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Donald, E. Winchester 1848-
1904.
The expansion of religion



THE EXPANSION OF RELIGION

*SIX LECTURES DELIVERED BEFORE
THE LOWELL INSTITUTE*

BY

E. WINCHESTER DONALD

RECTOR OF TRINITY CHURCH
IN THE CITY OF
BOSTON



BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY
The Riverside Press, Cambridge
1896

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The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.
Electrotyped and Printed by H. O. Houghton & Company.

TO ONE
WHOSE UNCONSCIOUS BUT POWERFUL INFLUENCE
WROUGHT WITH ME
IN THE MAKING OF THIS BOOK



PREFACE

THESE Lectures do not claim to be original, eloquent, erudite, or academic. They are the record of a working clergyman's sober thinking upon a subject, profound interest in which is coterminous with the life of man. As such a record only, they are offered to the public.

E. WINCHESTER DONALD.

TRINITY RECTORY,
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS,
January, 1896.

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THE EXPANSION OF RELIGION.

I.

RELIGION AND SALVATION.

THE earliest universal interest of mankind is its latest. Religion still stands in the foremost files of the world's passionate wishes, and equally of its most strenuous endeavors; and it touches and colors, in frank or subtle ways, all the outcomes of man's many-sided life. No longer regarded as the sole possession of organization and formal statement, it is rather an atmosphere in which the healthy life of man is most successfully lived. No longer identified with particular expressions of the great world's career, no longer thought of as something technical and arbitrary, which experts must make intelligible to the people, it is now, to our spiritual conception, like the sunlight which enters

unbidden into every least bit of space that is open to its gracious presence. The sole condition of its possibility for every man is openness to the incoming of the Divine. The sole condition of its personal possession is sensitiveness and responsiveness to the Divine. It employs organization, it does not require it. It admits of statement, but lives without it. It welcomes the symbol, but refuses to be bound by symbol. It tolerates the most splendid and gorgeous ritual, it thrives and blossoms in loneliest hut on the shore of the most lonely and distant sea. It stirs the heart of the pygmy in the dark forest, and animates the soul of the tenant of the Vatican. The breath of God, the life of man, the heat of the heart, the vigor of the will, the liveness of the conscience, the one great hope of human nature set in this brilliant, beautiful, sad, and restless world, is still that mighty force which we call Religion.

The conviction that this is true will underlie all that I shall say in these lectures. I cannot claim that I come coldly to study a vigorous force of the past, the spent force

of the present ; for I am here rather as one who believes that Religion is seeing its best days, that it is asserting itself in quarters wherein it has frequently been regarded as an intrusion, and that it is assuming forms which, as yet, only spiritual eyes can recognize. The moment Religion was emancipated from the tyranny of sacred conventions, the moment it was trusted to take care of itself out in the great world of living men, it began, by virtue of its own divine force, to occupy all territory whereon were ideas, emotions, purposes, struggling to realize themselves in achievements. So long as Religion was described in statement, and uttered itself only in arbitrary and conventional conduct, it stood a poor chance to become the impulse and nourishment of the total life of man. Judge Sewall knew where Religion began and where it ended in the social and personal life of the seventeenth century. It began with a correct notion and ended in correct conduct. How narrow, provincial, ascetic, that notion was, how hard and hardening that conduct came to be, his "Diary" bountifully shows. The expansion of Religion was unthinkable

two hundred years ago. To have given it the ample freedom it possesses now would, to English and New England thinking, have caused it to disappear as completely as Christianity has vanished from many of those cities of Asia Minor to which St. John wrote his striking and now pathetic letters. Religion was not trusted as we trust sunlight and storm; it was guarded like crown jewels, which, if passed from hand to hand, may be lost, and, once lost, lost forever. It was looked at through glass. It is inability to perceive what a free force Religion is which explains the widely entertained opinion that Religion to-day is decaying. The disappearance of Fast Day counts for more than the appearance of the conviction in the public thinking that to house human beings in a tenement the plumbing arrangements of which are a constant and cordial welcome to disease, is a moral crime. The disuse of the old Catechism is held to be indicative of waning Religion, but the erection and maintenance of a child's dispensary, of baby shelters, and the annual summer exodus of enough of the city's little ones

to lower the rate of infant mortality, fails widely to be interpreted as a direct result of Religion regnant. Again, what has been aptly termed the "theological thaw" of the last quarter of a century is too frequently set down as decisive of the melting out from the spiritual life of the community of the imperative sanctions of duty, and no less of the universal sense of awe and reverence in the presence of the eternal mysteries of life and death. And the ease with which so august an organization as a Church is created by a handful of disaffected and fanatical, or earnest and conscientious, men and women, has been accepted as indubitable proof that all religion is no better than the outcome of human hopes or fears, employed by society to furnish direction and refinement to enthusiasms tolerated by the state as helpful in keeping its citizens in order.

It is not misrepresentative of our time, therefore, to describe it as unreasonably despondent about the present prospects of Religion. One set of men deplores the decay of authority, meaning thereby really nothing more than the blessed powerless-

ness of organization to compel assent to its dogmas by the exercise of force. Another set of men bewails the gradual disappearance of the multitude's willingness to accept as true what is uttered in sacred places in solemn tones. And still another set is disheartened at the withdrawal of enthusiasm from stated worship, and its bountiful and beautiful gift of itself to what still are called secular and philanthropic activities.

I have said enough to explain why a clergyman, who makes no pretension to erudition, ventures to speak to his fellows of the expansion of Religion, dares to give his reasons for believing that Religion was never more active, more diffused, more hopefully energetic, than it is to-day. For I hope to be able to show by a calm and dispassionate summary of facts that are open to the inspection and verification of us all, and by a rational interpretation of their meaning, that Religion is to-day far more widely diffused, far more fruitfully and faithfully used, than when Samuel Sewall tried to comfort his little son, Samuel, sobbing with mingled fright and

sorrow at the solemn services of his kinsman's funeral, by quoting to him the text, "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" One wishes he have might taken the little boy into his arms and kissed away his fears.

But it is time to say frankly what we mean by Religion as we shall use the word in our lectures. I am glad to believe, and I do believe, that the idolater, kneeling in blind hope or stupid terror at the feet of his hideous or fantastic idol, is as truly religious as the Romanist hushed and awed at the Elevation of the Host, or as the Liberal passionately moved by the splendid utterance of the great divine truth of the Fatherhood of God. I can imagine myself kneeling, in a great temple of Buddha in Japan, or in the magnificent mosque of St. Sofia, by the side of the Buddhist or the Moslem, sure that my prayer and theirs reach the listening ear of the one Father which is in Heaven, and that God answers us both. It has ever seemed to me a bit of logical folly to point to the universality of man's belief in Deity as proof that there is a God, and in the same breath

declare that the god of the pagan and heathen is no god at all. Abruptly to convince the heathen that his idol god is nothing is to do one's best to plunge him into atheism, not to lift him up into the Christian theism. I think if I were a missionary in Japan, I should begin my work of unfolding Christianity by worshiping Almighty God, Maker of heaven and earth, in a temple of Buddha, and I should explain and defend my act by quoting the words of Jesus, "I am come not to destroy, but to fulfill." Religion, real Religion, is in very truth the common possession of all mankind, and "varieties of religions" means simply different reports or conceptions of one universal force or fact. Religion in the heart of man is everywhere the same in kind. The crude article is in Boston what it is in Ahmednuggur. But Religion in history, in organization, statement, ritual, is as various as are the climates, civilizations, customs, and inventions of innumerable nations and tribes. Its unity is divine, its variations are for the most part historical and human. That is to say, the unreasoned feeling or

the reflected conviction that each human being is related to Deity, and that this relation can be realized by some sort of means, are at the heart of all Religion. The terror of the savage is the germ of the Christian awe. The Christian's contrite prayer is the blossoming of the pagan's attempt to purchase the Deity's favor by something done or something sacrificed. The sacred dance of the islander is of a piece with the jubilant psalm of the Christian, exulting in his deliverance from his material danger or his spiritual foe. All forms of Religion, even the Religion of Jesus, if only we track them back far enough, will be found rooted in a single fact, — the soul's instinctive, fundamental, ineradicable feeling, or conviction, that it stands in a real relation to Deity, and that this relation is capable of conscious and continuous realization by action, — the adoration of an idol, the burning of a beast, the offering of a prayer. And that is what I shall mean by Religion generically in my lectures. Ten years ago, I might have regarded this statement as accepted and irritating commonplace; but

as one listens to many of our missionary addresses and reads a good deal of our missionary literature, he perceives the necessity of stating, with a flagrant plainness, that to think of Religion, in its elemental idea, as anything other than one the wide world over and all the centuries through, is to slip into the pit of hopeless bewilderment or to take fatal refuge in the paddock of provincialism. That there is one God is a truism until the heathen holds up his hideous or fantastic idol, and cries to the Christian, "Is this God?" until a rigid, pitiless, marvelously well reasoned catechism implicitly asks, Is this God *the* God? It is only as one sees clearly, and holds intelligently, a conception of Religion which is capable of roofing in every form of it, that there is so much as a chance of profound and unconquerable belief in it as the outcome of the Eternal Spirit working in the human soul. If one's philosophy of Religion can sweep away as human rubbish the idea which underlies even so horrible a thing as cannibalism in its primitive purpose, it may turn out that it can sweep away the idea expressed in the purest

worship ever offered up to Almighty God. Through and by the root, set deep in the rich soil of our humanity by the hand of God, can Religion live, however it may be nourished, strengthened, and disciplined by revelation and enlightened human thought. And I like to believe that this idea of it, upon which I have dwelt so long, is consonant to that conception of it which was held by the large minded, deep hearted founder of this Lecture Course. For it was at Luxor, on the site of Thebes, hard by the colossal ruins of El Karnak, massive testimony to the puissant influence of a form of Religion that has ceased to be, on the banks of the river which flows past more, and more magnificent, marks of organized Religion than any stream in all the world, that Mr. Lowell executed the codicil that created the foundation upon which to-night's lecturer is privileged to stand. Those huge monoliths spake to him of an ancient faith in God of which the family church in far off Boston was a true development. He must have felt that belief in God, however strangely named, however imperfectly described and weirdly wor-

shipped, was indissolubly bound up with an ancient people's moral life, just as belief in Jesus Christ and His revelation of the Father's nature was firmly linked in with the moral behavior of the people of Massachusetts. Because there was Religion in every one of the strange lands to which his travels bore him, because the evidences of Religion, among peoples whose civilization had long ago disappeared, were pre-eminently characteristic of the remains of those civilizations, he profoundly and passionately felt that only by Religion, perpetually translating itself into morals, can men be secure of happiness in this world and in that which is to come. The Lectures were to show the "conformity of natural Religion" — that natural Religion which I have already defined — "to that of our Saviour."

Here, then, is the distinct assertion that Natural Religion is in conformity with the religion of Jesus. It is the assertion that just as the tree, standing in stalwart strength, conforms to the slender sapling out of which it grew; just as the broad river, bearing upon its bosom the navies

of the world, conforms to the stream which has sung its way down from its native hills; or just as to-day's civilization conforms to the ancient civilizations whose developed child it is, — so the Religion of Jesus conforms to the Religion of Abraham, of India, of the "summer isles of Eden lying in dark purple spheres of sea." This may seem on its face like surrendering the claim of Christianity to be the universal religion that is to be, like reducing it to the level of all Religions, differing, as the phrase is, "not in kind but in degree," from, say, Buddhism or Shintoism. But let us understand exactly what we mean by this phrase. It may be said that all oak trees differ from each other only in degree, since they are all oaks. And this is true. And yet it must be that white oaks and red oaks differ in kind, and that some intrinsically different sort of sap or leaf function must be working in them adequately to account for diversities which inexpert eyes easily discern. This also is true. Certain fundamental likenesses make them oaks; certain equally fundamental qualities make them white or red.

Degree and kind are not contradictory or mutually exclusive of each other, when degree and kind are working in the same organism. It does not affront us when we are assured that Buddhism and Confucianism differ only in degree, nor does it contradict our knowledge to affirm, also, that they differ in kind as well. Just why it is either perilous or untrue to assert that Christianity "differs in degree" from any Religion which has been a living force upon this earth, it is hard to say, nor has it ever been explained. Christianity is a far richer and nobler form of Religion than Taoism, for example; yet each has a common root. Christianity is immeasurably truer to human instinct than Zoroastrianism, because Jesus has perfectly revealed the nature of God and perfectly stated in word and life the wish and will of God for man; but none the less Zoroastrianism and Christianity are the same in their elemental truth. The disciples of each worship the same God, however different be their report of what they mean by God and of what He wishes men to become. Every Religion which is "natural," which

issues from the universal human instinct that man has a real relation to God and that that relation can be realized by action, conforms to the Religion of Jesus. Christianity is possessed of truths of which the heart of the Dark Continent has never dreamed. Christianity is moved by a purpose to which much of India is yet a stranger, but its most characteristic truths and purposes are the developments of truths and purposes which have haunted the nature of mankind "since the first man stood, God conquered, with his face to heaven upturned." To foreshadow the meaning of the title I have given these lectures, Christianity is the great expansion of Religion, not simply of Judaism, but of every form of Religion which has sensitized the conscience, invigorated the will, and directed the hopes of mankind. So far from lowering the Religion of Jesus to the level of the so-called man-made religions, this conception of it lifts it clean out of every petty, partial, provincial notion of it, and sets it in the heaven of humanity's variant yet ever related beliefs, there to shine as the star whose magnitude

and beauty dims all its sister stars, yet reflecting, like them, the beams of the one Eternal Sun, sole source of heat and light.

It is this conception of Christianity which is every year becoming more and more that of all wide-minded and deep-hearted Christian thinkers. And it is no insignificant indication of the marvelous progress made towards the simplification of Christendom's apprehension of the essential unity of all Religion that one may make this frank and I hope lucid statement of the relation of Christianity to any Religion whatever, without instantly meeting a prompt challenge, perhaps something more serious. Indeed, it is not extravagant to claim that to-day men find it easier and more rational to believe that Christianity is destined to gather into itself the Religions of the world, when it is recognized as of kin with every Religion, than when it was regarded as bound by no vital, necessary, indestructible ties to every least belief of man in his God. For if we could find a nation to which the idea of Deity is as inconceivable as that of light to eyeless fishes in the lakes of subter-

anean caverns, to which worship is as unthinkable as the distance from March eight to the State House gate, the proposal to send to that nation the story told in our Gospels, with the hope that it would be so much as possible that they could receive it, would not find a supporter whose intelligence was not in serious dispute. The sure warrant for believing in the final supremacy of Christianity is its essential kinship to and its manifest completion of the capacity to know and love God, which lives in every man because every man is made in the image of God. The more eagerly the missionary insists that the Religion of Jesus is a message of brotherly welcome to the Religion which builds temples on the banks of the Ganges, the sooner will Jesus be hailed as the long-expected Saviour by the multitudes who fill those heathen temples with their prayers and the smoke of their sacrifices.

I claim, therefore, that that is a true expansion of Religion which has lifted Christianity, as we know it here in America, up out of the narrow notion of it as standing

in solitary grandeur among the faiths of the world to which it has no ties of spiritual kinship, and is setting it forth as the evolutionary, divine fulfillment of what has been living and growing in the heart of man since the day he was placed upon this earth with a nature that had in it the potency of government, civilization, art, worship, invention, skill, and love. What may still be regarded in some quarters as an evidence of decay is thus seen to be the mark of vitality. The larger, the older, the more comprehensive Religion is conceived to be, the more absolute is its necessity, the more solidly firm is its possession of mankind.

I have perhaps sufficiently — more than sufficiently — indicated why, to my thinking, Religion needs no defense. It rests not upon arguments and institutions, but upon humanity itself. It will abide, not because of the clever ingenuity of logicians, nor of the well fortified erudition of scholars; it will abide because man is man. He did not make himself; God made him — made him capable of love and hate, of sleeping and waking, of dreaming and

doing; capable, also, of knowing and loving his Maker. What he is, he is. And he is no more compelled to hunger for meat than to hunger for God. The history of humanity's search for God is as true, as characteristic, as that of its search for food. Man plants his fields and rears his temples because from the one he gathers the grain that nourishes his body, and in the other finds the sense of mystery and awe and reverence which feed his soul. What he is, he is, and he is religious. The one plain, persistent, venerable fact about him is that he has always been on the lookout for God, and the story of his search and his discoveries is the history of Religion.

Not, then, as an apologist of a decaying, but as the interpreter of an expanding force, I come to speak, believing that a true interpretation of movements and achievements, at the close of the century, which apparently mark the recession of Christianity from the life of the people, will reveal, rather, that religion is more and more taking firm possession of every human interest and endeavor, perpetually translating itself into organizations, enthusi-

asms, and struggles, which, as yet, are largely unaware of the true nature of the force which gave them birth and is supplying them with the life without which they must die.

If we have correctly and sufficiently indicated wherein religions are alike, it is time to develop wherein they differ. Their most obvious difference is in their report of the nature of God. The self-torture, the self-effacement, of the devotee of India is the outcome of an untrue conception of the nature of God. If God be what he thinks Him, his self-torture is natural. Man seeks to become what he believes God would have him be.¹ If you believe God is only force, then Religion will be a struggle to get on the right side of God, or to get out of His way altogether. Every Religion that has been, bountifully illustrates that very simple truth. Religions do not make gods, but gods make Religion. A god who is conceived as brutal, lustful, capricious, and cruel, makes a brutal, licentious, shifty, and unmerciful Religion. The heathen who lashes his

¹ Fairbairn, *Religion in History and Modern Life*.

idol in maddened fury, because a boon is withheld, believes in a god of weakness. When Jacob made his bargain with the Almighty, saying, "If God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat and raiment to put on, so that I come to my father's house in peace, then shall the Lord be my God," he had in mind a deity whose nature was open to ordinary considerations of barter and exchange. What a man thinks God is, inexorably determines what his Religion comes at last to be. And the reason no Religion remains fixed and final, the reason it is difficult, and sometimes impossible, to determine with exactitude what the tenets of a particular Religion are, is its perpetual tendency to develop, in the direction either of spirituality or materialism, of refinement or degradation, its conception of the nature of the god it worships and adores. It is both unhistorical and irrational to hold that Religions have created gods. No one would say that a hundred years of successful government in America, and of an ever ripening civilization, originated the idea of government which

is embodied in our Constitution. On the contrary, out of it, interpreted and expounded by the authoritative utterances of the Supreme Court, and realized in concrete laws enacted by the legislature and enforced by the executive, has flowed the great stream of our national life. So long as our Constitution remains unchanged, government, and all that government means to institutions and peoples, will remain substantially what it is. So the idea of God which man holds will inexorably determine the character of his Religion. Religion will expand, will grow truer, better, more beneficent, as the nature of God, disclosed by revelation, apprehended by more accurate, patient, and humble study of His purposes in nature and history and man, is slowly developed in human thought. To originate a new Religion, we must first procure a fresh God. To displace an old Religion, we must first show that the old god is no longer adequate. To attempt to reverse the process is both impossible and unphilosophical, as all history abundantly declares.

In its conception of the nature of God,

Religion has witnessed a marvelous expansion in the last half-century. Retaining its firm hold upon the ideas of justice and righteousness, adding richly to the idea of power manifested in law as against caprice and arbitrariness (even when consecrated by so dear a name as "special providence"), it has developed marvelously the idea of love, not only as an amiable quality, but as a magnificent force. The prolonged emphasis that accents the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, which has become the commonplace of modern preaching, and which the present generation accepts as a matter of course, has, perhaps, obscured its real importance as a distinct addition to the idea of God to which modern times have attained. So recent a writer as Mr. Fiske has given a child's picture of God, which many here to-night will recognize as representative of the conception of their own childhood. "I imagined," he says, "a narrow office, just over the zenith, with a tall standing desk running lengthwise, upon which lay several open ledgers bound in coarse leather. There was no roof over this office, and

the walls were scarcely five feet from the floor, so that a person standing at the desk could look out upon the whole world. There were two persons at the desk, one of them — a tall slender man of aquiline features, wearing spectacles, with a pen in his hand, and another behind his ear — was God. The other, whose appearance I do not distinctly recall, was an attendant angel. Both were diligently watching the deeds of men and recording them in the ledgers. To my infant mind this picture was not grotesque, but ineffably solemn; and the fact that all my deeds and words were thus written down to confront me at the day of judgment seemed naturally a matter of grave concern.” I doubt if any child of to-day, reared in a household whose religious life is correctly representative of contemporary Christianity, would give us such a picture now. He might, to be sure, paint in a picture quite as anthropomorphic, but instead of a tireless watcher and bookkeeper, resolute to set down what is, careless whether what is be right or wrong, lovely or unlovely, we should see a colossal father with the

world's children gathered about his knee, affectionately praising their little victories over tiny temptations, tenderly chiding their naughtiness, and gently urging them to live sweet, pure lives. Mr. Fiske, to be sure, was contending that "unless one's thought is capable of ranging far and wide over the universe, it is impossible to frame a conception of God which is not grossly anthropomorphic." But the special sort of anthropomorphism his childish fancy employed is unerringly indicative of the common ideas taught him in his early years respecting the occupation, interest, and activity of God. The anthropomorphism of to-day's child, as it pictures God in heaven, with equal certainty indicates what ideas of God it has been taught or has unconsciously absorbed, and, therefore, what ideas of God are now the common possession of all religious people in our land and time. Nothing so definitely demonstrates the expansion of Religion, in its purely theological aspects, as the growth and profound influence of the idea of the Fatherhood of God. It means a new and better conception of His relation

to His children, a new and truer apprehension of the nature of His treatment of the world of men, a new and far more powerful force in drawing us towards the ideal of life which has forever haunted human spirits. It has slowly, and for the most part silently, insinuated itself into the colder hymnology of the elder Church, and given us hymns which voice the real hopes and longings, the *natural* devotion, of our hearts, warm, tender, and trustful. From a literary point of view, our modern Christian lyrics may be inferior to the vigorous, stately hymns our fathers sung,—though that is a question we cannot argue to-night,—but there can be no difference of opinion about the intended and wide difference between them as regards their variant conceptions of the nature of the God to Whom they are sung. And however slender the warrant for making hymnology do duty for theology, the religious songs of a people have ever been sure guides to the real heart of their beliefs. Nature's lover names the birds that sing in her fields and forests, by listening in delighted wonder to the notes which thrill

and flood, with inimitable music, copse and tree and sky; the ornithologist traps, kills, dissects, stuffs them, and the label is ready to be written. Verily, I say unto you, each has his reward.

It is significant, also, that with the expansion of Religion into a confident conception of God as our Father, the appeal to fear has ceased in many quarters, and has been almost hushed in all. A superficial explanation of the disappearance of this once mighty weapon in the hands of organized Religion assures us that, since sin is now regarded as disease, and therefore cannot justly be punished, the necessity of the machinery of torture, whether penal, punitive, or disciplinary, falls to the ground. But it is not true. For if anything may safely be affirmed by the student of concrete human life, it is that conscience testifies to the reality of sin as the result of self-determination, with all the vigor and unpitying sternness which have characterized its operations from the day on which the first liar uttered his lie and knew his soul was stained. That description which we read this winter of the mas-

sive frame of the New York police officer drenched in sweat as the story of his unspeakable wickedness was drawn from his unwilling lips in open court, is all of a piece with the story of Ananias falling dead at Peter's feet. Conscience works to-day in precisely the same way it worked in Judea two thousand years ago. Its testimony has remained unchanged through all the changes of the changing years. It asserts that there is as much difference between disease and sin as between color and sound, distance and time. The man or the community that counts upon the final extinguishment of the sense of ill desert when bad deeds are done, is counting upon the extinguishment of humanity itself. For besides the indignation at the costly consequences of wrongdoing, besides the hot, angry vengeance which man and society frequently wreak upon the destroyers of their goods and peace, there is always a clear, strong, mordant perception of the intrinsic wickedness of the wrong itself. The permanent is the moral; the passing is the special forms in which the moral appears. The use of tobacco in

Wahhabee,¹ and untruthfulness in Boston, are regarded as the great sins; but though Boston smile at Wahhabee and Wahhabee wonder at Boston, there lives in each the unshaken conviction that sin is not a disease, but is forever, while man is man, the outcome of an exercise of the power of self-determination. It is clear, then, that the disappearance of appeals to man's fear of torment in a world to come cannot be due to the disappearance of man's conviction that he can be wicked or that he is wicked. But when one reflects upon the fullness and force with which the idea of the Fatherhood of God has been presented in the last quarter of our century, and how completely it has possessed our religious thinking and worship, it ought not to be regarded as strange that the old insistence upon the certainty of vengeance, uttering itself in endless torture of the wicked, should die away. Torture and a father cannot go together. If torture is to remain, fatherhood must first disappear. If fatherhood is to be the root idea in our conception of God, then torture disappears

¹ Herbert Spencer, *The Study of Sociology*.

as naturally as does the darkness when the sunshine comes over the mountain top. There was no noisy battle between the idea of God as a bookkeeper recording the actions which one day should become fuel for everlasting fires, and the idea of God as full of paternal yearning for His children's love and unloosing His punishments only to discipline and deter; just as there can be no fierce conflict when the innocence of childhood passes into the knowledge of the grown man. The decline, therefore, of the effort to create fear — though terror is the more descriptive word — as a means of securing man's obedience to God, and equally the refusal of men any longer to be coerced by it into acceptance of doctrines or conformity to observances, so far from indicating a weakening of Religion, rather attest its increased vitality; for the obedience of love is ever more valuable, more lasting, more significant, than the compliance of fear, just as the willing obedience of the volunteer is better than the enforced obedience of the drafted man, as the free, intelligent loyalty of the citizen, who never thinks of

jails and fines, is more significant of the city's order than the multitudes cowed by the police.

Before my eye are two stout volumes of theology, the pathetic monument of the industry, learning, culture, and logical acumen of one of the gentlest souls and ripest scholars this or any country has produced, and whose author has within a year¹ gone home to God. In it two pages are devoted to Heaven, and eighty-nine treat of Hell. It is the record of the age that has died, not of the age that is alive. The theologian of to-day would reverse the proportions, would sing of the "sweet and blessed country," and would leave to the fuller revelations of the future the disclosure of the meaning of a God who loves as a father, yet chastises every son whom He receiveth.

Equally characteristic is the complete freedom of the intellect in its search for truth. The sole authority in Religion is truth demonstrated, fact verified. And there can be no other. For if men accept

¹ The Reverend William Greenough Thayer Shedd, D. D.

any "outward authority" in Religion, or in science, or art, or government, it is only because that authority has proved itself competent by the character of the truth and fact for which it vouches. In a sense, every trained electrician is an authority to the timid layman threading his cautious way among wires and dynamos. His warnings of danger and his assurances of safety are unquestioningly accepted. I dare not touch what he forbids me to go near, I boldly tread where he asserts there is no possibility of harm. I will not so much as enter the laboratory or generating room unless he guide me. He is my authority, absolute, unquestioned. Apparently I have given up my private judgment. But only apparently. For every step I take, every act of avoidance of the deadly wire, and every confident touch I lay upon an instrument, mean the continuity of the working of my private judgment, which assures me that I am following a safe guide. Let the electrician tell me that the live wire is dead, and I follow him no longer. The fact that private judgment accepts an "authority" inevitably means that private

judgment may at any time reject it. It is a clear perception of this truth which has emancipated the human intellect, leaving it free to accept or reject religious or any truth without incurring outward penalties. But that perception is not due to a successful assault upon ecclesiastical power, it is the result of that expansion of Religion which ensued the moment God was regarded as our Father. The sequence is, perhaps, not immediately apparent. Let me try to illustrate. The domestic government of an orphan asylum is necessarily different from that of a family. It proceeds upon the recognition that the children under its care cannot be supplied with the sort of discipline and education which as children they need and of which they have been providentially deprived. It must needs make a set of rules and set up a machinery for their enforcement. Even when, as in our later, wiser days, the attempt is made to rob the asylum of its institutional character and clothe it with the semblance of a home, it is only too painfully evident that the asylum child feels the sanctions of its artificial home rather

than the love which is undoubtedly behind those sanctions. Fear of the consequences of bad behavior acts more powerfully than hope of the rewards of good behavior; and the reason is that inevitably the punishments of wrong-doing are more definite, more concrete, more certain than the rewards of well-doing. The importance of obedience is emphasized, even if obedience is not almost wholly secured, by dread of the sure consequences of disobedience. This is not because the matron's heart is not overrunning with a pitiful love for the fatherless children under her care, not because the government of the institution has been deliberately planned to exclude the idea or the methods of parenthood, but simply because no one and nothing can take the place of a parent. Upon a totally different basis is built up the government of a home. The one thought which fills a true child's mind in a true home is that of the gladness and depth and tenderness of the personal love which runs out to it from the fountains of a parental heart. And love means mental freedom, just as fear means mental restriction. The father

bids the child try to discover the essential reasonableness of the family commandments by seeing how they all grow out of a passionate love of it, how they could not be uttered unless there were an absolute conviction with the father, and a growing conviction with the child, that every one of them is rooted in a wisdom and love which it will be the glory of sonship to discover. The wise father unfolds his truth to his boy just as fast as the boy is able to receive it, and the father's delight is keenest when he knows that his son, freely pondering upon any of the family laws, has discovered that it is resting, not upon an arbitrary enactment, but upon the truth of the father's and family's essential nature. Fatherhood, then, means freedom to the children in the realm of truth, and the family life is at its best, not when every child assents to a single statement of what the family belief may be, but when every child is most conscientiously endeavoring to find out what that belief should be and what are the grounds upon which it rests. If every member of the household is true and pure and honest, it is a united and happy

household, even if no two of them hold identical opinions as to the nature of the bond that binds them and makes them one.

