and spirit and methods of socialism reveals an instructive truth. The socialists, many of them, while rejecting the church, appeal to Christ as leader in their revolutionary thought. The Christian is drawn to the socialist programme and then as strongly repelled. The ideals of the two are the same:— the dream of an industrial order of greater justice and larger opportunity seems but a renewal and restatement of the Christian's vision of the Kingdom of God. The streams of tendency in socialism and Christianity seem and are flowing in the same direction; one however is on a higher level than the other. Yet there are striking contrasts. Their diagnoses are different and they approach from
different standpoints. The motives from which the two proceed and the ideals toward which they lead, are in different zones of human desire. The socialist programme begins with the observation of economic need and ends in an ideal of an economic change; the teaching of Jesus begins with the sense of spiritual need and ends in an ideal of a spiritual Kingdom. "Both social teachings move through the life of the real world,' to quote Peabody, "giving laws to its industry and direction to its energy; But the aim of the one is to make the poor rich, and the aim of the other is to make the bad good." "The socialist finds in economic transformation the cause of character, Jesus counts on character to bring about economic transformation. The cooperative commonwealth is to arise out of a new arrangement of production, says the one; the New Jerusalem is to descend out of Heaven from God, says the other." The roots of the evils of society is in the conditions, says the socialist; in character, says Jesus, and no economic scheme has in it a permanent value until industrial life is lifted up to a level of a moral opportunity and taken in hand as a trust from God. Socialism also lacks the spiritual dynamic of faith and surrender to a living person, which is the vital strength of the Kingdom of God. The spirit of the two ideals is different, in fact they are inconsistent, since it is hard to see how the reign of equity and brotherhood can be introduced through the free play of passion and hate. A bad world can never be transformed by an external enactment into a world of beauty and goodness. Here are the two parallel streams flowing toward a better time. And Peabody says: "The socialist's programme represents the penalty which the modern world is paying for its insufficient obedience to the law of brotherly love and the social teaching of Jesus."

In both ways a new conception of social duty is arising. The post of honor is at the front, for there is the place of danger. The answer of all men who are not Cains, to the old question is "I am my brothers keeper." Philanthropies are a dangerous substitute for honest wage payment, shorter work-
ing time and increased influence over the conditions of the labor contract. What may be called the great bluff of modern times is to put gratuities and benefactions in the place of justice. It is the oldest trick of history and is seen to be a bluff. The inevitable question is upon us. How may we bring in the aim of the socialist, a better social and industrial state, in the spirit and method and sane optimism of Jesus? With this recent growth of the socialist party, and this new insistence on the social ideals of Jesus by the Church of today, there is to be noted two other phenomena, which show that the sentiment is assuming a political aspect.

First, there is the rapid development of the old Farmer's Alliance, with a new conviction and an increasingly definite purpose. The deepest purpose in most movements comes tardily to consciousness. Luther, in the early part of the Reformation, is vehement in his assertion, "I will do nothing against His Holiness, the Pope." Lincoln was sincere in repeating that "he has no purpose, directly or indirectly, of interfering with slavery in the states where it now exists, and that he has no lawful right to do so." In 1880, the Farmer's Alliance in the South affirms that 'a strict non-partisan attitude shall be taken.' Yet, in their search to find some way by which great corporations such as railroads may be used more equitably for the public good and less exclusively for the fattening of the few, after an alliance with the north and west, it is now assuming a political cast, and, in spite of crudities of statement of their heterogeneous grievances, there is a growing conviction in these and other organizations of the people that private ownership may gather to itself such strength and mastery as to control politics and to defeat the very beginnings of democratic government. There is in the future no divorcing of the great labor disturbances from politics. As Luther and Lincoln, because of a movement behind them greater than they, were compelled to eat their words, so men of this day because of that movement, slowly developing through the centuries, - the development of the ideal that the whole earth is
the heritage of all men—must face the problem now and are seeking for a solution, in spite of their professed purpose, in the political field.

The second definite phenomena to be noted is the labor organization. The social question in inevitable. The people are reading such expressions as these from the leading thinkers of the Past. True or untrue, these words are the ideals of the great labor organizations of the land and are enthusiastically championed by them.

