Christian Elements
IN THE
Socialist Movement

By CARL D. THOMPSON

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5443 DREXEL AVENUE,  CHICAGO, U. S. A.
To my Father Living, and to my Mother
"Whom we have loved long since and lost awhile"

To the memory of their life long devotion to the cause of the Christ—

To those who may not always have understood my meaning; but whose love and devotion to the cause of God’s Kingdom in the Earth I believe to be most truly honored and most faithfully followed in the message here proclaimed—

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THE SPIRIT OF SOCIALISM

Think not that I am come to destroy; I am come not to destroy but to fulfill.

* * *

I am come that they may have life and have it more abundantly.

* * *

No man that hath left houses, or brethren or sisters, or mother, or father, or children or LANDS for my sake or for the gospel's sake but he shall receive a hundred fold NOW, IN THIS TIME—HOUSES and brethren, and sisters, and mothers and children AND LANDS, with persecutions; and in the age to come eternal life.

* * *

He that will not work, neither shall he eat.

* * *

They shall build houses and inhabit them; they shall plant vineyards and eat the fruit thereof. They shall not build and another inhabit; they shall not plant and another eat the fruit thereof.

* * *

They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation; neither shall they learn war any more.

* * *

Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace, good will among men.

* * *

The spirit of the Lord is upon me because he
hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; the recovering of sight to the blind; to set at liberty those that are bruised, and to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.

* * *

Ye shall know the truth: and the truth will make you free.

* * *

Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light. And ye shall find rest unto your souls.

* * *

For unto us a child is born; unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulders; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace.

I

THE MORE ABUNDANT LIFE

Nothing, it seems to me, was more fundamental in all the purpose of Jesus than his desire to see the people have a more abundant life. He looked about upon their impoverished, emaciated lives, and had compassion on them. "I am come," he said, "that they might have life and have it more abundantly."

The whole purpose of his soul surged up in these words. I think nothing that he said was more expressive of his final aim than this.

But with Jesus I believe the idea had a wider, deeper meaning than is usually given to it by the church today. With him life meant not
only spiritual and personal qualities, but material necessities; not only spiritual but physical unfoldment. And inasmuch as the physical needs of man precede and are essential to the spiritual and moral unfoldment—they cannot be neglected or omitted from the message of Jesus without emasculating Christianity.

It is quite true as one has said, "He strove to open the eyes of the soul, to touch the secret wellsprings of being which yield the truest and most abiding pleasure, and to lift man's thought from the more sordid, gross and ephemeral things to an appreciation of the eternal verities that make life rich in love and kindliness, nobility of purpose and fidelity to principle, faithful to the higher vision and responsive to duty's call.

"He only lives who is awake morally as well as physically and mentally. Yet for him who has to struggle through the long hours of the day till all his faculties are exhausted, in order to secure bread for the body, there can be little of that abundant life of which the Master spoke. Only through conditions so just as to insure the leisure necessary for the development of the artistic taste, the mental processes and the spiritual nature, can society hope to see her children entering into the abundant life that should be within the reach of all.

"Essential to Christianity, if it is to be the handmaid of progress, as is the securing of such social and economic conditions as will render full-orbed manhood possible, it is still more vital that the opening life of the young be fostered instead of blunted, dwarfed and poi-"
soned by being robbed of the freedom and wholesome culture and training necessary for the normal unfoldment of life. The slums of our great cities; the sweat-shops, fattening the coffers of the merchant princes; Wall Street's masters playing with loaded dice, with the nation's wealth as the stake; while in mines and mills the tender flowers of childhood are being blighted, poisoned and robbed of their rightful heritage—these and similar crying wrongs and injustices speak in trumpet tones of the failure of the church to render possible the more abundant life that can come only when man is so environed as to permit him to grow Godward and develop the finer side of life."

To a great proportion of mankind such culture is practically impossible under present conditions. It is beyond their experience and even beyond their conception. To the man that must toil all day to the limit of endurance, who must exhaust every faculty of mind and body in the struggle for bread—to such a one the qualities of the higher spiritual life are utterly beyond reach.

To the wife of the working man, herself perhaps a wage slave before she married, and immediately assuming the burdens of motherhood—to such a mother of four, six and sometimes even eight children, the promise of that spiritual elevation of the more abundant life is utterly meaningless. Her home is a hovel. Perhaps one room. Without an outside window. There are 300,000 such places in New York City alone. Indescribable filth, unspeakable hopelessness. There she must bring forth
her children in terror and anguish alone. There she must nurse them. There she must quiet their pain through sleepless nights of unutterable weariness. There she must lash her tired body to work long before the dawn—she must cook, wash, scrub. She must nurse her sick, encourage her husband when injured or out of work—from there she must bury her dead till at last her heart is buried with them.

What meaning has the more abundant life to her?

To the child slave, cursed with toil too sore for his tender years—what meaning this? There are 2,000,000 of them in America today. To the little gamin that goes out to fight with companions on the streets for a place to stand and sell; to these babies driven from their beds at the chill of dawn, and forced to toil through the live-long days; to these broken hearts in babyhood—what possible meaning can the message have?

To the poor unfortunate girl of the underworld caught in the great loathsome current that flows by way of the brothel into the open gate of a living hell; to the white slaves, wrenched from the life of innocence and forced by coercion unspeakably brutal into immedicable woes—what meaning to her this message of the more abundant life?

To the laborer, heavy laden and discouraged, to his tired wife, to the child slave, to the tramp, to the criminal, the prostitute—a great host, an innumerable multitude—our message is utterly meaningless, or else a mockery, a derision—at the very best utterly incompre-
hensible. In fact, it seldom if ever reaches them.

These have always been with us. They are with us today. Their presence is the final proof of the failure of our civilization to fulfill the purpose of Christ.

All these—and all the millions of their kind that have lived in misery and died in despair through all the centuries since the time of Christ—these are the mute but mighty challenge of the God of today to do something more than we have done before to make the message of Jesus real to the world.

For these cannot be saved, these cannot find the more abundant life till we change our social order—transform and redeem the environmental life of mankind that enslaves them.

To him who can synthesize the love of the Christ for God's humanity with the program of Socialism, comes a mighty and wonderful call today. He will revivify the message of Jesus and fill it with meaning to the world of today.

