

THE  
AMERICAN REPUBLIC  
AND  
THE DEBS INSURRECTION

BY

Z. SWIFT HOLBROOK, M. A.

OF CHICAGO

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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## INTRODUCTION.

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IN seeking an associate to edit the new department of Sociology in the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, of which I had been editor for several years, Mr. Holbrook was selected, not only because I found that in the main his conclusions agreed with my own, but largely because from long acquaintance I knew him to be a man of exceptionally broad sympathies and wide experience. His early youth was spent in the school of adversity and stern self-denial, where he acquired those habits of self-reliance which carried him, by his own efforts, through a five-years' course of study in Yale College, and secured for him afterwards his marked business success. This experience, together with his literary ability, gives exceptional value to his discussions of all sociological questions.

The present papers, republished from the BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, seem fitted for a much wider circulation than can be afforded to them in the pages of such a periodical. They are therefore printed in convenient form, and at a low price, that all may have them within reach.

A few additional preliminary words may help the reader to see the general bearing of the specific line of thought pursued in Mr. Holbrook's contributions. I will, therefore, give a brief statement of some of the fundamental facts and principles which should ever be kept in view in our efforts to promote the well-being of society.

1st. Truth does not permit us to overlook the fact that Nature's gifts are neither so prodigal nor so evenly distrib-

uted as many seem to assume. Civilization is the product only of constant toil and self-denial. The capital necessary to attain the ends of civilized society is neither easy to acquire nor easy to keep. At no time is there on hand two-years' supply of provisions for the world. Starvation is never far from the door of society as a whole. Even the solid structures forming the most permanent investments of capital become worthless if neglected for only a few years.

2d. An equal distribution of the world's goods would scarcely raise at all the general level of comfort. If the profits of our manufacturing industries were wholly distributed among their employes, it would add only about twelve and a half cents to their daily income. According to the last census, the total products of the industries of the United States, if evenly distributed among the people, would amount to less than fifty cents a day to each person. Out of this narrow margin, provision is to be made both for the wants of the present and for the enlarged plans of the future. If all fortunes should be brought down to a common level, instead of its making all rich, it would make all poor, and the condition of things would tend to greater and greater depths of poverty.

3d. The safety and productiveness of capital essential to the progress of society depend upon utilizing the sagacity in investment, and the ability in organization and execution, which only a few possess. If a capitalist builds his factory where rents are too high, or transportation too difficult, or the market too limited, or the cost of labor too great, or the adjustment of laborers defective, the expenses will soon eat up the capital, and there will be profit to nobody, and

ultimate loss to all. The great problem is to secure managers of business possessing such knowledge of details, and such executive ability, that they can reduce the waste both of labor and material to a minimum. It is difficult to see how this management is to be secured, except through the free play of competition, which permits the wage-earner to rise according to his proved ability. The working men of the present must furnish the managers of the future.

4th. The true philanthropist keeps in view the welfare of the entire population. His sympathies are not expended chiefly upon the most clamorous; that would indicate great narrowness of view. Sympathy is due to the most needy and the most numerous according to their wants, and should be broad enough to comprehend the whole circle of human interests. It is not true philanthropy to give a man bread *without* work when his whole welfare demands that he should have bread *with* work. Moderate wages and stability of business are better than high wages and instability.

5th. Organized capitalists and organized wage-earners constitute but a small fraction of the people. The farming population (constituting in itself more than half the nation), together with those who are rendering personal service, and the great company of small manufacturers, small tradesmen, and common laborers, form the great bulk of the people, outnumbering the others ten to one. These classes are supremely interested in the maintenance of stable government, free competition, and the conditions favorable to the orderly conduct of business. They must insist upon freedom of commerce and transportation, and upon the freedom of the

individual in securing employment. If there are quarrels between organized capitalists and organized wage-earners, they must be settled without infringing upon the rights of the great mass of the people.

6th. It is these unorganized masses of the people that most need defence and protection. It is by no means an unlikely contingency that, for example, the railroad managers and the managers of the labor organizations may so combine as to destroy the profits of railroad investments, and raise the price of railroad transportation, by giving extravagant salaries to the officers and more than market wages to the men employed, and thus burden the whole country beyond endurance, and produce a monopoly of the most dangerous kind.

7th. It is for the interest of the wage-earners themselves that they be held to the same high standard of character and honor which is set up for men in general. The ten commandments are for all. A wage-earner cannot afford to have his contract held as less sacred than that of any other man. Otherwise he is demoralized and dishonored at the very outset, and cannot have the blessings which come to the man who when he swears to his own hurt changes not. One of the most alarming things in connection with the strikes which from time to time paralyze the business of the country, is the readiness with which the wage-earners are led to disregard their contracts and to violate their word. Since, as the laws are now so enacted, it is impossible to enforce a contract against a poor man, there is all the greater need that the sentiment of honor be strengthened in his mind.

For a wage-earner solemnly to engage to do a piece of work and then, without due notice, to break his contract at the beck of a labor organization is as injurious to him as it is unjust to the employer and cruel to the public.

8th. It is impossible to secure any successful social conditions in the world except on the basis of noble character. Mr. Holbrook is entirely right in insisting upon this principle. Any theory of human society which does not provide against the all-prevalent perversions of conduct connected with human sinfulness must be disappointing and disastrous. At every point we have to guard against the temptations to negligence of opportunities and perversion of trusts to which both ourselves and others are constantly subjected.

9th. While it is a hopeful view which we entertain of the future, the hopefulness mainly rests upon our confidence in the capacity of man's higher nature to lift him above his environment and make him the master of circumstances, rather than their creature. It is true that we are bound to do all we can to secure a perfect environment for each individual. But a perfect environment will be one which throws great responsibility upon the individual. Nobody can be made happy against his will, or be made noble without his own exertions. On the contrary, men of high aspirations can rise superior to almost any environment. The world is full of successful men who have by conquering difficulties made themselves strong, and thereby acquired the power of achieving success.

10th. Practically I have found it extremely difficult to persuade young people to see the advantage of certain essen-

tial forms of self-denial in the beginning of life. To abstain from the use of tobacco and alcoholic beverages, and from attendance upon cheap and demoralizing shows, and devote the time and money thus spent, in improving the mind, or in perfecting one's trade, would make the fortune of many a boy who has no encouragement in these directions either among his companions or at his home. To provide motives which shall secure such a high standard of personal character in the units of society is the most important service which can be rendered to it.

11th. If the time which is now spent in embittering the children of the wage-earners by exaggerated representations of the hardness of their lot, and in filling their minds with perverted notions of the way to success, were spent in persuading them to appreciate the advantages they already have, untold results would be witnessed in the improvement of society and in the enrichment of individual and family life.

When free libraries are inviting all to revel in their inexhaustible stores of varied entertainment and useful knowledge; when, for the price of two cigars, one can purchase a copy of Robinson Crusoe or two plays of Shakespeare; and when, for the price of admittance to a cheap variety show, one can become the owner of Macaulay's Essays, or of a standard history of England; and, for a week's wages, can purchase a well-selected library, it is idle to say that the road to true success is closed to the masses. There is far more need of a revival of high aspiration on the part of the young than there is of a revival of business. Indeed this would be a revival of business. To learn to appreciate and improve such advantages as are now

within the reach of all is of more worth to the individual than the acquisition of a fortune would be.

12th. But when all has been done that is possible to increase the production of wealth and equalize its distribution, and to stimulate the highest ideals of conduct and character, there will still be many disappointments, great sorrow, and much suffering in the world. No one can certainly forecast the future. In our turn we shall all need the sympathy of friends and the consolations of religion. The riches of the capitalist will often take wings and fly away, the efforts of the husbandman will occasionally fail, and the labor market will be subject to fluctuations which cannot be wholly provided against. But amid the natural relationships of free society these shocks will be so relieved by the sympathy of friends and the thoughtfulness of the followers of Christ that the force of our disappointments will be greatly broken. To the virtuous, wherever noble ideas are honored and maintained, life will be full of gain. In such a society even the selfish instincts of men will be made useful.

I feel sure that Mr. Holbrook's straightforward and manly discussions of these themes are needed, and that they will be most helpful; while, at the same time, the criticisms which his writings will probably provoke may be equally useful in clearing the mists from the sociological sky. Only by such frank discussion can the truth come to the light and be made to prevail.

G. FREDERICK WRIGHT.

OBERLIN, OHIO, February 1, 1895.

## THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC AND THE DEBS INSURRECTION.

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THE American Republic is the fruitage of a religious inspiration. Our democratic institutions, our notions of liberty and equality, had their origin with men who practised every form of self-denial, that they might be free from hierarchical authority and worship God according to the dictates of conscience. They were not men, like the colony that landed at Jamestown in 1607, moved by the spirit of adventure or by the desire to acquire,—both worthy and useful passions when subordinated to higher ends,—but they came to an unknown land, braving the perils of the sea and enduring the privations incident to such a perilous journey, that they might have freedom to worship God.

To what extent these men had caught the inspiration of Luther and had given it a new interpretation, need not here be traced; but the age was one of discovery, of heroism, of adventure, of awakened intellect,—giving the world the revival of faith, hope, and learning. It was the Elizabethan Age in literature. It was the period of the centuries when, freed from the bonds of ecclesiastical authority, individualism burst the barriers which had restrained it, and men took on new conceptions of liberty and of individual worth.

