

## OUR REPUBLIC.—HER CITIZENS AND HER NEEDS.

RELIGION, LEARNING, LIBERTY, LAW. THE FOUR GREAT FORCES OF CIVILIZATION.

An Address delivered before the New York Academy of Anthropology,  
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One of the sub-divisions of ethnology is *Government and Laws*, by which the different races are controlled and their prosperity developed, and it is to the subject of the government, laws and prosperity of our Republic and her citizens that I ask your attention. We also find under the head of ethnology *Religion*, and a distinguished ethnologist has said that against men and nations under control of doctrines of this character, the skeptical Greek, the materialistic Roman and the effete Persian were as certain to succumb as though their downfall had been written on their temples by a divine hand.

Professor Max Müller says: "It is language and religion that make a people, but religion is even a more powerful agent than language. Progress is the development of the energies and resources of a nation and the condition of civilization is where all these energies and resources are developed symmetrically and to a high degree, and we find both progress and civilization in their highest state where we find the acceptance of the Christian religion." The greatest men that this country has ever produced, have been churchmen of one denomination or another, Washington, Webster, Clay, Choate and Everett. All history shows that religion has always had an awakening and stimulating influence upon the intellectual powers. It is impossible that a nation should ever strive to imitate that which is its best and not actually grow toward something which is really better. We may be sure that as a teacher of ethics, religion would not so early, and in so many instances have become associated with government had it not been observed that the duties of man to man gained in observance through this connection. Even the faiths of the lower races have, in my opinion, acted as a lever, lifting them toward a higher ethical life. A perfected social rule is necessary and good; literature, music and art is necessary and good, but religion is absolutely necessary to the symmetrical development of any nation, in accordance with the laws of progress, up to a complete civilization. Alexander of Macedon and Julius Cæsar; Confucius and Mohammed; Phidias and Raphael; Plato and Bacon; Homer and Shakespeare all availed themselves of the receptivity to great thoughts and ambitions in the national and racial mind at the time to make their labors effective; and today, the wisest and most far sighted statesmen of our Republic will work together to teach the people that religion, learning, liberty and law are the four great forces of civilization. The world today is going through a great process of evolution, which recognizes the equality of all men before the law, and the right of every people to govern itself; the forms of monarchy and aristocracies will yield to republican governments, and international laws and arbiters will do away with wars and the necessity for maintaining standing armies, and religion must be and is the great conservative principle by which, during this evolutionary period, social order and a perfected social rule shall be main-

tained and upon which the destinies of republics yet unborn will in a great measure depend.

### HISTORY OF OUR REPUBLIC'S POLITICS.

When Niobe saw her fair sons and daughters falling under the swift darts of the angry gods she wept herself to stone, but the genius of America, whom it is the pride of her sculptors to represent as wearing the Phrygian cap of liberty on her brow, and trampling upon broken chains with her feet, and bearing aloft the ægis of eternal justice, surrenders her children, without remorse, to national death. She belies her symbols, she suppresses her inspirations; she opens the gates of the coming centuries to the advent of a remediless political bondage at the hands of the official or machine politicians, who care nothing for truth or convictions, while they have a ravenous appetite for distinction and provender. Would we could awaken from the dead, the once great and accomplished leaders who now sleep in honored graves; but no exigencies of state will ever again awaken the solemn eloquence of Webster, nor will the clarion voice of Clay ever again summon his lieges to the battle; neither can we recall the model Democrats of the nation: Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration of Independence; Madison, who was one of the ablest expounders of the Constitution, or Macon, who tolerated no injustice in legislation. The ambition and hope of the Fathers of our yet young Republic, with her future in her own hands, was, that she might see the States which were soon to become the children of her family, growing up about her in prosperity, love and vigor. She could watch over their cradles and keep them from harm; she could nourish them with manly strength; she could form them by her wise and tender solicitude, to a career of exalted worth and greatness. A new page in the history of mankind appeared to be opened. A page unblotted by the blood stains of tyranny, which mark the rubrics of the past, and destined to be written over, only by the records of an ever maturing nobleness and grandeur. This was the hope of the Fathers of our Republic, who laid the beams of her habitation deep in the principles of virtuous freedom and bequeathed to her the heroic precedent of single hearted devotion to justice and right. All honor to Abraham Lincoln and the American people that we have rescued the land to freedom from slavery. Let us now rescue the Republic from machine politics and perpetuate, as far as we in this generation can, for centuries to come, the early virtues of our Republic, which were marvelous in their dignity and force. The earliest parties known to our history were those of the colonial times, when the grand debate as to the rights of the colonies was getting under way and all men took sides either as Whigs or Tories. They had imported their distinctive names and to some extent their distinctive principles from the mother country, from the iron times of Cromwell and the Puritans; but, in the progress of the controversy, as it often happens, they were led upon wholly new and vastly broader grounds of dispute than they had at first dreamed. The little squabble as to the limits and reaches of the imperial jurisdiction, expanded into a war for national existence, nay, for the rights of humanity, and what was at first a violent talk only about stamp duties and taxes on tea, mean and trivial even its superficial aspects, concealed the noblest political theories, the sublimest political experiments, that had yet