The Fatherhood of God, held as a firm personal belief, exerts the same influence upon the intellectual activities of His children as they freely study the nature of His truth and world. The idea of God as a father repudiates the necessity of homogeneous beliefs; it rather insists upon the absoluteness of loyalty to Him. Just as the child who conscientiously believes that the purpose of his father is the family's education, will not dispute his brother who has, with equal conscientiousness, been led to believe that the father's purpose is the family's refinement, because both are loyal to that father, and eager to do his will, so any man who has come to believe that God has spoken to mankind only in Jesus Christ, will not disown, much less persecute, his brother who equally hears God's voice in the utterances of every saint that has ever lived or is living now, if both are first bent on loyalty to God. It does not disturb me if I hear men claim to have

found in other books what I find in the Bible; it no longer appals me if I hear other men claim that God is more real to them, as they watch the process by which nature heals the wound upon the twig or of the bird's body, than He is when they stand beneath the roof of the Christian Church, if only I can see the truthfulness, purity, and compassion which live in man only as man lives in God. The great question is not how or where do you find God, but have you found Him? The moment that question is the question of Religion everywhere, anything like an attempt to secure identity of beliefs by processes of mere coercion becomes a solecism. But it is becoming *the* question of mankind more and more, not because the state has forbidden the use of force in the prosecution of religious enterprise or in the persecution of heresy, nor yet because of the mysterious rise of the "gospel of free thought," but because men have had the vision of God as a father and in that vision have clearly, and let us hope, forever, perceived that His truth is to be learned like any truth, through the rational and free

and honest processes of the intellect. I do not think this fact has been adequately, or enough lucidly, set forth. There is still an impression, widely and vigorously held, that the emancipation of the intellect in the field of religion has been secured in the teeth of a bitter opposition on the part of Religion; that Religion reluctantly yielded to, rather than created, the freedom in which we now rejoice, and that she still looks with sad, defeated eyes upon the spoliation of her fairest territory. But the student of Religion, looking at spiritual forces apart from their embodiment in organization, perceives the evolution out of Religion itself of the very freedom which some of her mistaken, however loyal, friends regard as her worst enemy. Out of a full, almost joyous, appropriation of the idea of God as a father which lies at the foundation of the teaching of Jesus, and which our time preëminently has made familiar and winsome and universal, has come silently, and for the most part unobserved, that complete, magnificent, fruitful freedom to think straight and speak straight which, when the history of the end of the century

shall be adequately written, will shine as its noblest and most beneficent achievement. The decline of the principle of arbitrary authority is not simply coincident with the expansion of Religion, it is distinctly its creation, and when we shall have fully admitted it to legitimacy, we shall love it and honor it and glory in it, as a proud father rejoices in the splendid achievements of his illustrious son.

The Religion of Jesus, therefore, in the marvelous expansion of its generic idea, has for its manifest outcomes the mitigation, almost the removal, of the idea of torture in connection with the infliction of punishment, and the full-rounded doctrine of the freedom of the intellect in its search for religious truth. Christianity is identical with all Religions in its purpose to bring man and God together; it differs from all other Religions in its conception of the nature of the God to Whom man is forever trying to bring himself with all his power of love, obedience, and adoration.

But it is time to ask, why should man be brought to God? nay, why should it be true that all man's history is the story of

his unresting, never finished struggle to draw nigh to God? I wish to try to answer that question as I close, because the answer will at once open the heart of all that is to follow. Let us try to answer it, not theologically, but in the familiar terms of life.

Every Religion, the lowest and the highest, alike proposes as its end man's salvation, and insists that man can be saved only as he knows God and does His will. Every Religion has succeeded in either winning or coercing man's allegiance only as it has first succeeded in persuading him that he is in some sort of peril from which he can be rescued by God alone. If the harvest threatens to fail, for instance, sacrifice must be offered, incantations uttered, pilgrimages made, prayers lifted, — something must be done to induce God to avert the peril. That is the crudest form which the religious activity assumes. The sacrifice of Iphigenia, lamented through all the centuries and still powerful to touch our imaginations and move our hearts, is thoroughly representative of the controlling purpose of the religious acts of men, how-

ever abhorrent to us be the special form in which, in the Grecian legend, that purpose uttered itself. Agamemnon must be saved; only the gods could save him; only a favorable wind, blowing fair and free from Aulis, could speed his ships to the Trojan shore. Even a beautiful, innocent maiden, his own daughter, was not too great a sacrifice for the offending general to make, nor for the offended goddess to receive, that Agamemnon might be saved from the consequences of his sacrilegious act. How clear it all stands out. "What shall I do to be saved?" is the Hebraic phrase to express the Grecian thought. What shall I do to be saved? is really the cry of humanity everywhere, if we listen with attentive ear. And it is the conception of what salvation really means in the mind of the man who cries out for it which explains what otherwise is inexplicable in the religious worship of men. There have been rituals which prescribed, or at least permitted, acts which cannot so much as be hinted at in the ears of modern people, much less described; but if one looks clean through their dreadful impurities, clean

through their cruelty and inhumanness, to descry, if possible, the purpose which made them so much as thinkable in a human mind, he always finds a wish for something which is best described as salvation, escape from a peril, or the possession of a good. To-day we are absolutely united in our conviction that a religious man must be a good man; if he is not good, he is not religious. The moral element in Religion just now overtops in imperativeness all else. The solidest conviction of the truth of immortality is not permitted to do duty for the virtues of honesty, truthfulness, and compassion in the character of the religious man. That is to say, honesty, truthfulness, and compassion are counted the evidence of a personal salvation. The court of public opinion demands this special evidence, and will not order an acquittal without it. But to my best thinking, there has always been a moral element in every conception of salvation. The difference between the best Religion and the worst is a difference in conceptions of wherein morality consists, and, as I have been saying all along, it is

the nature of the god worshiped, as that nature is represented, or as the revelation of it is apprehended or misapprehended, which inexorably determines what the moral conception of salvation shall be. The God who is revealed as proclaiming to His children, "Be ye holy, for I am holy," inevitably compels men to believe that to their salvation the element of holiness absolutely belongs. The God who was conceived as saying, "Be ye brave, for I am brave," was a challenge to all his worshipers to put prowess and courage and recklessness of life above love, truthfulness, and justice.

Again, when it was conceived to be the greatest and most lasting of all perils to mankind that men should suffer in a world to come the penalties of law broken in this; when men took the punishments that belong to this world with patience, and accepted the harsh conditions of living to which they were compelled to submit here with something like serenity, because assured of freedom from punishment and of possession of bliss after life in this world is over, it is not strange, it is

historically and logically natural, that salvation should be regarded as mainly the assurance of God's pardon and of complete immunity from the certain doom of those who die unpardoned. The history of Evangelicalism in England and America — that Evangelicalism to which modern England and America owe an incalculable debt, to which, let us gladly assert, we shall forever be indebted — is strikingly full of this conception of human salvation. To be moral was not enough; indeed, by a curious, and to this generation, an inconceivable process of reasoning, it was not infrequently maintained that the possession of even the most beautiful moral character was consistent with the lack of personal salvation, perhaps stood in the way of the sinner's confession of his lost condition. A converted man was one who had the assurance of the divine pardon and the sure hope of heaven. The great effort of Religion, therefore, was to produce a conviction of sin, and thereafter an equally strong conviction that sin was forgiven and the sinner entitled to the hope of heaven. Salvation became, or at

least tended to become, a limited, partial, almost technical matter, wholly so in the eye of certain well defined schools in all the churches; and to those who are ignorant of the history which the Church and Religion have courageously made in the last quarter of a century, that is still the conception of what is implied in the zeal Religion bravely manifests to-day for what it persists in calling the "salvation of all men." But I am here to show, as I think I can, that to Religion to-day salvation means the saving of all in a human being which is capable of being saved, that salvation is having all that is best in a man at its best, that salvation is the development of every human faculty, the refinement of every quality, and the satisfaction of every need, which belong to him as a man. If any creature's powers are lying unused because circumstances, that can be and ought to be changed, are paralyzing or narcotizing them, Religion declares that that creature is not saved. If civilization is unnecessarily forcing any human being to live under outward conditions which keep him from bringing to ripeness the

seeds of any sort of power which God implanted in the rich soil of his nature, Religion now asserts that that human being is not saved; if any child is met on the threshold of life with the dreadful necessity of coming in daily contact with what poisons the healthy fountains of its spiritual energy, with what stunts its body and dwarfs its mind, Religion cries that that child is not saved, however strong be its faith in the certainty of God, heaven, and pardon. Salvation is all that is best in a man at its best. And Religion, as yet inarticulate, as yet only half conscious of the meaning of her mighty movement, is setting herself, tentatively, sometimes clumsily, mistakenly, even wildly, to bring in the free salvation of which we have but begun to appreciate the beauty and grace and strength. The expansion of Religion is best observed in all those enterprises which seek to furnish a ministry to every faculty of man, however true it be that a competent spiritual vision sees in the larger, profounder, more adequate conceptions of the nature of God, the eternal source from which they all derive their

vitality, force, and purpose. We shall see that Toynbee Hall and the People's Palace, the University Settlement and the Wells Memorial, the Trades Unions, the Public Baths and the Day Nursery, the discontent with alms, and the treatment accorded those in whom is slowly being born the love of struggle as distinguished from that meted out to those in whom cowardly dependence is an ineradicable habit — all are symptoms of a religious purpose, as yet dim, unformed, directionless, which is really endeavoring to secure to man the conditions under which all that is best in him shall have the best chance to be at its best. Perhaps the churches may be the last officially to recognize and claim this purpose as their own. No matter. Out of the churches mainly are to come the heat and light which shall keep this purpose from dying down, or from forever stumbling blindly and wildly on its way towards the realization of itself in the sweet, happy, fruitful, peaceful life of humanity. What the special social forms of that new life shall be, what the required industrial, commercial, and political changes shall be,

what the fixed influence upon it the unreclaimed and irreclaimable character of the individual shall be, how long and how costly the processes by which it is achieved may be, no man knoweth. But what I think is already clear is this: that the restless movement of our time, witnessed by the uneasy throbbing of the great heart of society, and by the universal struggle to free itself from the conditions which seem at least to stunt it, proceeds out of the conviction, articulate or inarticulate, that salvation must be expanded to meet the requirements of a larger man to be saved. St. Paul, nigh two thousand years ago, wrote down the passionate wish of his great heart, "Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is that she might be saved." That is the cry of Religion to-day. But "Israel" is now mankind, and its salvation is the setting of every faculty and power of man in the frame that gives them the best chance; and the power of salvation is still the power of God, to Whom, from Whom, and by Whom are all things in heaven and earth.

II.

THE NEW ANTHROPOLOGY.

It would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to exaggerate the difference in the estimates put upon the value of a human life in our own day and in the times that are now in the custody of written history. If it be true that the "individual withers and the race is more and more," it may turn out that the value set upon the race is solely to emphasize the value of the individual. The purpose of all social organization is the protection and welfare of the individual, whatever may have been the outcome of that organization. The associated man secures what the isolated man cannot. The creation of a new unit is the beginning of richer blessings to the individuals that unite to form the new unit. The distinct endeavor of association is to produce through association what without association cannot be. It is plain enough that many associations seek the good of those

alone who compose it, and not seldom by wresting from outsiders what the outsiders, being unorganized, are powerless to retain. But this is indicative, not of a faulty purpose, but of a limited one. It is good as far as it goes; it fails because it is not comprehensive enough. It seeks the welfare of a selected or elected company, unmindful of the welfare of the mass. But the point which is always discernible is this: that association exists for the sole purpose of securing an advantage to individuals. Even the costly sacrifices which individuals make for the maintenance of their association become intelligible only as the hope is cherished that these sacrifices are eventually to be paid back, in the form of rich and substantial benefits, to the individuals. The moment associated men feel that the association is neither bringing, nor likely to bring, an advantage which is distinctly personal, the association is discredited and finally dissolved. In other words, a high value is set upon the worth of a human being. Instead of sacrificing him for the sake of organization, — State, Church, Society, Guild, or

Order, all these exist to create and secure to him the conditions under which he may have the chance to live what he conceives to be his fullest life.

One who is not a historian cannot draw from history the concrete illustrations of the gradual growth of the increasingly high estimate put upon the preciousness of a human soul in which history abounds. But one need not be a historian intelligently to read the human significance of so high-handed and heartless an expenditure of human life as the building of the Egyptian Pyramids unquestionably involved. Here are the tombs of kings, stupendous monuments, not of monarchical glory, but of the reckless waste of innumerable human lives. Deep in the sands dug the myriad slaves, ignorant of everything save the stern necessity of yielding every least bit of strength in their bodies, and every least gleam of intelligence in their minds, to the demand of the king. Up from the sands it rises, that huge bulk of stone, testimony to the greatness of a Pharaoh, indestructible evidence of the cheapness and abundance of life. The whole is the

tomb of a monarch, but every stone of it the tombstone of thousands who perished that this pile might rise. In the quarries and on the roads, on the machinery and on the walls, for a score of years, toiled every day a hundred thousand men, wageless, half fed, scourged, overworked, sick, dizzy, and exhausted. The only hospital was the taskmaster's whip, which stimulated into one last agonized effort the exhausted muscles of the used-up body, the frenzied movement of the reeling brain. Death was a welcome discharge, not seldom hastened by despair. Be it that the glory of the king required the speedy completion of its symbol, be it that a too fecund people must needs be decimated without recourse to massacre, the history of the building of the Pyramids attests the carelessly slight value set upon a thinking, feeling, human being made in the image of God. Better than statistics, more strikingly than could the graphic pages of the historian, more lucidly than any anthropology, those huge mountains of stone tell us of an age when, to reverse our Saviour's words, "a sheep was much better

than a man." It is impossible for us to exaggerate the low notions of the sacredness of life which almost everywhere confront us when we open the book of history and read. Abraham felt no weight upon his conscience when he made up his mind to slay his only son. The heart of the father blanched, but the ethical aspects of the killing did not concern him. Indeed, such a test of faith as he was subjected to could not have been applied had it been probable that he would ethically revolt against human sacrifice as an idea. God had promised that in his seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed. The sole conceivable possibility of that promise being kept lay in the preservation of Isaac's life. Isaac once dead, the promise must fail. Could Abraham kill his son, and still go on believing that God was able to keep His word? — that, and not some scruple about the morality of human sacrifice, was the patriarch's test. And that test could be applied only in an age in which life was held cheap. Very likely we shall sometime see clearly that that misinterpretation of God's will which

resulted in the butchery of Canaanitish women and children was possible only among a people to whom had not yet come the perception of the preciousness of life. The sin of Saul in saving his prisoners from massacre would not have been sin at all had he saved them from motives of clemency and not of lust and gain. The plain fact of history is that the lower the estimate put upon man, the lower we shall find the conception of the nature of God to be ; and as we trace in this lecture the progress of the idea of the exceeding great value of a human being, we shall see at every step that that idea is rooted in finer, more moral, more holy conceptions of what God is. Religion is the source of all those endeavors which, ignoring Religion, not infrequently repudiating it, are seeking the reformation of human society, not merely in the mass, but in the concrete conditions of the individual, because Religion is the source of that new value given to man which makes saving him seem worth while.

The first evidence of a higher value set upon man which I shall bring, is the establishment of the hospital. Doubtless the

Romans, with quick insight into the necessity of guarding against the weakening of their armies by disease, made special provision for the care of disabled or diseased soldiers; but only those were cared for who gave promise of recovery and return to active duty. The Greeks reckoned the wounded and the sick a total military loss, and left their disabled men to the tender mercies of nature. There was a plenty more men where the fallen came from. It was not until the fourth century, when Christianity had become a power, mainly, to be sure, in the state, yet widely also in human hearts, that the first hospital was founded. It was a signal recognition of the fact that a broken body might be, ought to be, repaired; a new testimony to an awakened sense of the value of life, however prominently was associated with it the idea of the economic wisdom of saving life. On from the fourth century, the establishment of hospitals, especially in connection with ecclesiastical institutions, grew apace, until at the beginning of the present century they became a fixed feature of municipal and military life. But it

was reserved for the last two generations to develop the hospital idea out of a natural pity for physical suffering, and of alarm at the loss of so much economically valuable life, into the magnificent conception of hospitals as ministers to man's chance to live his life at its best on the physical side of it. Public interest has been so continuously drawn to a consideration of the clever contrivances of the hospital system, to the amazing advance in surgery made possible by antiseptic treatment and by sterilization, by the ingenious devices of a newborn architecture, that we have seldom asked whence came the motive which called into being these matchless provisions for the treatment and cure of human beings. We have taken for granted that knowledge of methods by which sickness can be turned into health, twisted limbs made straight, and poison ejected from the blood, has as a matter of course resulted in the application of that knowledge to the broken bodies of men. But the moment we reflect upon it ever so little, we see that explanation breaking down. For at the start, a pure human pity, vitalized

by Christian love, cast about for means wherewith to mitigate pain. Rough and faulty those means were, but for the most part love of man called them into being. And running down from Fabiola's venture of faith, inspired by Jerome, to the Vanderbilts' munificent provision for the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York, medical science has confidently counted upon the expansion of man's pitiful concern for his brother's body to supply it with the means to establish its hospitals and bring to perfection its surgical and medical appliances of cure. The Massachusetts General Hospital two hundred years ago is unthinkable, not because of the cost it implies, but because there was in the colony but a faint glimmer of the beautiful compassion for physical suffering which beats in the heart of the Commonwealth to-day. The gifts and grants which have made it a benediction are not a people's homage to the marvelous development of medical science and to its economic outcome, but a testimony to a people's deep-hearted, warm-hearted belief that no man among us should languish in

unsanitary, ignorant, and poverty-limited conditions, or drag a maimed body through his painful years, if science can give him health and straightness. You cannot touch the motive which builds our hospitals without instantly feeling that you have your finger upon the heart of a religious conviction that man's body must be saved because the man who lives in it is worth more than all else. The expansion of Religion, on that side of it which regards the human body, precedes and inexorably conditions the expansion of the hospital to meet the needs of suffering. It is this expansion of Religion also, perpetually asserting the truth which long ago was uttered in the Bible — "Know ye not that your bodies are the temple of the Holy Ghost" — which has led to the separation of the generic hospital into hospitals for the sexes and for children, and finally into those reserved for specific diseases. At the end of the last century, when a stupid law in France, and an equally stupid one in England, compelled the hospital authorities to receive every patient that applied for admission, irrespective of the crowded

condition of the wards and the nature of the applicant's disease, the mortality was so appalling that it became a serious question whether hospitals were a benefit or a curse. As schools for instructing medical students in the art of healing, they were an undoubted success, but the growing philanthropy recoiled from the thought of securing competent medical and surgical knowledge at so frightful a cost in human life. It revolted at the sight of four, and even six, suffering bodies crowded into a single bed in a ward which rivaled in populousness a tenement house in Mulberry Bend. "These are our brothers and sisters," it cried, "each with a love of life, each capable of exquisite suffering and exquisite joy, each entitled to a chance with us of finding in this world the satisfaction of the nature into which they were born. The modesty of woman has rights which are being ignorantly but none the less shamefully sacrificed. The timidity of little children is daily made the occasion of an agony. The chances of life for the mother and her newborn babe are destroyed by the proximity of fever and

contagion. The sacredness of human life is overlaid by considerations of economy." That was the cry of an enlightened philanthropy, of an educated political economy, if you like; but only as it reached the ear of those who profoundly felt the essential preciousness of a human being was there so much as a chance that reform would enter the hospital, insisting that, at any pecuniary cost, men and women must be treated, not as cases, but as souls, not as organisms out of repair, but as persons, with all the rights of personality to a care and treatment which regarded a cure as the beautiful gate through which they were to go to a new life of privilege and endeavor. However great be the contributions of medical science to that development of the hospital which has revolutionized its bills of mortality, and secured a seemly decency to its provisions for sex and infancy, we shall but half account for these splendid achievements if we fail to recognize the part played by Religion in creating the motive which compelled the revolution. Without that expansion of Religion which witnesses to a profound

and passionate belief in such a salvation for man as provides him with the best chances, and which includes in its conception of salvation the highest possible safety of his body, the evolution of the hospital out of something little better than a pest house into a system which has made the representative hospital the guarantee of the best treatment and the surest cure, could never have been. Out of a quickened and enlightened sense of the value of a man, which is thoroughly religious, has blossomed this splendid provision for the care and cure of his broken body. The city hospital is the utterance of the city's religious belief in man's physical salvation, just as a St. Vincent's or a St. Margaret's Hospital is the expression of the Church's religious belief in that salvation,—the one as much as the other. Destroy that religious belief, let the care of the sick be handed over to the mercy of economical considerations, and while medical knowledge and surgical skill may remain, even increase, the sources of power to utilize them, to furnish them with opportunity, run thin and perhaps dry up.

I do not think we can exaggerate the part played by Religion here. You and I may have been tempted by early and inveterate ideas to look upon modern provision for physical need as an indication of the decline of religious interest and the mildly hostile rise of materialism; but when one calmly reflects upon the origin, not of knowledge and skill, but of the powerful motive which has seized skill and knowledge as instruments for the cure of human disease, he traces back to Religion, expanded and enlightened, the streams which are flowing through humanity to form a purer river of life.

I find also that sanitary science is under larger obligations to religion than appears upon the surface. The instinct of self-preservation may safely be trusted to avail itself of every appliance known to science, provided that instinct is enough enlightened. And in the dwellings of the well-to-do, in all first-class structures, hotels, office buildings, schools and dormitories, for the use of the well-to-do, sanitary arrangements of approved and up-to-date perfection are expected as a matter

of course. They are vitally necessary in the mansion, and economically profitable in all income-producing buildings whose tenants are alive to the dangers of bad sanitary conditions. And so we find them wherever legitimately selfish intelligence and competitive urgency demand them. But in another direction sets the religious spirit. Insisting upon the intrinsic value of man, independent of anything he possesses and of the conditions under which he lives, Religion has been demanding that the ignorant poor shall share with the intelligent rich the benefits of sanitary science. The tenement-house question may turn out to be an economical one—for one, I think it will—but the agitation for the decent housing of the poor in both England and America has thus far been, not economical, but religious. It has never been the exclusive concern of the Church as an organized body, but when we scrutinize the nature of the motives of those who have been foremost in agitations for model tenement houses, we find them to be firmly rooted in the idea, which is distinctly religious, that man, just

because he is man, with capacity to grow and to shrink, to rise and to sink, to become more spiritual and more bestial, is entitled to a material condition which secures him a chance to develop as the nature of the body he inhabits declares he ought. Mr. Henry George, in answering the question "Is our civilization just to workingmen?" draws a picture of the homes of the rich and the abodes of the poor which will illustrate, in a way he did not intend, the point we have in mind. "Imagine," he says, "that the first man Adam in the slumber of the night stood by your bedside in one of those great cities which are the flower, crown, and type of our civilization, and asked you to take him through it. Here you would take him through wide and well-kept streets lined with spacious mansions, replete with everything which can enhance comfort and gratify taste, adorned with magnificent churches. Again, you would pass through another quarter where everything is niggard and pinched, where families are packed together tier and tier, sometimes a whole family in a single room; where even such

churches as you see are poor and mean, and only the grogshops are gorgeous. Which quarter do you think Adam would understand you to mean, if you spoke of the workingman's quarter?" Mr. George is appealing to the public sense of justice, and his appeal is founded upon the argument that such a deplorable contrast is proof of an inequitable distribution of the proceeds of labor. But the appeal challenges instantly a reply in terms of political economy. It inaugurates a debate which is still in active progress, and meanwhile the contrast between the Back Bay and the Cove, Fifty-seventh Street and Avenue B, remains as flagrant as ever, so far as any efforts of the debaters have mitigated it. But Religion, pushing its way through the discussion, has insisted that there is another argument which must be heard and heeded. "The human beings housed in the worst conceivable sanitary conditions are our brethren, part of the great whole, bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh. While you are debating, they are dying; while you are in search of an impregnable solution of an economical

question, little children are day by day drinking in the poison of a foulness of air and a degree of almost necessitated filth which, working in the blood, will put them on the threshold of manhood and womanhood handicapped for life. God never meant that man should live as these are living. The hollow-eyed, bent, gaunt, white-faced woman who emerges from the tenement house of an August morning is not the type of the woman God meant should live upon this earth. Let her be bad, fond of beer and tea and snuff — that alone is incapable of producing this distortion of womanhood. God protests in the person of every comely woman against conditions which sap the strength and mar the beauty of a woman. God is every day declaring in the wholesomeness of health, and in the pathetic repulsiveness of the disease that grows naturally out of poisoned air and reeking walls, that man was meant to be as beautiful as the leopard and the bird." You see that, after all, it is Religion speaking, Religion, which has conceived of man as so precious that it cannot tolerate the thought of his living

in circumstances which, while they cannot of themselves degrade him, make his physical deterioration inevitable. The movement in the direction of a better sanitary provision for the poor, however non-religious here and there it may appear, is at heart religious, Christian as well. If legislation is at length slowly and tentatively incorporating into the body of statute law provisions for a rigid inspection of our tenement houses, prescribing the character of the plumbing which the owner must provide, testing it when it is in place, compelling its repair when defective, that argues something more than governmental solicitude for the health of those who must do the hard work of the nation and the town. It declares, rather, that the religious conception of the value of a man has insinuated itself into public sentiment, and that the sense of public duty has uttered itself in law. When I hear that sanitary reform is the direct outcome of an enlightened science of the laws of health, and that it shows how unnecessary, after all, is the Religion which once was the creator of all humane reforms, I must still ask whence

came the uncalculating force which seized upon sanitary science as an instrument, and made into fact what before was only ascertained knowledge? Whence came the courage, the heroic, persistent, large-hearted devotion which, after uncounted efforts, succeeded in permeating a public sentiment, half ignorant and half indifferent, with the acute consciousness that city tenements are an outrage upon humanity? Not from a body of sanitary experts, as such, not out of a commercial forecast of a great new industry, not out of a threatened revolt of helpless tenants, but straight out of hearts in which lived the great conviction that man as man was too precious, too richly endowed with sensitive powers of feeling joy and pain, of rising into self-respect and sinking into animalism, to be allowed to live in conditions which daily threatened to break down the fair structure of a body that tenanted a fairer soul. Men and women, who perhaps repudiate orthodoxy of every sort, have found in their devotion to their brother's need the surest warrant for believing that deep in their hearts was a truer Religion than that

illustrated in a scrupulous ritual, and in a devotion which may issue in hardness of heart. I cannot, and I will not, believe that Religion is decaying so long as vigorous warfare is waged against everything which lowers respect for the bodies which are temples of the Holy Ghost. The preach-ership which declares the gospel of the body is as truly religious as the preach-ership which proclaims the gospel of the spirit.

And to that preach-ership we largely owe it that the distortion, "How much is a sheep better than a man," has been re-stored to its original divine form, "How much is a man better than a sheep." It is difficult, nay, it is impossible, not to break out into a fervent thanksgiving that, in our dear city, one noble-hearted, cour-ageous, undaunted woman¹ has made physical living far less hopeless and far more hopeful for thousands who, but for her clear voice, would still be steeped in un-mitigated miseries and unspeakable sur-roundings. It is not yet clear to us all that every effort to make life materially

¹ Mrs. Alice N. Lincoln.

fairer for the unfavored many is an effort which only Religion explains and makes possible; but it is growing clearer, and when the salvation of man is seen to be having all that is best in him at its best, organized Religion will proudly claim as its own the least of the acts which furnish man his chance to become what God intended him to be.

