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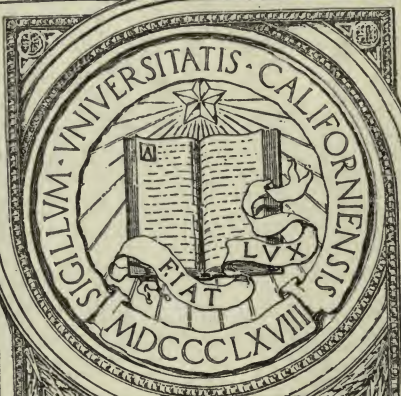


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JUDAISM ON 
 THE SOCIAL QUESTION

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JACOB VOORSANGER MEMORIAL



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JUDAISM

ON THE

SOCIAL QUESTION.

BY

RABBI H. BERKOWITZ.

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Voorzanger

TO THE
MEMBERS OF THE

GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED

TO THE

REV. L. NAUMBURG, of ALLEGHANY CITY, PA., and

REV. DR. L. MAYER, of PITTSBURGH, PA.

*The teachers and friends who first opened to me the portal^s
of Jewish learning and, by their encouragement and
instruction, directed the course of my life.*

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DISCOURSE I.

THE SUBJECT DEFINED.

THE true social question is the question of social Justice. It is preëminently the question of the day. It has been the question of all ages. From the dawn of civilization until now, long past the high noon of this nineteenth century the social question has vexed and baffled the champions of peace. Its history is the history of the social organism as constituted of Family, Tribe, Community and State. The question was raised when society began. It has never been completely solved. "Never does humanity rest; one experiment immediately succeeds another; we advance through revolutions of unknown destinies." As each judge decides in succession the cases that are brought before him, so each epoch decides the questions of just relationship and equitable adaptation of circumstance in the whole range of the complex social world as they are presented in their changing phases. This is a question as broad as the world, as deep as the heart of humanity.

The special problem of our age is but the outcome of this world's problem of all ages. It is the latest phase and the most momentous. It differs from all that preceded, for the world has changed its aspects. Emancipation has wrought miracles, not only in the condition but in the aspiration, thought

and endeavors of man. The barrier of caste is overleaped—peasants mount to the throne. Education has brought out the faculties of the mind from torpidity with as wonderful a metamorphosis as that of the butterfly from the grub. Science has silently revolutionized all the previous modes of social life. The steam-ship has long since virtually run the sailing vessel into the shoals of oblivion, as the railroad-train has outdistanced the stage-coach, the reaping-machine vanquished the scythe, the thresher supplanted the flail. The steam-hammer has grown to be the megatherium of industry, and the hundred-handed, myriad-fingered machines of every description are indeed created in the image of man's powers. Change and transition are everywhere, and in everything, and the task of intellect and the trust of virtue lies in securing the best results by the best methods. No age in history vibrates as does this in which we live. All this change and all this transition has made a new social question. At present it is the strongest and intensest phase in the universal agitation that reaches the altar and shakes the throne.

The air is filled with Utopian and revolutionary ideas never dreamed of before. There is a dread disease spreading with the fatal swiftness of contagion. Discontent it is called. It fills the hearts of men with the bitterness of despair. It breathes upon their minds and leaves the taint of impurity. The whole world is restive and in dread of its approach. All our political, social and moral institutions are threatened by it. Men rave and rush wildly about under its spell. Rioting fills the streets of our cities. The gutters run rivers of gore. The bad blood of the races is stirred to fever heat. Women

are unsexed, and, waving aloft the red flag, goad on the mass to reckless desperation, to pillage and murder and arson. In New York, in San Francisco, in Pittsburgh, in St. Louis, in Chicago, there are broken-hearted widows and orphans; there are tombs of martyrs; and charred ruins are pointing upward like blackened monuments, as if they would charge the very heavens with remissness. Trafalgar Square in London is filled with a noisy multitude. As the mighty waves of ocean break with ominous roar against their rocky barriers, so the mob chafes with noisy impatience against the might of the militant powers. Parliament Hall and the hallowed tombs of Westminster Abbey have not yet forgotten the plots of dynamite fiends. The aristocracies of rank and power and wealth and birth are tottering to their downfall. There are outbursts of anarchy in Chicago, Paris, Berlin, Vienna and St. Petersburg; the whole world is thrilled by the explosion.

Thousands of minds are busy in thought, thousands of hearts are throbbing in pain, thousands of throats are hoarsely shouting, over the revolutionary war-cry of the day: "The rich are growing richer, and less numerous; the poor are growing poorer, and more numerous."

Is this true? If so, why? What is the remedy? This is the Social Question of today. It is a question ablaze with the fire of radicalism. Its glare is in our eyes. We must "steady" our vision and not be blinded. We must not—we dare not—shut our eyes to its light. This is a question not to be ignored, nor to be brushed aside with lofty indifference or cool disdain; not to be sneered down; not to be laughed down. **It**

is a serious theme. The cry of alarm has pierced our ears; its shrill tones have startled us out of the slumbers of a fancied security. Harken, O ye sons of men! By the right hand of the Eternal God sits Justice enthroned. "If the magistracy calls itself torture, if the Church calls itself inquisition, then humanity looks them in the face and says to the judge: I will none of thy law, and says to the priest: I will none of thy dogma. Then philosophy rises in wrath and arraigns the judge before justice and the priest before God."

Has religion naught to say, then, to this terrible issue? The journals have of late been full of the reports of Synods and Conferences of all sects and denominations. There was a spirited discussion in Chicago, where two of these gatherings of representatives of different denominations were in session, on such an all-important matter as to whether or not it were allowable to exchange greetings in certain phrases; but not a word on the social difficulty. Elsewhere there was much hot shot and powder expended on what is called "the Andover Controversy," as to whether there is any chance for repentance and redemption from eternal tortures in the next world for those of us who do not believe in certain dogmas: but not a word (that has reached us) on the burning Social Question. The dead and barren discussions of theology bar out the living and fruitful questions of the day. The people cry for bread, but receive a stone. They have been pushed into the water, and those who should be their best helpers—the teachers and preachers—instead of plunging in to rescue them, stand safely upon the bank and weave fine theories

of freedom while those submerged are drowning. And thus arises the charge of cowardice against the pulpit: the charge that it is dumb in matters that challenge the animosity of wealth and power; the charge that the gaunt and meager specter of Secularism scares them off from every endeavor to enlarge the sphere of righteousness. There is a sentiment abroad which is a shame to the intelligence of our age—a sentiment which declares that the pulpit is exclusively for what is called “religious talk.” Aught else is sacrilege, even though that something else threaten the very life of all religion, even though it threaten the dissolution of society itself.

But Judaism, at least, may claim exemption from these charges. Though she aspires unto the heavens, she still treads firmly the earth. It is hers to “act, act in the living present, heart within and God o’erhead.” “In full accordance with the spirit of Mosaic legislation, which strives to regulate the relation between rich and poor, we deem it our duty to participate in the great task of modern times, to solve, on the basis of justice and righteousness, the problems presented by the contrasts and evils of the present organization of society.” Such is the declaration of our American Rabbis at the Conference of American Rabbis held at Pittsburgh, Pa., Nov. 1885; and this declaration is in perfect accord with the usual and natural impulse and deed of the leaders of Jewish thought throughout history. Judaism has lived in the world, and been always of the world, to make the world more heavenly. Through all the centuries of her sorrowful life she brought the energies of

brain and heart to bear upon all the practical problems of man's relation to the eternal laws of our eternal God ; she has through all the long and weary centuries lifted up her voice to denounce oppression and plead for the oppressed.

Pages upon pages of her Bible forbid the oppression of the poor ; pages upon pages are full of laws for their maintenance and help. Folio upon folio of her massive literature is devoted to the social question in its whole broad range. She alone of all the world proclaimed the dignity, the duty of labor, in her command : "Six days shalt thou labor and do thy work ;" and she, through the Sabbath, by her queenly fiat has unceasingly striven to check the mad passion for material well-being, which, trampling upon every ideal consideration and interest, has degraded the dignity of man to the conventional standard of possessing and enjoying mere creature comforts.

We speak not to boast but to plead for right. Whatever be the charges freely made of hypocrisy and cowardice on the part of religion, let there be a halt made, and acknowledgment rendered to Jews and to Judaism. Many of the master minds who have lent their energies to the solution of the all-absorbing social difficulties of the various countries and peoples, in different ages, were Jews. There was nothing in their religion to hinder them ; nay, the codes and precepts of Judaism have been the standard and the Court of Appeal in all kindred debates and contentions. Judaism has, indeed, something to say upon the social question, and its teachers will not fail in the courage of their convictions ; they will not fail in the overwhelming duty of the hour to spread

a truer knowledge and a clearer comprehension of this sacred and all-important matter. Upon that intelligence and comprehension depends the happiness of our children, if not our own, for politics and all the relations of domestic as well as of public economy are already studded with new social queries as a bush in spring is studded with opening buds.

To this task, then, we must come all of us—learners as well as teachers, hearers and speaker alike—in the broad and philosophic spirit of our little understood and greatly maligned religion; to this task we shall all come, I trust, our hearts aglow with the blaze of ardent sympathy, our hands stretching forth eagerly and warmly to grasp the truth. We shall strive to search out the true meaning of the social question in its varying phases through the past on into the present, in order that we may understand the social questions of to-day—their outcome—and find the Jewish contribution to the solution of the great social problems. We shall necessarily pass along in the midst of a dismal forest of fallacies, overgrown with the rank and poisonous weeds of error. We shall walk often under the clouds of the darkest pessimism. We must hew a path and clear a way in the dark mazes of the musty undergrowths of ignorance and dread, and struggle onward into the open, safe paths of an enlightened reassurance in the eternity of truth and right, up to the sunny heights of an all-surveying and all-controlling Justice.

I shall not presume to undertake to set up any new hypotheses on the great social question, but only in the name of Judaism to give enlightenment; only to seek to understand and interpret. This is my task.

To that task I shall lend my energies, earnestly praying, with the great Milton:

What in me is dark,
Illumine. What is low, raise and support ;
That to the height of this great argument
I may assert eternal Providence
And justify the ways of God to men."

DISCOURSE II.

SOURCES OF THE SOCIAL DIFFICULTY.

“THERE is,” says Emile de Laveleye, “in human affairs one order which is the best. That order is not always the one which exists, but is the order which should exist, for the greatest good of humanity. God knows it and wills it; man’s duty it is to discover and establish it.”

The fulfillment of this injunction, “to discover and establish the one order in human affairs which is the best—this is the effort to which we are called upon to devote our services. What has the experience of man to say? How near has it come to finding “one order which is best?” These are the questions with which we naturally begin our investigation. We are driven to history for a reply. Here the first difficulty presents itself, for alas! what a failure are the records we call history! We go to them as to a storehouse, expecting to find ample supplies of grain, and behold there are only dry husks and empty shells. The history of man has been written, but not the history of mankind. Exaggerated pictures of Cæsars and Napoleons, Louis and Fredricks make up the panorama. Generals with their hordes of automatic nonentities called armies; kings posing before a mass of blind and docile slaves called subjects; such are the effigies that are presented in life-size on the canvas of history. They crowd upon and fill up the

scene ; national life forms the obscure background. Only here and there the fact that there are people as well as sovereigns flashes out in blood-red streaks of revolution.

“If you wish to understand the phenomena of social evolution,” such is the caustic warning of Herbert Spencer—“you will not do it, though you should read yourself blind over the biographies of all the great rulers on record down to Frederick the Greedy, and Napoleon the Treacherous.”

But even as gold is washed down the mountains in minutest particles and must be sought for amid the rocks and sands, so amidst the debris of centuries we must search out the secret of that “one order in human affairs which is the best.” Come to this task all ye earnest seekers after truth! Come with the lamps of patient inquiry ; cast their light upon the phenomena which, in the vague and scanty records of history portray the evolution of social life ; let the bright rays of knowledge irradiate them ; cause them to become more and more clearly revealed ; make them stand forth tangible and luminous !

At the very entrance of our study of the social question, however, still another difficulty confronts us. If you would study botany, you go forth into the fields where the whole plant-world is spread out at your feet. If you would study geology, the rocks await the ringing blows of your hammer. If you would study the topography of a certain region, you ascend to the summit of a neighboring mountain and overlook the scene. But when you come to the study of social science, the facts you have to deal with are not spread out before you somewhere, apart from you, that you need but go

thither and examine them. Nay, you yourself are a part of the study. It has to do with man in all his relations. You can not so readily free yourself; the bonds of family, race, country and religion are twined about you as the entangling threads of a web. Not one in a thousand can get rid of his preconceived notions, prejudices, errors, superstitions, preferences, and dislikes. We lie imbedded in them, enveloped and enfolded by the wraps and integuments of training, habit and education.

To mount to such heights of impersonality, whence we may look out over the whole range of the changes human society has undergone and is undergoing; to withstand the raging and disturbing influences of personal interest, of religious emotion and patriotic impulse—ah, here is a task whose difficulty may well stagger the boldest, but it is a task from which no earnest, thoughtful, candid, honest man dare any longer shrink. The Social Question must be faced. Better that we prepare to meet it, however difficult the preparation, than be confronted and overwhelmed by it ere we are aware. Though its difficulty overtop and threaten us as an avalanche, yet must we boldly face it and lustily clamber up the precipitous mountain of our present duty.

Some master minds, despite the difficulty, have reached the summits of knowledge whence they could overlook the solemn march of the human family through the ages. They tell us that this endless procession of all nations, resistlessly advancing, here in confusion, there in contention, now hastening madly forward, now wearily dragging along—that it is not “like the erratic phantasm of a dream, without reason and without order,”

but that all are marching under the generalship and direction of law. As the falling of the rain, as the passing of the cloud, the sighing of the wind and the brilliant sweep of the comet, have all been traced to the dominion of physical law, so the ever-changing, ever-shifting scenes of the social life of nations are likewise found to be dominated by economic law.

“ These struggling tides of life that seem
In wayward, aimless course to tend,
Are eddies of the mighty stream
That rolls to its appointed end.”

Such a conception commands itself to our intellects by its very majesty and grandeur. In the midst of the vanishing present we discern the eternal. “ From the life, the pleasures, the suffering of humanity, it points to the impassive ; from our wishes, wants and woes to the inexorable. Leaving the individual beneath the eye of Providence, it shows society under the finger of law.” * Therefore, if you would understand the social question, you must begin by finding out the laws that dominate social movements. Ask : What was the source of the social difficulty ? —yea, what created a social question ? What is the underlying principle that gave it vitality and continuity ?

To answer these queries we must gather the experience of mankind as through a glass you gather the rays of the sun unto a focus, *i. e.*, through logical generalization we must interpret the phenomena of the past. Thus, and only thus, can we discover the touchstone by means of which we shall be able to distinguish between what is progressive and what is retrogressive, between

* Draper. Intellectual Development of Europe.

what is desirable and what is ruinous, between what is practicable and what is Utopian in the schemes that swarm to-day about the social cauldron.

To begin then with the beginning :

“ Before man made us citizens, great
Nature made us men,”

and as in the acorn, the creation of a thousand forests is dormant, so in the first man lay the germinal principle of all social order and disorder. When the son of Adam hiding in the dismal covert of some primeval forest, heard the accusing voice of conscience in bitter tones upbraid him, he defiantly made reply : “ Am I my brother’s keeper ? ”

Then the social conflict began. That was the primitive form of the later social war-cry : “ Let every man look out for himself. Down with the claims of others. The strongest shall rule ! ” Then began the struggle which in the moral world is called the contest between selfishness and benevolence—egoism and altruism, and what in the social world might with more or less accuracy be denominated the contest between Individualism and Collectivism. As soon as a social combination of individuals arose there began actions and reactions between these individuals. Inequalities arose and were found. At once war was declared against the absolute sway of individual will. That was the simple origin of the Social Difficulty.

“ As from inarticulate sounds came speech ; as out of rude hieroglyphics came writing and the art of printing ; as from counting on our fingers we advanced to the most abstruse calculations of stellar distances and revolutions ; as from building rude habitations in the woods we gradually improved until the mas-

sive cathedral was thought out and erected; as from harsh discordant war-songs we ascended to symphonies, and oratorios, and sonatas, so out of the rude impulsiveness of the first association of man and man came by slow degrees the refinements of our modern social life, and likewise the subtle and complex questions of social relationship which absorb the busy brain of our civilization.”*

The history of the contest between individualism and its opposing impulse, which might best be called Collectivism, does not move forward on the level of a plane, but rather in projections and depressions like the far-stretching ridges of a mountain range. For the most part it is individual despotism that is on the heights. Emperors, Czars and Tyrants rule with iron hand. At rare intervals a Magna Charta or a Declaration of Independence is proclaimed from the summits of social emancipation.

It was in the family that the social question first began, because the family was the earliest and simplest form of social organization. There the contest has been incessant. There have been unjust inequalities in the conditions of the husband and wife, parent and child. The emancipation of women, for example, is still one of the leading forms of the social question to-day.

The family developed into the Clan, the Tribe, the Community, the State. In each of these, unjust inequality arose. Then came the cry and protest. Thus the social question sprang up spontaneously.

In politics it assumed this form: “ Does the Individual exist for the benefit of the State, or does the State exist for the benefit of the Individual?” This is the rock

* Spencer's *Socology*.

upon which the Ship of State has always floundered in the stormy night of revolutions. But even now philosophers and statesmen are not yet agreed upon the safest and the wisest course of navigation.

In the Community, *i. e.*, in that aggregation of men in which all put forth their energies for the maintenance of life and the improvement of its conditions, where they stand related as producer and consumer, as master and servant, as lord and serf, as owner and slave, as employer and wage-earner, as capitalist and laborer—in all these relationships the social question has formed its largest history; there the inequalities have been broadest, boldest and bitterest.

Therefore its protest has been the loudest, therefore it is so clamorous to-day. In this phase, which is now regarded specifically as the "Social Question," it will claim our attention in these discourses, for wherever we turn its din and tumult is in our ears, wherever we go the glare of its firebrand flashes on our sight. In all its latest forms it is still the conflict of the individualistic against the collectivistic impulses. The extremes have been found. Anarchy is "individualism run riot." Communism is its utter extinction.

These then are the answers to the queries that we propounded. In the Family, in the Community, in the State, everywhere the source of the social difficulty was unjust social inequality. The protest against this inequality created in every age a social question. The struggle of and against individual dominance, this afforded the underlying principle that gave vitality and continuity to the social contest. At times the wail of this social pro-

test has startled the world; again, like a keen blade it has cut humanity to the quick and made its bleeding heart to quiver.

“It was from Judea,” says that most gifted exponent of the social question, Emile de Laveleye,* “It was from Judea that there arose the most persistent protest against inequality and the most ardent aspirations after justice that have ever raised humanity out of the actual into the ideal. We feel the effect still. It is thence has come that leaven of evolution which still moves the world. Job saw evil triumph and yet believed in justice. Israel’s prophets while thundering against iniquity announced the good time coming.”

Opposite both the contending influences of social life Judaism has lifted up her protest. “Love thyself,” says Judaism. This is the natural condition, this is axiomatic and implied; but remember it is never by itself a moral injunction. Never shall it be separated and wrenched from its place in the eternal precept: “Love thy neighbor as thyself.” Selfishness, egoism, as an exclusive motive is entirely false; but benevolence in its largest sense. Altruism, is not, therefore, entirely and exclusively right. It likewise may defeat itself. It may prove a positive injury—a crime. It is wrong for the worthy to be sacrificed in order to preserve the unworthy. It is a sin for you to give your hard-earned money to a vagabond or a confirmed drunkard, by him to be squandered.