Turn now to the platforms of the Socialist party. I have been deeply interested in collecting them. I have them from almost every nation in the world, and scores of them from cities and states. And one of the things that strikes me most forcibly is the strange similarity of those words of Jesus and the words that recur so constantly in these utterances of the Socialist movement. "Socialism," these platforms say, "is the movement of the modern working class for better food, better clothing,
better houses, more leisure, education and culture.” Is not this what Jesus sought?

II

THE HERE AND NOW

Jesus laid emphasis on the duty of mankind to make this world and this life here and now what it ought to be. It is not true that Jesus emphasized the importance of the life after death. The non-Christian religions and peoples emphasized this element very much more than did Jesus.

The Old Testament traditions knew practically nothing of the life beyond. The whole burden of the prophets and the law-givers that preceded Christ was for this world here and now. Only a corrupted Christianity has taken the emphasis from our present duty in personal and social problems and placed it over on the life after death. Jesus emphasized the here and now.

And this is exactly what the Socialist movement does. It affirms man’s supreme duty to be to reorganize the present life of mankind, not only personal but social, civic and economic, upon the principles of justice, harmony and peace.

It is not the “Sweet-bye-and-bye”; it is the “Right-Here-and-Now” we seek to glorify. And if we do our duty here and now, the future is secure.

III

CONCERN FOR THE MATERIAL WELFARE OF MAN

Jesus was concerned about the material welfare of people. However much we may value
the spiritual qualities of life—in fact exactly because we prize them so highly, we must, if we follow the spirit of the Christ, be deeply concerned about the problems of food and clothing, of housing and health, of labor, of land and money. For it is only through the right use of these that all of the people may have life.

Jesus fed the hungry. He clothed the naked. He visited and healed the sick. And in that striking story of the judgment he makes the test of moral excellence of character to turn upon the question of whether or not the people had ministered to the material needs of those about them, and said, “Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, my brethren, ye did it not unto me. Depart from me ye workers of iniquity.”

The Old Testament is filled with instructions, directions and laws concerning the proper use of the land, of money, of food, of tools—and through it all runs the purpose of securing such an adjustment of these matters as to guarantee justice to all the people. And upon this basis material blessings of all kinds are promised.

How similar in spirit and in many ways in actual detail is all of this to the economic program of Socialism. And the purpose of it all is also identical, namely, to guarantee material welfare to all of the people on a basis of justice.

IV

THE POOR AND UNFORTUNATE

Christianity is everywhere supposed to be
filled with especial compassion for the poor and unfortunate. Jesus' message was a gospel—good news to the poor. The common people heard him gladly because there was a promise in his movement of relief to the poor and the oppressed.

Socialism is today, so far as I can see, the greatest, most far-reaching and beneficent movement in the direction of relief for the poor and the unfortunate on the face of the earth. Going beyond and deeper than all the sentimental efforts of our thousand and one philanthropies and charities, Socialism would strike at the root of the problem. By securing employment for all who are able to work, by establishing remunerative wages, and by scientific provision for the sick, and treatment of the criminal and defective, it would enable the poor to help themselves, would provide healing for the sick, and inaugurate methods for reclaiming of the criminal classes. And this, it seems to me, is the most rational form of effort in line with this element of the Christian faith.

V

A LABOR MOVEMENT

There is an almost striking parallel between the modern Socialist movement and the beginnings of Christianity. Socialism, as is well understood, is a distinctly working class movement. So also was Christianity in its beginning.

The religious life of the race has been intimately associated with the struggles of labor. One may seriously ask whether the labor
element in religious history is not its chief significance.

Moses was a great labor leader. The movement he organized was distinctly a labor movement. The Israelites were in bondage in Egypt. They were slaves. They were the working class of that day. And the conditions of labor were terrible.

The Bible stories corroborated by recent historical studies make it evident enough that the conditions were desperate. Long hours, child labor, woman labor, the task master, the lash, suffering, privation, even death—all to the advantage of the favored few. The old, old story of the oppression of labor.

It was this that moved the heart of Jehovah. And the call of Moses was to relieve all this. It was the oppression of labor that was the determining element. And Moses went down into Egypt upon a mission that was deeply religious; but it was distinctly a mission to the working class.

He did not go as a missionary; he did not go to organize a church, to conduct prayer meetings or Sunday schools; nor even to found libraries, colleges, social settlements or soup kitchens. He went on a mission altogether more distinctly religious than that, on direct command from Jehovah, the Almighty. Moses went down into Egypt to emancipate labor.

He became the representative of labor. Their walking delegate. He presented the grievance of the workers to the employers. He went directly to the King. But the employers refused to yield. They had nothing to arbitrate. Many
conferences were held. All were unsuccessful. The demands of the union were denied.

And therefore, as a last resort, as the only way out, and at a given signal, the whole body walked out—six hundred thousand of them. They quit work together, in a body. They struck. And they went one step further than the modern union—they took their tools with them.

It was the greatest strike in history.

Now a strike is not usually regarded as a religious matter. But it was at that time. Then and for long centuries back there the struggles of labor were regarded as deeply and profoundly religious.

Our inability to see and appreciate the religious significance of the struggles of labor in our day—our indifference, even hostility to the real, the living flesh and blood labor movements of today—this is the measure of our religious apostasy. Time was when they were regarded as the real religious life of the race.

Jesus was himself a working man, as were practically all of his disciples. The early Christian church was a distinctly working class organization. In fact, all of the more striking characters of Bible history have been great leaders of labor movements. And each of the great epochs recorded there were epochs of great labor awakenings and labor movements. They are but illustrations of the distinctly proletarian nature of the religious history out of which has come the Christian religion.

The world at the time of Christ was full of labor organizations and there are many reasons
to believe that the relation between the organized workers and the early church was very close. The unions of that time were communistic. So were the early Christians. The unions were very fraternal in their organizations, caring for their sick, helping their unfortunate and burying their dead. So did the early Christians. Some of the phraseology of the unions passed over naturally to the church life. The word “deacon,” for example, came from the custom of the labor unions and meant one who waited on the table at the common meal. The ability of the early Christians to travel from place to place without purse or scrip is quite readily understood when it is remembered that the organized workers of that day, and ever since, have always had travel benefits, and other customs that made such things easy and natural.

It is hardly too much to say that Christianity came into the world on the shoulders of an organized labor movement. Everywhere in its early history it bore the tradition of the working class. Let the reader secure a copy of Osborn Ward’s very remarkable two volumes on “The Ancient Lowly” and all this will be shown by unquestionable historical evidence.

Thus Christianity came into the world as a labor movement—borne on the tides of great spiritual passion, and cherishing the ideals of fraternity, justice, internationalism and peace on the earth.