Man as an individual, a unit, free and independent in his relations to the unseen, and bound by social compacts only because thus his individualism found higher freedom and fuller development,—this was the conception that inspired the men who founded this Republic, and was enunciated by those ablest minds and choicest spirits of the seventeenth century.

It was not a mere intellectual conception; it was a spiritual experience, involving the conscience, and having practical relations with life, liberty, property, and reputation. For these very reasons it led the Pilgrims and the Puritans across the sea.

When man has tasted the sweets of liberty, persecution augments, but it cannot destroy, its growth. Wyclif caught the idea one hundred and forty years before Luther, and taught that the New Testament is a sufficient guide in church government. The growth of that idea and its final permanency in men's minds, before the assent of king and priest, cost many lives and untold suffering. Henry VIII., Edward VI., Bloody Mary, and Queen Elizabeth found people who, with Peter, said, It is right to obey God rather than men. That class sought to purify the church,—its clergy, its membership, its forms of worship, and its ordinances. They were known as Puritans. It was a common thing for them to resist unto the death any attempt of human authority to take the place of Christ over the conscience.

While democratic and social equality were terms that in 1631 had no meaning, for no one could have a voice in town affairs unless he had been elected a freeman by the

Court, and, after May 31, 1631, unless he was a church member, yet Robert Browne, the founder of the first Congregational church in Norwich, England, in 1580,

"clearly stated and defended the theory that every man had a right to choose and practice such religion as his conscience approved; and that the king, hierarchy or magistrate had no right to meddle in any way with his liberty of conscience. . . . This defense of absolute toleration by Browne is a whole generation before the writers whom the Baptist historians claim to be the originators and two generations before Roger Williams."<sup>1</sup>

No student of history in the historical development of modern free thought can ignore the origin, growth, and development of Congregationalism.

"New England was settled under this polity, and its influence was dominant for two centuries in moulding New England institutions."<sup>1</sup>

As the individual was the unit of power in church and state, it was essential that all the citizens should be educated; hence colleges and free schools were established at the outset.

"This zeal for education prompted the people of Massachusetts to found a college before they were yet free from the perils of starvation, and to establish a complete system of free schools before the first generation born in their new home had passed the age of childhood."<sup>1</sup>

Thus the Pilgrims of 1620 from Holland and the Puritans from England (of whom some 22,000 came over between 1630 and 1640) laid those solid foundation-stones—religion, morality, knowledge—which have ever been the basis of our institutions. It was a most felicitous and providential union, that—the Pilgrim a Separatist and the Puri-

<sup>1</sup> William Frederick Poole, in Dial, August, 1880.

tan an Independent; for it combined the intense religious zeal and other-worldliness of the one, tuned to so high a pitch, with the healthy regard for this world and the practical affairs of life so characteristic of the other. The Pilgrim was earnest to secure a mansion in the skies; while the Puritan, none the less zealous for that heavenly home, kept his economic eye on a corner lot on earth. The Massachusetts Colony soon learned to know cod no less than religion; and they mixed in delightful proportions a zeal for fishery and whaling with that for religious discussions and protracted meetings; they compounded in an ingenious manner a love for New England rum with a clear conscience toward God; "pine-tree shillings and piety"; a love for heaven and a perfect willingness to remain on earth.

But the Puritans, under Governor Winthrop, were moulded in their religious and intellectual life by the Pilgrims. The Puritans had attempted in England to purify and reform the church through the State; but when on American soil they soon saw that the

"best service the State can render to religion is to leave it free to live and act according to its own nature, in obedience to its own laws, prompted by its own impulses, guided by its own spirit and judgment."<sup>1</sup>

The Cambridge Platform of 1648 has been the authoritative manual of the church for two centuries, and a comparison of it with the Declaration of the National Council of 1871 will reveal how clearly and uniformly Congregationalism has moved along a definite line of thought in its polity.

The compact in the Mayflower was a covenant binding

<sup>1</sup> Encyclopædia Britannica, "Independent."

the Pilgrims to all due submission and obedience unto such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and officers from time to time as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the community; and they clearly stated that they combined into a civil body-politic for their better ordering and preservation. And the motive asserted was the glory of God and the advancement of the Christian faith. As De Tocqueville well says,

"A democracy more perfect than any which antiquity had dreamed of started in full size and panoply from the midst of an ancient feudal society."<sup>1</sup>

The divine and natural order for the development of society are all on the Mayflower in the germ. Religion seeking divine assistance, and wisdom, with good-will toward one another, which is its natural fruitage; or, in other words, morality; and evincing itself in the loftiest notions of liberty and equality. This is the true historical and scientific development; for, as De Tocqueville says,

"Liberty cannot be established without morality, nor morality without faith."<sup>2</sup>

As has been said: "Here was the spirit of religion and the spirit of liberty, which so often were in open conflict," happily combined and united to accomplish a result. And what was that result? Congregationalism in religious affairs and democracy in civil affairs, for democracy implies equality, — one being the same as another in law.

As to the notions of liberty which prevailed among the Puritans who came over with Governor Winthrop in June, 1630, hear what he says:—

<sup>1</sup> Democracy in America, p. 35.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.



"Nor would I have you to mistake in the point of your own liberty. There is a liberty of corrupt nature which is affected both by men and beasts to do what they list; and this liberty is inconsistent with authority, impatient of all restraint; by this liberty, '*sumus omnes deteriores*': 'tis the grand enemy of truth and peace, and all the ordinances of God are bent against it. But there is a civil, a moral, a federal liberty which is the proper end and object of authority; it is a liberty for that only which is just and good: for this liberty you are to stand with the hazard of your very lives, and whatsoever crosses it, is not authority but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained in a way of subjection to authority; and the authority set over you will, in all administrations for your good, be quietly submitted unto by all but such as have a disposition to shake off the yoke and lose their true liberty, by their murmuring at the honour and power of authority."<sup>1</sup>

This whole conception of liberty is biblical, and founded on Christ's definition, that only truth (or law) can set free. This idea of liberty became the sentiment of New England; and Governor John Treadwell, of Connecticut, wrote a letter to Rev. Nathaniel Emmons, July 11, 1800, in which he says:

"Liberty I love; but it is that liberty which results from the most perfect subjugation of every soul to the empire of law, and not that which is sought by illuminers and atheists."<sup>2</sup>

Weeden says:—

"In 1641 these legislators whether in their political or ecclesiastical capacity never conceived any polity which should grant freedom of action in the modern sense. They did not believe such a society to be possible and they would not have considered it desirable. Freedom and liberty meant the working out of a life soberly restrained according to the will of the majority. This major will was directed divinely through the medium of the Bible interpreted by pastors and elders. This was the mind of Massachusetts and Connecticut."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> De Tocqueville, *Democracy*, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Biography of Emmons, by Edwards A. Park.

<sup>3</sup> *Economic and Social History of New England*, Vol. i. p. 179.

Josiah Quincy said, that liberty of conscience would have produced anarchy in the seventeenth century. This conception of liberty and equality is the gift of Congregationalism to the Republic, and its fruitage is seen in Mr. Lincoln's high thought of obedience to law:—

"Let reverence for law be breathed by every mother to the lisping babe that prattles in her lap; let it be taught in the schools, seminaries and colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling-books and almanacs; let it be preached from pulpits and proclaimed in legislative halls and enforced in courts of justice; in short let it become the political religion of the nation."

The late Dr. William Frederick Poole wrote as follows:—

"The rise and growth of Congregationalism make an important chapter in the historical development of modern free thought. It is in religion that democracy is in the conduct of civil affairs. It inculcates the duty and right of each individual to interpret the Scriptures for himself and vests all ecclesiastical power in the brotherhood of each local church as an independent body. Every other human authority in spiritual affairs, whether it be council, hierarchy or synod, it rejects together with all antiquated symbols, rites, functionaries and other machinery which come between the individual soul and its Maker. It is the exaltation of the individual, and the dethronement of all outside spiritual dictation. . . . It was the polity under which New England was settled, and there it was the dominant influence for two centuries in moulding its institutions. It is not strange that a system so unlike that of England and the other nations of Europe should have wrought out an independent and peculiar people. As the individual was the unit of power in Church and State, it was essential that all the citizens should be educated; and hence colleges and free schools were established at the outset. Such a development of individualism was necessarily the occasion of many internal controversies and disputes; but both State and Church withstood the strain, grew strong under it, and enjoyed a material and social prosperity such as fell to the lot of none of the other early American colonies."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Poole's review of Dexter's *Congregationalism*, in the *Dial*, 1880.

On September 4, 1633, there arrived in Boston a man of heroic faith and scholarly attainments,—the Rev. Thomas Hooker. His coming was destined to have far-reaching results in its effect on the life and development of the colonies; for he was the one who inspired the Connecticut Constitution, and first stated clearly, not only the right of the people to elect their magistrates, but to limit them in their powers by laws which they must follow. In other words, the absolute sovereignty of the people, or democracy in its modern sense.

