

WEALTH OF THE WORLD MAKERS

IN THE SWEAT OF THY FACE THOU EAT BREAD IF ANY WILL NOT WORK NEITHER LET HIM EAT

THE GREAT ORATION.

Professor Heron's Words at Lincoln Which Waked the World.

A NEW MORAL POLITICAL VISION.

He Holds up Christ as the Political Ruler and Savior of the State. The Impending Danger of Individualism.

Wisdom Which Will Avert Anarchy

At the suggestion of the honored Chancellor of the University, I am to speak to you, today, of a new political vision. I come to you conscious of the responsibility belonging to every word spoken upon such a subject, on this occasion, and in these anxious days of social strain and political change. Because of my knowledge of how much greater are the hour and opportunity than the thoughts and powers of the speaker, what I shall say to you has been wrought out in deep trouble of spirit. But the sense of my own inadequacy has been lost in the faith that there would be present with us the spirit of the reigning Christ, whose subject I am, whose name I speak, and to whose political wisdom and authority I am here to bear witness. For my political vision is the Christian state.

The people are looking for a political order that shall associate men in justice. The old ways of political thinking and doing have exhausted themselves. Our present systems of human relations will not endure the strain that is coming upon them. Political constitutions now sacred will be consumed in the fervent heat of the social trial, and present forms of institutions will disappear. Not since Augustus achieved the culmination of the Roman empire in the unity of a world of splendid misery, has the race so felt the certainty and the dread, the sorrow and the hope, of universal change. The civilization of today is the camp of a vast unorganized and undisciplined army, without leaders and without method, yet profoundly conscious of some conflict near at hand which shall issue in a new beginning of history.

I do not fear to have our civilization full of trouble and complaint. I can conceive of nothing more fearful than to have the present order of things exist without discontent. And the world-impulsion of today is construction, however destructive some of its manifestations may yet prove. Unorganized and unharmonious as the forces of change now seem, they will be restrained by their faith in the providence and deliverance of the change, and united in the living sacrifice of their noblest sons upon the altar of their faith. The peoples are not angry, but rather in sorrow and expectancy because of their almost conviction that only out of their travail and anguish can a better order of society be born. The world is full of discontent, but it is the discontent of God with the degradation of his sons and daughters under the tyranny of material dominion. Society is moving quickly toward revolution, but it is revolution from anarchy to order; from industrial slavery to social freedom; from political atheism to the kingdom of God.

The revolution comes as the social creation of the world. The race is making its social self-discovery; it is coming to its social self-consciousness. Through experience and suffering, with knowledge too deep for logic and too rich for the understanding of a materialistic philosophy of society, the race is learning that it is not an aggregation of individuals, but one body, one humanity, of which all individuals are members; that it is not natural, but violent, that these members should strive with each other for place and life in the body. Men are ceasing to believe, and they can no longer be persuaded, that competition rather than association is the law of preservation and progress. The civilization that now builds upon the assumption that men are antagonists and not members of one social body is fundamentally anarchical. The politics that remains insensible to the waking social consciousness and continues to make the holy words of the past the hypocrisy and traffic of the present, the politi-

cians who speculate in human life upon the presumption that the people are as ignorant and without character as themselves, will be but fuel for burning in the day of wrath that is coming to consume our trade politics and false social philosophies as stubble. Society must henceforth be the end of political science and effort. Not individual liberty and the equilibrium of warring self-interests, but the association of men in a communion of justice is now the work of the politics that would command the patience and win the respect of the people. The vision of brotherhood will not pass away for it is heavenly. Politics must obey that vision, or the people will try obedience without politics, and a world-tragedy will have to be the school in which the nations shall learn their law and mission.

The state can have no other meaning than the interpretation and execution of the mind of God toward the people. The state is ordained to be the visible incarnation of the unseen government of the world; the medium through which the law and order of God are received and wrought out in progress. If there is a purpose in history the state must be the organ for the accomplishing of that purpose; the organ of the common inspiration and collective effort of the people toward righteousness. The state must be the incarnate conscience of the people; the manifestation of the highest right of which the people have knowledge in common; the organ of their common consciousness of God. There can be no continuous development of a nation's life except its institutions progressively express the faith and organize the moral reason of the common people.