Thus has Judaism pointed the ideal in this conflict of social principles. True, she has pointed high. All the generations of bygone ages have failed in their efforts to

* *Socialism of to-day.*

attain it. We, too, no doubt, will also fail in the ultimate adjustment of all things in perfect equity and righteousness. Time's hour-glass will, ere that day, have run its sands of gold ten thousand thousand times perhaps. Our golden age—the Messianic era of Judaism—lies not in the dead, irrevocable past, but in the promise of the fruitful days to come. The millennium will come in after the solution of the social problems, after men shall have discovered and established that “one order in human affairs which is the best.”

Our duty in the present is to stand not in doubt, but to solve our own immediate difficulties—the present and the living phases of this world-problem, to solve them by the guidance of our golden precept, to push on in good attempts, to still move forward toward our lofty ideal, though that effort means, as it does mean :

“ To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than the death of night;
To defy power which seems omnipotent;
To love and bear; to hope till hope creates,
From its own wreck, the thing it contemplates.”

DISCOURSE

HAVE THE POOR GROWN POORER ?

THERE is a very ancient legend among the Hebrew traditions which tells of a mighty giant of Bashan named Og. It is said that he lived at the time of the flood, and was of such enormous stature that when the waters descended and covered the earth until they stood fifteen cubits above the highest mountain tops he, nevertheless, towered above the heaving billows and walked along in safety, guiding the course of the Ark. Thus, says the legend, he escaped the all-devouring deluge and lived thereafter for thousands and thousands of years.

Whatever may have stimulated the fancy of men to invent this primitive story, there is an earnest significance in it which attaches, with peculiar aptness, to the theme upon which we are now discoursing.

Oppression, injustice, cruelty, every form of moral obliquity had descended upon the earth and deluged it as with a flood. But, towering high above its seething waters, through all the ages, stalked unharmed the personified Spirit of Justice, guiding to the haven of safety the oppressed and injured, the abused and derided among men.

Since the very beginning of the contest against Individualism—from the very inception of society there have been men and women who were oppressed and abused because they subservient and dependent—

there have been subjects hanging upon the breath of their rulers, workmen bending under the rod of their masters. For these Justice has still outlived the deluge of wrong, passing through gory seas of bloodshed and death. At last—I firmly believe it—at last the bow of promise is to be discerned in the skies and the weary dove is hastening homeward with the token of peace. Whatever be the storms we shall have still to through in this social strife, now that the clouds are discharging their worst burdens, there must soon come cessation and calm. There are signs of this. I take one of these signs to be the extraordinarily improved condition of the working people. Such a statement may sound very paradoxical and absurd in the face of the continuous complaining we hear, and in the face of the deeds of violence we see; but it is my earnest conviction that most of the social commotion in the midst of which we live, arises out of a very palpable falsehood, out of an unwarranted assumption, oft repeated, that the condition of the working people is worse to-day than ever it was.

An increasing number of persons, of whom Mr. Henry George is the able representative and leader, are sounding high and low this cry of alarm, “the poor are growing poorer!” They take up a current impression and assert it as a fact, and firmly believe in it. Upon this they build up their systems of speculation, write books, organize societies, make speeches, instigate contention, add fuel to existing strife, and consciously or unconsciously, spur on the hot-headed and ignorant to violence and bloodshed.

Out of this empty assertion men are led

into a miserable and unwarranted pessimism. They give up in despair, crying "Cursed be the day on which we were born." They deny God and the moral law: "Away with these haunting nightmares of our dreams!" With ruthless blows they hew away at the supports of religion: "Down with the beams and rafters of this aged and crumbling structure."

It is this assertion that the poor are poorer than ever before which we must put to the stern test of fact. Who then are the poor? If you would put the knife of discernment right through this apple of discord, then recognize at once the gulf that divides pauperism from poverty. "The pauper and the poor man stand on opposite poles; the whole diameter of manhood stretches between them." The pauper cries, "Society owes me a living," and seeks to get it out of the industry of others. The poor man is he who, though owing nothing, recognizes that it is not man's misfortune, but his privilege and duty to work, and sets about earning a living for himself and those dependent on him.

The chief social problem, some one has well said, ought to be: "What is to be done with the drones the idlers, the lazy people in palaces and huts, and the tramps on the high roads?" Instead of this the proposition is set up that we must get rid of poverty. It is true that the complicated institution we call Society ought to be regarded as a grand partnership. By means of it we all reap benefits through united action, which would otherwise be unattainable, and through these benefits some corresponding obligations that we dare not shirk. It is in meeting these obligations that we must distinguish clearly those who have from those who have

not a righteous claim. Only those who, under the universal laws of an All-Wise God, have become the victims of circumstances which the best efforts of industry, prudence and virtue could not forestall and the keenest prevision of the most advanced intelligence could not detect; those who in the great cause of human events have fallen under the wheels of disappointment through calamities, not to be foreseen, have a claim—a claim upon our charity which is sustained by the law, enforced by the dictates of ethics and urged by all the sanctities of religion. Justice at its best will extirpate pauperism,—charity at its best will alleviate poverty—but as to abolishing it, this never will be, this never can be accomplished—as long as the difference in human ability and energy and worth continues; as long as some will outstrip others in exertion, and gain more; as long as there are those who will never save or deny themselves in the present for the days of helplessness or old age. This difference, indeed, is the basis of all industrial effort and progress.

Here Mercy has a task to perform. The utmost that Justice can do is, to gain for the poor man the freedom to do whatever work he chooses and to secure for him the fruit of his own toil, so that it may be within his power by self-help to remove the burden of poverty. Now it is asserted that Justice is doing this less to-day than ever before, and therefore the poor are poorer than ever they were.

Let us then look upon the condition of the laborer in the various eras of the past and contrast it with the present and see whether it is true, as Mr. George claims, that “the tendency of what we call material

progress is in nowise to improve the condition of the lowest class in essentials of healthy, happy human life. Nay, more, that it is to still further depress the condition of the lowest class.”*

To begin, then, with the earliest times. First among the pioneers of mankind, our greatest benefactor is Egypt. We choose Egypt for this comparison between present and most ancient days, because Egypt (by contrast with nerveless, apathetic India and other Oriental Monarchies) offers such striking points of contact between the aims of her civilization and ours, that in the study of them our hearts vibrate and tremble as with the passing of an electric current of like thoughts, like interests, and like hopes.

Now observe what was the social condition of the Egyptians. The caste system prevailed. Priests and soldiers were the two ruling orders. All mechanical trades were held in contempt. The peaceful shepherd, as we know from the story of Joseph and his brethren, was despised. The swineherds were not even permitted to enter the temples of worship. The poor man, the laborer in Egypt, was a slave; he could own no land, rise to no political power. In the condition in which he was born he was forced to remain; from that rank he was forced to marry and the children were doomed to continue the degraded life of parents without a hope of improvement.†

Mark from what I shall tell you whether there is anything in any condition of the working classes of our day that will in the least

* Progress and Poverty.

* Kenrick. *Ancient Egypt.*

compare with the hardships, the misery and the cruelty which the toilers of Egypt endured.

The wonderful Pyramids, the gorgeous temples, the gigantic obelisks and towering colossi, all of which still remain to-day the unsolved mystery, the amazement and wonder of the world, are nothing but monuments to the shame of that ancient civilization, written all over with the records of the inhuman degradation of man by his fellow-man. It took 360,000 people twenty years to built one of those pyramids. All the gold that has been dug from the hills of California would not have sufficed to have paid free men, working for honest hire, to undergo the slavery that was needed to erect them. "They tell us," (says Dr. Henry Brugsch Bey, the most noted of Egyptologists) "more emphatically than living speech or written words of the tears and the pains, the suffering and miseries of a whole population which was condemned to erect these everlasting monuments of Pharaohnic vanity. Thirty centuries even could not efface the curse resting on their memory. When Herodotus, about the middle of the fifth century B. C., visited the field of the great Pyramid at Gizeh the Egyptians told him of the imprecations wrung from their unhappy forefathers, and they would not from a feeling of abhorrence so much as utter the names of the kings who constructed the two highest Pyramids." It took 200,000 men three years to carry a huge stone—designed for the portico of a temple in Sais, the ancient capital of Egypt,—an ordinary twenty days' journey. The building of the canal of the Red Sea cost 120,000 lives.

Men, women, and children, the feeble and

the aged, all alike felt the scourge of the taskmaster. They knew no joy "by reason of anguish of spirit and cruel bondage." Hounded to their tasks, they fell under the weight of their burdens and died miserably in their own tracks. In the light of these facts the opening chapters of Exodus convey a new meaning to us, and we can no longer wonder that the deliverance from Egyptian bondage heads the "Ten Commandments," and that reference to this deliverance is constantly made—about one hundred times in the Pentateuch and repeatedly in all later writings of the Hebrews. The condition of the laborers in Egypt at the time of the Pharaohs may serve as a faithful index of their condition in all other lands of those ancient days. In some of the Oriental monarchies it was still worse. *

Has there been any improvement in the condition of the laborers since those days? Are the poor worse off to-day in our most civilized land, then they were in the most civilized land of antiquity? It is puerile to ask. Even at this stage of our investigations we are able to say, that never before in the world's history have the laboring people wielded such a power, social and political, as they do to-day; that though there is misery enough, God knows, yet never have men been freer to choose their own work; never have they so fully reaped the fruits of their toil. All this a further contrast with the past will confirm.

In passing we will only remark here that what gives such gravity to the social question to-day is the constant prating about the modern slavery of the wage-worker and the clamor for things undreamed of and unattain-

* Rawlinson, *Seven Great Monarchies*.

able. The laborer needs to hold this mirror of history up before him. We, who are all laborers, must look to the rock whence we were hewn. We must recollect that throughout weary ages the despotism of the State was absolute and the flood tides of oppression swept on unhindered. Justice has stemmed the current, has triumphantly erected itself above the destroying waters, and guided the miserable slave of ancient days to the haven of the better conditions of the laborer of to-day.

Mr. George admits indeed that the conditions of the lowest classes have in some places, and in some respects been raised, but affirms that, "There is no where any improvement which can be credited to increased productive power, and that the lowest class does not share in these gains."

He forgets that the iron-roller, and the glass-blower, and the railroad-hand, who complain the most noisily about the oppression of labor, are now better taken care of, well or sick, than kings were a thousand years ago.* He forgets that through in-

* Senator George recently propounded a number of enquiries with regard to the conditions of labor and the distribution of wealth, to Mr. Edward Atkinson, a gentleman famed for his great knowledge of statistics relating to these subjects. The answers of Mr. Atkinson disprove the popular fallacy that the poor are becoming poorer, in proportion, as the wealth of the rich is increasing. Everything in this country has an upward tendency. Population is increasing, and labor-saving, mechanical implements, invented in vast numbers, have increased mechanical productions, and furnished extra employment to skilled labor. While the products of this labor are placed upon the markets at cheaper rates, the result of this condition of affairs is, that greater time prevails for intellectual pleasures, and a number of articles heretofore the special property of the extremely wealthy, now conduce to the pleasure and enjoyment of the toiling masses. In the last twenty-five years, Mr. Atkinson shows that the wages of the laborer has been greatly enhanced, the duration of his hours of

creased productive power, and only thus can he to-day put shoes on all his children while only two hundred years ago his ancestors went bare foot; that he can put clothes on their back, even though he don't know how to make them himself, while a hundred years ago and less, the workmen wore only what they themselves made, and ate only such food as they could raise by their own labor. He forgets that the process of the social evolution, like that of any unfolding, is slow and steady, that it can not, it will not be hastened. However we fret and fume, it is in vain. Not all at once, even if ever, can we have society elevated from its very foundations, the poor lifted above the possibility of want, the very lowest exempt from anxiety for the material needs of subsistence; the poorest laborer's life a holiday; youth no longer stunted and starved; age no longer harried by avarice; the child at play with the tiger; discord turned into harmony.

Yet such are the dizzy dreams the champions of labor have dared to dream. Confusing the just claims of the poor man with the absurd demand of the shiftless pauper, they throw into the way of the natural progress of these claims towards realization the labor lessened, and the purchasing power of his wages vastly increased. Here are some of the statistics proving these facts, as derived from the answers of Mr. Atkinson to Senator George's enquiries: The average earnings of mechanics, in different trades, in sixty different establishments in 1860, was a yearly average of \$468 in gold. Now the average is \$720. Of the purchasing power of these wages, food, clothing, shoes, and everything but house rents, is so changed in their relative value from 1860 to 1886 that a year's earnings in 1860, which would buy 1,572 daily portions of the necessaries of life, in 1886 purchased 2,400 portions of the same; and substantially the skilled laborer produces 80 to 100 per cent, more at present for a year's work, than in 1860, while the common laborer receives an increase of forty and fifty per cent. in the same time

barrier of hasty, ruinous action, based on weak and palpable fallacies. The denial of progress and improvement in the condition of the poor is such a fallacy. It comes of blindness to the facts of history, blindness to the fact that everywhere better modes of life are made possible by civilization, and higher standards of life set up. Because these are not yet attained everywhere and by all, is it right to curse God and man? What we hear are the mad ravings of men intoxicated by deep draughts from the new-found waters of freedom. The delirium will pass. The righteous claims of reasoning men will be heard. Justice will hold her own course, whatever floods impede.

DISCOURSE IV.

HAVE THE POOR GROWN POORER?

(Continued.)

A MOST terrible indictment against our civilization is made by those who charge that the poor are growing poorer and more numerous than ever. Looking at this charge in the light of fact I would say to you—Do not believe it. I say this although I know full well how poor the poor are. I am not deaf to the cries of woe that are wrung from them by the hardships of to-day. My heart is troubled with anguish. In my ears are ringing the pitiful moanings of those who are drudging for the dregs of subsistence. I have heard the wail of despair that comes up from cellars and hovels and is re-echoed from garrets and tenements that are filthy with the festering sores of physical and moral corruption. Not in vain has the wild outburst of men maddened with frenzy been ringing in my ears since those terrible days of the memorable Pittsburgh railroad riot of 1877, when I, a wondering youth, followed the mob and saw the red hand of Anarchy wield the torch of destruction, saw stores looted, houses demolished and the flames with forked tongues lick up hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of property, saw women rage, men in drunken glee, citizens terrified, soldiers panic-stricken. The scene is burned in

upon my memory, and the affrighting interrogatories then raised—Why are men so driven? Whence is this madness?—have ever since clamored in my breast for a reply.

I have found out that it is owing to the social agitator of to-day who poses as the friend of humanity, “the champion of labor.” To his guilt most of this new frenzy among laborers is to be charged. You cannot call him a friend of the laboring man who falsely, whether through conscious error or blinded by a fanatic advocacy of some new-fangled social theory, would make him believe that he is worse off to-day than ever, in the essentials of healthy, happy human life.

It is because I would dry the weeping eyes, would hush the sobs of the mothers and children, would clothe and warm their shivering bodies, would satisfy the pangs of hunger, that I would speak to men and bid them be men indeed; to check the wild passion that makes monsters of them, and instead yield to the sober sway of earnest, reasoned truth, for thus, and only thus, may they hope to devise and achieve means of betterment in their condition. Therefore do I warn them against this falsehood which breeds discontent in their breasts, lodges misery in their homes, and lets loose bloodshed on the streets—the falsehood that their condition to-day is worse than ever that of laborers was in the past.

I say to you emphatically it is false: false as the face of hypocrisy. In the onward sweep of history there is no such law as that the poor are growing poorer. In the unceasing conflict against the individualism of the Tyrant and the individualism of the

State there has been progress, a betterment of conditions, a steady evolution of social justice. Despite all this wretchedness of to-day the world is better and its conditions improving. This the modern agitators do not, will not see. This is their crime against industry. They run from the open field of history and get entangled in the narrow thickets of local or temporary conditions.

If the social status of the poor laborer has ever been better we want to know, in order that we may restore the modes and forms that rendered this possible. Therefore, is this a question not to be evaded: Has history any such a poor man's paradise to tell of? It certainly did not exist in remote antiquity. We have shuddered at the horrors unspeakable in the condition of the Egyptian slave; we have sighed for pity with the outcasts in their degradation, and our hearts were melted in sorrow as we retold the long-forgotten tale of woe, of those myriads of mortals who died in chains and drudgery to the shame of that ancient civilization.

But perhaps other countries—those about whose names the lustre of a still greater fame is cast—may have much happier scenes to present. Let us look in upon Athens in its greatest glory, and upon Imperial Rome in the brilliant centuries of her glorious Empire. What was the condition of the laborer then? We speed along across the waters, borne by the breath of imagination to the restored places of that ancient world. We land at the Piræus,

“Where on the Ægean shore a city stands
Built nobly; pure the air and light the soil;
Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts
And eloquence, native to famous wits.”

We ride along by the great wall built by

Pericles, which connects the city with the port. The sun has just come up and his earliest rays as they break on the city reveal the summit of the far-famed Acropolis, covered with temples of gods and heroes, adorned with the finest productions of the architect, and the sculptor. Through the transparent clearness of the Athenian atmosphere we see high above the brilliant whiteness and varied colors of the temples and museums, the colossal ivory statue of the Virgin Goddess Athene, the master-piece of the world's greatest artist, Phidias, rising majestically and looking serenely toward the sea, her queenly brow radiant with the kisses of the morning sun.

It is but dawn, but already the streets are filling with people hastening to the market in the center of the city where the main streets cross and where the public edifices are. We see that the Athenian citizens virtually live in the public places. It is their business to be there. Here are all the men, old men, youths and striplings. Here Socrates was wont to walk with thoughtful mien and piercing eye. Here Diogenes carried his lantern, seeking at broad daylight for men, true men.

Here, as we pass up and down the narrow streets to view the sights, we see men, sitting before the porticos of the public buildings, arguing hour after hour on political affairs, discussing the news and talking about the latest games, or the races. We see them, cane in hand, strolling along, visiting the shops, the markets and the public baths. Almost everybody seems to be attended. A man walks alongside carrying a folding chair, which he prepares for his master to sit upon when fatigued.

We introduce ourselves to one of these citizens. He with the proverbial hospitality of the Greek, invites us to his home to dine. We are first led to the bath; a slave attends us. We then take our places on the soft cushions and recline at the table; a slave assists us. All about us are slaves, who deck us with garlands, who serve us with food, who see to our every comfort and want. We inquire, and from the conversation we learn that all society in Greece is divided into two classes, the conquerors and the conquered—the Greeks and the barbarians, *i. e.*, the citizens and the slaves, among the latter some few freedmen, still socially regarded as of the slaves. In Athens there are over half a million of souls; fully four fifths are slaves. There are on an average twenty slaves to each household—about three slaves to every citizen. Slaves are in the markets, slaves in the shops, slaves at the baths, slaves in the fields, slaves in the kitchens, slaves in the factories, slaves in the quarries, slaves in the mines, slaves building the public works, slaves in all places where “naked human strength” is required. All work, high and low, from the teachers to the menials, is done by slaves.*

But do not the Greeks love freedom? we ask. Yes, freedom for the Greek; he alone is a man, he alone is a citizen. “The title of citizen,” Aristotle hath said, “belongs only to those who need not work to live.” The citizen must occupy himself only with the State. To do this he must have leisure, he must attend the court, and hear the harangues and take part in the discussions of the market places. Work is a hindrance to life. It is to be despised;

* Smith's *History of Greece.*

it is servile ; it degrades men ; it makes them incapable of virtue ; it blunts the intelligence. Politics and war and leisure are for the free-man ; drudgery, toil, work are for the contemptible slave. The Athenian shows no more sympathy for the sufferings of his slaves than a driver feels for the wheels of his cart.