Mr. Hooker had been a fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, England, and had been influenced profoundly by the teachings of that most eminent divine, Thomas Cartwright. It is significant that Emmanuel College was regarded as a Puritan institution, and the men it graduated were all of a distinct and pronounced type. Such were Robert Browne, Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, Thomas Hooker, and John Cotton. For his opinions, Mr. Hooker was persecuted, and cited to appear before the High Commission Court in England, July 10, 1630. He fled to Holland and then to America. His ideas of liberty, equality, and democracy were dearly bought. They were not intellectual discoveries; they were spiritual experiences. Hear his words:—

"We (as it becometh Christians) stand upon the sufficiency of Christ's institutions, for all kynde of worship; and that exclusively the word and nothing but the word, in matters of Religious worship. . . . Christ we know; and all that cometh from him we are ready to embrace. But these human ceremonies in divine worship we know not, nor can have anything to doe with them."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Walker's Life of Hooker (Dodd, Mead & Co.), p. 58.

Hooker was a giant in stature, in faith, and in intellect. After remaining in Massachusetts a few years, he went to Hartford, Conn., in 1636. It is well to remember that the Massachusetts government was not, and was never intended to be, democratic.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hooker was exceedingly jealous for popular liberty, and his influence among his early associates in the Massachusetts Colony is revealed by the statement, made by an early chronicler, that,

"after Mr. Hooker's coming over, it was observed that many of the free-men grew to be very jealous of their liberties."<sup>2</sup>

In the autumn of 1638, Governor Winthrop, who was an aristocrat, and had never divested himself of aristocratic notions, even in government, wrote a letter to Mr. Hooker<sup>3</sup> expostulating with him about—

"the unwarrantableness and unsafeness of referring matters of counsel or judicature to the body of the people, because the best part is always the least, and of that best part the wiser part is always the lesser."

Mr. Hooker replied that the judges must simply enforce the law, and the general counsel should be chosen by all; and he even goes so far as to say that otherwise it would lead to tyranny and so to confusion. He says, he would choose neither to live nor to leave his property under such a government. He quotes the Scriptures for his authority.<sup>4</sup> The late historian of Connecticut, Alexander Johnston, says that this letter to Winthrop might be made the foundation of the claim that Mr. Hooker had supplied the spirit of the Connecticut Constitution.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Walker's Hooker p. 119.    <sup>2</sup> Hubbard's General History, p. 265.

<sup>3</sup> Winthrop, ii. 428.    <sup>4</sup> Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., i. 11, 12.

<sup>5</sup> Johnston's Conn., p. 71.

In Massachusetts, the advice of the ministers of the churches was sought and followed as the practice, and Massachusetts was theocratic and aristocratic, for both John Cotton and Governor Winthrop contended for this; but the first written constitution in human history was that of Connecticut, adopted in 1639, and it was framed clearly on these lines marked out by Mr. Hooker. There was an adjourned session of the General Court in April, 1638. To this Court, says Dr. Trumbull, was intrusted the formation of that Constitution which was formally adopted in January, 1639. On Thursday, May 31, 1638, Mr. Hooker preached a sermon before the General Court, and he held:—

"*Doctrine.* I. That the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God's own allowance.

"II. The privilege of election, which belongs to the people, therefore must not be exercised according to their humors, but according to the blessed will and law of God.

"III. They who have the power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power, also, to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them.

"*Reasons.* 1. Because the foundation of authority is laid, firstly, in the free consent of the people.

"2. Because, by a free choice, the hearts of the people will be more inclined to the love of the persons [chosen] and more ready to yield [obedience].

"3. Because of that duty and engagement of the people."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Leonard Bacon said:—

"That sermon by Thomas Hooker, from the pulpit of the first church in Hartford, is the earliest known suggestion of a fundamental law, enacted not by royal charter, nor by concession from any previously existing government, but by the people themselves,—a primary and supreme

<sup>1</sup> Walker's Life of Hooker, p. 125.

law by which the government is constituted, and which not only provides for the free choice of magistrates by the people, but also sets the bounds and limitations of the power and place to which each magistrate is called."<sup>1</sup>

Professor Alexander Johnston says:—

"Here is the first practical assertion of the right of the people, not only to choose but to limit the powers of their rulers,—an assertion which lies at the foundation of the American system."<sup>2</sup>

John Fiske says:—

"The Connecticut Constitution was the first written Constitution known to history that created a government, and it marked the beginnings of American democracy, of which Thomas Hooker deserves more than any other man to be called the father. The government of the United States to-day is in lineal descent more nearly related to that of Connecticut than to that of any other of the thirteen colonies."<sup>3</sup>

In May, 1639, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Haynes went to Massachusetts to renew negotiations about the Confederation which had been unsuccessfully begun two years before. Mr. Hooker preached a sermon of more than two hours in length before the Governor, and we know that the result of this visit was an agreement of the Commissioners of the various Colonies in twelve articles, which constituted in effect, for certain matters of common interest, a federal government under the title of the "United Colonies of New England."<sup>4</sup> This Federal Constitution prepared the way for that of 1787.

We now turn to another step in the development of our national political life, and again we find the moving spirit was a Congregational clergyman. We refer to the famous

<sup>1</sup> Centennial Conf. Address, pp. 152, 153.    <sup>2</sup> Conn., p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Beginnings of New England, pp. 127, 128.    <sup>4</sup> Winthrop, ii. 121, 127.

"Body of Liberties," which Massachusetts Bay adopted in 1641, and which was mainly the work of the Rev. Nathaniel Ward, of Ipswich, who graduated at Emmanuel College in 1603, one year before Thomas Hooker entered. This "Body of Liberties" formed the basis of the law and civil government of the Massachusetts Colony.

"In one hundred sections it lays down the substantial principles securing life, liberty, property, etc., and the methods of civil administration adapted to the time. It was fully studied and amended in the towns, and was adopted in the most deliberate way."<sup>1</sup>

Nathaniel Ward had studied law in England, and he was of course most intimate with Thomas Hooker; for, not only as graduates of the same college, but in their weekly ministers' meetings, they must have met often and compared views. This is significant, for both Nathan Dane and Rev. Manasseh Cutler, who wrote the Ordinance of 1787, came from the same town as Ward,—Ipswich.<sup>2</sup> The laws and customs of New England were enforced by the magistrates in the spirit of a "sacred trust," for they were not accustomed to use office for personal ends.

We now pass to the most important of all legislative enactments that Congress ever passed with regard to the public domain,—the Ordinance of 1787.

Mr. Shosuke Sato,<sup>3</sup> after reviewing carefully the claims

<sup>1</sup> Weeden, Vol. i. p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> So far as we know, the significant fact has not heretofore been noticed, that, whoever wrote the Ordinance of 1787, whether Nathan Dane, as stated by Daniel Webster, or Dr. Manasseh Cutler, as stated by Dr. Poole, it emanated from Ipswich, Mass., the home of Nathaniel Ward, the author of the Body of Liberties.

<sup>3</sup> Land Question in the United States.

of different men to the authorship of the Ordinance, says:—

"Mr. Poole's article remains the masterpiece on the subject of the Ordinance of 1787."

This article of Dr. Poole<sup>1</sup> says:—

"On the 13th of July, 1787, the Congress of the old Confederation, sitting in New York, passed an 'Ordinance for the Government of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio,' which has passed into history as the 'Ordinance of 1787.'

"The territory embraced what is now the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Its provisions have since been applied to all the Territories of the United States lying north of latitude 36° 40', which now comprises the States of Iowa, Minnesota, Nebraska, and Oregon. August 7, 1789, the Constitution of the United States, having then been adopted, Congress among its earliest acts passed one recognizing the binding force of the Ordinance of 1787, and adapting its provisions to the Federal Constitution.

"The Ordinance, in the breadth of its conceptions, its details, and its results, has been perhaps the most notable instance of legislation that was ever enacted by the representatives of the American people. It fixed forever the character of the immigration, and of the social, political, and educational institutions of the people who were to inhabit this imperial territory,—then a wilderness, but now covered by five great States, and increasing with more than ten million persons, or one-fourth of the entire population of the United States. It forever prohibited slavery and involuntary servitude,—that pestilent element of discord and tyranny in our American system, which then existed in all the States except Massachusetts, where it had come to an end by a decision of its Supreme Court only four years before. It declared that 'religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall always be encouraged.' It prohibited the feudal law of primogeniture, and provided that the property of a parent dying intestate should be divided equally among his children or next of kin; that no person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments; that the inhabitants shall always be entitled to

<sup>1</sup> North American Review, April, 1876.

the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, of trial by jury, of a proportional representation in the legislature, and of judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law; that all persons shall be bailable unless for capital offences, when the proof shall be evident, or the presumption great; that all fines shall be moderate, and no cruel and unusual punishment shall be inflicted; that no man shall be deprived of his liberty or property but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land; and should the public exigencies make it necessary to take any man's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same; and in the just preservation of his rights and property, it is understood and declared that no law ought ever to be made or have force in said territory that shall in any manner whatever interfere with or affect private contracts or engagements *bona fide* and without fraud previously made.

"This was the first embodiment in written constitutional law of a provision maintaining the obligation of contracts. Six weeks later it was, on motion of Mr. King, of Massachusetts, incorporated in the draft of the Constitution of the United States."