And this leads naturally to a consideration of that feature of modern life here in America which is still the object of praise and blame. The astonishing increase of physical exercise — whether in the form of athletics in our colleges, or sports in clubs, or drill in the gymnasium — has to many minds frequently worn the look of a logical consequence of the so-called materialism of the day. “Of course,” they say, “all this was bound to come; what else should follow the decline of spiritual Religion, the decay of a reverent belief in the powers of the world to come? This exaltation of the body, this rich provision for its development and perfection, is rooted in that passionate devotion to things which characterizes all modern life. Beauty in art,

luxury in living, sumptuousness in appointments, and money as a measure of worth, require a perfect body for their perfect enjoyment. The more this life crowds out the consideration of the next, the surer will be man's effort to secure the only vehicle which can carry him safely from start to finish of the journey which begins at birth and probably ends at death. To 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die,' has been added, 'Let us exercise and develop our bodies, for without their health and vigor we perish before we die.'" But such a judgment overlooks several considerations which have to do with Religion. Religion, as we have been saying, is intent on saving all that is best in man. But it has been taught by physiology, and more recently by psychology, that while wickedness is not the outcome of a depraved body, a depraved body is the removal of many of the most valuable restraints to evil impulse, and perhaps the occasion of evil impulse itself. It certainly is provocative of restlessness on the one side, of lethargy upon the other; and the moment a man is thoroughly restless or thoroughly

lethargic, he is open to a set of temptations to which the normal man is a stranger. It is not true, historically or rationally, that wickedness is the necessary consequent of ill health, but it is true, historically and rationally, that national physical deterioration is followed by national moral deterioration, or, if not followed, is accompanied by it. The mere perception of this fact, however, and its abundant verification by both past and present, is powerless to secure a right treatment of the body for the sake of ethical or intellectual results in man and nation. What was needed, and what is needed still, is the profound conviction that man is so rich in capacity of development, so intrinsically worthy, and so manifestly planned for a career that demands the perfection of every power, that to ignore his body is to thwart God's purpose. The moment a man cries out in deep belief, "I have no right to deny my body what, as an instrument of mind and spirit, it demands; I have no right, in the supposed interest of that mind and spirit, to interpret 'keeping it under' as permission to let its channels become

clogged or foul, its blood to run hot and thin; I have no right to allow it to become the hotbed of disordered nerves or the pit of narcotized force," we have a new anthropology, in which the religious significance of physical vitality has its rightful recognition. So far, then, from physical culture being a sign of decaying spirituality, it is rather the as yet unconscious, but none the less true, insistence upon the indubitable fact that ministry to the body is as truly an act of Religion as ministry to the soul. The only reason our boys and young men are unable to recognize that the drill of the gymnasium is integrally one with worship in the chapel, is that they have heard the two acts spoken of as having no relation to one another, or, if not that, have never listened to a frank declaration of the fundamental equality of them as exercises — "gymnastics," to use St. Paul's striking phrase — which have in view the symmetrical development of the perfect man. But there are not wanting signs of an increasing, and increasingly intelligent recognition, by both educators and preachers of Religion, that in the near

future the training of the child's body must keep equal pace with instruction in morals and Religion too; not as a graceful accomplishment merely, not as a physical preparation for the hard work of manhood only, but as the necessary accompaniment of anything like a true development of the nature which looks up to God for inspiration that it may look out on the world with sanity and hope. In other words, the present wide interest in physical exercise is essentially a religious one, because it rests squarely upon our profound conviction that to do adequately what we can do, to meet faithfully what membership in society involves in the way of task and duty, there must be a body which, by its vigor and strength, can keep our noblest purposes from degenerating into feeble good wishes. That is the religious basis of physical exercises. And it is characteristic of our time that it has lifted, or that it is trying to lift, the passion for the body's development clean out of the idea of it as valuable mainly for making a nation of vigorous soldiers and muscular toilers, and is setting it forth as an integral part of the ideal

of the perfect man. It is corroborative of this view of it that when physical exercise secured recognition as a necessary part of education, when provision was made for it in our schools and colleges in the same way that provision had been made for instruction in chemistry and for worship in the chapel, there was at once discrimination between physical culture and competitive sports. Competitive contests are to the development of the body what a ritual is to Religion. A ritual is forever in danger of sinking into superstition. It can perpetuate itself in safety only as it scrupulously regards itself as the vehicle of a devotion which is perpetually strengthened and illuminated by personal loyalty to God. The moment ritual ceases to regard itself as vehicle, and decorates and prolongs itself regardless of its sole function, it becomes a superstition. So competitive sport is, ideally, the exhibition of the progress and achievement of physical training; it is the disclosure to the public of the results, in power of sustained exertion, endurance, grace and nerve, of a systematic and intelligent corporal development. The mo-

ment it loses sight of its true relation to the education of the whole man, it sinks to the level of the uncontrollable frenzy of the bull-dog, the blind tenacity of the Tasmanian devil. It ought to be clear that there is no permanent cure for the brutality and ferocity which have too frequently attended athletic contests, nor for the inconsequential, but none the less deplorable features of some of them, in marshaling arguments to prove that brutality is no true element of a trial of physical strength, endurance, and skill; it will be found in the powerful and continuous insistence that physical exercise is not for the sake of athletic competition, but for the production of a body meet for all the demands which the serious business of life shall make upon it, and for the creation of the healthy nerve and normal brain, fed by pure cool blood, which furnish noblest purposes for the conduct of life with their finest chance. The new anthropology, by insisting upon the sacredness of the body as the instrument of the mind, and upon the mind as the servant of the spirit, and, further, by declaring that the salvation of

each is essential to that salvation of the total man for which Religion exists, will soonest and surest elevate physical culture to its rightful place in the economy of education, soonest and surest preserve it from the danger of degenerating into sheer animalism, — the possession of a magnificent physique pledged to nothing better than service to physical sensations. Over all this apparently non-religious outbreak of a passionate devotion to the gospel of the body broods the spirit of man's religious faith in himself as intrinsically precious because allied by indestructible bonds to the God from whom he came, with Whom he lives, to Whom he shall one day return. That devotion can never sink utterly down into materialism, however refined and beautiful, so long as Religion, uttering herself anew in this more spiritual anthropology, more and more illuminates the blind play of human physical force, and shows to it the real meaning and purpose of its energy. To regard it as the indubitable symptom of an increasingly robust materialism, or the mark of a decay of Religion, is flagrantly to misinterpret it; it is,

rather, Religion asserting herself in fields on which it has been supposed she had no business, no duties, and no rights. It is the working of an instinct fundamental and unerring. We can misinterpret it, have misinterpreted it; but it is well to remember that acute saying of Mr. Arnold, "A man's instinct is always truer than his interpretation of it." But the coming years will, I think, witness two significant events: first, the permanent and ample provision for physical culture as part of the education which the state provides for all her children; and, second, the frank, glad recognition that this provision is the outcome of an intelligent religious purpose to have all that is best in a man at its best, which is the salvation for which Religion exists.

Again, the relation of the new anthropology to the use of Sunday must not be ignored. It has been said that New England Puritanism is modern Levitical Judaism, and that the conception of the meaning of Sunday which Puritanism illustrated was taken unaltered from discredited pre-Christian Jewish sources. The present use of Sunday is widely regarded as a

revolt against ancient Sabbatarianism, and equally a revolt against Religion as a force regulating both belief and conduct. It would be far truer to interpret the modern Sunday as a return to what was most characteristic in the Levitical doctrine of the Sabbath, and a fulfillment of what is implied in the Christian doctrine of Sunday. Levitical legislation was bent on securing a cessation of toil on the Sabbath. It protested against continuous labor, insisted upon the necessity of rest. The Fourth Commandment legislates not against recreation nor amusement, but against toil. It is the only Commandment of the ten which defines with exactness what it enjoins. "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy." But what was the holiness so rigidly commanded? Was there not the chance of misconceiving or misinterpreting it? The Commandment, therefore, was expanded into an explicit definition of what "keeping the Sabbath day holy" really meant. By it there is an absolute prohibition laid upon all sorts of work by every sort of people. Sabbath breaking was thus identified with toil on

the Sabbath day. When young Nehemiah wished to picture graphically the desecration of his nation's holy day, he cried, "I saw people treading winepresses, binding sheaves, and lading asses. I heard the fish dealers of Tyre crying their wares in the streets and selling to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the men of Judah." *Work*, the prosecution of any calling that involved it for one's self or for other people — man-servant or maidservant, even for ox or for ass — was the real breach of the holiness of the Sabbath day. And all the legislation which undertook to express in statutes what was necessary to safeguard the elemental principle, conforms to the purpose of that principle. The scrupulous observance of the Sabbath was to be a sign between God and Israel that Israel might know that, through strict obedience to the Sabbath law, Jehovah "sanctified" them, that is, kept them whole, safe from the mutilation which continuous toil has ever caused. It is utterly to mistake the meaning of that still powerful, still beneficent institution to regard it as an exasperating restriction laid upon the happiness and

freedom of man. The true Fourth Commandment has ever been a bulwark against the ignorant, or the sordid, or the avaricious spirit which would rob man of his well-earned rest. The Hebrew doctrine of the Sabbath, when it is philosophically and historically appreciated, will be seen to be the elemental truth of which the larger and more joyous freedom of our later day is the expansion, just as the sanitary precautions, which modern bacteriology is everywhere crying up, are the lineal descendants of those ceremonial purifications in which the Books of Leviticus and Deuteronomy abound; for the correlatives of sterilization, antiseptics, and medical lustrations are bountifully to be found in those old Scriptures, the sanitary wisdom of which is more and more accepted as modern science itself becomes thoroughly enlightened. Our modern Sunday, with its emphasis upon recreation, so far from being a revolt against Sabbatarianism is demonstrably a return to it, — a return led by that expansion of Religion which has taught us to look through custom, tradition, and statute into the heart of the great

fundamental principle of the need of physical rest, of which many customs, traditions, and statutes are the distorted report. Of the religious institution of the Sabbath there can be no doubt. Of the real purpose of that Sabbath there can be no doubt. And of the true significance of the emancipation of our modern Sunday from gloom, depression, and an irrational prohibition of recreation, there *ought* to be no doubt. It is the product of the new anthropology, which itself is the distinct creation of that expansion of Religion which sees in man a creature too precious to be disfigured by continuous toil, and disheartened by lack of recreation. Sunday is the great rest day. It is kept sanely — that is kept “holy” — when it joyously and gratefully is used as the clement, periodic suspension of the primary universal law of human life upon this globe, “In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.” With all its stupid, irrational, frivolous, lamentable, and blameworthy features, exhibited through all the year, it is still a distinct religious gain that our Sunday is not the Sunday of a century, nay, half a century, ago. For we

have come at last to perceive that if it is to be a day of rest, it cannot be spent as a day of the repression of everything except that activity which takes the form of public worship. Doing nothing is not rest, it is indolence. Rest is activity in recreation. We have, therefore, opened the doors of museum and library, that the weary thousands may enter in and bathe their tired spirits in the cool fountains of beauty and knowledge. We have deliberately enlarged the number of permitted pleasures because we have intelligently concluded that whatever ministers to the physical betterment of man is a legitimate ministry to his soul as well, for it is providing him with one more chance to live as God intended he should when He lodged his soul in a body and declared, in the physical law which governs the body and in the spiritual law which directs his spirit, what the life of a man should be. Perhaps a clergyman is peculiarly fitted to observe the effect of Sunday emancipation upon the general religious public habit of the people as that habit is seen in attachment to organized Religion. Disuse of public worship is, I

think, more general than it was a quarter of a century ago. Abstention from it is also more respected and expected now than then. Not only does the great body of the people find in a multitude of provisions for their entertainment and recreation an attraction more powerful than that of the Church, but the favored few are accepting Sunday as the natural, as it is the convenient, time for retreat to the country, which offers to the reawakened urban mind opportunities for delight and healthy excitement undreamed of a score of years ago. A Sunday in the country as guest or host, a Sunday in the country as pedestrian or wheelman, is now the winsome promise to thousands whose weekday lives are bounded by shop and factory and office, and to hundreds who are under the tyrannous engagements of a complex and conventional social life. Public worship suffers, — the regularity of church attendance is broken, becomes fitful, frequently ceases altogether; a yawning gulf of emptiness in many a church, urban, suburban, country, stretches from the middle of June to the middle of September. A period of “masterly inac-

tivity" in nearly all forms of enterprising religious endeavor ensues. The centripetal force which, like a magnetic influence, draws thousands to the city in the winter is transformed into the centrifugal force which sends them out again on Sundays to green fields and the cool fringes of the sea, singing, with altered meaning, "Welcome, sweet day of rest." It will not be claimed that thus far the people have been entirely successful in the use of their new freedom. They use it clumsily, vulgarly, mistakenly, — counteracting the blessings of air and exercise by the curse of drink, excitement, and irrational exertion. As yet they are experimenting, and already have paid heavy bills in disordered nerves and exhausted bodies. Superficially viewed, the American Sunday is not pleasant. It is too heated, too boisterous, too exhausting. It lacks that calm, deep content, that easy self-restraint, that skill in seizing what is most refining and stimulating, which we rightly associate with symmetrical, full-rounded life. And one can understand how there still survive those who sincerely and reflectingly believe

that the old Sunday, with its decorous, serious, earnest behavior, its faithful use of the church, and its strenuous endeavor to see in all that is done in this world only a preparation for the next, is preferable to this noisy, churchless, material Sunday which we have come to know so well. But costly excess and misdirected energy are characteristic of emancipation. We are experimenting. Physical recreation, sensuous amusement, are overlaying that deep sense of the necessity of sensitiveness of conscience and responsiveness to awe, which lives in us all because the conscience is constitutionally a faculty of human nature, and awe is native to a child of God. We are experimenting. Disuse of the Church, which stands in the community for morality and compassion, for the creation, maintenance, and direction of those powerful currents which run through all associated life to keep it pure and true, seems now, at least, to be unattended by serious loss of moral force in communities and men. But in a near future, men will ask whether there has not resulted a serious deterioration in character from an unre-

strained freedom to use Sunday as the most acute impulse may suggest. Such a deterioration is bound to follow. But let it be clearly seen that reformation is not to come by way of the old custom, nor by a curtailment of recreation. It is to come by a serious awakening to the fact — which even now is evident to many a champion of the freer Sunday — that unless along with physical recreation and social pleasure go ministries to the conscience and the spirit, to reverence for God and belief in Heaven as the justification of earth, physical culture will produce only splendid animals, and social energy degenerate into empty-headed frivolity. The modern Sunday is imperfect. But its imperfectness is not due to a misconception of the significance of recreation, but to a miscalculation of the relation of recreation to the invigoration of the conscience, and to the education of that ineradicable though slumbering sense of the nearness of God which sets off man from brutedom. That imperfectness will not be corrected by prohibiting recreation, but by restraining its present excess. And that restraint will

best and surest be improved by leading men, gently and persuasively, into that larger conception of what it is truly to live, which includes the worship of God. The doors of the museum and library will never be closed on Sundays, the fields and the sea will not cease calling weary men and women to come to them for refreshment, — and no man sensitive to the conditions of toil which will forever be the lot of our humanity would wish it, — but the doors of the Church must stand wide open too, that the spirit may find its recreation and refreshment in prayers and praise. For years to come, it may be, the Church is to suffer loss, but not forever. The great human instinct of worship will draw back into a better instructed, into a more enlightened House of God those who can now turn away from it, to find in physical activity and acute sensations what hits the present mood. To-day's treatment of Sunday is not final. The very fact that what it is to-day, in larger freedom from ancient and venerated restraints, is due to Religion, is ample warrant for believing that Religion is competent to recast Sunday into a day

in which the culture of the spirit is recognized as so vitally an accompaniment of the culture of the body, that the worship of God in the temple will be all of a piece with the education of the mind in museum or library, and the invigoration of the physical organism in the field or on the river. At any rate, we ought to be clear as to this: that if blame for the disappearance of the old Sunday of our fathers is to be laid at any door, it is at the door of Religion, the Religion which has taught us the preciousness of the body, soul, and mind of man, the Religion which has stood for Sunday as the great rest day, the Religion which proclaims that rest is not idleness, and, finally, the Religion which declares that, since our bodies are the temple of the Holy Ghost, no man can with guiltlessness defile that temple, and whoso doth defile it, him shall God destroy.

It is this new anthropology, also, which has set sickness in a new light. When Jesus healed the paralytic at the pool, He dismissed him with the searching warning, "Sin no more, lest a worse thing come upon thee." It is a declaration that disease

is frequently the outward and visible sign of sin. That is one of the commonplaces of theology. But its common interpretation has been that sickness is a sign of sin only when the disease is casually or visibly connected with a particular act. The ship captain who smoked himself stone blind and reached port only to die, the hardy sot who drank three pints of whiskey at a sitting and found himself paralyzed for life, these preëminently were ill men whose disease visibly proceeded out of their sin. But when the unnoticed, prodigal expenditures of vitality, or the unnoticed, persistent disregard of the laws of the physical organism resulted in languor or decay or disease, men were pitied, not blamed. Indeed, within the memory of living men it was regarded as something to be apologized for if a member of one of the learned professions betrayed athletic strength. Luther, with his robust vigor, might have been cast into the shade by pale Philip Melancthon in one of our parishes half a century ago. There are illnesses of which men ought to be thoroughly ashamed, for which they ought not

to seek a cause in the "mysterious dispensation of Providence," and which they ought to have the manliness and honesty to confess are the result of deplorable, despicable, and deliberate wrong-doing. The pride of health and vigor must forever be recognized as justifying shame when health is broken and vigor falls into decay long before age has "darkened the windows" and compelled "the keepers of the house to tremble." I knew nothing more hopeful in the sentiment of young men touching the whole question of athletics than their clear perception and their frank declaration that ill health in a young man who starts out with no hereditary or constitutional weakness is a disgrace, and not a misfortune. It is a recognition, conscious or unconscious, that their health is in their own keeping, like their manners and their morals. When physical exercise was made a compulsory part of education at Amherst thirty years ago, ranking in importance with the study of Greek and mathematics, it was, and was intended to be, a bold denial of the opinion that a student's health was at the mercy of Divine

Providence, an assertion of the truth that health is in part a religious achievement. Not to train athletes, but to create health, not to develop the skill which delights in feats, but to secure to vitality that protection which is owed to the body by its possessor, was that experiment in education made in a preëminently religious college. The result has amply demonstrated its wisdom. And the adoption of similar systems elsewhere has resulted in incalculable good, not alone in raising the standard of physical vigor, but in creating and spreading the belief that for most young men sickness is a disgrace. It is the new anthropology declaring itself in a new field, the gospel of the body and the gospel of Jesus working together to produce the perfect man. "Conviction of sin," upon which evangelicalism laid great stress, so far from disappearing in the so-called materialistic spirit of our day, receives a new definition and a new emphasis in that expansion of Religion which now includes physical health as an object of its care and prayer. And we shall never appreciate the meaning of all our

provision for the production and maintenance of public health until we see in all its least arrangements the utterance of the Christian spirit.

I think I have shown that the care of the sick, the application of sanitary science to the conditions of living, the growth of interest in physical exercise, the transformation of Sunday and the estimate put upon the spiritual significance of health and sickness, are the direct result of what I have called the new anthropology. And the new anthropology is not the child of social economy, nor of that vulgar materialism which knows nothing beside the earth with its power to furnish delights and to evolve pains, nor of the reasoned purpose to secure the acutest sensations with least loss of force to repeat them; it is distinctly the work of Religion seeking the salvation of man, and counting that salvation incomplete unless man has all his chances fixedly secure, and all his chances turned into the concrete facts of vitality and health.

When one looks back fifty years and contrasts the nature of the effort Religion

made to save man with the passionate efforts she is making now, he cannot think that Religion has decayed; he must find, rather, in the character and extent of her enterprises for the betterment of the conditions under which life must be lived, in the firm recognition of the physical side of life as at least equal to that of the spiritual, and in the declaration that the two belong to each other, the indubitable proof that Religion is more live, more in earnest, more enlightened, more sagacious, and, finally, more fruitful, than it has ever been. *Organized* Religion but imperfectly records the achievements of Religion itself. It never has presented — possibly never may present — the perfect picture of man steadily rising in the scale of worth. In France, for example, where renunciation and devotion are thoroughly organized, it is possible to estimate the achievements of Religion by taking the statistics of institutional enterprise. Goodness in France is largely vicarious, if we mean by goodness the maintenance of good works by organized Religion. The Sister of Charity is in evidence everywhere, and the

Church absorbs into itself pretty much all of religious activity there is, sending it out again impressed with the seal of ecclesiasticism. But in America Religion is everywhere — almost as much of it outside as inside the churches — independent of visible means of spiritual support, yet always eager to do what Religion lives to accomplish. And in the last quarter of a century it has perhaps in nothing so powerfully and beneficently declared its presence as in the widespread eagerness it has shown to create right physical conditions of living, and in the evident fact that this eagerness is born of a profounder belief in the preciousness of man.

One hundred and fifty years ago, a New England Puritan officer in the Colonial army set down in his diary an account of an incident in the French and Indian wars: "Killed the Chief indian, a Sagamore from the Island of St. Johns, which are known by the name Mickmack. He lived about five hours after he was shott, and behaved as bold as any man could till he died, but wanted Rum and Sider which we gave him till he died. He was shott

through the bodey just below his ribs. He measured six feet two inches, and very large boned, but very poor." Is this the description of man or brute? Yet how agreeable it is to the stern anthropology of that elder day.

In Hindoo catechisms we read, "What is cruel? The heart of a viper. What is more cruel than that? The heart of a woman. What is the chief gate to hell? A woman. What are fetters to men? Women. What is that which cannot be trusted? Women. What poison is that which appears like nectar? Women. Woman is a great whirlpool of suspicion, a dwelling-place of vices, full of deceits, a hindrance in the way of heaven, the gate of hell!" That is the Hindoo anthropology. The Hindoo treatment of women and widows, of which America has heard so painfully in recent years, is the natural outcome of that anthropology. Place Ramabai's description of the condition of her sisters by the side of what we know of widowhood as honored by Religion, place the Puritan's description of the dying Indian by the side of Bishop Whipple's story

of his life among the red men of Minnesota, or Herbert Welsh's reports to government, and then ask whether the new anthropology measures a Religion contracting or expanding, decaying or waxing strong, among the children of men. The question, What is man? can be adequately answered only in terms of Religion.

III.

RELIGION AND RIGHTEOUSNESS.

RELIGION makes more stir in the world as a theology and as an ecclesiasticism than as a visible moral force, working through theology and ecclesiasticism, — makes more stir, attracts more public attention, and writes a more dramatic, not to say theatric history. The councils, the controversies, the heresies and schisms, the promulgation of edicts, confessions, catechisms, and articles, — these make up so large a portion of the great story of organized Religion that it is not strange that we should think of these as the chief indications, not only of her existence, but of her purpose and influence. When Professor Draper wrote his interesting and vivacious book on the “Conflict of Religion and Science,” Religion, to his thinking, was altogether an ecclesiasticism, and he consequently found no difficulty in

abundantly illustrating the evil effect of Religion upon the enterprises of science. But the quick oblivion into which that book, and scores like it, fell is grateful evidence that to the reflection of the people Religion is vastly more than its theology and ecclesiasticism. When a great clergyman said, some years ago, "I have written about six hundred sermons, and I thank God none of them deals with the reconciliation of Religion and science," there were speedily found those who criticised him for a failure to do his duty at a time when Religion and science were in sore need of reconciliation in the interest of them both. But clearer and wiser minds saw in that statement the declaration that Religion and science have never needed any reconciliation and never will, because each of them is in search of truth, and that just in proportion as each of them finds her they will be in agreement. Religion can make mistakes, science can err; and when the mistakes of the one and the errors of the other meet together and clash, it is not a meeting of Religion and science, but of untruths or half truths.

That this is true is amply shown by the changed attitudes toward each other of organized Religion and that which we loosely call science, in the last twenty years. Organized Religion has markedly receded from many a position of open and sometimes bitter opposition to the discoveries and theories of men of science. But that recession has been an intelligent one, it has not been sentimental. Organized Religion has been slow to accept the results of experiment and the conclusions drawn from them, but its leisurely action is due to a wholesome caution. It has had the wit to perceive that not every proclaimed discovery of truth is real, not every inference is sound. It has for the most part patiently awaited the verification of the many startling announcements of critical facts, frequently acknowledged its mistakes, and hastened to incorporate into its interpretation of its doctrines the new truth finally established. Nor can it be denied that it has learned the lesson of patient, expectant silence. It no longer breaks forth into violent denunciation of the utterances of scholars and men of

science. It has at last perceived that what at first sight wears the look of enmity, on closer inspection may prove friend and ally. It can afford to wait in silent hope, confident that its fundamental doctrines will receive no harm from anything which the labor of man discovers in any field of investigation. The frequently urged claim that this altered habit of organized Religion is the child of a less confident belief in her long cherished truths, is founded upon nothing more substantial than a misinterpretation of her disciplined conviction that all truth is one. Her hold upon her peculiar truth is not slackened; she has simply opened her doors, with a bolder confidence, to receive what comes to her claiming to be truth, ready to listen impartially, yet ever cautiously and carefully, to what the new truth can say for itself. This, too, is an expansion of Religion, not in the direction of dogma, but of a more spiritual confidence in the impregnable nature of the fundamental truth of which Religion is the expression.

The hypothesis of evolution may or may not prove true, but the attitude of

organized Religion towards it to-day, in contrast with the frightened, panicky condemnation both of it and those who urged it, a quarter of a century ago, is grateful evidence that Religion has grown calm, has regained confidence in herself as in no danger from the new interpretation of herself which evolutionary theories may require, or have already effected.

But, on the other hand, the spirit and temper of science have changed more radically, even, than those of organized Religion. For Religion has acquired a new interest, and consequently a new importance, in the thinking of men of science. It is not too much to say that Religion is frankly recognized as the formulation of a force just as real and just as persistent as that of which gravitation is the scientific name. Man is as much a part of the universe as a star. If it is worth while to determine the nature of the star's substance by the spectrum analysis, and thence to declare its similarity to the material of which our earth is composed, it is equally worth while to determine the nature of the spiritual forces which declare what man

has done and is doing, what he has been and what he is likely at last to be. The high doctrine of to-day is that the world was made for man, not man for the world. Consequently what man is, is seen to be of more importance than anything belonging to the world in which he lives. He has many marks of identification: he is a poet, musician, artist, politician, adventurer, inventor; he is a thinker, statesman, soldier, by turns; but he is always and everywhere religious. He ceases to be enterprising now and then along all lines save that of Religion. It is the recognition of this fact, more than of any other, which explains the otherwise puzzling feature of our latest scientific activity, — its growing interest in Religion while pushing its investigations into the phenomena of the material world with unabated vigor, with undiminished brilliancy of result. Indeed, it is not an exaggeration to affirm that Religion, as distinguished from theology and ecclesiasticism, is as much an object of serious and intelligent interest to men of science as to men of Religion. Its persistence, its power of revival, its skill

in adapting itself to altered conditions of thought, its sturdy appearances as the great moral force of humanity in crises when morality is absolutely essential to the preservation of public order and the maintenance of public justice, its perpetual demonstration of itself as the visible supply of all those motives which influence men to stand by righteousness, personal and national, the proved inability of humanity to supplant it by any system which does not root itself in the divine, — all this, and much more, has made Religion of first importance to the scientific spirit of our day. Secondary causes are now recognized as secondary causes, as much in need of explanation themselves as that which they explain. After their long misunderstanding of one another, and consequently their bitter hostility to each other, Religion and science are now sitting down as friends, ready to learn what each has to teach, and convinced that the outcome of their conference will be a compact to help one another to the uttermost.

Now, one of the points which is clearer to-day than ever, because of this better un-

derstanding which I have tried to describe, is this: that Religion and science equally perceive that the outcome of faith and knowledge should be righteousness. Religion says: "Faith, unless it translate itself into righteousness, is dead;" and science declares "that knowledge, if it cannot incorporate itself in righteousness, is no true contribution to the welfare of mankind." And Religion, having thus compelled science to go a mile, is now endeavoring to compel her to go twain, and to see in Religion the power that is forever using fresh knowledge to create more righteousness. But, first of all, Religion had to be expanded into a larger conception of what righteousness for man really involved. We tried to trace that expansion in the last lecture, which dealt with the new anthropology. You will perhaps recall that when the preciousness and value of a human life became a reason for furnishing a ministry to all of man that can be ministered to, Religion seized upon all the knowledge of whatever sort science had obtained and used it as material for the construction of human welfare. Religion, in other words,

enlarged itself to receive the help which science furnished in the form of knowledge. And now science is enlarging itself to receive from Religion the help which Religion furnishes in the form of motives derived from a divine source. I do not assert that as yet there is the perfect understanding which conditions the perfect success, but I do assert that the movement of both science and Religion is distinctly in the direction of a compact whereby each shall gladly furnish the other with what shall produce the individual and social righteousness which is now seen to be the inexorable condition of human progress.

The first result of this better understanding of one another and of this expansion of the field of each, is the clear recognition that righteousness has an economic value. But that economic value was underrated when Religion conceived herself as concerned mainly with man's correct understanding of her theological doctrines, with his spiritual preparation for life in the world to come, together with his satisfactory ecclesiastical behavior in this. The incorporation of the economic value of

righteousness into the estimate put upon its spiritual value is one of the most marked features of our time. But it is indisputably the outcome of an expanded Religion. We accept it as a religious achievement, not as an indication of materialistic conversion. That is to say, thanks to Religion, which has for its prime endeavor the production of righteousness, an economic value is set upon godliness. It is worth as much as the Fire Department, the Public School system, the Police, or Insurance, in the total life of the people. It is no longer regarded as something from which we derive spiritual blessing alone, the fullness and value of which shall be disclosed only when we enter the New Jerusalem; but out of it, here and now, flow material blessings to the community and the individual. They who administer the government, in its many branches, are inexorably dependent for a successful administration upon the amount and quality of righteousness active in the community. And they who frame laws for the government to execute are compelled to reckon with the spiritual vitality

of those for whom the laws are enacted. A thoroughly wise statute frequently becomes inoperative because there is not enough concrete righteousness in the people to bear it; and on the other hand, a bad statute becomes void if the public conscience and the public moral habit resist it, on the score of its inadequacy or injustice. All government is, finally, the expression of the spiritual will of the governed. The people's whim, frenzy, or selfishness, and the people's will and moral quality, are alike, but not equally, powerful in shaping legislation and in enforcing law. Righteousness, therefore, so far from being a merely personal quality, limited in its consequences to the contracted circle in which the individual moves, is that great pervasive element in the total life of the people from which spring, and in which thrive, all our public virtues and our material prosperity as well. It is not merely the light which lightens the mechanic's bench or the pages of the student's book, it is the sunlight which floods the city and conditions the efficiency, the safety, the prosperity, of all its myriad men. To

think of righteousness as no more than a beautiful and useful quality of those who put themselves under the guidance of God that they may gain and keep it, the reward of which is jealously reserved in heaven, is to miss its true glory, and no less its immediate and solid worth.