The mission of the state is not fulfilled in the liberty of the individual, but in the association of men in a righteous unity. Liberty is but a means to the divine social end. If liberty is not fulfilled in unity then liberty was the consummation of the supreme design of evil powers. And if liberty means no more than to fight with each other for material gain, if the state can do no more than foster a civilization founded in such a freedom, then the evolution of civilization from feudalism was the irreparable ruin of the world. The conception that freedom consists in the protection of men from one another rather than in their association with each other can never bring forth any order than that of tyranny and slavery. The worship of Baal and Moloch was relatively no more degrading and dehumanizing than the conception of the state as a commercial compact and secular institution, with only police functions to procure individual liberty and protect property. If the state has fundamentally and finally any business that is not comprehended in the study and organization of the highest right known to man, and the redemption of man from all known wrong, then the state is a fraud and a tyranny, and has no right to exist and have authority over man.

And there are not two kinds of right, one for the state and another for the individual. A first step toward social justice and political virtue must be the emancipation of society from bondage to the evil imagination that there are different kinds of right. If there is a principle of right anywhere in the universe it is right everywhere, or there is no universe of God and can be no unity of man. The wicked fancy that there are different standards of right for different spheres of life is the essence of anarchy; it is the destruction of both ethics and order. There is not one kind of right for God and another for man; one for the church and another for the market; one for the individual and another for the state; one for men acting singly and another for men acting collectively as a commonwealth or a financial corporation. There is not a religious quality of right distinct from a political or economic quality of right.

If there is any right at all it must be both universal in operation and universally particular in application. The will of God cannot be any different on earth from the will of God in the heavens. Whatever principle of right is authoritative to a man's moral reason, in the almost consciousness of his being, is unmodified and no less commanding when he enters the market, the stock-exchange, or the municipality as an economic or social resident. If I am my brother's keeper as a religious man I

am equally my brother's keeper as an economic or political man, bound to make my place of business the keeper of my brother and the nation of which I am a member the keeper of my brother. If there is a moral law of service in my conscience that compels me to seek work for my brother that he may eat a bread then that law is equally authoritative when men act collectively as a state, and the state as a moral being is bound to procure work by which its citizens may find bread. Except the state become the organ of the moral law that is written in the common moral reason, it cannot see the political order that is the association of men in justice. And the state has no other mission than the realization of the unity of human life.

Now the mind, the spirit, that most enlightens and commands the moral reason of man is the mind of Christ. But, in order to be honest with you to whom I speak, I am obliged to say that I do not mean by this expression what most of you would think me to mean, or would yourselves mean, if I did not explain myself. I am sure I do not mean what is commonly meant in the churches by this term. I am not speaking theologically, metaphysically, or even religiously, according to the ecclesiastical or theological conception of religion. I do not stand before you as a religiousist, or a dogmatist, or a churchman. Nor do I speak as a political or social doctrinaire. I am here as a political apostle of Christ, but not for any arbitrary purpose of inducing people to accept my religion. Because I seek a kingdom of social right and order among men, and because I believe that association in righteousness can come only through political organization and action, do I speak in the name of Jesus as the only name given among men whereby the state can fulfill itself in making society whole. I know of no other kind of justice that will give social peace, or truth that will give political freedom, than the justice and truth personalized and disclosed in Jesus. And when I speak of society, or the state, receiving the mind of Christ as the mind of political action and social unity, I mean the common faith and will of men to fuse their differences, justify their inequalities, universalize their interests, and communize their efforts and aims, in making the quality of right that was in Christ's mind and actions the power and element, the mind and spirit, of their association and action. The mind of Jesus is the mind to serve; the mind to make all life a contribution to the common and universal life in which all are to share and become perfect. The righteousness of Christ was his perfect sacrifice for man, not for some men but for all men; for the world. The sacrifice of Jesus was the perfect utterance of the eternal mind of God, and the disclosure of the whole moral nature of the universe. Infinite as is the unknown in God and his universe, the unknown cannot be different in nature from the right that was in Christ. Christ is the heart and revelation of all the unknown and known. His sacrifice manifests the character of all power and authority; of all government and law. Sacrifice is the associating power; the unifying force; the one universal law. It is through sacrifice that the universe is one; by no other power than that of sacrifice could there be a universe. Sacrifice is the social law of gravity, in all the heavens, in the organization of life upon the earth. Society is the organized sacrifice of the people. The mind of Christ is the one mind that has perfectly understood and obeyed this fundamental and universal law of association. No other law can found the perfect state and organize the perfect society.

The greatest political work or social reform that can today be undertaken is that of making known the mind of Christ to the people. Notwithstanding the false habits of religious feeling and doctrine that have been associated with the thought of the mind of Christ, making religious Christianity almost the supreme obstacle in the way of getting the teachings of Jesus into the world, there is everywhere a deepening and intensifying conviction that his mind is the mind that the institutions of the world must have in order to procure social justice. The most significant fact of modern life is the political faith in Jesus Christ that is rising from the waking social consciousness of the

world with a divine instinctiveness, as natural as the turning of the babe to its mother, this social consciousness is turning to the person of Jesus as the social ideal that can alone perfectly satisfy man's social nature. The multitudes believe, though they cannot define their belief, that the real Jesus is the one human life perfectly socialized. With a pathetic and almost inarticulate expectancy they are waiting to be guided by that life into the juster order of the eternal life that men may have upon the earth.