" . . . Every square mile of territory that was covered by the Ordinance of 1787 was patriotic, and gave its men and its means for the support of the Union."

"Dr. Manasseh Cutler, of *Ipswich, Mass.*, arrived July 5th.

"In April, 1788, the Ohio Company made the first English settlement of the Northwest Territory at Marietta, Ohio, at the mouth of the Muskingum, on the land which Dr. Cutler had bought on this occasion. General Washington,<sup>1</sup> writing from Mount Vernon, two months later, said: 'No colony in America was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just commenced at the Muskingum. Information, property, and strength will be its characteristics. I know many of the settlers personally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community. If I were a young man, just preparing to begin the world, or, if advanced in life and had a family to make provision for, I know of no country where I should rather fix my habitation than in some part of that region.'

"Massachusetts had in 1780 abolished slavery, established public schools for general education, and framed the most advanced code of laws

<sup>1</sup> Sparks' edition of Washington's Writings, Vol. ix. p. 385.

concerning the liberties and natural rights of man, civil jurisprudence, and public polity, which the world had then seen.

"The Ordinance of 1787 is a condensed abstract of the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780. Every principle contained in the former, either in a germinal or developed form, except that relating to the obligation of contracts, and some temporary provisions relating to the organization of the territorial government, is found in the latter, and often in the same phraseology."

In 1830 Daniel Webster, in his answer to Hayne, ascribed the authorship to Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts. Mr. Benton, of Missouri, said it was not the work of Nathan Dane, but of Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia. Hon. Edward Coles, Governor of Illinois (1822-26), in January, 1856, claimed the honor for Jefferson. Dr. Poole clearly proved that it could not have been the work of Jefferson.

Of the Ordinance, Daniel Webster said:—

"We are accustomed to praise the lawgivers of antiquity; we help to perpetuate the fame of Solon and Lycurgus; but I doubt whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787. We see its consequences at this moment, and we shall never cease to see them perhaps while the Ohio shall flow."<sup>1</sup>

Judge Story said:—

"The Ordinance is remarkable for the brevity and exactness of its text and for its masterly display of the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty."<sup>2</sup>

Judge Timothy Walker said:—

"Upon the surpassing excellence of the Ordinance no language of panegyric would be extravagant. The Romans would have imagined some divine Egeria for its author. It approaches as nearly to absolute perfection as anything to be found in the legislation of mankind; for

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Webster, *Work*, iii. 263.

<sup>2</sup> Story's *Commentaries*, iii. 187.

after the experience of fifty years it would perhaps be impossible to alter a word without marring it. In short, it is one of those matchless specimens of sagacious forecast which even the reckless spirit of innovation would not venture to assail."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Poole clearly showed that this Ordinance was the work of the Rev. Manasseh Cutler, of Ipswich. He admits that it was in the handwriting of Dane, whom Webster credited with being its author, but both Dane and Cutler came from Ipswich,—Dane being the member from the Essex district. Ipswich was the home of Nathaniel Ward, the author of the "Body of Liberties," and he was the great friend of Thomas Hooker. It must be that Congregationalism in Ipswich was thoroughly imbued with sound piety and political sagacity, and we imagine we know its origin. It was Rev. Nathaniel Ward, who was trained to the law and practised it in England.

Let us examine one more political document, famous as a title-deed to liberty,—the Emancipation Proclamation.

In the early part of the century a Congregational home missionary settled upon this Western Reserve, at Tallmadge, Ohio, and afterward moved to Detroit, Mich., when a son was born to him. This boy became one of the heroic, distinguished, and useful men in the denomination. His name was Leonard Bacon. He wrote a tract on Slavery which fell into the hands of another Western boy,—Abraham Lincoln. When the Emancipation Proclamation became famous, and was recognized as worthy to be ranked with the Magna Charta and the Declaration of Independence, as one

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Poole, No. Am. Rev., April, 1876.

of the world's three title-deeds to liberty, Lincoln was asked as to the source of his inspiration, and he gave full credit to that tract of Dr. Bacon's for its influence upon him in his earlier years.<sup>1</sup>

It makes little difference, therefore, at what point we analyze the waters of that stream called "American History." The simple elements are ever the same. The Congregational idea is clearly revealed. At whatever point of vision we view the past four centuries, the same rugged truths stand out in bold relief against the sky. They are the basal ideas of Congregationalism on their religious side, and American democracy on their civil side. They are religion, morality, knowledge; liberty, equality, democracy. Individualism and socialism; egoism and Christian altruism; liberty by bondage to truth. We find these truths in the Connecticut Constitution of 1639, in the Body of Liberties of 1641, the Federal Compact of 1643, the Declaration of Independence, the Ordinance of 1787, the Constitution of 1789, and the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863. The Thirteenth Amendment, prohibiting slavery, is identical with the sixth clause in the Ordinance of 1787. All of these documents are the result largely of the influence and teaching of Congregational clergymen at periods in the nation's history most crucial and critical. As a spiritual force and polity the Congregational idea has been a powerful magnet, giving direction to all the religious, civil, and political forces in America. Thus the founders of this nation were men of

<sup>1</sup> Lincoln's Declaration to Dr. Jos. P. Thompson, Century Magazine, Vol. xxx, p. 658.

faith and wisdom. They went upon the mountain, and Christ was transfigured before them. They worshipped him. When they came down they built three tabernacles,—one to religion, one to morality, and one to knowledge.

It has been said they were narrow. So is electricity, but it is concentrated. Sometimes it is narrow; sometimes it is broad. Strange such narrow men should have been such powerful metaphysicians and theologians as Edwards, Taylor, Emmons, Hopkins, Stuart, Finney; and should be succeeded by such men of breadth as Mark Hopkins, Noah Porter, Hickok, and President Fairchild. True, they were Calvinists, and split hairs into sixteenths over such subjects as the freedom of the will, the state of the mind a minute before conversion; the doctrine of election, of foreordination. But they had a sense of the immanence and sovereignty of God, and of man's accountability to him, that would put the amiable doctrines of this age to shame. Where are the men to-day preaching the doctrine of sin and the persistence of force in character? Where is the heroic truth that has moral fibre and tissue; that has will for the basis of character instead of sentimentalism or emotion? And yet these fathers, while so severe with themselves, were tender and beautiful in their lives, gentle in manner, and lovely in character. This age needs to learn that love is made of sterner stuff than sentiment; that it seeks the good of all, and is not cultivated for subjective purposes. It can shoot Indians, throw tea overboard, and make quick work with disturbers of the public peace. They had virtue, moral dignity, moral character, because they had freedom which, as they had learned

from Christ, came from bondage to truth or law. They defined all of life in terms of faith and duty, and not in terms of expediency or sentiment.

Strange, is it not, that where Scotch piety prevails in its sternest type, Scotch bankers are the most reliable; where parents are most honored, that nation has outlived all others; and where stern sense of duty prevailed, the most beneficent economic conditions flourished.

The founders of America went to the heart of things, and psychology, no less than moral philosophy, as it is taught in our universities to-day, is the gift of Congregational clergymen to this age. But some say they had no religious toleration except in theory. This is the charge of the youngest son of the Adams family against his own ancestors and the founders of the Massachusetts Colony. Neither had our fathers Winchester rifles to shoot Indians with; nor could Paul Revere telephone the news of the arrival of the British; nor did they come over the ocean on the White Star Line, or bring stem-winding watches with them. These, all, were the fruit of a later age. So was religious toleration. One age must not judge another by its own standards. Brooks Adams has judged by the standards of to-day the men who founded Harvard College, and, as Dr. Poole well says in his review of the book,<sup>1</sup> it bears evidences throughout of the work of a callow lad.

But the Puritans sang psalm tunes through their noses; they wore wigs and enjoyed long sermons; they went to bed early to save candles. Do we not wish that our slums could

<sup>1</sup> Emancipation of Man.



be induced to do the same? They suffered slavery to exist. Emmons, Edwards, Hopkins, were hostile to involuntary servitude, and all preached against it. Emmons did so when it was sanctioned by his own State. Kidd says:—

“The two doctrines which contributed most to producing the extinction of slavery were the doctrine of salvation and the doctrine of the equality of all men before the Deity.”<sup>1</sup>

These two doctrines are the key-notes of Congregationalism. Massachusetts abolished slavery in 1780 in her Constitution. Pennsylvania and Connecticut made a partial abolition in 1784. De Tocqueville prophesied that slavery could not long exist in America in contact with American thought, and it did not. Judge Samuel Sewall, in 1700, printed a tract against slavery. He said:—

“These Ethiopians, as black as they are, seeing that they are the sons and daughters of the first Adam, the brethren and sisters of the last Adam, and the offspring of God, they ought to be treated with a respect agreeable.”

The family which did the most in America towards creating public opinion against slavery was the Beecher family,—Congregationalists. “Uncle Tom’s Cabin,” one of the greatest novels of history, was on every tongue, and Plymouth pulpit was protected by the police. Phillips Brooks was asked to name the three greatest Americans, and he said: Daniel Webster, Henry Ward Beecher, and Abraham Lincoln. They were all great and famous, because they were wedded to those Congregational ideas, liberty and equality. Dean Stanley and Canon Farrar both admitted that the church polity which the apostles acted upon was the Congregational.