We inquire still further and we learn that the slaves, although they do all the work, are excluded from every benefit to be derived from public institutions, while the citizens fatten on the public revenues. Every citizen has himself paid by the government if possible. The orators have themselves paid for speaking and the people for hearing. The judges do not allow themselves to be forgotten, either. As many as ten ambassadors are accredited to each power at the same time. There are physicans and poets maintained at the public expense ; public copyists and criers are fed and lodged by the State. In short, the multitude of salaried officers is so great that laws have to be forced against plurality of officers—this leprosy of Commonwealths. “The right of laziness,” as it has been called ; the pride of the unoccupied man, this is the virtue to which the Athenian aspires.

In the *Politics* of Aristotle we are shown these remarkable words : “The science of the master reduces itself to knowing how to make use of his slave.” “It is nature herself, who has created slavery. Animals are divided into males and females. The male is more perfect ; he commands. The female is less complete ; she obeys. Does there then exist after all, so great a difference between the slave and the beast ? Their services resemble each other ; it is by the body alone that they

are useful to us. Let us, then, conclude from these principles that nature creates some men for liberty others for slavery ; that it is useful and just that the slave should obey.”

We hear most excellent discourse on Greek philosophy which speaks in beautiful terms about the human soul, its faculties, its virtues, but we are amazed to observe that only the soul of the free Greek citizen is meant—the laborer is excluded ! We inquire of the law—the law shows no more humanity than does philosophy. Slaves are sold, lent, given and bequeathed like cattle. They can neither acquire or possess. If married, the master may take away their wives. If the slave has children, they are the property of the master. The fate of the slave, we are told, was in Athens much less harsh than in any other Grecian state, and yet even in Athens he was brutally abused on the slightest pretext. His life was not his own. he was the sport of his master. Such was the condition of the laborer in Greece.

We come down through the great Roman world along the tide of years and see the same social state of the laborer taking its course to lower levels on these principles of slavery. The workman is still likened to a beast—his life, should he be murdered, is regarded by the law as of equal value with that of an ox or a horse ; at day bound to the roughest labor, at night shut up in subterranean caverns damp and close. The slave door-keeper chained to the door, is sold with the house, forming in a way part of the wall.*

Emperors and even women treat them with barbarous cruelty at every change of whim.

* Suetonius. *De Claris*. III.

Cato sells his old slaves weakened by age, at a low price, like worn out furniture, or if unable to drive a bargain he orders them away, caring little for their fate.*

There is no pity for those who must work: they are despised, they count for naught—they make good sport, and the barbarity of the Roman world must needs gratify itself with the blood of its slaves in the wantonness of the gladiatorial shows. The fondest amusement of the Romans—women as well as men—is to see men, the slaves, their laborers, fight with beast or man in the arena. No solemnity inspires the Roman with more interest. Tired of idleness, though he despises work, he has tens to the amphitheatre; is he melancholy?—he wants to see men killed as a diversion.

“Oh, what a society was this of Rome! tolerating orgies where the blood of slaves mingled with the wine of their flower-crowned masters, where mortal combats alternated with impure pantomime, where the guests were offered in turn the grimaces of the actors, the carnage of gladiators and the kisses of courtesans—where, indeed, the most monstrous cruelty was allied with the most shameless libertinism!”†

The gloom of this picture of pagan egoism darkens gradually into the blackness of extinction. Pericles institutes the *Theorika*, the distribution of money to the citizens out of the public treasury to feed a seditious, lazy, hungry populace, and to buy tickets to the theater for them. It becomes the policy of demagogues ever thereafter to give great public banquets and shows, in order to still rebellious outbreaks. Thus came inevitably

* Plutarch (*On Cato*.)

† Schmidt, *Social Results of Early Christianity*.

the dissolution of these mighty empires of old—thus Greece was swept into the orbit of the Roman world, her light extinguished; thus the brilliancy of the Roman constellation, like the lost Pleiad, faded forever from sight.

The gulf between the then and now is broadened into an impassable ocean. Then the problem was Slavery—now it is Liberty. Then the State recognized only the citizen and made use of his body and mind for her political deeds; to-day the man is to be considered before the citizen, and individual worth is asserting itself as the only true standard of political and social rank.

They lived by conquest, *i. e.*, by the labor of others; we live by industries and commerce, *i. e.*, by our own labor. Then labor was identified with ignominy; to day it is the badge of true manhood and womanhood. Then the problem of the public men was to find out how to enrich the people, not by labor and manufacture, but with the revenues of the State; to-day the problem is, what need in industry can we create, and how shall every man best serve his country by some useful toil. Then no one dreamed of the resources that could be found in labor, and the demon Idleness inserted his talons in the breast of the State and tore out her vitals; to-day no one dreams of living in idleness, from the "maid-servant that is behind the mill to the chief magistrate that sitteth on his throne." Then the soul was merely the fanciful theme of the speculations of the philosophers; to-day it is the recognition of the greatness and the divineness of the human soul that lifts all men into the plane of brotherhood and becomes the lofty principle of all genuine social advancement. Thus is

our civilization vindicated from this terrible unhistorical charge that the poor are poorer than ever.

By this contrast with the past do we verify the claim that "the modern free system of industry offers to every living human being chances of happiness indescribably in excess of what former generations have possessed."* If there be shades of blackness, the darkness in which the laborers of the classic lands of Greece and Rome dwelt, was perhaps somewhat less black than that of Egypt. By contrast with them we live in the broad light of day, dimmed only by the shadows of the passing clouds.

It was with the rise of the Judaic influences that the sun of freedom sent forth his rays upon the laborer in pagan lands and brightened his dark career. The study of that influence will give us assurance that there is a providential thread that runs through the web of history and give us cause to hope that "some day there will be no more pariahs at the banquet of life."

* W. G. Sumner, *Social Classes*.

DISCOURSE V.

HOW DID MOSES SOLVE THE SOCIAL
PROBLEM ?

DISRAELI in his poetical novel. *Tancred*, sends out a young English lord to search the world for some remedy for the social and political evils of Europe. The young Englishman is lured by quaint dreams and fancies to the far-away scenes of Asiatic lands. After many days he wanders among the wild ranges of granite mountains of Arabia. At midnight he stands alone in that small, rock-bound plane far up the steep of Mt. Sinai, the traditional scene of the greatest event of time, the promulgation of the Decalogue. Here upon the sacred soil, the solitary pilgrim kneels and is lost in earnest meditation and prayer. At last, lifting his agitated face to peer into the starry vault overhead, he clasps his hands in the anguish of devotion and cries: "O Lord, God of Israel, Creator of the universe, ineffable Jehovah! I come to thine ancient Arabian altars to pour forth the heart of tortured Europe. Why art thou silent? Why no longer do the messengers of thy renovating will descend on earth? Faith fades and duty dies. A profound melancholy has fallen on the spirit of man. The priest doubts, the monarch can not rule, the multitude moans and toils and calls in its frenzy on unknown gods. If prophets may not arise again to herald hope, at least, of all the starry messengers that guard thy throne let one appear

to save thy creatures from a terrible despair."

A dimness suffuses the stars of Arabia. The kneeling pilgrim sinks upon the earth senseless and in a trance, and to him there appears a form, with shape human, but vast as the surrounding hills. On his lofty forehead glitters a star that throws a solemn radiance on the repose of his majestic features; thought, rather than melancholy speaks from the pensive passion of his eye as gently he utters these words of wisdom: "Power is neither the sceptre nor the sword, for these pass away—but ideas which are divine. The equality of man can only be accomplished by the sovereignty of God. The longing for fraternity can never be satisfied but under the sway of a common Father. In the increased distance between God and man have grown up all those developments that have made life mournful. Cease, then, to seek in a vain philosophy the solution of the social problem that vexes you. Announce the sublime and solacing doctrine of theocratic equality."

What does this weird, poetic figure mean? What is the import of this message? It means that to escape the "divine despair," "which at the sight of the misery that ingulfs the masses is falling with the blight of melancholy upon the spirits of earnest, thoughtful, feeling men, we must break away from the toils and fetters of modern error, and as the tortured child hastens to the arms of its mother, so we must hasten back to Judea the mother of our civilization, in her bosom to find solace and comfort and rest. It means that we must go back to the cradle of the world where wisdom first spake, and learn again the message of truth that for all times and unto all generations was proclaimed by

the Hebrews of old. It means that the hotly contested social questions of our civilization are to be settled neither according to the ideas of the capitalist nor those of the laborer, neither according to those of the socialist, the communist, the anarchist or the nihilist, but simply and only according to the eternal laws of morality, which were pronounced at Sinai. This is the truth which it is our immediate, all-important duty to loudly proclaim and speedily establish, that modern political economy and social science can teach no new guiding principles which are not already embraced in the simple lessons of Judaism.

We turn, then, with eagerness to a study of the social conditions of the Hebrews. Our minds are still filled with the woful pictures of artizan life in the monarchies of the Orient, of Egypt, pagan Greece and Rome. The sad spectacles of slavery, misery, brutality and woe still depress us. But lo, the scenes that present themselves, as we look out in imagination upon the busy life of Palestine under the sway of the Mosaic law are so utterly different, so marvelously changed for the better that, like one who comes from the darkness suddenly into the bright light, we are dazzled and almost overwhelmed by the contrast. Indeed, it is truly a transformation as of night into day. The great cloud of misery is lifted from humanity. Slavery fades away—its darkness is dispelled, for freedom bursts into the skies effulgent as the new-born sun of day. Liberty called out to a horde of slaves, fainting under the burdens and crouching under the lash of Egypt; they hushed their moaning, hearkened to her call and gladly she led them forth from the House of Bon-

dage. Then for the first time the world saw a nation of free men, all alike acknowledged to be *men* with heavenly capacities created in the image of God all alike inspired by the same lofty purpose of life to develop into the spiritual likeness of the Creator.

Here were no casts. Mark this startling transition. It utterly changes the social conditions of the world. Grandly and majestically Moses sweeps above the heartless degradation of man by man which everywhere prevails, and lifts all men to the heights of equality—theocratic equality, wherein all are alike the children of one God, all are members of the noblest rank, the only rank—a priest people. Moses based his government upon religion, and laid the foundation of all virtues in the family. We know that the evils which came upon the Jewish people came only through a falling away from the strict code of his politics and morality.

We pass at once to ask how Moses, with his incomparable genius and matchless statesmanship, solved those special phases of the social question which so agitate the world to-day—those that arise out of the contests of men in the struggle for existence.

In the Hebrew Commonwealth we find, for the first time in history, conditions that thoroughly interest us because of their similarity to our own. The conditions that prevailed in the pagan world were so entirely different from ours that the social question, in the forms that most concern us, could hardly have been said to exist. But in the Mosaic legislation all is changed. Here is free labor; every man must work, as is the case with us. Here is perfect freedom to choose your own calling in life, as with us; here is the wage system by

which each one is to get the fruits of his toil, as with us; here is the right of private possession maintained, as with us; here is property in land and the system of inheritance, as with us. Almost the whole list of our social questions is here, for they all come naturally with the abolition of slavery.

The principles upon which the Mosaic enactments were based were these: Israel was himself a slave in Egypt, and there suffered grievous oppression and severity from which divine mercy has delivered him. Israel, therefore, should not similarly oppress those who are under his authority, or in adverse circumstances, but should rather show them mercy and kindness.* Israel, since his deliverance from Egypt, has entered the service of God. The servant of God ought not to become the servant of men. Perpetual and real servitude can not, therefore, exist among Israelites, for that would be a virtual denial of God. †

And so, although you find slaves often spoken of in the Bible, yet if you study the condition of the few so-called slaves among the Hebrews, you will find that it had none of the brutal or degrading characteristics of the slaves among all other peoples. In fact it was simply that of hired servants among us. This service could never be for longer than six years. The seventh year and the year of Jubilee set all slaves free. A man if needy, could bind himself to such service of slavery but he could also buy his freedom. Many crimes were judicially punished by condemning the culprit to slavery, somewhat after the principle of modern convict

* Ex. xxii. 20; xxiii. 9. Deut. v. 14-15; xv. 15; xviii, 12; xxiv. 18-22.

† Lev. xxx. 42; xxv. 13.

labor. But the sting of degradation and ignominy was almost taken from the conditions of slavery by reason of the total revolution in sentiment that Moses wrought in that he caused work to be held in the highest respect and dignity. In the Hebrew Commonwealth not only the hirelings or slaves, but all the people are at work. The husband must work to support wife and children. The wife looks faithfully to her household and the praises of her domesticity are sung in the matchless strains of the Proverbs.* The children work to maintain their aged parents.†

It is only over the *labor* of the slave that the master has control; unlike the master in all other lands he has no control over the life or property, none over the wife and children of his slave. Nay, he is answerable to the law for the slave's proper care and treatment. He is not even allowed to send him off empty-handed at the end of his period of service, but must give him a present of sheep, grain and wine.‡ The slave is privileged to participate in various religious exercises, the Sabbath is instituted with special reference to him; he is treated with clemency,§ often with kind-

* Prov. ch. xxxi.

† Jalkut I. § 850.

‡ Deut. xv. 13, 14.

§ The normal day of labor is fixed in the Jewish law at twelve hours, from which two hours were remitted in the course of the day for meals and the recital of the prescribed prayers, the Shema and Tefillah, thus leaving ten hours for work. (*B. Mez.* VII. I; *Chos. Mishpat*, Chap. 339, 1.) Workmen could require better conditions but not a decrease in the number of hours, and a raise in wages could not secure for employer increased time but only better quality of work. (*Chas. Mispp.* 332, 5.) For further elucidation of this now much contested matter see, *Arbeit und Lohn nach Biblisch. Tal-mudischern Gesetze*" by J. Nobel, in *Judische Presse*, Berlin, 1886.

ness and consideration due to a member of the family. Is this slavery? Assuredly by contrast with the slavery of all other nations there was no such a thing as slavery in Judea.*

“Liberty was always the ultimate idea of the great emancipator, and this idea breathes and flames in all his laws which touch poverty. Slavery he hated beyond all measure; he was enraged against it, but he could not destroy it altogether, it was too deeply rooted in the life of that hoary age, and he had to content himself to ameliorate by law the condition of the slave, to facilitate his emancipation and to limit the period of service. If, however, a slave who was set free by the law, refused to leave the house of his master, then Moses ordained that this incorrigible servile scamp should be nailed by the ear to the doorposts of the master’s house, and after this degrading exhibition he was condemned to servitude for life.”†

The Jewish nation was ever noted for industry, energy, strength, ingenuity and restless activity. Agriculture, stock-raising, and handicrafts were the main occupations. The Mosaic law promoted and protected them. The little land of Palestine was a perfect paradise, planted and cultivated to the very mountain summits. From Egypt the Hebrews had learned much science and art. Mechanical pursuits were held in high favor.‡ Indeed we find throughout that there, as among us, all occupations were pursued by the people, and work was loved and honored,

* Mielziner, *Slavery among the Hebrews*.

† *Heinrich Heine*.

‡ Ps. cxxviii. 2; Prov. vii. 6-8.

“There is no trade which the world can spare.” (*Kiddushin*, 82, 2.) “When a man teaches his son no trade, it is as if he brought him up to highway robbery.” (*Kiddushin* 29, 1.) “Only he who tills the soil will be nourished by it”—(*B. Mezia*, 77.) “Love work; do not despise it, or consider yourself superior to it.”—(*Aboth* 1, 10.) “Great is work; for it honors man: elevates and enriches him.” *B. Bathra*, 110; *Aboth de R Nathan*, 11.)

Such are a few among the numerous sayings of the Rabbis of the Talmud. Their sayings reflected the sentiments of the people for they were themselves of the people and they practiced as they preached. More than a hundred of those named in the Talmud besides their rabbinical functions followed trades. There were among others, tailors, shoemakers, a baker, an architect, a gravedigger, a fisher, a dyer, a carpenter, etc. The practical rule of conduct which guided the rabbis of old was pronounced by Rabban Gamaliel, when he said (*Aboth*. II. 2): “Fair is the study of the law if accompanied by a worldly occupation for the union of these two annihilates sin.”

Consider well these facts now cited, and you will know why that cry of woe which is ringing in our ears to-day was never heard in Judea; why the clamorous outbreaks of the laborers which startle us from our dreams of safety and peace were never known there. You may search up and down through the records of Jewish history and will never find any revolts of slaves such as those which afflicted Rome and under Spartacus threatened the national safety, nor any uprisings like those of the Plebeians of Rome, the Demoi of Athens, or the Helots in Sparta;

no wild scenes like those of the Paris Commune; no processions of hungry men, women and children crying for bread like those that are seen in London and Chicago in our day. Moses had forestalled the possibility of such ever arising. There was on the one hand, such a respect for work and such a wide diffusion of labor; and on the other hand, such a wonderful system of practical charity, such complete and excellent provision for the needy, that no idle class, no proletarians ever could exist. Mark the miracle! Pauperism, that spectre of our century, never haunted the ancient land of our forefathers. Tramps were not known there.

Private property in land was allowed in Palestine, but it could never be entirely alienated away, for in the Jubilee year all property reverted to the original owner.* Thus the undue accumulation of wealth in the hands of the few in the face of the utter poverty of the masses could not occur, for every man called a piece of land his own.

*See Lev. xxv. 13, 44. The institution of the Jubilee which never went into practical operation as far as records show, and which was certainly not given as a law for all nations, has, strangely enough, been put forward as an argument for the "nationalization of land," while in fact it was an iron-clad law of entail and insisted on private ownership in land. See *The Forum* Nov. 1887. "Christianity and Communism," by Rev. Dr. Van Dyke, Jr.

"Instead of wrestling with the impossible, instead of inconsiderately decreeing the abolition of property, Moses only attempted its moralization; he endeavored to bring property in harmony with morality, with the true law of reason, and this he accomplished, by the introduction of the year of jubilee, in which alienated land that was inherited, which, with an agricultural people, constituted true property, fell back to the original owner, regardless of the manner in which it had been disposed of. This institution forms the most decided contrast to that 'outlawry' with the Romans, where, after the lapse of a certain time, the actual possessor of a property could not be compelled by the legitimate owner to restore the property if he could not bring evidence to show that he had demanded

Thus Moses solved the social question. Well may the world still stand entranced before the genius of our great law-giver. Well may we go back and sit at his feet and learn the lessons that shall solve our vexing and harassing difficulties. I do not say that we should adopt the Mosaic institutions bodily. That would be an impossibility. In some respects it would be a retrogression. Slavery however modified would have to be restored. We should have to give up all the advantages gained through the marvelous advance secured in the comforts and refinements of life, through the dominion over the forces of nature, through the wondrous facility in intercommunications and transportation and especially through the protection against disease, famine, and pestilence and all the thousand and one appliances and contrivances physical, chemical and mechanical now benefiting the poor, and elevating their material condition in a manner never known hitherto in the history of mankind. The world has changed. There are new factors in life unknown in Moses' day. His codes were adapted to a peculiar people, homogeneous in character, living under certain conditions and environments which

restitution in due legal form. This last condition left the field open to every possible fraud, especially in a state where despotism and jurisprudence were in bloom and where the unlawful possessor had in his power all the means of intimidation especially when confronted by the poor man who could not afford the expenses which a contest involved. The Roman was soldier and lawyer at the same time and he knew how to defend with his glib tongue the property taken from others, often with the sword. Only a nation of robbers and casuists could invent the laws of proscription and limitation and to consecrate them in that execrable book which might be called the Bible of the devil, the code of Roman civil law."—*Heinrich Heine.*

probably do not now exist in exactly the same order anywhere. That would be a very narrow policy, indeed, that would hamper the world by bending it within the iron bands of any set of ancient institutions, however perfect they were in their day. But this we do aver; that what Lord Beaconsfield from his political eminence saw as with his mental vision he swept the whole broad range of our social conditions, is the solemn truth and stands at this moment the profound conviction of every man of earnest thought. I mean that only by those eternal principles of justice which guided Moses in his successful solutions of the problems of his time, can we hope to solve the problems of our time. We can not use his statutes, perhaps, but their aim and motive we must adopt.