And to whom shall the multitudes go for social right and political truth but Jesus? They are as sheep without political shepherds, devoured by ravenous political wolves. They are sick and outraged with the weak social maxims and religious respectabilities of the churches. They know perfectly well that, sincerely as it is intended, much of what is taught in pulpits as Christianity could as certainly be affirmed to be the political economy of the moon as the teachings of Jesus regarding human life and society. The church, related as it is to industrial unrighteousness, is afraid to reveal the true Jesus whom the unchurched and unsocialized peoples are asking to see. Ecclesiastical Christianity has in its inmost consciousness the shame and anger of a conviction it cannot escape, that nothing would be so disastrous to itself as a vision and understanding of the actual Christ on the part of the multitudes who are crying for social justice. Both within and without the church there is a deepening social feeling that Jesus is nowhere so wickedly misrepresented as in the commanding institutions that bear his name. These institutions stand for religion, but not for the practice of Christ's kind of righteousness; they stand for respectability and property, but not for sacrifice and association; they stand for benevolence, but not for the justice of the kingdom of God. And it would be strange, yet not strange, but the perfect continuity of all the divine ways of the past, if the social revolution should first of all organize itself into a new crusade, so morally glorious and triumphant as scarcely to bear comparison with the old crusades, to rescue the living Lord Christ from his splendid tomb of organized Christianity. It would be stranger still if the crusaders did not find that themselves rather than the Christ needed deliverance, and that he had only been waiting within the temple for the gatherings of the people, that he might come forth and show them the opening heavens of purer truth, into which they were at last able to look with a vision unclouded by political or social atheism.

There is not a school of religion, philosophy, or politics, that will not today agree that the mind of Jesus is the right mind to have. Brahmin and Jew, agnostic and theologian, Christian and Mohammedan, will confess that the spirit of Christ is the best and most unifying spirit the world knows. Many will scorn his right as impracticable. Some will say that Gautama and others taught the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount before Jesus' time. By some the authenticity of the records of his life will be denied. The theologian will sternly direct us to the way of salvation through metaphysics rather than right. Yet if we could get men to forget while the things upon which they disagree, if we would put away our partialities and rid our minds of the ponderous irrelevances of theology, we would find universal agreement that the mind of Christ, if actually received and practiced as the spirit of human actions and institutions, would procure that perfect justice which would secure perfect peace. I believe that the common consciousness of the world, yet slumbering and undeveloped, is the consciousness of potential Christianity. If we could pierce the hate and strife, the vice and shame, the selfishness and institutional power, the self-deceit and fraudulent sincerity, the theology and scepticism of the world mind of this moment we would find it to be a Christ mind. The mind of Christ is the disclosure of the hidden mind of humanity, and his person the revelation of our yet ungrown human race. The waking social consciousness of the world is the evolution of the Christ mind; it is the race coming to a consciousness of its Christ nature and Christ destiny. Jesus is the fulfillment, the objective revelation, of the moral potentiality of

the world; his person interprets and satisfies the world's common moral sense. The one universal fact of human history is that humanity is conscious of a quality of right potential within which finds its perfect development and incarnation in the moral nature and person of Jesus.

The state, then, must become Christian if it is to be the organ of the social unity which is the present search and determination of the peoples, and which it is the true mission of the state to accomplish. The state must have in it the mind of Christ, in order to associate men in justice. Except the state be born again, except it be delivered from pagan doctrines of law and government, from commercial and police theories of its functions, it cannot see that social order so just as to be defined as the kingdom of God. Unless the state believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and become the organ of the Christ spirit in human relations, it cannot be saved from the wrath of the rising social passion.