<sup>1</sup> Social Evolution, p. 168.

The founders of American institutions believed in that orderly development of national life, evolution and not revolution, except as the latter was necessary to right wrongs which could be righted in no other way. First the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear. First the individual, then the family, then the church, then the state, and finally a nation. The doctrine of the sovereignty of the people thus established. It was nurtured in the township, it then took possession of the state, and finally of the nation. They never dreamed of a democratic Republic as being free, desirable, or sane except as it was founded on religion, morality, and education; and except as the right of franchise was in the hands of integral units who were themselves lovers of God and man. Person and property were to them safe so far as they were held to be sacred.

And when it came to the individual, they had scientific notions of his orderly development. They believed that religion strengthened the will, clarified the intellect, and softened the sensibilities. It was not simply the “sweetness and light” of an æsthetic dreamer nor an emotion; but it was renewed, strengthened, and healed from the impotency caused by sin; it was conscience awakened, educated, and ever operative, giving the only true conception of good-will; it was thought, broad in its sweep and comprehensive in its grasp, but none the less synthetic and analytic. It gave generalizations from an absolute knowledge of detail.

As Dr. Poole said:—

“From that prolific stock has sprung a race of men and women, who,



by character, energy, and ideas, have largely controlled the tier of Northern States from the Atlantic to the Pacific."<sup>1</sup>

Since these men landed on American shores, great advancement has been made in notions of religious toleration, of democracy, and of political liberty; but a loftier faith and heroism; a greater fortitude and self-denial; a keener insight into principles giving wisdom and political sagacity will never be found in the American people than that which characterized the Founders of this Republic.

But the times have changed. That tree planted by the rivers of water, that brought forth its fruit in due season, whose leaf did not wither, and whatsoever it did prospered, is now bearing sour fruit. Those branches may be, for the most part, the engrafted ones, but they are none the less a part of the tree. It may not have been wise to engraft so many, but it has been done, and it is our duty faithfully and with confidence in God, to treat them as a part of the tree, for whose fruit, be it good or bad, we are responsible. Let us examine the tree and its fruits.

And the first thing we notice is the swarms of parasites that are living upon it and eating into its very life. The ideas which were once considered an inspiration are being superseded, though we believe only temporarily. They are like the pulpit behind which once officiated an eminent New England divine, whom Judges and Governors delighted to honor, but which is now stored away under the hay in the loft of an old barn. And when it is the fashion to copy the old New England homestead,—its colonial architecture, so

<sup>1</sup> Dial, Jan. 1891.

simple; its low ceilings, small windows; its open hearth, with the crane, the spit, the kettles, the bellows, and even the andirons and tongs,—who knows but it may not be the fashion, and our clergymen will yet esteem it an honor, to preach behind those old pulpits, and again exalt the sovereignty of God and the exceeding sinfulness of sin and its sure reward. Who knows but the great mass of our people may yet learn, by bitter experience in the wilderness, that the way to the promised land is the same to-day, and forever; not by materialism and rationalism, which give expediency in the place of faith for a rule of conduct, but by following religion, morality, and knowledge as leaders, instead of politics and economics.

But that tree under whose branches the fowls of the air have found lodgment and shelter; which poet and scholar in every age have praised, from Coleridge to our own Whittier and Holmes; from De Tocqueville to Bryce and Von Holst, is now passing through a new experience. Cut it down, shrieks the anarchist; Replant it, cries the socialist; Shower it with gold, says the economist; Let me manage it, says the demagogue. But the true husbandman has it under his own care. He planted it, he digged about for it, he trimmed it, cared for it when it was a sapling, and now he is simply pruning it that it may bring forth more fruit.

We cannot agree with President Eliot, that the Morians resemble, in any particular, the founders of this republic; nor are we attracted by the intimation of doubt in his latest inquiry as to whether this country can endure.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Forum, Oct. 1894.

T. P. O'Connor, member of Parliament, has even gone so far as to revile our Constitution. He said:—

"The Constitution of the United States is, in my judgment, one of the most unjustly eulogized instruments of political history. . . . It is a machine, which to a large extent means not the regulation, but the paralysis of government."<sup>1</sup>

Von Holst pertinently asks if the United States Senate ought to be abolished.<sup>2</sup>

That scavenger, the sparrow, imported in an evil hour, is making war on our native birds of plumage and of song that have delighted the eye with their beauty, and have filled our trees with their melody. As Senator Edmunds said before the Squantum Club, "We are suffering from an overdose of Europe." Howells called upon Hawthorne forty years ago, and Hawthorne said he 'would like to see some part of the country on which the shadow of Europe had not fallen.'<sup>3</sup> In 1840 William Ellery Channing wrote:—

"Sooner than that our laboring classes should become a European populace, a good man would almost wish that perpetual hurricanes driving every ship from the ocean, should sever wholly the two hemispheres from each other. . . . Anything, everything, should be done to save us from the social evils which deform the old world."<sup>4</sup>

Washington urged the American people to remain so far as possible isolated from Europe. President Woolsey showed that the question of "Equilibrium," which occasions so much solicitude and diplomacy in foreign nations, could never disturb us, owing to our isolation. But the equilib-

<sup>1</sup> Chicago Tribune, Sept. 14, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> Monist, October, 1894.

<sup>3</sup> Harper's Magazine, August, 1894, p. 444.

<sup>4</sup> Channing's Works, p. 65.

rium of forces within our nation is a far more serious question and an inviting field for thought. And this question arises because of the rapid development of our manufacturing industries paying much larger wages than in Europe, and our untilled lands offering hope of reward. The consequent result is an enormous influx of foreigners, and especially of the dependent, deficient, and delinquent classes.

We cannot here give all the statistics of immigration. They are alarming. Dr. Strong estimates the foreign population from the Tenth Census to be 15,000,000, and in 1900 estimates it will be 43,000,000.<sup>1</sup> He says:—

"During the past four years we have suffered a peaceful invasion by an army more than twice as vast as the estimated number of Goths and Vandals that swept over Southern Europe and overwhelmed Rome."<sup>2</sup>

and what does life in the slums show? The Hon. Carlisle D. Wright, in his seventh special report to the President, reports that liquor saloons and illiteracy flourish in the slums and among foreign born nearly as two to one, compared with native born. The foreign-born voters are as follows: Baltimore, 30.13 per cent; Chicago, 50.62 per cent; New York, 42.93 per cent; Philadelphia, 29.94 per cent. Vice, disease, and crime follow these statistics intimately. Venality in politics is increasing rapidly, for politics is not slow to trade for the miseries of the poor. Demagogism is rampant, and the thought which once held men seems no longer able to control them. As Kidd says, "The fact of our time which overshadows all others is the arrival of Democracy."

We agree with him, but it is not that Demos whom our

<sup>1</sup> Our Country, p. 40. <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

fathers knew who has been honored and respected in this country as a familiar figure for two and a half centuries. It is a foreign Demos who frequents the saloon; sells his vote, which the American people have so generously bestowed upon him; who shouts for Coxe and Debs. It is not the Demos who was a friend to Thomas Hooker in 1639. It is a foreign Demos who has had good cause to find fault abroad with the laws of primogeniture, entailment, landed aristocracy and titled nobility. Such an environment as European nations furnish, makes Demos a divine missionary there, but he cannot frame the same indictment against American institutions that he would against monarchies and have it hold.

The great friend and ally of Demos is Politics. Some evil spirit has led Politics upon an high mountain, and showed him all the kingdoms of the world, and said unto him, "All these things will I give thee if thou wilt fall down and worship me." Of course Politics says: "Is thy servant a dog that he should do this thing?" And, as Dr. Bacon said, "the dog did it." We know there is one flaw in that promise of that evil spirit to Politics: he cannot deliver the goods. But politics has no faith,—it is selfish, materialistic, rationalistic, full of expedients and of demagogism.

The influence of politics upon thought is most marked. Economics has already begun to bow the knee and worship at the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and dulcimer; but there are three, like Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who will never bow the knee to the golden image. They are Religion, Morality, and Knowledge. They are pass-

ing through the fiery furnace of experience, and for centuries have been tried.

There is a deal of misapprehension in this day on the wage question. There are many industries in which the toil-ers are underpaid; and many, in which the women and children compete, that are positively wicked and shameful. But these are not forgotten in the scramble of well-paid men for more, and are used largely as texts merely to show up the miseries of the poor and oftener as pretexts, or a justification of violence. The great body of intelligent workmen employed in the manufacturing industries in the United States are well paid, considering the qualifications required; for it is ever true that the more mind that is mixed with muscle, the greater the reward. That is all that distinguishes "skilled" workmen. Few millionaires, comparatively, have made their fortunes in manufacturing, and the few that have so acquired it were, for the most part, protected by patents, which is a testimony to brain, and not to brawn.

