



RETRIBUTION

AND OTHER

ADDRESSES

SAMUEL G. SMITH

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# Retribution and Other Addresses

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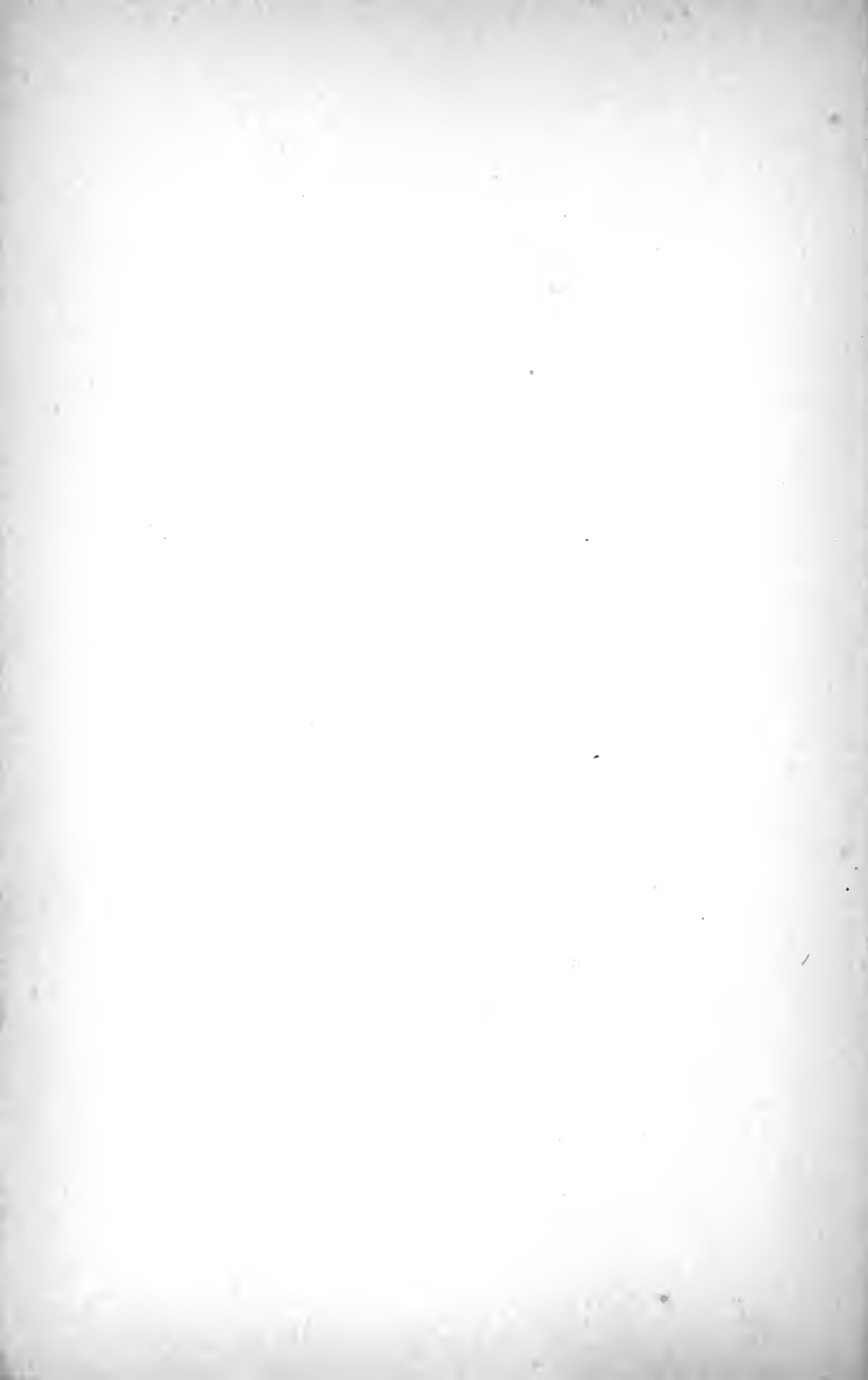
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To *J. Ross Nicols*





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# RETRIBUTION

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE  
WESLEY GUILD, UNIVERSITY OF  
MICHIGAN



## RETRIBUTION

IN the experiences of life we become aware of other existences through their motion or their intelligibility. Sense perception awakens within us the conceptions of force and intelligence. The more experiences we have, the more clearly is it apparent that we are in profound correspondence with nature. It is the fit environment of our organization, and the report which we receive of its transactions through the senses, when corrected by reflection, is so reliable and so adequate that it furnishes instruction for our conduct. It is by virtue of this correspondence to nature that we translate force and intelligence into higher terms of our experience. We refer force to will, intelligence to mind, and nature becomes the manifestation of a living person.

Being of  
God neces-  
sary.

The evolution of a self-conscious man points authoritatively to the presence and power of a self-conscious God. Man is here, and demands a solution, just as nature, in its completeness, demands a solution. The being of God becomes a necessary theory of the universe. Its unity, its progress, its intricate harmonies, are demands upon the reason, which are satisfied by the conception of an infinite and an ever-present God. Man himself is a perpetual argument. For a dead universe to

unfold a living man, for an unthinking universe to unfold a self-conscious man, for a dumb universe to unfold a speaking man, were miracles to beggar all the legends of religion.

Special  
form of the  
idea.

Christianity is founded upon a special form of the idea of God. It does not teach us to regard him as Cause, or even as Being, but in a quite special relation to us, as the Father of men. Philosophy may consider God as Cause, or science may speak of him as Force, but it was the faith in the Divine Fatherhood that quickened the soul of Jesus, and prepared him to become the world's Savior.

God's rela-  
tion to the  
world.

Religion, however, no less than science, is interested in finding a way to think of God's relation to the world. In any true or proper sense, are we the work of his hand? The word "work" seems to suggest the mechanic or the artist. Is God related to nature as the sculptor is to the statue or the carpenter to his house? According to such a view, God may be at work, or he may be at rest. He may be present in the world, or he may leave it. The universe is his creation, indeed; but it is something wholly external to him; it is his work, but it is by no means his "living garment."

Such was, doubtless, the dominant thought of the eighteenth century, and is

the key to the great battles between Deism and faith in a revealed religion. Both parties to the conflict were content with a mechanical view of the world, and this is the view which has been responsible for much of the modern contention with respect to prayer and miracle and providence. When Paul said, "In Him we live, and move, and have our being," he taught a vital, immediate, and constant relation to God. This view is easily felt to be deeper and holier; and, when logically applied, it solves most of the difficulties which have beset the Christian faith. Force and intelligence demand a present support as well as a rational beginning. Remove the time thought from creation, make the existence of the world depend upon the present volition and the present life of the Creator, and all processes become full of God and miracle. Then all the progress by which the world has left its worn-out past is supernatural.

The natural scientists teach well, but their teaching is not sufficiently broad to account for all the facts. The struggle for existence has been wide, and it has done much; but the object of the struggle has been strangely changed and purified in a way that suggests a Divine presence and control. Greed and passion, force and battle, do not bloom into the white flow-

The lesson  
to teachers  
of nature.

ers of charity. A merciful man is not the natural sequence of the claw of the tiger and the hungry tooth of the wolf. God has his home in nature, and progress is his unfolding. The bubbling up of sympathies in the human heart reveals deep springs of love—it is the overflow from the fountain in the heart of God.

What is  
the rank  
of man?

Man's relation to God may not be determined, but it will certainly be illuminated by right thinking about his rank in the order of creation. If it should be proven that he is an insignificant being, lost in the vastness, and overshadowed by the richness of the universe, then all the conclusions of theology vanish into vacuity. Christianity, however, has a counterpart for the conception of God as the Father of men in that men are also conceived to be sons of God. The age of the telescope has certainly given us new views of the earth, its position, and its relative dimensions. It has been definitely degraded from the center of things, and we are led to look upon it as about large enough for the bouncing-ball of a good-sized and muscular angel.

David was awe-stricken into humility long ago, when he considered the heavens, the work of God's fingers, the moon and stars, which he had ordained. The modern astronomer is able to expand the



vision of the Psalmist. He probably thought the earth the largest of the planets, and that about it revolved sun, moon, and stars. He could count in the sky but a few thousand stars, while the modern astronomer is able to reckon as many millions. Were one to travel in an express train on a straight line for a hundred millions of years, he would only reach some of the earlier way-stations in the journey toward the imperial and unknown Capital of Creation. It was possible for David to regain his courage, and continue: "Thou hast made man but little lower than the Elohim. Thou crownest him with glory and honor." It was well enough for him to use these lofty words; but, then, he had never looked through a telescope, nor heard a lecture by the lamented Professor Proctor.

Spirit has its dimensions, no less than matter, and they are quite other than those used in celestial surveying. God is not measured in the terms of the material universe. Fitting symbols for him are found alone in the faculties of man. The time will come—far off, indeed, but already prophesied by science—when suns and constellations will crash into voiceless death, and there shall not be left the song of any bird, nor the joy of a single upspringing flower. But when stars burn down and

The di-  
mensions  
of spirit.

die, then, no less than now, will be revealed the wisdom, law, and love of the Great God, which are his eternal and spiritual glories. God is not measured in terms of time or space or matter. Neither is man dwarfed by any material comparisons. They are not his symbols, they can not express him. The secret of man can be disclosed by mastering the force of that saying, "Beloved, now are we the sons of God." The children of an immanent and transcendent God, with his nature as their birthright, are not to be conquered by the illusions of material bulkiness.

History of  
human  
life.

Against the doctrine of the spiritual man there is urged the growth, climax, and decay in the manifest history of human life. The individual, we are told, is but the spray tossed on the waves of universal life; and its dissolution is but the ebbing of that life retreating within itself. The implication in this suggestion of the unity of life is, doubtless, worth attention; for nature reveals an organic fullness of life, no less than an unbroken network of force. Existences of living things unite like a great tree; the top of it has a diameter as wide as all the branches of the animal and vegetable kingdoms; but at the roots life is one. The sacred Ygdrasil of the North country, at whose feet are seated the goddesses of destiny, is fact touched

by the imagination. But this unity of life, like the conservation of energy, is only another argument for the presence of the immanent God. The unity of force calls for one supreme Will; the unity of life calls for one comprehensive being.

It does not amount to a demonstration of man's spiritual nature, though it certainly is in perfect harmony with that conception, to note that, through all the processes in the ascent of life, nature is constantly pushing toward freedom. Plant life is rooted. Animal life soon pulls up the roots, begins in some fashion to find locomotion, has wider adaptation, and its conspicuous fact is movement. When animal life culminates in man, he belongs to no fauna, ranges all zones, adapts himself to every environment, and asserts his world freedom as the basis of his world empire. He is the fruit of this tree Ygdrasil. All other forms of life are prophecy, man is their fulfillment. Pluck a leaf from a tree, cast it upon the earth, and it withers; sever a branch, and it dies; but fling down the seed of the plant, that for which leaf and branch exist, and it springs up again in a renewed life, to bear again another burden of fruit. May we not expect it will be so with man, the final fruit of the tree of life?

Object of  
the ascent  
of life.

Man was God's aim always. He was

the final cause of nature, as he is its present explanation. The whole world process gives an account of itself when man appears, as it was black with chaos before he came. For him were spread out the skies, and bounds were set for the sea. The dry land appeared clothed in verdure, to make a fit abode for him. All other forms of life by natural selection were put under servitude. Our Father worked in the world, and waited through ages, as men count time, for a child who might know and love him. When at last man bloomed out of the Divine life, the crown was put on his brow, and ever since his destiny has been bound up with the royal household. In man life freed itself from time and environment. He was transcendent, and therefore immortal. The indications of nature add their testimony to the wisdom of the sages, the hopes of the prophets, the dreams of the poets, and the revelation of Jesus.

Immortal-  
ity and  
Retribu-  
tion.

As dignity is given to man by his faith in immortality, so it is the doctrine of retribution that adds majesty to life. Immortality gives man rank above other creatures, exalting him as the son of God. Retribution lifts his earthly life out of the measure of its daily tasks, and gives it a solemn and tragic importance. Belief in immortality alone might lead us to despise

the present, but retribution bids us count minutes as jewels, and makes human deeds the purchase price of thrones. Immortality might give birth to speculations and dreams, but retribution bids us work, for the night cometh, when no man can work.

The New Testament often pictures our life as a business career. God furnishes the capital, and we are partners with him. It is demanded of us that we do our share. At last this temporary arrangement will be reviewed, the books will be examined, and our future career will depend upon our proved capacity and faithfulness. But as the chief part of our capital is our capacity for righteousness, so the result of our chief success is the acquisition of righteousness. It is also our chief reward. So far as we can see, the development of character is the worthiest work of man, as the manifestation of character is the highest revelation of God. Toil, result, readjustment, and promotion explain life in terms of the spirit, which furnishes the final standard of the universe. This is the meaning of the insistence upon motive as the real measure of the deed, so characteristic of the teaching of Jesus.

The first basis of retribution is found in the significance of man as a moral being. Its primary witness is the message

Life is a  
business.

Retribu-  
tion based  
on the  
nature of  
man.

of conscience, the authentic voice of righteousness in the human soul. The authority of the moral nature is the most secure social foundation. We have under discussion a problem of immense practical concern. It deals with the safety of society, the protection of person and property, and the forces which create and uphold institutions. It is a question for the philanthropist, the lawyer, and the statesman, as well as for the theologian. All these have to deal with the data of conscience as a factor in the development and the management of men. Now, the many-voiced message of conscience may be reduced to this: Man is to be held accountable for his deeds. If the word accountability is asked to yield up its secret, we have the further statement: Condition ought to depend upon character; and character, in a world governed by a good and wise God, is both developed and revealed by conduct.

The nature  
of con-  
science.

The limits of this address forbid any extended inquiry as to the ultimate nature of conscience. To those thinkers who have urged that it is the result of habit and association, arising wholly from social circumstances, it may be said that it is enough to show that man is able to respond to his social requirements in the way demanded of an immortal; and in this

respect he stands alone among beings on the earth. The moral function is the distinction by which he is separated from all inferior forms of life; but for the purposes of this discussion it is only important to insist that the mandates of conscience correspond to reality, and therefore have a prophetic function in the life of man. There could be no moral imperative for man, did he not accept it as a faithful representative of eternal veracities; but the harmony between function and faculty, and the relation of both to environment, is a doctrine so well settled that the universality of conscience is the support of its faithfulness. It is unscientific to suppose that the threatened penalties against wrong are feats of moral legerdemain to trick us into goodness. But if conscience be truthful, retribution is certain. Conscience becomes an ambassador from heaven and the representative of the Divine government at the court of the human soul. The dignity of the universe supports the credibility of this witness. In any conception of God, his truthfulness is a supreme necessity. Well does the apostle cry out, "Let God be true, and every man a liar." Though falsehood were the present guest of all human lips, yet out of his treacheries would man be drawn at last to truth by the faithful-

ness of God, the broad and only foundation for our faith. But though man might love and desire the truth, were there a mocking lie at the heart of things, that lie would drag him down to hell. The argument in brief is this: The moral nature of man denounces penalties against sin. This universal voice in man can not be disputed, unless we are prepared to assail the character of the God who made man.

The testimony of nature.

The word law so urgently insisted upon by some modern thinkers, when analyzed, yields a tribute to the truthfulness of God. It is the expected that happens in nature, and all events are prophetic of like events under like conditions. The reign of order is so universal that it could not escape human observation. Creation, according to Moses, was the bringing of order out of chaos; and nature, according to science, is a complex but perfectly harmonious order. The mathematics of the stars are not more regular than the play of forces which result in storms. The path of the planets is not more fixed than the migrations of wild birds—the most lonely and irregular fact we have learned to refer to a profound and wide-reaching harmony. Continents and oceans, mountains and valleys, are related to each other. Mutual influence is so continuous that sky, sunshine, air, trees, flowers, birds, and beasts



in any common latitude are woven into one fabric. Man himself is not only in definite relation to his environment, but his physical organs so combine that there is no schism in the body; and all the faculties of his spiritual nature—perception, reason, imagination, affection, will—spring out of a common center, combining into one harmony.

As organization is thus related, so, also, force is in continuous intercommunication. Each unit of force is everywhere a citizen.