One of the most alarming and discouraging features of modern municipal administration is its enormous cost. The criminals of any great city lay upon it a burden of expense equal to that of maintaining the public education of all the children in its schools, if all the people who are in its hospitals, asylums, and workhouses, as the direct or indirect result of their wrongdoing, are added to the number confined in its jails. The statistics which the city publishes for the information of her citizens are appalling, if we turn only to those pages which record the cost of detecting, trying, and punishing criminals, the cost of maintaining those whose vices have landed them in disease, poverty, and helplessness, the cost of repairing the damages caused by criminal incompetence, jobbery, and waste. It all makes a huge item in the

yearly budget, and we have heretofore regarded that item as a yearly necessity, because somehow we had regarded the unrighteousness which created the charges for which the item provides, as an inevitable feature of the city's life. We reasoned about it in this way, if we reasoned about it at all: "The provision for taking municipal notice of committed crime, and for caring for the consequences of that crime, must be cheerfully, amply made, because the government is powerless to quench the fountains whence perpetually flow the evil influences which make the crimes and criminals that disturb our peace and cost us dear, so much as possible. The government has power to appropriate money to improve the sanitary condition of the city jail; it has no power to bestow a penny upon the Boys' Club which seeks, and seeks successfully, to train boys in those qualities which keep them out of jail. The government can create the park through which may roam all through summer-time her troops of children and her hard-worked men; it cannot erect a single decent tenement house in her most pestiferous

quarter, in which men, women, and children may enjoy the simplest conditions of the wholesome physical life which so powerfully affects all moral life. The city is compelled to say, 'If you steal and cheat, if you murder or burn, if you are drunk or disorderly, I will put you in my jail and feed you there at the public expense; if you ruin your health by your vices, if you sink down into pauperism and trampdom by your improvidence and evil living, I will receive you into my hospitals, giving you the best medical treatment, or into my workhouses, clothing and feeding you at the public expense; but I cannot spend money in any large or direct way to set up the machinery of righteousness to keep you back from the criminal spirit, and to foster in you the love of struggle, the habits of right living, and the principles of thrift. And every year I must take from the pockets of the industrious, sober, thrifty, and well-behaved, a sum of money large enough to defray the enormous cost of your wickedness, shiftlessness, and self-inflicted disease.' That is what the poor perplexed city is compelled to say as she

stands to-day sadly looking at the machinery for producing wickedness and disease and pauperism which revolves in the midst of her ceaselessly every day. So far as she is a government, that is the only utterance she can make, until government is something other than we have thus far agreed that it shall be." But could there be a stronger argument made in behalf of righteousness than is presented by even a superficial study of the expenditures of our municipalities? Could there be a severer arraignment of wickedness framed than is already at hand in these amazing figures which tell us how much unrighteousness costs us every year? Religion to-day is declaring that she has a right to ask the people to reflect upon the disastrous consequences to political, industrial, commercial, and social welfare, of the wickedness which heretofore she has mourned over mainly because it was disobedience to God and the spiritual ruin of souls. She has found a new weapon for use in her warfare against sin, and a new argument in her debate with those who have regarded her as ministering to a wish for no-

thing nearer or surer than a far-off heaven. Unrighteousness is waste, — waste of men, waste of material, waste of energy, waste of the public trust. Unrighteousness is a spendthrift, scattering the earnings of health, of industry, of enterprise, and self-denial. It is like a mob of idle loafers insolently living upon labor of the toiler. This has always been true in fact, but the relation of wickedness to municipal expense has been set forth vividly only in modern times, and Religion is the first to cry aloud in the ears of men who have underrated her, that righteousness is as necessary to the welfare of the city as its aqueducts and sewers, its schools and parks, its firemen and judges. She is telling the people, as never before, that it is idle to expand commerce and foster trade, idle to enlarge the city's borders and to increase its wealth, unless there be growing, with the city's growth, a deep, strong, intelligent hold upon that righteousness of conduct and of life, which God, without consulting us, has made the inflexible condition of prosperity. Government as government has been cease-

lessly at work upon statutes, and methods of stringently enforcing them; has, with marvelous ingenuity and infinite patience, toiled on for the welfare of the people, hoping with magnificent courage that the burdens resting on all human enterprise might be lightened; and yet every year wickedness rolls up its enormous cost, paid out of the earnings of the upright. If the expenditures caused by unrighteousness for half a century could be capitalized, the income would maintain the public school system for all time to come. If the annual cost of crime could be devoted to the adornment of the city, every year would see added to its beauty an object, permanent and refining, which in a score of years would make the city almost fulfill our dreams of the splendor of the City of God. Religion, alive to this economic truth, is just beginning to make herself felt in quarters in which, heretofore, she has been regarded as too unworldly to have the right to speak. It is becoming clear that the material welfare of the city is as truly in the custody of Religion as in that of industry and trade, and Religion has once more

found herself entrusted with a message. If in these last years we have seen, as thank God we have, critical revolutions in the conduct of the municipal business of more than one great city,—if waste and cost have so thoroughly exasperated the people that they have turned upon wicked doers and cast them out, we surely have been careless observers if we have not seen that it was Religion in its simplest and most august form — the form of righteousness — which created the passion needed to rouse the people to attempt their emancipation from the tyranny of the wickedness which was not only fouling all the avenues of public life, but also draining the resources of the people to pay the bills of sin. It has not been theology nor ecclesiasticism which have won recent battles for municipal reform,— it has not been the demonstrated extravagance or corruption of official life which have roused the people's indignation, nor the sense of the huge cost of meeting the charges of wickedness; it has been Religion, seizing the people's angry discontent with the economic burdens unrighteousness has laid upon

them, which has lashed the public *conscience*, until it rose up in wrath and did the work which nothing but the public conscience can ever do. Remember that the economic cost of crime has always been a fact; remember too that it has been urged again and again in deaf ears, if you would perceive that it was Religion, by its appeal to the instinct of righteousness, which turned economic cost into an irresistible argument for a moral reformation. A city without a theology may live a prosperous life, but a city without righteousness is a ship without a sail, an engine without steam. The distinct contribution Religion has made in recent times to political science is the political truth that you cannot build up a society or a state ordered, free, prosperous, and safe, unless you build it upon righteousness, and that righteousness, to be strong, continuous, inflexible, indestructible, must be the product of a profound belief in God. Atheism, whatever else may be said of it, is uneconomic, because it fails to create the righteousness upon which economic prosperity solidly and forever rests. You can out-argue it

speculatively, and it will return. You can make it a crime punishable by law, and it will survive. You can make it an eccentricity, indicative of an unphilosophical estimate of the world and of man, and it will persist. But indict it as hostile to the proved best interests of men who must live their lives on this earth, because it is hostile to that righteousness without which life is not worth the pains required to live it, and atheism shrivels into the cold, unhappy thing it is and ever must be. The argument which all men understand is that which can be stated in concrete terms. Exactly that is what Religion is doing to-day. She has done her best to show the enormous cost of sin, has set before our eyes with unprecedented vividness the picture of society struggling to provide for all her members the chances each has the right to expect, battling with all adverse conditions that she may gather sustenance for all her sons, — yet perpetually checked by the perpetual resistance offered by her criminals, loafers, and the prematurely exhausted, — and then has cried to men, “Your noblest endeavors, your wisest laws, your cleverest

contrivances, are all in vain without the righteousness which lives from God to man."

I foresee that insistence upon the economic value of righteousness runs the risk of being regarded as rank utilitarianism, or as an exalted form of political philosophy. It might be urged, "You are not playing fair, you are not consistent with even your own dangerously broad definition of Religion,—sensitiveness and responsiveness to the Divine,—you are only urging what would be urged by the most thorough-going materialist, you are appealing to a sordid pecuniary consideration, and yet you claim that it is Religion which speaks." But the answer to that is simply this, that when the economic value of righteousness is insisted upon, there is always beating warm beneath it the conviction that righteousness is the result of a personal and conscious relation to God. If Religion can convince us that godliness is great gain *in this world*, if it can rouse in us the acute belief that, *in this world*, we are suffering huge losses from the prevalence of wickedness, then it has put itself

in better position to assert with power that righteousness is possible, not to say rational, only as we both believe that the moral nature of God is at the foundation of the moral order of the world, and that only a moral God can produce moral men. Righteousness, Religion is now dogmatically teaching, becomes concrete and lasting by faith in a Divine source for it, not by any clearest demonstration of its necessity and value. Religion frankly acknowledges that it is now emphasizing the imperative necessity of righteousness to the material welfare of society for no other reason than this: *to set men seriously thinking how righteousness is produced.* It is harnessing the lower motive to the service of the higher. It is with renewed vigor and immensely increased confidence bringing the economic argument to bear upon society's thinking for the sake of getting a more attentive, more sympathetic hearing, for the strictly spiritual argument. It does not for one moment advocate righteousness solely because righteousness is materially profitable to the community. Yet, because that advocacy is legitimate, it de-

clares we ought to make the most of it, to be moved and energized by it, and finally add it to that supreme motive by which every religious man should be swayed, — the motive that unrighteousness should be displaced by righteousness *because that is the will of God*. It always comes back to that. Religion has been declaring to society with almost startling passion, “You must possess integrity, self-mastery, purity; these are the only qualities that can save you; all your successes, your wealth, your knowledge, your power, your countless contrivances for human comfort, and your multiplied chances for expansion, are really uncovering your exigent need of moral strength. The history of your unparalleled material and intellectual progress is matched by the dark history of your moral failures. And you have at last begun to perceive it. You know that the uneasiness which pervades the huge bulk of your complex organism is a *moral* uneasiness. You are afraid. You distrust yourself. You are wondering how long you can go on with all this flagrant wickedness in the midst of you, with all this

suspected powerlessness to make the possession of material riches safe. You are either vainly trying to blink the facts, or idly hoping that some scheme may emerge from this chaos of discussion and experiment which shall, *of itself*, produce the conditions which you are clever enough to perceive are inexorably demanded if peace and security are to be your lasting portion. I join my voice to yours when you cry that the sole safeguard of successful society is the prevalence, not simply of sound political or economic principles, but of that moral intensity and ethical virility which are to the community what foundations are to the building that rests its vast weight upon them. I reinforce your indictment of wickedness of every sort as the black, ugly portent in the social sky over our heads. But more than that, I affirm, with a confidence reinforced by all past history and reinvigorated by the events of to-day, that the righteousness required to give each of us security is to be found in a deeper dependence upon God. I may have relaxed the rigor of my theology, I may have given up the attempt

to inflict penalties, I may be entreating instead of commanding and threatening as in the days of old; but I insist, with an imperiousness almost novel, that out of me received, used, magnified, and supported, can alone come the power that creates the integrity, justice, and purity you so sorely need." So speaks Religion to society. It is the utterance of old truth, but the tone of that utterance is so fresh, so strong, so confident, that it is almost as if a Religion of righteousness were new given. And society is listening; she is beginning to heed these voices proceeding from quarters whence she has for so long heard only contentions about dogmas and politics. Original sin is pushed aside by interest in contemporary sin. Baptismal regeneration is thrust one side by a passion to secure goodness in all men whether baptized or not. Religion has her eye upon concrete society, and is anxious, with a divine solicitude, that the social organism shall be penetrated with a thorough-going dependence upon God, because only so shall be arrested the vast economic waste which is taxing society's resources

beyond her permanent ability to pay. This discovered genius for enforcing the value of godliness to human society and government is one of the most characteristic marks of the expansion of Religion, and is destined soon to become the bond of a new union between Religion and the world. For it is a frank declaration that, after all, their interests are one. It is a revelation, if you like, that they belong to one another, and that even the material welfare of organized society is bound up with the life of Religion, and the concern of the citizen is identical with the concern of the saint.

We ought to be prepared to see this new attitude of Religion increasingly strengthened in the immediate future, because Religion is sure to draw to herself, when she speaks as we have just been making her speak, all those who felt little interest in her when she seemed concerned only with the life that is to come and bent only on getting men through this world in any sort of fashion, because the other world is the only one of any importance. So long as the New Jerusalem was

accounted the city for which we were to wait and for citizenship in which we were to prepare, the glowing splendor of which ought to reconcile us to a patient, unenterprising toleration of the city of Boston, it was idle to expect men whose heart was in the activities of this earth to care very much for what Religion concerned herself with. Whether or not a man had been baptized could not be concluded by anything he did as an official of the town. His view of inspiration and his eschatology could not be learned by watching him in the market. If he took bribes, his baptism was the symbol of a superstition. If his word was rightly distrusted, men cared little for his theological opinions or his ecclesiastical attachments. His unrighteousness was entailing economic loss to society, and Religion seemed more anxious about his theology and ecclesiasticism than about his character. Rightly, therefore, society concluded that Religion was of little value, spite of its promises of heaven and its threats of hell, because society perceived that unrighteous men would not find heaven to their taste were

they safely landed in it; and it wondered with a legitimate wonder how correct opinions united with bad character could produce any other results in heaven than they are producing on earth, namely, loss, misery, and waste. But now that Religion accounts Boston as of equal importance with the New Jerusalem, because it takes, almost literally, the vision of St. John, who saw the "New Jerusalem *coming down* out of heaven" to occupy this earth, and because it resents with the passion of a burdened taxpayer the presence of costly wickedness and would banish it, not simply as wickedness, but as indefensible cost, Religion has made itself attractive — attractive by its usefulness to the social life that now is. The old question whether Religion should have anything to do with politics ceases to be a question, for politics is Religion and Religion politics, by virtue of the identity of their ideal struggle to produce political righteousness and righteous politics. Religion has enlarged her territory and made room for those earnest spirits upon whose hearts rests heavy the burden of the world's costly sin.

But some men will ask, "Has organized Religion eagerly and sympathetically accepted this new attitude of real Religion?" It has not. It is still too eagerly absorbed in questions of dogma and polity to manifest to society that passion for righteousness of which I have spoken so much, still too unconscious of its real identity with the world against whose attitude toward it it fights, and which resents its description of itself as a misdescription of what a true Church should be. And yet the signs of the coming revival of organized Religion to meet the new needs of a new day are neither few nor feeble. Here and there are churches which have awakened to the fact that their only chance of life, their only warrant for hoping that they can gain the ear and hold the love of the multitudes, is in their more frank and hearty identification of themselves with the real life of the people, tormented by wickedness and impoverished by costly crime. And when all organized Religion shall have courageously thrown itself into the struggle against unrighteousness, then we shall hear the Church crying, "Unto

you, O men, I call; give me your encouragement and cheer, if you cannot give me your belief; give me your strong, intelligent, virile help in my effort to produce the righteousness which the poor, stumbling world so sorely needs, and out of your help, so given, must one day come a strong and reasonable belief; for it is abstention from the effort to make society righteous, here and now, which makes belief in a Redeemer and a world to come so hard."

But not only is Religion insisting upon the necessity of righteousness to the economic welfare of society, she is re-defining righteousness. It needed re-definition. Righteousness is, as we might phrase it, conformity to what is right, that is, to what is good. This is perfectly simple and thoroughly clear. One need only know what is right, or good, in order to determine whether or not a man is righteous, whether or not a society possesses righteousness. But to know what is right or good is not the simple affair it promises at the start to be. The determination of right is not the sole work of the

intellect and the conscience. The intellect may be weak and the conscience dark, and this weakness and this darkness may be the result of forces working unconsciously in the total nature. Consequently, we find that even men seriously in earnest for righteousness may blunder, and substitute for real righteousness conventional righteousness. The history of Religion abundantly declares how frequently this happens. The Old Testament is very largely the record of a people's struggle to keep the real righteousness, which is salvation, from degenerating into that counterfeit of it presented by express statutes which could be scrupulously kept while the righteousness they were intended to secure was successfully evaded. Selfishness of whatever sort can always play havoc with statutes and yet manage to preserve a fairly good conscience. That was the besetting sin of Israel. The nation had a genius for righteousness, never ceased extolling it, declared righteousness was peace and joy, taught their children that only the righteous should be blessed and that the wicked should not live out half his days.

The Old Testament is simply unintelligible without the word righteousness to interpret it. It plays as conspicuous a part in the history, poetry, and prophecy as does Jehovah himself. It is canvas and pigment both, with emotion as color. No one can take up the Old Testament today, and read it as the record of a nation's religious struggle, and fail to be impressed by Israel's continuous, insistent, and consistent belief that salvation is the outcome of righteousness. The one hundred and nineteenth psalm is a marvelous achievement in poetry, which can sing the praises of law, statute, commandments, testimonies, precepts, and judgments, through a hundred seventy and six perfected lines, with no impression of monotonous repetition; but it is more than matched by the whole body of the Hebrew Scriptures, which begin and end with the exultant cry, "Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore God hath anointed thee with the oil of joy above thy fellows." And yet, "Poor Israel! Poor ancient people! It was revealed to thee that righteousness is salvation: the question what

righteousness *is* was thy stumbling-stone. Seer of the vision of peace that yet could not see the things which belong unto thy peace!" — could not see that the conventional righteousness of statutes and ceremonies scrupulously kept was not the righteousness which exalteth and saveth the nation and the man. The ruin of Israel was not wrought by her failure to perceive the necessity of righteousness, but by her failure to understand exactly what it was, — justice, mercy, and truth ; by her falling before that world-old, fierce, subtle, satanic temptation to cloud her perfect vision for the sake of temporary gain. There grew up that masterly system by the operation of which injustice was made to look like justice, cruelty sheltered itself behind law, and blindness became vision. But there is nothing peculiarly Jewish in that system, except its form, and its form is determined altogether by local custom and national chances. Christianity started out with the clearest possible perception of the fatal error in Jewish righteousness. Jesus laid his finger upon the heart of Israel and said, " The disease is there ; you

are trying to create righteousness by machinery, the machinery of statute. Goodness cometh not by way of the understanding, it cometh by way of the heart, it is an inward creation. Not the man who understands, but the man who does, possesses the secret of the Lord." Nothing could be more satisfactory than was Christianity at the beginning, in laying bare what righteousness is and how it could be obtained. It boldly declared in the face of venerable tradition and inveterate custom that statutes, ceremonies, and observances have nothing to do with it. As St. John explicitly, and with refreshing candor, said, "He that doeth righteousness is righteous." No one else can be. And what, at the start, distinguished the early Christians from the Jews was not theological opinion or ecclesiastical polity, for it required nigh a hundred years to complete the doctrinal separation of the new faith from the old, so that everybody could appreciate it; it was a fundamental difference between the two conceptions of the origin, and the nature of righteousness. Jesus, and the Apostles after Him,

asked men to divest goodness of its setting, to banish from their minds the idea that any part of outwardness of conduct had anything to do with inwardness of life. They were not to expect righteousness of life to grow out of righteousness of conduct, but conduct to grow out of life. The whole stress of early Christian teaching, and the great glory of early Christian life, are right there: the fundamental truth that righteousness is the expression of a pure heart and a trained, disciplined, energized will, joyfully placed at the service of the pure heart,—the whole man intent on securing the favor, not of men, but of God. The essential inwardness of righteousness is the commanding feature of the earliest Christianity. It seems impossible that Christians should ever repeat the blunder of the Jews, when we recall how plain Jesus made the path which avoids that blunder. But we have repeated it, and are only just now discovering how great it is and how costly it has been. Let me try to make this plain. One of the evil results of an otherwise beneficent evangelicalism pushed too far

— or, rather, too heavily emphasized, — is its doctrine of justification by faith, interpreted (as it was inevitable it would be interpreted when accepted indiscriminately by ordinary people) as meaning that it is far more important that a particular doctrine should be believed and acted upon than that conduct should square with eternal right. No one has ever frankly taught, nor ever will, that conduct is of no importance. On the contrary, evangelicalism urged that the man justified by faith in Jesus Christ should manifest as a result the fruits of the spirit: love, joy, long-suffering, meekness, temperance. But the special emphasis was upon the consciousness of justification; *that* was the critical affair; all else was important, but secondary. Consequently, salvation was interpreted as the conscious possession of pardon of *sin*, not sins simply; and as the conviction that this pardon would stay by throughout the longest life, warranting its hope of entrance into heaven. “Once saved, forever saved,” became a postulate of evangelicalism. When evangelicalism ceased to be a visible, organized, powerful

body, residing in many of the denominations and welcomed as the highest expression of Christian faith, it did not cease to be an influence. It colored the ideas of four fifths of all our religious bodies, even after they ceased to look to it as authoritative and fruitful. Consequently, the tendency to substitute doctrinal correctness on the one hand, and demonstrative emotion on the other (and, between them, liberalism as well), for inward righteousness, has characterized Religion for nigh a century. To be sure, that tendency appeared very early in the history of Christianity, and was carrying almost everything before it when Christianity and the Empire joined hands; but it never, perhaps, was so flagrant as within the memory of living men. More than half the dreadful scandals which have disgraced and harmed organized Religion in the last fifty years can be traced back to this vicious, irrational, and irreligious tendency to make doctrinal correctness, demonstrative emotion, and liberalism, do duty for that "stern daughter of the voice of God" which insists that integrity of life is the only legitimate ground for

believing that a man is justified before his God. The difficulty is not in the doctrine, but with the use — or, rather, the misuse — of the doctrine which is held; and once more the traditions of men make void the commandments of God. The limitations wisely placed upon this Lectureship explicitly forbid the illustration of this evil tendency in current Religion about us, but that man of us who has not indignantly resented or sadly owned the disastrous working of this tendency is dull and stupid, or, what is worse, dishonest. It assumes as many forms as there are organizations to shape it to their ends. But it is, and ever has been, that worst of all foes, the foe that intrenches itself, unsuspected, within the household walls. Now Religion, as I said, has begun to discover her blunder or her sin — call it which you will — and to set herself once more in her rightful place as the teacher of doctrine for the sake of righteousness. Her great announcement is no longer the absolute necessity either of a definite dogma or of a particular experience; it is rather, “ Let every one that nameth the name of Christ

depart from iniquity. Abhor that which is evil, cleave to that which is good." Nothing can take the place of that real righteousness which is inward personal purity; not thorough adhesion to any definitive dogma, not the mystical spell of a demonstrative spiritual experience, not a liberal mind. For, however true the dogma, precious the experience, and beautiful the tolerance, and however powerful, in coöperation with a consenting will, to develop purity, integrity, and truthfulness, they are not the equivalents of these virtues. The disasters and losses which have ever overtaken Religion when she has forgotten the imperative of Jesus, "Seek ye *first* the Kingdom of God and the righteousness of it," are as natural as the shipwreck of the vessel which bends new sails on rotten masts and spars. Insistence upon real righteousness is now everywhere the character mark of living Religion. The new fields on which Religion is to-day cultivating righteousness, the new conditions which she is attempting to create by an application of it to enterprises with which it was once thought to have nothing to do,

we shall speak of in another lecture ; but to-night I wish to make clear, as a needed preparation for what is to follow, that Religion has fairly been born again in her fresh consecration of herself, even at the sacrifice of some things she has long held dear, to the cause of producing a type of goodness which will stand the fierce tests applied to it by the mordant temper of our day.

But, it may be urged, has not this new attitude of Religion towards actual life been purchased at the cost of paring down her cardinal truths ? Has she not been compelled to throw aside much which has so long been identified with her very substance as to appear to be essential to her very existence as Religion, as distinguished from morality ? Have you not unwittingly explained the "theological thaw" of which we have heard and seen so much in the last quarter of a century ? Have you not lost from Religion what you have gained for righteousness ? Are you not pleading for an ethical school in place of organized Religion ? And what room have you left for God ? These are indeed fair and they

are familiar questions. But an adequate reply is not difficult. Religion has cast aside nothing that is peculiarly hers, nothing that is essential to her integrity. The old elemental beliefs, say what men will, are as resolutely held as ever, though their interpretation changes as often as religious experience deepens and reveals a new thought of God. Divine pardon is as eagerly besought to-night by some sinner overtaken, not alone by the material consequence of his sin, but by the acute consciousness that he can no longer believe the love of God, as it was in the days of Wesley; but what that pardon means, what it involves, and what it may accomplish, look very strange beside what was thought of it a hundred and fifty years ago. The death of the Redeemer as the guarantee that the obstacles to pardon are made by human hands, and that besides these there are none in heaven or hell, is as firmly rooted in current Religion as it has ever been, though we no longer hear of contrived plans of salvation and very little of the atonement. The real explanation of the present passion of Religion

for righteousness is not the decay of theology, but of the theological temper, not the displacement of old beliefs, but the replacement of them in their true position. "You *may be orthodox*, you *must be righteous*, if you would inherit that eternal life which is as true a part of this life as this life is of that which is to be. You may find yourself unable to accept what I hold to be true, no matter ; you must strive to develop love, joy, long-suffering, meekness, gentleness, temperance, truth, into concrete character. These are the fruit of that spirit which you can receive, even though you cannot receive my statements of what God has revealed as truth." To speak particularly of the Christian Church. It holds, in its familiar language, that "Baptism and the Lord's Supper are necessary to salvation." But when it says that, it means by salvation a far larger thing than was meant when that proposition was framed. Books are necessary to intellectual salvation, but a man is not intellectually saved by shutting him up in a library full of them. It is only as the student transmutes books into personal

knowledge that he delivers himself from ignorance; and the process of intellectual salvation is a long one, never finished, because truth is never, on this earth, fully explored and disclosed. Baptism is not a magical rite, it is the symbol of *entrance into a chance* "to live a godly and Christian life." It is "necessary to salvation" only in the sense *that to possess a chance to be virtuously brought up is necessary to the development of the personal righteousness, which is salvation.* The Lord's Supper is necessary to salvation only because through it and by it the reverent soul receives a Divine strength which that reverent soul is to transmute into the personal righteousness which is salvation. Neither Baptism nor the Lord's Supper *are* salvation, any more than matriculation and residence at the university are intellectual salvation; but they are in Religion what matriculation and the university are in education, the bestowment of the chance, the help, the inspiration, the direction which in the one lead to knowledge, and in the other lead to righteousness. To educate, not to grant diplomas; to make

righteous, not to secure doctrinal correctness, are the aim of the College and the Church; yet the one grants diplomas and the other asks for faith. Religion is in no danger of becoming an ethical school because her passion for righteousness is measured by her conviction that righteousness is not the product of a perception, but the outcome of a faith in God. Her new attitude towards conduct is not at the expense of any cardinal truth, because her cardinal truth is that salvation, the state she aims to produce, *is righteousness*, and righteousness is possible only as man knows, obeys, and loves a righteous God. And we have not lost from Religion what we have gained for righteousness, because there is no real righteousness without Religion.

I think we have but begun to appreciate what this promises for the future. It leaves dogmatic truth intact, but puts it in its proper place. It leaves ecclesiasticism substantially untouched in bulk, but declares it is an instrument and not an end. It refuses any longer to go on with the old reversal of the divine order, righteous-

ness and the kingdom *first*. Religion is asserting that all other things — faith, worship, creed — will never be added unto it unless first of all it can make it plain that its foremost purpose is to produce righteousness of life.

A score of years ago Matthew Arnold gave to the world "Literature and Dogma." It was a strong, clear plea for reality, a somewhat flippant, if brilliant, arraignment of the Religion which made the three Lord Shaftesburys of more importance than the development of justice, mercy, and truth in the life of the English people. After twenty years, what do we see? The Bishops of Gloucester and Winchester still believing that their conception of Jehovah is far truer to fact and reason than the metaphysical "not ourselves which makes for righteousness" that Mr. Arnold defines and explains in a speculative phraseology which rivals the nomenclature he condemns. Not one of their dogmas is relinquished, but no longer are they set in the door of entrance into life, no longer are they urged as the condition of salvation. Mr. Arnold would have swept them

relentlessly away. The result he was sincerely bent on securing, and to which he gave his genius for revealing the intensely spiritual meaning of the Bible, seemed to him possible only as dogma was supplanted by literature. But all that Mr. Arnold contended for in his exaltation of righteousness has been secured. Dogma remains; it always will remain. Mr. Arnold himself framed a new dogma which for a while was ardently accepted by the dogma-haters; but righteousness is now almost everywhere in Religion made the end which dogma must loyally serve. It is a great triumph, the meaning and result of which we as yet but imperfectly grasp, but in the coming years we shall more and more reap the fruits of it in the finer character, the larger moral power, of those who profess and call themselves religious, and in the more ready allegiance to Religion, with her faith and worship, of all those who forsook her in the days when she was theologically stubborn and ecclesiastically insistent, rather than obsessed by a passion for righteousness.

Finally, it must needs be said that Reli-

gion has by no means thoroughly finished her work of discriminating between real and conventional righteousness. For the frame in which conduct is set still blinds us to the moral quality of that conduct.

There are no more misleading terms in use to-day than "criminal classes," "vicious classes." The "criminal class" means, to almost all of us, low, brutal ruffians who murder, steal, and burn whenever the safe opportunity is presented. The "vicious classes" are the social outcasts, stained black or red with dissipation, debauchery, and sensuality, and frankly refusing to do any work save as work is necessary to keep body and soul together. These, we say, are the moral pests of all society; these are the real menace to civilization and corporate righteousness. Their surroundings are repulsive, base, filthy; or tawdry and impure. Their haunts are under constant surveillance. We increase the police force on their account. We localize them, and then speak of the "bad quarters" of the town in which they congregate and to which they give a notorious character. Their very appearance is for-

bidding, their language coarse and brutal, their manner of life repulsive. Yes, truly, these are the "criminal and vicious classes" whom we justly dread, and on whom we pour our indignation. But Religion, before it shall thoroughly rehabilitate itself, must include in the criminal class that not inconsiderable number of respected, though not respectable, men who break law in gentlemanly fashion, who have grown richer far than any burglar, by methods not one whit more honest than the burglar's and tenfold more destructive to the security of society. There is no smallest room for doubt that thieving on a colossal scale has characterized all too many of our huge enterprises of the last twenty years. The courts now and then convict it, but for the most part it goes untouched. Too often it is like the clever work of the bank burglar who leaves no clue for his detection. But the fact of robbery remains. Success, with the concomitants of good breeding, good manners, generous alms, and pure life, has blinded Religion to the moral fact that breach of law lies at the door of many of our "best citizens," as we like to call them.

There are too many corporations wrecked outright, or rendered profitless, by men who are not included in the "criminal classes," who have, on the contrary, waxed fat and who shine, for us ever to believe that Religion has done all she ought in discriminating between real and conventional righteousness, between real and conventional wrong. The contrast between the usual surroundings of crime and this fine and refined condition in which dishonest success, and the powerlessness of law, permit our well-bred, gentlemanly criminal to live, has befogged our moral vision. The beauty of the frame has made us forget the ugliness of the picture. But there are signs in our moral sky that the expansion of Religion in the direction of ethical clairvoyance will not always tolerate this confusion. Unrighteousness will be spied out and denounced even when its appearance is so respectable that it seems by right to deserve respect. We shall no longer define the criminal class as the ruffians and common thieves who infest society in brutal fashion; we shall include in it any man who has broken laws, however safe he be

from the penalties of the law which he has broken.