The American people are sympathetic, they love fair play, hence they are easily misled by demagogues of the press and platform upon the subject of the relation of capital to labor. The truth is that both capital and labor are drugs in the market to-day, and what is needed, is men of executive ability and brains to bring them together to their mutual advantage. Brains are never a drug in the market. It costs more to sell a piano than to make it. The laborers imagine that when an article is created it is sold. They seem to think it sells itself. They find no use for executive ability, and very little for capital. The everlasting proposition of economics,

overlooked by many, is this: *Every manufactured article is the product of brains, capital, and brawn.* The laborers say: "We move the world because you cannot do without us"; but capital and executive force have an equal right to make the same claim. It is a tripartite agreement, and no one of the three partners can claim the entire honor or credit for the result. Interest for capital, salaries for the brain-worker, and wages for the manual toiler. Capital is the heart; brains the head; and labor the hands. One cannot do without the others; but, taken together, they produce results. Capital and ability are under the same obligations to share with labor their part of the product that a woman is to divide her wardrobe with the cook; or, a clergyman on a good salary to share his earnings with the sexton; or, the lawyer to pay the office student for the first year's work in his office. It is a matter of Christian duty, and not of legality; it is a question of Christian stewardship, and not of law. When labor organizations, therefore, demand, as a legal or moral right, what is theirs only by the higher laws of the spiritual kingdom, and then only as the free gift of the steward, they are making their necessities the ground for legal action. This is precisely what the anarchist does. Just here is where so many clergymen find themselves on the same platform with violators of law. Poverty, from whatever cause, becomes not simply a misfortune, and deserving of help, but the ground for an indictment against society; and, therefore, a legal demand.

This distinction is important, and must be kept clearly in mind; for the demands of labor to-day are not based upon grounds of brotherhood, good-will, and Christian steward-

ship, for that is benevolence, but upon grounds of legal justice and natural rights. Hence Commons' new book<sup>1</sup> says that a right to employment is a natural right of man,—a most dangerous and absurd proposition to teach the young, but it is being taught in our schools. The *Chicago Journal of Political Economy* says the book is a disguised attempt at socialism.

The attack which is made on our industries by labor organizations in the form of demands for wages that are out of all proportion to those paid in other countries, is doing more to crush them than foreign competition or free trade. The protection which American industries need to-day is a deeper feeling of loyalty to invested capital, which must have its just reward or it will seek new fields for activity; and to executive ability, which is always the wise captain that leads to victory. These deserve protection no less than the manual toiler. The *London Times*, in commenting on the Debs strike, said editorially:—

"The questions of currency, depreciation, silver, etc., sink into insignificance compared with the immense reduction in the returns on capital due to a continual rise in wages."

The *Wall Street Daily News* gives a list of three hundred million dollars of income bonds, not made of water, which have,—with the exception of eleven million dollars,—never paid a cent of income, and the eleven millions very little. Where can money be invested in manufacturing industries that are safe? The condition of our railroads—their earnings, and the number in the hands of receivers,—will reveal the undis-

<sup>1</sup> Distribution of Wealth.

puted fact that the wage-earners on railroads are receiving their full share of the product or receipts.

The Massachusetts "Report on Statistics of Labor" of 1890 will prove interesting reading. On "Net Profits" it says:—

"The year selected was a normal one. Returns from 137 cotton goods establishments show that allowing five per cent for capital and ten per cent for depreciation and selling expenses there was no net profit but actual loss. Allowing two per cent for depreciation and one per cent for selling expenses the profit left was 2.23 per cent to reward capital for its part of the product."

The truth is, that monopolies and trusts began largely as economic necessities owing to the increased demands of labor. Trusts have thus increased and grown until now they menace the state. Capital is moved by the law of self-preservation, no less than other forms of life. Combinations of capital have arisen for the purpose of diminishing the cost of production, because organized labor has taken the lion's share of the product in many industries, not protected by patents or by a high tariff. The professors in our colleges and universities have far greater justification for organizing, and going on strikes, than the workmen in nineteen cases out of twenty; for our professors have a large capital investment in the form of an education. Imagine the professors of a college, as the chapel bell strikes for recitation, going out in a body, picketing the campus to keep out competition, and watching the railroad trains to inquire of every stranger who has unusual space above the eyes, if he is coming to supplant the poor, over-worked, down-trodden, and despised professors.

Seventy-one per cent of the nation's wealth is in the hands of nine per cent of the population, it is said. If so, it were a grievous fault, and grievously hath Cæsar answered it. The truer proportion, considering foreign born, dependents, delinquents, and deficient, is that fifty per cent of our wealth is in the hands of twenty per cent of the people.

Let us not be interpreted as saying a word against ameliorating the condition of the poor. This is a duty pressing upon the American people, not because, in the main, the lower classes have been exploited or robbed or deprived of any rights,—though the exceptions to this general rule are many and distressing, and deserving of legal redress in the form of statutory regulation; but because the great laws of brotherhood and good-will enforced by the spirit and precepts of Christianity make humanity one. This takes on the form of friendship and fellowship no less than of charity; and of justice in the way of legal enactments regulating hours of labor, child labor, sweat shops, and any forms of injustice where man's greed overlooks the laws of humanity. Justice, also, can punish for violations of respect for person and property, whether on the part of the poor or the wealthy.

We are not arguing against the rights of the poor, nor restricting the full force of the laws of Christian brotherhood as taught and exemplified by Christ. We simply object to well paid organized labor, like the Indian, dodging behind innocent women and children, whenever it is likely to be punished for its misdeeds.

Politics is demanding not only that economics shall bow the knee and worship, but it is dictating terms to our courts

and to the powers that enforce the laws. It cracks the whip over the heads of our Executive and of our Judiciary. It demands a new ruling on what constitutes contempt of court; it seeks favorable decisions on the rights of conspiracy, and strikes accompanied by violence; and it would, if it could, compel arbitration against constitutional rights whenever demagogues and wage-earners put their heads together and need more funds for campaign purposes. It protects gambling, prostitution, Sabbath breaking, and the saloon. Economics has awakened to find itself famous. It feels flattered by the attention it is receiving. It is beginning to bow the knee. We refer not entirely to the economics of the schools; but that of the common people believed in and acted upon by the allies of politics. May not standard thinkers be replaced by the popular writers in course of time?

Kidd says:—

“Socialism seems to many minds to have been born again, and to be entering on the positive and practical stage.”<sup>1</sup>

But the theories of the newer school, simply enlarging the limits of economics to include all the wants of man, must not be confounded with the popular economics which we may call “demagogical economics or the economics of the street and of the slums.” The latter would have the equal distribution of the product artificial, and not natural; material, and not spiritual. It would have the common people believe they can be made happy by Act of Congress; by environment and externals; and no longer by homely hon-

<sup>1</sup> Social Evolution, p. 8.

esty, vulgar industry, and plebeian thrift; not by reformation from within. Wealth comes by inspiration, not by perspiration, they think. Politics, therefore, in company with a vagabond economics, clothed in the garb of saviours, are in the van; while religion, morality, and knowledge, the fruitage of faith that once controlled men, have gone to the rear.

But a new school of Christian economics has arisen, endeavoring to meet the demand of the times and the wants of men.

“It is no longer the school of Hobbes, and Locke, of Hume, Adam Smith, Bentham, Ricardo, and Mill.”<sup>1</sup>

The influence of Ruskin and Carlyle, who never imagined themselves economists, and whose principal efforts were stray snarls or isolated indictments of the English environment, have found a fruitage calling for new writers like Jevons and Cliffe Leslie.

Professor Alfred Marshall has widened out the science into an attempt to explain all our social phenomena, so that Mr. Leslie Stephens' scientific principle comes nearer a standard by which to judge:—

“A genuine scientific theory implies a true estimate of the great forces which mould institutions and, therefore, a true appreciation of the limits within which they might be modified by any proposed change.”

To meet these enlarged views of economics a comparatively new science has arisen which we call Sociology. If we expand economics to include a study of all the related phenomena of the science of life in its social aspects we shall have sociology. And this Professor Simon N. Patten is endeavor-

<sup>1</sup> See Kidd, p. 23.

ing to accomplish. Man as a bread-winner is giving away to man in his efforts to satisfy all his wants. In other words economics is usurping the place of religion and ethics.

The remarkable fact of to-day is the prominence given to social themes, therefore, and this is the result largely of the arrival of Demos. Economics and politics are leading the people. Karl Marx has been the Bible of the lower classes in England, and he was a materialist.<sup>1</sup>

"The development which Marx contemplated is, it may be observed, thoroughly materialistic; it takes no account of those prime evolutionary forces which lie behind the whole process of our social development. The phenomenon which has been called the exploitation of labor is in no way new or special to our time."<sup>2</sup> "Social forces, new, strange, and altogether immeasurable have been released among us." "The one absolutely new and special feature which distinguishes the relations of the workers to the state and to the capitalist class as compared with all past periods is that the exploited classes, as the result of an evolution long in progress . . . have been admitted to the exercise of political power on a footing which tends more and more to be one of actual equality with those who have hitherto held them in subjection."

Kidd's generalization will hold in the American environment only as to the novelty of the spectacle. And Ruskin's definition of religion applies abroad, and not here:—

"Our national religion is the performance of Church ceremonies and preaching of soporific truths (or untruths) to keep the mob quietly at work while we amuse ourselves."