Commercial union is the law of force, and the stamp of any mint passes current in all the transactions of the universe. This harmony of structure and this persistence of force furnish part of the discipline of man. One of the lessons we have to learn is the truthfulness of nature. She may be kind. She is certainly inexorable. We may dislike to co-operate with her; but to fight against her is ruin. No plea of ignorance can ever be entered as a bar to penalty. We are taught by the broken experiences of life, and we gain as much wisdom as our capacity will admit. At last we become quite accustomed to this remorselessness of nature, and we come to understand that her sternness is her most tender face. By her frowns we may learn prudence, and by her stripes we are healed. We discover that it is quite

useless to seek to evade her. Nature keeps all her promises and all her threatenings. Think you that God has established certainties in the realm of the body, and yet leaves the higher spiritual nature to the sport of chance and the freaks of falsehood? Think you that in the realm of the senses there is a rule of certainties, but that in the realm of the spirit there are the tricks of magic and the wizardry of wrong? You must answer, no; for the government of God is self-consistent, or there is no government. What he is anywhere, that he is everywhere. The doctrine of retribution finds its instructive analogies in the sphere of what men call natural law, though there is no natural law which is not also Divine law. Project the common facts of experience into the spiritual activities of man, and its rational explanation is in the words of the apostle: "Be not deceived; God is not mocked. Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap." The truthfulness of the Divine administration on the plane of the physical life is, therefore, an ample basis for the doctrine of retribution.

Reward  
and pun-  
ishment.

In treating this subject, I use the words "reward" and "punishment," because they are historic; and so there is a certain necessity for them. But I am bound to say that they have often been used to contain error instead of truth. They are not un-

likely to lead to false views of God and still falser views of life. The hard dogmatic realism, which would press the Oriental imagery of the Bible into commonplace form, is monstrous. These picture forms of truth yield, upon reflection, a universal content, and are applicable to every time. Prophets and seers have been compelled to spell out their ineffable message with such powers of speech as are furnished by their culture and their time. I do not now refer to the nature and duration of hell. I wish to be very explicit: I refer to the whole mechanical conception of the imperial government of God. There is a moribund form of theology, little heard of outside of theological seminaries, which teaches that God chooses some to be saved, and others to be damned, without merit or demerit, and all for his own glory. Against such a thought the whole ethical instinct of the untrammelled soul cries out as an iniquity in God or a blasphemy in man. I refuse to allow any man to say to me, "This is a profound mystery of the government of God;" for I reply, "It is no mystery at all; it is simply the voice of the moral anarchist, and is nothing less than a wicked lie.

Fundamentally, this dogma is the child of the usual mechanical picture of a theatrical government, with its throne, its

rigid systems, and its absentee God. The Latin theology made of heaven a finer Rome, and of God a better Cæsar. This is not the God "in whom we live and move, and have our being." The entire picture of God waiting on the other side of the River of Death to receive souls after their earthly pilgrimage, one hand full of benefits, and the other one full of tortures, is wholly irrational to the reflective mind. Punishment, as commonly understood, can have no place in the Divine administration. Rewards and punishments are not to be thought of as the result of some arbitrary law, God-made, indeed, but which he might have made quite otherwise, had it pleased him. The holiness of God makes character or holiness of the highest value in every spiritual being. The benevolence of God compels him to seek character as the outcome of human living. The morality of religion is not, therefore, an external or an artificial system. Its laws could not be modified on the recommendation of a parliament of all the angels. Nay, God himself could not repeal them without committing moral suicide; for they are a part of his own life. The essence and core of things—that is, the nature of God—is what it is because it is holy. Religion is no device; it is neither a Divine program, nor a human discovery.

The end of the finite creation is man; but he fulfills his life in obedience to the law of love. Man is not a thing made as the painter paints his picture; he is the child of God, and the Divine life in him grows into manifestation. The law of love is a transcript of the Divine nature; and religion (or the relation of God to man) is the highest evolution of the inner life of the universe. The foundations of religion, then, are natural, as the foundations of nature are Divine. The moral precepts did not depend upon the giving of a decalogue, and were just as true and binding before Moses descended from the cloud-covered mountain, where God chiseled tables of stone with finger of fire. Though no thunders had ever rocked the heights of Sinai, and no celestial voice had ever glorified the haunts of the desert, yet were honesty, justice, and good faith the foundations of any possible human society. Without external revelation it would still be true, as said of old, "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." Were there no Bible to speak, yet would all the voices of history cry out, "He that soweth iniquity shall reap vanity."

If nature is the manifestation of God, and if conscience is the authoritative voice of God in man, light on the doctrine of retribution should come from a considera-

tion of the Divine character. Jesus would have us believe that the final word with which to account for every Divine activity is love. If this be true, in the flame of love must shrivel many explanations of the Divine administration. If the work of Jesus was conceived in the Father's love, then the absolute identity of the Divine disposition with the reconciling passion of Jesus becomes evident. Olive Schreiner need no longer make her people tell us they "love Jesus, but hate God." His word, "I and my Father are one," carries with it, not only the unity of being that satisfies the reason, but satisfies the heart as well, by insisting that "God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself." As the mechanical imperialism of the far-off throne is rejected by the recognition of a present God; so all forensic views of the atonement are destroyed by the unities of love.

Modern  
prison re-  
formers.

The modern prison reformers would teach society to be more Godlike, and theology to be more humane. Punishment is no longer vindictive, or to be meted out in the exact terms of the crime. The Mosaic method is denied any rightful place, and instead of "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," it is sought to make a rational application of the law of love. The offender must be punished to deter

others from crime, and that society may be protected; but, if possible, he must be punished in such a way as to secure his reformation. Society is not vindicated when a certain offense is paralleled by a certain term of confinement; but society has vindicated its right to judge and to convict when he who was sentenced and incarcerated walks out of prison an honest man. Society does not reform all the criminals; but society is bound to do the best possible for the good of the criminal, as well as the wisest possible for its own safety.

If Jesus was right in teaching us to regard the Father as a God of love, we may at least be sure that, in maintaining his righteous government, he also will do the best possible for all his children, both good and bad, in all worlds, and both before and after death.

But love has its own necessities, and goodness its essential limitations. Love suffers under discontent, without a suitable object; and so love, with fiery force, seeks after goodness. The processes are often obscure and indirect, and it is the result that makes them valid. In the physical world fire and blood, frost and storm, have worked their will for uncounted ages. In the ages past, the work of creation looked like the hand of a demon, and

not a God. But we who live in the developed world vindicate its physical history. In the uses of time, of matter, and of life, our God has been a glorious prodigal; but the order and beauty of this present world are his atonement to reason. A perfect God can not rest in the incomplete; he moves on to self-realization. God has sought to find expression in the worlds which he has made. Material things are finite pictures of eternal thoughts. But it is in the world of spirit that God seeks to image himself, and so men are urged forward to Godlikeness. His need of something to love that is adequate bids our Father seek holiness in human character.

Love and  
holiness.

So is he truly that "Power which makes for righteousness," revealed in nature and in man. Punishment must be conceived as the safeguard of goodness, and hence the manifestation of mercy. Men are stirred to see the value of character when they find goodness allied with peace and wickedness with pain. Capacity for suffering in the physical order is easily seen to be the safeguard of the body. It would soon be a world of cripples did not the nerves telegraph repeated messages of danger to the brain. In like manner, punishment, as the normal result of sin, is a moral danger-signal hung out by a good God. No sadder or blacker world could



be conceived than one in which man might sin without ever suffering as the result of sin. The moral sensibilities would be blunted, and the conscience would soon be buried beneath thick calluses of crime. Soon no distinction would be recognized between right and wrong; it would be a mad world. The body needs for its preservation the clear distinctions between health and disease; and the soul has equal need of the distinction between sin and holiness. The Divine integrity enforces unity of administration. What God is anywhere, that he is everywhere. His faithfulness compels that, in the moral as in the physical world, his promises and his threatenings shall be kept.

But the effects of living in this world, easily observed, furnish a reasonable basis for the doctrine of retribution. Every activity of man is at least twice written—once in the external forms of biography and history, and the second time within the soul of the actor himself. The world of the apprentice to a trade is not only apparent in forms of wood and iron, but it is most really permanent in its subjective result—the trained artisan. Act becomes habit, and habit becomes the specialized man. In like manner each good deed bears a double joy; it enriches the whole universe, but it is a treasure laid up in

Basis in  
the effect  
of life.

the heaven of the human soul. Every sin is a two-edged sword, flaming either way; it gashes society, and it wounds the soul.

The subjective effect of sin is the real basis of punishment laid in the nature of man. In our folly we think that sin is a means of gain, but the sinful man is deliberately making a bankrupt of his soul. God has bestowed upon man a spiritual kingdom. Within its boundaries he may fight successfully against men, devils, angels, God. This rich endowment is the seal of his Godlikeness, and is the necessity of a spiritual being in a moral world. As the endowment is Godlike, so the peril is abysmal. Man is formed for lofty joy or for profound pain. The form of the penalty is self-chosen, and God himself can not change that human decree. Though he were as sentimental as some would have us believe; though the awful distinctions of right and wrong were without external sanctions; though an abiding medley of good and evil might continue the world forever the moral madhouse it now is—still could not God himself hold back the free human hand from those self-inflicted wounds which proclaim man a moral suicide.

Law of  
environ-  
ment.

Every form of being is either fitted to a suitable environment, or it perishes. The fin of the fish calls for the crystal wave, as the bird's wing is formed for the upper

air. Man is no exception to this law of life. His body corresponds to nature, and his social organization is the child of his grade of culture. He marks the steps of his intellectual progress by re-forming for himself the various institutions through which his communal life finds expression. In the individual experience of this world character tends to create condition, though the prophets and sages of all times agree that here the spirit of man only reaches partial realization. Forms of society, economic and political, as well as the inherited customs, traditions, literatures, and laws, prevent the full manifestation of the individual human soul.

A rational basis is, therefore, furnished for the readjustments of the judgment. These allow the realization, in companionship and environment, of the moral prophecy made by the career of the human soul in this world. The incident of death, with its disenthralment of the spirit, introduces a new freedom when each one goes to "his own place." With the dissolution of the body comes the more important dissolution of social ties and restraints, of the whole complex of life, whereby we are made to appear better or worse than we really are. In that hour the moment comes for a perfect estimate of the individual soul. It is the most imperial moment in any history.

Selection  
of the  
judgment.

From the decisions of that judgment no man would wish to appeal; for the environment will answer perfectly to the character, and this it is to be "judged according to the deeds done in the body."

God always does the best.

In hell, as in heaven, a good God is bound by his own nature to do the best possible for every soul which he has made. Whatever hell may be, it is sure to be the best place for all who are there. Gehenna, also, is a manifestation of mercy. He, by whose standards the world is judged, was besought to bestow places on his right and on his left hand in the kingdom; but instead of doing so, he laid down this important principle, "To sit on my right hand, and on my left, is not mine to give, but it shall be given to them for whom it is prepared of my Father." Fitness, therefore, and not favor, is the principle of the final award. Even Jesus professed himself powerless to help the unprepared.

The deeper harmonies.

But we may not yet have fully appreciated in how profound a sense God is himself the fundamental reality. We are certain that both development and peace in this world depend upon our harmony with the Divine method in nature. We may rationally infer that it is only by like harmony that peace can come to the soul of man in any world. The utter desolation of heart and life from attempting to stem

the currents of the divine life can only be apprehended in the light of some adequate conception of the mastery of God. What poverty is to wealth, what sorrow is to joy, what death is to life, may be fitting illustrations of the condition of the rebellious man in so far as he is not sustained by the interpenetrating power of the personality of the Absolute Being. Rebellion against any tyranny, human or conceivably Divine, might bring great disaster; but it might also conceal a broad measure of compensation to the emancipated soul. Were the government of God unjust and cruel, it were a far higher form of existence to writhe in the worst material hell ever dreamed than to gain the repose of heaven by the abdication of the moral sense. But the government of God is a government of holiness and love. Now, as rebellion against tyranny, however strong, would still have its compensation, so rebellion against holiness and love may conceal a shame and anguish, which even the wisest only faintly apprehend. We see here only some faint outline of the boundless majesty of God, and occasionally a broken glint of the far shining of his throne. These visions are so full of awe that, before the Presence, we lay our hand on our mouth, and our mouth in the dust. What, therefore, may be the pain of the disobedient

soul delivered from the prison of sense, free from the laws of time and space, in the unshadowed splendor of his perfect reign? It is small wonder that some men have felt that the annihilation of the soul might result from such a revelation. This would follow but for the hope of something of good remaining as the broken heritage even to those who are lost.

Conduct  
is cumulative.

It is proper to consider a matter that has been often urged in connection with this subject, and that is the cumulative character of conduct. The years project themselves into the future, and action rises to higher and still higher tides of result. The buds of childhood become the blossom of youth and the fruit of riper years. The reappearance of forgotten deeds, both those which are mainly physical and those which are largely spiritual, is one of the most impressive facts of human experience. The light sin of youth becomes the heavy habit of maturity, while the careless and even outgrown dissipation becomes the perpetual burden of the body. Every honest volume of biography preaches sermons from the text, "Be sure your sin will find you out." The insignificant becomes the visible. The things that are done in secret are proclaimed on the housetop. They who sow the wind reap the whirlwind. The deeds of the early and formative years

are the most permanent and powerful. Moral and physical mobility are both well-nigh gone by the time a man reaches middle age. Follow this analogy of the relation of youth to age by regarding this mortal life of the plastic man as a state of preparation and discipline, the whole of it the youth of the soul; and reckon, if any man can, what will be the results of the earth life made manifest under the conditions of eternity.

Though every sin is an unmeasured calamity, the gospel brings to the sinful the music of hope. Over against accident, ignorance, and perversity, within certain limits, are set remedies, both physical and moral. The message of forgiveness for sin is the announcement that the miracle of Divine power may renew the stricken heart. It is heaven's evangel to the sons of earth. We sometimes complain of the evils of this world. Perhaps it could not possibly have been a better world; it might easily have been a much worse world. If disease and pain, poverty and death, were banished, that would not create a paradise. Let every hillside be crowned with a palace; on the banks of soft-murmuring streams let bloom unfading flowers; let palm-trees lift their fronded heads to the embrace of everlasting sunshine; let the breezes come laden with the perfumes of Araby, and

The music  
of hope.

every motion give birth to sweetest music; but in the splendid halls of this palace-crowned and plenty-blessed world, let there walk a man upon whose conscience the burden of his sins must rest forever; let his footsteps be dogged by the shadow of all the evils he has done; let his nights be startled by the ghosts of forgotten sins breaking through the bolts and bars of memory to mock him while he sleeps—then would this king of beauty, but slave of sin, cry out: “Give me a hut for my home, bitterness for my bread, grinding toil for all my waking hours, but let me hear that voice more tender than a woman’s, ‘Neither do I condemn thee; go, and sin no more.’”

External  
pardon not  
enough.

No merely legal or external pardon can satisfy our moral needs. When sin has multiplied into habit, and habit has blackened into character, it were not enough for God to say, “Thou art forgiven.” The imprint of the rebel’s hand upon the government of God would not be removed were the Judgment-day abandoned and hell abolished. Flowers do not bloom again because the heel that crushed them has gone on its way. So our Father promises that he will not only forgive our sins, but he will also cleanse us from all unrighteousness. But with caution must we estimate the Divine bounty, that we do not despise



the long-suffering of God, believing that any time will do to begin the moral discipline of life. There is not power enough in the cross of Christ, nor goodness enough in the heart of God, to make the sinner as one who has not sinned. The heights of sainthood are achieved by strenuous deeds and a life of increasing victories. The basis of condition is character; and character is an achievement, and not a gift. Jewels and raiment, gold and palaces, might be given, if any owner chose, but God himself can not give to man a character. The school in which we are placed is very exacting; and the primary, preparatory, and university training of the spiritual life can not be crowded into a single act of faith. Let no man limit the mercy of God. There may even be poor-houses for the bankrupt in heaven; but moral pauperism is the only possible outcome of a misspent life.