Modern Socialism is the reincarnation of those ideals.

The spiritual passion of today, the moral en-
thusiasm of the race, is found in the labor awakenings of today. And the last best word in the labor movements of modern times is Socialism. It is the one great conception and purpose to which the labor movements in every nation have one after another gradually come. Until today the greatest fact and force in the labor world is the Socialist movement.

VI
PERSONAL POISE—CONFIDENCE, FAITH, SECURITY

One of the most beautiful things in the preaching of the Christian religion is its constant affirmation of confidence. It promises security to every individual. It commands a faith which, if it could but be realized, as indeed it has been to a surprising degree among its adherents, results in a personal poise and feeling of security.

"Take no thought for the morrow," it says. "Be not anxious." "Do not worry as to what you shall eat or wear." The follower of Jesus is assured that these matters are to be taken care of and he need not worry.

How strangely beautiful all of this would be if only we could believe that it were true. Most of the world, and certainly the overwhelming majority of the working class, have long ago given up their faith in the possibility of realizing any such condition as this on the earth.

With the tremendous increase in the cost of living; with the uncertainty of employment that keeps a million men in this country without the means of earning a livelihood; with 500,000 people being killed and injured in in-
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Industrial pursuits every year; with sickness and poverty always peering into their lives with sinister mien—with all these possibilities constantly around the working class, how can they ever expect to have faith? How can they be unanxious, how can they be without worry as to what they shall eat, or how they shall be clothed, or where they shall find shelter? To them life has become one constant strain of anxiety, uncertainty and despair.

And now, through this darkness shines a star of hope to the toiling masses. Here in Socialism is a promise that this anxiety shall be removed. In its place shall be security and assurance. The actual program is here at hand, worked out in detail by which this may become a reality.

Socialism guarantees employment to all. No one then need fear of being "out of work." And every one who toils shall receive the full products of his labor. This is a reasonable assurance of the abolition of all involuntary poverty from the face of the earth. Here is the program of insurance against accident, sickness, death and old age—a truly wonderful lifting of the burden of anxiety and distress from the shoulders of labor.

No wonder that to thousands of souls this modern movement has come like the promise of one who said, "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest"

VII

THE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN

As to the relationship between man and man,
the ideal of Christianity is brotherhood. We are commanded to love our neighbors as ourselves; to bear one another’s burdens; the strong to care for the weak; and all things whatsoever we would that others should do to us so we are to do to them.

Now this is an ideal that, like a fire on the altars, has been kept alive only by rare souls in human history, and only at rare periods of moral exaltation. As for the general run of mankind in the practical everyday affairs of life, it has never been realized. For the great mass of mankind it is yet merely a far-away dream, an unapproachable vision.

In the world as it is today, especially in the commercial activities of life, the ideal of brotherhood and the golden rule are utterly impractical and impossible. And furthermore, as a rule of life they have never been considered, or if they have been, have long ago been abandoned by those who enter. No man can follow these ideals of Christianity and succeed in the capitalistic environment. And practically nobody tries. It is every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost.

And the Socialist movement sees the reason for this. Sees what it is that makes the struggle inevitable. It is the competitive system. The fact that in order to live one must compete with another.

You cannot make spiritual friends out of economic enemies. And while here and there are splendid examples of men who rise above their economic interests and fail in business, rather than abandon their Christian ideals, yet
for the mass of mankind it is different. Most people and most Christians have declined to be crucified upon the cross of commercial competition. And especially so since they have discovered that their competitors are particularly anxious that they should be.

And if any doubt arises as to the effects of the competitive system in arraying man against man, it is removed when we consider classes and nations. Industrially we have practically constant warfare between the classes. There is scarcely a week or a day without its strike or lockout with all the attendant evils of industrial warfare. And as for nations, there never was a time in history when such vast and astounding sums of money were spent on battleships, armies, military schools and all sorts of preparations for war. So that even if at any moment there is not actual warfare there is almost fevered haste in pushing preparations for war.

What more conclusive proof of the inherent antagonisms of the competitive system?

In order to have work some one must be left out of work. In order to get money some one must be made unable to get it. In short, in order to live and to succeed, in order to have food, clothing and shelter for themselves and their families, men must work against each other instead of working together with and for each other.

Socialism offers in place of this competitive system a co-operative system, where men shall work together instead of against each other, where the success of one will minister to the
success of the other instead of detracting from it; where the achievement of the one will be a help to all.

And this is the economic basis upon which alone the moral exaltation of the race can rest. Only upon such a foundation can the superstructure of human brotherhood be reared.

VIII

THE INFINITE VALUE OF THE HUMAN SOUL

Christianity places a very high estimate upon the value of every individual. The faith it seems to inspire in its followers that they will be taken care of, that their lives will be made fruitful, that they will surely find peace and joy, is based upon the assurance that every soul is of infinite worth. No matter how humble or lowly he may be, in the eyes of the great Father of All he is of infinite value. He is the son of God, the child of the King; he will be cared for.

But is there any such estimate placed upon the lives of the people in the world of today? Can the working man by any stretch of faith or credulity make himself believe for a moment that anybody cares for him to any extent like this?

Here are 1,750,000 little children for whom our capitalistic system cares nothing except to grind their little lives into profits to feed the greed of modern plutocracy. No. The modern capitalistic system places no value upon human life. Millions of people who are compelled to live in wretched quarters, feed upon coarse, unwholesome food, be clothed in rags,
live in misery and die in despair—how can any one of them believe that there is over all a spirit of infinite kindness, a Father who loves and cares?

The modern capitalistic system cares nothing for the body or the soul. It cares nothing that the millions toil without recompense; that the womanhood and motherhood of the race is ravished; that the childhood of humanity is cursed and blighted.

Capitalism is the great darkness in which there is no faith, no love, no care.

But over against this despair there is a movement which again reasserts the infinite value of every human soul and body. Asserts that since the soul cannot live without a body, that body shall and must be fed; must be clothed; must be housed. Asserts that every human being has a right, because of its infinite value, to these things. Asserts as a divine right the right of every child, every woman, every man, to an equal chance to secure for himself the blessings of life, liberty, joy.

IX

THE SACREDNESS OF NATURE

According to the Bible story and the Christian conception of the universe, God created the world and all that is in it. The universe is but the expression of the energy of the Infinite.

And according to the Christian conception all this energy of the Infinite is to the end that human kind may live and develop and reach the fulfillment of life.