It is thus seen that Kidd's English Demos is not only different from our American Demos, as he has been known here for nearly three centuries, but he resembles very strongly our

<sup>1</sup> See *Introd. to Das Kapital*, Kidd, p. 217.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 218.

American politics. He is materialistic, rationalistic, and knows no morals but that of expediency.

This rationalism and materialism which results from following politics and economics as leaders will usher in a French Revolution, unless economics and politics are soundly converted and bring forth fruits meet for repentance. As well might one hope for fruit in due season from a tree planted with its branches in the ground and its roots in the air, as to displace religion, morality, and knowledge with politics or economics, and expect good fruit. The result will be rationalism in the place of faith, expediency in the place of morality, and error in the place of truth. Politics and economics cannot pull the beam out of their own eye; how can they see clearly to pull out the mote that is in their brother's eye! We are realizing the words of Macaulay, that there is no tyranny like the tyranny of a democracy. Utilitarianism, materialism, rationalism, exalted by the vote of a majority,—in other words, resulting from the spread of the spirit of democracy among the ignorant and vicious,—marks one of the earlier stages in the line of development through which a free democratic republic must pass. If the children in the public schools could elect their teachers by popular vote, we need not be surprised to find a menagerie at the head of the school in the place of wisdom, until they learn by experience that wild animals are ignorant and vicious.

Majorities cannot change the nature of things. The town pump cannot furnish milk by vote of the people; sixteen parts of silver to one of gold cannot be made a true ratio by Act of Congress, unless all nations agree to call it so for pur-

poses of convenience; the principles of Euclid are not changed by time or by majorities. A nation must be true to the nature of things, and then it will be true to itself. Politics and economics have not, never did have, and never will have the qualities of leadership. They were present when Mary broke the alabaster box of ointment, and exclaimed: "Why was not this sold for three hundred pence and given to the poor?" But religion, like the sweet perfume that filled the house with its fragrance, has never put a money value on affection or spiritual forces. It is politics that is trying to reward patriotism with pay; while religion and morality would provide for the invalid from motives of gratitude and not as assumed equivalents.

The influence of politics is seen again in the demands of socialism, that the state shall assume charge of production both in the natural monopolies and in the competitive industries. Kidd seems to be misled at this point when he says:—

"Socialism seems to many minds to have been born again and to be entering on the positive and practical stage."<sup>1</sup>

Socialism is simply joining hands with politics to defeat the old conception of the duties and functions of the state: that state is the best which gives the largest individual freedom compatible with the common welfare.

Rev. Philip S. Moxom, who is a scientific socialist and makes the amusing claim that it is identical with Christian socialism, says:—

"England furnishes, perhaps, the most notable example of the pres-

<sup>1</sup> Social Evolution, p. 8.

ent rapid progress towards socialism as evinced by its actual municipal and national collectivism."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Moxom, it seems to us, simply confounds the natural heat of an excited body with that which comes from a high fever. The natural monopolies, which he cites as being assumed by the government, are not evidences of the growth of socialism. When a government assumes exclusive control of the competitive and private industries, and begins to make soap and matches and shoes for the people, that will be socialism. England, Germany, France, America, have as yet taken no practical steps in this direction. Mr. Moxom attributes the struggle for bread to *selfishness*. He confounds selfishness with self-interest,—a most common and fatal blunder of emotional economists.<sup>2</sup>

When questions like the equitable distribution of the product are referred to Sunday pulpits for solution, would not Christ say: "Man, who made me a judge and divider over thee?" Economic falsehood does not become truth by pulpit indorsement. The economic instincts of men must not be violated by passionate and prejudiced judgments on such broad themes as distribution of property. The churches that imagine they have espoused the cause of wage-earners, and prejudge their case, will be the last to gain the confidence of these same wage-earners when the naked truth in its heroic aspects is demanded by all. Economics must be defined in terms of intellect and not of emotion. The wage-earners' indictment of society is just here, and it cer-

<sup>1</sup> New Eng. Mag., March, 1894, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.



tainly demands the most careful inquiry, for it can be conceived that John might say to nine out of ten, "Be content with your wages." Christ might say: "Take that thine is and go thy way. Can I not do what I will with mine own?" "Did'st not thou agree with me for a penny?" This reply came in answer to a demand for artificial distribution. As R. T. Ely truly says:—

"There is no possibility of escape from toil and suffering. . . . It is the duty of all those who have the ear of the masses to tell them this plain truth, even if it be not altogether palatable."<sup>1</sup>

And that genuine economic scholar, Arthur T. Hadley, says:—

"A nation must let intellect rule over emotion whether it likes intellect or not. The alternative is political and industrial suicide."<sup>2</sup>

In a country so conceived and developed, with such enlightened principles for its foundation; amid forces so complex and perplexing, the Debs insurrection came.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Forum, Oct. 1894, p. 183.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> The question as to whether it was an insurrection has not yet been decided. Judge Grosscup said in his charge to the Federal Grand Jury that indicted Debs: "Insurrection is a rising against civil or political authority; an open and active opposition of a number of persons to the execution of laws in a city or state. Now the laws of the United States forbid under penalty any person from obstructing or retarding the passage of the mails and make it the duty of the officer to arrest such offenders and bring them before the court. If, therefore, it shall appear to you that any person or persons have wilfully obstructed or retarded the mails, and that their attempted arrest for such offense has been opposed by such a number of persons as would constitute a general uprising in that particular locality, and as threatens, for the time being, the civil and political authority, then the fact of an insurrection within the meaning of the law has been established." The definition adopted by the court is from Webster's Dictionary. Anderson's Dictionary of Law

The forces which gave it birth had been developed by well-known causes, and are so plain that a wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err therein. They were hatred of capital by labor; the rise and growth of organized labor unions which look to politics for salvation; the growing disrespect of these unions for law, and their vicious practices in contrast with their honied theories; the increase of demagogism and of its friend and ally, the saloon; the natural envy and hatred of the unsuccessful and the unfortunate for the successful and well-to-do; false political economy of the slums as to the origin of value and the causes of poverty; emotional sympathy on the part of many for those who are reaping the results of violated law,—not distinguishing between the Lord's poor and the devil's poor; amiable answers to socialism, and sweetened rose-water for criminals; the pardon of the anarchists, and reviling of the courts by a demagogue Governor; monopolies and trusts that threaten to destroy the State; indifference of the educated classes to politics; wrong notions of liberty, equality, and the rights of property among the voting majority; and, finally, the inflammable material in the form of ignorant foreignism that welcomes any change as one for the better, that follows the beck and nod of demagogues, and, that, in our congested cities, creates our judiciary. Pullman's treatment of his employes, while it was apparently utterly selfish, was not the cause of the Debs insurrection. It defines insurrection to be: "A rising against civil or political authority; the open and active opposition of a number of persons to the execution of the law in the city or state." It cites *Allegheny County vs. Gibson*, 90 Pa., 417 (1879). The jury found a true bill against Debs on this ground, judging from the evidence.

was, at the most, merely the occasion of it, and need not again be mentioned. It was the best text that could be found to serve as a pretext for violence; but Debs' genuine regard for the Pullman employes finds as little convincing proof as the proposition that Pullman built fine houses to improve the character of his men through their environment rather than to make a fine appearing town which should bear his name and be profitable and creditable to him. Pullman's evident attempt to pose as a philanthropist and as the genuine friend of his wage-earners will not bear investigation. As such, he was, however, better than Debs.

But who was Debs? Was he to the manor born and in sympathy with our institutions, a lover of law and order? Did he go forth to battle in behalf of the down-trodden and oppressed, inspired by a deep sense of their wrongs; jeopardizing his own life and liberty by espousing conscientiously the cause of labor? Was he a John Brown or a Nathan Hale, who forgot self in his devotion to his notions of duty? Not at all. He was a graduate of an institution for the cure of drunkards. He lived extravagantly on poor men's money at the best hotel, smoked fine Havanas and sent wordy telegrams to his wife at the expense of the laboring men. He was probably sober while the battle was on, but was intoxicated with notions of his own importance and of his power and influence,—having just waged a successful battle with the Northern Pacific. He was desperate in his determination to show his power as a leader of organized labor, and was willing to paralyze the industries of a nation in order to do it. If he thought to increase the wages of the Pullman

employes by ordering a boycott on all Pullman cars, and then on all railroads that sympathize with those roads that hauled the Pullman cars, he was simply beside himself. Debs knew well the import and result of his orders. On July 15th he said:—

“This is not a strike. This is an evolutionary revolution.”

To the Railway Managers he wrote:—

“The strike, small and comparatively unimportant in its inception, has extended in every direction, until now it involves or threatens not only every public interest, but the peace, security, and prosperity of our common country. The contest has waged fiercely. It has extended far beyond the limits of interests originally involved and has laid hold of a vast number of industries and enterprises in no wise responsible for the differences and disagreements that led to the trouble. Factory, mill, mine, and shop have been silenced. Widespread demoralization has sway. The interests of multiplied thousands of innocent people are suffering. The common welfare is seriously menaced. The public peace and tranquillity are in peril. Grave apprehension of the future prevails.”