The old dialectic puzzle of infinite punishment for finite sin vanishes along with the mechanical conception of the government of God. We win our future. God always does the best possible for every child in his family, including his bad and his wretched children. A finite being can in no proper sense ever suffer an infinite penalty. What is really meant is to assert the injustice of the permanent results of

Infinite  
punish-  
ment.

earthly deeds, and this is in reality nothing more than an argument against the wisdom of the immortality of the soul; for if the human spirit is to persist, it can only preserve its identity by preserving that character which is the fruit of life.

Second  
probation.

The speculation of a second probation can only have meaning to those who do not see that every truth offered to the mind, as well as every opportunity of the life, is a genuine testing time, and leaves its ineffaceable mark upon our destiny. Neither two probations, nor a thousand, could undo the work of one already lived. Life is not the play of fantastic deeds by a shadowy man in an unreal world. The deed is not valuable in and for itself. The deed finds its truest existence in the making of the doer. The deed can never be undone because its final significance is not external to the soul. The second probation theory is the child of a merely spectacular theology.

The message of retribution is an account of the solemn dignity of human life, and of the Godlike greatness of the human soul. The practical conclusion of the whole matter is this: He who works out his salvation with fear and trembling while the day lasts, will never be ashamed, whatever be the light that shines upon the problem of human destiny in the dawning day beyond the night of death.

# THE NEW UNITIES

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO THE PAN-  
AMERICAN CONGRESS OF RE-  
LIGION AND EDUCATION,  
TORONTO, CANADA.



## THE NEW UNITIES

THE Pan-American Congress of Religion and Education was born out of the needs of the new age. Among the most insistent of those needs are wider co-operation, a deeper sense of kinship among men, and a broader recognition of existing truth and goodness. Toward the ample satisfaction of these wants history hastens. The people of no time are fully conscious of the forces at work among them. The men in the days of Dante and Michael Angelo did not see the colossal proportions of their teachers. The men of Jerusalem did not know, when they looked in the face of Isaiah, that they were beholding the greatest seer of the ancient world. We are more impressed by the ring of the telephone or the sparks that fly from a trolley-line than by those stately and mighty forces which move society, and of which all material inventions and appliances are no more than the white foam on the waves of the deep.

Our new age was born out of the Spirit of God; for now, indeed, more than at any previous time, may be seen the first-fruits of the new kingdom. We live in a time when the world is awakening to a sense of universality. We are coming especially to see how broad is the domain of life.

It fills the ages with its continuous being; it writes everywhere the record of its achievements, and all life is one. We are learning, also, the extent and the power of the empire of truth. It includes all facts and all philosophies. Walks of life, sacred or secular, are alike to the mistress of the mind, and she dispenses her bounties with equal hand.

The recognition of this deepening sense of the universality of life and truth is another way of saying that the world is at last coming to a knowledge of God. The resurrection of one man brought to life from Joseph's tomb awakened in the world the splendid enthusiasms of a new religion; but the resurrection of society, wrapped round with the grave-clothes of traditionalism, out of the sepulcher of its material limitations will show at last the purposes of that new religion realized.

Let me call your attention to some of the characteristics of this new time. I am not unmindful of its evils and its dangers. The great municipalities are hiding-places for the sins of Sodom. Black vices like nests of serpents threaten to poison our social life, and there is no civic hand brave enough and strong enough to crush them.

Between the classes of society are heard the ominous mutterings of war. Wealth lives in its unearned palaces, and undeserved

poverty cries from its hovels of shame. Men whose strength is in the hand too often lack the economic virtues; while men whose strength is in the brain have these virtues grown so large that the nobler virtues of honor and of justice can not thrive in the impoverished soil. Fierce and still fiercer rises the clamor of men engaged in unnatural contest for the prizes of life.

Out of social evils have arisen impossible theories of social reorganization. Socialism and anarchy have sought, the one to monopolize all forms of power and to destroy the individual; the other to free the individual by blindly pulling down the pillars of the social temple. The glut of new wealth has fed to enormous and diseased proportions the old passions of selfishness and greed; both employer and employed often dispute for a bad pre-eminence.

A spirit of secularism has come with the material advances of the century. The modern captains of industry hesitate to give to Melchizedek any share of the spoils of war. The temple and the priest, hitherto secure in the history of men, are questioned as to their legitimacy and their usefulness. Men bow down before commercial progress, and many of the old altars are deserted.

The modern gospel is preached by the modern newspaper. The daily press, for multitudes of people, takes the place of

sacred books and secular literature. What new forms the old parables take on in this bible of modern journalism! The traveler still falls among thieves on his road to Jericho; but after the newspaper, with a wealth of headlines, has chronicled the disaster, there is little room to tell of the ministry and help of the good Samaritan. The prodigal son spends his substance in riotous living; but by the time he comes to himself he has ceased to be "news," and the story closes without repentance or reconciliation. The woman is still, as two thousand years ago, taken in adultery; but there is no voice to say, "Neither do I condemn thee; go and sin no more." It is quite plain that this modern journalism escapes the charge of being Sunday-school literature. When the publishers hear, now and then, a complaint that they overload their crime columns and their sporting columns, they sweetly reply: "Perhaps you think you know how to run a newspaper? We make our paper to sell, and it sells." The vindication is not without reason. The publishers would have us understand that it is as good as the low standards of the time will admit, and this is another way of saying that the disease is constitutional, and not local. If the clean and self-respecting newspaper starves, while the "yellow" journal counts its readers by the million, who shall say that the children



of this world are not wiser in their generation than the children of light? If the good paper were not so stupid and the bright paper were not so bad, the problem would be easier of solution.

Some of the evils of our time have been indicated, many others will occur to you, and they cry aloud for the voice of a Hebrew prophet adequately to rebuke them. But while these evils continue our shame until they are cured, it may still be said that they are not the most significant features of the new life of our generation. Let us turn our thoughts toward facts and forces filled with hope.

One tremendous fact standing out perhaps above all others is, that the world is swiftly moving toward a cosmic civilization. In past ages races were differentiated through physical and social forces, because the new man was the plastic subject of the new earth. Nations came into being with a special mission, incarnating a particular type of life. The history of the world grew rich, as each people gave its legacy to the race, and yielded its place to some stronger successor. On the other hand, our age is seeking to realize the unity of man. To the west, Japan, filled with the modern spirit and having learned its lesson from European methods, has hammered down the last great provincial barrier in the world,

and the Mongolian empire is filled with the shock of a new life. India has long felt the power of modern civilization. Russia is awakening to the melodious life of a new springtime, and, fronting two ways, is to fill a tremendous mission both in Europe and in Asia. The Dark Continent has been partitioned among the European Powers, not in the spirit of evangelism, but rather in the spirit of greed; yet once again God will make the wrath of man to praise him, and the paths of commerce will become the highways of religion.

Indeed, commerce is not the most significant form of human intercourse. Dull, indeed, must be the eyes of him who does not see that the nations, while exchanging commodities, are also exchanging ideas. Great thoughts, great events, great men are no longer local; they have come to be of universal significance. The reign of the divisive forces of the past seems gone forever. At length comes true the word of Columbus: "The world is much smaller than it seems." It has been made small and compact by the conquest of mountain and ocean; time and space are well-nigh conquered, and men are drawing near to the divine point of view.

On this earth, thus humbled, there is evolving in the march of Divine Providence

the cosmic man, who is to be the final heir of the world. He will be neither Asiatic, nor African, nor European. He will possess the best qualities and the noblest achievement of all men and all times. Let us hope that the new paradise will be not far from where we now stand, and that the new world, which has given birth to so many new forms of force, will be also the home of the new man. This man shall rule, for the narrow and partial perish. The provincial is both absurd and inefficient. The time of the universal has come. We are in the morning of the new day of a cosmic civilization.

The men of thought are subjected to the same influences as the men of action, and among the most significant facts of the new age is the unity of science. Whatever we may have to say about the tremendous modern word, "Évolution," this much at least is plain: By the consent of all schools of thought the universe has one history and one destiny. There is no lonely world in the most remote stellar spaces which has an isolated fate. Matter is one; force is one; life is one. The method by which the worlds are made is an orderly process. There is universal significance in the reign of law. The activities of men, however free, are not accidental; and through the most

complex human movements there reigns the authority of a purpose, harmonious and divine.

The scientific method has brought in a communism of knowledge. The scientific method claims all fields for its own. It considers the possibilities of star-dust, the history of the living cell, the problems of mechanics, and the poetry and passion of literature. A great book is no longer significant on account of its author alone; but literature is related to history, and the book is significant because in it an age becomes articulate, and a people finds a voice.

The scientific method, no longer content with the material world, has entered the spiritual domain, and even the sacred documents have been subjected to a merciless scrutiny. But the face of the scientific method is the face of an angel. It is the ministry of God. In showing the unity of nature and of history, it prepares the way for a more vital doctrine of Divine Providence. Sacred history and literature, after undergoing the examination of Biblical criticism, will be left not poorer, but richer by the result. We shall come at last to see in its full meaning the word of the Master: "The letter killeth; it is the spirit which giveth life." No longer shall we see only a Divine Book written by divinely-appointed authors; but we shall see a great highway

thrown up in the midst of human affairs over which the chariots of God have rolled on to splendid victories. We shall see at length the spiritual mission of the Hebrew race, and shall recognize in the evolution of Hebrew institutions as clear a shining forth of the Divine as there was when Moses hid his face before the bush which burned and was not consumed.

Here arises hope of reaching, some day, substantial agreement on the intellectual side of religion. This agreement will by no means come through a surrender of convictions, or through softening the hearts of the sturdy combatants. In the fierce fires of modern investigation all the alleged facts of the past are being tried as gold and silver are tried. From this ordeal only substantial veracities will emerge. The time must therefore come when there will be essential agreement as to the facts upon which religious faith is constructed. Searching historical criticism and the unshrinking candor of science will finally accomplish this noble result. In that day the essentials of faith will be no more matters of dispute than questions of biology or chemistry. Knowledge of the laws by which society has developed will furnish also a framework in which these facts will fit, and perhaps the highest result of science will be the final science of religion.

Traditionalism has received no severer blow than in the unfolding of the new science of society. This science is far from having reached a mature development or a final statement; but at any rate the broad outlines of social science have become visible. It is at least evident that such fundamental institutions as government, church, and home are by no means constructed through that free human choice which becomes mere caprice. These institutions respond to the mighty influences of the physical forces of the world. They are fashioned by the hands of sky-fairies and earth-demons, as well as by the hands of men. Such facts as the rainfall, the nearness of the coast-line, the rise of temperature, and the chemistry of soil, are registered in the complex institutions of society. But generation by generation the growing man emancipates himself from the animal and the physical, and by a progressive law of power becomes master and maker of his environment. As he emerges from primitive conditions, realizes himself more and more as a social being, he develops new and higher forms of activity. On the basis of the physical he builds an intellectual and a moral throne. His physical needs are steadily reduced in rank until they become the servitors of his spiritual needs. Moving out of the traditional and the transitory, he fits

himself by social processes for the environment of eternity.

This time process calls for a keen sense of the perspective of history. A charitable construction of men and events is only the coldest science. Each time has its own standards, its own catalogue of virtues, its own heroes and saints; and institutions and methods exactly fitted for one stage of human development are not to be judged in the terms of a later or a different age. There is a deep sense in which the citizens of one nation are rarely able to understand those of another; just as the followers of one form of faith with difficulty comprehend the ethical or emotional standards which govern other men and women. Here is heard the call for that charity which beareth all things and believeth all things, and without which all wisdom and character are but sounding brass and clanging cymbal.

The study of society not only includes the social structure, history, and forces, but it has also compelled a new consideration of what are called the defective, the dependent, and the delinquent classes. These are they who fall out by the way, on account of physical, moral, or social unfitness. But along with the doctrine of personal responsibility has been growing a new sense of social responsibility. Pauperism is no longer a degradation to the pauper

alone; the pauper himself is a disgrace to the society upon which he is a parasite. If individuals fail to meet the social requirements of law or of thrift, society is driven to self-examination as to her own share in the crime or the debasement. The conditions of childhood, the organization of business, the state of education, and the care of the public health have become both moral and social questions. The new philanthropy, no longer content with the care of the unfortunate and the restraint of the criminal, is urging the study and application of social remedies for social disease. It declares that all treatment of these alien hosts ought to seek their permanent recovery, and declares that those who can not be cured must be quarantined so completely that further contagion will be impossible. It is only in the light of this doctrine that Paul's great conception of the social body reaches its fullest recognition. Now are we ready to be taught that "if one of the members suffer, all the members suffer with it."

We are led directly to the consideration of the view of religion which has made this congress possible. Theology is no less a noble and fascinating science than it ever was, but it is seen that practical religion and speculative theology are by no means identical. It is all a part of a new system



of values which is finding its way into human affairs. There is a movement in art and literature which is called the demand for realism. It is an aspiration for truth and fact. It demands of the artist that he shall see clearly, and shall then depict in color or word just what he sees. I point out the tendency without entering into any discussion of the relative merits of romanticism and realism in art and letters. Permit me to add that a similar distinction appears in theories of education. What is known as the new education rejects "culture for culture's sake," and demands culture chiefly for the sake of life. It demands that the faculties of the child shall be unfolded in such a manner as to give him a vital relation to the world in which he is to live and to the business which he is to follow. I can not enter into any discussion of the relative merits of the classical and the utilitarian theories of education. It is interesting to note the same tendency in various fields, but the most striking fact in this modern movement has been the demand for realism in religion. Creeds are no longer either attacked or defended from the speculative point of view. The two main manifestations of religion are worship and conduct. The modern world asks for a vital union between the two. They are judging the value of the worship by the

character of the conduct. In other words, ethical standards of religious value are introduced in the place of dogmatic standards. The various forms of ecclesiasticism are asked to settle their disputes by these modern methods.

The gospel of religious utility is found among the workers in all the Churches. The weary and sinful world needs a faith that is a vital strength, and not simply an intellectual form. These are the tests which are to be applied: Does it sustain in sorrow? Does it strengthen in time of need? Does it have transforming spiritual power? Does it have strong hands and swift feet, finding the quickest way to the sore needs of human homes and human hearts? The gospel of the Pharisee has gone forever. Priest and Levite, who pass by on the other side, are no longer priest or Levite to earnest Christian life. The good Samaritan is pronounced orthodox. His heart of pity furnishes forth a holy chrism. His good deeds proclaim him a citizen of the kingdom of heaven.

We have attempted a survey of certain movements that make for unity. There is a broad unity in which the nations will learn their interdependence, and will each contribute to the wealth and glory of the other. The time will come when arbitration of international differences will no longer be

argued about, or pleaded for, but will be a necessity growing out of the fundamental common sense of mankind. There are everywhere indications of a coming unity of knowledge, when it will be recognized that no scholar can any longer live unto himself, because there are no fixed boundaries for any science. The specialist will furnish his material to the philosopher, and philosophy will be content with nothing less than the everlasting unities of truth. There is one eternal God, whose thought is the living soul of all intelligence. As the Lord our God is one Lord, so the empire of his truth can know neither confusion nor anarchy. Biology, theology, sociology, are all his, and are varied expressions of one universal Intellect and one imperial Will.

The Pan-American Congress recognized these principles from the beginning, when it placed on one program the problems of education, of philanthropy, and of religion. In the time at the disposal of the congress, it will only be possible to indicate some of the leading elements in the subjects presented. But the large outline submitted indicates both the breadth and the unity of the design.

No limitations have been laid upon the eminent men and women who are to address you, either as to the matter or the manner of the discussions. Even with most

profound loyalty to that courtesy which the occasion requires, it can not fail that much will be said that is alien to the thought and even the faith of many who listen. No speaker upon the platform is responsible for any one except himself. This is also entirely in harmony with the method by which the world is moving toward its adjustments of peace. Unity can be accomplished by no spiritual legerdemain.

In these days many are found crying, Lo here, and lo there, may be found the heavenly kingdom of peace. Go ye not after them. It is the business of each individual to seek honestly and adequately to express his individual life. There is nothing possible to the human soul but to be faithful to its personal vision of the truth. There is nothing else for the human hand but earnestly to do the nearest duty. There is no choice for the loving heart but to kneel before such altars as bring the largest and richest benisons of inspiration and of grace. To neither statecraft nor churchcraft has been committed the organization of a lasting peace. As its achievement will be mightier than the human imagination, so its forces are deeper and holier than the human will. But because God lives and God is one; because man lives and is the child of God; because the harmony of man with God is the final purpose of the king-

doms of earth and time,—so surely will the kingdom of heaven come, dream of prophets and poets and seers. There is a music which has long since been audible to gifted souls; and because they have heard, they have brightened the world with prophesy and psalm. That music is drawing nearer, and in due time it will not be for the ears of the few alone, but for the nations of the whole earth. When at length the common mind and heart of humanity is flooded with this divine harmony that in every time has given the world its hope, it will be a message that all can understand; for its refrain will be the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.