And this lesson above all must we learn from him that nothing good can be accomplished by sudden revolution and by violence. Moses was a social reformer, and for success he has no peer in the lists. Observe well his method. He so legislated as to abolish slavery; out of a degraded populace dragged from the slums of Egypt and saturated with the vices, the errors and superstitions of that land, by patient training and education, he made a new nation and gave us the pattern of the most successful social system the world has ever known. This he did not accomplish by mad radical revolution, by tearing down, abolishing and destroying, but by taking the materials as he found them, the circumstances as they existed, and shaping them by the might of his heavenly intellect and by the strength of his marvelous executive power, shaping them slowly but positively to the ends of the perfect justice of God.

DISCOURSE VI.

THE SOCIAL CHAOS OF THE DARK AGES.

BACK through the highways and byways of the past we have wandered together in imagination, by the guides of history, in order that we might learn from the experiences of men the wisdom that shall aid us in the present.

We have studied the condition of the laborers in the world's brightest eras, in the ancient monarchies, in Egypt and the classic lands of Greece and Rome. Let us note well the scenes we have beheld, wretched, pitiable, mournful throughout; let them serve as a constant reminder; let this picture of the woful past stand in contrast with the general status of the honest free laborer of to-day, and thus shall we best banish the discontent that consumes our lives, thus once for all shall stand denounced the falsehood so unblushingly asserted in the face of the truth by all the social agitators of the day, the charge that the poor are poorer now than they ever were hitherto. One word gives the lie to this charge; one bitter, burning word which epitomizes and vividly portrays the horror, the misery, and woe, barely conceivable to us in our bettered circumstances, of those myriads of men and women who in the dreary ages past labored on earth only to perish in despair. That word is Slavery.

The whole Orient, Africa, with monumental Egypt, all the Levant, is enshrouded in the densest moral darkness upon all that appertains to the just conditions and rights of the laborer.

At last! at last! we see the sun of Freedom rise over the mountains of Arabia and cast his beams athwart the hills and vales of the little land of Palestine. There under his fructifying influence grows up the commonwealth of Moses and the first and only social system that was developed throughout, on the lines of the eternal justice of the moral law. Here under the heat of this sun of freedom, the chains melt from the wrists of the bondsmen, and the world for the first time sees a nation of freemen. Here for the first time we find social conditions that run parallel to our own. Here is free labor—every man at work. Here is the freedom to choose your own calling in life, no castes or guilds; here is the wage system to secure to every one the fruits of his toil; here is the right of private property and individual possession in land maintained and a complete system of inheritance upheld.

We see how the incomparable genius and unrivaled statesmanship of Moses solved the social difficulties of his day in such a marvelous manner that never throughout the course of Jewish history do we hear of uprisings and revolts of the people such as afflict all other lands and that to-day threaten the safety of all our institutions and make the social question so abnormally prominent.

“Such a thing as this,” said the great German poet, Herder, contemplating the achievements of Moses “is not a mere

figment of the imagination, such a history and all that attaches to it and depends upon it, in short such a people cannot be a fiction. Its guidance of the world is the grandest poem of the ages.”*

We are in possession of the records to show that the Mosaic system was not a mere ideal Utopian scheme. It was a living reality, working with brilliant results through successive generations. Since this is so; since Moses so successfully solved the social question under phases so similar to ours, why is it, we are driven to ask, why is it that these questions recur again, and why do they come up only now after hundreds and hundreds of years? This is a question of the profoundest interest and of the most vital importance in understanding the problems we have to deal with. Let me try to unravel the seeming inconsistency. I have spoken of the Sun of Freedom rising over Judea. The metaphor is a true one. The results of modern astronomy teach that when you turn to look up to the shining orbs overhead, the flash of light that greets your eye comes, an aerial messenger, from far, far across the immeasurable expanse of space, and that he bears to you the report, not of this moment's or even of this day's doings far up there among the heavenly hosts, but he has come out of the remote past; he has reached you after traveling hundreds and hundreds of years, his wings unwearied, his flight unslackened in speed, and the history he tells is older than the records of men. Just so the sunlight of freedom, in which we bask, of whose warmth and inspiration

* *Study of Theology*, Letter xii.

we boast with kindling eye and ardent speech has come to us from far across the expanse of time, and it took hundreds and hundreds of years for it to pierce the intervening darkness before it could finally shine in upon and brighten our lives.

Let me illustrate still further. The attention of the country is being attracted just now by the speedy growth of the "New South," as it is called. Money, brain and toil are being liberally expended in developing the newly discovered mineral resources of the State of Alabama. In the northern counties of that and neighboring States, towering mountains rear aloft their heads in majesty, as if to hold secret converse with the silent skies. There they have stood in mute and solemn grandeur through the ages. A hundred years and more, civilized men have passed up and down and over them, and deemed them perhaps only impediments, rude barriers, that must be tunneled or leveled off in order to make a way for traffic. These upland hillsides have been plowed and cultivated, rich stores of timber have been cleared for the uses of men; but who ever dreamed until in recent days that those sleeping summits were nature's roof, under which lay garnered those treasures whose undiscovered limits set our brains to work building air castles of material progress, and weaving fantastic dreams of the possibilities hidden in the future?

Long ages ago, ere yet these hills had lifted up their heads so proudly to such majestic stature, the sun shining upon them caused reedy vegetation to sprout; season after season, year after year, decade after decade, this vegetation germinated, grew, blossomed,

yielded seed, withered, died and was buried where it fell. Through the ages great masses of this vegetation, thus accumulated, sank into the marshes, and were covered by the shifting sands; the sand was compacted into rock, and the vegetation in the great laboratory of nature transformed into coal. Then came the great upheavals of the earth's surface by the forces dwelling in the heart of the globe; the mountains were elevated and their treasures made accessible to man.

As thus in a study of the processes of nature we are able to "rethink the thoughts of the Creator," so, too, in tracing back the history of civilization, we are able to discern the issue and motive of its processes. We are now able to see that it needed hundreds and hundreds of years before the mists and vapors of the slavish, inhuman degradation of the laborer could be so effectually cleared away that the sunlight of freedom might at last shine forth in its perfect effulgence. We are now able to see that after light had reached the world it took again hundreds and hundreds of years before in the minds of men the buried rubbish of error and corruption became transformed into the treasures of matured virtue. No wonder, then, that in the ever-thickening shadows of darkness men fainted and faltered, and doubted whether ever humanity would be emancipated and redeemed. Are there not those who still doubt it, and declare that all the successive civilizations are but like meteor flashes that inevitably go out in the utter darkness of oblivion?

Byron stood on the Palatine Hill, whose very soil is made of the crumbled bricks of its decayed edifices; he looked in sadness upon the ruins of the past grandeur of

Rome, and musing upon the lessons of history he thus spoke :

There is the moral of all human tales ;
 'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past.
 First Freedom and then Glory. When that fails
 Wealth, vice, corruption—barbarism at last.
 And history with all her volumes vast
 Hath but one page."

If you flit lightly across the broad expanse of the great ocean of events upon the winds of inquiry, which but gently touch the surface, you will reach the same disheartening conclusion here pronounced by the poet; but dive fearlessly into the great ocean of history, sound its utmost depths, search them well, and beneath you will find hidden the genuine pearls of truth; you will see that while ruin is heaped upon ruin, and nations, governments, religious and social systems fall to pieces, yet one generation after another, rising on the wrecks of the Past, thus mounts to nobler and better things.

Assyria, Media, Persia, Babylonia and ancient Egypt pass away; but that which is of eternal worth in their achievements cannot perish; it remains to the world; it lives again, refined and developed in the life of Judea. But Judea, too, falls. Not however, till after Alexander the Great has overrun the East in conquest, and brought into conflict the civilizations of Europe and Asia in that contact of the Greek and Hebrew, out of which springs the new civilization which centers in ancient Alexandria. This, too, is overwhelmed, but yields its fruits to the world, that is, to Rome. Then comes that great struggle on the battle-field of Europe, in which all the combined results of human endeavor in the past are arrayed against

Barbarism; and while that contest is waged the Dark Ages prevail. For long centuries the darkness reigns. It is a night of hideous revelry, a perfect Walpurgis Night, the witches' high carnival. Hastening together from all quarters of the globe, in all shapes and forms, in all manner of costumes and hideous adornment, the evil spirits, in that superstition of the Middle Ages, swarm up to the summit of the Brocken Mountains, and there whirl round and round in mad dances and wildly reel and chase about in drunken orgies. Such is the scene which the world presents during the Dark Ages. Everything is in utter confusion.

“ Night,
And chaos, ancestors of Nature, hold
Eternal anarchy amidst the noise
Of endless wars.”

The Germans, tribe after tribe, press onward to the Roman frontier; the Huns push forward from northern Asia and drive before them the Slavonians and Gothics and precipitate the Visigoths across the Danube into the heart of the Roman Empire. The Mohammedans sweep onward at the South. Wave follows wave in the great migration of nations. One population crowds upon and displaces another. Nothing is permanent, nothing settled. The chaos is greatest in Germany. France is more agitated than Italy. Thus from the fifth to the tenth century, in a state of continuous struggle among themselves, all the principles and the forms of political, religious and social organization known to the world, civilized and barbarian, exist side by side in Europe.

Here is the primitive individualism of the rude barbarian, his inordinate love for a selfish, personal independence, for activity

without labor; alongside of this the automatic, apathetic, well-drilled soldierly life of the old Roman cities. Here is the reign of brute force, where violence is king, where lies are the statutes and deceit is the only principle of conduct; opposed to them the Christian Church, with its meek and ardent devotees, all subject to law, under whose influence the mind struggles to extinguish its own liberty and to deliver itself up to the dictates of absolute faith. Here are powers spiritual, powers temporal; the theocratic, the monarchic, the aristocratic, the democratic elements arrayed in hostile lines. Here are all classes of society, all social situations in a perfect jumble; infinite wealth beside abysmal poverty; the grandest pomp and magnificence beside abject misery and squalor; idealistic chivalry and gross sensuality. All the elements and influences of social life known to the world, both civilized and barbarian, are here in contention.

“There is no denying,” says Guizot,* “that we owe to this confusion, this diversity, this tossing and jostling of elements, the slow progress of Europe, the storms by which she has been buffeted, the miseries to which oftentimes she has been a prey.” But, however dear these have cost us, we must not regard them with unmingled regret. What we might call the hard fortune of European civilization has been of infinite service to the progress of humanity through the full, free and active exercise and development of all the faculties, not of one, but of many, many people; indeed of all those who now form the civilized world. Not one of the elements then at war was triumphant. Some yielded, others gained, but none singly could

* *History of Civilization in Europe. Lect; II.*

exclude the rest. There was proximity, amalgamation, compromise, till at last out of the storm and stress came a higher type of civilization than any, bearing forth from the contest the trophy—Liberty.

Consider how the whole world changed and what contentions it endured in all this long interval; remember how long on this account it took for the rays of that Sun of Freedom that burst over Judea to pierce the darkness that enveloped the human intellect groping in the midst of this social chaos, and you will understand why, in all these ages, the Social Question, as we understand it, has been in abeyance, why, only to-day we are taking up the problems which in his times and amid his surroundings our great law-giver, Moses, so successfully solved. How these questions have again been brought forward, becomes the subject of our next inquiry which we shall answer in tracing out the rise of the modern free laborer.

DISCOURSE VII.

THE RISE OF THE MODERN FREE LABORER.

I WILL ask you for a brief season to try and forget the present. Leave these scenes and wander back with me in imagination to other times and strange places. Sink into oblivion for awhile the things that distinguish our days. Blot out the discovery of electricity and its wonders of light and telegraph and telephone. Go back to the time when steam was not yet under the control of man. The world was different then. The affrighting locomotive, with its serpentine trail of cars, did not rumble and roar through the land, rousing with its shrieks from their slumbers of all time, the denizens of the forest and the cave. Those great round columns that disfigure our cities and towns did not then rise into the heavens to vomit forth the smoke and soot; and the race of dusky toilers in the mills and factories, workshops and foundries, had not yet been born. Put aside newspapers and periodicals, and go back even to beyond the time when the necromantic art of printing first put the magician to blush. Continue on this retrogressive journey until the wonders of modern times one by one recede and disappear from the earth to when bombs and fuses, mortars and shells, Krupp guns and cannon balls, nitroglycerine and dynamite—to when even gun-

powder had not yet been brought up from the dark and fathomless mines in which men delve for knowledge, to when the sword and javelin, the bow and arrow, the clumsy pike and armor were still the only weapons of warfare.

To get to those times we must sail back across the ocean, for then the very existence of the American continent was a secret known but to the winds—but they breathed not a whisper about it as they went speeding afar across the world; known also to the waves—but they muttered not a word thereof to men, as sullen and wrathful they rolled over the deep and dashed upon the further shores.

We sail down the most beautiful of rivers—the Rhine. “Like the stream of Time, it flows mid the ruins of the Past,” and as we follow it up into the German border lands, the mariners cheerily sing:

“O swift is thy current by town and by
tower,
The green sunny vale, and the dark linden
bower,
Thy waves as they dimple smile back on
the plain,
And Rhine, ancient river, thou’rt German
again.”

We pass the place where the castled crag of Drachenfels frowns down upon the stream, and we let the eye revel in the grandeur of the panorama of beauty that moves on before us. And now we land where upon the summit of one of the high, overhanging, rugged hills a castle stands, firm and forbidding, with towers and battlements, with moat and drawbridge, barbican and donjon keep

“with strength to laugh a siege to scorn;” a defense against injury from abroad—a place of repose or of revelry for those within.

But we shall not weary ourselves with climbing that great hill to the castle. We know full well that a baron sits there in state surrounded by his retainers, free men, answerable only to him, and he a host unto himself, answerable to none. We know that the chivalrous knights there dance attendance upon lovely ladies. We have heard enough of the intrigues of the castle, of the loves and sorrows of its beautiful dames and the battles and bouts of the lordly knights. Unlike other visitors who hasten on to do homage at the castle, let us pause here at the foot of the hill and note what is to be seen. A modest church lifts its spire heavenward to be kissed by the sun and to smile back greetings to the clouds. Around about it huddle promiscuously groups of dwellings. Here abides a little population of laborers. Our interest has been aroused more particularly to know of their welfare. Let us then draw nearer.

What miserable, wretched homesteads are these, crudely and bunglingly put together of the roughest timber and of twigs matted and covered with clay. But a poor protection against wind and rain and sleet and snow is that roof of thatched straw and reeds. With the liberty that is allowed to fancy, we silently enter. There is but one room. The floor—the hard, bare ground, at best covered with dry leaves, Straw pallets are here for beds and logs for pillows. Here the fowls are at roost and the beasts are quartered along with man and wife and child, and male and female attendants, all living in most uncomfortable and indecent proximity. There is

an ill-fed, cheerless fire, and the smoke rising curls up and about freely, searching for a place of exit, and finds it at last, a hole in the roof. Nowhere a chimney; nowhere a window. Men with grizzly beards, women with matted and unkempt hair, children filthy and half naked, all clad at best in untanned skins roughly put together. Such are the people of the house now gathered round to their mid-day meal. There is but one platter. From this, men, women, and children all alike help themselves with wooden spoons. There are no knives and forks. Out of the same wooden trencher all drink in turn. Now the meal is over. They all hasten away to their work. As we step out after them we pass by heaps of garbage and rubbish thrown before the door and left to putrefy there. We are sickened at the sights and sounds and odors that affect us, and we hasten after the men and women into the fields. There we see them with their rude primitive implements hard at work; cheerless sullen, stupid, dull, as the lifeless clod which with his rude share each swain turns in the furrow and to which he is in every manner so nearly allied. Yes, allied; for the slavery of ancient days has now changed into serfdom and the laborer from being attached to one man whose absolute property he is, is now attached to one piece of soil from which he cannot be removed either by gift or by sale. He is bound to a certain estate; upon that he works. When the land is sold he is sold with it into the service of another.

Such is the condition of the laborer in the tenth century under the sway of the feudal system. The lord of the stately castle is enjoying the chase or is practicing at arms either in the tournament, or while exercising

the *Faustrecht* (right of private warfare) in which he has need of all the able-bodied men of his estate ; or perhaps he is lolling in idleness at table, and is indulging in the excesses of food and strong drink, listening to the songs of the minstrel and the jokes of his fool in cap and bell, while down in the valley in misery and squalor his serfs are at work. There is nothing morally in common between lord and serf. They drudge for him in times of peace and fight for him in times of war. Such is the price they pay for existence.*

We come on down through the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries: there is but slow and scant improvement. In speaking of the population of the countries of Europe in those times we can not truthfully use the word "people." Those serfs do not form a people. They have no connection with persons, things or governments. For them there exists no common destiny, no common country; they are subject to every species of lawless oppression. War, not work, is still the occupation of men. Everywhere lie broad tracts of land, wild and uncultivated; pathless forests, howling wildernesses, swamps and fens and bogs, exhaling poison. There are no roads, except those built long ago by the Romans, and these are infested with predatory bands. Everything has adapted itself to the forms of feudalism. The churches and monasteries are in fact large feudal strongholds, as much so as the castles that dot the land. The cities are like-

* Scherr, *Deutsche Kultur und Sitten Geschichte*; Buckle, *History of Civilization in England*; Guizot *History of Civilization* (for France); Lecky, *History of European Morals*; Hallam, *Middle Ages*.

wise under the patronage and protection of the feudal barons.

Out of this abject and ignoble condition, by slow and painful processes, the system of modern free labor takes its rise. What brings it about, do you ask? Not any effort of the ruling powers in state and in church. It comes in the very face of them. They do nothing to ameliorate the physical condition of the people, nothing to favor their intellectual development. Century after century passes away and the laborers are still considered no better than the cattle in the fields. The influences that bring the change are many. By some the Crusades are accredited with having so stirred up and altered the views and modes of life as to make labor reputable; by others it is claimed that the revolts which yielded the freedom of the cities from feudal tribute, the formation of the Hanseatic League of the German Free States, the enfranchisement of the guilds, the creation of the Italian republics, the rise of free thought, culminating in the Reformation of Luther, and the political wars and wearisome contentions that demoralized the continent—that one or several of these influences so changed the conditions of European life as to overthrow the feudal barriers, and upon their ruins to draw up in array “The Third Estate”—the new host, the common people—and out of their midst, to slowly push forward into just recognition, the modern free laborer.

No doubt all the influences cited were at work to accomplish this. But let us set aside all theories and pet doctrines, let us banish at once all sentiment and get down to the hard facts in the matter. Ask your-

self what is it to-day that pushes the world on to greater enterprise, lifting men thereby to larger views and more far-reaching counsels? What is it that calls Stanley back from his American visit and dispatches him into the heart of Africa? What is it that sets DeLesseps to build canals across Suez and Panama and emboldens Eads to construct his ship-railway across Central America? What is that at home here so urges the dredging of our harbor, the starting of new steamship lines to New York and Liverpool, and the building of railroads into the heart of the mineral regions? It is nothing but the primitive impulse of men to get means of subsistence or having them to earn more in order to make life easier and more delightful.