Lange: - "We may show a hundred times that with the success of speculation and the great capitalists, the position of everybody else, step by step improves. But so long as it is true that with every step of this improvement the difference in the position of individuals and in the means of further advancement also grows, so long will each step of this movement lead toward a turning-point, where the wealth and power of individuals break down all barriers of law and morals, and a degraded proletariat serves as a football to the passions of the few; until at last everything ends in a social earth-quake which swallows up the artificial edifice of one-sided and selfish interests. Sparta perished when the whole land belonged to a hundred families; Rome perished when a proletariat of millions stood opposed to a few thousands of proprietors... We have the immoderate growth of riches, we have the proletariat we have the decay of morals; the present forms of government all have their existence threatened, and the belief is becoming widespread and deeply rooted, that a general and mighty revolution is near."

A laboring man showed clippings to Mr. Graham Brooks from Mommsen, Tolstoi, Ibsen, Ruskin, Carlyle and others, with these words "If it is a question of opinion about our accursed society, all the men that think great thoughts and dare utter them, are with us. They all call society rotten, they despise capitalism, the politicians, and the lawyers that are their hirelings."

They gleefully quote Emerson: "As long as our civilization is one of property, of fences, of social exclusiveness, it will
be mocked by delusions." Arnold's phrase is a stock one: "An upper class materialized, a middle class vulgarized, a lower class brutalized." And Thorold Rogers: "In a vague way, the laborers are under the impression that the greater part of the misery which they see is the direct product of the laws enacted and maintained in the interest of particular classes. And on the whole they are right." They quote Mill: "Between Communism with all its chances, and the present state of society, all the difficulties of Communism great and small would be as dust in the balance." And Fiske of Harvard: "Inherited predatory tendencies of men to seize upon other's labor is still very strong, and while we have nothing to fear from kings, we may yet have trouble enough from commercial monopolies and favored industries, marching to the polls their bribed retainers."

Lowell, Frederic Harrison, John Morley, Morris, Howells, all furnish some stinging paragraph against the present social order. The question is this: - What is the probable effect upon the mind of the average wage-earner of these men, whose testimony seems to be unbiased by self-interest, the testimony of confessed men of genius and insight. Shall it not inevitably deepen his faith in his attempt at social reconstruction?

The battle is now on between regulation and public control. The trend toward city lighting, telegraph and transportation is as the movement of glacier from mountain peak to valley. A lawyer, prominent enough to be the President of a city Bar-Association, says, - "Five years ago it was hard to find any strong man in the club who felt interest enough in the subject of municipal ownership of public utilities to talk two minutes, but now no subject is certain to excite a livelier discussion." The librarian of one of our largest libraries says: - "Our greatest nuisance is the increasing mass of literature on social questions. Are the people growing crazy on the subject?" Twenty years ago, the opinion in the Tradesunions on the subject of control was formless and hesitating; to-day it is clear and decisive. We all are looking with interest and hope at New Zealand; Belgium is succeeding wonderfully with
her cooperative institutions; There is a sense of impending
change. What next?

The real peril which we now face is the threat of a class
conflict. If Capitalism insists upon a policy of antagonising
the desire of the American workman for the lifting his stand-
ard of comfort and leisure, every element of class conflict will
strengthen among us. "Labor organizations, in spite of every
unhappy fault, stands for the higher standard of living. Trade
unionism at its best has so far discovered the fact of the
solidarity of interests that it may be easily led to cooperate
rather than to antagonize, and its whole strength can be turned
against our greatest danger,—a class struggle: And it, in turn,
may be saved from the worst error of the English Unions, the
limitation of the output."

Shall the future see a social democracy or a Social State?
The stream of tendency, in spite of eddies and swirlings, is
manifestly in one direction. To dam the stream would be a
foolhardy thing; but to guide the movement rightly and wisely,
as the English race has done so often in striking contrast to
the French People, is a possible thing.

The great movement that has successively broken the abso-
lutisms in religion, philosophy and the state, is to meet the
economic situation of to-day. Who shall doubt the final issue?
There is need only of leadership, purged of personal bias, so
as to see the issue, and wise to direct, because first the king-
dom of God with its spirit, method and aim has possessed it, and
perhaps the dream of an earth as the heritage of the whole
people will be realized sooner than we think, and one more of
the kingdoms of this world shall become the Kingdom of our Lord.
Yet, though the world will proceed on its selfish way, and though
many people will claim the consolations of Christianity with-
out sharing its sacrifices, it is perhaps no dream that the
long separation between Democracy, with its master passion to
'multiply Life's chances' and with Christianity's passion for
the Kingdom will draw to its close; and that as the slow
years pass by, the love of God and man may find, in their
union, freedom for a more collective expression than has yet been seen on the earth. And John's vision shall at last be realized.