# MODERN PROBLEMS

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO THE CIVIC-  
PHILANTHROPIC CONFERENCE,  
BATTLE CREEK, MICH.





## MODERN PROBLEMS

HONORED by your invitation, we have come to Battle Creek to consider some of the great problems affecting our modern civilization. I suppose it to be my duty to indicate, at the opening session, the common ground of our themes, to seek an organic conception of them in such a way as will lend unity to the movement we represent, and give some emphasis to the subjects to be discussed.

This conference is based upon the conviction, continually growing stronger among thoughtful people, that the common man and woman might, with reasonable effort, have better and happier living than they now enjoy. The conviction is growing, also, that society must share the blame for this partial failure, and that the evils which beset the race must be attacked in some united way in order to bring help to the weak and hope to the unfortunate. The chief evils for which the social order has some share of responsibility, are ignorance, poverty, sickness, inefficient toil, and an insufficient share in the opportunities and privileges of the world. From no one source do these evils come, but they may all be charged to inefficiency in the individual, in the home, in the school, and in the State—and particularly in the municipal State.

The questions must be studied in a large way, and the remedies proposed should be radical and thorough. The keynote of this gathering must also be one of hope, for he who believes in man, no less than he who believes in God, must also believe these problems capable of solution. Enthusiasm dies, the heart faints, and effort relaxes for those who see only the slow progress which reforms make, and the immediate ills which afflict the bodies and souls of men. But these can only be rightly seen in the perspective of history. Since the primordial social chaos, every civilization has been judged by the stability of its law, the steadiness of its justice, and the breadth of its conception of the rights and duties of men,—by these standards has Destiny meted out the years of empire. Judged in this manner, and compared with other ages of the world, our time is most marvelous and hopeful. In no other century since man has walked erect and began to make tools out of stone, has so much been done with both wise and definite aim for the good of the common people. The chief characteristic of the century is not its material progress, but its social and political history. The government of every country in Europe, except Russia, has been liberalized, vast political and

economic rights have been conceded to the masses, and a new world has arisen to human view. When the men of the future write of this century they will not see its chief glory in science, or art, or mechanical achievement; but they will compress its history into this pregnant statement: "It was the age of the common people." I would speak a word of cheer to you who have toiled, battled, and suffered in the dream of an immediate millennium. You think you have toiled in vain, you have been beaten in battle, you are broken in hope; but you have also wrought in behalf of the time that is to be. The momentum of history aids your cause. But a perfect society is the ripened fruit of the tree of life. That tree is old, its roots run deep, and in its majestic processes, as with the thoughts of God, a thousand years are counted as a single day.

To every time is given its tasks; to every people its duties. It is to aid in finding ours, and to grow in knowledge and strength to do them, that this convention has been called.

Several of our discussions will deal with the various questions of philanthropy. In all of them the conclusions of scientific charity ought to be fundamental. There are three classes of remedies for poverty: they are palliative, curative, or preventive. To

illustrate: If a tramp comes to your door, and you feed him, that is palliative; if you insist that he work for what he eats, that tends to be curative; but had he been trained from childhood to virtue and industry, that would have been preventive. The value of the three classes of remedies is exactly in the inverse order of their general attractiveness. So generous do we feel when we have dispensed bounty to some poor wretch; it is so slow and prosaic to train people to self-control and self-support; but love dare not seek her own, not even her own emotions or her own ease; she seeks simply the good of him she helps. Emotional giving by untrained fingers only multiplies the evils that it aims to relieve. Generations of human history teach abundantly the painful lesson that society may have all the beggars it is willing to feed. As emotional giving is put under the ban, it may be plainly stated that political giving is even worse. Public officials dispense many millions of dollars every year in what is known as "out-door relief." It is not too much to say that the administration of this enormous sum tends directly to create and perpetuate a pauper class in nearly every community. They are exceptional communities where public officers have Spartan virtue, reduce pauperism, and rigidly help only those who can not help themselves.

These classes are the child, the old, and the sick. Where public relief is abandoned, these should be cared for by private charity, which is at once the most vigilant and the most tender. The new methods of organized charity demand the federation of charity agencies. Municipalities, Churches, and private charities should have a central bureau where the entire dependent population of the community, after careful investigation, is properly registered. This knowledge is the foundation of all wise and effective relief. The ward "heeler" must no longer be permitted to send a load of coal or a basket of provisions to his favorite strikers for the greater good of party organization. The spectacle of Chicago policemen as relief agents, last winter, may have been necessary in the unorganized state of affairs, but it was a sad sight to every one interested in a sound philanthropy. Wise and humane investigation, because of its rigorous exclusion of those able to help themselves, and of those who are unworthy of relief, makes it possible to give more abundant and more loving help to those who are worthy and in real need. It may as well be bluntly said, that most of the agencies employed to relieve distress are, in the judgment of those best qualified to have an opinion, not only unwise, but positively immoral. Free lodging-houses,

free soup-kitchens, and most almsgiving belong to forms of socialism which are valid to those who prefer ignorance and vice to thrift and virtue. The denial of food to him who will not work is still sound wisdom, and if food and work be supplied by public or private charity, it must not be on advantageous terms, but on conditions more drastic than those of ordinary business life. The soundness of the doctrine is at once apparent on the reflection that self-support can only be encouraged by making public support unattractive. The work that is found for a man should always be less productive for him than the work that he finds for himself. Otherwise he will have no economic motive to look for it. But permit me to indicate some of the more fundamental preventive remedies for human distress.

There can be no wise planning for the future without reckoning the home as the unit of social organization. The home must indeed be founded on old-fashioned love, which is far more scientific than many people suppose; but it must also be established by a reflective science at once critical and courageous. It is recognized that children born of vicious parents are an evil heritage to society; but the menace of the offspring of feeble parents is not so well understood. It should be known, for example, that more

imbeciles are born into the world from parents who are consumptive than from those who indulge in any form of vice. The relations of the sexes must be treated in a manner that is frank rather than conventional in order to insure the possibilities of life. Children born of the bad may be saved, if healthy; but the children born of parents whose blood is impoverished, and whose nerves are unsound, whether the morals be good or bad, are doomed to personal suffering, and often swell the ranks of the insane, the pauper, and the criminal. On the other hand, a vicious heredity is not so influential as is popularly supposed. An organized society has been sending children from the slums of New York to various parts of the West for many years. Some of them are the children of shame, and all of them belong, practically, to the "submerged tenth." These children have not, as a rule, fallen below the moral standards of the communities where they have been placed, and many of them have risen to positions of distinction in Church and State. In the classical cases which are cited to show the influence of a bad heredity, it must be remembered that there has also been a bad education and environment. The little Jukes had paupers and criminals for their daily teachers and associates. Helpless childhood is not only the most

sacred trust; it is also the most plastic and the most hopeful material. It is a trust first to the parents, but afterward to the community. The child of the depraved responds to the environment of truth and goodness. That environment must be made not only prevalent, but dominant.

Public conscience has been aroused as to its duty to the slums, and our university settlements are going down into them to carry the example of sweet and wholesome living. But what the slums call aloud for is not help, but destruction. These low and poisonous marshes of our city population must be drained. The social soil must be reclaimed. The most of the measures in use are only valuable as illustrations, and mere object lessons are too slow and too feeble. Cleanliness and order, together with perfect sanitary conditions, must be maintained by municipal legislation and administration. The slums as they exist are a menace to our civilization and a disgrace to our people. The slum must go. To secure the better housing of the poor there must be philanthropic co-operation, and in some cases there may be need of civic initiative. But it is not enough to insist that the poor be well housed, that the water supply be pure, that the premises be wholesome and adequate. A home is not secured by externals, however valuable. The va-



rious agencies which carry the knowledge of the art of life to the mother are those possessed of the most regenerating power.

Much of the world's evil is the direct result of brute ignorance. Successive generations of the poor, born under hard conditions, have only been able to exist. They have had no opportunity to exercise thrift, and no incentive to improve their condition. This crude life must be slowly raised in rank by the power that comes through knowledge. Here is the use of the social settlement. It furnishes example. Mothers' clubs and good literature do much; but one of the sanest and most human methods is the help of "friendly visiting," which, instead of material aid, offers the service of mind and heart. What many a child needs for the salvation of his soul is better food and better cooking. The cooking-school and instruction in domestic economy is one of the finest forms of charity. Each child needs a diet fitted to its organization, that the body may be properly built. There is plenty of scientific knowledge on this subject, but, unhappily, it is not widely disseminated even among the better classes of our population. Do the best possible for the mother, but remember to help the child. Industrial schools, beginning with the kitchen-garden, cover the whole range of housekeeping, gather together the children

of the poor, and set life and toil to music. The temperance problem will not be solved apart from the questions of food, cooking, and housekeeping. The new reformer will learn this lesson. It is not to-day so much a question of the production of wealth, nor even of its distribution, as it is the significant problem of the consumption of wealth, which confronts us. Teach the mother how to use the income, and its size is at once doubled. Food, clothing, ornament, amusement—the apparatus of life—are waiting for those who know how to use them. If we can assist in solving some of these apparently minor questions, the larger ones will perhaps solve themselves.

It is impossible to discuss the home in any thorough way without also discussing the school. The question of public education as to its basis and extent has passed beyond the realm of experiment, and has become part of the settled policy of the American people. The existence of the free school is settled, but we are very far from having decided what the school shall teach. I have the highest respect for the great body of faithful and intelligent public school teachers; they are more important to the security of the nation than armies and navies, fortresses and coast defenses. But it still remains true that thousands upon thousands of our children are badly

fed and housed at home, are poisoned by bad air and water at school, and then are taught everything except how to live. The bulk of our women are to be housewives, and the majority of our boys are to work with their hands. It would seem self-evident at what points public money and educational skill ought to be applied. The earliest years of a child are most important and influential in his development. Hence the kindergarten, with its culture for the conscience and its development of the sense of beauty, should be at the foundation of every school system. The primary grades should have the best talent of the profession, and here, certainly, there should be no overcrowding of numbers in the schoolroom. The larger boys and girls can better bear the pressure, if school-buildings or school-funds compel economy. Domestic economy and practical hygiene are to be regarded as vital branches of education. It is not so important that a child shall be able to name and number bones and muscles, but it is vital that he should know the bases of human health, and that he be trained in the important subject of food values.

The university has won its place in public education as the State training-school for effective social leaders. The high school, as a link between the grammar school and the university, seems to be es-

sential; but it can not be denied that the vast majority of children attend neither high school nor university. If there be any criticism on the distribution of school funds, it probably should be in calling attention to the undue ambitions of the high school. Where a city seeks to make a college of its high school, but has money neither for domestic economy nor for the kindergarten, it would seem plain that there is need for the education of public opinion.

The home and the school overlap each other. The school can not escape from the necessary economic limitations of our civilization. The boys who are to be heads of families in the next generation should be trained to support them. I plead, therefore, for a more practical drift in public education. The present methods tend to overcrowd the avenues of employment open to persons of general information, and do not provide for those requiring special training. The technical school, as the foundation for artisan skill, is of supreme importance. The last decade has seen great progress both in public opinion and in practical results; but we have still much to learn from the achievements of technical schools in Europe.

But I fear you will think that this address is ignoring the problems of municipal government. I have really been discussing

them already; for the proposition is fundamental that we must make better citizens before we can make better institutions. A weak and ignorant citizenship could never maintain good institutions even if they were established; but intelligent and capable men and women will never submit to live under poor ones. If the children are well-born, their bodies properly built, their home surroundings made suitable, their souls and senses soundly educated, they will then take care of the government, both State and municipal.

It is often urged that the foreign population is the great burden of the American municipality. A careful analysis of the facts will scarcely warrant this conclusion. Citizens of foreign birth commit rather less than their proportionate share of crime. If the children of foreign-born parents commit rather more than their proportion, it would seem to be a reflection upon the wholesomeness of the American environment. There is no doubt that respect for law is less deeply seated in American than in European cities. The laxity of police administration would seem to be responsible for the corruption of the American-born children of parents coming from other countries. It may be that the very genius of our institutions brings its own burdens and dangers. The word "liberty" has certainly

often been filled with a meaning incompatible with order and safety. With all respect to the police and detective forces in American cities, it may as well be said that a widespread conviction prevails that their administration might easily be made more just, more uniform, and more efficient.

Laws have been passed in most of the progressive States of the Union in order to secure greater purity of the ballot. These reforms must continue until corruption and gang rule are eliminated from our civic life. The laws limiting the use of money in elections must be made more stringent and more effective. We oppose standing armies and ridicule royal families, and then calmly proceed to spend more money than these luxuries cost in debauching our free citizenship.

This Conference seeks to deal with municipal administration rather than its organization. But it is not out of place to consider the proper sphere of municipal activity. There would seem to be room for a broader view than has been current with respect to the police function of the city government. The department of health should certainly be made more authoritative and more efficient. It must condemn unsanitary buildings, both public and private. All the means which science has made known for the preservation of the public

health should be vigorously and unsparingly applied. Cleanliness is the basis of city life and health. This is more than a question of garbage; it is a question of clean water, unpolluted air, and adequate open spaces. The evil of food adulteration has not been firmly grappled, so far as I know, in any single city. This is a subject that should be seriously considered and solved by the department of health. A certain amount of inspection of meats and milk is already usual; but the purchaser has a right to be secure in the purity of every article of food which he procures.

A word may be ventured in regard to the vexed question of municipal franchises. Social organization grows out of the necessity for doing things together which the individual can not accomplish. Whatever seems valuable which he can not do alone, the individual may do in conjunction with his neighbors. So we come to make roads, sewers, parks, and levy taxes. How far may this principle be safely extended? We have public schools for every child; shall the city also furnish books and pictures and statuary? Athens furnished these, and theaters and music as well; but Athens did not furnish free schools. Should the modern municipality own its waterworks, its lighting plant, and its rapid transit? These are burning questions of the hour.

It is certainly folly for a community to give valuable privileges to private citizens, and especially under such conditions as bind the community hand and foot for the future. On the other hand, municipal ownership evokes the specter of more eager and more corrupt ward politics. The question of municipal ownership is not so much a question of finance as it is one of morals. If it is bad to permit franchises by the corruption of aldermen, may it not be worse to manage business by the corruption of the people? In such a case, after every debauch the city, like an individual, would be poorer. Is the work now done by public officers and public contracts economic and efficient? Do we dare increase the power and the perquisites of city governments? These, it seems to me, are crucial questions. Municipal ownership is a question of municipal virtue. If our citizenship be clean and intelligent, it is a consummate folly to bestow public credit and the profits of public work upon private corporations. Increasing knowledge is coming from experiments in various parts of this country, but particularly from European cities, which will ultimately lead to the wise solution of the subject under consideration. It is plain in this matter, as in every practical concern, that we can not depend upon paper theories, and that revolution is neither so safe nor



so wise as experimental and progressive legislation. The wisdom for the solution of most municipal problems will doubtless come from the smaller cities. Here responsibility can be more easily located, the questions are themselves not so complex, and there is a sense of unity among the people not to be found in the vaster communities.

There are many other subjects which will occupy the attention of this Conference, but I have already detained you as long as I ought. The problems we are considering are human problems. They are capable of solution, and they will one day be solved. Sometimes I see the city of the future in my dreams. It has a solid center, but like English oak, it seems to exist for the support of the widespreading branches. In that solid center the main business is done, but there are no slums and no residence population. There is no struggling down-town Church, and the cheap lodging-house and the cheaper "mission" have vanished with the saloon and the brothel. Cheap and rapid transit multiplies the area of the city, and gives flowers and trees, the fresh air, and the blue sky to every man, woman, and child. The new man, physically regenerated, will no longer be consumed by passion for narcotics or strong drinks. Over this reorganized man the saloon will have lost its power; the victory will be posi-

tive, and not merely the abnormal result of repressive legislation. Education for occupation and for life will be basic, but upon it will be built the sweet cultures of art, music, literature, and whatever idealizes the world into beauty. In the new republic of the intellect, the imagination and the heart, all its citizens will be guaranteed these things and whatever else is needed for the finest development. The perfect society will only come as a society of perfect men. Social service will become a noble and universal ambition, and public office one of the widest theaters for its manifestation. The new man will find his productive power enormously increased. He will be too intelligent to be robbed, and too highminded to steal. In the opulence of that fair city, John's golden-streeted dream will no longer be Oriental fancy, but, secure and beautiful, will descend out of heaven, and rest upon the sod of earth.