Now, in this respect, human nature was certainly no different in the Middle Ages than it is now, and the real secret of the changes then wrought, as to-day, may be summed up in the word "Commerce." She was the enchantress whose wand worked such marvelous transformations, and her first and most faithful servants then, as now, were the Jews. Commerce alone can unite the world. Through commerce alone can come the fulfilment of the dream, the hope of universal peace. The Jews are everywhere loving and pursuing peace, laboring to bring all the world under the shadow of the protecting wings of peace. In the midst of feudal anarchy the Jews alone stood free. They kept alive and perfected the commercial traditions of the world. They were free because they could not possibly become lords, however rich, nor serfs, however poor; for while others could buy estates or sell themselves into serfdom when driven for want of

bread, the Christian oath of fealty that was required, by king and lord, forever barred the Jew from that act.* This is a fact to which men have been strangely blind. With this fact revealed let us once for all down with the accursed lie, that (because the Jew did not hold land in Europe in the past), lets his enemies stamp him as an alien and falsely charge him with lack of patriotism, branding him a leech sucking the blood of riches but producing nothing.

The Jews were free in the Middle Ages because they alone could trade with money. For three thousand years the world has been cursed with the fallacy that to deal in money is a sin. The last vestiges of that superstition are but now fading away. In the Middle Ages it was a civil as well as an ecclesiastical crime. In modern times political economy has made simple the true and just and necessary part that interest plays in all pecuniary transactions. The Jews never had any such a ruinous fallacy to hamper them. For these two reasons trade of all kinds fell exclusively into their hands; they became, as Kiesselbach says, † “an economical necessity to the Middle Ages.” So necessary were they to the feudal landlords that despite the multiplicity of the toll-houses and the dangers of the highways, they held safe-conducts that enabled them to travel far and wide. They went great distances for rare products, and brought within reach of the wealthy customers in castle and abbey the

* Prof. Ernst Otto Stobbe in his *History of the Jews in Germany during the Middle Ages* has recently shown that it was because of the religious character of the trade-guilds that the Jews were prevented from following handicrafts during mediæval times.

† *Einleitung in die Europäische Handelsgeschichte.*

finest clothes, the rarest jewels, spices and luxuries of every sort.

By much travel they learned the needs and preferences of different communities and from the centers of their industries in Spain, and the Levant brought the appropriate supplies. They corresponded with each other carried samples and note-books, and little, by little evolved the primitive forms of the modern banking system.*

“When a whole people,” says the elder Disraeli, † “devote themselves to one great pursuit, one single art, they open sources of invention, they reach a noble perfection. Thus in the Middle Ages the genius of the Jews produced the wonderful invention of bills of exchange—an object, like the art of printing, become too familiar to be admired. The miracle has ceased and its utility only remains, yet both are sources of civilization and connect together, as in one commonwealth, the whole universe. This successful pursuit of the Jews, however worked their own fatality. For the steel-clad baron they were sponges to suck in as much water as they could hold, that his protecting hand as he listed might squeeze them to their last drop.”

It is foreign to our purpose to trace out the horrible persecutions to which the Jews in those times were subject, in which they displayed a heroism of which it is said that that of “the defenders of every other creed fades into insignificance before this martyr people who, for thirteen centuries, confronted all the evils that the fiercest fanaticism could devise. But above all this the genius of this wonderful people rose supreme.” ‡

* Blanqui, *Hist. Polit. Econ.* Ch. xv.

† *Genius of Judaism*

When the intellect of Europe awoke out of its Middle-Age stupor and shook off the mire and filth of fanatic error and superstition in which it had been groveling about in besotted ignorance, it found that the Jews had kept learning awake in Spain ; that the Jews had peddled not only wares from door to door through Europe but also ideas ; that the Jews had brought not only the finest fabrics but also the learning of Asia into the West. When terrible plagues infested the world at that time, the people cried out for help, and there were none but Jews who understood medicine enough to help them. When the sovereigns got poor and the cities seized the chance to buy their freedom, industry got a new impulse ; when the crusaders set the people to traveling and broke up their narrow conditions ; when thus navigation was developed and inventions brought from Asia, then the industrial elements received an extraordinary impulse, yet in all this the world came groping slowly along in the path which the Jews had ages before hewn out, and all the while quietly kept clear despite every difficulty. As after much striking of the flint came the spark and the blaze, so after much painful effort on the part of the Jews to bring better conditions and comforts of life, better knowledge and broader views of religion and morality to Europe, these purposes at last flamed out, and those reforms overspread the world which produced the conditions that made possible the rise of the system of modern free labor.

DISCOURSE VIII.

THE RISE OF THE MODERN FREE LABORER (*Continued*).

IT was the way of the world in ancient times for men to get all work done by captives of war. Thus all workmen were originally slaves. In the process of time slavery was transformed into serfdom, in which the laborer was attached to the soil, instead of the person of his master: he could not be sold unless the land were sold. The condition of serfdom lasted on down through the eighteenth century. In Scotland the colliers and laborers in the salt-works remained in that condition until an act of Parliament in 1775 emancipated them. This (in civilized lands) was probably the last and fatal blow given to that degraded condition. Thereupon ensued the freedom of the laborer. Like the waves of the incoming tide that beat higher and higher with each advance, so the political, social, and economic freedom of the world's workers beat higher and higher with the advance of time, until at the close of the last century it washed away every barrier that had impeded the onward sweep of its mighty currents.

Let us try to discover the forces that impelled them on. It is difficult to discern amid the commotions and clashing events of that brilliant epoch, the eighteenth century, what specific influences those were that so

wrought upon the more obscure classes of the people, the laborers. The origin of the great change from serfdom to freedom would seem to bear out the maxim that "trifles make the sum of human things."

Then, even as now, the hearts of men were filled with an intense avaricious longing whenever they considered the magic that could be wrought with gold. Fondly they indulged in those vague fancies that had long filled their minds of a land of gold far, far across the sea, an Eldorado where the mountains under the beams of the rising and setting sun revealed their inmost secrets and told of the veins of yellow ore under the outer tegument of trees and herbs and grass, and eagerly conjured up visions of remote caves filled with stalagmites and stalactites of the precious metal. The rivers of that glorious land were supposed to be lined with the shining metal that came down in abundance washed through the channels of the mountains and streams. Many and many were the voyages undertaken long before the age of discovery to find those islands of gold. But in the meantime, sages, men of profound erudition and secrecy, not to be deluded by vain fantasies to try the dangers and expeditions of the seas, remained at home, secluded themselves from all the world in the secret chambers of gloomy castles, there bent low over the retorts and chemicals of their laboratories, every faculty alert, every energy strained, to find out the mystery of the philosopher's stone for which the alchemists during hundreds and hundreds of years through the twilight of reason had toiled, in order by it to transmute all baser metals into kingly gold.

Strange to say these dreams of early days were, in a certain sense, wondrously realized, and by their realization came those changes in the life of the people to which we have reverted. The golden city and the country of Eldorado, of which Sir Walter Raleigh has written such charming accounts, were proven to be something more than dreams when expedition after expedition returned from the new world, bringing thence the treasures so long dreamed of. The discovery of the gold mines of America increased in a few years the metal in circulation in Europe to twelve times its previous amount. From 1750 to 1800 the importation of specie into Europe regularly exceeded one hundred and eighty millions a year. This gave a powerful stimulus to industry, for enterprises that would not have otherwise been thought of sprang into being; habits changed, luxuries grew into greater demand; transactions which had hitherto been difficult or impossible employed a greater quantity of money and a greater number of men. There was an immense distribution of wages, and the people for the first time began to acquire lands and cultivate small farms and hope for happy days.

Of course such a great change could not be brought about without suffering. There was a sudden rise in prices, and it took some time before the increase of farm rents and salaries could be adjusted into harmony with prevailing high rates. People were very much alarmed, and complained bitterly. There was also a very feverish impulse given to speculation. Sugar, cotton, tobacco, spices hitherto unknown, became the objects of trade and manufacture. Money had to be advanced. Home banks sprang up from

the needs of labor, and the credit system (which, though we rarely think of it in that light, has become one of the world's most powerful moral influences through the control it exercises over character) from the hands of the Jews passed into general use. What had been deemed an evil proved of untold good. "Credit," says M. Blanqui,* "has wrought a profound revolution in the relations of peoples. The colossal enterprises of which our century opens the career, the spirit of association that spreads like a network over the face of the world, the struggles everywhere going on between civilization and the relics of barbarism, are wholly the work of credit. Since the birth of banks every man has been able to carry his head high with the pride which the hope of honorable independence gives. Landed proprietors have seen the workshops of industry rise by the side of their castles; the seas are covered with ships. Everything has advanced with rapid pace, and the world has made more progress within two hundred years than it did in the previous ten centuries." Such was the fulfilment of the Eldorado dreams of the Middle Ages.

In like manner were the labors of the visionary alchemists crowned with unexpected achievements and successes. It was while engaged in the search for the mystical philosopher's stone, we are told, that Roger Bacon stumbled on the composition of gunpowder, which, in due course of time, not only utterly transformed the conditions and modes of warfare, but what concerns our inquiry more, gave rise to an exclusively military profession, that is, it first created the distinction between soldier and civilian.

* *Hist. Polit. Econ.*, p.p. 329-30.

Before that all the men in Europe had formed one massive standing army; now arms became the profession of the few, and the masses of men turned at last from warfare to work as their legitimate occupation.

It was in the search for the "philosopher's stone" by which all metals were to be changed into gold, that modern inventions, springing from the discoveries in chemistry and physics took their rise. Boetticher thus accidentally lighted on the invention of Dresden porcelain manufacture; Geber on the properties of acids; Van Helmont on the nature of gas, and Glauber on the "salts" which bear his name. Then followed, in due process of time, the various great mechanical inventions led by the spinning-jenny of Arkwright, the steam-engine of Watt, and the locomotive of Stephenson, which in little more than a generation changed the whole course of history and revolutionized the modes of life.

It is conceded that nothing in modern history has wielded a wider influence, socially and politically, than this sudden growth of manufactures. It inaugurated a movement of disintegration, breaking the old ties that had bound lord and serf, landlord and tenant, master and servant, and the members of the Middle Age guilds and corporations. It destroyed old habits of discipline and orderliness and created new cravings for wealth. Formerly the son had been satisfied to inherit the estate and trade and habits and views of his father as he in turn had done in the pattern of his paternal ancestors. Now, however, there came a restless eagerness to change. A man could no longer sit at the loom and weave the cloth while his children by his side prepared the distaff

and his wife sat spinning at her wheel. A few apprentices and a little capital had served to give him a nice competence, but now the apprentices were drawn off to the towns, the workmen crowded into vast factories, collecting around the great propelling machine, which startled them with its giant power. And so old ties and habits were broken up, till at last the workman stands free, entirely free, as we see him to-day, when there is no bond but that of interest which binds him as a laborer to any man.

What a stupendous change is this we have traced out from the days of the laborer's slavery until these days of his perfect emancipation! But it came not as easy as the telling. Its path lay through the red seas of revolution and along the high ridge of suffering by the abysses of deepest misery and woe.

This freedom in economic conditions came only after political and social freedom. The undying protest of the human race against the inequitable distribution of the profits of labor could only be heard after the laborer had conquered the right to be heard. In the eighteenth century free inquiry for the first time became universal. The veil of mystery was torn away from all questions—religious, political, philosophical, social, moral, physical—everything was studied, doubted, systematized. There never had been such a time for tearing up institutions from their very foundations.

From 1751 to 1772 was published the famous *Encyclopedie* in 28 volumes, which was contributed to by Voltaire, Rousseau, D'Alembert, Diderot and others noted for their revolutionary ideas. At the same time arose the school of the French Economists, Ques-

nay, Malesherbes, Turgot, etc., a few generous and noble philosophers, who first conceived the idea that with regard to the social relations of mankind there must be some underlying principles of eternal truth; that there is a physiology of the social body as well as of the human body, and laws for the one as for the other by which they prosper or waste away. They tried to ferret out and establish the principles of an abstract science of the natural rights of man; in short, they became the founders of the great modern science of Political Economy. Directly after them came Adam Smith, the Scotch philosopher, who in 1776 published *The Wealth of Nations*, which, from the amount of actual influence it has exerted in the world, is deemed the most important book ever written.* The fallacy that had hampered the world for ages was at last repudiated by showing that wealth consists not merely of gold and silver, but of any and all consumable wares produced by the labor of men. Money—gold or silver—is only one form of merchandise, selected as an instrument of exchange. In reality the goods of foreign countries are eventually purchased by the native productions of each land. Manufactures were thus brought into their proper place of importance, freed from every fetter of error and prejudice.

The introduction of machines met a fierce opposition among the people because the first result was to throw many out of employment and to reduce wages, but by the efforts of the political economists the world at last has learned that the change which machinery brought is of untold advantage, for the increased production unfailingly creates a per-

* Buckle, *History of Civilization*, Vol. ii. 349.

manent demand, and capital gained in one department finds its outlet in another. From this circle of French Economists came forth the great social reforms of the last half of the eighteenth century. The condition of the laborers hitherto so humbled and unjustly degraded rises to an honorable rank, and all other conditions correspondingly improve. But well you know that all this was not effected by the methods of peace. The Declaration of Independence in the United States and the French Revolution proclaimed the sovereignty of the people, and brought down the principle of the brotherhood of men from the dream heights of the ideal. The eighteenth century was profoundly speculative and theoretical. The nineteenth century is intensely practical and earnest. The last century set the laborer free; it is the problem of the present century to make his freedom a reality, to make him able to maintain and rightly use it.

Thus, as best we could in so narrow a scope, we have indicated the great general influences that gave rise to the freedom of modern laborers. With these entirely new conditions came new difficulties, vexations and problems. These very difficulties, vexations, and problems constitute what is known as the special Social Question of to-day.

DISCOURSE IX.

THE COMPLAINT OF THE MODERN LABORER.

JEAN PAUL, the graphic German author, pictures a remarkable scene. It is the night of the memorable battle of Waterloo over which the star of Napoleon has set. The war-drums have ceased their beating. The roar of the musketry is silenced. The maddening outcries of the desperate combatants are hushed forever. Far and wide over the blood-red field, in wretched confusion, lie smoking steeds and reeking soldiers, writhing and gasping in the death agony. The terrible night wears itself slowly out. At length in the eastern sky the torch of day sends out its earliest beams, and lo! upon the failing sight of the dying soldiers, nature's brightest splendor falls from a glorious rainbow that spans the morning skies. It is a crown of victory stretched forth from on high; it is a soft band of varied tints with which heaven would swathe the bleeding wounds of earth; it is a bow of promise, symbol like unto the first, when, after the deluge of waters, God promised never more to blot out men from off the face of the earth—a second bow is this, coming after the great deluge of blood, and it is a token of even a grander assurance than the first, giving promise that never more shall man, even by the hand of his fellow-mortal, be debased, enslaved, or wantonly blotted out from off the face of the earth.

Is this but the poetic fancy of one whose heart beats fast with the impulses of a fond but idle trust in the reality of brotherly love, or is there indeed any fulfillment of the promise of better days which were predicted by the rainbow of Waterloo? This much we know and can affirm, the old thrall of subjection was then broken. After the long-drawn subtle and painful processes of the centuries which we have striven to trace out in previous discourses, at last the shackles were melted away in the heat of the last century's revolutions, and the laborer of modern days stood free. Yes, the old thrall of subjection is broken, and work has supplanted war as the legitimate occupation of civilized men.

As we studied out and marked these achievements, our hearts have indeed been thrilled with the hope of the grander and better things in store for struggling humanity. We have seen how reforms in Church and State, how Peasant Wars, French and American Revolutions, Philosophies and the Sciences, Discovery and Inventions, and a thousand auxiliary influences have struggled, urged, persisted, and at last achieved the conquest of the indefeasible rights of men. We have fairly shouted with gratitude to God and to the heroes on earth as we recorded the triumph of political equality, saw the barriers of caste demolished, and the outrageous distinctions of olden times forever obliterated on that day when every man was given a voice in the administration of civil affairs.

"Let Israel still hope in the Lord," we say with the Psalmist, "for with the Lord there is kindness and with him is redemption in abundance." For have we not seen the growth of religious liberty, the confession of theocratic equality, the spread of a universal relig-

ious toleration and the doctrine of the Prophet at last finding its echo in the hearts of men prompting to the reiteration of his dictum. "Have we not all one Father; hath not God created us all?"*

Verily, there is a fulfillment of this omen of promise, was the consoling unction we laid to our souls as with the spread of industry and the emancipation of the workman we saw honest labor coming day by day into its merited rank and esteem; saw how the insane prejudices of the past against the soiled hands of hardy toil were dying out, and the ranks grow more and more decimated of those silly persons who look down upon working people and would disdain to handle a tool or household utensil. We have rejoiced to see that Labor indeed lifts all material civilization upon its shoulders and strides the world like a Colossus—we have rejoiced to see men become honest at last and pay to it their full meed and tribute of praise. We glory to see its triumphs after all the misery and persecution of ages. We delight in the spectacle of statesmen absorbed in its problems; philanthropists striving to ease its tasks; poets and orators ringing its praises; kings bowing in homage before it; republics anxious for its alliance, all rendering acknowledgment that it surpasses in importance every other aim and pursuit of civilization.† We recalled those dismal epochs of history that we had previously passed in review, when slavery and serfdom were branded into the flesh of workmen. Then the controlling arm of the State could not restrain the hand of violence, and the smith who fashioned the sword and

* *Malachi* ii. 10.

† Lorimer, *Studies in Social Life*, p. 91.

spear for his baron often made the weapon that ended his own life. Then Commerce, the modern Briareus, the giant, with many hundred hands reaching forth in every direction for the means of human subsistence, had not yet risen to meet and overcome the onsets of famine. Then science had not gone forth armed cap-a-pie and confident of its victory over whole hosts of diseases and plagues. As these, with all their lovely retinue of advantages, comforts, improvements, elegancies, luxuries, and modes and devices for physical, mental and moral betterment, passed in memory's review we exclaimed again: "Truly this is victory! and the bow of promise that gladdened the eyes of those last slaves of the old regime, who perished on the field of Waterloo, was a truthful token unto these men, their sons and successors."

It was a beautiful, joyous, and comforting reflection to which we had surrendered ourselves, and lovingly we lingered over it. But suddenly, rudely, as if from a pleasant dream, we were aroused by a dismal and awful wail of despair, followed quickly by the mutterings of many voices full of fierce passion, and louder than these the piercing shrieks of bitter hatred and the prolonged cries of pain and suffering; and louder still than all these the fierce and angry shouts of revolt and insurrection.

What is this? It is the outcry of the great army of the discontented. It comes up from the streets and alleys from those who are hungry and have nothing to eat; from those who are cold and lack clothes and shelter; it comes from the great army of the unemployed, who are roaming through the land; it comes from the factories and mines

and workshops, muttering against "starvation wages;" it comes from tenements, hovels, courts, and rookeries, appealing in heart-rending terms for help against cruel fate; it comes from struggling farmers and troubled merchants vigorously protesting against the tyranny of monopolies; it makes itself heard in every village and town, along the railroads, in the great cities, and its clamors are augmented by the bitter complaints that come rolling across the waters from Ireland and England, from Italy, Austria, Germany, Russia, and France. And what does it mean? What does it say? It declares the bow of promise a phantasy and delusion, and all its seeming fulfillments a lie. "You have given us political freedom," it avers to society, "but have made us industrial slaves. You have given us machines and labor-saving implements, but we are like galley-slaves bound to their service. The fires are lighted, the steam is on and we must be at our posts, living automatons, mere appendages of monster machines. Thus we grow more and more automatic; more and more stupid, as the days go by. You have supplanted war with work; but yet the flower of the old world's population is drained into the military service, the tread of the armies shakes the continent of Europe; their bristling bayonets glitter in the sun and to-day ominous manœuvres of ambitious commanders fill the whole world with doubt and dread. Here in America the militia, policemen, and Pinkerton detectives are banded together to keep the workmen down.