And so of the vicious class. Religion will ask, if indeed it is not asking now, whence comes the material support of this dreadful vice which festers in all our great towns. And it will not hesitate to track it back to the doors of those gentlemanly people whose evil desires, regulated by a devilish calculation of what it is safe or dangerous for the man of good repute to do, lead them from the quiet, respectable quarters of the town, or from well behaved villages, into the haunts of vice, at which they pharisaically shudder when safely back again in their homes. There will surely come a day of reckoning between the so-called vicious classes and those who, preserving their respectability, have helped to support vice, and it is odds on which side shall lie the weight of blame. But meanwhile Religion, expanding more and more to the moral exigencies of a complex and artificial society, will grow bold and firm in its determination to characterize with ethical exactness, and to treat with un-pitying and equal sternness, the wickedness

which is dull and ugly, or clever and refined. The frame fools no artist as to the artistic value of the picture. The dexterously arranged lights of the auctioneer mislead only untrained and conceited purchasers. It may be hard for me to class the drunkenness of the ragged sot with the tipsiness of the fine-mannered gentleman, the lowness which is brutal with the vileness that sparkles. Indeed, without Religion, uttering itself as righteousness, it may be impossible for me to see that each is but a manifestation of a wickedness which is only too ready to don rags, or purple and fine linen. But that only goes to prove how necessary Religion is, and how necessary, too, that its standard of righteousness should be such as inerrantly to discriminate between the conventional and the real. "All unrighteousness is sin," runs the old Hebraic phrase. Centuries old, we have not yet learned its truth; but we are learning it. Out of the perpetual tendency of Religion — markedly vigorous at the end of the century, as I have tried to-night to set forth — to translate itself into conduct, is to come that inerrant, quick perception of intrinsic right-

eousness which shall deliver us from the moral blunders which we excuse on the ground of love of the beautiful, the clever, the refined. Yes! out of Religion. For what but Religion is nurturing men in righteousness and love? What but Religion speaks uncompromisingly of our need of godliness? The new claim which she is making upon the loyalty of all men is pre-eminently one which appeals to them on the score of what she is doing for the life that now is, — never mind, for to-night, that which is to come. If she is holding men back from wickedness, if she is reclaiming criminals and sinners, setting their feet once more in honest ways, then she is increasing the world's material prosperity and saving its money for noblest uses. If she is insisting that the laws of health ought to be obeyed, or warning us of the inevitable physical consequences of evil living, then she is improving the quality of the public health. If she is preaching industry in her manual schools and inculcating thrift in her postal savings, then she is doing something to destroy the conditions under which the costly idle and the

expensive improvident come to be. Every man whom she saves, in that large meaning of salvation we have used thus far in our lectures, is an addition to the commonweal, the commonwealth. The expansion of Religion is in very truth the hope of the future. Our security lies not in our wealth, our knowledge, our government, or our society. The public safety—safety for goods, for persons, for laws, for rights, for privileges—lies in the moral quality of the people produced by the Religion that holds up for the people's reverence a moral as truly as a loving God. There is no other place under heaven in which to bestow it and have it sure. Righteousness is peace, and it is peace because it is the work of God in man.

IV.

RELIGION AND INDUSTRIALISM.

WITHIN the last quarter of a century, to speak in the rough, there have grown up a class of problems and a series of movements which are rather loosely included under the name of Industrialism. These problems are made up of questions touching wages, hours of work, conditions of labor, and distribution. The movements are almost entirely towards some sort of association, first for the protection of certain advantages already secured, and, second, for the purpose of acquiring more of these advantages. I do not mean to assert that these problems and movements are characteristic of the last half of our century alone. In variant form they have always haunted civilization, disturbed it, affected it, and critically changed it. But the agitations in respect of labor, previous to our day, have been concerned with particular

crafts. The organizations which resulted from those agitations were essentially local and selfish. The trades guilds were designed to be protective of the interests of a single industry. They seem to have included, but incidentally and for the purpose of increasing their attractiveness, a good many provisions for social pleasure and religious worship. They grew in strength, finally acquired political power, and developed the guild merchant, who was the capitalist of that elder day. But the idea of a federation of all guilds, in order to protect all labor of every kind, cannot be discovered in the history of those organizations which are frequently cited as the ancient types of the labor unions of the modern world. The reason is not obscure. The conception of the interdependence of every form of industrial labor had not then been wrought out. The crafts appear to have been, economically and socially, independent of one another. Craft was caste, and caste has never concerned itself with any questions save those which touch its own safety. Craft as caste can be cruel, unjust, grasping, sordid; and

the craft-guilds not infrequently built up their power and wealth at the expense of general labor, or of other crafts. It is unprofitable, therefore, to go back to the history of mediæval guilds for light upon the industrial conditions which confront us to-day; for what preëminently characterizes labor unions now is their clear perception and strong conviction that the interests of all labor, whatever be its special form, are one. It is the present solidarity of labor which, more than any other, or all other, contemporary conditions, has created what is called Industrialism. And what brought the fact of solidarity into view is first, the rise of great industrial enterprises which transformed the producers of a finished article into producers of a single, and frequently slight, part of a completed article. The fact that the failure of one shift to turn out in sufficient quantity, or with sufficient rapidity, the part it was set to produce, threw out another shift, dependent upon the first for prepared material, disclosed how intimately all the workers in a huge establishment are related to, and dependent upon, one

another. Take the construction of a great modern building. It implies, for its progressive, economical erection, the simultaneous, or the coöperating, labor of stone masons, stone cutters, draymen, miners, smelters, iron-workers, house-smiths, carpenters, carvers, plasterers, painters, plumbers, electricians, gas-fitters, and, above all, transportation. Each craft is dependent upon all the others. Disturbance in any one of them means disturbance of the whole; and when skilled labor is scarce, or the organization of the particular craft disturbed is perfect, there is paralysis of the whole. A bid for a big contract is not only a nice calculation of the amount and cost of materials, of the amount and kind of labor, and of the special engineering or other difficulties likely to arise; it is also a plan of campaign, mapping out strategically how to meet successfully the surprises and checks which may at any moment rise out of organized labor to confront the contractor. But this is an illustration of the interdependence of labor in modern times, drawn from a single enterprise. We need only extend it, until

it embraces the industries of the whole country, adequately to understand the colossal proportions of this new figure which has risen up in sturdy strength among the movements of the end of the century.

Moreover, we must count in the consolidation of the world's markets. The provincialism of trade and industry has expanded into the cosmopolitanism of industrial and commercial activity. Fall River competes not alone with Lowell, Lawrence, and the new-born textile establishments of the South, but with every loom running anywhere in the civilized world. Massachusetts carpets are displayed by the side of genuine Oriental tapestries in the shops of the whole country, and the wages of the Persian workman, toiling in his solitary hut in the dim, far-off East, touch the wages of the weavers of New England. Any sort of production anywhere affects every sort of production everywhere. The industrial world is now one huge workshop, and all its parts are interdependent.

Again, this feature of work is comparatively new. It is the result of the new

forces discovered in the last century, for the most part, but applied in this. The great industrial centres and the methods of regular and rapid transportation are all of recent origin. They came into existence long before their economical significance was clearly foreseen, much less provided for. They have disturbed all the traditional economics, complicated all the venerable theories, and displaced many of the old methods. The nature and extent of the disturbance in industrial relations are far less momentous than we had reason to expect. The radical changes wrought by a score of new forces are out of all proportion to the economic difficulties thus far experienced. The number of strikes, the amount of violence, and the losses entailed during the last twenty-five years, however deplorable, do not for a moment compare with what might have been predicted by some prophet who, a hundred years ago, "had dipped into the future far as human eye could see," and had beheld the vision of all the industrial and commercial changes which are now before our eyes. We have gotten off thus

far very easy, so easy, in fact, that there are still multitudes of people who refuse to believe that Industrialism presents any specially critical problems for civilization to solve. These people, it may be urged, are the blind, the dreamers, the idlers, and the hopelessly selfish. But they exist in force, and meanwhile Industrialism is filling our ears with its angry and defiant, or its sad and hopeless cries, and equally filling with reasonable alarm those who know how real are the problems this age is set to solve, how sure it is they will not settle themselves. The importance conceded to them is not too great, nor is the hard, patient, heroic study given them a costlier service than they deserve. So much real distress, so much blind revolt, so frightfully huge losses, and so much bitter conflict must mean — together with much wise, effective, and sagacious organization — the existence in the midst of us of a deep-seated trouble. In other words, we must reckon with Industrialism.

Now labor — using that word for the sake of convenience, and asserting at the outset that it is totally unsatisfactory, be-

ing largely misdescriptive — urges against civilization that it is unjust in these three respects: first, it metes out to labor an insufficient wage; second, compels too long hours; and third, insists upon an inequitable distribution of the products of labor. I beg you to notice that this charge brought against civilization differs from the concrete charges urged against individuals or corporations that employ labor. It implicitly declares that low wages, long hours, and an inequitable distribution of what labor produces, are the result only incidentally of the injustice of Mr. A. or corporation B. They are the outcome of a condition which civilization has created deliberately or unconsciously, and which civilization is unwilling to change. The average workingman and the average capitalist, as well, regard themselves as hopelessly at the mercy of forces which they vaguely call civilization or society. The workingman denounces society as unjust, cruel, sordid; claims that until she is thoroughly reformed, radically readjusted, there is no hope that labor will have its “rights.” And, on the other

hand, capital cries, "What can I do other than what I am doing? I did not create the law of supply and demand. I did not inaugurate competition. Society, not I, is responsible for them. I found them ready to my hand and I employed them, because there was nothing else to employ." Each, at any rate, disclaims any share in creating or perpetuating the conditions which labor pronounces to be unjust. This accounts for two distinguishing features of the situation: first, the inability of Industrialism to prosecute its claims and obtain its "rights;" and, second, the inability of our political economists to bring civilization to a real account. Civilization cannot be brought into court. Society cannot be subpœnaed. That is to say, civilization cannot be unjust, only a person or a corporation can be unjust, and civilization is neither a person nor a corporation. Society cannot be cruel, only a person or an association can be so. Justice and injustice, cruelty and kindness are qualities of civilized and social individuals.¹ However convenient,

¹ The Reverend William Kirkus, LL. B.

therefore, it may be to charge civilization or society with wrong, it really means nothing, save as we regard civilization as an aggregate of civilized persons, who have *concerted* to do an unjust thing. If this aggregate of individuals has made a compact to do and to perpetuate a wrong, that compact must somehow be put in evidence; otherwise the wrong is either no wrong at all, or is the expression of a maleficent, but undetermined, result of an aggregation of individuals. No one for a moment doubts that the result of the existence of a great city is hardship for thousands of people, but no one will claim that great towns are formed for the purpose of subjecting any of their inhabitants to hardship. For the history of municipal legislation and administration is the story of unflagging attempts to reduce and remove hardships. Savagery has its disadvantages, but the reason savage people never accuse their savagery of responsibility for those disadvantages is that there are no contrasting advantages to bring the disadvantages into disrepute. In a civilized state, on the contrary, there are pro-

duced abundantly striking and precious benefits in which all generally, but unequally, share. "How big is too big? How small is too small?" have ever been the questions civilized beings have always asked, as their respective shares were sharply contrasted. Why a palace, why a hovel? Why unceasing toil, why unlimited leisure? But, as the tenure of the hovel stands or falls with the tenure of the palace, as the laborer's holiday is but a bit broken from the idler's life-long leisure, the easiest way of expressing discontent with social arrangements, and disbelief in their essential justice, has ever been to call civilization unjust and society cruel. Once more, I say, civilized human beings can be, and are, unjust, and their aggregated injustice be the dreadful thing it is claimed it is; but civilization itself can do neither right nor wrong. We shall return to this further on in our lecture, but meanwhile it ought to be clear that to hold civilization responsible for low wages, long hours, and inequitable distribution of labor's produce, is as idle as to hold the sunlight responsible for bad

pictures, or bronze guilty of the æsthetic crimes which so frequently stare us in the face in public squares.

Remembering this perhaps commonplace truth, let us examine the charges Industrialism urges against civilization. *Its wages are too low.* If by this is meant that wages are less than wage earners would like them to be, lower than is necessary to secure certain desirable, or at least desired, conditions and possessions, lower than is consistent with the cost of what is frequently, not always, necessary for the repair of exhausted force, we are all agreed. If any one asks me how I should like to work for one dollar per day, of course I must reply, I should not like it at all if I can get two or ten, any more than I should like ten if I could get a thousand; nor should I like to earn less than would secure me certain comfortable conditions, good and enough food, good and enough clothing, sanitary housing, and the like. But after easily answering these easy questions, every one of us knows that the real question is this: how much can the fund, out of which all wages are paid, devote to

the compensation of labor without exhausting itself, without failing to receive the increase necessary to preserve it as a fund from which wages can be paid? That, of course, is a purely economical question, which only political economy can answer, if, indeed, there is ever to be an answer to it. Into its determination enter a score of complex considerations, the currency, the tariff, the state of trade, the quantity of labor—regarded for one moment as a commodity—the quantity of labor available, the quantity of capital seeking employment, the cost of living, the amount of the product, and the cost of producing, distributing, and selling it. Before civilization can say how much wages *should* be paid, science must first show us how much *can* be paid, without fatal injury to the industry itself. That wages fluctuate, that the nominal wage is sometimes greater than the real wage, and sometimes less; that wages are at times so high as to cause capital to stop paying them altogether, that on the other hand they fall so low as to make idleness as profitable as labor, since the idle man eats less than the

toiler; that for one year capital enjoys profit and for another pays losses — all this is now so familiar that one is tempted to apologize for rehearsing it. But it is worth rehearsing for the sake of making clear this truth: that civilization, as such, is absolutely powerless to raise and equally powerless to lower the wages of any man. That act is performed by another aggregate of forces. The engineer who drives the fast express from New York to Springfield, a distance of one hundred and thirty-five miles, in three hours and a half, receives fifteen dollars for the trip.¹ The operative in Fall River, by working fifty-two hours per week, receives thirteen dollars. Now suppose civilization had a voice, what ought civilization say to this apparently gross inequality, not to say injustice? Civilization would be under the necessity of ascertaining with exactness a score of facts difficult to obtain, and still more difficult to interpret in their bearing upon the point involved. That is to say, she would be obliged to accept the con-

¹ So, at least, I was informed in 1891, by apparently good authority.

clusions of political economy, which has undertaken to collect, arrange, and interpret all the economical data which alone can determine whether the engineer is overpaid, the operative underpaid. Imagine the result, if that bit of civilization represented here to-night should undertake to decide the question by a show of hands. The folly of it would be unspeakable. But what guarantee is there that our folly would become wisdom if we multiply our numbers here by a million, or by ten? If, however, it is urged that civilization should promptly accept the precisely stated conclusions of political economy, and straightway come to the relief of the wage earners, we are sadly obliged to confess that there are no such conclusions; that is to say, conclusions touching the regulation of wages by legislation. Every attempt thus far made in that direction has resulted in demonstrated failure. The legal rate in the long run has been the market rate; and legislation by representatives of the people is the nearest approach to action by civilization conceivable. Indirectly, legislation can improve wages. It can provide for

methods and times of payment, secure their protection from attachment, constitute them privileged debts, and make suit for their recovery an easy and inexpensive process; but that is all. Political economy has to-day no accepted theory of regulating wages by arbitrary enactment. It is obliged to admit that the law of supply and demand, no matter how much that law can be modified by special and local conditions, is still the only law according to which the business of the world can be conducted. Hence, to charge civilization with injustice in the matter of wage rates is irrational. The labor-unions, all forms of association for the protection of industrial interest, have had, and in the future are bound more and more to have, a powerful influence in securing better wages, but only because "combinations can make better bargains than individuals." The unions are the consolidation of labor just as machinery is the consolidation of individual skill, and they are destined to produce ultimately, when perfected, a permanent and beneficent effect upon the condition of wage earners. But the point I wish to

make and keep clear is this: that labor unionism itself is an industrial factor to be treated like other factors, such as the currency, the tariff, and the cost of living.

Secondly, it is charged that civilization decrees long hours to wage earners. It is obvious that "long," applied to hours, is altogether indefinite. Eighty years ago, men worked ninety, and in some instances and countries, one hundred hours, a week. To-day, the average number of hours for adults is fifty-three, if we exclude a small number of special trades. Here, then, is a very considerable reduction of hours of labor, so considerable that to designate the hours of eighty years ago and those of to-day as "long" is misleading. The workmen and the political economists have recognized this inconsistency, and have therefore agitated for a fixed number of working hours. First, for a ten-hour law, then a nine-hour law, next a nine-hour law with Saturday half holiday, and finally for an eight-hour law. Beyond eight hours no one has thus far proposed to go. Eight seems to be tacitly accepted as a limit. But as Mr. Cox and Mr. Webb, who are its

vigorous and able champions, take pains to admit, "there is nothing sacred about the figure eight, and any other unit would do as well for the rough purposes of political agitation. Largely from historical and sentimental considerations, eight has forced itself to the front as symbolizing the popular demand for a shortened working day." Of the physiological and social advantages of reduced hours of toil, we shall speak further on. The primary question is what would be the economical effect of shorter hours on wages, on production, its cost and its amount, and finally on profit. The history of the economical results of the reduction of hours already secured, while it does not show an unvarying result to wages, production, and profit, conclusively proves that the dire prophecies of the manufacturers, and many of the economists, failed of fulfillment. Wages have not decreased, except during a short period following immediately the operation of the ten-hour and nine-hour laws in Great Britain. Production has increased in amount and at no greater cost, although unchanged cost has been affected by causes other than

that of reduced hours. Profits have decreased, in a few instances have disappeared. On the whole, however, the economical results of shorter working days during the last fifty years have vindicated the economical wisdom of the reduction. Shareholders and capitalists have reconciled themselves to diminished profits, if not with grace, at least with equanimity. The question of to-day is simply this: whether, under general industrial conditions, another reduction of hours can be made with safety to any dividends or profits at all, and with safety to wages. It is once more a problem in economics. That problem is still unsolved. There is no agreement among the economists, no agreement among manufacturers, nor among workingmen. The old arguments fail. That a man can do, and will do, as much work in nine hours as he did in twelve may be true; that he can do as much in ten hours as he did in eleven *is* true. That his work will be more carefully done, with less damage to material and fewer defects in the manufactured fabric or article is true. But manifestly there is a point in

reduction of hours beyond which it cannot, economically, be carried with safety to all the interests involved. Whether eight hours is that point, we have at present no means of knowing, and prophecy, when one reflects upon the multitudinous and complex elements involved, is not rational. When, then, civilization or society is accused of guilt in imposing long hours upon labor, it ought to be clear, as it was in the case of wages, that civilization is powerless to inaugurate a change. Goodness and love, mercy and compassion, are simply incapable of overriding the stern laws which decree what shall, and shall not, be the length of a day's toil. If the matter could be decided by a show of hands, very likely the eight-hour law would be enacted, if the owners of the hands were willing to decide the question solely on the basis of what they would like. Whether or not eight hours are sufficient for the continuance of a healthy industrialism has not been determined, however many individuals may think it has; and until it is determined, and determined with enough of demonstration to win the rational assent

of those whose interests are immediately concerned, both employers and employees, it is not sane to charge civilization with injustice; and, for reasons which will be given further on, when it is demonstrated that eight hours of work meets all the requirements of society, economically, society will not only yield, she will initiate.

In the third place, Industrialism charges civilization with the responsibility of maintaining an inequitable distribution of labor's produce. But it ought first to be ascertained how much of all that is produced by the only three producers known to political economy — land, capital, and labor — is directly due to labor. Suppose we imagine the total production of the United States to be heaped up on one of our western prairies in the shape of commodities. It would be a vast and complex pile. Every article known to the arts and sciences would be there. Foods, clothing, drugs, implements, machinery, furniture, books, pictures, architects' drawings. To produce them there had to be land, capital, and labor. Each of these three is unproductive without the other, in an industrial

sense. Each is clamoring for the largest share of this heap of commodities. Rent, interest, and wages, put in their respective claims. Now rent, now interest, and now wages, seems the rightful claimant to the lion's share; and each in turn has been the successful claimant, each in turn the rejected claimant, though in the long run land or rent has beaten capital, or interest has beaten labor, or wages. Occasionally there has been a fight, or scramble, as the three have gathered round the heap of commodities produced by their joint effort, eager for its division among them; but no fight thus far has substantially altered the proportionate division which from time immemorial has been made.¹ The share of each has been increased in this century, but only because the heap is bigger than it used to be, for the nation's productivity has enormously increased. But Industrialism is not content with an actual larger share, it demands a larger proportionate share. The laboring man to-day is fed, clothed, and sheltered, in a manner of which

¹ Whence I borrowed this illustration I cannot now ascertain. I am confident, however, that it is not my own.

the toilers of a hundred years ago never dreamed. He has opportunities of recreation, self-culture, and self-assertion, some of which were open to a very limited number in the last century, many of which were open to nobody. None the less, round that supposed heap of commodities are gathered the producers of it, each strenuous to maintain his claim to the biggest share, each resting his claim on his biggest contribution in its production. Labor, however, has recently made the claim that *it* produced the whole of it; and, if it could substantiate that claim, it would get the whole of it; but labor has not convinced land and capital that its contention is true. Indeed, the indications are that capital, or, as Mr. Mallock calls it, "ability," has been the chief force in the enormous production of modern times. But, at any rate, it ought to be clear that whether or not the present proportion of distribution is equitable or inequitable, the question is not to be determined by anything save the working of economic law. First comes the question, Can land give more of what is produced to capital and labor? next, Can capital give

more to land and labor? and finally, Can labor give more to land and capital? Until these questions are determined, it is idle to discuss whether each will give, or is morally bound to give, or can be made to give, more than each is giving now. Can one afford to relinquish from its respective share a substantial portion for the relief or enrichment of the others and still maintain its ability to go on doing its part as a producer? For it is absolutely essential — and here anybody may be dogmatic — that each one of the three producing forces shall be maintained in its efficiency as a producer. Labor's interest in the economical welfare of capital is as real as capital's in that of labor. An injury to one has always turned out to be an injury to the other. If every part of a machine is essential to the operation of every other, the efficiency of any one part is dependent upon the efficiency of all the rest. The integrity of each of our three producers is economically imperative. It is clear, therefore, that the determination of labor's claim, like that of land and capital, is to be effected by the economic operation of

economic law. There is no escape from such a conclusion; for if any one of the proposed schemes of coöperation shall be adopted, its success will be wholly dependent upon the working of the three world-old forces in strict accordance with the laws which govern them. The farmer owns his land, supplies his necessary capital out of his surplus — never mind now whence he derived it — and does his own work unaided. His produce is a hundred bushels of wheat. He takes as his own every one of those bushels, but he takes them as landowner, capitalist, and laborer, — all in one. If he cared to keep books and credit himself as landowner, capitalist, and laborer, with the respective shares due to each, he would be in a fair way to appreciate the mysteries of our industrial problems. The great practical truth which is slowly emerging from the history Industrialism is making, and from the studies of our political economists, seems to be this: that the action of none of the three producers should ever be hampered or checked in such a way as to diminish their productive efficacy, either by interfering with

their freedom, or by so diminishing their rewards as to diminish the vigor which they themselves exert; but that, on the contrary, each should have its freedom and rewards jealously maintained and guarded, and the conditions most favorable to its exercise most scrupulously secured. "By such means, and by such means alone, is there any possibility of the national wealth being increased, or even preserved from disastrous and rapid diminution."

This examination of the threefold indictment of civilization has thus far been conducted on economic lines. But you will have noticed that no prophecy has been uttered, and no economic solution of the problems involved has been so much as suggested. It appeared to me necessary to state in simple and, I hope, lucid fashion, the irrational character of that indictment as it is commonly framed. I wished completely to separate the work of political economy from the task of Religion, in order the more clearly to set forth the powerful influence which Religion, expanded to the new needs of the new day, is destined to exert in determining the solution of the

problems of Industrialism. It is the confusion of the offices of each which has brought political economy into contempt and Religion into distrust, not seldom into disrepute. Political economy will never be a Religion, Religion will never be political economy, but an identity of purpose as regards a part of man's salvation — that salvation which means having all that is best in a man at its best — will ever make them friends and allies. They are the brain and heart of the coming civilization. The one must point the way, the other must persuade us to take it, even if taking it involves sacrifices and concessions.

It is significant that Religion has at last roused itself to a consciousness that it has a duty towards Industrialism. The venerable tradition that Religion had no vital relation to Industrialism, that its function was wholly that of an alms-gatherer and alms-distributor, caring for the consequences of a disturbed Industrialism — poverty, disease, and misery — has been completely shattered. It lingers only in quarters where men are too timid to face, or too blind to see, the thoroughly altered

conditions of our later day. Yet even in these quarters, men are vaguely aware that the perpetuation of old traditions are flagrantly failing to satisfy the demands made upon them by the imperious and outspoken champions of the new order. They are not skeptical as to the truth they hold, the aims they pursue, but they are dimly conscious that their truth is not all the truth, their aims are not sufficiently inclusive. But enterprising Religion — the Religion which is obsessed by the larger conception of salvation — is thoroughly alive to the fact that it has a duty towards every form of human movement, and has already begun to provide itself with the knowledge and the spirit which the fulfillment of that duty inexorably requires. To such an extent has this been done that *organized* Religion has now and then been betrayed into uttering a warning to those of its representatives who have forged a little ahead of their more conservative, not to say more intelligent brethren. The incident of Doctor McGlynn, complicated though it was with purely personal accidents, is a case in point. His suspension and his reinstatement

ment are significant. Frequently the complaint is uttered that the clergy no longer preach the Gospel of Christ, but the doctrines of political economy. Our Divinity Schools have made provision for sociological training, and some of them have elevated social economics to the rank of scriptural exegesis and ecclesiastical history. The institutional Church, of which we hear so much and are destined to hear more, finds a place for the study of all those industrial questions which touch the real life of man. Religion is thoroughly awake to something more visibly pressing than original sin and baptismal regeneration. There are not wanting clergymen who openly champion, in the name of Religion, some of the most radical of industrial measures. An increasingly large amount of the spiritual vitality of our churches is every year disengaged from the technically religious enterprises of organized Religion and attached to enterprises which are not religious in name at all, but promise to mitigate the industrial and social burdens. Many of the best missionaries the churches have ever trained and sent forth are found

to-day, not in Africa and China, nor in Arizona and Nevada, but in the organizations which directly seek to secure to our toilers more of the concrete blessings which their toil has largely produced, organizations whose field of operation is the great cities and the centres of industrial activity. It is hard to exaggerate the profound interest which Religion is disclosing in every movement which promises to make this earth fairer and the conditions of life sweeter to the members of that vast industrial world which, by its rapid organization of itself, is every year more in evidence. It is a signal proof of that statement which I made in my first lecture, that Religion, so far from being in a state of decay, is all alive with a divine purpose to make itself felt on fields from which it was once withheld or rejected. There can no longer be room for doubt that whatever may have been the interest or the attitude of Religion in the past, she is to-day in the forefront of the ranks of radicals, revolutionists, visionaries, and doctrinaires, as regards a deep and permanent interest in industrial problems.

And yet Religion was never so blamed as to-day for withholding her influence and her effort from the cause of the working-man. The labor unions would very likely deny everything which I have claimed for religious interest in industrial conditions. They do deny it. They are denying it with bitter vehemence, and thorough sincerity. The radicals deny it, and urge, as a reason for deserting the churches, that Religion is on the side of privilege, and that they prefer to work for the salvation of man in this world to working for his salvation in a world to come. This apparent contradiction of our primary assertion must be explained.

In the first place, Religion is identified with ecclesiasticism, and the behavior of the churches is naturally charged to Religion. It must have been noted, however, that in these lectures Religion has been treated as essentially distinct from the churches. The churches exist for the purpose of uttering Religion in social life. This distinction is fundamental, and however illicit it may appear, is radical and real. Now, "disbelief in Religion is for

the most part intellectual, while disbelief in the churches is social or moral, or emotional. The one comes to a man through education, the other through the experiences of life. Disbelief in Religion may go hand in hand with conformity to a Church: disbelief in the churches involves the refusal to be identified with Religion as they present it, or to join in their profession and worship. The two unbeliefs are generically unlike. The one is that of the man whose mind has outgrown the faith of a world with whose social order he is satisfied and wishes to maintain: the other that of the man who is dissatisfied with the social order in which he finds himself, and so comes to doubt the ideas or facts invoked as its sanction and basis." But the churches have always lagged a little behind the free religious spirit. They have the conservative caution of organization, and are tempted to send out scouts to reconnoitre and experiment, before throwing the great bulk of the unwieldy organization upon one side or the other of a pressing present question. Moreover, the churches are probably right. They

avoid costly blunders, and even ludicrous mistakes, by their slow conservatism. Only the very impatient or the very prophetic will blame them for deliberated delays. But, at any rate, the organized churches are, as organizations, frequently in the rear of the frank championship of new causes. Consequently, whoever identifies Religion and ecclesiasticism will upbraid Religion for her tardy allegiance to the cause of the workingman. But Religion, which only imperfectly utters itself through the churches, is always in the forefront of the battle waged against injustice and wrong. And it must be so, for Religion cherishes the profound belief that man and God belong absolutely to one another; that man, because of that belonging, was meant to be perfect; and that he cannot be perfect — be *saved*, that is — so long as he is the victim of injustice and wrong. It takes possession of individuals and through them gets on the side of right and justice, when the churches, out of which they come and by which they are nurtured, lag sadly in the rear. The moment Religion is differentiated from the churches which it cre-

ated as organs of utterance of itself, half the charge that Religion is on the side of privilege and the present social order falls to the ground.