According to this conception one may look out upon the land, the smiling fields, the
mighty floods, the cataracts, the forests, the gold, the iron, the coal, and see in them all the manifestation of the love of God. To the one who holds this view the golden glow of the ripening harvest, the somber silence of the mighty forest, the melody of the flowing river, the diapason thunder of the mighty cataract, the gleam of the golden sands, the richness of the iron, the coal, the lead, the copper and the zinc—all of these are the living, pulsating presence of God, the Infinite. And to him who holds this view, all these energize for the blessing of mankind. And to such a one God seems good.

But who can hold such a view in the modern capitalistic system? Lands there are, it is true, but they have been monopolized. Fields there are that are ripening, but the grain trust steals the fruits. Floods and rivers and water falls—water power beyond the range of human thought to compute—but the water trust has appropriated them all. Wonderful mineral resources there are. Oil, for example. How wonderfully God has enriched this continent with oil. But Rockefeller has monopolized it. Coal there is, enough to keep the whole nation warm in winter, so that no one need feel the shivering pain of our severe winters. But Mr. Baer refuses to allow it to be mined except upon terms that impoverish the miners and endanger their lives. And refuses to sell it except at prices that make it impossible for the great mass of mankind to be properly warm in their homes in winter.

In short, all the forces of nature have been
defiled, prostituted, defamed. They have been turned from the original purpose for which they were created, so that instead of blessing mankind, ministering to its needs, they are used only to pile up private profits for a few favored monopolists.

Now comes the Socialist movement, asserting with all the vigor and force of its mighty awakening that the resources of God and nature shall not be for the blessing of the few, but shall be owned by all, and by the collective will kept open to all, that to the full they may minister to the needs of humanity.

What is this but the voice of God’s creation asserting its right to bless humanity?

X

THE EXALTATION OF THE SOCIAL WELFARE ABOVE THE INDIVIDUAL

Christianity insists upon the duty of the individual being sacrificed where necessary in the interests of the collectivity. “Lay not up treasures for yourself” is its injunction. “He that seeketh his life shall lose it.” “The true shepherd shall lay down his life for the sheep.” These and many similar injunctions in the teachings of the Bible exalt the welfare of society and call upon the individual to find his own advantage in the common good.

And similarly with Socialism. It is the common wealth that is sought. And the individual must find his developing resource and increasing wealth in the enlarged social welfare. As in the public school system the individual has found his greatest good in the development of an institution entirely social in its nature and
operation. So Socialism points the way to the personal exaltation by means of social advancement.

The injunction of Socialism, like that of Christianity, is “do not seek your own personal and individual wealth alone, but seek rather the development of social institutions and the advancement of the common welfare.” Thus shall you find in the common wealth your own true wealth, and in the common good your own highest good.

XI

DEMOCRACY

Christianity is essentially democratic. The idea of brotherhood itself is democratic. And Jesus said, “Call no man master—he that would be greatest among you let him be servant of all.” Thus, though recognizing the inequality of individuals and the infinite variation in qualities and capacity, Christianity lays upon each one of its followers the responsibility of social service in proportion to his ability to serve. And the measure of greatness in the Christian view is the amount of service rendered.

Socialism, too, is democratic. It is the protest against autocracy. The demand of the last and lowest down to a right in the good things of life. And of all the good things of life none are greater than the right to a voice, not only in the religious thought and government of the world, not only in access to the spiritual blessings, and not only in the political affairs of mankind. But chief of all and the most vital in this hour of history Democracy means the right of the last and least to a voice in determining
CHRISTIAN ELEMENTS IN

the economic, industrial and social life of mankind.

That no man may be master, that all men may be brethren, in the struggle for bread, in the every day life of mankind, is the greatest element in democracy. It is the dream of Christianity. It is the goal of Socialism.

XII

REVILED AND PERSECUTED

Jesus said to his disciples during the dark days of their early struggles, "Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven."

Through all the centuries of darkness these words have been an infinite solace to thousands upon thousands of hearts and souls who have struggled against the wrongs of a cruel world. And only those of great moral exaltation are able to endure the persecution and false witness, the slander and abuse that is heaped upon those who start some new movement for the blessing of humanity.

The early Christians knew and felt this. The forerunners in every great movement have understood it. The early abolitionists understood it. Some one has said: "Every new movement that comes into the world to bless mankind is a flame of fire that burns to ashes those who bring it." It is a wonderful quality of character and life that enables these rare souls in human history to encounter all of this moral opposition and hostility and yet remain true to their cause.
Sometimes, when I think of this, I am reminded of how Socialism and the Socialists have been reviled and persecuted. How all manner of evil has been said against them falsely.

They have been accused of being anarchists. One of my dearest friends once said to me in a burst of confidence that, in spite of all I might say, he really believed that I was personally responsible, along with others of my kind, for the murder of President McKinley. And he was perfectly sincere about it. One of my first debates on the subject of Socialism was on the question: "Resolved, That Socialism Is the Kindergarten of Anarchy." And from that time to the last municipal election in Milwaukee, in which the leaders of our movement were reviled as bloody revolutionists, and the voters were warned against the Social-Democratic party because it would be sure to involve the nation in a reign of blood and terror such as the world has never before seen—we have never been free from the charge of violence and bloodshed.

We have been charged with proposing to destroy that most sacred and divine relationship in life—marriage. And worse, with holding and teaching views subversive of moral decency. In some cases these utterances were fearfully extreme. One I recall that occurred in a series of lectures delivered by a Catholic priest in the city of Milwaukee a few years ago, in which he cried out: "God save us from the saturnalia of lust which the Socialists would precipitate upon us." And no less a man than our own ex-President Roosevelt has
deliberately charged us, in his articles in the Outlook Magazine, of moral indecency of the lowest and most brutish kind.

These are perhaps the worst cases of reviling, of saying of all sorts of things against us falsely, that have occurred. But they have occurred almost universally.

Shall we then say of the Socialists and the Socialist movement, as Jesus did under similar conditions to his followers: "Blessed are ye when men revile you and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you falsely."

And as to persecution, volumes might be written. Many a Socialist has lived a life of privation and suffering even unto death, whose name is now worthy of a place in some new book of martyrs.

Not long ago there came to our home in Milwaukee, and as a refugee, a "comrade" who had been as cruelly persecuted as many martyrs of the past. His home had been entered in the dead of night. Without warning he was torn from his family. A prosperous business was completely wrecked. His health was broken. And when I saw him he was a physical wreck. The recognized world of today persecuted him and crushed him. The Socialist Party of America, by referendum vote, elected him a member of its highest official committee.