It thus appears that Debs knew well that he was virtually inciting to riot and insurrection. The telegrams which he subsequently signed with his own hand, and all of which he denied in his defence, were, by reason of this knowledge, criminal and insurrectionary. And he did sign them himself, for the Grand Jury that indicted him took pains to select such telegrams, out of several thousand, as bore his own handwriting, knowing that he would probably deny all others.<sup>1</sup> And what did the Mayor of Chicago do? He took from this Dictator the permit to remove some dead animals for the sake of the public health. Who shall say that politics has

<sup>1</sup> The writer of this article was a member of the Grand Jury.

not usurped the place of morality in the leadership of the common people? What is treason?

Article III. Section 3 of the Constitution says:—

“Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.”

Did Debs give aid and comfort to the enemies of this government, or are the enemies of a nation only hostile foreigners who would destroy it?

Article V. Amendment of the Constitution says:—

“Nor shall any person be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law.”

The Debs insurrection cost nearly a hundred lives and as many millions of dollars. Was this constitutional?

Article VIII. says:—

“Cruel and unusual punishments shall not be inflicted.”

Debs said:—

“The public need not come to us with supplications, for we shall not hear them” (July 13th).

And what say the leaders of the labor organizations of this insurrection? Not one has condemned it, nor have the unions done so by any resolutions. Mr. Robert Bandlow, of Cleveland, Ohio, takes exceptions to this statement, and says that Mr. Sovereign's order to strike was not obeyed, and that Mr. Gompers' opinions must not be confounded with those of the individuals who compose the unions. Mr. Arthur's refusal to join the Debs strike and to order out the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers is also cited. The writer refers to pub-

lic utterances of labor unions, not on the folly of the strike, but on its wickedness. They condemned President Cleveland for interfering to protect the lives and property of innocent citizens who had looked in vain to a sycophant Mayor and a demagogue Governor for protection. The representatives of three hundred and fifty labor unions sent word to Governor Altgeld:—

“We insist that your excellency take legal steps to compel the withdrawal of said army forces at once.”

On July 13th, the American Federation of Labor passed the following resolution:—

“The heart of labor everywhere throbs responsive to the manly purposes and sturdy struggle of the American Railway Union in its heroic endeavor to redress the wrongs of the Pullman employees.”

But they deemed a sympathy strike at that time *inexpedient!* At the head of this organization is the man who usually prefaces his public addresses with the statement that labor produces all value<sup>1</sup>; that the laborers are the exploited classes, and that capital is a parasite of labor. This is Karl Marx pure and simple. It may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that the wage-earners in the main hold the following to be self-evident truths:—

1. Value is created by labor alone.
2. Capital may be the fruit of yesterday's toil, but it takes an unjust part of the product.
3. Executive ability plays little or no part in production.
4. Poverty is largely the result of unjust distribution.
5. The church is the friend of entrenched capital, and not of labor.

<sup>1</sup> See Gompers' address in Boston at the time of the Homestead riots, and in Chicago on the Lake Front in 1893.

6. The hope of wage-earners (who are "slaves") is in artificial, and not in natural, distribution, which must come by law through the friendship of politics.

7. The true friends of labor are, therefore, not religion or morality, but politics and economics.

8. Christ was poor and a day laborer, a "walking delegate"; hence he is the wage-earner's friend, but the churches neither know him nor have seen him. Hence we cheer for Christ, and hiss the churches.

The Woman's Federal Labor Union has resolved that it—

"Takes its stand with the laborers and against the parasites who fatten upon them, for humanity and against inhumanity, for man and against mammon, and with our feeble strength we join in the fight to prevent this republic from being destroyed by a plutocratic despotism."

Was it a chance that the Debs insurrection occurred in a city like Chicago, the new centre of manufacturing industries, whose population is so largely foreign; where the anarchists were hung, and where the most daring projects, bad as well as good, are carried out,—a city distinguished for its ambition, enterprise, heroism, philanthropy, and faith no less than for its crimes, pauperism, and dirt. Was it a chance that it came in a city whose Mayor is a demagogue; in a State whose Governor is ineligible to the office of President of the United States because he was born in Prussia.<sup>1</sup> Where was the spirit of the Revolution when that insurrection came; where were the ideas of law and order so essential to the permanency and safety of a self-governed people?

Von Holst says<sup>2</sup> the highest type of commonwealth con-

<sup>1</sup> A foreign citizen is one who remains alien to the spirit of our institutions and ignorant of American ideas of liberty and law. He may be born abroad or in America.

<sup>2</sup> Journal of Political Economy for September.

ceivable to the human mind is that in which the rule of men is wholly supplanted by the government of law in the sense: (1) that no authority is possessed by the rulers except as organs of the law; (2) that all the members of the commonwealth are equally and absolutely subject to the law. This is precisely the conception of Thomas Hooker in 1639. Must these conceptions be laid aside at the behest of labor organizations that war on our Republic no less than on capital for the sake of a little more gain?

A scientific formula for producing insurrection and riot that will destroy a free democratic republic may here be given:—

1. Adopt a high protective tariff, thus increasing wages. Thus close the gates to foreign goods.
2. Open the gates wide to the toilers who make the goods. Put no restriction on immigration.
3. Make the price of an ocean passage ten dollars.
4. Adopt these foreigners into our national family as citizens with the right of franchise without property or character qualifications.
5. Elect the executive and judiciary by popular vote.
6. Make the cities attractive by taxing the property owners for parks, boulevards, free concerts and amusements.
7. In such congested centres where wealth and luxury are side by side with squalor and filth let the demagogue incite to hatred and passion by false teaching as to the causes of poverty.
8. Elect these demagogues guardians of the peace; let them make, interpret, and enforce the laws.
9. Organize the wage-earners into unions and then confederate these unions. Elect leaders whose commands are authoritative.
10. Warn them against religion, morality, and knowledge as allies of capital; exalt politics and economics as their friends.
11. Put a drunkard, an atheist, an alien at the head of all for absolute dictator, and then await the result.

The result may be riots, mobs, insurrection, revolution, anything that is lawless and destructive.

And this was the environment: churches for the wealthy, jails for the poor; hungry children trying to support widowed mothers by selling papers on the street for a cent apiece while they stare through the windows at children with hundred-dollar dolls and fifty-dollar poodle-dogs; the common people, hungry and hollow-eyed, like sheep without a shepherd, rushing after every new ism like anarchism, communism, socialism, Georgeism, Bellamyism; or after every false Christ like politics or economics, only to be deceived and used, and then to become discouraged, hardened, desperate. Then come suffering, want, degradation, starvation. Then organized charities giving us alms-giving and consequent pauperism. Is it a wonder that Debs paralyzed the industries of the country? But unless law is upheld, and Debs I. is punished for his crimes, Debs II. or Debs III. will overturn the government.<sup>1</sup>

Debs is now trying to form a new secret organization with the same hatred for law and order; with even greater confidence in politics and false economics for breastworks. From their new vantage-ground such men will again try their hand when a President is in power who does not wear a number 19 collar; when a more desperate set of demagogues dare defy the United States to call out troops in defence of person and property. Their ranks will be filled with the hungry, the criminals, the haters of mankind. That most despicable and dangerous class, who trade on the miseries of the poor—the cheap newspaper—will encourage and applaud their

<sup>1</sup> Von Holst.

rioting, and endeavor to make public opinion to justify their action.

Surely the times *have* changed. To many they seem to have changed for the worse; but a step in the line of development, even if it be downward, must not be interpreted as retrogression. Society sometimes seems, like a huge wave, to go downward, before rising with renewed momentum to a greater height. There are greater hopes awakened among the world's weary toilers than history has heretofore witnessed, and it is an omen for good, though attended with temporary frictions. We should not interpret society's growth in the spirit of pessimism, or have a thought of doubt as to God's evident plans for the raising of humanity to a higher level than the world has yet dreamed of. But the mistakes of humanity which retard and postpone the fulfilment are the real enemies of the people; and the mistaken and misled are easily enrolled in the ranks of anarchy and disorder.

The emancipation of the masses must surely come. Those who have been bound, for these many years, will be set free. But it must come from him who was anointed to preach the gospel to the poor; who came to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, the recovering of sight to the blind, and to set at liberty them that are bruised. In other words,—religion, morality, education, must be the divine forerunners of politics and economics, in a free democratic republic. The wage-earners will be won not by emotion, but by heroic truth and genuine good-will. But what will this liberty be? Will it be freedom from effort,

from industry, from economy, from the need of thrift, from the inexorable laws of the economic world which are as permanent and universal as the laws of gravitation? As well might we look for the sun to rise in the west, or for all the angles of a triangle to equal three right angles. As well might we ask that the laws of the universe be suspended or abrogated for our selfish benefit. But it will come by character revolution, no less than from environment, giving a love of toil, a desire to overcome and succeed by self-denial and thrift; by careful observance and obedience to law. But every form of oppression must cease and good-will must reign. The wage-earners, whom the world needs, must always be, and the reward for physical labor can never be, great. It must, however, be a living wage, and the wage-earners must be helped and respected as the children of God and our brethren. We are all the children of a common Father. A nation can never be civilized with its masses brutalized. It is the one opportunity of the ages to win the world by genuine friendship, earnest devotion to truth, sincere loyalty to the eternal principles of the gospel of Christ, the Alpha and Omega of which is heroic love.