# ECONOMICS AND CRIME

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE  
NATIONAL PRISON ASSOCIATION,  
MILWAUKEE, WIS.



## ECONOMICS AND CRIME

IF three of the best prison chaplains in the United States were adrift in an open boat on the high seas without food, it would be only a question of time when these Christian gentlemen would cast lots to discover which of them should be killed and eaten. If three of the best prison wardens were in a similar situation, it is probable, but not certain, that they would neglect the formality of casting lots, and the two stronger would sacrifice the weaker to their needs. The illustration would tend to show that the criminal instinct is latent in us all; and if I am right about the chaplains, they would represent a more orderly evolution with a resultant higher type, while the wardens would represent more perfectly the natural struggle for existence; but in both cases the result, at last, would practically be the same.

The good bishop redeemed Jean Valjean, according to Victor Hugo, by a high application of the law of imitation. If the good bishop does not care for his silver candlesticks, so runs the subconscious argument, neither ought any man to want them; then why should he steal? The good bishop is serene and quiet, nay, even happy, and his contentment does not depend upon the possession of treasure secured by bolts

and bars; Jean Valjean is miserable and cast down, though he secure another's goods. Why not abandon the goods and secure the peace? The example of the bishop made the total available environment, the new adjustment procured became permanent, and the man was saved. Without entering into debate before this congress as to the soundness of Victor Hugo's conclusions as applicable to the ordinary conduct of life, we may at least recognize the remnant of saints and heroes whose spiritual development properly lifts them out of the domain of our investigations; but the average good citizen owes at least a large share of his good conduct to the inherited social advantages in which civilization has placed him. Remove the advantages, increase the stress, and the good man breaks.

In the discussion this evening, limits of time will not permit any elaborate array of statistics, or any extended reference to authorities. The experts who are present will be able to judge, however, whether the statements which are made are based upon sound observation and investigation.

In considering the phenomena of crime, I wish also to dismiss from this study the congenital criminal. If Lombroso and his school have discovered and delineated a criminal type, there seems to be no question but that the criminal anthropologist

has but a very small section of the criminal community as the material for his science. It is probable that ninety-five per cent of all crime is preventable, or at least ninety-five per cent of all criminals are curable.

In recent studies the criminal type has received attention far out of proportion to its legitimate importance. Given a criminal type, the members of the class should, of course, be imprisoned for life, and made sterile by confinement, so that their kind would tend to perish. But the practical trouble with these anthropological studies is their scientific inexactness and their lack of working utility. Not even the boldest and most pronounced advocates of the theory would dare to take the responsibility of proposing that scientific examination and measurement should take the place of judicial determination by the courts. The criminal type thus far remains to be discovered in the prisons, and not outside of them. If the theory were really valuable, it would select the prison population in advance of the crime, and so save us a great deal of trouble. But if the anthropologists were let loose in society to select criminals, armed only with tables and instruments, it is difficult to say who of this company would escape.

Relegating with a word, therefore, these voluminous and important scientific investi-

gations to their proper place of speculative theory, let us address ourselves to the more practical question, what can be done for the ninety and nine good sheep who are liable to go astray, rather than spend our strength upon the one black sheep that never deserved a fold.

Nor do I propose any complete study of the causes of crime, but rather to call your attention to a neglected side of the problem, and to present some considerations to indicate that the economic relations of crime are the most pressing for study, the most vital in importance, and the most promising of practical application.

The criminal has been defined as the anti-social man. Some adequate conception of what that social order really is, against which he fights, would seem to be necessary in order to discover the reason for the broken relation and the characteristics of the law-breaker.

It may be broadly stated that the social order consists of certain permanent manifestations of the property instinct. The civilized man has multiplied his wants, and has found out how to satisfy them. When his wants can not be satisfied by his environment, he seeks to modify his civilization. This effort may result in a further evolution, a revolution, or in the slow processes of decay. There is here a key to the history



of civilization. Should any one be disposed to question the validity of the statement that the property idea is the most comprehensive social foundation, he must be referred to the history of the development of primitive peoples. It will be found that the organization of a home has been perhaps the most influential incentive to industry; but it will be found also that the marriage relation, fine and spiritual as we now regard it, is a transformed property right. The foundations are in the earth, though the spires pierce the clouds. There can be no question but that the development of the right of personal property in wife and child and fireside is the basis of any reasonable rise above the condition of barbarism. As the right becomes more varied and more deeply intrenched in custom and law, human activity becomes increasingly complex and productive.

Religion was an effort to get something from the gods beyond the reach of human power. It was the property instinct enriched by the imagination. Even the high development of the Hebrew faith found its support in the belief that Jehovah would make his people rich. And the doctrine of immortality is perhaps the most colossal property dream that ever haunted the soul of man. Nor in these considerations do I mean to encourage a merely materialistic

explanation of man and his history; for the Infinite Life teaches us to read the everlasting Gospels by the aid of visible symbols, just as the child is beginning to read his Bible and his Shakespeare when learning his letters from pictured blocks.

Content with merely indicating the results of studies in primitive culture, let me proceed to define the property instinct as a consciousness of wants, with an effort, more or less successful, to satisfy them. The greater the range of wants which are recognized, and the more successfully they are satisfied, the higher the civilization.

As the entire social order may be said to be built upon the property instinct, so it may be broadly said that all crime resolves itself into crime against property. Not only do crimes against property outbulk all others in number, but crimes against persons are very frequently incidental to crimes against property; and crimes against the public order, such as indecency and intemperance, are simply degenerate manifestations of human wants. The more clearly we see the nature of the social structure, the more readily do we recognize the effort of the anti-social man as a war upon custom and law as they seek to define and defend property rights and the institutions which embody them.

The criminal may be cured by so enthron-

ing the will and the conscience that his wants are reduced to the limits of possible and lawful gratification. But that part of the task will be made simple and comparatively easy by enabling him to satisfy his normal wants by means of successful and remunerative labor. This is a brief statement of the general theory of the relation of crime to economics, and indicates also the proper direction of prison management.

It may be added that for a clear understanding of the problem the modern doctrine of subjective values must be clearly had in mind. It must be remembered that wants are antecedent to satisfactions, and that the supply is created in answer to the demand. The wants of the individual must be taught to conform to the social average, in order that he may be a social being. But there must be also a relation that is satisfying to him between his power to add to the common stock of production and his desires which furnish the standard for his consumption. If his power of production can be very much increased, by so much is the task of reducing his desires made unnecessary.

The much discussed words, "heredity" and "environment," may readily be made to include all the conditions of the criminal, if for convenience the word "heredity" be used to include all the psychical and phys-

ical elements of the individual, and the word "environment" be used to include all his relations, both social and material. Where the environment, whatever it is, permits a productive and satisfying activity for the heredity, whatever it is, the social bonds are strong.

It is time to consider some of the phenomena presented by the activity of criminals in their anti-social struggle, in order to see how far the propositions heretofore stated are maintained. It is necessary, however, to present some words of caution as we proceed. The difficulty of securing adequate statistics for the study of crime problems has been pointed out in previous sessions of this congress by several distinguished investigators. The men who collect the facts have such various degrees of accuracy and such various standards of judgment that with the best intentions they often lead us astray. But if the statistics were collected with the utmost intelligence and patience, a scientific method is still required to show what the statistics really mean. The number of arrests, for example, does not indicate the prevalence of crime, but the vigilance of police administration. The number of convictions, in proportion to the number of arrests, by no means indicates the wisdom of the police activity; but does indicate the thoroughness of the courts

and the popular recognition of the majesty of law.

But international statistics present peculiar difficulties. In order to use them safely, there must be the most careful consideration of social and moral standards, the history of the evolution of the various systems of laws, the differentiations of government, and, perhaps above all, the fundamental distinction arising from the composition and race elements of the various populations. Then the same statistics have far different meanings to the same people at different stages in the nation's development; there are such varied and important social and economic changes. The changes in the crime statistics may be social, rather than moral. The standard of living in any community is the average of comfort which is attained by the large majority of the people. By imitation the various elements of the population strive after this average of comfort. Now a high standard of living in a complex civilization places before the weak and unskilled temptations whose strength is utterly unknown to men and women living under conditions more simple and of a lower grade. Given a high standard of living, and make it difficult for numbers of average men to reach the standard, and the floodgates of crime are thrown open. One reason for the large number of young men

among criminals is the fact that they have not, by the force of habit, adjusted themselves to the degree of satisfaction that is accorded them under the conditions of life in which they are placed.

There seems to be but little room for doubt that crime is increasing, both in Europe and in America. There has been a widespread opinion that crime has been decreasing in England, while it has been increasing in this country. Such does not seem to be the case; for whereas in 1840 there were in England twenty thousand convictions for indictable crime, in 1880 there were more than forty thousand of the same class of crimes; in other words, while the population increased sixty per cent, indictable crime increased one hundred and two per cent. On the other hand, twenty seven thousand cases were dealt with by magistrates, and not in courts of assize, owing to changes in jurisdiction. Besides, the statistics are affected by the various industrial schools which now receive the juvenile offenders, and there are three times as many juvenile delinquents as formerly. But a very influential fact in measuring statistics of crime is the length of sentences. The longer the sentences, of course the larger the prison population; but in England the length of sentences decreased twenty-six

per cent in the double decade between 1870 and 1890.

The relation of the administration of the courts to the increase of crime is a subject which demands special and thorough investigation. For example, murder in the three great countries—Great Britain, Germany, and the United States—varies from year to year according to the number of convictions which are secured. That is to say, Germany convicts the largest number of those accused, and has the fewest murders; England holds second place in both classes; while the United States, which acquits more of the accused than either of the other nations, has by far the largest number of murders in proportion to the population.

Some studies have been made in the relations between pauperism and crime; but these are by no means decisive as bearing upon the theme, for the economic relation, when badly adjusted, is broken more frequently by crime than by pauperism. The pauper is a degenerate requiring quite special investigation. M. Monod arranged to give beggars who might apply for alms letters of recommendation by which they could obtain work at four francs a day. Of 727 persons who applied, 415 never came back for the letter of recommendation; of the 312 who had the letter, 138 never pre-

sented it to secure the work. Of the remainder, a few worked one day, a few half a day, and in an experience with this number of persons extending over eight months, there were only eighteen who worked three days or more. It is quite evident that the problem of the beggar is one that must be commenced a little earlier in his career to reach an adequate solution.

It might be supposed that if there be a vital relation between crime and economic conditions, that crimes would be more numerous in periods of financial depression; but this does not seem to be the fact. In English statistics we have the bad year of 1872, in which there were 80,000 crimes against property, and 183,000 misdemeanors; in 1877, a good year, 88,000 crimes against property, and 194,500 misdemeanors; while in 1884, which was a bad year, there were 81,000 crimes against property, and 183,000 misdemeanors. The five years ending 1874 were prosperous, and according to Morrison, they show more crime than the five depressed years ending 1888. Drunkenness and dissipation tend to increase crime in good years, the wages being larger than usual, and no new adjustment of wants having taken place. Need and idleness are the conditions that swell crime in bad years, the wages being too small for virtue. I am sure that this statistical refer-



ence is too slight for the deduction of a general law; but it is at least sufficient to indicate the problem. On the other hand, it ought to be said that in the report of the Commissioner of Prisons for England and Wales a table is given showing the number of able-bodied paupers in receipt of indoor relief from 1849 to 1885, together with a table showing the average number of persons in the local prisons in England and Wales for the same period, and the chart shows that as the number of paupers decrease, so in general the number of prisoners decreases, the range being between 16,000 and 26,000 paupers, and between 15,300 and 20,200 prisoners. This is another method of approach to the same question, and leads to a different conclusion; but it obviously includes other elements.

In a little study of the comparative statistics of some European countries, I was surprised to find certain facts bearing upon the relation of economics to crime in the number of offenses against property which are reported. The scale runs as follows: In every 100,000 of the population, Spain has 74; Ireland, 101; France, 121; Germany, 262; and Scotland leads all Europe, with 289 who commit crimes against property out of every 100,000 of the population. There are several possible explanations of this state of affairs. The most obvious sug-

gestion would be that the Northern races are worse in this respect than the Southern races. Then it might be argued that Catholic countries are morally superior to the Protestant countries. But let us enter another fact into the situation, and it becomes more complex: In Christian England there is one criminal of all classes to every 45 of the population, while in heathen India there is only one in 195 of the population. Can we dismiss the facts with the statement that the lower the percentage of crime, the higher is the character of the civilization? I venture to affirm the opposite, and urge my conviction that it will be found that among the most moral races will be found the largest number of criminals. It is not a question of race, or religion, or climate, but a question of personal force. This force will manifest itself both in the commission and in the repression of crime, and in both ways the criminal statistics will be swelled.

Strong races have strong passions, appetites, desires. Their abundant life flowers out in manifold attempts to secure all that seems to them good and worthy. Ambition seeks to find an environment more and more fit for the exercise of its power. In such a case the struggle for existence becomes more and more intense. A high standard of living is produced which it is difficult to maintain; and in the contest the

strong arm of greed beats down the weak and the unworthy. The contrast of the various European nations will show that where the standard of living is high and the energy of the people is great, there is a larger proportion of crime. Great achievements are accompanied by great defeats. The strong win, and some of the weak steal. Compare ancient India with sturdy England. Every man knows that the Englishman has given order and stability to the decaying and incapable Orient. In that civilization, many thousands of years old, the fiercer passions have worn themselves out. For example, the people who are to be destroyed by intemperance have already been eliminated. Those who are left are without the dangers of a death-dealing thirst. The East Indian has grace, gentleness, and good manners; but they have survived at a fearful expenditure of primitive strength. The decadent Orient behaves better, because it is really worse than aggressive and regnant Britain.

The distinction among primitive peoples, observed by anthropologists, by which they are divided into military or industrial types, indicates an important quality of race. It is true that the militant tribe must at last go to work; but under their industrialism there still lurks a good deal of untamed savagery. The Scotch Highlanders, who used to steal

cattle from the English Lowlands, learned, indeed, to sing Psalms, and were content with nothing less than being the very elect; but in view of their history it is not to be wondered at that they still show the highest record of stealing in Europe. But let us not suppose that the Spaniard is a better man than the Scotchman because he has smaller criminal statistics. The poor Spaniard has practically ceased the struggle for existence; he is the heir of a defeated history, and the servant of a decadent present; in Spain the instinct of property creation is well-nigh extinct.

To carry the study further, let us seek an illustration from the relation of crime to occupation. I find, for example, in the State of Minnesota, that while farmers constitute about half of the population, they only commit about two and one-half per cent of the crime; while persons engaged in trade and transportation are only one-tenth of the population, and yet commit about twenty per cent of the crime. Are we to believe that the farmer is intrinsically a more honest man than the railroad clerk? Is working in the earth a more moral occupation than working in an office? I think not. It is only incidentally the occupation, as that conditions the social environment. Here is introduced into our problem the modern question of the moral cost and dan-

gers of great cities. The complex life of the city, the intensity of its manifold struggles, the high standard of living which it maintains, make it the crucial testing-place of our civilization. Here is the real battle of life; here are won the greatest victories; here are suffered the most stinging defeats; here is found the highest virtue; and here skulks also the darkest crime and shame. The standard of living makes the temptations the more strenuous, and the fierceness of the struggle makes weakness the more helpless. It is not alone, or chiefly, a matter of municipal government; it is not simply a question of a mixed population; the struggle is of the very essence of the situation. An increasing sense of duty on the part of municipalities, with better sanitary conditions, a pure water supply, the condemnation of unwholesome dwellings, are among the measures of amelioration; they tend not only to lessen crime, but insanity and pauperism as well. Yet the heart of the question is only to be reached by a study of the productive power of the individual, a proper adaptation to his economic possibilities, and the development of a moral sanction so imperious that its mandates will be obeyed. If there is any doubt as to this analysis of the relative virtues of the rural and the urban populations, an easy demonstration can be furnished by the elec-

tion of some worthy farmer to a seat in the Legislature, whereby his environment and his opportunities are wholly changed. After a single winter under his new conditions, carefully examine his morals, his manners, and his fortunes.