"You have made us free, have taught us to read and write, have filled us with a thirst for knowledge and a yearning for the gratification of new tastes and hopes only to dis-

appoint us, only to deceive us only to make us more discontented because all these new desires are hopelessly beyond our reach and their gratification forever denied us, because, forsooth, we never have time nor means at our disposal. We are hungry and must toil for bread.

“ You have made us free, but that only means that you have cast us off. Under the old system we were cared for, we belonged to some one, our wants were looked to ; now there are no bonds of interest that attach us to any human soul. When our wages are paid we are left to shift for ourselves as best we may. If we fail, through some calamity, to meet the payment of our rent on house or land, we are ordered off, and must look out for ourselves. On the steamboat-wharf the mate of the vessel stands armed with revolver and cane, and orders about his stevedores as if they were brutes, not men. In the great mercantile establishments salesmen and women are made to stand the live-long day, though it be in idleness. In the great factories little children work under the terror of their overseers, denied every privilege and doomed to early decay and death. There is no feeling in your hearts, no sympathy in your souls. All your religion is fine sentiment, flimsy and flashy show before the world. You may deceive men, but our cries of anguish pierce the hollow bubble of your pretensions, and before God your iniquity will stand revealed.

“ Look upon these contrasts,” cries the the poor laborer. “ Brown stone mansions, Queen Anne villas, gaudy club houses and gorgeous theatres along side of vile hovels, filthy tenements and beggarly alms-houses, and jails. The former are for you, the latter

for us. In the courts there is one law for the rich, another for the poor. Money-bags have a charm that bench, bar and jury can not withstand. See the exclusive privileges, franchises, and rights granted to the rich syndicates and great proprietors owning farms of 65,000, 100,000, yea, 500,000 acres. Almost all available lands are already taken out of the reach of the poor man so that he is forced to live in the city and sell his labor for whatever it will bring in the market, and be worked to the utmost limits of endurance only to be cast aside and discharged when worn-out. The rich man's sons and daughters dawdling in the parks or theatres, sailing in their yacht or inhaling the genial breezes, the poor man's son and daughters huddling in the tenements, inhaling pestilence, running the streets, or if at work earning barely enough to purchase the common decencies of life. Every working day America is declared to be four million dollars richer at night than in the morning, and yet multitudes go in rags, an army of the unemployed is tramping up and down through the land, and every day the newspapers tell the sad tale of the labor troubles.

“It is true we are free, but that only means we are let loose like hounds on the chase in the great competitive race for a living, a race free for all on level ground. Nobody is certain of his future. There is boundless scope for action, but some always fail. There is no ambition too high, but most are disappointed. Nobody is contented with his lot. The rich try to get richer, and we, the wage earners, are never sure of our tasks nor of the bread and meat to feed the hungry mouths at home. In the heart of our civilization our women faint for hunger, our

little ones cry for shelter and food, and we strong men are despairing while abundance runs to waste. The whole world is one grand game of grab, and there is no art or method, no scheme or device, no collusion or trickery which is not brought into play. 'Our master is our enemy' is the conviction of tenants and workmen in all lands. Capital is arrayed against labor, the opposing forces are marshalling to the fray, the day of conflict draws nearer and nearer. These questions can be decided by no other means than by the sword of war."*

These are bitter charges made to-day by the laborers in every land. Some proclaim by their deeds silently, many by such words boldly and defiantly, that all these charges are to be laid at the door of modern society and summary vengeance is sooner or later to be taken on the rich.

You know the whole land is full of such cries. Perhaps you are impatient with them; declare them to be foolish, illogical; mere ranting, empty nonsense. For myself I will say that whatever be their exaggerations and fallacies, I am not one of those who will come to the consideration of the complaints of the workingman with the monotonous, everlasting lie of a denial. I believe that the bow of promise which spanned the morning skies of the nineteenth century was a true token of peace; but for all that, I realize that its promises are yet far, far from having been fulfilled; and with the laborer I see many, many ills in present conditions, but bid him check his bitter wrath and turn with me to hear the message of hope, if there be any, and to study the remedies that have been proffered.

* *Socialism*, Starkweather and Wilson, p. 4.

DISCOURSE X.

VIOLENCE THE PROPOSED SOLUTION.

THE first solution of the social question that was ever proposed—which is still proposed by many who believe the complaint of the modern laborer to be true in all its details, is violence—the use of brute force. “The misery that is everywhere prevalent,” they say, “is the outcome of fatal fallacies, everywhere controlling. The existing social order is rotten,” they cry, “rotten to the core. It must be extirpated root and branch. This is the remedy. It is radical, but there is no other. Therefore set your blazing torches to the four corners of the world, let cities and towns be laid waste; raze to the ground those citadels of tyranny, the chambers of Parliaments, the halls of Congress, the court-houses and their hellish appendages, jails, work-houses, and penitentiaries. Put your explosives under every train that rumbles through the land; blow up the millionaires and scatter their millions. Assassinate Kings, Emperors, Tzars and Presidents. Let there be one universal conflagration, one merciless slaughter of the oppressors. Down, down, into the pit of destruction with this whole accursed social system, this monster of iniquities, born of the depravity of the ages. Then, and only then, upon the heaps of gory corpses, and up out of the smoking ashes of this world-wide desolation will arise, like the Phœnix, a new, a regen-

erated, a perfect social system true to nature and her primitive laws of justice; then at last all wrongs will be righted, and there will no longer be any oppression, neither poverty nor misery nor woe, and the discontented will pass from off the face of the earth."

Do not such utterances sound to you like the senseless ravings of the demented? No man, in his sense, you think, could make such wild and horrifying demands. But the fact is that this doctrine of violence as the sole solution of the social question has, at one time or another, been vociferously proclaimed from the very housetops in almost every land of the globe. Through long years of seeming peace, subtle conspiracies have, with their poisonous breath, kept the embers of the revolutionary fires aglow, so that at favorable intervals the flames of destruction might burst forth in those murderous, infernal, and utterly diabolical plots and villainies which have shaken the world, and the dread of which at this very day hangs like a threatening cloud upon our horizon.

Verify all this by the testimony of history. Recall, for example, the famous conspiracy of Catiline in Rome, 47 B. C. Recall the incessant outbreaks which marked the decay and downfall of the social structure of the Middle Ages, the uprising of the Jacqueries in France, the revolt under Jack Cade in England, and the bloody peasant wars of Germany. Annihilation, the complete overthrow of all things, was their slogan; violence their mad and futile principle of action.

We have seen how, at the end of the last century, amid the pangs and tortures of revolution, political equality was achieved.

What followed? There came such an awakening of the minds of men, such a strange and irresistible impulse to all their aspirations and activities that life was entirely transformed materially, intellectually and spiritually. "All men are now politically equal," cried those in the van of modern progress, "why, then, shall we not achieve social and economical equality, as well? Is it not our right? Who shall prevent? What shall hinder?"

Thus the social contest followed fast upon the heels of the political. Wise men, filled with a lofty ideal of what the social compact should be, saw the great wave of distress sweep across the sea of humanity, submerging the thousands, and in their hearts they bitterly confessed to the evils which the French Revolution, with its world-wide influence and promise, had failed to remedy. Earnest men, true and sympathetic, saw the wave of bitter, selfish competition come rolling swiftly and mercilessly after, and their hearts bled for the helpless victims of the new order, ruthlessly severed from old ties of patronage. As the Israelites of old after having safely passed through the Red Sea to liberty, clamored for a return to the flesh-pots of Egypt, so they, after having passed the gory sea of revolution to liberty, now longed for a return of the good old days in which lord and vassal, master and serf, had been bound together, had, despite their difference in rank, felt the warm pulsations of a sincere attachment.

Woe was added to woe when machinery came and drove the workmen out of employ; left their families to starve and maddened them with the rage of discontent. The limit of endurance was reached. Men of bold-

ness and daring, but debased and unscrupulous, cast defiance into the very face of the law itself, and afterward, smarting under its penalties, were goaded on to a passionate and avowed enmity to all the institutions of civilization.

Then the great wave of violence broke upon the shores of the social sea, and beat madly against the towering cliffs called "Tyranny of Capital," and dashed wildly against the mighty Ship of State, breaking its rotten beams and rafters, and wildly tearing it from its moorings. From the high seat of the revolutionists, as formerly against political, so now against social wrongs, the doctrine of despair was proclaimed, the methods of violence were sanctioned, and the relentless condemnation of all things to subversion and utter ruin was pronounced.

Out of the slums of those sunk in the degraded materialism of the French Revolution came the first fanatic who preached Anarchy in the modern era—a condemned forger, named Babœuf, who for more than twenty years lived behind the prison bars of France and even while thus confined successfully organized a conspiracy to overthrow the Government and establish the Social millennium. Seventeen thousand men were secretly enrolled. Tracts were assiduously circulated. The manifesto declared "The end of the Revolution is to destroy inequality and establish the common happiness. . . . We are prepared to consent to everything for it. . . . Let all the arts perish, if need be, provided we retain real equality. In a true society the harmony is broken if one man in the world be richer or more powerful than his fellows."

This seems very absurd and foolish talk,

A child can see that if all things were to be divided up equally, it would not be twenty-four hours before—under existing conditions—the inequalities would all be restored. The business man's refutation of communism is simply that given by one of the Rothschilds of Frankfort-on-the-Main. Once hearing a poor man complain of his lot and express a desire for the equality of communism, Rothschild is said to have immediately put his hand in his pocket, drawn out a few shillings and offered them, saying: "This would be your full share if the wealth of a Rothschild was to be equally divided among all the inhabitants of Germany." *

But this was not what the communists proposed. They were not so childish. Babeuf did not propose it. He would have all to be equal, that is, none in command and none in subjection. Therefore, no government, that is, anarchy: those administering the law to be no better than the rest, all necessary offices to be held in rotation without especial honor or emolument. There should be no rich or poor; therefore private property must be abolished, all the people reduced to uniformity, live in the same manner, eat the same kind of food, dress alike, receive the same education, do such equal shares of work as the law would parcel out to each. Can you think of anything more dreary, stupid and deadening than such a scheme for lowering all abilities, talents, ambitions, and endeavors to the same dead level of mediocrity? No nation ever has, none ever will, for none ever can institute such a system. It is revolting, debasing, in manifest defiance of the laws of

* Cited by Prof. Ely, *French and German Socialism*,

God stamped in the human soul and expressed through our ceaseless striving after betterment.

The conspiracy of Babœuf failed. One of its leaders turned traitor, Babœuf was guillotined March 24, 1797, and his confreres punished. The firm hand of Napoleon I. checked every further outbreak of violence against the social regime.

In 1840 there appeared in France a book entitled *What is Property?* and containing the startling answer, "Property is theft. Property-holders are thieves." The author was Pierre Joseph Proudhon, a man of the people, a self-made man, as we say; a man of brilliant parts, a fervid writer, of dauntless courage and undoubted sincerity. His writings mark a new era in the history of "Violence as a Solution of the Social Question." He emphatically opposed every socialistic scheme hitherto proposed, and came out bluntly and boldly for anarchy, pure and simple. "I will destroy and I will build up." was the motto he set before himself; but, as is usually the case, while he was a mighty giant in tearing down, he was a weak and puny dwarf in the task of restoring. He proposed but failed to carry a bill through the National Assembly of France, offering a vague and impracticable banking scheme to effect the exchange of product for product by means of paper money. Interest and profit were thus to be abolished. All things were to be had at cost; there was to be credit for everybody at the Government banks. Private property must be confiscated, yet there was to be no authority, no government, that is, anarchy. "To each one according to his capacity; to each capacity according to his works"—this was adopted as

the guiding principle of his system. It means, as far as it is explicable to us, absolute unqualified individualism, and yet every individual to have a just share in the production and in the consumption of all goods, and this without communism of any kind. Here is a flat contradiction, and impossibility. Nevertheless from this confusion and contradictory source the ideas of all the anarchists from his time until the present hour have been drawn.

Proudhon hated the rich heartily. Harshly and bitterly he attacked them. But unlike Babœuf he was not a conspirator. He turned his back upon every scheme of revolution by violence. But this is simply another of his contradictions and a failure to face the logical issue and natural extreme of his own philosophy. The revolution in 1848 which placed Napoleon III. on the throne of France; the memorable communistic revolt of 1871, which followed up Napoleon's deposition—these are in part at last, without doubt, the fruit of his planting.

The year 1848 was a blazing torch at which the Anarchists of all European lands lit the fire-brands of social revolution. The Chartist movement in England, the Communistic manifesto of Marx, and the rise of the "International" (Workingmen's Association) in Germany, the efforts of Weithling and Becker in Switzerland, the numberless agitations in Spain, all these kindled their flame from the fires lit by Proudhon in France.

The most radical apostle of the doctrine of violence was undoubtedly Bakunin, the father of Russian Nihilism—a mystical, extravagant, audacious character, in whom devotion to the revolutionary idea had run into the blindest fanaticism, "Everything

is moral," says the Nihilistic catechism, "which helps on the triumph of the revolution, everything is immoral and criminal that hinders it" * Admitting no activity but that of destruction—assassination, incendiarism, poison, poniard, rope and explosions—all means are sanctified and are in use at this very day in Russia, as you well know and as you may read of in those strange books of startling revelations, *Russia Under the Tsars* and *Underground Russia*, by Stepniak, who is pronounced reliable by competent authorities.

I have reviewed all this history of violence in order that we may see just where we stand in reference to it. For the discontented spirits of all lands America has become a refuge, and so we find here, in strange companionship, adherents of every phase of those fantastic systems, romantic plots, wild vagaries, and fanatic schemes of revolutionary communism, anarchy, and nihilism, that under the Old World conditions have been conceived and brought into being. Prof. Ely, of Johns Hopkins University, in his latest earnest and exhaustive work, *The Labor Movement in America*, estimates the number of those in the United States who believe in violence as the social remedy, at more than ten thousand.

The latest and most violent proof of their existence was given in Chicago on the 4th of May, 1886, when a deadly bomb was thrown into the ranks of the police. They gave evidence of their purpose, methods and power ten years ago in the great riot of 1877, in which one hundred millions of dollars worth of property was wantonly wasted and

* Emile de Laveley, *Socialism of to-day*. Ch. x.

many innocent lives lost. There are a great many books, papers, and periodicals published by them; a great many public meetings are held under their auspices, and harangues delivered to sympathetic audiences. Through all their papers, speeches, books, and resolutions runs one refrain: "Get ready for another 1877—buy a musket for the repetition of 1877." "Organize companies and drill for a recurrence of the riots of 1877." "Buy dynamite for a second 1877." This is the substance of the speeches of Herr Most and of Mrs. Lucy Parsons.

I cite all this not as a sound of alarm, for I see no danger which can not be averted or met, but as a note of warning to every true-hearted American workman, whether born on this soil or having adopted this glorious country as his home, whether hand-worker or brain-worker, to all I say, as a public teacher and speaking as the exponent of all that is sacred: stand firm, keep pure and undefiled your loyalty to God, religion and law; guard against the un-American influence of loud and erratic agitators and Revolutionists. Welcome all freely to the privileges you enjoy, but hold fast to your integrity. With our Rabbis I say: "Love peace, pursue peace," but that means eschew violence for violence is a relic of barbarism, which unless we prove that we have outgrown it, gives the lie to our boasted civilization.

Look then to the methods of these strikes that are springing up everywhere with a mushroom growth. "Strikes are the insurrections of labor," says Professor Walker. * Their motive may be just, but if their method be violence then they are un-American, they are unholy, they are sinful. I have shown

**The Wages Question.* p. 390,

you their ancestry. They are the offspring of the logic of Anarchy—the blind progeny of giant error. If you can not get that price for your labor which you see fit to ask, you have neither in reason nor in right any cause for therefore attacking your employer or the man who will take less for his work—no more right than the man who asks you ten dollars for a coat has a right to abuse you if you decline to pay it. Smashing cars, breaking up machinery, ruining factories and mills, looting stores, interfering with trade, burning, pillaging, abusing and murdering those who are willing to work, and injuring their families and yours—all this is suicidal. Mark this:—

“*New York, February 12, 1887*—Bradstreet’s makes the following estimates of losses, the result of strikes, in this country since January 1st : Wages sacrificed by strikers, \$2,650,000 ; loss of wages to employés thrown out of work by strikers of fellow-workmen, \$350,000 ; losses to trade and through the increased price of coal, etc., \$4,280,000, total, \$7,280,000.”

Such is a sample of the results of violence as a solution to the social question. But this folly will soon wear itself out. The day is fast approaching when the free American workman will look back upon this scandal in shame, and though uniting with all laborers for mutual good, will refuse to sell himself body and soul into any new servitude, such as the strikes require, but will rise in the might of his manhood and range himself on the side of law and order, thrift and peace. To hasten that day I speak because I feel it to be a solemn task, a sacred duty which devolves upon me as it rests upon every earnest teacher of religion, every sincere champion of God, every true lover of

his fellow-men. As a teacher in Israel it behooves me most emphatically to proclaim that Judaism unequivocally puts the stamp of condemnation upon violence as a solution of the social question.

DISCOURSE XI.

SOCIALISM.

A THOROUGHGOING and practical solution of the great Social Question has been put forth on the basis of what claims to be a clearly reasoned scientific criticism of the industrial system of to-day. This solution is broadly termed Socialism. An ominous word is this—"a name at which the world turns pale." It is usually supposed to subsume and embrace all possible schemes and plots aiming at a social revolution, and to be synonymous with whatever is dangerous, lawless, subversive, and ruinous.

This its leaders aver is a mistaken impression. Modern Socialism, it is true, is thoroughly revolutionary, that is, it aims to completely overthrow existing social conditions for the purpose of supplanting them with other and better ones, which shall forever undo the evils of inequality under which we now suffer, but its methods are to be peaceable, legal, legitimate. Violence is not on its programme. It refuses to be allied with anarchy or nihilism, however much the mad adherents of those murderous methods may pretend to be enrolled under its ensign.

This is certainly a fair promise and wins our eager attention. There is another fact which intensifies our interest still more. It is this:

That which is rightfully called Socialism

is unquestionably the product of the Jewish spirit. Its authors were men of Jewish extraction. Commenting upon this fact, Emile de Laveleye, says: "The Jews have been nearly everywhere the initiators or propagators of Socialism. The reason is plain. Socialism is an energetic protest against the iniquitous basis of the actual order of things, and an ardent aspiration toward a better system where justice would reign supreme. Now, this is precisely the foundation of the Judaism of Job and the Prophets. . . . In the Jewish conception of the world, it is here below that the greatest possible amount of justice should be realized."*

M. Ernest Renan in the preface of his recent translation of Ecclesiastes explains this by a contrast. He says: "The Jew is not resigned like the Christian. To the Christian, poverty and humility are virtues, while to the Jew they are misfortunes to be avoided. Abuse and violence, which find the Christian calm, enrage the Jew. Hence it is that the Israelite element has in our time become an influence of reform and progress in all countries where it is to be found. . . . In the revolutionary movements of France the Jewish element played an important part."