Stories like this might be multiplied. There are very many of them. Thousands unknown. But most striking of all, perhaps, are the sufferings of the Socialists of Russia. There were 132 Socialists in the second Russian duma out
of a total of 440 representatives. Nearly all of these 132 Socialists have since been exiled to Siberia.

So much it costs to stand for one's convictions even today!

Speaking of a meeting of the interparliamentary union of the Socialist movement held in London in July, 1906, Robert Hunter says of Anakine, the Russian peasant, who attended:

"I shall never forget the intensity of that memorable gathering while listening to the impassioned address of the Russian peasant. He was a gifted speaker, and although strong and fearless, he had the saddest face I have ever seen. In the course of his address, he said he had come to London despite his belief that upon his return to Russia he would be imprisoned or perhaps secretly murdered. On the day following the congress, the representatives spent the afternoon on the estate of a sympathetic Englishman. Tchaykovsky, now in prison in Russia, was there with Anakine. As we drove along the lovely lanes, and looked upon the smiling hills of Surrey and Kent, and walked through Chaucer's Pilgrim's Way, the sadness and brooding melancholy of this Russian peasant's face cast a gloom over us all, and for weeks afterward it haunted me. His parliamentary duties called him back to Russia immediately, and a few days later we saw in the papers that he had hardly landed from the boat in Finland before he was set upon and beaten into insensibility by a band of thugs employed by the police."
I shall never forget the emotions of my heart when I listened, some years ago, to Madam Breshchowsky, a woman then over sixty years of age. She had been a Princess in Russia. As a girl she became interested in the poor and oppressed laboring classes. She tried to help them. She was forbidden, and persecuted, but she continued her work. She moved among them at night, in their hovels, and their underground meeting places. She taught them to read. She gave them books and pamphlets. She pointed out to them the only way for relief in Russia, the way of revolution. She was hated, repudiated. All her property was taken from her. She stripped her jewels from her neck and arms to buy literature and to help the movement. They threw her into prison. Into dungeons—dungeons of indescribable horror. They exiled her to Siberia. She escaped, and instantly plunged again into the task of the redemption of the workers. Seven years of her life, a gentle, refined, yet irrepressible soul, she spent in the dungeons of that most awful of despotisms—Russia. Again they dragged her away to Siberia, and again she sought to escape. With some companions she started to walk through the wilds of that lonely country, eighteen hundred miles, hoping upon reaching the shore to find an American vessel that she might escape. And, finally, she did escape and made her way to America. And when I heard her she was speaking in her own language, an interpreter repeating it, asking of the working class of America help in the great struggle to redeem the working class of
Russia. As soon as her lectures were over, back she went again into the fury and hate of persecution of that unquenchable fire of Russian despotism.

And when I look upon that face, and when I think of others like that—men, women and even girls of tender years, whom I have known personally, who have endured like this one, not only in Russia, but in other countries, and when I recall the sacrifice and privation that have been endured by those who have been repudiated by their friends here in our own country, who have suffered misunderstanding, misrepresentation, calumny, ridicule and abuse, the loss of property and home, and sometimes hope—when I think of all of this I recall those words of Jesus: "Blessed are ye when men shall revile and persecute you." I recall them and wonder.

I occasionally go to church. And when I do I sit in comfort among those who are at ease, who bear upon their bodies no marks of sufferings and scars like this. The music is soft and sweet. There is luxury and ease about. And sometimes I wonder whether the church people of today may not have lost the right to the comfort of those words. Or whether they would know what it was all about if some one should stand up in their midst and read to them these words of Jesus.

But when I go into a Socialist meeting, where some of those such as I have described are present, these words of his come back to me with a wonderful and strange significance.
One of the recognized enemies of personal health and physical efficiency is intemperance. And very naturally, therefore, the Christian movement has always struggled against this evil. This struggle has taken many forms, including educational efforts, moral suasion, anti-saloon leagues, local option organizations and even political, as manifested in the Prohibitionist party movement.

Now the Socialist movement is not without a recognition of the dangers and evils that arise from intemperance. But it regards practically all of the temperance movements as lacking in thoroughness and in appreciation of the underlying roots of the evil. The Socialists believe that the economic forces are the chief and underlying causes which must be removed in order to effectively improve conditions in this line.

It is the fact that there is enormous profit in the liquor business that is the taproot of its evil. It is the fact that many thousands of men can earn money more easily in the saloon business than otherwise, and secure a living, and a pretty good one at that; and the fact that vast corporations and trusts have fattened off of the liquor business—it is these facts that have entrenched it so effectively in the economic life of the people. And, besides, the economic pressure upon the poor and laboring classes leaves their lives so barren that practically the only social life within their reach is such as is afforded by the saloon. And this
constitutes an added pressure in the direction of intemperance.

Remove the profit from the liquor business. Open wholesome opportunities for social life to the mass of the people, raise their economic conditions above that of want, squalor and privation, and, the Socialists believe, the greater part of the evil of intemperance will disappear. The rest can then be easily removed by education, moral suasion, and, if necessary, restrictive legislation. And this, they believe, is the logical and only practical method of approach to the subject.

If the reader would care to study this phase of the Socialist thought further, I would recommend a little five cent pamphlet on "Rational Prohibition" which can be secured of almost any Socialist publishing house.

However, this general philosophy of the Socialist movement does not constitute its only interest in the subject of temperance. In practically every country there has grown up within the Socialist movement an earnest and active agitation for personal sobriety on the part of its members, a movement not only for temperance, but even for total abstinence from alcoholic beverages.

We have never seen more effective or conclusive arguments in favor of total abstinence than some of the leaflets that have been written by the German Socialists and addressed to the German Socialist working people. Some of these have been translated and have appeared in the Christian Socialist in this country, published at 56 E. Randolph St., Chicago,
III. In Belgium, as well as in Germany, and France and England, there has been considerable agitation within the Socialist party, and temperance societies have been even organized to urge upon each other and their comrades the necessity of temperance.