But if, as I have argued thus far, the right of personal property leads to nearly all the crime in the world, the question may at once be boldly asked: Why continue the cause of human wickedness and human misery? Why not abolish the right of private property, and in the millennium of socialism find a lasting peace? The answer is equally bold: Of all the crimes, the crime of socialism is least to be endured. Better a thousand times the struggles and defeats, the heartache and sin, better even the rags and misery that degrade society, rather than that the incentive for personal achievement and personal development, which has driven the world thus far, should be sacrificed to an ideal at once fair and false. Socialism is the paradise of fools, the asylum of the lazy, the heaven of the worthless; but it is the purgatory of industry, the destruction of high effort, and the hell of character. The doctrine of struggle for existence was the gospel written on primordial life-cells; it is permanently sanctified in the order, "If a man will not work, neither shall he eat;" and in the highest ranks of being it will be

glorified as a contest for supremacy in service and good works.

Into this struggle, fiercest among the greatest and best races, darkest and most uncertain in the midst of our cities, intensified a thousand-fold by the complications of modern life with its machineries and new processes of toil; into this struggle must men and women go with the fierce joy of warriors into battle. Seeing what the future holds for the child, there must be substantial preparation for his career and its dangers.

Scientific charity says on the one side, Not even the weak shall be robbed of the necessity of exerting all his strength; it is the only hope of making him strong and worthy. By the method which has been used to install man as master of life and ruler of the world, must every man be urged to self-mastery and self-support.

On the other hand, the new education says, Our youth must be directly prepared for the actual civilization which they are to inherit. Fine idealisms about culture for culture's sake are all very well; but men who still live in the body must walk with their feet on the solid earth. The school training, which too often has been content with the blossoms of hope, must ripen into fruit of actual service for practical life. It is well to teach a boy Latin; but it is a ter-

rible thing to teach him that, and not train him to earn his bread. Education of all kinds has abundantly proved its utility, and the illiterate are out of all proportion in the criminal ranks. But the most conspicuous fact of all in the prison population is that the overwhelming majority are young men and boys who have no manual skill and no working knowledge of any wealth-producing business. They have been consumed by the appetites of an undisciplined body and an untrained soul, and they have had no legitimate means of either controlling the appetites or of satisfying them. Society has permitted them to grow up like wild animals in the midst of her temptations and her plenty.

Do you ask me, if the conscience has no place, and if there is no moral side to this question? I respond by asking you, What do you mean by morals? If morals do not include right conduct, both leading to and manifesting right character, I know nothing of the subject. Fine theories and beautiful sentiments are not morals, for man is made of sterner stuff. There is nothing more moral than hard and successful work. There is nothing more invigorating to character than successful and remunerative work. For the wages of work are not alone in the money by which the desires of mind and body are gratified; but work of the



body is also exercise of the soul. It subdues and distributes unlawful desires, it enthrones the will, and gives the conscience authority. The application to the training of the young is so manifest that it need not be pursued.

Equally obvious is the practical application of this whole doctrine to the *régime* of prison discipline. Toil, obedience, intelligence, skill, and physical development are the results required at the hands of the prison authorities. The object of prison life is the social restoration of the offender. The boy who has committed his first crime should not step out of the prison doors until he is trained and fitted for successful labor, and until he is so instructed and reorganized that it will be easier for him to be a social than an anti-social man. This is reformation. The great trade-schools of the Elmira Reformatory, New York, are a model in their economic adaptation to the criminal. The prisons of Paris, in the variety of their industries and in the success with which they are pursued, have many lessons to teach us on the subject of productive prison labor.

I can not close without at least a word on a branch of the subject which I am not able at this time adequately to discuss. That is the close connection between the proper organization of society and the suc-

cess of proper training in the prisons and the schools. It is not alone necessary that men shall be trained to toil; but it is also necessary that society be so constructed that toil shall receive its adequate reward. It has been discovered that as governments become progressively free and are participated in by the people, their institutions become secure. There is no European life so much in danger as the life of the most irresponsible monarch. The same law is universal. Let those who would silence the voice of public discontent, who would have public order instead of mob rule, simply see to it that the highest interests of the vast majority of the people are bound up with the preservation of existing institutions, and those institutions will be secure. If the time comes when the social order stands for injustice, when the people believe that the greatest thieves live in palaces and not in prisons, the day of doom is not far. The industrial fabric to be secure must also be just and free. Society can neither reform nor eliminate the ordinary criminal, if she is thought to be essentially criminal herself. Instead of a battle between organized labor on the one side, and trusts and corporations on the other, the time has come when all our people should study the first principles of self-government. It still remains true that righteousness alone exalteth a nation.

Reverence for the private rights of some can not obtain, unless at the price of reverence for the private rights of all. When it becomes a part of the public consciousness that every man's desires must be limited to his fair share of the common production of labor, we shall have a social condition less fruitful in breeding criminals. Unearned wealth, obtained by lawful processes in skillful hands, is an argument, forceful and persistent, for the unlawful securement of unearned wealth by clumsier hands. The latter we call crime; but the former must not be the unrebuked parent of crime.



THE  
UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT  
AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE  
SETTLEMENT ASSOCIATION, NORTH-  
WESTERN UNIVERSITY, EVANS-  
TON, ILL.



## THE UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT

THE most conspicuous fact about any unfinished work is its unperfectness. I was in an artist's studio to-day, and over one canvas a curtain was drawn. The hand that would have lifted the curtain was arrested: "O, do n't do that; it is not finished!" The great artist of earth and heaven can not be judged by his unfinished work.

Ages ago, the chance visitor to this planet might have beheld a dead world, burning in space, its rocks fire-smitten and earthquake-tossed, its volcanoes pouring out flames and vapor from every hilltop. Round about the planet thick clouds hung like banners of death, and the world went whirling through space as if God-cursed. But this earth was to become the home of rivers and seas; the mountain-sides were to be covered with forests; and the fruit-laden fields were to teem with bounty. In the placid valleys were to gush out fountains; mosses and vines were to hide the deformity of the rocks on mountain-sides; and the blessed light was to come billowing over us from sun, and moon, and stars. And all this was to be because there is a God, and because he has decreed that life and order and good shall reign.

Neither would the modern city be a pleasing sight for a nice, clean angel, fresh from the gates of heaven. It is sullen and prostrate, lying under poisonous vapors, physical and moral. Ignorance and folly, want and ruin, like dark-browed demons, sit at myriads of firesides. Children are born to sin; women are fighting with poverty and disease; men are driven by passion; there is plague on plague; it is a hell-haunted population, as though the city lay under the curse of Almighty God.

The angel and his fellows, who love the music-filled palaces of paradise, might indeed fly from such a sight, singing, as they left, their dirge of doom. But brave-hearted men and women will wait and watch, and work, knowing there will be a rebirth of the modern city, as in the divine order there was the regeneration of the physical world. Its black brood of vices will vanish; its streets will be full of the laughter of happy children; public evils will be crushed out by the public hand; decency and cleanliness, order and thrift, even beauty, will at last be enthroned. And all this will be because there is a God, and because he has decreed that law and order and good shall reign.

Do you ask, when shall these things be, and what are the signs of their coming?

Then I answer: To-day does this proph-



ecy begin to be fulfilled to the eyes and hearts of those who love and believe; and one of the signs of its coming is the University Settlement, growing like a garden in the midst of neglected populations in our great cities.

It is not needful to detail at length the evils to be combated in many parts of the city of Chicago. I suppose many of you have been through the Sixteenth Ward, where your own settlement is established. You have seen with your own eyes the filth of the streets; you have looked into its crowded tenements, swarming with people, where decency, the common privacy of family life, and the usual supports of personal morality are almost wholly wanting. You know the multitudes of children who are deprived even the poor joy of being orphans, with only God to care for them; for worse than such a state, their natural parents lead them on from weakness and ignorance through every desolation of soul and deformity of life. The child problem, the home problem, the industrial problem, the health problem, the educational problem, the religious problem, are all here in their naked and unsolved deformities.

What shall be done with the Sixteenth Ward? What shall be done with the congested and disordered populations in the numerous dark spots of all our great cities?

There are three theories :

The first is the *laissez-faire* theory, which bids us leave things alone to natural forces. There is, we are told, a principle of evolution at work in the world. It applies to questions of business, of society, of morals, and this will work out, at length, the eradication of all the evils which ought to be destroyed. It is of no use to try to make the world move faster than it is going, and especially the workingman can not be elevated above that plane wisely foreordained for him by the Maker of the world. The work you want done will be done, if it ought to be, provided you leave it alone; but if any one interferes with the process, the worse for him and for the people he is trying to help. This is the modern application of the doctrine of Malthus, who taught that population tends to increase in a geometrical ratio, but the means of subsistence can increase only in an arithmetical ratio; consequently the population must be checked, and crime and hunger assist the good work. The philosophy of Herbert Spencer, declaring the absolute freedom of the individual, rejects even public education, and insists that the universal process can not be helped or hindered.

The doctrine of socialism is the very reverse of the *laissez-faire* theory. In its baldest form this creed proposes a division of

material goods, and in any form it would hinder the free action of the man in the supposed interests of his fellow-men. America is alien soil for socialism, because we are born to another destiny. There is another spirit in our blood and freedom in our veins. The sort of freedom bequeathed by the men of the Mayflower demands room for individual initiative and development.

Many good people who lend themselves to some form of the socialistic propaganda have not fully realized the direction in which it leads. I once heard, at Toynbee Hall, in East London, an address by Canon Freemantle in favor of the continued establishment of the Church of England. Many leading socialists, among others, had been invited by Canon Barnett to listen to the address, and to participate in the discussion which followed. To my surprise, and I think to the surprise of the managers of the meeting, the socialists present, however much they may have differed in religious belief, were unanimous in support of the State Church. They said, we are unable to take any other position; we are in favor of State socialism, and the State Church is one form of State socialism.

The demands of the free conscience and of free worship, of the indestructible right of the minority to choose its method of divine worship would be among the first

sacrifices on the altar of socialism. We can never submit to this damage of the human soul even for a larger bounty to the human body.

The third method is that of Christian character-building, which proposes to make low social conditions impossible by the development of every man, woman, and child. The process is sometimes painful, and oft-times slow, far slower than it need be, but it offers the only solution for the world's woe. It is the method of Jesus, who began his work by saying, "Repent ye, therefore, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." The price of the kingdom is the regeneration of the individual. The kingdom of heaven is still near at hand, and its disclosure waits only for repentant men and women. Men must repent of economic as well as fleshly sins. They must repent of ignorance and unthrift and sloth, the sins of weakness, as well as of greed, rapacity, and the grievous sins of strength. All action and inaction is either good or bad, and it is the high claim of the redeemed conscience to rule over the whole realm of human affairs.

But let us look a little more closely at the problem presented by the American city, to which, in some way or other, this doctrine of spiritual regeneration is to be applied. That problem is not only difficult, it is unique; there has never been its like

in the history of the world. Take your Sixteenth Ward as an illustration. The most striking thing about it is that the relation of the inhabitants is simply one of contiguity. The people crowd each other physically, but in their psychological life they are divided by seas, mountains, forests, indeed by ages of time as well; for they are deeply cleft in that matter of race, and, whatever they are, they have not been formed by the forces which are round about them. They are as alien to each other as they are alien to the nation. The older adults were not born on this soil; they understand neither the government nor the civilization; they do not respond to the environment. This is the peculiar burden of the American city. All cities in all lands have their problems; we share the conditions of modern life with them, but we have, superadded, an incoherent and unrelated population.

Great questions arise. Have we a national type? If so, what is its character? Can a mixture of diverse races be expected to conform to it, as defined? What are the agencies to be employed? I shall not discuss these questions in order, but I wish, to some extent, to contribute toward their solution.

Much has been said lately about the union of the Anglo-Saxon peoples. Continental Europe derides us. We are told:

“You are not Anglo-Saxon at all; you are the odds and ends of all peoples. We have dumped our refuse on your coasts, and lo, you spring up, a nation.” The contention that in blood we are not Saxon is no doubt partly true, but the reproach as to the quality of our people is wholly false. The English people are not Saxon, but Celt and Norman as well, with the infiltration of many other strains of blood. But for all that, there is an Anglo-Saxon race, and Gustave le Bon, the French writer, was quite correct when he declared that the American is the purest Anglo-Saxon. The fact is, no race can be expressed by community of blood and of the physical conditions of life. We are upon the eve of the recognition of psychical facts in anthropology; we are coming to see that the race is fashioned by the ideas which are held, and the ideals which are cherished. There is a social body, indeed, but there is also a race-soul, in so far as the individuals of a race have common spiritual possessions. This is the great fact which the new science must deal with, and it is the great fact which illuminates the American problem. The Anglo-Saxon is not flesh and blood; he is idea, and he is spirit. He has been making for two thousand years, and his largest home is on this side of the seas. We can become a coherent Anglo-Saxon people,

however diverse the combining races and cultures, because of the spiritual power and and breadth of that co-ordinating Saxon soul. What are some of the elements of this Anglo-Saxon race?

The first and most conspicuous quality of this world-conquering race is its enormous social capacity. The Anglo-Saxon appreciates and uses social forces; he knows how to come into relations with diverse peoples; he has a genius for organization; he sees and seizes the salient facts in a situation; he is therefore as versatile and self-adjusting as he is dominant. It is this capacity that has belted the world with the British empire, and it is this capacity which, under God, is swinging our American nation into the front rank of the world powers. It has determined that our flag shall float, to-day, over the Philippines, Cuba, Puerto Rico; and to-morrow over North and South America. It is not his keenness for battle, nor the fierceness in his blood—these might leave a trail of desolation behind him. It is social and constructive power that makes nations and controls destiny.

The next psychical factor in the Anglo-Saxon race is the sense of personal responsibility. He recognizes that a man's fortune depends upon his own energies. No matter how bad the environment or what the difficulties about him, every true Saxon

knows that he has not failed unless he fails first from within, when he has lost his courage and his grip. So long as he remains true to his own high purposes, he does not fail; and he can not fail, for he knows how to die fighting. Had he lived, he would have succeeded; and failing to live, he succeeds in becoming a hero.

The next high quality in the Anglo-Saxon is his love of freedom. There are two free countries in the world—Great Britain and the United States. There is no third; there has never been a third. We are, therefore, become missionaries of political and social freedom to the nations of the earth. The Anglo-Saxon notion is not that every man may set up any government he pleases, but that every man may participate on equal conditions in the management of the government. This is a principle which the American Anglo-Saxon gave to the British Anglo-Saxon, and it is not anarchy, but is consistent with the highest forms of social and political organization.

The fourth thing about the Anglo-Saxon is his reverence for law. What is the finest thing one may see in London? It is not Westminster Abbey, with its historic associations; it is not the Houses of Parliament; it is not London Bridge; it is not the treasure of art from all quarters of the globe; but the finest sight in London may be seen



down near the Bank of England, where the great thoroughfares meet, and where the tides of human life flow as nowhere else in the world. In the midst of uncounted vehicles and a flood of foot-passengers, stands a man in blue clothes, brass buttons, and a gray helmet on his head. He lifts his awful hand: carriages, bearing nobles and millionaires, are arrested; horses are pulled back on their haunches; the people pour back upon themselves, and there is a halt for blocks away. What is the meaning of this? Why, a little ragged girl had fallen, and was in danger of being crushed by the horses' feet. Was it the Prince of Wales who had stopped the people? No; one mightier than the Prince of Wales; it was a London policeman. But it was not the man, he is common clay enough; but in that dress he is mighty, with a thousand years of British reverence for British law. A lordly pageant is such a sight in the eyes of all men!