In the second place, Religion is denounced as hostile to industrial conditions because it does not commit itself to all the plans of relief which Industrialism or political economy have proposed. The significance of the long statement of the purely economic character of industrial problems, with which we started out, becomes apparent. How can Religion champion plans which have not received the sanction of political economy? It is not her function, she has not the requisite knowledge. It might turn out that the very scheme which she is blamed for not championing would, in concrete operation, injure the very cause she is most anxious to serve. Is, for example, the proved history of the effect of legislation touching wages so economically promising that Religion would be certain to inflict no injury upon industrial interests if she should throw all her weight in favor of further and radical legislation? Is it economically so sure that

eight hours a day would be a real boon to the workingman, so sure that it would not only result in the maintenance of his nominal wages but of his real as well, that Religion is justified in rising up to demand of law-makers the enactment of the law which fixes eight hours as the maximum length of a day's toil? Is it so demonstrably certain that a serious alteration of the proportion of the world's production now given labor could be inaugurated with perfect safety to that interdependent play of all the forces of production upon which the material welfare of the people solidly rests, that Religion may dare to commit herself to its championship? One needs not to be a political economist to perceive the possible folly of these industrial changes; and the truest and wisest friends of workingmen would be the first to hesitate radically to alter our present economic arrangements with no more knowledge of the consequences of such an alteration than is possessed to-day by any set or school of economic theorists. Each of the schemes of Industrialism may sometime prove the highest economic wisdom; no

one of them is beyond reasonable doubt to-day. But it is the unwillingness of Religion to identify herself with *industrial programmes* which explains the charge so frequently urged against Religion that she is against Industrialism itself. It is the business of Religion to side boldly and vigorously with the wronged, the oppressed, — there can be no doubt of that; but, first of all, it is necessary to ascertain by methods more trustworthy than vehement pity and pitiable vehemence who are the wronged and oppressed, and where lies the cause of the wrong and oppression. And that was never easy, save in those instances where the wrong was so indubitably visible and so unerringly located that righting it has followed hard upon detecting it.

Discriminating between Religion and ecclesiasticism, between sympathy with Industrialism and adherence to industrial programmes, we shall have no room for a doubt that Religion's interest in labor's complaint is keen and enterprising. Nor ought we to doubt that her influence is powerful when we attend to the real busi-

ness of Religion in its relation to Industrialism, which we now proceed to do.

We have already seen how real is the distinction between the functions of Religion and political economy, but those functions will never be exercised fruitfully for the welfare of mankind save as they work together, mutually influencing one another at every step. It is the business of Religion to create an atmosphere of love and trust in which the rightful claims of antagonized, but not antagonistic, interests may be calmly and dispassionately presented; an atmosphere of justice and righteousness, in the pure sunlight of which the richest advantage looks poor and mean beside the slightest injustice which secures it; an atmosphere of brotherhood in which the selfish powers of might shall hesitate and falter and fail to do any deed which crushes out of a brother's life that ideal of salvation — having all that is best in a man at its best — which it is the duty of man to evoke and nurture and refine in every man born on this earth. For it is, first of all, a condition of dislike and hard suspicion which makes the settlement

of industrial disturbances so difficult to effect. No strike has ever been caused by the purely economical question of wages, hours, or distribution alone; that is an element, powerful and capital; but into every strike there enter, as almost equally powerful elements, the angry or sad dislike of the workman, the hard, suspicious dread of the employer. It is these which defeat all attempts to resolve the differences in debate, these which destroy the possibility even of the compromise which is better than war when no principle of morality is surrendered, these which breed the conscienceless and stupid pride which finally accepts ruin, misery, and social disaster, rather than accept anything less than unconditional capitulation. Long after it is clear that an increase of wages is economically safe for the employer, or a return at the old rates is economically best for the workman, the angry, defiant contestants prolong the costly struggle, when nothing divides them save the passion which, unlike the economical element, is absolutely within their personal control. It is becoming as clear as a proposition in

geometry, that no industrial problem into which the personality of man enters as an element will ever be satisfactorily or peacefully solved, unless there is love enough to create the patience, forbearance, consideration, and conciliation necessary to hear and understand the truth, and to create the conviction that a difference of opinion touching an industrial disturbance is consistent with an honest determination to extricate from tangled meshes the truth which shall make all clear. Political economy, which for years has depreciated Religion, is now prompt to own her incomparable influence in fields whereon she was once regarded as an impotent intruder. The Bishop of Durham brought to a happy end the great miners' strike; but he did not do it as a bishop (in spite of his ecclesiastical office, perhaps), nor did he do it because he was the superior, in economic knowledge, of all those who had tried their hand at a settlement and had failed; he did it, could do it, because he brought to the task so much of genial love, of willingness to believe in the integrity of motive on the part of employers and

employed, that he could melt out of them their bitter anger and their stubborn pride and so make a way over which the shining feet of peace could walk in safety. That was Religion, the influence, not of a great Church dignitary, but of a man full of the love of Christ, and therefore able to teach his brothers the lesson of love and trust. What a Giffen or a Marshall or a Rogers could not do was done by one who would humbly sit at their feet as masters of the science of economics; and he did it by the power of Christian love. That achievement of Religion outranks any most definitive championship of any of the especial propositions which labor has laid down as essential to the material welfare of workmen. The scornful rejection by the parties in interest of the good offices of Religion in creating a kindly spirit, as impotent good nature, is irrational. Lubrication is not power, nor is it machinery, but without it the machine is motionless or tears itself in pieces. "Love one another," which is the social watchword of Religion, is worth as much to Industrialism as the announcement and verification of

its most precious economical truth. And it is the profound and passionate conviction of this truth, it is the hope which has been created by what it has already achieved, that arms Religion to-day with the invincible belief that she has a ministry of healing to Industrialism which nothing else can give. That belief keeps her patient and unresentful when she is bitterly denounced by labor for not coming bodily and boldly over to its programme — silent and undiscouraged when radicals in her own ranks upbraid her for timidity and cowardice. Industrialism has faith in the justice of its cause, hope in its final triumph. Religion is begging it to add the charity, which, though it suffereth long, is kind, thinketh no evil, and can rejoice in the truth even when the truth declares itself to be something other than was hoped or believed. Political economy will deserve Carlyle's fretful characterization of it as "the dismal science" until it thoroughly accepts love as the sole medium through which to speak. But more than love is needed. Love can degenerate into an easy good nature, which, like the tender

mercies of the wicked, is cruel. Religion must also create an atmosphere of justice and righteousness in which the richest advantage will look poor and mean beside the slightest injustice which secured it. The idea that justice and righteousness are entities, that they can be handled, distributed, and dealt in like commodities, finds support nowhere in Religion, morals, or government. Justice and righteousness are known to us only as they appear in the person of a just and righteous God and of just and righteous men. The appeal to justice is not to an abstraction, but to a person. If the cry of oppressed men for justice does not enter into the ears of a just God or of just men, it is as if it had never been uttered. Now "Religion is the power which makes and keeps men just, because it believes in a just God. The character of the God believed in determines the character which men are to achieve. This explains why the progress, the forward movement of the world, has been worked by good persons — persons made just by their religious beliefs; notice that I do not say ecclesiastical alle-

giances." Therefore Religion, instead of giving herself wholly or even mainly to the task of establishing justice by enactment, has thrown herself into the work of making men just. In the world of Industrialism, more just and righteous men are needed, in order that justice and righteousness may have their way in settling the incessant disputes and differences which seem inseparable from the working of a vast and complex machinery of production. They are necessary, because not infrequently arrangements and agreements, which were believed by both parties to them would work exact justice, unexpectedly turn out to be flagrantly unjust, harsh, or burdensome to one of them. In such a situation there is no redress, short of costly violence and equally costly rupture, save as a high sense of justice lives in the breasts of all—employers or employed. The sight of the employer, imperiled by his agreement, is as dreadful in the eyes of employees who love justice and righteousness, as is the sight of starving employees in the eyes of the employer who would rather be right than be rich. Religion

has expanded to the recognition of this truth, and holds it with the firm tenacity with which organized Religion keeps its fundamental creeds. This energized devotion to the task of leading men up to the idea of a just and righteous God, and, through that idea, to personal obedience to Him, is the preëminent characteristic of Religion to-day. Men full of the passion for justice are always men to whom the action which promises to enrich them by its injustice is abhorrent. No considerations of economical rectitude ever silence the voice of moral rectitude when men are determined that their material gain shall not be the measure of their moral loss. And so Religion, awakened to her splendid chance, expanded to take that chance, is resolutely, confidently, vigorously pleading for the prime necessity of just and righteous men as one of the essential conditions of industrial peace and prosperity. And Religion is right. The irreligious and the radicals may despise her for what the one calls her powerlessness, may taunt her with what the other calls her cowardly timidity. No matter. Her head at last is

clear, her heart warm, and she is doing to-day a far nobler and truer work than when of old she literally baptized nations in a day. Not only shall the just live by their faith in justice, they shall also impart life to all who are on the lookout for justice.

In the third place, Religion is creating an atmosphere of brotherhood in which the selfish powers of might hesitate, falter, and fail to do any deed which crushes out of a brother's life that ideal of salvation, having all that is best in a man at its best, which it is the duty of all of us to evoke, nurture, and refine. The tendency of naked political economy is to produce separations among men by subtly teaching them to look at one another as impersonal parts of a huge machine. The employer is perpetually tempted to look upon his employees as he does upon his looms, — impersonal producers of so many commodities. The loom and its attendant can turn out so many yards of textiles per day. The improvement of the loom, and the improvement in manual skill of the man who tends it, are so indissolubly bound up together in the employer's mind that he

can as easily think of the man as a machine as to think of him as a living soul. That is the snare into which all too many of our employers fall. How much can the workman produce? is the first and last question, and the man is lost in the productive intricacies of the machine. The workman, on the other hand, is equally tempted to regard his employer as no more than a bank on which he draws. "How much can I make him pay?" is his first and last question, and the man is hidden beneath his ability to honor the drafts labor makes upon him. There can be no brotherhood between a machine and a depository; brotherhood exists between persons, and the more acute the consciousness of personality, and the more sensitive the response of man to man, the stronger will be the sense of brotherhood, and the more vital the feeling of responsibility for the welfare of each. The prevalence of the pragmatic spirit, this loss of the man in the maze of the machinery which he guides, has cost Industrialism dear. It has hardened the heart of many a manufacturing Pharaoh to say, "The people are idle,

therefore they complain!" and has caused workingmen to turn against some modern Moses, who has led them into the wilderness of concession and conciliation, that he might bring them into the promised land of industrial freedom and social chances. It has produced the deep-seated, irrational, destructive feeling that there is not, nor can be, a sameness of interests, a sameness of purposes and ideals. And this feeling has negated many a demonstration of the economic fact that labor, land, and capital stand or fall together finally. But Religion, which has been working recently along the lines of the new anthropology — that anthropology of which we spoke in our second lecture — is insisting upon the necessity of brotherly union in the interest of the commonweal. "That is no true success," she confidently asserts, "which is content with the achievement of a material product." Man is worth more than anything he makes; and if the making of anything means the deterioration of the man who makes it, it were better for civilization that it had never been made. A really reli-

gious employer — that is, one who believes in salvation as we have defined it — will not be content to see his wealth increase if the human beings who coöperate with him to create it are, by the conditions of their toil, deprived of every chance to develop and discipline themselves into something other than cogs on the great wheel of Industrialism. He will not only see that an improvement of men is an improvement of product; he will also see that every man, who is lifted out of the hopelessness of *servitude* into the hopefulness of *work*, is a distinct addition to the causes which are to fashion human society into a true City of God, and that every man who is changed from a “hand” into a person, with all the chances of personality guarded, is a fresh contribution to the stability, order, and happiness of the world. He will in practice conform to his belief that he and his workmen are brothers, owing one another duties of generosity, kindness, care, and not simply the bare, hard duty of justice. The curse which has long rested upon Industrialism is the curse of unsympathetic, unintelligent, and

unnatural relations between all the parties who create Industrialism. Those relations are unsympathetic, because neither employer nor employed has cared for each other's ideals of life, but only for each other's ability to produce some material commodity; unintelligent, because each has failed to see that the higher the ideal of life, the loftier will be the sense of responsibility for each other's permanent and symmetrical welfare; and unnatural, because the whole history of mankind is witness to a struggle to fit men to dwell with one another in a society which shall furnish all with chances, and protect all in their rights to those chances. To lift that curse, to teach the world the preciousness of life, and so to lead men to set life above anything which living men produce, promptly to put herself upon the side of any movement, agency, enterprise, which is demonstrably enriching life or demonstrably promises to do so, is the task Religion in these last days has set herself to perform. And her evident purpose never to rest until her task is finished, her growing willingness to see value in every enter-

prise which aims to lift life out of the mire of wickedness, misery, stupidity, clumsiness, ignorance, or mistake, is the evidence of her large expansion.

It is this characteristic of Religion which discloses her nearness to the as yet incomplete federation of labor. The trades unions began in unconscious selfishness. They sought to gain and retain certain advantages for themselves alone, not seldom securing their ends at a heavy cost to workmen outside their crafts. They were bent on compassing very limited results. But long ago their narrow vision widened till it embraced every toiler in any department of industry. The federation of labor means the consolidation of all the interests, and all the powers and resources, of those who toil, for the purpose of safeguarding their rights. It is a noble dream, for the realization of which no lover of men will fail to hope, for it is only another form of the working of the spirit of Him who came that men "might have life and have it more abundantly," however incompletely the membership of the unions to be federated have conceived the nature of

that life to be. The essential selfishness of the unions is to be, nay, is fast being, destroyed by the unselfishness of federation. And when federation is completed, when all the rights of all the toilers have been safeguarded to the farther verge of organization's ability to protect, when the cries for justice are hushed in the full possession of power, then shall surely come the acute consciousness that man for his salvation needs something more than to possess his rights: he needs to be guided, lifted, chastened by a Divine Power; needs something, nay, some one, to breed in him self-respect, self-control, reverence, compassion, purity, and love, without which all his material gains will count for naught. It is the certainty that this truth will finally be grasped by Industrialism, which is leading Religion to watch eagerly for any signs that, here and there, the labor unions are catching glimpses of it. The contention of later labor utterances that not simply higher wages and a larger share of production for the laborer is wanted, but a better chance to develop and discipline and refine himself, and that

higher wages and shorter hours are merely the *conditions* of that development, marks an advance over the earlier demands. It means a faint but true suspicion that what the man becomes is more important than what he possesses, and that what he possesses is important at all only as it ministers to quality of life. That is the working of Religion, imperfect, feeble, imperceptible to the ecclesiastical mind that cannot see over its wall of historic tradition, but still Religion, because it is a tendency towards man's salvation. If they did but know it, the aims of Industrialism and of organized Religion are every year approaching identity, however divergent be their methods. And the more Religion expands to embrace every human interest, the more its sympathies reach generously and warmly out to every struggle man is making to free himself from the machine-quality industrial relations tend to fasten on him ; and, on the other hand, the more Industrialism opens to receive the full rounded doctrine of the nature of man,— a being capable of spiritual and social and intellectual development,— the nearer will

be their approach to one another, and the more feasible their complete union. The federation of labor is imperfect Religion, just as a good deal of our ecclesiasticism is imperfect Religion. Their concurrent and symmetrical expansion will be the beginning of their happy and fruitful unity; their unity the pledge and prophecy of their union. Labor unionists are beginning to perceive this truth. One or two of their wisest leaders have already more than hinted that until the labor unions have added the religious element, success will delay its coming; and the services which Religion, in the persons of its noblest sons, has already rendered Industrialism, justifies this intimation.

I should like to close my lecture by briefly pointing to one unhappy feature of modern Industrialism in regard to which I am unaware that any special notice has been taken. With the rise of our great manufacturing establishments, there has been an enormous increase in the employment of women as toilers by the side of men. Our factories of various sorts are crowded with them, from the age of six-

teen upwards. Their superior deftness, not to say conscientiousness, has proved them, in certain branches of productive enterprise, the equal of men; perhaps, economically, their superiors, if we take into account their lower wages. Dating from the Civil War, women have invaded more and more those places which theretofore had been traditionally reserved to men, until to-day there is scarcely an occupation, outside of those in which crude physical strength is an essential, which does not count women in the ranks of its workers. That this innovation has brought women a larger freedom, and a more self-respecting independence, cannot be doubted, nor that it has increased the amount of production and wealth. Moreover, the economical disturbance which it was prophesied would ensue has failed to occur. We have reconciled ourselves to it socially, commercially, economically. Unchivalrous man is willing, after all, that woman should do his work. But it cannot be long before we shall have to pay the cost of it; and that cost will be an enfeebled feminine physique, disclosing itself in neu-

rotic diseases, in hypersensitiveness, and in functional disturbances of many and alarming varieties. The deterioration of the stock, to use an objectionable phrase, is eventually inevitable, even if its shadows have not already fallen upon the coming generations. For the holy office of maternity, the present position of woman in Industrialism, the tasks laid upon her, the hours and conditions of toil, are the worst preparation conceivable. One need be neither a biologist nor a physician to foresee what the effect upon posterity must be of an arrangement which permits, or compels, so large a proportion of the women of the nation to do work for which they are fitted neither by physique nor temperament, nor by their intended destiny as the possible childbearers of the world, to perform. All the economic advantages of the present system shrivel into nothingness in comparison with the fundamental damage done to woman by her unnatural struggle to secure those advantages. Her competition with man in several departments of industry is injurious to her and to man alike. Not to speak

of the waning power of that chivalry which is of inestimable value in giving tone to the social and domestic relations of the sexes, there is a serious blow given the sacred institution of marriage, and, by consequence, to the family. Anything which lowers the general estimate of marriage and the family is a distinct social wrong. Not yet — but in a future less remote than the public unconsciousness of the evil wrought by the modern place of woman in Industrialism would lead one to expect — we shall set ourselves radically to reform the culpably careless arrangement which has increased our wealth, but has correspondingly decreased reverence for marriage, by lessening its social necessity, and has weakened many of the bonds which bind the family together and preserve it as the most powerfully beneficent social force in civilization. If it was Religion, the Religion of Jesus, which originally lifted woman from a condition of ignoble servitude, and too often something worse, and set her in the respect, the chastened affection, and the chivalrous reverence of the world, it may turn out that Religion,

seeking to have all that is best in a human being at its best, is to be the power that shall once more bring her back to a more intelligent, rational, and natural position in the economy of civilization.

V.

RELIGION AND SOCIALISM.

RAPHAEL ABEN EZRA dwells upon the bad temper Hypatia betrayed if he ventured to ask her, when making her appeals to universal experience, how she proved that the combined folly of all fools results in wisdom. It is some form of that question which occurs to all of us when we are presented with any plan to place in the custody and under the direction of all men what, when under the direction and in the custody of individuals, fails to produce the results we all desire. We probably should all turn monarchists if we could find the king who knew as much as all of us and a little more, and was as good as the best of us and a little better. But though the world has been on the lookout for this sort of king, and has known Arthur the Good and Peter the Great, Arthur's goodness has not been enough

without Peter's greatness, nor Peter's greatness without Arthur's goodness, to reconcile humanity to the idea that royalty is divine. It will be divine when the Divine King appears and has His divinity of goodness and greatness recognized; not till then. On the other hand, we should all be converted to thorough-going democracy — to which at present we are not converted — if the *demos* acting as *demos* made fewer mistakes and achieved more wisdom than history assures us is true. It is one of the great commonplaces of history that the failure of the noblest speculative theories and the most wisely elaborated programmes for the improvement of human society have been wrecked upon the rocks of human selfishness in one or many of the forms of wrongness which selfishness perennially assumes. Until this century, nearly all the ideal societies which philosophers and poets have described as realized in actual circumstances, have been judiciously located upon islands; and Mr. Richard Whiting's rediscovery of Pitcairn's Island, as set forth in his too little noticed book, is a skillful

employment of the old device, to make a speculative theory work well by exhibiting it in the framework of a distant and unknown — or at least unnoticed — civilization, in which Individualism could be represented as acting as it should. Between the ideal beauty of the perfect society and the iron facts of existing Individualism, there has been from the beginning of civilization an uninterrupted warfare, with varying fortunes to either of the combatants. The ground lost by the one to the other in one century is recovered in the next. Monarchical supremacy in one age yields to democracy in the next. It looks like a perpetual seesaw, this alternating battle between Society, pictured as it should be, and Individualism as it is; and the only pleasant feature of it is the unfailing hope which shines through it that in a future, as certain as the past, such an adjustment of Society and Individualism shall be evolved as will cause Society to do only justice and Individualism to perform all its duties. For Society recognizes that it must reckon with Individualism, and Individualism perceives that Society is prac-

tically itself. They so fundamentally belong to and are so necessary to each other, that any proposition to extirpate either has failure written upon its face. That, I think, is the truest characterization that can be made of the present agitation for a radical reorganization of all Society. Socialism, as defined by the extreme left, will never be incorporated into living government, not because its arguments will fail to convince us of its abstract justice or beneficence, but because it must perpetually meet the "wild living intellect" of the individual. And pure Individualism can never become the working law of Society because it must meet the solid resistance of instinctive organization. This statement is fundamental in all I shall have to say in to-night's lecture; and in the attempt to state the relation of Religion to Socialism, I shall be guided by the elementary truth *that Religion can be on the side, exclusively, of neither Socialism nor Individualism*, because from the beginning Religion has taught Socialism, while, at the same time, insisting upon Individualism, and because it is this fea-

ture of it which makes it *Religion*, and not political philosophy nor political economy. Jesus may have been the first and the great socialist, but He was also the great individualist. He had a doctrine of Society and a doctrine of the individual; and these two doctrines, running down through Christian civilization, have survived in undiminished vitality unto this day. An exposition of these will make clear this eternal relation to both Socialism and Individualism — especially to Socialism, which for nearly half a century, though its voice has been heard all round the world for not more than a score of years, has been exploiting a social revolution beside which the change from the ancient world to feudalism, and again from feudalism to the existing order of free contract, are insignificant.

It will be helpful to point out how strenuously Religion insists upon the separateness of the individual. It is its nature to do so, for Religion is primarily a matter between God and a personal soul. So long as men regard themselves as related to humanity, as the lump of coal to the

vein from which it is mined, not as the soldier to his comrade and to the captain whom both obey, there is no chance of their appreciating the part each man plays in the evolution of the race. To believe that one is no more than a helpless fragment of the nation, or of the class to which one belongs, is to stifle every generous ambition, and to dull, if not destroy, the sense of personal responsibility for not only character but for influence upon the forces which are working in mankind. And so Religion cries to each of us, "Realize your own separateness, stand up for your character as an individual, recognize your own power of self-determination, resent and reject that conception of the individual which represents him simply as a cog on the great wheel of humanity turned helplessly by an unknown power; and develop and cling to that conception of yourself which gives you the power to elect, select, choose, and reject." One of the finest of Hebraic phrases is, "Come and let us reason together, saith the Lord;" for it is the splendid representation of Deity entering into rational con-

verse with a rational, self-determining being. Christianity is preëminently, characteristically, eager for the growth and vigor of the idea of Individualism realized in a virile, personal will. It bids man be candid about his individual attitudes towards everything which can conceivably touch with shaping hands any legitimate human interest, to be "either cold or hot," never "lukewarm." It charges him to retain possession of his mind and conscience, even when ecclesiasticism would have him give them away. It exhorts him to look clean through every institutional arrangement to which he consents, or by which he is coerced, and to behold the immediate relation which he sustains to God and truth and justice. "The soul that sinneth, *it*," and not some other soul, "shall die;" the soul that obeyeth and loveth truth and justice, *it*, and not some other soul, shall live. All through the history of vigorous Religion runs the strong thread of the Individualism which is the assertion of the total separateness of every being born into this world. Without this individual consciousness, there is no strong,

clear sense of personal responsibility, and men will throw upon society, upon class, upon a general set of conditions, upon ancestry, ill health or good health, upon inherited tendencies — upon anything — the guilt of acts whose consequences are only evil. Where no *person* is responsible for personal character nor for social conditions, there is no responsibility, and men rage against civilization as the impersonal, yet real, creator of the evils which weigh them down. The bad cry out, "We are delivered to do all these abominations;" the good moan and lament their birth into a world of hopeless misery, hopeless sin. The complete absence of Individualism is fatalism, and fate may be lodged anywhere, in secondary causes, or in a single self-originating cause, named, described, explained, as each of us may take a fancy, — but always fate, the power which shapes us to its will, irrespective of anything we do. Half of being "born again," in the phrase of Jesus, is the recovery of the consciousness of separate self-hood. That recovery is the beginning of a true moral education, which, again, is a rationalized and

refined form of what science has called "the struggle for existence" in the world of organic life. The instinct of self-preservation and self-assertion, which works as thoroughly in a baby as in a philosopher, is altogether unconscious, and placidly exists concurrently with the conviction that we are the passive instruments of another's power. But the interpretation of the instinct of self-preservation as the prophecy of conscious personality, as the rudimentary form of what, by reflection, may and ought to become the power of self-determination, is the work of Religion, because it insists that each of us was meant to live in a relation of conscious dependence upon God. That *is* Religion, for the religious man is he whose conception of God is such that it reacts immediately upon his total personality. This is preëminently true of Christianity. Its doctrine of the Incarnation is summed up in the statement that Christ sought to bring man to God through the sublime illustration of an intensely individual human life in complete union with God. Jesus is always exhibiting the necessity of this con-

sciousness and fact of individual separate-ness. "I lay down my life of myself, no man taketh it from me. I have power to lay it down, and power to take it again. What shall a man give in exchange for his soul?" that is, himself realized as a self-determining personality! "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" Christianity has been truest to itself when it has courageously and consistently stood upon this fact. It has been visibly at the height of its power when it has laid the emphasis of its teaching upon the duty which one owes himself as a distinct and separate personality and upon this duty as a natural and inalienable fact. "Our being, with its faculties, mind and body, is a fact not admitting of question, all things being of necessity referred to it, not it to other things. If I may not assume that I exist, and in a particular way — that is, with a particular mental constitution — I have nothing to speculate about, and had better leave speculation alone. Such as I am, it is my all; this is my essential standpoint and must be taken for granted; otherwise

thought is but an idle amusement not worth the trouble. There is no medium between using my faculties as I have them and flinging myself upon the external world, according to the random impulse of the moment, as spray upon the surface of the waves, and simply forgetting that I am. I am what I am, or I am nothing. If I do not use myself, I have no other self to use. My only business is to ascertain what I am in order to put it to use. It is enough for the value and authority of any function which I possess to pronounce that it is natural." This clear, firm, conscious conviction of self-separateness or personality is the door through which all responsibility passes. Anything which threatens to weaken or destroy it is fundamentally false. I am, of course, well aware how differently speculative philosophy has interpreted this fact, how variously its origin and limits have been defined, but all our great speculative thinkers — if one who is not a scholar may venture to speak of them — are agreed that personality is not only a fact, but the only fact which is capital in the spiritual life of

man on the human side. Religion is both on the side of Individualism as a fact inalienable from humanity, and on the side of whatever develops and refines its operation. Through it man comes into his intended relation to God and into his intended relation to Society. I have insisted upon this natural fact, as reinforced and revitalized by Religion, because it has an indestructible relation to any form of Socialism which has been, or ever can be, proposed, because it lays bare one of the primary foundation stones upon which the structure of Society can alone solidly rest; and because, finally, its exaggerations and distortions are not to be made a warrant for denying its value or its necessity. Our first proposition, therefore, is that Religion is on the side of whatever emphasizes the self-separateness of the individual. The importance of this proposition will appear further on.

In the second place, Religion is on the side of organization by the great stress it lays upon the duty of loyalty to superiority, and upon the duty of protection to inferiority. These two duties are rooted in

the stubborn fact of the native inequalities of men. If we were all born equal, there would be no need of loyalty to superiority, no need of protection to inferiority. But as we all know, the differences among men are so wide as respects a dozen powers, that the moment the most rudimentary society emerges, it is largely a reflection of the effect of these differences; and the question which tormented the earliest, torments the latest Society: "What shall be the attitude of the less favored to the most favored, and what shall be the position of native superiority to native inferiority?" The first of these questions is as important as the second in affecting the well-being of that total Society which is necessarily made up of unequally gifted human beings. The progress of the world has been attained largely through competent leadership, intelligently and loyally followed. When we say that the history of civilization is the history of its greatest men, we are only half right; but we are half right. The great man, with the power of leadership, is the coronation of the widely diffused intelligence, virtue, and struggle of the na-

tion. He takes up into himself the lesser leaderships, and the great total body of hopes and activities to which each individual contributes, and gives them direction and force. His greatness, his power to secure beneficent results — liberty, chances, justice, rights, possession, knowledge — is inexorably dependent upon the intelligent and continuous support of those to whom these results are a boon. His contribution of ability is always prodigious, — prescience, wisdom, courage, skill — but there must be a bulk of ability of the same sort, though of inferior degree, resident in the people upon which his superior ability plays. In war the strategist, engineer, commander; in politics the statesman; in industrial arts the inventor and the user of the invention the inventor invents; in Religion the thinker, the saint; these are the leaders by whose leadership obediently followed the blessings of victory, government, increased production, and spiritual truth descend upon Society. “He that receiveth the righteous man *in the name of a righteous man* shall receive a righteous man’s reward.” That is the voice of

Religion urging the necessity of loyalty to proved superiority, not unintelligently nor with any slightest diminution of the consciousness of separate self-hood, but rather with the loyalty that perceives in the act of obedience the exercise of individual reason and wisdom. Now it is clear that this loyalty, to be thoroughly effective, must in some way be the exercise of an association which, while binding men together, unites them as independent persons, not as passive instruments. It is Religion which furnishes the type of such association, because, dimly in its lowest forms and distinctly in its highest, it asserts the duty of obedience to God. It sometimes calls Him the Supreme Being, and sometimes Father, but always it requires that every man shall intelligently yield his personal will to that of God, yet ever retain the consciousness of distinct personality. In all Religions, but of course preëminently in the highest, the well-being of man is represented as hanging upon his obedience to his Creator, individual perfection ever issuing from the personal union of man with God. The *leadership* of God, not the *omnipotence* of

God, is the true idea of the relation of man and his Creator. But once men perceived that by putting themselves under leadership, and not simply by resting passive under power, they were in the way of life, their endeavor became energetic to organize their loyalty, and to add to *individual* obedience *corporate* obedience. This is the genesis of the Church, which is ideally a brotherhood, that total brotherhood exhibiting, as an organization, the corporate loyalty which lives in the individual, and receiving, as an organization, the corporate blessings which descend upon the individual. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," is addressed to the individual, and the spiritual value of such a love is forever certified to the individual. But to this is added, "and thy neighbor as thyself;" immediately the social duty of man appears, not as rooted in something diverse from that in which duty to one's self finds its sanction, but as growing out of obedience to God. Part of that social duty, and the part we have in hand just now, is that which is owed by inferiority to superiority. To the man who can lead me, guide me,

inform me, teach me the path of safety and welfare, I owe loyalty because it is my duty to make the most of myself, and I can make the most of myself only as I am loyal to him. But more than this, I can help my neighbor, my brother, my fellow-man, to make the most of himself only as I consent to be led by superiority. Even if I am willing to forego the advantages to myself of such loyalty, I have no right by disloyalty to diminish like advantages to my brother. The moment obedience to competent leadership is demonstrated to be fruitful in valuable result, obedience becomes a duty. Individualism is for the sake of the highest order of association, and the highest order of association thus far known, is, in part, the result of an intelligent subordination of the individual to proved superiority. The "divine right of kings" and the "omnipotence of Parliament" are the historical distortions of this fundamental truth of Religion and organized Society. Tyrannies of every sort — oppressions, hereditary rights, intrenched injustices, a whole multitude of wrongs — are the irrational exaggerations of this

elemental truth. But, for all that, it is as evident now as it has always been in the history of civilization that this truth is essential — I will not say to any sort of progress — but to progress of the noblest order. Religion without loyalty to God is unthinkable. Progress without loyalty to superiority is impossible. The two ideas are so indissolubly bound together that vigorous Religion and continuous progress have always gone together in human history. Religion dies before progress decays in the national life.