It is very frequently the case in the beginnings of Socialism that the only place that workingmen Socialists can afford to secure for their meetings is a room in connection with a saloon. It is a pity that the church buildings, and Y. M. C. A.'s, or even public school buildings, and other public buildings, have not been opened and invitations extended to these groups of workingmen who seek to bring a new cause into the world. But such has not been the case. So they have met where they could meet. But as they have grown stronger they have shown their natural tendency, and have sought to get away from influences that damage them. Many of the Socialist centers in Belgium voted to exclude altogether the sale of strong drinks from their gathering places in spite of the pecuniary loss, and the driving away of many comrades. "In the widely circulated almanac of the co-operators of Belgium," says John Graham Brooks in his interesting work on "The Social Unrest," page 317, "one may find crisp and telling extracts upon the evils of alcohol. At one of the first sittings of the council, when the Maison du Peuple was opened in Brussels, it was voted to organize a campaign against the liquor business. In a collective (Socialist) hall in a mining district near Charleroi I saw temperance
placards of a kind that one would expect to see in a hall of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union.”

Thus, in practically every country, the Socialist movement is not without its active and aggressive work in the direction of personal temperance. Even here in the United States, at the last convention of the Socialist party, this same tendency manifested itself in a report offered by John M. Work, who was for years a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Party. This report urged upon the members of the Socialist party everywhere the necessity of personal cleanliness and physical efficiency. And to the end that this might be attained, urged not only temperance in the use of alcoholic liquors, but also urged improvement in the personal habits of the membership of the party, not only with reference to the use of alcoholic drinks, but with reference to foods and many other matters.

In this connection the moral influence of the Socialist movement has been very decided in the matter of political campaign methods. Over against the notoriously vicious and debauching methods which have been used by the ordinary politicians and the unprincipled party organizations, especially in the big cities, the Socialist movement has introduced an entirely new type of political campaign. In Milwaukee, for example, the Socialist party has completely changed the methods of political campaigning. No representative of the party is permitted to use the old methods so in vogue of buying voters with beer and cigars and the
Everything of that sort is positively forbidden. The campaigns are lifted to the plane of earnest discussion upon great fundamental principles. And the old parties, that have nothing but bribery and beer and personal advantage to offer, have lost steadily before this organized propaganda until the evil methods have become absolutely hopeless.

This fact alone has exercised tremendous moral influence in the community. And it is recognized by press and pulpit, by all alike, whether friends or foes of Socialism in the city.

XIV

THE APPEAL TO THE INDIVIDUAL

Christianity is first, last and all the time a direct and powerful appeal to the individual. Each individual is urged to assert himself; to believe in the possibility of his own achievement; to deny that sin and evil have power over him—to rise in personal excellence in spite of anything and everything that the environment may place about him.

Something like this is the constant appeal, affirmation, command of the awakened Christian conscience.

To many this seems inconsistent with the Socialist position which constantly emphasizes the fact of the tremendous effect of environment in determining character. Now these two ideas have never seemed inconsistent to me at all. Both are absolutely essential. Socialism balances the unquestioned truth of the force of environment over against the admitted truth of the importance of individual effort.
Indeed, these are only two parts of the whole truth.

No Christian can deny the tremendous force of environment upon character. The parent selecting good companions for his child; the Sunday School and church itself; the Y. M. C. A., and all our effort to get people away from bad influences is our testimony to the power of environment in effecting character.

The food we eat, the clothes we wear, the houses we live in, the books we read, the companions we keep, the places we go—all these effect our character. No Christian denies that. And that's why every Christian tries very hard to get good, suitable clothing, a home, good books to read, good companions—and all the rest.

On the other hand, no Socialist denies that the individual must assert himself; that every moral elevation of the race must begin with the individual and its consummation must depend upon the individual.

And in a very real sense Socialism is itself a tremendous appeal to the individual.

On this point I should like to quote some words from Professor Ely on the moral strength of Socialism. They are taken from his book on "Socialism and Social Reform," page 145:

"It may be said, indeed, that nothing in the present day is so likely to awaken the conscience of the ordinary man or woman, or to increase the sense of individual responsibility as a thorough course in Socialism. The study of Socialism has proved the turning point in
thousands of lives, and converted self-seeking men and women into self-sacrificing toilers for the masses. The impartial observer can scarcely claim that the Bible produces so marked an effect upon the daily, habitual life of the average man and the average woman, who profess to guide their conduct by it, as Socialism does upon its adherents. The strength of Socialism in this respect is more like that of the early Christianity as described in the New Testament.

**XV**

**A SOCIAL IDEAL**

Christianity offers to the world a wonderfully inspiring social ideal—the Kingdom of God on the Earth. Jesus taught his disciples to pray, “Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done, on Earth as it is in Heaven.”

In his sermons, parables, conversations and activities, Jesus brought to the fore constantly this social ideal. He filled it with significance drawn from the traditions of the Jewish history that preceded him. He embodied the national and civic hope of his people. And from that time to this there has never been a period in history from which this glorifying social ideal has been absent.

But it has been obscure. Only here and there, and only by rare souls and in rare periods has it come to the front. And one of the strangest things in the history of the race since the time of Christ is the failure of Christianity to undertake the work which Jesus so clearly had in mind—the establishment of the Kingdom of God on Earth, and the necessary
social reconstruction that must be made if that is to be accomplished.

Why this is so has always been a mystery to me. I think no one has explained it quite so plausibly as Professor Rauschenbusch in his very remarkable work, entitled, "Christianity and the Social Crisis." He has a chapter, the fourth in his book, on "Why Has Christianity Never Undertaken the Work of Social Reconstruction?" I should like to have the reader, who cares to carry this matter farther, read this chapter, and indeed all of Professor Rauschenbusch's book.

It is sufficient here to say that the teachings of Jesus contained this wonderful social ideal which has not yet been realized, and which it is the first and greatest duty of Christianity to seek, for which it is the first and fundamental duty of every Christian to work.

"Seek ye first the Kingdom of God"—this is the supreme, the first, the last and final duty of every Christian. To put this business before everything else is the command of Christ, to reconstruct the social order, so that the will of God may be done on Earth—this is the supreme thing according to Jesus.

At this point I should like to quote some stirring words delivered by Washington Gladden at the National Council of the Congregational Churches of America, held at Cleveland, Ohio, on Oct. 8, 1907. Mr. Gladden is one of the recognized leaders of religious thought in America, and a student of the social movements of our time. His words must carry
weight with a great multitude of religious people.

"The truth which Jesus meant that we should learn first, the headstone of the corner of his teaching, has been ignored or rejected through all the generations." . . . "The truth which Jesus always made central in his teachings, has never yet been made central in the teaching and the life of his church." . . . "Through all these centuries the chief part of the work which Jesus came to do has been left undone, practically unattempted."