But to call your attention to one thing more: The Anglo-Saxon is a profoundly religious man. He may do a hundred things he knows he ought not to do; but in his heart, in spite of all misdeeds, he knows there is a God who rules the world and him; if he sins he must suffer, and ought to suffer; and this sense of God is one of his deepest and most indestructible

characteristics. These are some of the basic facts in the character of the Anglo-Saxon. By them he has grown great, and come to empire in the world. They are in essential harmony with that great law-book, Deuteronomy, and the blessings of that book fall to-day upon those nations which are ready to keep that law.

We are ready for a new definition of an American city. An American city is a vast social workshop for the manufacture of the psychical Anglo-Saxon. We have piled up about us a vast deal of raw material; we have not gone very far in the production of the finished product; but it is something that we recognize the important business that we have in hand.

How do we propose to make Anglo-Saxons? We will proceed to harden and prepare our material by loading down our raw population with the burdens of local self-government. You, who are downcast about the evils of municipal government, and are broken-hearted about a hundred immediate, impossible reforms, lift up your eyes to see the largeness of the problem. It is no question of merely making and enforcing good laws; O no, it is vastly more: it is in the business of making a great people that we are engaged, and municipal government is a means, and not an end. Like the great policies of God, with which it is

in harmony, self-government may not be judged by immediate results.

Better far that Chicago should be badly governed, and yet govern herself, than that she should be perfectly governed by a despotism of archangels on a vacation from their songs and harps. For in that process of self-government is begotten that masterful moral sense of personal obligation. By the very pressure of self-inflicted evils, there will come one day to the dawning intelligence the knowledge of what is beautiful and perfect in government. As sure as there is a God, men will say to-morrow, "What a fool I was yesterday, when I actually sold my vote for a glass of beer, and my vote means my wife, my child, my happiness, my home!"

The function of public education, taking the children of these families to inculcate American ideas, to teach from American books, is so well understood that I need not pause upon its glorious attritions and inspirations.

The free agencies of a free religious life; all the activities of commerce; the newspaper, that mighty paradox of modern life, half of heaven and half of hell; the common speech on the street; the garments we wear, and the food we eat,—are all forces in the social transformation by which the American people is being produced.

But is not this discussion straying far? What has the university to do with these every-day problems, sometimes dusty and sometimes bloody, but always of the matter-of-fact and working world?

Your notion is that a university is a quiet place, where men and women go apart to teach and be taught? You think it should be kept away from all evil influences; for instance here, in a beautiful, moral, and healthful place, like Evanston?

The mediæval university was, indeed, a place for ascetics, who sought to separate themselves from the common life; whose learning consisted chiefly in languages which were dead, and in sciences which nobody could understand. All this was better than nothing, and nourished the tendencies out of which modern education has arisen. The monks developed the sense of distance and the power of reflection, though their thinking had no available substance.

Then came the modern university, with its strong scientific tendency, where men said: Let us leave our mere speculations and empty theories; let us study nature at first hand, to find out the secrets of the world; let us measure the courses of the stars; in the laboratory and the crucible, let us wring from the very atom its meaning and its uses; with knife and microscope, let us seek to find the very heart of life

itself. By such purposes a new method of teaching has been introduced, a great fabric of fact has been erected, and a modern system of experimental logic has been organized. The limitation of it all is in the possible conclusion that scientific studies are an end in themselves, when they are simply the corrective of the old, speculative methods. The true object of education is no flower, however perfect or rare; it is no biologic cell, however interesting; it is no far-off star, though new-born in the field of vision. The final object of education is man himself, his powers, his history, his literature, his social relations, and his final destiny. The newer drift of the higher education is to put increasing emphasis upon all the human studies. The study of lower forms of life will continue and increase, but it will be chiefly valuable in furnishing data and method for the wider and wiser study of man. And this brings me to the first use of the University Settlement in its co-ordination with university education. Our usual manner of speech assumes that the settlement is chiefly a gift from the university to the people. I wish to emphasize the statement that it is chiefly a gift of the people to the university. If the study of economics and sociology, politics and kindred studies, is to be made efficient, the university needs, first of all, the human

laboratory for observation and experiment. I present to you, therefore, the University Settlement as a laboratory more vital and valuable to any modern university than its chemical or physical laboratories. Would any one in these days pretend to teach chemistry or physics without a plant and appliances costing thousands of dollars? Yet when it is proposed to study man, the chief object of human scientific interest, and a University Settlement is asked for in the very midst of the crude population where human instincts and passions and activities can be studied at first hand, there will be found some man to say, "Why, the thing is an extravagance; it will cost four or five thousand dollars a year." It has cost generations of unguided human experiment for a small minority of the people to find out how partly to cope with the natural results of human ignorance. Is it not worth while to assist the process? Is it not worth while to study at first hand the causes of low social conditions? Is it an extravagance to try to learn the family and other social conditions, which produce the pauper, the criminal, and the insane? If the modern university is to fill its legitimate place in the modern world, as an aid to modern life, the settlement is a necessary part of its working apparatus. It is a place where the young leader of the future may

find a proper place to study, to work, to grow. It is a part of his necessary training and development. The world is through with the nice young preacher, who has been trained to dress properly, and to read delightful essays to a few devout women and an occasional man. The world is calling for stalwart young fellows who know their God, and who have wrestled, Jacob-like, in prayer; but who also know man, because they have lived with him, and have come near to his sins and his sorrows, his trials and his limitations. The time is near at hand when work in the human laboratory will be regarded as essential to the diploma of the divinity school. And what is true for the preacher is also true for the lawyer, and the physician, and every man who is called to lead society in a strong and an effective way. I plead for the University Settlement therefore, for the sake of the university, and in the interest of the broader culture which it should seek to give.

But the Church needs the settlement no less than the university. It is a home mission of the very best pattern. Do you say, "How many Churches have been planted through a settlement?" and I frankly answer, I do not know; I never heard of a single one. But we have need not only to plant Churches, but to dig about them,

water them, fertilize them, make them grow. A great many Churches, these days, are half dead; and they are half dead because the people do not thoroughly believe in them. There is not so much infidelity about the Creed or the Bible, but there is a great deal of practical infidelity about Christians. The time must cease when Church managers will ask whether this or that plan will help the Church, but how, by all means, to make the Church help the people. He serves his creed best who serves humanity most. It still is as wise as it is true, to remember that he who will be greatest is to begin and continue as the servant of all. Jesus came into this world to establish a social settlement. The gospel is a message to men to join hands and hearts and homes in the effort to establish on the earth a working brotherhood of the disciples of the Master.

But the settlement is in harmony with the wisest conclusions of modern charity. Indiscriminate giving is condemned by the best workers for their kind. They believe that unwise giving has damned more human souls than ever wise giving has blessed human bodies. If a man in need is helped without at the same time quickening his activity, he has been still further weakened by the procedure; he has been discredited by being deprived of the natural stimulus



of life. Modern charity is not content unless the needy are restored to self-respect and to self-help. At the beautiful gates of human sympathy, cheer, and guidance, the modern apostles of faith meet those who beg, and, fastening eyes on them, they say: "Silver and gold have I none to give you; but in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, rise up and walk; find your own silver and gold; earn your own banquet. I can only help you find a place to live and work." The teaching that the life of the people must be quickened, asserts that any form of charity which tends to make people permanently dependent is essentially wicked. The settlement becomes the center of this spirit of the new charity. It sends to the homes of the poor those who bear lessons of life learned under the better culture of kindlier conditions. It teaches the poor how to provide for the rainy day sure to come, by living wisely and prudently in the present day.

To sum up: As a regenerating agency, the settlement carries to the people whom it seeks to quicken into the higher social life, in the very first place, Love. There is nothing so reviving and purifying to a poor, sodden son or daughter of Adam as to find that some one who has had a better chance in life really cares for him from the heart. It is a waking dream of good, and

the poor soul looks up and sees the ladder, with the angels going up and down. It must be, and it is, a love mixed with reverence. It is, therefore, delicate, unobtrusive, and warms into self-respect the soul, who would not else have believed he was worth the trouble of man or God.

The settlement brings, also, knowledge. It seeks to make one kind of communism successful and prevalent. It is not the community of goods, but the community of knowledge. The people need instructing how to live, how to buy, how to cook, how to dress, how to rear children, how to guard against disease, how to prevent the death of little babies, as soon as they are born into their mother's arms. In the various ways which are taken to make this knowledge common, the social element is also satisfied, and teacher and taught begin to be Anglo-Saxons.

Out of love and knowledge is born thrift. I am not of those who deny the presence of great economic dangers and difficulties, but I do assert that these problems have grown to monstrous size, and have been fed on ignorance and debasement. The chief need is to learn how to use what we have. Improvident marriages, unwise forms of production, debasing consumption of material and of strength, all belong to the unnecessary catalogue of human

evils. Love leads to self-respect, self-respect to knowledge, knowledge to thrift, and all to character.

But the university carries one other gift, of which a single word should be spoken—it is the gift of beauty. Flower missions, picture missions, art loan collections, whatever agencies there are which open the eyes to the Supreme Beauty, are all means of human regeneration.

Your settlement could, in time, revolutionize the Sixteenth Ward, if you will provide money and workers. How that Sixteenth Ward will by and by blossom into hope and beauty! You, who listen to me, are responsible. You have come out into the suburbs to have homes that are sweet and pure; but you really live in Chicago, which makes your money possible. Are you willing to shirk your responsibilities, while you grow rich upon the bodies and souls of your downtrodden fellow-citizens? You must, at least, put yourselves into this work. The settlement should have a building of its own; I am told it can be built for \$25,000. This audience ought to give that money. Then give them \$10,000 more for a gymnasium, and \$6,000 or \$7,000 a year for current expenses. I know that many of you are willing to help in this way. Then there are others who have heard the call of God to give themselves,

something of their time, their love, their service; and they who give these, give as Christ gave.

I must call your attention, finally, to two principles which seem to me to underlie the practical side of this work; and one of them is steadfast faith in the contagion of good. We have talked and lived for a long time in the faith of the contagion of evil. From our physical laboratories we have heard of disease germs, and how contagion spreads from water, air, and human touch. There is much truth in all this, but there is another side to the truth. It is true now, and has always been true, that goodness is more contagious than evil. We go about every day, blessed by the handclasp of some strong, healthy, pure man or woman. The world has risen, and is rising, because the good, vital, positive partaking of the very secret of the universe is able to triumph over the evil. We are, therefore, to take heart of hope from faith that God will always prove stronger than the devil. So the blessed contagion of the settlement will, by its happy imitation, introduce new and higher elements into every home, and vitalize them with the true Anglo-Saxon ideals.

The other thing in which we must believe is the capacity of the human soul. We have not measured up to the grandeur

of that fact, or this address would really not be needed. Did we know how imperial a thing it really is to be a son of God, we would be able to look through all disguises of infirmity or ignorance.

Imagine, if you will, in the second century of our era, some cultured and degenerate Greek making a journey to Germany. From Rome he has gone northward over the Alps. He pursues one of Cæsar's roads until it ends at length in the swamps. He makes his first acquaintance with a German tribe. How he despises them! No libraries, nor museums, nor pictures—why, they are savages! Yes, these fierce-browed, deep-chested sons of the forest have very few things. They are poor, so poor that they scarcely have vices. Yes, my Athenian friend, they bury men in the mud until they are dead for vices you have tolerated from your youth. He is surprised to find that men get along with one wife and a family. Queer, crude, undeveloped people, are they not? No books, nor literature, nor civilization have they. But tread softly before these Gothic barbarians, for out of their loins shall spring the German and English peoples. When the blood of your degenerate Greek race has been polluted to its doom, and your people are dead

and done with in human history, forth from these savages shall spring a Goethe, a Hegel, a Wagner on the one side; and on the other a King Alfred, a Shakespeare, a Robert Browning. God knows what he will do with his barbarians.

You look upon the crude and oftentimes brutal population which has come to us from over the seas. They are strange and undeveloped. Low in intelligence and strong in elemental force, they have not yet reached their thrones of power. But tread softly before them. God knows what he will do with these people. Perhaps a thousand years from now you will be glad to be introduced to poets, artists, sages, and saints who have sprung from their loins. God will care for his own. Your lack of love, or mine, will never be charged to the victim of our neglect. God lives and loves for the people in the Sixteenth Ward. Neither heathen at home nor heathen abroad will ever be condemned for your sins or mine. All ages belong to the sons of God, and those who will be loyal to his kingdom of righteousness and faith belong to his final family. Believe, therefore, in the contagion of good and in the capacity of the human soul for growth, and all work will be easy and full of promise.

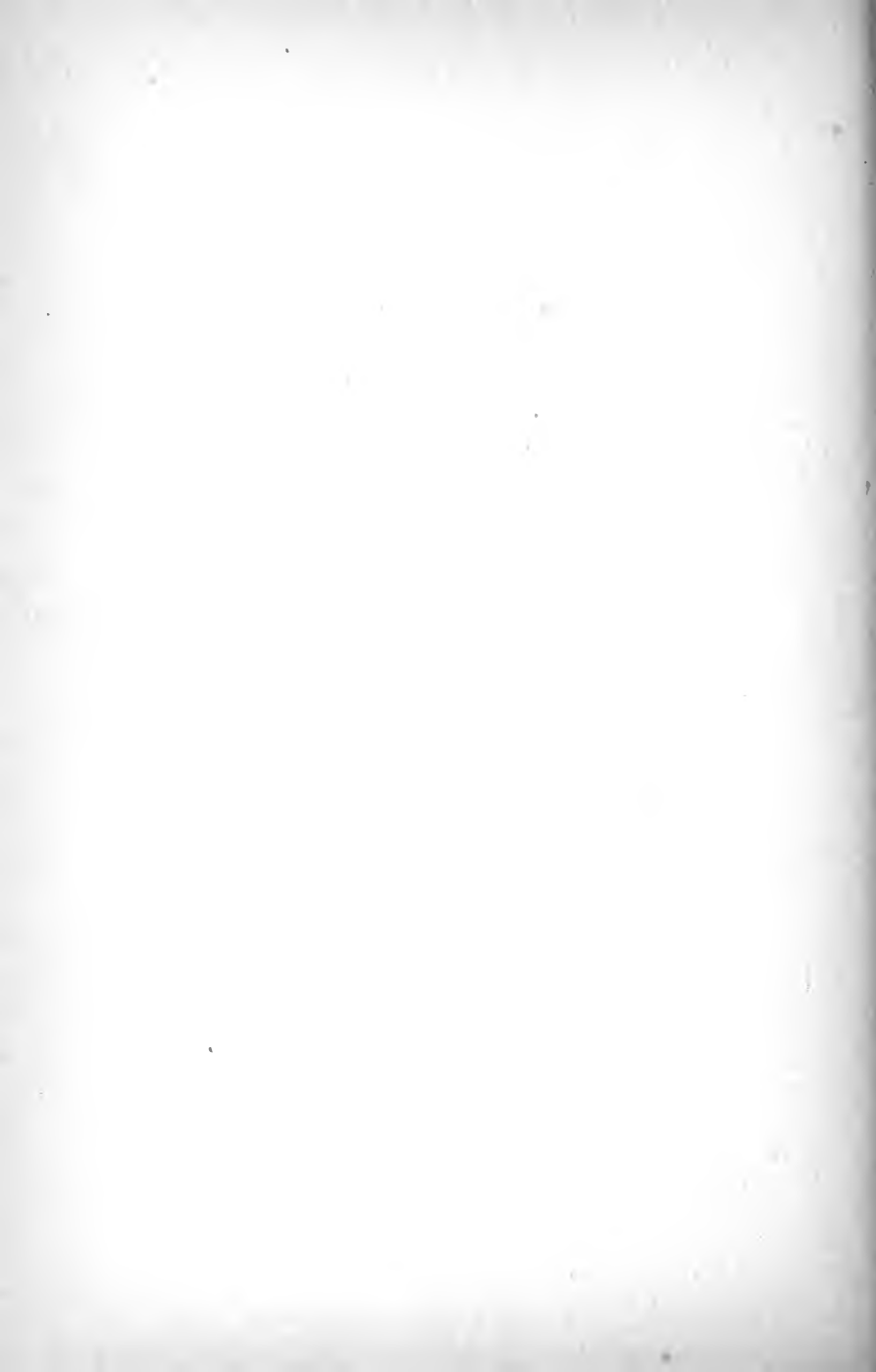
In the name of the university which it represents, in the name of the nation which it serves, in the name of the people whom it seeks, I commend to you the Northwestern University Settlement in the Sixteenth Ward.