To these citations I would add, that, while Christianity directs the eyes of its votaries continuously toward the life to come, Judaism, although none the less anxious about the hereafter, makes "how to live" precede the question, "how to die," and insists upon the correct solution of the former as the only true solution of the latter. It is because of the fundamental difference thus indicated that Judaism is ex-

* *The Socialism of To-day*, p. 45.

empt from the charge often made against the Christian church, that it is dumb in matters which challenge the animosity of wealth and power; the charge that the gaunt and meager spectre of secularism scares it off from every endeavor to enlarge the sphere of righteousness.*

It is this sober, common-sense method of living in the world and being of it, in order to ennoble and improve its conditions, which has helped Judaism to endure, and it is this trait which accounts for the fact that, as in all previous ages, so to-day, many of the master minds who have lent their energies to these absorbing contentions of real life, happen to be products of the spirit of Judaism. Three Jewish names present themselves on the first page of the history of modern socialism. These are David Ricardo, Ferdinand Lasalle and Karl Marx.

David Ricardo personally had no connection with the socialistic movement whatever. He was a London stock-broker (1772-1823). He devoted himself to a serious study of the principles underlying those transactions in which he was daily engaged, and eventually achieved lasting recognition as a profound scholar and a lucid writer on questions of political economy. He followed Adam Smith and the "orthodox" economists in his teachings, and among his successors James Mill and J. R. McCullough acknowledge themselves to be his disciples.

The name of Ricardo heads the school of modern Socialism because a theory of labor and of wages which he formulated and which bears his name became the starting point—

* Behrends, *Socialism and Christianity*; Brown, *Studies in Modern Socialism*, ch. I. *Socialism*, Starkweather and Wilson. p. 32.

the *casus belli*—the very weapon of attack against existing institutions for those who became the founders of the new system. Ricardo's theories were simply a deduction from the teachings of his predecessors and were until of late universally, almost unquestioningly adopted. He declared that labor is the foundation of all value. From this the Socialists infer that all wealth should belong to the laborers. The wages theory has been very graphically, although not very technically described by Joseph Cook as the see-saw theory, because it asserts the relations between labor and capital to be such that as the laborer goes down the capitalist goes up, and as the laborer goes up the capitalist goes down. That is, the value of labor depends upon how much it costs to keep the laborer according to his customary standard of living. Wages may fall below or rise above this, but will always tend toward a return to that gauge. When they rise, the laborers being prosperous, will be encouraged to marry; thus eventually their numbers will increase to such a degree that by reason of the intensity of competition the rate of wages will again fall. Then will come starvation, increase of mortality, a decimation of their numbers until by reason of there being fewer workmen, wages will again rise. And so there is a constant up and down, see-saw process extending through long years of time.

This, in brief outline, is Ricardo's theory of wages. Ricardo himself was, in all probability, not conscious of what, in its fullest and broadest application, his theory must lead to. Other men looked deeper. There came Ferdinand Lasalle, a German, born at Breslau, 1825, a brilliant university man, a friend

of the Mendelssohns in Berlin, dubbed *Wunderkind*, “*prodigy*,” by Alexander von Humboldt, an intimate friend of Heinrich Heine when in Paris,—“a child of the new era”—admired and courted by Bismarck. He looks into the theory, and behold! he revolts against it; he avers that it means that the workman has been released from serfdom only to be put into the bondage of an inexorable economical law. *Das Eherne Lohn-gesetz*, “the iron and cruel law of wages,” which keeps him forever from bettering his condition or from reaping any reward from the increased productivity of his own hands. The existing regime is therefore, wrong, thoroughly iniquitous from apex to base. It must be subverted. An entirely new social system must be instituted.

Thus Socialism comes into being avowing itself the natural and indomitable foe of the “tyranny of capital.” What remedy does it offer? “Supply the laborer with capital and make him independent of the degrading wage system.” But who shall supply the capital? How shall it be obtained? “Nothing easier,” answers Lasalle. “The State advances capital to start railways, to develop agriculture, promote manufacture. Why shall it not furnish the poor man with capital? Ninety-six per cent. of the population are ground down by the ‘iron law,’ and can not lift themselves above it by their own power. The State must help them. Organize then, and agitate for universal suffrage, and through the ballot-box vote yourselves the help you need.” This was his doctrine, and he went up and down the country preaching it, as it were, at every village and cross-road. It is said that he exercised a fascination like Abelard, charming women and fascinating

crowds. Young, handsome and eloquent, "drawing the hearts of all after him," he left enthusiastic disciples and admirers everywhere who formed the nucleus of workingman's societies. Thus the energy of his style, the rigor of his polemics, and to a still greater degree his eloquence and personal influence brought socialism from the regions of dreamy philanthropy and obscure books, little read, less understood, to throw it like a firebrand of strife and dispute into the public streets and into the workshops. "There is no example," says Emile de Laveleye "in our times of an influence so great and so extended acquired in so short a period.*

Suddenly, and before he had done more than merely to evoke that intense agitation which brought into being the Democratic Socialistic party in Germany, after only two years of active effort in this cause, Lasalle came to an untimely end in a duel brought about by an unhappy love affair. If during his life he was listened to like an oracle, after his death, says the annalist, he was venerated as a demi-god. His body was conveyed from Switzerland back to Germany. Everywhere pompous funerals were held. At Cologne, however, it was intercepted by the police on behalf of the Lasalle family and carried quietly to Breslau, where he was laid silently with his fathers in the Jewish burying-ground of his native place. "Fate, however, had not yet done with him," says Mr. John Rae.† "It followed him beyond the tomb to throw one more element of bizarre into his strangely compounded career." The Workingmen's Association, fearing that

* *Socialism of To-day*, Ch. v.

† *Contemporary Socialism*, p. 80.

their cause would fail, determined to strengthen it by his death. A Lasalle *cultus* was instituted. He was worshiped as the Messiah of Socialism. Many really believed that he had died for them, and would yet be resurrected and save them. In 1874 the tenth anniversary of the day of his death was celebrated with ceremonies almost like those of a new religion. He was likened to the Christian Saviour; it was avowed that his doctrines would reform society as Christianity had reformed the pagan world. These aberrations of the Socialists were kept up in Germany until the Anti-Socialist law of 1878 brought them to an end.

While Lasalle was spreading the new gospel by word of mouth with flaming speeches, and by means of fiery pamphlets, Karl Marx was laboring effectively in another way. Persecuted because of his opinions, he led the life of a roving exile, passing from Germany to France, from France to Brussels, and back again to Germany, until he at last found a haven of rest in London, where he died in 1883. In all the years from manhood to death his pen was busy. He figured as a journalist and author. He stands indisputably as the greatest socialistic writer of Germany, perhaps of the world. His chief work, *Das Kapital*, is called the Bible of Socialism. All the Socialist agitators draw their ideas and their fervor from it—swear by it, so to speak. It is conceded to be an able, in many respects a remarkable, work. The reader feels himself “shut up within the iron bars of his logic, as it were, a prey to a nightmare because having admitted his premises, which are borrowed from the most undoubted authorities, we know not how to escape from

his conclusions. . . . And yet, when we go to the bottom of the matter and look around us, we perceive that we have been enveloped in a skillful tissue of errors and subtleties intermingled with a few truths."*

We need not go into a detailed consideration of his argument. Its theories found a tangible and living expression through the organization and efforts of the International Workingmen's Association, which had a brief but brilliant meteoric existence from 1864 to 1872. Let a late manifesto of the English leaders of this movement speak and tell us what, in substance, Socialism demands. It says: "All wealth is due to labor, therefore to the laborer all wealth is due. We call for the nationalization of land. We claim that the land, in country and towns, mines, parks, mountains and moors, should be owned by the people, for the people, to be held, used, built over and cultivated upon such terms as the people themselves see fit to ordain. Above all the active capitalist class—contractors, factory-lords, mine-exploiters, these modern slave-drivers, these are they who turn every advance in knowledge and every improvement in dexterity into an engine for accumulating wealth out of other men's labors, and for exacting more and more surplus value out of the wage-slaves whom they employ. So long as the means of production, either of raw materials or manufactured goods, are the monopoly of a class, so long must the laborers on the farms, in the mines, or in the factory, sell themselves for a bare subsistence wage. As land must in future be a national possession, so must the other means of producing and distributing wealth. By these means a

* *The Socialism of To-day*, E. de Laveleye, p. 32.

healthy independent and thoroughly educated people will steadily grow up around us ready to organize the labor of each for the benefit of all, and determined to take finally the control of the entire social and political machinery of a state, in which class distinctions and privileges shall cease to be.”*

With the lofty purpose of ruling the world by the principle of brotherly love, and with the watchword “Proletarians of all nations unite!” The “International” fell apart by reason of the unbrotherly hatred of its members. They could only unite on negative or destructive principles; when arrested and persecuted they were at once bound together by an iron bond of negation, but the moment they were let alone and free to act, free to accomplish some positive, constructive act, they differed and quarreled. There were charges of bribery and treason, accusations and suspicions which brought on the inevitable disruption and end. ■

But though this society is dead, it lives in other organizations, and the ideas of Socialism are more widespread to-day than ever before. An analysis of their merits and demerits of their truths and fallacies, must be reserved for the next discourse.

* Hallock *Property and Progress*, pp. 98, 99.

DISCOURSE XII.

SOCIALISM (*Continued.*)

IN the ancient mythologies Justice is represented as a woman blindfolded, who holds in one hand a pair of scales in which she metes out all things with equal balances, while in the other hand she firmly grasps a sword, threatening destruction to whomsoever should dare to gainsay her apportionments. Upon her lips is the rigorous maxim *Fiat justitia pereat mundus!*—"Let justice be done, though the world should perish!" Such is the pagan conception of Justice—harsh, forbidding, unfeeling, utterly devoid of the heavenly graces of mercy and love.

With us justice means something quite different. It is true Judaism does not permit any such an embodiment of her teachings. We have only words in which to express them, but the word that expresses the Jewish idea of justice is synonymous with, is the very same word which expresses the idea of benevolence viz: *Zedakah*, and which carries with it at the same time the sense of moral freedom and of holiness. The maxim of active justice as pursued by the Hebrew is best uttered by the Prophet:* Have I any pleasure in the death of the wicked? saith the Lord God: and not rather that he should return from his way and live?" And as opposed to the destroying sword of

**Ezek.* xvii, 23.

Justitia the Rabbins taught that justice sustains the world aided by truth and peace.*

In so far as Socialism conforms to the divine idea of justice we believe that Socialism is right; in so far as it conforms to the Pagan idea, we believe that Socialism is wrong. In so far as Socialism is a vigorous protest against whatever is iniquitous in the existing social order and voices an ardent aspiration after better conditions, Judasim is at one with it. It approves and loudly applauds the successful efforts of the new school to unmask and reveal the hideous features of oppression; to lay bare the heartlessness of unfeeling and unprincipled masters; to expose the roguery that fastens upon our institutions; to dethrone bankruptcy, bribery, every form of political and commercial corruption which pompously usurps the seat of respectability. Its most ardent approval does Socialism win from our religion when, with an eloquence that is the very passion of pathos, it pleads the cause of the needy, of the strong struggling for life, and the weak clamoring for aid; and, above all, when with clarion tones of command it calls for the fair reward of his labors to every one according to his toil. In all these respects we are with the Socialists, for with us they are on the side of right against wrong, on the side of all that our Prophets proclaimed in the inspiration of oratory; that our sacred bards rapturously chanted under the spell of their heavenly muse; that our sages so earnestly fostered with the full devotion of their life's best energies; that all our legal codes from Moses' down were so zealously striving to establish; and for the attainment of which

**Aboth. I.*

the records of martyrdom were inscribed in letters of blood upon every page of our proud history of unending endurance.

Is Judaism then in perfect accord with Socialism? In its honest underlying motives—yes, but in the methods which Socialism proposes for putting these aspirations after betterment into living, active form among men—no. Why is this so? Because in the former Socialism yields obedience to the Jewish conception of Justice, but in the latter it has prostrated itself before the pagan goddess, has taken the sword from her hand and the watchword from her lips proclaiming the revolution in that heartless fiat: "Let justice be done, and since it must be, let this whole world perish—this whole accursed social system that so ruthlessly and hopelessly oppresses us!" At these words Judaism must let fall the hand that had been warmly grasped, and give up the fellowship in the cause of righteousness to which joyfully she would have allied herself.

It avails naught for the professors of Socialism to avow that while they are revolutionary in their teachings, they mean to be peaceable in their methods, and that State-Socialism is utterly opposed to violence. They are hugging a delusion. Lasalle himself declared: "I am persuaded that a revolution will take place. It will take place legally, and with all the blessings of freedom, if before it is too late, our rulers become wise, determined, and courageous enough to lead it. Otherwise, after the lapse of a certain time, the goddess of revolution will force an entrance into our social structure, amid all the convulsions of violence, with wild, streaming locks, and with brazen sandals on her feet. In the one way or the other she will come ;

and when, forgetting the tumult of the day, I sink myself in history, I am able to hear from afar her heavy tread."

Is not this worshipping the false god while pretending allegiance to the true? Choose ye truly! Whom will ye obey? Justice blind to all earthly conditions and wielding the sword of revolution, or Justice with the sceptre of truth and the crown of peace? If the latter, you are with us; if the former you are against us. There is no evading the issue, because Socialism proclaims a doctrine of despair. Socialism comes wrapt in clouds of darkness and waving a dark-lantern with which it lights up only the moral sores and corrupt wounds of humanity. It sees nothing healthful, nothing encouraging, nothing reassuring; while, on the other hand, Judaism is wreathed in a halo of light, and sends out warming rays of hope and good cheer and trust into every heart. Thus they displace each other and are irreconcilable. Socialism revives the legend of old King Sisypus, of Corinth, who, because of his sins in this world, is condemned in the Land of Shades to roll a huge stone to the top of a hill and place it there. No sooner has he succeeded in getting it to the top when despite his every effort, it rolls back again into the lowest part of the valley beneath, and so he must needs descend and begin anew, hoping against hope, trying again and again but in vain — disappointment his eternal doom.

The wage workers of the world, say the Socialists, are under the curse of Sisypus, always have been, always will be, unless the social order be reconstructed. They are doomed by the "iron law of wages" to roll the huge stone of their daily tasks to

the hill-top of endeavor, always expectant to plant it firmly on the summit, only to see it roll back again into the valley of disappointment and disaster. This is their doom, and there is no hope. Translated into every day phrase, this means that the wage-earner is ground down by competition to the smallest amount of pay upon which it is possible to subsist; that he is in a new bondage, in which the capitalist stands as task-master, wielding the lash of power and threatening not only the back of his employe, but his very existence and that of his family. A heart-rending spectacle if it were true. God be praised that the new light of knowledge makes clear the fact that this awful theory of wages is a sham—a hollow semblance of reality which shrivels up at the touch of the finger of investigation.

Statistics collected by such unimpeachable authorities as Prof. Leone Levi, *Social Condition of the Working Classes*; Prof. Thorold Rogers, *Work and Wages*; Robert Giffen, President of the British Statistical Society, *Progress of the Working Classes in the last Half Century*; Edward Atkinson, *Capital and Labor Allies not Enemies*; Prof. F. A. Walker, Chief of United States Bureau of Statistics, *The Wages Question*; Prof. R. T. Ely, in *Publications of Johns Hopkins University Papers*, and many others, prove that the condition of the working people during the period of industrial progress has so much improved as to render this theory utterly untenable, ridiculous, and absurd. Yet Karl Marx built up his whole scheme of Socialism on that theory. "A more crushing and contemptuous rebuke it is impossible to conceive," says W. H. Mallock "than that which these facts administer to one who, in the opinion of his

disciples, is the profoundest social philosopher of his or any century." * The theory of despair has no basis, in fact, and, therefore, we must condemn the superstructure of Socialism as unsound.

Furthermore, Judaism is endeavoring to make us happy and contented in this life. She preaches happiness and content as doctrines; aims to show us that the ills under which we suffer are for the most part our own making, and how they can be overcome by the cultivation of the homely virtues of honesty and thrift, by sobriety and intelligence, and by faithfulness to our tasks, to our families, to our country and our religion. But Socialism, on the contrary, preaches discontent; and is at great pains to exaggerate the ills that, under existing conditions, we are heir to. At every turn it dins into our ears, along with its false philosophy of despair, its false doctrine of discontent. It declares that as physical labor creates wealth, therefore to the laboring man all wealth should belong. Karl Marx said: "In six hours the laborer can earn all that he needs for his own sustenance. Every hour beyond that is so much towards the enrichment of the master. Look at these homes of luxury, these carriages, these machines, these palaces of industry. These are yours. These are the products of your unrequited toil, these are the things of which you have been fleeced."

What! mere physical labor the creator of all wealth—this the fundamental doctrine of Socialism! Can sane men profess it? What about the brain that conceives and plans and directs and controls the physical labor? what about the inventions that make

* *Mallock, Property and Progress*, p. 217.

it a thousand times more serviceable? what about the organization and oversight that make it ten thousand times more effective? what about the material on which and with which it toils—land and ore and timber—the products of nature? and what about capital—accumulated money, the result of self-denial, economy and foresight—money which runs all risks and keeps all labor in activity? Do these contribute nothing to the creation of new wealth? Any tyro can see that in fact they contribute most, and therefore justly receive the greater share of the reward or profit.

Such is the weakness of Socialism. A theory was adopted then by taking hold of its threads and twisting and twining them this way and that, men like Lasalle and Marx wove a fine web in which they ensnared themselves and the working people. Adam Smith and Ricardo would not recognize their own teaching could they return to earth.

Repeat these doctrines of despair and discontent again and again, with all the flourishes of oratory and all the exaggeration of rhetoric: keep dinning them into the ears of laborers who are most likely through their own folly and vices in misfortune, who are ill-clad and ill-fed; shout to them: "Look at these homes of luxury, these carriages, these palaces of industry—these are rightfully yours!" Make such proclamation, publish it day after day, and in the face of truth and sober reason men will come to believe it. Play upon their emotions, stir their baser passions, rouse the lion in their breasts to madness, and do you still think that he will suffer himself to be led tamely? Cry Revolution! and will you hope for

peaceable methods? Cast firebrands into the arsenal, and what shall prevent the explosion the and flames, desolation? The pretensions of peace are false. We can not follow whither Socialism would lead.

There are certain truths or half-truths which, mingled with a great quantity of well-disguised error, have given the semblance of rights to Socialism as a remedy against such ills as afflict the industrial system of to-day. Separate the real ills from the fancied ones and I am convinced that you can find their remedy in such expedients and reforms as are possible and within our reach under existing forms of society. But as for Socialism, its promises are fair but false; its theories unable to bear the pressure of facts.

Above all, from the standpoint of Judaism, must it be condemned; because Socialism makes a broad distinction between social science and moral science, it clamors forever and forever about social rights, the rights of labor, the rights of capital, asks, How much? and, Will it pay? but never dreams of social duties, duties of capital, duties of labor: never asks, Is it right? Ought it to be?

Here, after all, is the great and vulnerable error in the system; that is why it hesitates not at demanding the confiscation of property, tools, and machinery. Thus it condemns theft and in the same breath recommends theft. It cries, "Down with the capitalist; let the laborer rule." Thus it condemns one form of class-despotism, and in the same breath clamors to replace it with another form of class despotism.

From the standpoint of Judaism, from the high ground of Jewish justice and Jewish

morality, the Socialism of to-day, worshipping as it does at the shrine of pagan justice and immorality, can never be admitted as the true solution of the Social Question.

DISCOURSE XIII.

CONSTRUCTIVE SOLUTIONS.—RESUME.

WE have passed in review the various solutions to the Social Question that are known under the name of Socialism, Nihilism, Anarchy, and their attendant train. We have learned that they are destructive in their method, utterly subversive not only of the social but moral order. Therefore from the standpoint of Judaism they must be condemned. But, there have also been honest constructive efforts to undo the injustice that exists in the relations of men in society.