But the duty of protection to inferiority is equally fundamental. Leadership is under bonds to furnish its followers with all the blessings leadership can secure. Now, the effect of leadership is to bring out into visible, concrete conditions the natural inequality of human beings. It emphasizes the differences in physical strength, intellectual power, in daring ingenuity and enterprise, which are common everywhere. It reveals, as by some powerful alchemy, the inequalities into which we are born, sets them in circumstances which attract attention, creates measures of value, deter-

mines rank and reward, and originates contrasts which inevitably tend to become fixed and final. As a consequence, the leadership which begins with the noblest purposes to secure advantages to the whole social body is under subtle and fierce temptation to furnish by attaching to itself, for its own use and as its own possession, such a share of those advantages as it never dreamed of when power was put into its hands. It follows, therefore, that the duty of inferiority to be loyal to superiority is absolutely conditioned upon the duty of superiority to protect inferiority. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" is the formal sanction of leadership. "He that would be greatest among you, let him be your servant," is the noblest description of its function. Leadership for leadership's sake is tyranny and finally suicide. If it forgets its sole sanction, if it betrays its trust, the result is, first, a fixed inequality of chances for classes and individuals, ever producing contrasts of wealth and poverty, culture and ignorance, power and helplessness, which appal the mind and wring the heart; and, second, a revolutionary move-

ment which may blindly overturn Society at enormous loss to every interest concerned, and strive to build up another society just as maleficent, because founded upon the opposite principle of disobedience to superiority. The first of these results is bountifully illustrated in history. Leadership in some form false to itself, that is, recreant to the obligations it incurs by the very fact of being entrusted with power, is responsible for almost all the disasters which have overtaken the world since it had anything like an organized Society. Leadership has been the greatest curse and the greatest blessing the race has ever known, but the curse is the perversion of the blessing; and the only known force to persuade or to compel leadership to discharge its sacred trust is Religion, which consecrates leadership to the unceasing task of exercising itself to secure equality of chance to inequality of endowment. Religion forever broods over superiority, and urges, through the conscience, through compassion, justice and love, the indestructible claims of inferiority to the best protection superiority can afford.

These, then, are the elemental propositions of Religion touching the everlasting conflict between Individualism and Socialism. First, Religion is pledged, by its doctrine of the personal relation of every soul to God, to help on all those forces which are emphasizing and refining the sense of separate self-hood. Second, it is equally pledged, by its doctrine of human brotherhood, to further the exercise of every leadership which produces, or tends to produce, the welfare of the great total body of Society. These two propositions describe the means of the moral education of the individual and a bond of union for the race. They exhibit the necessity of preserving a balance in the working of the law of life, the law which provides for self-preservation and self-assertion, and for the intelligent subordination of these to the organization which we call Society. Such a statement runs the risk of being branded as a cowardly compromise by those who hotly demand the sanction of Religion for pure unrestricted Individualism on the one side, or for thoroughgoing Socialism upon the other. But these propositions are

simply the formulation of the law of all life in any of its developments. We find them powerfully at work in every Society of which record remains, and in undiminished vigor, though with varying fortunes, in the marvelous social changes which are developing under our eyes to-day. "The balance which sustains our solar system between the central force drawing all into one and the centrifugal velocity which represents at every point the tendency of each body to continue its own isolated course, is a symbol of the spiritual law of society formulated by Religion, but rooted in humanity itself."

I have dared to dwell so long upon these two propositions and their indissoluble relations because one or the other of them is likely to be obscured according as we accept or reject that scheme of social revolution now known in a vague way as Socialism. The attitude of Religion towards it ought to be determined by intelligent acceptance of the two propositions we have named. The individualist is wrong, as against Socialism, when he stands up for unrestricted free contract and com-

petition; the socialist is wrong, as against Individualism, when he champions the scheme that reduces the sense of independent personality and dulls the incentive to fullest self-development.

Before attempting to define Socialism, it is necessary to describe briefly the causes which have made it the formidable or hopeful, but always the important and interesting, movement of the end of the century. Apparently it is a modern growth or discovery, but really it dates back to the days when the military organization of society was slowly broken up and the process of political emancipation and enfranchisement was inaugurated. The French Revolution is the spectacular exhibition of how far this process had extended at the close of the last century in much of European society. It was an astounding revelation of the strength and extent of the forces which had been at work in the constitution of Society, a revelation which startled radicals and conservatives alike. It did not create those forces, it is doubtful if it appreciably strengthened them; but, as nothing had ever done before, it

displayed them, put them on record, and bade Society henceforth remember their existence. And since the French Revolution an almost uninterrupted process of extending powers and privileges to classes once excluded from them has characterized modern Society. Politically, no Society in Europe, not even Germany, is to-day more than a reminiscence of what it was at the beginning of the century. Every government has yielded something to democracy, regarded either as a theoretically sound abstraction, as in France, or as an institution which practically suits the purposes of Society, as in England and America.¹ The power of the people has increased since 1832 with every decade, and is increasing still. Political rights are so universal that, with no more worlds to conquer, female suffrage becomes rational, and all the rights and privileges which the people politically have acquired are subtractions from the possessions of the privileged classes. But the extension of political rights has been accompanied by an equally significant, though not equally

¹ *French Traits.* William G. Brownell.

great, admittance of the people to educational, industrial, and social opportunities. The number of highly, not to say academically, educated persons in Europe and America is estimated to be tenfold more to-day than fifty years ago in proportion to the population. Entrance to the universities and technical schools of a high grade is more costly, but more free; and the chance of education once open almost exclusively to the well-to-do or to young men who proposed to enter the sacred but not lucrative ministry, is now practically open to any one who is willing to undergo the self-denial which is and always will be involved. The public school system has been not only extended but lifted. Laws have been enacted in certain communities making attendance upon the schools compulsory. Equally significant is the history of industrial legislation. It is all, without a break, on the side of labor. It would be difficult — I have found it impossible — to name a single act of legislation frankly intended to regulate industrial relations which is not protective, or intended to be protective, of the rights and chances

of the workingman. All the demands of labor upon legislation have not been granted, but none of the requests of capital for relief has been incorporated into statute. Any advantage capital has secured has been by indirection. The encroachments of the people upon the privileges of the powerful classes by the peaceful methods of legislation in the last fifty years would, if exhibited in bulk, look enormous. Those of us whose interests are not directly affected, fail to appreciate the radical and wide extent of the changes in laws regulating the rights of employers on the one hand, and the duties of employed upon the other, which have been wrought throughout the whole industrial world; but those whose lives and fortunes are immediately touched are aware that the changes directly resulting from machinery and inventions are matched by changes in statutory regulation of the conditions under which that machinery shall be worked. And finally, the social improvement of the people has kept pace with their political, educational, and industrial betterment. The larger leisure, the op-

portunity for culture, the easy and safe depositing of savings, the plentifulness and cheapness of many articles of luxury, — all these have made their mark upon the general social condition. The unstayed tendency of modern Society is towards an equalization of chances, to an equal distribution of rights and privileges. But this tendency which has already wrought the social changes we have briefly enumerated, this tendency which is so distinct and powerful that it cannot be mistaken, has suggested the thought that by the operation of law, enacted by the State, there may be created an absolute equality of every human being as regards means, rights, opportunities, labor, and enjoyment. It is the historical fact of an unprecedented advance towards such an equality in the last one hundred years, *without* the aid of state action, except in isolated statutes, and not the speculative philosophy of Marx and his more recent disciples, which has made Socialism the hope and dread which it is to-day. The successful past has prophesied a still more successful future through the employment of an

agency, existing from the beginning of civilization, but never utilized. The utilization of the State to produce absolute equality of opportunity and means for every human being is the programme of real, thoroughgoing Socialism. I must not be criticised for giving a definition of Socialism which many socialists would repudiate, nor be accused of ignorance of the many varieties of Socialism which are vigorously urging their different programmes upon our consideration. The historical fact is that Socialism, as a principle of organization for the reconstruction of society, is comparatively simple. Complexity arises from the chaos of methods which different schools of socialists have agreed to adopt, and from an unconscious unwillingness to accept all the logical consequences of the characteristic and cardinal principles of true Socialism. And I shall not allow myself to be betrayed into attempting the endless task of elucidating the relations of Religion to any or all of the milder and less logical forms of Socialism, which bear to the real, the undiluted, article about the same significance that

the "domestic cat bears to the royal Bengal tiger." Socialism is in strict principle the proposal so to reorganize human Society by state enactment that there shall be an absolute statutory equality of opportunity and possession for every member of Society. That this definition is not unjust to Socialism is apparent by contrasting it with that of one of its foremost and frankest champions. "Socialism," he says, "denies individual private property, and affirms that Society, organized as the State, should own all wealth, direct all labor, and compel the equal distribution of all produce." That we understand; it is frank, lucid, self-consistent. "When Proudhon was brought before the French magistrate in 1848 and asked, 'What is Socialism?' he answered, 'Every aspiration towards the amelioration of Society.'" That is generous, but it is not frank nor lucid nor self-consistent. It is applicable to the great total body of human struggle from the beginning, and no more describes Socialism than it does the Salvation Army. Similarly Doctor Barry says, "Socialism, I take it, must mean the emphasizing and

cultivating to a predominant power all the socializing forces — all the forces, that is, which represent man's social nature and assert the sovereignty of human Society." Apart from the fatal effect of bringing into the body of the definition the very thing to be defined as part of the definition, the word means nothing at all as regards Socialism, because civilization from the beginning, and not simply in the last fifty years, has been struggling to cultivate all the forces which represent man's social nature. Social evolution, as distinguished from Socialism, began the moment two or more men, forced to live near to and depend upon one another, found it was not an easy matter, and set to work, unconsciously to be sure, to invent a *modus vivendi*. The history of civilization is the record of a blind or reasoned effort to establish Society by cultivating all the forces which represent man's social nature. Cain and Abel, the Israelites and the Canaanites, the Puritans and the Indians, were all involved in that effort, one as much as the other. Socialism, on the contrary, has just celebrated its sixtieth

birthday. So Doctor Westcott — whose ability is unquestioned, and of whose services in behalf of the English miners I have already spoken in a previous lecture — writes: “Socialism has been discredited by its connection with many extravagant and revolutionary schemes, but it is a term which needs to be claimed for nobler uses. It has no affinity with any forms of violence or confiscation, or class selfishness or financial arrangement. I shall therefore venture to employ it apart from its historical associations as describing a theory of life, and not only as a theory of economics. In this sense Socialism is the opposite of Individualism, and it is by contrast with Individualism that the true character of Socialism can be described. Individualism and Socialism correspond with opposite views of humanity. Individualism regards humanity as made up of disconnected or warring atoms. Socialism regards it as an organic whole, a vital unity formed by the combination of contributory members mutually interdependent. It follows that Socialism differs from Individualism both in method and aim.

The method of Socialism is coöperation, the method of Individualism is competition. The one regards man as working with man for a common end, the other regards man as working against man for private gain. The aim of Socialism is the fulfillment of service; the aim of Individualism is the attainment of some personal advantage, riches, or place, or fame. Socialism seeks such an organization of life as shall secure to every one the most complete development of his powers. Individualism seeks primarily the satisfaction of the particular wants of each one in the hope that the pursuit of private interest will, in the end, secure public welfare." This definition of Socialism is very beautiful, and if it were true would win our instant and cordial assent. But it is not Socialism — the historical fact — which Doctor Westcott eloquently champions; it is a conception of it which he himself has made, independent of hard, undeniable facts, in answer to a profound sympathy with those upon whom heaviest fall the evils of an exaggerated, unregulated Individualism. Without being aware of

it, he would extirpate the Individualism absolutely necessary to the creation of the sort of Socialism he so attractively describes. Socialism *does* have affinity with forms of confiscation and the most important conceivable financial arrangements. To say that a scheme which proposes to do away with final fee simple in land, and to distribute with exact equality the total produce of the world's energy, has no affinity with confiscation or financial arrangements is to turn both language and thought upside down and downside up. No. Socialism, frank, philosophical, historical, is none of these mild, pared-down, and worked-over theories; it is the straightforward doctrine, no private property, and state ownership, state management, and state distribution. It is well, now and then, to call things by their right names.

The two forms which Socialism assumes are Communism and Collectivism, the former being fast superseded by the latter. Isolated communistic associations have become familiar to us in America, with a history beautiful like that of Brook Farm, which was worth all it cost in money and

disappointment, since it gave us the immortal "Blithedale Romance," or hideous like that of Mormonism, or fantastic like that of the Shakers; but each of them has proved powerless as a social force, save as their members have turned away, cut themselves loose, from the very Society they longed to reconstruct. Communism is like those perfectly working models which utterly break down when realized in the massive engines they were fashioned to prove the practicableness of. The sequestered company, knit together by homogeneous beliefs and similarity of spirit, creating its own state, so to speak, is able to exhibit the graces of Communism; but the great, restless, heterogeneous mass of men, out in the world, long ago perceived that Socialism would never find in Communism the highway which leads to equality of opportunity and possession, and they have discredited it by abandoning it to those who timidly shrink from following socialistic principle to its ultimate conclusion. Communism is equality by voluntary consent, erected into fact by the free action of all contributors and consequent sharers;

but Collectivism is another thing. It means, not simply the abolition of private property by a free compact, as Communism preaches, but, by capturing the government, the imposition of itself by legislation upon the nation. The State is to own all material, all tools, all products, to own and direct all systems of transportation and communication; is to manage directly all financial, industrial, and agricultural enterprises; and to determine every economic question which may arise; guaranteeing to all citizens an equal share of all the benefits of every sort which may result. Collectivism rejects as final or logical, every attempt which, under the name of Socialism, seeks a readjustment of industry and administration by arbitration or private compact. This readjustment must be incorporated into national law, and must be enough thoroughgoing not to stop short of merging the State into an organized Commonwealth, absolute owner of everything there is to own. This Socialism has its philosophers, orators, writers, and agitators, and is animated by a deep, earnest, almost prophetic convic-

tion that the regeneration of the world hangs helplessly upon its universal adoption.

It is time to determine, if we can, what is, not what ought to be, the relation of Religion to Socialism as thus defined by itself. Religion, as we saw, stands for personality, for the assertion and refinement of self-separateness and for the duty of self-development. That is cardinal in Religion, because it seeks to bring the individual, as an individual, into relation with God, to elicit personal love, personal obedience, personal righteousness. It follows, therefore, that Religion is opposed to Socialism, if the effect of Socialism is to reduce what is most characteristically individual and to sacrifice it upon the altar of organization. But *is* that the effect? Manifestly, there is no answer to that question, because there is nowhere, and never has been outside of books, Socialism *realized*. Apparently the effect of Socialism upon the individual is an affair of pure prophecy, always an uncertain, and frequently an unheeded, voice. But those isolated illustrations of voluntary Communism, which

are, thus far, the only examples of concrete Socialism to which anything like a rational appeal can be made, seem to show what that effect would be. Brook Farm broke in pieces because the organization was not powerful enough to subjugate the personality of its members, or their individual vigor was too much for the organization. Its theoretical excellence preserved a semblance of success long after the impossibility of such an arrangement was as clear to its founders as were the waters of the brook which gave their farm its name. They foresaw the certainty of defeat in the splendid Individualism which, in another frame, was to lay literature and politics and philosophy under imperishable obligations. If it be urged that a communistic experiment, tried by men like Hawthorne, Ripley, Dana, and Dwight, was doomed to fail, it may in turn be asked whether the success of Socialism is dependent at all upon the exclusion of all strong, enterprising Individualism from the field of its operation — and Socialism would be the first to deny so dismal a condition. The pot was shattered by

the growing oak ; oaks always break pots ; always have, always will. On the other hand, those communistic communities which have survived illustrate " a monotonous, dull, unprogressive existence, the prosperity of peasants, with a peasant's hope, a peasant's aim." There is no great uplift for the individual. He sinks down to the level of the general mediocrity. Genius is dangerous or discredited, education is reduced to a strict utilitarianism. There is no art, no poetry, no outlook, no vision, and ambition is dead. A safe, unenterprising, material prosperity of low degree is all that the oldest and most successful of our communistic communities can show as the social result of their theory reduced to practice. It is depressing, repressing, the social influence of such a community upon the vigorous Individualism which produces leadership, heroism, invention, and illumination of life. There is no place for recreation, little for emotion, none at all for that illimitable hopefulness which is the source of almost everything that lifts life up out of the dullness which the constant attrition of

care, toil, sorrow, and loss everlastingly tends to create.

This criticism of Socialism is neither theoretical nor prophetic; it is strictly historical, and it shows that Socialism, so far as it destroys Individualism, is opposed by Religion. It fails to conserve the consciousness of self-separateness which is essential to salvation; as Religion conceives it—having all that is best in a man at its best. If, then, Religion is on the side of a regulated and refined Individualism, it cannot be on the side of that thoroughgoing Socialism which, under the form of Collectivism, proposes by legislation to reorganize society nationally upon the basis of absolute equality of opportunity and wealth. Notice I say “it *cannot* be.” *Organized* Religion may be on its side, may possibly champion it as the formulation of the aims it has all along been cherishing, but organized Religion has been on the wrong side too often in the history of mankind for us ever to regard its position as necessarily infallible. The severest test to which Socialism can be submitted is its ability to counteract success-

fully its powerful tendency to extirpate the spontaneity of personality. Tested on a small scale, as in the case of the Shakers, the Icarians of Iowa, the Rappists, the Oneida Community, and forgotten Florence, Socialism has dismally failed, and failed simply because either too strong personalities cracked and split it, or too weak personalities reduced it to a dull, dreary, repulsive, organized mediocrity. Religion is unwilling, nay, is unable, to give itself to Socialism, not at all because it does not acutely sympathize with its sincere and noble aim, but because Socialism fundamentally contradicts a cardinal principle of Religion—the principle of the self-separateness of man as essential to his complete development Godward and manward both. That contradiction is fatal. It is an impregnable argument against that thorough-going Socialism with which alone we are concerned. One need not so much as refer to the vulgar identification of Socialism with atheism and agnosticism, or even with the immoralities incident to the abolition of the family and a community of wives, in order to show how irreconcilable

Collectivism and Christianity are. For apart from the fact that unbelief and wickedness have no more to do with Socialism than with democracy or monarchism, and therefore will not be considered by the impartial student of its elemental principle, it is enough, and more than enough, to discredit Socialism in the eyes of real Religion that it would inevitably overturn one of the eternal foundations upon which Religion solidly, eternally rests. For as the disappearance of vigorous personality is necessary to the establishment and maintenance of Socialism, so the perpetual presence of personality is necessary to the vitality of Religion.

But this is not all. You will remember that we found Religion standing for the duty of loyalty to leadership and of protection to inferiority, and we now proceed to inquire how far Socialism squares with this elemental duty. I find in Socialism no place for leadership, but only for power, and power lodged in a vague organization. Society must be directed, but how can it be directed without a director? and how can there be a director when all oppor-

tunity for the rise of a director has been removed — rigidly, completely removed? Genius becomes an impudent intrusion, a dangerous quality, in a society which looks upon the first beginnings of superiority as hostile to that absolute equality of every human being as regards opportunity and wealth, upon which Society is to be securely based. Genius *is* inequality of opportunity, because it is competent of itself to open new paths of enterprise and to behold new visions of truth. But what must Socialism do? Either it must follow genius — that is, leadership — and so give to Individualism an irregular power, that is, an exceptional opportunity, which theoretically and practically would be the end of Socialism as a principle, or it must suppress genius, so closing up the path of development and causing the vision of new truth to vanish away. One or the other. But God has so ordered the deep instincts of humanity that they can be interpreted, regulated, and refined only through leadership; blessing follows obedience, safety issues from obedience; likewise enlightenment, inspiration, and the vision without

which "the people perish." Whatever view, theologically, men may take of the Incarnation, its marvelous power is best explained by the insistence of Jesus that His disciples should follow Him, should accept Him as the true interpretation of the nature of God and the destiny of man. The Divine leadership and the human obedience to it constitute the real history of Christianity, and remain the source of its power. It was not an arbitrary creation, a novel arrangement. It was the perfect exhibition of processes of human development as old as Society itself. It built itself up upon the inalienable, elemental qualities of human nature. It was God's great declaration that by and through obedience to leadership,—the leadership thoroughly, divinely competent, and the obedience thoroughly intelligent,—the salvation of humanity alone could be secured. The vigor and fruitfulness of Christianity spring not from councils, agreements, order, organizations of any sort whatever, but from loyalty to the leadership of Jesus. The divine method of the education and development of the race is

illustrated in the heart of Africa and in the heart of America, only in America the leadership is perfect (in the incomparable words of the Bible, "The Captain of our Salvation is perfect through suffering"), and the obedience is both more rational and implicit, because largely the inherited habit of centuries of Christian faith. But at any rate, the Incarnation, which is the supreme and central power of Christianity — increasingly so — testifies that salvation — having all that is best in a man at its best — comes through obedience to leadership. Socialism makes no provision for anything of the kind. Absolute equality of opportunity and wealth excludes it, rigorously, pitilessly excludes it, and so immense chances for development are unsuspected and unused. That is why I think Socialism can never be the basis of human Society. It contradicts a natural instinct which Religion has so marvelously developed and directed, that it is essential to the existence of any sort of human association that can be called Society. To deny the right of that instinct to utter itself, to shut it completely out from the play of all

other social forces and yet look for a Society in which all that is best in man is at its best, and all that is best in Society is at its best, is like trying to obtain a product in arithmetic with a single factor.

Again, Socialism makes no provision for the duty of protection which strength owes weakness. It is not foolish enough to claim that under its universal sway there shall be no weakness, no inferiority. It sees with clear eyes that men will continue to be born with flagrant inequalities of powers and gifts for fighting the battle of life. But it protests that when it shall have remade the world, there will be no battle of life, because weakness shall have as good a chance as strength. But weakness needs a better chance than strength, *needs it because it is weakness*, and what the Society that now exists is trying to do is to secure to weakness that better chance. Religion has developed compassion to the point of energetic, explicit demand that superiority shall stand aside that inferiority may secure the opportunity which, unaided, it is powerless to seize, yet pathetically needs. We find the modern

movement in Religion simply unintelligible unless we perceive its direction toward guarding the rights of those who formally have an equal chance with the strong, yet really are on grossly unequal terms. An adjustment can never protect the weak, an arrangement can never put men upon equality of footing, no legislation under heaven can make "chances equal by making them uniform," and uniformity is all that even Socialism dreams of establishing. Inflexible uniformity of chances, with no provision for protecting the inferiority bound to exist forever, is no better than inequality of chances with a perpetual insistence upon, and a growing provision for, the protection of the weak against the strong. Nay, it is not so good; for, with the expansion of Religion to perceive and meet the duties which arise out of the appalling contrasts of the modern world, and with the indubitable and really undoubted accumulations of compassionate justice in the heart of Society directed by economical wisdom, one by one—as fast as is, perhaps, good for us—the old injustices fall and the weak find protection and protec-

tors. If the goal toward which our social evolution is peacefully moving is ever reached, it will be found to be, not the Socialism whose programme I have tried to-night to be fair to, but something infinitely better, a Society in which Religion, enlarged for all its new and nobler duties, shall sacredly guard the rights, refine and regulate the exaggerations, of Individualism, provide competent leaderships for intelligent obediences, and exact from superiority a scrupulous and tender protection for every form of inferiority humanity betrays — a Society which shall exhibit throughout its complicated structure the perfect working of that social truth which St. Paul has finely phrased, “We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak.”

Doubtless the criticism has already been passed upon this lecture, “Why has it not discussed Socialism in terms of its own political economy? Why has it been silent upon the cardinal questions of private ownership of land, of private capital, of private production?” My answer must be that I am not a political economist; that

I confess my incompetence adequately to discuss the economic aspects of Socialism. A certain intellectual temper, unwilling to accept second-hand, and even third-hand, expositions of social economics, and unable to find, after prolonged and careful study of the literature of Socialism, any universally accepted, or at all demonstratively established, economic truths as the basis of Socialism, is inclined to test it by its conformity to those fundamental facts of humanity which have persisted in all the social constitutions that have ever been. Man himself is more than a match for his own political economy. In war it looks to-day as if man had contrived death-dealing engines so dreadful that soon no soldiers will be found to face them. And it may be that when men intelligently appreciate what Collectivism means to humanity, not merely economically, but spiritually, they will shrink back from it in reasonable alarm. For humanity by nature is individual, by nature loves leadership; by nature, when enlightened by Religion, is on the side of weakness.

I should be sorry to create the impres-

sion that Religion has no deep and tender sympathy with the social conditions which have given the programme of Socialism the interest it possesses for all thoughtful men. The havoc unregulated Individualism has caused, and is causing Society, is dreadful. It cannot long be tolerated. It is not tolerated. For all the changes in the direction of securing a more substantial and a more intelligent equality of chances for men of every occupation, which the last fifty years have wrought, are enormous. History, not contemporaneous observation only, is necessary to a just appreciation of the distance Society has traveled along the road which leads from oppression to freedom, from harsh condition to gentle condition. And the beneficent movement has not ceased; nor will, until strength has conceded all it can with safety to itself as one of the supporting pillars of the social organization. Religion is behind it and beneath it, — Religion expanded to meet the duties which are rooted in all of human life, individual and corporate. Religion is the inspiration of every proposition that looks towards human wel-

fare, and has the right to claim the credit of creating all the social forces which are working for the commonweal, though she may hold aloof from many of the forms through which those forces work. And, if I may venture to quote the book which has proved a wedge to cleave, as well as a bond to unite, let me set down these words of Mr. Kidd: "It is seen that the process of social development which has been taking place, and which is still in progress in our Western Civilization, is not the product of the intellect, but that the motive force behind it has its seat and origin in that fund of altruistic feeling with which our civilization is equipped, and that this altruistic development, and the deepening and softening of character which has accompanied it, are the direct and peculiar product of the religious system on which our civilization is founded." These are wise words. The expansion of Religion precedes and creates the altruism without which every plan to raise man in the social scale is doomed to irretrievable failure.

VI.

ORGANIZED RELIGION.

NOT long ago one of our most distinguished artists, after an unbroken abstinence of nearly thirty years, attended divine service at one of our large churches. So unusual an event could not fail to make a deep impression upon his mind, and what he had seen and felt became, in the evening, the subject of his familiar, unreserved conversation. He said that the feeling which was strongest, as he watched the reverent behavior of the multitude, voluntarily assembled, was that humanity must have some one to adore, some one lifted clean above all that we know of one another, and holding the secrets and destinies of life in his intelligent and loving keeping. Then, as he noted the ordered beauty of the service, he felt how imperishably necessary is some form of ritual as the vehicle of this instinctive adoration.

And finally, he said that to his thinking it must be true that the sermon (which very likely was no better than the average one heard from our pulpits), boldly addressed to the conscience, must inevitably help to make men ashamed of their sins, and to create a wish to live nobler lives, — that, indeed, it had that effect upon him. This is not common testimony. It is the expression of a thoroughly candid and unprejudiced opinion regarding Religion, uttering itself in worship and prophecy, by one who came to Religion with a freshness untouched by custom. That spectacle of Religion set in the frame of public worship was a surprise. It was a revelation of the fact that there is a great human instinct which is to-day, as truly as in any past age, interpreting prayer and praise, and ministry to the conscience, as a rational exercise of the human spirit.