# ABRAHAM LINCOLN

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE  
LOYAL LEGION, ST. PAUL, MINN.



## ABRAHAM LINCOLN

SURVIVORS of the War for the Union:

I come with a handful of violets to pay tribute to a memory already honored by gifts of speech richer far than mine; but may I say, none have signified devotion more reverent or heart more loyal.

As an epoch of human history becomes remote, there is visible to the eyes of those who see the figure of some man who is recognized as its great embodiment. The golden age of Greece is summed up in Pericles. Julius Cæsar was the supreme expression of an age of power and law. The great Cromwell interpreted the English protest against every form of despotism. At this distance from the sixties and that great, sad struggle, it is apparent that the colossal form rising above all others is the weird figure of Abraham Lincoln.

Thinkers have set themselves to measure and estimate this man. Orators and poets have competed in the effort fitly to voice his praises. But who and what was he? If the statesman must possess constructive genius to frame constitutions, to multiply statutes, and to meet emergencies with orderly policies, then was the higher order of statesmanship denied him. If technical knowledge, engineering skill, strategic ability, and acquaintance with the

management of masses of armed men be essential to the soldier, then was he no man of war. If it be necessary to the orator that he have imagination and passion, our hero was no orator, wizard-like though the spell was which he laid upon men. Born in lowliness too familiar to be described; reared under surroundings only to be called civilized by courtesy; denied access to schools or libraries, he was certainly no scholar.

In the marvel of what he was not, men in the despair of analysis have said, The man must have been inspired. He also was a prophet of God. But if a prophet must needs be a mystic and a seer, one gifted to speak the first burning message of new truth, then, neither in any religious nor in any civil sense was Abraham Lincoln an inspired man.

Seward was the statesman, Grant the soldier, Sumner the scholar, Phillips the orator, and Garrison was the prophet of the new birth of the Nation.

But who and what was our hero? I name him the authentic exponent of his generation, the incarnation of the highest purposes and activities of his time.

Homer gathered into himself the heroic histories of Greece, and is named the world's greatest poet. Michael Angelo, master of all arts, became the representa-

tive of the world's beauty. Greater than these, the Isaiah of the Captivity cried out, "Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low;" and he is known as the world's prophet of unquenchable hope. But, born on the soil of the first free nation of earth, nursed by its growth, rocked by its storms, could be found, and only here, the incarnation of civil and religious liberty; and here was born and developed the world's most conspicuous patriot—Abraham Lincoln.

He belongs to the school of Kossuth, Mazzini, and Garibaldi; but beyond them in heroic mold, and larger still, far beyond them, in the character of the people he represented, he yet surpasses them and all men of his class in human history, because to the patriot's heart he united the sagacious judgment of the man of affairs and the mighty hand gifted to bear rule.

The age in which he lived called him, the struggles in which he took part fashioned him, and the Genius of History anointed him for the great destiny to which he was called. It is not in sowing and in reaping, nor in the making of crowded cities, nor in ships floating a vast commerce on the seas, that a nation grows great. It is by her passions and emotions, her conflicts and her sorrows, that she learns the way to achievement. It was

after the fair-haired Greeks had flung back the uncounted thousands of Persians, settling forever the seat of power in the Occident, that Athens gave birth to her statesmen and philosophers, her artists and her poets. It was after France had been shaken by the storm of her revolution—"Truth clad in hell-fire"—that she overran Europe under the first Napoleon. So it was the birth-time of greatness when America was torn for thirty years by the death struggle of two opposing forces—a struggle that found its way, not only into the halls of legislation and the busy seats of trade, but into the remotest hut on the frontier, and shook with the noise of strife even the solitudes of the prairies and the mountains. Then it was as the expression of the Nation's agony and victory, that Abraham Lincoln walked forth among men, the miracle of the nineteenth century.

The best foundation of greatness is a certain sensitiveness of soul. By it the poet receives the beauty of his world, and perceives the dramatic quality of human action. It is the same power by which the mathematician is impressed by numbers and relations; and the saint has imprinted upon him the austere beauty of holiness. Neither poet nor mathematician nor saint, Abraham Lincoln was the sharer with them of this wonderful power of the

sensitive soul. But neither beauty nor virtue in the abstract moved him; his nature was open only to the touch of human life. It was this strength of his that made him the ready prey of the tears of woman and the sorrows of any little child; but it was the power by which he was able to receive impressions of men and understand them; to comprehend the motives of the human soul, and to predict human action; and to interpret not one class alone, but all classes of society. Above all men of his time, he knew what was in man. It was this quality which manifested itself in his grotesque humor and grim pathos. Human life is both a tragedy and a comedy; he felt it in its completeness. But mirth and melancholy are twins, light and dark, that are cradled in every great soul. It was so with Mirabeau, with Cæsar, with Shakespeare, with Abraham Lincoln. In his later years his humor was not a joy, but a weapon. Men saw a flash of light, and only knew it had been a sword when some falsehood lay pierced at his feet.

In the growth of his years he passed through clarifying processes, which exalted his receptive power to great uses, and made him the embodiment of all the better forces of the Nation's life and experience. But he was always a natural leader of men. He embodied every condition in which he

was placed, and his companions, of whatever sort they were, recognized his power, and owned his mastery. This was equally true when he wrestled with the boys in the backwoods at Cleary's Grove, and when he strove successfully with statesmen and diplomats at the Nation's Capital. It is a mistake to speak of Abraham Lincoln as ever having been an obscure man. He may have been obscure from the provincial point of view of Boston or New York; but he was never obscure. Whether in the woods of Indiana, or on the still ruder frontier by the banks of the Sangamon; whether keeping store in New Salem, heading the "Long Nine" in the Legislature at Vandalia, riding the circuit with his fellow lawyers, or on the stump in political campaigns, he was never obscure. He was always a leader. He was as great as his situation, and this was as true of him in Illinois as it was in Washington. He lived under a constantly-widening horoscope. He sprang full-armed to meet his career. His life was a constant evolution and manifestation of inherent greatness.

The first glimpse of him in public life certainly shows him only as a possibility. He is not far the other side of twenty, and he has nominated himself for the Legislature. To start the campaign he goes to Pappsville for a political meeting. As a



mere incident he takes hold of the most stalwart of several rude fellows who are trying to make a disturbance, and literally hurls him twelve feet. At length he has a chance to speak. There he stands, six feet four inches in his stockings, with the longest arms and legs imaginable on a man. The future chief figure of his century certainly makes a most singular appearance. Look at him. He wears a mixed jeans coat, claw-hammer style, but so short that he can not sit on it. He has on tow-linen pantaloons, also six inches too short, but showing his indigo blue stockings to advantage, which terminate in indescribable low shoes. He wears no vest, has on one suspender, carries a straw hat something the worse for wear, and proceeds to make his maiden speech. Now listen:

“Fellow-citizens,—I presume you all know who I am. I am humble Abraham Lincoln. I have been solicited by my friends to become a candidate for the Legislature. My politics are short and sweet, like the old woman’s dance. I am in favor of a national bank. I am in favor of an internal improvement system and a high protective tariff. These are my sentiments. If elected, I shall be thankful; if not, it will be all the same.”

The report of the speech may or may not be exact. It is, no doubt, sufficiently

so to enable us to have a fair picture of his entrance into public life. From such a rude beginning he became one of the most effective speakers who ever addressed American audiences on political subjects.

But at a very early period he showed signs of his coming greatness. When again a candidate for the Legislature, he was replied to by a Mr. Forquer, who said it was his duty to "take the young man down." Never was biter bit after a severer fashion. This Mr. Forquer had changed his politics a short time before, and almost immediately was appointed register of the land-office. He then proceeded to build a good house, and protected it with the only lightning-rod known in Springfield. When Mr. Forquer was through, Lincoln rose in reply, closing with these words:

"I desire to live, and I am ambitious for place; but I would rather die now than, like the gentleman, live to see the day when I would change my politics for an office worth three thousand dollars a year, and then feel compelled to erect a lightning-rod to protect a guilty conscience from an offended God."

Of course, Mr. Forquer and his lightning-rod had achieved immortality in that neighborhood.

It was at the Legislature in 1834 that Abraham Lincoln, for the first time, met

Stephen A. Douglas. No record is left us of the first impressions which each made upon the other—the antithesis of each other in almost every point of personal and social character and position. For nearly thirty years they were conspicuous rivals; and among the many forces that operated powerfully to stimulate Mr. Lincoln, there was perhaps none second to the great brain and sturdy strength of his remarkable antagonist.

But the years have gone by. Lincoln has achieved personal and political distinction. He has had a look at Washington during two years as congressman. At last his clear vision has come to recognize distinctly the nature of the crisis that threatens the Nation. By general consent he is recognized as the leader of the Republican party in the State of Illinois; and, though defeated for the Senate in 1855 by Lyman Trumbull, no other candidate is suggested in the next contest with Stephen A. Douglas. There is an immense distance between the first speech of his career and the speech in Springfield to the Convention which named him as standard-bearer in the memorable struggle for a seat in the United States Senate. That speech is familiar to you all, and that paragraph which is said to have defeated him for senator, only to have elected him Pres-

ident, was the utterance not only of a clear vision, but of a strong soul.

“A house divided against itself can not stand. I believe this Government can not permanently endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other.”

But the most noteworthy scene was not the meeting of the Convention where this speech was delivered; it was in that far more significant gathering held the night before in the library of the State-house, where, in a little conference, the nature of which is well known to men in practical politics, he read his speech to a dozen personal and political friends, and asked their judgment upon its wisdom. When he finished reading that important and immortal paragraph, one of them is said to have remarked with a great deal more emphasis than polish, “That is a damn-fool utterance;” and this was a terse and irreverent expression of the sentiments of the conference. But this was a time when the children of this world were not so wise in their generation as the child of light. In wrath the man rose like a great colossus above them all, and said:

“Gentlemen, the time has come when these sentiments should be uttered; and if

it be decreed that I go down because of this speech, then let me go down linked to the truth; let me die in the advocacy of what is just and right."

In those words spoke the warrior, the martyr, and the saint.

The most conspicuous faculties by which Mr. Lincoln brought his fine and capacious nature into the service of life were his conscience and his judgment. These are the most important organs in the structure of every soul. His moral consciousness was as clear and undoubted as his intellectual perceptions were just and sane. As a lawyer he could make no success of a case in which he did not believe, though it might have strong legal grounds. On the other hand, if the case engaged his moral sense, though the law might be against him, his tremendous force often overpowered both judge and jury, and secured the verdict. The same thing was true of him in his political speeches. He must believe intensely the doctrines of the campaign, or he could not proclaim them. He was not so versatile as his rivals, and he made a strange figure on the American platform. Truth, justice, righteousness, were too masterful for him; he could never be merely the servant of the hour. But it was because of this higher obedience that he was able to be-

lieve implicitly in himself, and was able to compel at last the abiding faith of the American people. Once again it would appear that the child of light has a wisdom of his own.

Was Mr. Lincoln a Christian? Many words and some bitterness have attended the discussion of the question. Judged by merely dogmatic or even conventional standards, he certainly never was. But if, to be a Christian, a man must believe with all his soul that there is a God who made and rules the world; that a sense of duty is the supremest law for every human soul; that only in obedience to that law can any cause finally succeed; that sacrifice and self-sacrifice are not too dear a price to pay for truth and righteousness, then, to the depths of his great soul, was Mr. Lincoln a Christian man. His religious conviction deepened and widened as the years went by until its expression reached the climax in that matchless passage of the second inaugural, where he says:

“Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away; yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled up by the bondman’s two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the

sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.' "

Either Abraham Lincoln was the most skillful theatrical performer on any political stage, and even a greater rhetorician than he was an actor, or these words confess a consciousness of the providence of God as profound as that of Job or Paul.

In addition to an irresistible conscience he had, also, a powerful and sagacious judgment. His conscience taught him to be true to what is eternally right; his judgment bade him consider what is immediately and practically possible. Judgment and conscience were the two reins by which he drove his chariot of power along the highway of greatness. Here is the key to his apparent hesitation in the emancipation of the colored race. As he understood it, it was a war for the Union, and not for emancipation. He hated slavery with an everlasting hatred; but he was also the responsible leader of a great people. He was one of those masters of men who feel the responsibilities of power in a deeper way than the privileges of power. He says in a letter on the subject to A. G. Hodges:

"It was in the oath which I took that I would, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the

United States. I could not take the office without taking the oath, nor was it my view that I might take the oath to get power, and break the oath in using the power."

Here is a lesson that many of the children of this world might learn from the wisdom of the child of light. But the delay was not alone a matter of conscience, it was a question of judgment as well.

Better than all the fiery sons of Massachusetts he understood the dangers that lay in the border States of Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri. He waited until victories in the field could control the border States, until the rising tide of opinion rolled with resistless power in the Northern States, and when at length the necessities of the struggle, the conditions of public opinion, and his high sense of duty combined to bring conscience and judgment into harmonious action, he knew that the hour of God had struck; and with the pen of emancipation he touched the fetters of the slave, and in the clangor of their falling was heard the psalm of the Nation and the music of the world.

In all the wide domain of affairs Mr. Lincoln made the practical application of a few great truths bring him decision. His philosophy of history was a faith in the providence of God. His political sagacity



and foresight was his faith that the masses of the American people could, in the final judgment of any great question, be fully trusted to be faithful to the right, as it should be given them to see the right. These foundations enabled him to surpass in practical power many men of wider experience and greater knowledge. So it came to pass that in intellectual activity he was not so much a man of processes as he was the child of vision. He was not a logician in the ordinary sense, yet his statements are often both illustrations and arguments. Speaking of the labor question he says shrewdly, "I always thought that the man who makes the corn should eat the corn."

And, in spite of economics, the plain wisdom of the plain man seems to be the last word that may properly be said.

Scan his life, and see how this great man grew. He comes from the woods of Indiana to the banks of the Sangamon, from the flatboats of the Mississippi to the store in New Salem, from surveying to law, from the politics of a county to the management of a State, from the chieftainship of a political party to the Chief Magistracy of a great Nation in the throes of a supreme struggle for its life. Heavier and heavier burdens were laid upon him year by year. He lifted them, and he

grew under them. In every place he was the master of all men. Shrewd politician may he have been, but great savior of the Nation did he become. He may have began as a sage, but he ended as a saint. He himself ripened while he toiled and suffered. He was, indeed, the lonely and sorrowing servant of the Nation. The iron entered his soul, and broke his body. The storm plowed furrows in his face, and his shoulders were bent under the burdens that he bore. Horace Greeley, after seeing him, said he could not live through his second term as President. Such are still the pains of redemption.

The birds of prey, hungry for the Nation's life, plunged beak and claw into his bosom. He flinched not, nor faltered; again and again he beat them back; there he stood until the skies cleared, until peace touched the land with her beauty, and liberty claimed for her own every man, woman, and child from sea to sea. See him complete at last, our Nation's hero, victor over poverty, isolation, heredity, environment, ignorance, difficulties unutterable, and whatever enemies may perplex a human life. There he stands! Calm, valiant, victorious, a mighty man. Nor is this all. He was, most of all, a historic man, strangely called and devel-

oped under the providence of God to be the foremost exponent of the human passion for liberty in all ages.

And what think you? When the bullet of a half-crazed assassin in abject folly struck down this man unto his death, think you that he perished forever from God's universe? Think you that a life developed by such labors and sorrows was of no more worth than to mingle with the unthinking dust from whence it sprang? I can not believe it. I can not believe that nature, so difficult in her processes, and so parsimonious of her materials, should end at last in the destruction of a soul which most amply fulfills her noblest aims. How abject a dénouement which would rob the drama of life of all unity and purpose!

No, this man was immortal, and with the mighty spirits of all time he rose out of his pain and warfare to the serene thrones of the universe, where the sons of God live on forever and forever.

And not only Abraham Lincoln, but the company of all our sainted and heroic dead crowd thick upon our memory. They fill the air about us. They are, indeed, a cloud of witnesses urging us to take up their tasks and complete their triumphs. Let me close, therefore, with the

words of our Nation's greatest soul remaining for us as a perpetual inspiration:

"It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they here gave their last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that the dead shall not have died in vain; that the Nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."





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