From the very earliest times, since a righteous indignation against that injustice has swelled the breasts of men, it has impelled them to devise modes of betterment. Beautiful are the dreams of a social Elysium that have been dreamt. Glorious are the pictures which fancy has painted. What might be called the romantic literature of the social question, fills many volumes of quaint and interesting lore. Plato, in his *Republic* represents Socrates as studying the ideal man in the ideal commonwealth. Plutarch, in his *Life of Lycurgus* paints an ideal society, as does Cicero also in his *De Republica*. After the revival of learning, and the discovery of America, when the minds of men were stirred and their imaginations made wondrously luminous by the sudden enlargement of their conception of the world, Sir Thomas

More wrote his famous *Utopia*. This was followed by the *New Atlantis* by Francis Bacon; *The City of the Sun*, by Thomas Campanella, and other similar works. Although these writings have undoubtedly influenced the current of the world's thought on social matters, they have but lightly affected the course of social reform practical.

There have been divers experiments in real life to establish such perfect commonwealths. Such were the societies of the Jewish Essenes, the Buddhist Mendicants and the Christian Monks. Since all these had some ascetic or religious principle to foster, apart from mankind, this fact removes them entirely from any consideration as a solution for the social evils that afflict society at large.

But in France during the revolutionary period, when the spirit of equality and fraternity were everywhere rife, the propositions of social reformers took shape in definite plans and methods by which the whole of society was to be put on an entirely new basis. Experiments were set on foot following out the economic theories of such men as St. Simon, Fourier, Lamennais, and especially of Etienne Cabet, who, besides writing his *Voyage to Icaria* (a Utopia after the pattern of Sir Thomas More's), also led into America a colony in 1848, and devoted his life to making real his social reforms in that little society which he founded. Since then our country has become the field of experiment for a great many such communities. Many of them are at present still existing and prospering peacefully, such as the Economists, Zoarites, Shakers, and Icarians. They are all in greater or less degree communistic in character. Their methods are peaceful

although their ultimate aims are the same as those of the revolutionary Socialists, that is, the right of individual ownership is given up, all things are held in common, one is as rich as the other, all must labor alike and all are provided for alike by the society. Mr. Charles Nordhoff has visited all these communities in the United States and prepared an elaborate report of them. Have they solved the social question? Mr. Nordhoff thinks not. As the result of careful and impartial investigation he says: "The general feeling of modern society is blindly right at bottom; Communism is a mutiny against society. Only whether the Communist shall rebel with a bludgeon and a petroleum torch, or with a plough and a church, depends upon whether he has not or has faith in God—whether he is a religious being or not." *

Now all these communistic schemes must from the standpoint of Judaism, be unequivocally condemned. Communism, plucking the spurs from the heels of ambition, weakens and reduces all to a nerveless mediocrity; while Judaism, guarding strictly the fences of equity, urges every one forward to the utmost development of those capacities with which God has endowed him.

Communism opposes the private ownership of land, which in the Jewish law is held sacred, as based on the principle of justice and reward indelibly stamped in our natures. According to the Jewish law, every man was made a land-owner, and was therefore ever on the side of law and order.*

*Nordhoff, *Communitistic Societies of the United States*. p. 208.

† In an interesting article entitled "Three Ways of Living," by Mr. John Polson, in the *Paisley Gazette*, the following reference was made to the Land Legisla-

Rabbi Eliezer even declares * that "no man is truly a free man until he owns a piece of ground which yields him a living." To this end monopoly was checked (and we in our times have not yet devised any corresponding means to do this) through that strange unique institution of Moses—the Sabbatic and Jubilee years—adapted to the peculiar circumstances of an agricultural, theocratic nation. Communism comes into deadly conflict with the moral law of Judaism when tampering with the sanctity of the marital relations and destroying the home, which is the sacred shrine of all morality and social order. Therefore unhesitatingly must Judaism pass sentence against all these systems.

tion of the Bible. As to primogeniture, it has high sanction; so, indeed, has entail. By the Mosaic law both were established. The 600,000 adult males, who, it is estimated, entered Canaan, had the land divided among them by lot, which gave, it is computed, about sixteen to twenty-five acres to each. This was the patrimony of each family, and it was by the institution of primogeniture and the jubilee made inalienable, although it is not certain that the provisions of the jubilee ordinance were ever observed. They certainly were not up to the time of the Babylonian captivity. By the law of primogeniture, the eldest son, or if there were no sons, the eldest daughter, and if dead, the eldest child of such son or daughter, received a double portion of the inheritance, the remainder being equally divided among the others. And so rigid was the enactment, that even in the case of a man with two wives—the one beloved and the other hated—if a child of the hated wife was the first born, the father had no power to dispossess him of his double portion. By the Jubilee ordinance—which did not apply to houses in towns—all alienated lands reverted, in the fiftieth year to the legal heir, who may be said to have been the heir of entail. These two provisions instead of nationalizing land, as some people say, individualized it; and the severest denunciations were pronounced against those who in any way attempted to dispossess a man of the "inheritance of his fathers." *Dr. I. M. Wise, in the American Israelite.*

* See also Discourse V., Note, on same topic. *Jab. 63, Tosef.*

The task which we had set for ourselves is now completed. The great social question that is agitating the world from center to circumference enlisted, nay, commanded our most ardent interest. Earnestly we entered upon a study of this great world-problem; not indeed in the presumptuous hope that for us it was reserved to find a final solution for the ever-recurring riddle, or to set forth any "sole possible method" of removing once and forever the unjust inequalities in the conditions of men which prevail, but simply in the earnest search after knowledge, to make intelligible, and thus if possible to bring to the Jewish mind and heart a profound sense of the importance of the questions which now so earnestly absorb every intelligent and right feeling man and woman.

It has been said both in private discussion and in the press that the question I have undertaken to present to you was irrelevant here, that it was out of place in the Jewish pulpit, or, for that matter, in any pulpit. I respect the opinion of those who so think, but I also exercise my high right to positively differ from them. Indeed so firmly convinced was I of the opposite opinion that when I was told that no Jewish minister had ever yet spoken out authoritatively on this subject, it became to me an overwhelming duty and necessity to do so. Therefore with conscientious, painstaking effort I ranged along the entire course of history from the most ancient times until to-day in order to point out the significance, the supreme importance of this social question in all its bearings, from its inception on, and to show what its special significance is to us Israelites; to tell the world in be-

half of the Judaism of to-day what our religion has had to offer in the past, what it still has to present toward the solution of the problem in hand.

Now recall briefly what in these studies we have discerned, and you will confess that Judaism has given to the world the largest and best contributions to this Social Question that have as yet been offered. The pernicious charge so sweepingly made by the modern social agitator, that the rich are richer and less numerous, the poor are poor and more numerous than ever before, was by a careful contrast with the records of the past shown to be absolutely false. We saw how throughout the ancient world the laborers were bound in the shackles of slavery and hounded by their masters unto the very death. Judaism, defying Pharaoh and the whole Egyptian host, first burst those fetters and made the laborer free, and ever thereafter through all the long and weary centuries of her sorrowful existence never failed to lift up her voice to denounce oppression and plead for the oppressed. And now, at least in our blessed land of freedom, the laborer, emancipated and in the enjoyment of such material advantages as our civilization and the increased productive powers which the industrial advance of recent days have brought, is lifted high above the condition of the laborer in the past.

All that is not exaggerated, all that is just in the complaint of the modern laborer arises not from his being poorer than ever before in the essentials of healthy, happy human life, but simply of the stupidity, willful perverseness, moral obliquity of rich and poor alike, as seen, *e. g.*, in the greed of one and the thriftlessness of the other, in the abuse of

power by the master and the lawless spirit of the employe.

Work upon character until these moral differences have been allayed, and all that will be removed which forestalls and hinders the realization under the new and changed conditions of our times of the eternal principles of justice and right which Moses in his day succeeded so well in actualizing in the statutes that controlled the life of his people.

We saw how labor itself was despised, scorned and held degrading. Moses grandly and majestically swept away the caste-system, and the inhuman degradation of man by his fellow-men stood forever condemned. Thus, Judaism—again pioneer and champion in the cause of right—was the first to make work instead of war the legitimate occupation of men. The Rabbins proclaim the dignity of labor, not merely in words by precepts and laws, but by their own lives and through their own practical example, deeming the worldly occupation combined with the spiritual as the only secure safeguard against sin.

In all the dismal era of European history known as the Dark Ages the followers of Judaism contributed most to the preservation and development of commerce and industry and upheld correct views of labor despite the world. While humbly peddling their oriental wares from castle to castle along the bandit-ridden highways of mediæval Europe, they retailed likewise those ideas which, conquering at last, gave the death blow to the serfdom of feudal days, and made possible the rise of the laborer of modern times into equal and free conditions with his master.

That earnest aspiration after a better state

of things among men which gives to the latest Socialistic movement its justification for existence; this, too, has been fostered and most eloquently and profoundly maintained by sons of Israel in Germany, France, and England.* There was nothing in their religion to hinder them; nay, the codes and precepts given to the world by Judaism have been and still remain the standard—the Court of Appeal in kindred debates and contentions.

Thus it must be conceded that the genuine triumphs that have been gained in behalf of free labor and the freedom of the laborer, these are in their last resort to be truly traced to the influence and practical workings of Judaism, whose sphere, unlike that of other religions, is distinctively of this world— aspiring unto heaven, but ever treading firmly the earth, striving among men, only to make men more God-like.

Is it for us to conceal these things and falsify our position? I aver that it is our solemn duty to set forth these achievements in this important era and in self-defence against that slur and imputation which by social reformers is cast upon all religion, show forth what Judaism has wrought, and bid the oppressed hope, for their cause is not forsaken. Too long, have we Jews been forced to live behind the walls and barricades of real Ghettos. Let us not build up around us an intellectual Ghetto, and hiding our works from the world in its recesses, bring opprobrium where none is due.

Speaking now upon the present phase of the Social Question—speaking in the name of Judaism, and from the standpoint of its

* Ricardo, Marx, LaSalle, Bamberger, E. Halvey, E. Perçire, and others.

unapproachable ethical code, and measuring all conditions by the standards that Moses, our great law-giver, set up, and which in Judea produced what was undoubtedly the most successful social system that the world has ever known, we are compelled not only to condemn Communism, Socialism, Nihilism, Anarchy, and all their attendants, but furthermore to earnestly protest, solemnly to warn, urgently to persuade, and, with all the zeal that truth inspires, to contend against their further encroachment.

As to the practical solutions now clamoring for attention, they are all in a formative process, and are as varied and numerous as the individual minds that conceive them. Arbitration is the white flag of truce between the hostile organizations of capital and labor, which are everywhere marshaling to the combat. Profit-sharing and the various forms of co-operation are the articles of a permanent league of peace, in which the risks, profits, and toils are equitably divided between employers and employés, at a fair valuation upon what each contributes. Colonization is the scheme of philanthropists for removing the denizens of overcrowded cities and towns, from the scenes of starvation and misery to the smiling acres that invite their toil, with the promise of plenty and happiness. Taxation upon land and land exclusively, is the remedy to which Mr. Henry George has of late attracted such extraordinary attention.

Whatever may ultimately survive of any or of all these plans, this truth remains paramount and is all that now really concerns us: That the masses should be educated up to a recognition of the real evils

and be made to see the true methods by which alone any reform can succeed.

Now, it is in this very direction that Judaism with her peculiar common-sense practicality, and wondrous adaptability has a leading task still to perform in the world; her crown of greatest glory, I verily believe, is still to be won through the establishment of social justice among men. Toward this she has pointed the ideal with her golden precept: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Her moral code alone can furnish the guiding methods and principles of any permanent social reform, whether it comes along the line of political or economic advancement, for the social question is, in the main, after all a question of moral conduct. Supplant whining complaint with manly action, drive out policy with the whip of honesty, let energy vanquish sloth, temperance conquer dissipation and intelligence rout ignorance, and thousands of those abuses which give reality to the social question will be rectified, and countless severities will be allayed. Let greed be checked and passions be controlled, and all bitterness will be swallowed up in sweet fraternity, and the black clouds of strife that threaten will be scattered and pass away.

As Judaism has redeemed the laborer in the past, and made every calling honored, so must she now bend her efforts to establish the truth that though labor may be a commodity whose value depends on the fluctuations of the market, yet the laborer is not such. He must be recognized as a human being, a child of God; and his physical, intellectual, moral, and spiritual good must be the first consideration in all the contracts of

industry. He must be guarded against danger, disease, overwork, and all oppression and coercion, mental or moral.

In dealing with the great curse of poverty the world has missed the very quintessence of Moses' teachings: "Let the poor glean in the fields and gather through his own efforts what he needs;" that is, give to the poor, not support, but opportunity to secure his own support. But we reverse this teaching, and as a result—on the one side noble pride silently perishes in destitution rather than ask for aid, and on the other there is insolence, tramping the country, and demanding or stealing an unearned sustenance. Mark it! these, our greatest social evils, were unknown in Judea.

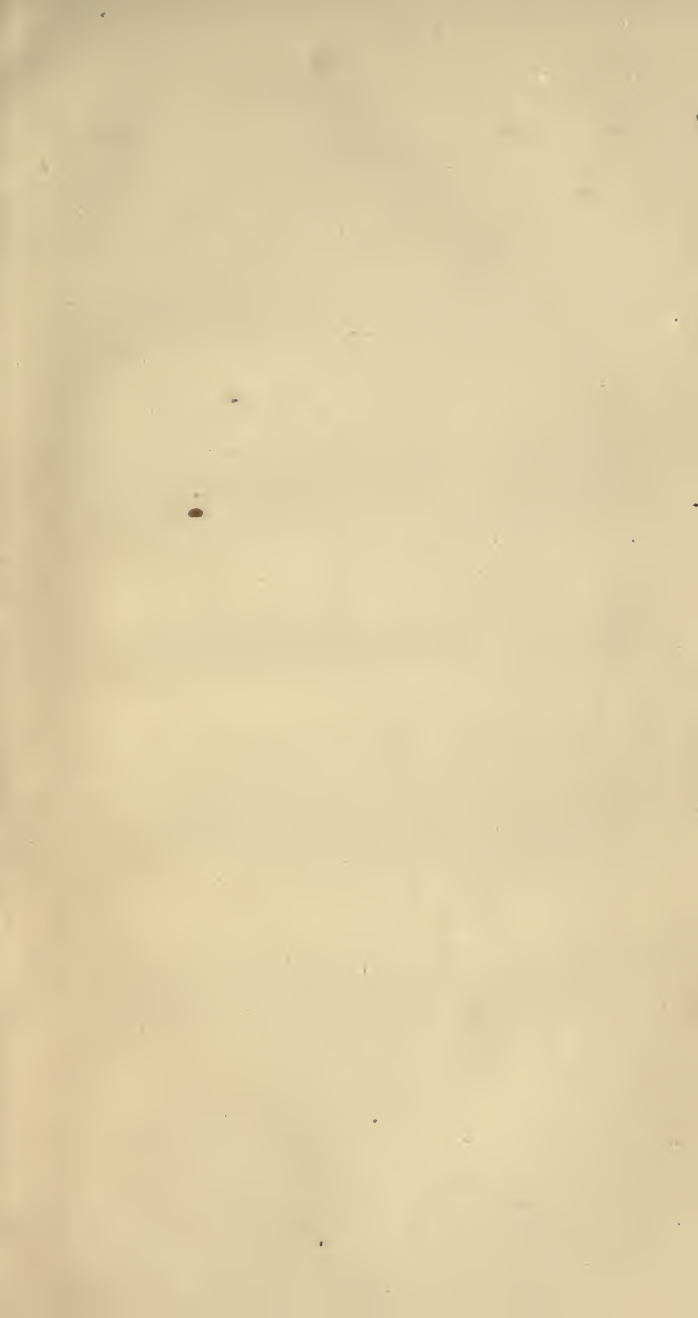
Above all else, we need to preserve and perpetuate the model family-life which has ever been proverbial of the Jewish home, and strive to make the nations emulate its beauty and its worth.

These are the methods of social reform which we Israelites need to continually convey to the world. Oh, let us not be blind to the great opportunity that in this crisis of history is before us. Never has Judaism been so free to lavish its treasures on mankind. As the world has been redeemed from the abyss of idolatry and corruption by the vital force of Jewish ideas, so can it likewise be redeemed from Social chaos. Let not the atheists turn this Social Question into a weapon against religion. If other religions turn blindly from it, let us dare to cherish it. Our duty is, not to skulk, like Achilles in the tent, but like doughty David of old, to boldly go out before the van. In all living vital questions

* Lev. xix. 10; Deut. xxiv. 21.

that concern the welfare of humanity, we must be foremost to be interested, first to study them, and ever ready to guide and control their issue into the course of the eternal laws of God.

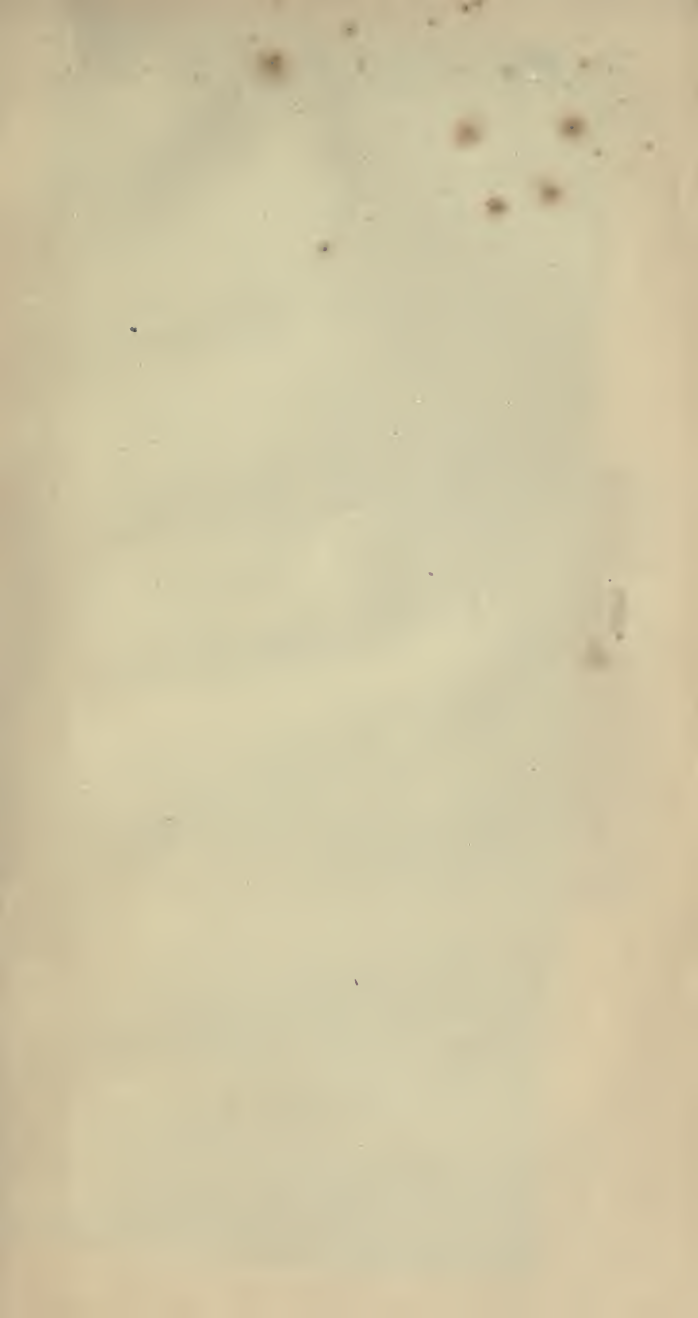
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