"As any one may see, who will read the Synoptic gospels, the main thing that Jesus came into the world to do was to establish in this world the Kingdom of Heaven." . . . "It is necessary that the church shall know that she is here in the world, to seek first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness; to seek it not by turning her eyes to the skies, but by fixing them upon the world; to seek it and find it here, in shop, and store, and factory and mine, in bank and counting room, in kitchen and drawing room, in sanctum and studio, in public office and private station, wherever human beings join hands or touch elbows in the tasks and pleasures and comradeships of our daily life. To fill all these human relations with the spirit of good will and kindness, of unselfish ministry; to make men and women feel that the great joy of life is not the joy of strife, but the joy of service; to populate the world with a race of people whose central purpose it shall be not to get as much as they can, but to give as much as they can—
this is what Jesus came into the world to do."
"The church of Jesus Christ is called to give to society a new organic law, the law of life. It is called to organize industrial and civil society on Christian principles." . . .

"It does not now appear that evangelism, whose objective is the individual sinner, is likely to accomplish much until some things are done for which the world has long been waiting. The fact is plainly apparent that the church has lost her grip on the world, and she is not going to regain it until she finds out what is her real business in the world. Her enfeeblement is due to her failure to grapple with the task assigned her." . . . "If this nation is destroyed the guilt will lie at the door of the church."

"Here on this broad continent, under a pure democracy, inequalities of the most glaring sort have been developed; oppressions that are continental in their reach, a race of plunderers, more powerful and more cunning than ever before appeared in history, with great lawyers to aid them in their predatory schemes; a reign of debilitating luxury that would put to the blush the Romans of the decadence, and, as the fruit of the tree, misery and poverty at the other end of the social scale, and deadly class hatreds steadily deepening, and threatening revolution—this is the logical, natural, inevitable outcome of the moral individualism on which we have been trying to build society. Instead of its being true that democracy will transfigure egoism, we have found that no form of society can march hellward faster than
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a democracy under the banner of unbridled individualism.” . . . “The bottom trouble with it all is that we have been trying to found a social order on selfishness.”

“How a Christian man in a democracy, with a chrism upon his head of God’s ordination to rule this world rightly, can separate his religion from his social obligations, is hard to understand. And we cannot forgive the Christian church—the Christian church must not forgive herself—for failing in these great years of freedom and opportunity to leaven human society with the truth as it is in Jesus.”

“Where was the Christian church when the grafters were ravaging the cities, and the rebate robbers and the frenzied financiers and the insurance sharks were getting in their work? For the most part, she has been standing by and looking on, winking her eyes and twiddling her thumbs, and wondering whether she had any call to interfere.”

“Here and there a prophetic voice has been heard in our time, but against these monumental injustices with which the nation is now in a life and death grapple, the church has lifted up no clear and effectual protest.”

Splendid words! Dr. Gladden has grasped in a very comprehensive manner the social ideal of Jesus. He sees the wonderful opportunity as well as the tremendous responsibility which this ideal involves—the ideal of the Kingdom of God on the Earth.

My attention was first called to this great ideal by J. T. Duryea, at that time pastor of
the Congregational Church at Omaha, Neb. He came to our college to deliver some addresses in 1895, and spoke upon this subject, saying that he had spent several hours a day for more than six months co-lating, comparing and studying the Bible passages that bore upon the Kingdom idea. As I had been a Bible student all my life, and had at that time finished two quite thorough courses of Bible study, covering both the Old and New Testaments, besides all my Sunday School and church studies, I was quite surprised to be told by an evidently scholarly man that he had just spent six months studying to find out just what Jesus meant by the Kingdom of God.

It served to challenge my attention, however, and prepared me for an even more thorough study of the subject myself, which came later when I finished my college course and entered the theological seminary.

There I pursued the study of this question more or less during three years. And with this great ideal always in mind, I followed the course through the original languages of the Old and New Testaments; took a special course in the study of the Kingdom, lead by Professor Graham Taylor, using Mr. Stead’s big little book on The Kingdom of God as a sort of text book or guide. Meanwhile, I did not neglect to take advantage of all books that seemed to promise help or light upon the subject as collateral reading. I finished by preaching a sermon before my class on "The Bible Teaching Concerning Interest," and writ-
ing a thesis on "The Teachings of Jesus Concerning Wealth."

I mention this because the study of this idea of the Kingdom of God became a turning point in my life, as it has with many another of the students and followers of Jesus. And, besides, I wish it to appear that what is presented here is the result of long, earnest and reverent study and consideration.

Now, what is the Kingdom of God, or the Kingdom of Heaven as Jesus conceived it? What is the content of his social ideal?

1. It was drawn from the history of the Jewish race and had its roots in the Old Testament thought and purpose, for he said to his followers: "Think not I am come to destroy the law and the prophets. I am come not to destroy, but to fulfill." So this conception must have involved in an essential way the hope of the Jewish people.

2. It was an ideal for this earth and this world, for he taught his disciples to pray for the will of God to be done on earth as it is in heaven. He told them they were the salt of the earth. And John, on the isle of Patmos, writing his revelation of the consummation of the Kingdom, declared that it was the City of God coming down out of the heavens and resting on the earth; and again that the kingdoms of this world had become the Kingdom of God and that the nations of the earth had been amalgamated into it.

3. It involved material blessings, and Jesus spent much time and teachings in emphasizing this feature. As already pointed out, he
fed the hungry, clothed the naked, healed the sick, ministered to the physical needs of the people. At the very outset of his ministry he declared his mission to be "to preach the gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty, the recovery of sight to the blind and to preach the acceptable year of the Lord"—all of which constituted a very decided program for material amelioration.

4. The preaching and practice of the teachings of Jesus produced most striking economic effects in the life of the early church. They began almost at once the practice of communism. And for at least three hundred years the church held to it in one form or another as an essential part of the faith of Christ. (See Professor Nitti's "Catholic Socialism."

5. If the Old Testament teachings throw any light upon this thought of Jesus, as we believe they certainly do, or if they have any significance to the modern follower of Christ, then certain striking features of the Jewish life and law must be recalled: (a) The collective and common ownership of land was established; it was not to be monopolized nor sold in perpetuity; (b) The taking of interest for money loaned was strictly forbidden; (c) Laws providing especial care for the poor and unfortunate, reserving many rights and privileges for them were maintained; (d) Labor was especially protected by a great number of safeguards; (e) The method of collection of debts, remission of obligation and cancellation of mortgages, and release from bond service through the recurring jubilee—all these and
many other provisions of the Jewish laws that tended to keep the people free and happy were features of the economic life of the Jewish race which were very dear to them. And, without doubt, in the minds of every loyal member of the race they constituted a vital part of the general hope they cherished of a day when the spirit, if not the detail of their laws, customs and traditions should prevail on the earth and do for all the world what they did partially at least for them.