I see nothing strange or unreasonable about the proposal to make the mind of Christ the mind of our legislation. If such a mind as Christ's can inspire and direct the whole action of one man, it is not impossible or incomprehensible that such a mind should inspire men collectively and politically. It does not seem mystical to me to believe that the mind of Christ shall become the creative spirit of political actions and express itself in the statutes of the state. I believe that the kingdom of God is to be realized in the state rather than in the church, and that it will be politically rather than ecclesiastically organized. I look for a movement that shall be a great political revival of the righteousness of Christ; a movement that shall have no other purpose than the translation of the mind of Christ into the constitution and legislation of the nation, and the making of his mind the national political sense. Such a movement would not begin with a declaration of independence, and would raise no cry for rights. It would begin with a confession of the mutual dependence of all men; and issue a sacred call for the fellowship of sacrifice. Association, not individual liberty, would be the movement's watchword and hope of glory. It might be among the despised things of the world in its beginnings, but it would fulfill the apostle's vision of the mighty Michael and his hosts of warrior angels casting out the great dragon which symbolizes the worship of material forces. And with the inspired leadership of men who love not their life unto death, it would conquer the nation, and begin the Christian state which would be the political realization upon the earth of the divine government of the world which Jesus disclosed. For Jesus is the real king of America, though the religious Pharisees and the political Sadducees say that they have no king but the majority.

I. The Christian state will be the organized democracy of the people. Democracy is the political realization of Christianity. It is the order through which faith in right manifests itself in the freedom of man. The old Hebrew idea of God dwelling in the midst of the people as constituted in a free commonwealth expresses the facts and forces of democracy. The true democracy is still better defined by the apostolic term, "the communion of the Holy Ghost," by which term is meant the concord of the people in righteousness; the government of the people by a spirit of unity within rather than by a dominion over them. History is the progressive disclosure of the self-government of the people as the providential design. Christianity in its fulfillment is the self-government of the people through communion with God; through the surrender of the common will to the righteous will expressed in Christ. The historical and providential idea is that God shall lead the people by the spirit of right as his sons, governing them inspirationally rather than institutionally. Institutions that are democratic in fact will be the organs of inspiration and the servants of the people, rather than the organs of domination with the people for their servants. The end of democracy is the political redemption and perfection of humanity in a government and unity of the sons of God.

Nothing can be more presumptuous than the literature which treats of the triumph or failure of democracy. As

yet democracy can scarcely be considered to have been an experiment. It has not been tried. A government of the people is a dream yet to be realized. There do not exist any truly democratic institutions. Wherein democracy has been thought triumphant it has been the triumph of expediences substituted for democracy. Wherein it has failed, something less than democracy has been the experiment.

We Americans are not a democratic people. We do not select the representatives we elect; we do not make our own laws; we do not govern ourselves. Our political parties are controlled by private, close political corporations that exist as parasites upon the body politic, and give us the most humiliating and degrading despotism in political history. Our legislation is determined by a vast system of lobby. The people know, though they cannot prove, that our legislative methods have become the organization of indirect bribery and corruption, from one end of the land to the other. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the chief work of our state and national legislatures in recent years has been to obstruct, defeat, or cheat the will of the people. We are anything but democratically governed, but are under the government of political and legislative bureaucracies that dominate, plunder and oppress by an indolent and concealed both the reality and the nature of the dominion, corruption and oppression. Our American senate is seriously reminding us of the court of Louis XVI. The people America today do not know how to utter their true political word, and are no longer able to express their true political faith through their institutions. The politicians who control these institutions are ignorant of what the people really think and believe. They are largely insensible to the rising tide of social feeling and purpose that will yet sweep away the foundations of political faith and order, unless recognized and received as a national regeneration.

We can no more stop the progress of democracy where it now is, barely in its beginnings, than we can take the race back to the Garden of Eden. From the idea of the absolute monarch we have progressed to the idea of representative institutional government. But we have only reached the half way house of political progress. We shall have to move on to the goal, which is the fulfillment of democracy in the direct self-government of the people, with only such institutional organs as shall execute, and be responsible to their will. In a pure democracy the people will be their own legislators and make their own laws directly, without any intermediary legislative institutions. There will be institutions to receive and enforce the legislation of the people. But representative legislation and representative government are as distinctly two forms of government as the absolute and the limited monarchy. There can be no true democracy with representative legislation. And representative legislation has accomplished the beginnings of its own doom. There have been few important measures before our state or national legislatures during the last decade which could have been decided with intelligence and character, with thoroughness and promptness, wholly beyond the moral or intellectual comprehension of the representatives chosen to legislate on the people's behalf. The jobbers in politics who make the affairs of the public well being their political stock exchange strive to create the impression that they represent the actual political morals of the people, and deceive the people into a distrust of themselves and a centralization of power. But unbelief in God is no more fatal to freedom and progress, to justice and right, than unbelief in the people. And not the centralization but the diffusion of power is the lesson of history and the safety of the present. Only through becoming the organ of the common faith and aspiration, the common life, the holy life, the moral well being, the common wholeness of the whole people can the state endure the social strains and change, and prove its right to be. Such it can become only through the organization of the democracy that will politically fulfill the order of life begun with the birth of the Christ man.

II. The Christian state will be the organized economy of the people. Political freedom can realize itself only

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