The artist rests his case confidently upon the existence in man of a love of the beautiful. He seldom stops to ask whether this instinctive love of beauty is rational. He never questions its reality in himself or in his fellows; and his imagination,

penetrating into the mysteries of life and of the world, always seeing events, ideas, and things, as pictures, sets in the sensible form of beauty what his spiritual vision has beheld. His canvas, marble, song, or symphony, is organized beauty. It is the evidence of things not seen, the proof of their reality. It is the everlasting and impregnable demonstration of the living love of the invisible which is an inalienable ingredient of humanity. A cracked vase dug from Greek earth, untouched for two thousand years, is worth more than a bond of the Boston and Albany Railroad, but the actuary of the Mutual Life Insurance Company cannot tell us why. The cost of a Van Dyke would build a commodious asylum for the poor, but payment for the Van Dyke, while the asylum goes unbuilt, is wholly defensible. George Peabody, Cardinal Newman, and Corot, make an impression upon us different from that made by Watt, Stephenson, and Mr. Edison, but it is not less distinct or deep. Education, Religion and art, which have no visible foundations, are as real in humanity, as are force, locomotion, and communication in

the world. Education is the name given the process of imparting information and of disciplining the mind, the knowing and the knowing how to know. The school, the university, the library, are *education organized*. The schools use many faulty methods, the universities contain much dead wood, the libraries hundreds of books opaque or discredited. Yet library, university, and school stand justified by all their legitimate children. Art is both the report, and the creative process, of beauty. The schools and museums and galleries are *art organized*. The art-schools suffer from the hard tyranny of precedent and convention, extolled and exalted by the practitioners of technique, frequently smoothing down a vigorous originality to the correctness of a harmless mediocrity. The museums gather by purchase sometimes, by gift many times, the work of men's *hands*, but not the caught visions of their imaginations. The big galleries easily bear this burden of inartistic possession because of their splendid wealth in solid beauty of color and form; the little ones are frequently crushed by it. But both school

and museum, spite of their flagrant defects, have won recognition from both artists and people. They reinforce and refine the general love of beauty, they awaken and direct the artist's slumbering soul, and they reveal the wonders of a new heaven and a new earth in which dwelleth beauty. Their imperfectness is recognized, their failure to produce all the results which their institution and the cost of their maintenance lead us to hope, is admitted; and yet, if art is to be something more than a vague sentiment, uttering itself in happy-go-lucky performances, and vainly struggling to express contemporary ideas, these schools of training, and these museums which exhibit the creations of the past, must be maintained. Let us grant that the art schools are frequently their own enemies, that the museums are treasuring, among the noblest works of the human imagination, the whimsical products of an unregulated fancy, none the less they are the powerful influences and instruments of that art-instinct which occupies the total body of the people. Without them, no one knows, and there is no knowing, whither our æsthetic

taste would drift, to what depths it would sink. They are to be valued for their purpose, and for their finest achievements, even at the moment when we are most acutely dissatisfied or unsatisfied with their work in specific direction. Our artists and lovers of beauty would be guilty of gross folly, and of a destructive enmity to the development of art, if they should renounce the schools and museums on the ground of their failure to be perfect.

These commonplace observations may serve to introduce the subject of our last lecture,—the claims of organized Religion upon the allegiance of the people. Thus far in our treatment of our general subject we have had our eyes upon the Religion which is living both without and within the churches, but I own that it was with the deliberated intention of finally presenting the cause of organized Religion that that special method of dealing with Religion was adopted. Theoretically, it is easy to find Religion outside of organization, and, practically, it is not hard to find it there, if we are spiritually alert. But the plain fact is that for the most part, in the

past and in the present, Religion is to be found inside of organization. Popularly it will be always judged by the spirit of the organization through which it utters itself. Much as a considerable number of us would like to see it disowning organization, much as others of us would be glad to have it reduce its organization to the scanty and loose agreements of general society, abolishing tests and conditions of every sort, making rites and ceremonies the spontaneous expression of a momentary impulse, we are to see nothing of the kind. Indeed, I should not be surprised if the uneconomic, the spiritually disastrous, and the theologically impotent, result of easy sectarianism shall turn our intelligent attention towards the necessity of more compact and unified organization. The perfect Church on this earth is a dream. Reduce its creed and polity to the precise requirements of John and Jane, and Jane will have her doubts about John. The "glorious Church, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing," is the Church of the "first born written in heaven," not these communions, jealous, wrangling, im-

perfect, which we know so well on earth. Only the thoroughgoing ecclesiast, Catholic or liberal, ever expects the coming of an organization which shall satisfy all the needs of all men, and is willing to go on with the unending process of adjustment, as if perfection could ever reside in the framework and not in the spirit. A museum in which every picture is perfect and every marble faultless will never be. A church whose doctrinal structure is without flaw, and whose ritual is absolutely adequate for the general need, has never stood upon this earth, and never will. Forever we shall be pained by some outbreak of narrowness, by some jar upon a sensitive ear, and by some repression of a generous ardor. Forever we shall find our separate ecclesiasticisms failing to minister fully to our deepest hunger, to our passionate wish to hear the full rounded doctrine of man and God. We all sympathize with one another when we try to set forth symmetrically the distinguishing marks of the church of our affection and find them unsatisfactory. The unended creed revisions, the perpetual tinkering with canons,

the frequent ritual enrichments, the divisions and the schisms, all bear testimony to the venerable fact that the churches, in almost everything but their spirit and their noblest aims, are regarded as either complete or perfect by nobody, least of all by those whose allegiance to them is most loyal. The very love we bear the churches of our choice frequently makes us sensitive to their defects, as the mother is most jealous of the fame of her best loved son. When one's own Communion perpetrates a folly, ignores a splendid chance, or betrays an ungenerous spirit, the pain it gives us is far more acute and lasting than the glee of her enemies can ever be. But that pain each of us has felt in turn. The history of every church that has ever stood in the community has pages which its adherents wish were blotted out. The history which every church is making now, is, to its noblest children, far from being the history they long and pray might be written. Only stiff ecclesiasts, to whom the polished beauty of the instrument is an ample excuse for its dull edge, will deny this; but denying it does not make it untrue.

What, then, can organized Religion in our time, thus frankly admitted to be imperfect, urge as valid claims upon the allegiance of the people?

First of all, I name the substantial contribution organized Religion makes in the form of ministry to man's instinctive sensitiveness to God. It is the reality and richness of this ministry which keeps our churches alive. Without it they would wither and die. They may keep their particular creeds, perpetuate their peculiar rituals, maintain their benevolences, but unless beneath all these there throbs a deep, passionate belief in the real presence among men of the God Who made heaven and earth and sustains them by His power and love, a deep, passionate belief in His mysteriously given strength to weakness, consolation to sorrow, and illumination to bewilderment, the Church is bound to die. Churches can die, do die; but they die only when God is no longer felt to be in them. Upon this instinctive sensitiveness to the presence of God in all human life the churches are solidly built up, and from it particular churches, interpreting in dif-

ferent ways what this sensitiveness requires for full expression, evolve their architecture, liturgies, and ceremonials. It is a reversal of the historical process to conclude that architecture and its symbolical accompaniments create the awe and adoration of those who, beneath the cathedral's lofty roof, kneel in hushed and solemn reverence, when,

“ in the high altar's depth divine,
The organ carries to their ear
The accents of another sphere.”

For who reared the cathedral, of what idea is it the material expression, and whence came an idea so powerful that not once, but many times, in widely separated lands, it has captured the human imagination, and bent it to the joyous task of realizing in these massive structures, which sing their way in rhythmic beauty up to heaven, the hope which lived in David and Solomon, and lives with undiminished force in the breast of man to-day? It was not a people that believed God could be imprisoned in earthly walls of stone, that builded Solomon's Temple; for the King, at its dedication, declared in a spirit almost modern,

“The heaven and heaven of heavens cannot contain Him, much less this house which I have builded.” Not a superstition, then, but a reverent and intelligent belief that the great Temple, which embodied in strength and beauty the conviction of the people that God made Himself a felt presence on this earth, would perpetually minister to that conviction, living in all the generations, built and adorned that Jewish temple. The history of every great house of God tallies exactly with that of the Temple erected by “David’s son, the sad and splendid.” Every church is at once a testimony to the living faith of the past, and to the living faith of the present, if it is still reverently used — faith in an unseen God; and that faith is the utterance of the world-wide instinct which God has safely lodged in the nature of all His children. It ought to be clear — for it shines like a star in the religious firmament of man’s long history — that the visible, material temple does not create belief in an overshadowing God; belief in a never absent God rears the temple. But once built, it stands as a witness to an

everlasting truth, when man is tempted to forget that truth, or to allow other considerations to obscure it. Apart from any statements of particular theological truths which a Church may urge, apart from any liturgical arrangements it may adopt as vehicles for worship, apart from any political theories of ecclesiastical government it may cling to, the primary significance of organized visible Religion is its articulate witness to the real presence among men of a living God. It gathers up into itself the separate convictions of the community, robs them of any suspicion of eccentricity, challenges the superstitious accretions which tend to fasten upon them, and presents itself as the reflection, imperfect yet real, of the universal sentiment of all humanity. To minister to, not to create, veneration and awe, are the churches maintained. To furnish opportunities for self-expansion, to interpret and direct the hunger for worship, and to keep faith from degenerating into fantastic extravagance on the one hand, and into idle dreaming upon the other, has been and is the function of organized Religion from the begin-

ning. To men who believe that God is the manufactured product of human imagination, hope, and fear, a Church will always wear the look of a transparent device for fooling the unreflective and timid; or, as a skillfully contrived social machinery for giving a decorous or decorative treatment to the perpetually recurring and necessary functions of organized society, it will always be a thin trick performed by human hands. "I do not believe a word of it all," said one of these men at the close of a funeral service which social and personal considerations compelled him to attend, "but so long as funerals must be, and Religion has charge of them, nothing could be more decorous and decent than this office for publicly bidding the dead good-by." Or, as another like-minded man observed with frank candor, "I wish my children to attend a Church for the same reason I send them to dancing-school, and search out a governess from Paris to teach them the refined accent of the French tongue. Some day they will be married, or they may die, and what but the Church should take charge of the wedding or the funeral?"

For the one, the Mayor is utterly inadequate, spite of his authority; and for the other, civil or chance arrangements are clumsy, cold, and bald." But these voices are eccentric, they are misrepresentative of the universal human voice when men are confronted with the great mysteries and the critical experiences of life. For that voice, responding not to the tyrannous bidding of social convention, but to the deep undertones of all healthy being, turns instinctively to the organization which speaks a blessing and declares a "reasonable and religious hope." The Church does not create that blessing, it conveys it, utters it, accents it. The Church does not claim to have sole possession of that reasonable hope, she claims only to declare it in the ears of men who cherish it as their only solution of the dread mystery of death. The "burial of an ass" is abhorrent to humanity, because to the sane thinking of humanity the brute is other than man. That is why men who find themselves incapable of assenting to much which the churches hold and teach, incapable likewise of cordially sympathizing

with many of their methods, still give them a measure of support. They instinctively recognize that with all their faults of administration and teaching, the churches do consistently voice the universal human conviction that God is not an intellectual abstraction, that man is more than a tree or stone, and that the felt presence of a Father "too wise to be mistaken, too honest to deceive, and too good to harm," is the richest possession man can hold. And what I claim for the churches at the end of the century is, that relaxing, but not relinquishing, the importance of formal test, they are more and more ready to give a cordial welcome to all who wish to live lives inspired by the elemental truth of Religion. The tendency towards expansion has invaded the churches, all of them, though in different degrees, and is distinctly declared in the freer spirit, the wider hospitality, the more characteristic spirituality, which have begun to fashion and color all their ways. The contemporary fiction which upbraids and derides the churches for their bigotry and unhumanness is already antiquated,

discredited, pitiably inadequate as pictures, or even amateur photographs, of the organized Religion of to-day. The churches are best represented by their largest-hearted, widest-minded leaders, and they are forever opening wider the doors that the multitudes, who are more eager to be profoundly moved by the felt presence of God than to define Him and dictate to Him, may enter in to worship and adore. And when this altered attitude of the churches, this splendid expansion of their spiritual purpose, is thoroughly understood and cordially received — as to-day it is not — we shall yet hear the old Hebraic phrase on the lips of our American churchless, but not unchurched, people, “I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go unto the house of the Lord, and He will teach us of His ways, and we will walk in His paths.”

I am not dismayed by the indisputable fact that this ministry of the churches to elemental faith in God is still so largely unrecognized by those who have forsaken them, because the lack of recognition is due to ignorance of what the churches

stand for to-day. And that ignorance is best explained by an abstention from the churches which began to be general five and twenty years ago, and which is, I think, at its height to-day, with signs of an ebb, however, that promises to increase and become general. I frankly confess that the churches were themselves unwittingly, but none the less really, responsible for the defections which thinned the ranks of their adherents. For the churches, by an irrationally rigid interpretation of their several dogmas, and by failure to place in the forefront their true purpose, and, on the other side, by their suicidal depreciation of the value of organization, rites, and worship, created the impression that outwardness of ecclesiastical behavior was of far more importance than the inward spirit of reverence and faith in God our Father. As a consequence, we see to-day multitudes of men and women who believe in God, who really reverence Him, and are showing forth their reverent faith in their lives, detached from the churches, because they ignorantly regard them as still absorbed in

the antiquated business of protecting their dogmas or mildly proclaiming that intellectual liberalism is spiritual salvation. And we see another thing: multitudes of people, unable completely to suppress the religious instinct, drifting helplessly into the depths of indescribable superstitions, sometimes into immoralities masked under Religion itself, while the churches they have abandoned are slowly but surely expanding in power of expressing adequately and wholesomely the very instinct they are so grossly or grotesquely misinterpreting. No patient student of Religion, and no one who has profoundly felt the incomparable value to life of a rational and steady belief in God, will ever accept this defection from the Church of so much ethically and spiritually noble character as final. It cannot be; for when once it is widely perceived and cordially believed that organized Religion with all its imperfections — the imperfections of excess and defect — is in earnest to minister, first of all, to our elemental, native desire to feel about us and above us a gracious, divine presence, to whom our perplexities are

clear and by whom our sorrows are felt, the people will return to the churches with an intelligence new born. They will share with the artist, of whom I spoke at the beginning of my lecture, the conviction that some sort of ordered ritual is necessary as the vehicle of instinctive human adoration. I should not be surprised if the coming revival of Religion had its origin, not among outcasts and the frankly bad, but among the intelligent and upright. But its note will be, not repentance, but recovery, — the recovery of the lost sense of God's presence among men.

The second claim I urge in behalf of organized Religion is its exercise of ethical force in the life of Society. Righteousness is as necessary to Society as commerce and industry, and righteousness is the product of Religion. It is incontestable that there is a great deal of Religion outside the churches, and consequently, much of the righteousness which we find active in Society is not directly traceable to the churches. We have sufficiently emphasized this. But an impartial exam-

ination of the influence of organized Religion upon Society abundantly discloses that the most continuous, steady, frank, and powerful force in ethical fields is exercised by the substantially uniform moral action of our churches. By a trained and disciplined instinct they are on the side of right, frequently before right is clearly defined or generally acknowledged, invariably when the moral issue is fully disclosed. That they have been on the wrong side in more than one great moral battle on the morning it was joined, is freely admitted, but before the struggle was over they had changed sides, and helped win the victory. Every experience of ethical error has been followed by both repentance and an increase of resolute determination to exercise a more clairvoyant spiritual vision in the future. To-day the churches are more sensitive to the ethical significance, not only of their own especial action, but of all those movements and agitations in the great world of Society which tell the direction of its current, than at any time in their history. There is a wholesome dread of that sharp criticism

unsparingly passed upon them by those who are hostile to their dogmas when the genius for righteousness, or the passion for it, decays, and there is a lofty, earnest, enterprising spirit resident in them, which is emphasizing the imperatives of truth, justice, and purity. Society confidently counts upon organized Religion to champion every thoroughly *ethical* question which arises. Society invariably turns to the churches when some extraordinary issue demands an untiring, undaunted advocate. You cannot name a single *frankly moral* movement in any community which the Church, in some one of its many organizations, is not behind. It must be *frankly moral*; not some muddle of liquor legislation nor any perennially vexing question of manners as distinct from morals, but a clear ethical issue. In any such crisis the churches take the side of righteousness, hold it, urge it, and wait for the certain victory. Their contributions, through their unbroken, tireless insistence upon the imperatives of conscience, to the moral vigor of Society is simply enormous. Without those contributions no one knows,

and there is no knowing, whither would drift the standards and principles of society. The figure the churches make, save in those comparatively rare instances which display them set only in noble architecture and magnificent ritual, may be dull, petty, grotesque, fantastic — what you like — but it is always moral; it is never that of the Italian marquis deploring the desecration of Good Friday by Madame Cardinal, the mother of his mistress. No! Whatever else organized Religion is, it is the changeless friend of goodness, the changeless foe of badness.

Contrast the impression and influence of the churches with the influence and impression, ethically, of the press, the stage, the schools, our three powerful agencies in affecting Society. As *journals*, the press almost without exception is on the side of righteousness, social and individual. It voices the best moral sentiment of the community, it values, while freely criticising, contemporary Religion, denounces crime and vice, and gives generous support to all our noblest endeavors to lift society up. But as *newspapers* — with rare

and honored, as well as honorable, exceptions — the press is largely on the side of what inevitably stains, vulgarizes, and finally corrupts the imagination and heart of man. To turn from the serious, reflective, measured dignity of the editorial gauge to the unspeakable dreadfulness of too many of the news columns, is like turning from the crystal waters of a mountain lake to the noisome liquid of a sewer. The mystery of it, short of the stereotyped explanation that the people want it, is the "mystery of iniquity." No one seriously denies it; the press, when driven into a corner, admits it, and offers the indefensible defense that a newspaper is a photograph of the world's daily life. On the other hand, the churches care nothing for the wishes and hankerings of the people. Not what we like, but what we ought to like, is the sole motive of their utterances and endeavors. As never before in their long history they seek to know what the world really is, boldly acquaint themselves, first hand, with the sentiments, habits, aims, and struggles of the people, but always that they may resist the evil and foster the

good. If the churches of any denomination should unite to condone a clearly defined immorality, public or private, or if they should conjoin a lofty ethical teaching with a grossly demoralizing practice, they would instantly feel the lash of an indignant, overwhelmingly united, protest from all the other churches, which would bring them to their moral senses. The press, with all its visibly exercised power for righteousness, is every day negating its noblest influence by its willingness to make evil attractive by dressing it in gauze and spangles that it may be interesting. So dressed it *is* interesting, but which of us does not know that the public conscience is thereby dulled, the public taste vulgarized, the public habit stained? The "liberty of the press" is not worth to Society half so much as the vigor of the churches, for what Society needs, as it needs nothing under heaven, is the strong, uncompromising utterance of the imperatives of the moral law. That utterance to-day proceeds from organized Religion as it proceeds from nothing else, and while it may be true that the total influence of

the press is wider and weightier than that of the churches, it is not an influence un-mixedly pure and wholesome. It stains even when it seeks to cleanse.

Of the need of the playhouse to healthy life there ought to be no serious doubt. It directly and fruitfully ministers to one of the most legitimate instincts of human nature. The strain of uninterrupted toil is too great, the drain of unbroken seriousness is too heavy, the pressure of care and anxiety is too severe, and the tendency of emotion to subside into hardness is too pronounced, for a healthy nature to forego all amusement and the hour which obliterates the acute consciousness of self. It is good for a man to laugh the hearty laugh which brushes the cobwebs from his brain, to feel the unusualness of a strong emotion kindled by something other than his chances of success, his danger of defeat, and to be freed, if only for a space, from the heavy weight upon his heart. And the opportunity for this the playhouse furnishes. How important a part the theatre plays in modern Society it is needless to describe. How wholesome much of its

influence is upon the spirit of Society we gladly admit. But there haunt its doors, like evil spirits, the subtle temptations to mingle with its innocent diversions and with its representation of life's noblest passions, the vulgar spectacle that debases, the clever, brilliant wickedness that destroys the bloom of innocence and introduces sweet poison into the soul. The playhouse is not set for the ethical health of Society; it is set for its entertainment. The exigence of success too frequently drafts the unwholesomeness of a bad excitement, the portrayal of a false situation, into the service of diversion, and evil — evil that lives and grows and obsesses — is done the soul, though at the moment the soul is unconscious of it, as the man cut by the sharp stone in the tumbling waters knows he is wounded only when his skin is dry and the gash begins to throb. But the churches, which in the last twenty years have introduced many an attraction which the sober, perhaps sombre, judgment of our elders would repudiate, have never — save in instances too insignificant to be worthy of notice — lowered the standards of right-

eousness. Their aim has been openly ethical. Diversion for the sake of moral education has been, and is, the principle which is intended to control the aim of every enterprise, not specifically religious, which the churches have organized and maintained. Nothing so visibly marks the expansion of Religion, as illustrated in the life of the churches, as the extension of its interest and action into scores of fields once abandoned to purely secular associations or to the chances of circumstance. But nothing more successfully proves how competent Religion is to cover all these fields and to reap on them harvests of good living, than its evident power to be Religion when apparently engaged in the business of entertainment. Whoever, in his thought, elevates the moral influence of the stage to the height of that of the churches, is ignorant of either the theatre or the Church, or both. And yet scores of us, who see clearly that only righteousness exalteth a nation and keeps Society sweet and true, are expending upon the playhouse ten times the amount they devote to the Church, unconscious, appar-

ently, that the producer of righteousness makes the dispenser of diversion a safe person in the community. The churches are the doors which open into righteousness; the theatres are the beautiful gateways into wholesome recreation, but too frequently also into ways of harm and sin and shame.

The primary purpose of the school is to impart knowledge and discipline powers. Their wards are to be informed, mentally trained, and physically developed. It would be too sweeping to affirm that Religion and morals have been banished from our schools. It would be more exact to say that ecclesiasticism, and the ethics which are grounded in ecclesiasticism, have disappeared from the formal curriculum of all state schools and of many private schools as well. But there is still an appreciable insistence in our public education upon cardinal morality, and a clear recognition that character is the only guarantee of the safe possession of knowledge. The expansion of Religion has permeated to a considerable degree the atmosphere of our public schools. They are neither wholly

irreligious nor unmoral. The character of those in whose care they are forbids it. Yet the nature and extent of ethical teachings in them are satisfactory to no one who is alive to the fact that what is done for children in developing, directing, and vitalizing moral force, is worth more than is done for them in the after years of the longest life. The ethical bent of our boys and girls is given before they are fifteen. "Give me your boy until he is twelve," said the shrewd ecclesiastic, "and you may have him after that." And he was thinking, not alone of the boy's future ecclesiastical allegiance, but of his moral fibre as well. This unsatisfactory condition of the ethical influences in public education explains the disposition to maintain parochial and Church schools, which has developed marvelously in the last quarter of a century. Those whose heated imaginations see in these schools a covert attack upon the public system of education and, finally, upon our liberties, are the victims of an irrational fear. For it is the conviction that for the healthy development of sound morals there must be a distinct religious education, and

that a distinct religious education in our public schools is impossible, which has led so many people to make the costly sacrifices necessary to maintain parochial schools, and elicited the generosity which has founded other schools under denominational control. After making full allowance for the patrician spirit which depreciates the public schools and exalts private institutions for selected youth, there remains a sturdy belief among thousands of our most thoughtful citizens that education will never be what it ought until some plan is evolved which shall secure to the future generations of America an adequate ethical training based upon a rational religious belief. And we shall see in the future an extension of private and denominational schools, in which such training can be and is given, unless we can successfully solve the momentous question of how to make our public schools thoroughly religious without making them offensively sectarian. That unsolved question emphasizes the importance and value of the churches, which are free to teach their several conceptions of Religion which,

though issuing in conflicting theological and ecclesiastical opinions, produce a morality that is identical. Theology may be denominational; morality is undenominational, and it is morality for which we struggle. The claim of the churches upon an intelligent, ethically earnest Society is stronger to-day than ever, because Society recognizes as never before how indissoluble are social righteousness and social prosperity, and because the schools have been deprived of an adequate provision for religious teaching. "You teach too much arithmetic," said the Japanese traveler at the close of his inspection of one of our typical public schools; "you teach too much arithmetic. In Japan we teach our boys manners, then we teach them morals, after that we teach them arithmetic; for arithmetic, without manners and morals, makes men sordid." Perhaps we do not have too much arithmetic; it is certain we have too little of manners and morals.

In the third place, organized Religion urges, as a valid claim upon the allegiance of Society, that it is distinctly on the side of weakness, ignorance, and innocence.

It is not an exaggeration to assert that at the end of the century we find the great agencies for the protection of the unfortunate and helpless in Society, not most frequently in the direct control of the churches, but in unecclesiastical hands. The state creates and maintains these agencies more adequately every decade, and non-ecclesiastical corporations relieve the churches of what once was wholly in their hands. I should repeat much of my first lecture if I should describe the causes of this detachment, from the Church to state and secular corporations, of the work of relief and care. To-night I wish to emphasize the fact that as from the churches in the past proceeded the influence which penetrated and intenerated the public conscience and the public heart, so to-day the strength of Society's compassion, generosity, and gentleness is most largely recruited from the life of the churches. They are educating thousands in the grace of personal sympathy with suffering, in the art of intelligent helpfulness, in the doctrine that possession of any sort — wealth, health, brains, skill, wisdom, — is a stewardship; they are per-

petually and persuasively urging that to bear one another's burdens *is* the fulfillment of the law of Christ, and ought therefore to be the fulfillment of the law of humanity. Out from the churches, as a consequence, flows a beautiful and bountiful stream of compassionate generosity towards every institution which seeks to lift weakness into strength, and to protect innocence from the snares laid in its path. Out from the churches comes the divine hopefulness which, all through Society, keeps men and women from dismay and desertion when the tides of misery and wickedness roll in black, cold, and strong. Out from the churches issues the warm pity for the clumsy, the dull, the unskilled, who have only a capacity for suffering, but whose claim upon grace, wit, and skill, must not go unheeded. And up to the churches confidently goes every appeal in behalf of helplessness and ignorance and want. The black man with his pathetic plea for the creation of a chance to repair the ravages of two hundred years of debasing slavery, and of thirty years of riotous freedom; the blind crying for light and

the deaf mutely asking for the sight that must do duty for sound; the incurable, the maimed, the poor, the little children starved and stunted in their cradles, the struggling schools and colleges of the South and West, the whole world's want and woe—all are there, looking to the churches for a help that is never refused. It is a marvelous sight, a stupendous fact. That these churches which can be so narrow, so intolerant, so theologically stubborn, and so ecclesiastically unyielding, can yet be fountains of blessing and hope to Society, is indisputable proof of a claim upon the allegiance of men which cannot rationally be refused. For Society needs to feel through all her frame the beating of a warm heart as well as to possess a clear head. Many of our finest social achievements in modern times have been secured to us by the insight of compassion and the civic illumination of a profound sympathy with those whom the harsh conditions of congenital defects, of accident, disease, and social maladministration have heavily handicapped in the race of life. The man who cherishes the belief that

justice is enough for the success of social evolution, is not only leaning upon a reed, he is clinging to a theory which Society is fast casting aside as discredited by history, because Society, as I have tried to show, is consciously and unconsciously energized by the Religion which speaks on this wise: "None of us liveth unto himself and no man dieth unto himself; for whether one member suffers, all the members suffer with it." And, because the churches are the chief, though not the only, producers of the compassionate sympathy which works miracles of social healing and social progress, no one, who believes that Society ought to be, and will be, something better and more beautiful than a chaos of warring individuals, classes, and aims, will refuse to give these imperfect, unsatisfactory, yet always spiritually fruitful, organizations called churches, the allegiance which their demonstrated value to Society warrants them to claim.

I have no authority to speak for the churches, but I think that one who carefully and candidly studies the history of their spirit as illustrated in the concrete

working of their several organizations, and as declared in their more enlightened modern treatment of their dogmas, is competent to assert that their conception of the meaning, value, and purpose of Religion has so splendidly expanded that their future is bound to be more beneficent than their past. They will never be exempt from a legitimate criticism, never incorporate into the body of their beliefs all the truth men hold, never banish from their symbols everything other men long since rejected, never be ready always to acknowledge that sincerity of motive and nobleness of aim do not guarantee wisdom of method, never be emancipated completely from the sentiment which cherishes the past because it is venerable and dear, never be stripped bare of the tendency to identify an enthusiasm for novelty with devotion to the truth; but forever and forever, because in them reside a profound faith in the presence of God, a puissant force of righteousness, and a divine compassion, they will be the great, visible, practical instruments for bringing all that is best in man and Society to its best,

which we have called salvation, and which is the sole and splendid purpose for which Religion exists. The expansion of Religion is a fact of history — like the expansion of chemistry, psychology, transportation — what you like — as the civilizations of Europe and America attest ; and when this expansion is recognized, its profound significance appreciated, those of us who have either complacently tolerated organized Religion, or half sadly, half scornfully deserted it, will begin, or renew, our allegiance to it with a more intelligent devotion and a chastened spirit.

We have heard much in these last eager years of the duty of Religion towards the “lapsed masses” of our great cities, the “pagans” of our rural communities. The mission to these is energetically prosecuted with varying results. The churches have awakened to the peril to Society of enormous aggregations of people who have practically abandoned organized Religion. One prays that they may never relax their heroic efforts, and that every organization which seeks to draw men into the cleansing currents of civic righteousness and reli-

gious faith may never die; but I think the most significant portent in the religious firmament to-day is the abstention from organized Religion of so many people in whom culture, education, and refinement are in admirable evidence, and to whom righteousness enough for social safety is dear. Organized Religion will never be content — ought not to be — with the allegiance of those who are the weakest members of Society; she longs for the support and loyalty of her best and noblest sons. She must have them if she would wield her strongest influence. She cannot be the power she ought to be if those to whom she has the best right to appeal shall ignore her call. The churches' work for men, *in this world*, ought to be warrant enough for the sympathetic, energetic support of those who cannot accept all the articles of her creeds, or be helped by the use of all her provisions for worship. Let the churches stand convicted of imperfection, like our government, our art, our education, our society, but let them also be generously recognized as the chief producers of the human faith, the civic

righteousness, and the social compassion, which are the sunlight of our civilization. It is not chivalry to allow the great moral and social forces of our time to struggle against the indifference to them which so much of our culture and educated competence show; it is not generous, it is not just, if men see, as in these lectures I have tried to set forth, that Religion has outgrown her exclusive devotion to ecclesiasticism and dogma, and has expanded to the human conditions which confront her on every side — eager, with a divine eagerness, to achieve the salvation of humanity, that salvation which is having all that is best in a man at its best, and which has been the inspiration of all I have endeavored to make clear as a rational interpretation of our times.

And if this modest treatment of Religion as the Great Force of Modern Life, as the Creator of a New Anthropology, as the Unfailing Source of Righteousness, as the Hope of Industrialism, as the Reconciliation of Individualism and Socialism, and finally, as Uttering Itself Mainly in our Several Churches, has been of help to any

one, I may heartily thank God for the privilege of standing here to speak to you — to you intelligent believers in God and in the Society which, through belief in God, is one day to realize itself in beautiful perfection upon our earth.

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