This national hope and purpose of the Jews was, of course, always more or less interfered with, and therefore, only partially realized in their economic and social life, by the attacks and invasions of outside foes. Much of the time their independent existence as a nation was interrupted. In that case, of course, their laws and customs could not find expression. But the ideal was always with them. And to a certain extent, especially in those periods when the nation enjoyed separate and peaceful existence, the ideal was partially realized. And always they cherished the hope, not only of complete national independence in which their ideal could then come to full realization, but also that their ideal of social and economical organization should at last prevail throughout the earth.

And without a doubt Jesus shared this hope. And it became one of the component parts of his great social ideal of the Kingdom of God on the earth.

To those who may seek further light, more evidence and further exposition, I would ear-
nestly recommend the reading of three remarkably clear, comprehensive works.


2. Cannon Freemantle's book entitled, "The World as the Subject of Redemption." This was written many years ago, but is a splendid presentation of the social content of the gospel of Jesus.

3. And, finally, coming a little more directly to the subject of the relation of Christianity to Socialism, the Rev. Campbell, one of England's greatest preachers, has written a book entitled "Christianity and the Social Order," the purpose of which, as he says, is to show "the correspondence between the principles of Christianity and modern Socialism." "The one thing I have tried to keep before me in these pages," he says, further, "is the desirability of showing what primitive Christianity set out to realize, and, therefore, how nearly identical were its practical aims with those of modern Socialism." And, finally, "I now regard Socialism as the practical expression of Christian ethics and the teachings of Jesus."

When one has become thoroughly imbued with the significance of the social ideal of Christianity, it is interesting to turn to Socialism. For here is another illuminating social ideal. Socialism also works for a reconstruction of the social order. A complete, a revolutionary change. It has a program, very definite, concise and direct. But the characteristic thing about it all is its ideal—the Co-operative
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Commonwealth. And in that ideal Socialism holds to justice, fraternity, co-operation, internationalism and peace.

XVI
POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND ACTIVITY

Christianity is never supposed to involve political action. It is generally considered to have little political significance. It is pointed out that Jesus organized no political party. In fact, did not concern himself with political affairs.

But there is a very good and sufficient reason for the silence of the early Christian workers on political matters. They were in something of the conditions that the revolutionists of Russia are in at the present time. They had no voice in the government. Political action was impossible. The people had no votes, much less representation or voice in the affairs of the government. There were only two ways open for social reconstruction at the time that Jesus lived. One was by the way of the sword —of violence, insurrection, revolution. Such a course was at that time entirely hopeless, in view of the political power and the military organization of Rome. To have adopted this method as Jesus was often urged to do, would have meant simply a useless martyrdom of His people. Jesus seemed to have seen this clearly, and steadily rejected it.

The other alternative was one of peaceful propaganda, the spiritual and intellectual enfranchisement of the people which had to pre-
cede every other advancement. This method he chose and followed to the end.

But it does not seem reasonable to me that having done this much, his hope and purpose should have faltered. I cannot believe that the will of God could ever stop short of the final consummation of His will on the earth. I cannot believe that Christianity has finished its task or that it can finish its task, for that matter, by this personal propaganda to which it has limited itself in the main up to the present.

Today the situation is different. Every man who prays, "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done," has in his hand the ballot. It is the mightiest power, the greatest influence that he wields. And this privilege that has been won by the centuries of struggle, becomes now to every follower of Jesus a great, overshadowing duty. Every Christian, every man, who believes in the ideal of Jesus must use not only his prayer, not only his influence, but his political power as well, and use it to bring about the consummation which Jesus has made his first duty. He must use his political power, his political influence and force in the direction of the Kingdom of God upon the earth.

But this he cannot do without joining with others, without political co-operation, without political organization. And thus it seems to me the very logic of the teachings of Jesus brings us, whether we will or no, under the responsibility of political action.

And Socialism, of course, starts at this very point. Political action, the organization of the working class and those in sympathy with it,
in this and every country on earth, is one of the great purposes in the Socialist thought. And already this party of the working class, international as Christianity was international in the beginning, has become the mightiest political movement in the world today. In fact, the greatest political movement so far in human history.

XVII

INTERNATIONALISM AND PEACE

And finally, from the beginning Christianity has been a dream of universal peace upon the earth. From the prophecy of Isaiah to the birth night of Jesus at Bethlehem, no promise or purpose of the religious life of the race has been more insistent or more beautiful than the promise of universal peace.

And yet they all cry peace, peace, and there is no peace.

Returning home from the international peace congresses, the delegates are humiliated, and the world outraged, by seeing every nation rush again into increased armaments, and increased appropriations for war. And in this year of our Lord, nineteen hundred and nine, two thousand years after the birth of the prince of peace, our nation and Christian people appropriated $525,000,000 for military purposes of various kinds.

Under capitalism, therefore, the hope of peace seems vain. The preparations for war, and wars themselves, increase rather than diminish.
Shall, therefore, that hope of Christianity become a mockery? Shall we never have peace upon the earth?

Yes. One force there is that makes for peace. That preaches peace. That commands peace. That compels peace.

In every civilized nation the Socialist movement has made its stand steadfastly against war. Not only by reason of its fundamental principles, but by reason of its class instinct as well the Socialist movement stands everywhere committed to a policy of peace, and antimilitarism.

With tremendous force the Socialists in the national parliaments of the world have stood against militarism and war. At least three international wars have been averted by the firm stand of the Socialist movement. Interposing their parliamentary strength in refusing to support the government in war measures, they have been able to keep the dogs of war chained in many cases. But what is more important in some cases the organization of the general strike has given the Socialists sufficient strength to enable them to paralyze the arms of a nation that were raised in unholy war.

With these two powers, the parliamentary and economic, the Socialist movement has already begun the end of this hideous nightmare that has tormented the world. As the movement grows, as its parliamentary strength increases, and its economic force grows, peace will come increasingly upon the earth. And when Socialism is fully come, the words of the
prophet will be fulfilled, “They shall beat their swords into plowshares, their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.”

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