been recorded in the annals of our race. The Whigs of the revolution in crushing the Tories of that day, touched the secret spring of a new creation. They gave to the world a new idea, the American idea; the conception of a state founded upon the inherent freedom and dignity of the individual man. It seemed as if, gathering out of the ages all the aspirations of great and noble souls, all the yearnings of oppressed peoples, they had concentrated them into one grand act of emancipation. They actualized the dreams of Time, and in the latest age of the world, and on a new continent introduced, as they fondly supposed, that reign of heavenly justice which the primitive golden ages had faintly foreshadowed, which patriots had so struggled and sighed for in vain, and which the political martyrs of every clime had welcomed only in beatific vision. It was this patriot party of the revolution which gave the inspiration and impulse to the nation, which found its character and sentiment and erected the standard of opinion, designed for some years at least, to be the guide in all movements. It fired the national mind by the warmth of its convictions, or rather by the fiery earnestness with which it fought its way to success, into the single thought of democratic freedom, which has been the ground and substance of our national unity. The medley of settlers, chance-wafted hitherward, from the several corners of Europe, like seeds borne by the winds, were nourished by it into an organic whole, and have since been retained by its original influences, under all diversities of constitution, climate, and interest in the coherence and uniformity of a national being. We are therefore, infinitely indebted to our ancestors, whose sublime thought of a free state, an inspiration greater than their knowledge, has been the fruitful germ of our best inward and outward life. No other people have had so grand a national origin, for we were born in a disinterested war for rights and not for territory, and under the stimulus of an idea, which still transcends the highest practical achievements of our race. It has been the greatness, the predominance, the profound inherency of this original American idea which, forcing general conviction, has produced the uniformity of our later parties, and confined their divisions to transient or trivial and personal differences. But there is also another cause for that uniformity, in the fact that as societies advance in the career of civilization, their political divisions are less marked, but more subtle in principle, and less gross, but more indirect in the display of animosity and feeling. The progress of nations consists, or should consist in the simplification and reduction of the machinery of government, with which politics has chiefly to do, and the consequent extinction of politicians, who become more and more a pernicious class, with, at the same time, a continuous aggrandizement of society itself, of its industry, its arts, its local improvements and its freedom as well as order. Politicians for the most part are puny and contemptible specimens as statesmen. The most natural and the most permanent of our past political divisions arose out of the peculiar structure of the federal government, the nature and extent of its jurisdiction and its relations to the States. As soon as the constitution went into effect, the differences which had almost defeated its ratification before the people, were developed into strong and positive party hostilities. The Federalists and the Anti-Federalists took possession of the political

field, and the noise of their conflicts sounded through many years, giving a sting not only to the debates of the Senate, but embittering the intercourse of domestic life and leaving deep scars of prejudice on the reputation of eminent men as well as in the minds of their descendants. The mere disputes as to the authority of the general government might not, perhaps, have led to such earnest and envenomed battles, at the outset, if they had not been complicated, especially under the leadership of Jefferson and Hamilton, with the profounder questions of individual rights just then agitating the Old World, with an intensity of feeling which amounted to frenzy. Hamilton, a man of talent, bred in camps, distrustful of the masses, an admirer of the British constitution and accustomed to rule, was disposed to rely upon the strong arm in government and may be regarded as the representative of the sentiment of law; while Jefferson, on the other hand, a man of genius, self-confident, generous, sanguine, tolerant of theories, an acolyte if not a teacher of the French school of manners and thought, leaned to the spontaneous action of the people, and was the representative of liberty.

Thus the party of State rights and the party of Liberty came to be identified, and took the name after a time of the democratic Republican party, while Federalism, or the doctrine of a strong central government, jumped in naturally with the doctrine of law and order. There was a double pressure of tendencies separating the two parties and intensifying their hatreds, and in the exacerbations of the times, inducing them to accuse each other respectively of tyranny and licentiousness. A Federalist in the opinion of the Republicans of those days, was only a monarchist in disguise, watching his opportunity to strangle the infant liberties of his country in the cradle, and to restore the emancipated colonies to their dependence upon Great Britain; while the Federalist retorted the generous imputation of his adversary, by calling him a Jacobin, a scoundrel and a demagogue, eager to uproot the foundations of order and let loose the lees and scum of French infidelity and French immorality upon society. We at this day, looking through the serener atmosphere of history, know that they were both mistaken in their extreme opinions and that they were both good patriots after all, necessary to each other, as it now appears, in tempering the dangerous excesses which might have followed the unchecked predominance of either, and in giving a more uniform and stable action to our untried political system. In all the subsequent changes of parties, the distinction of Federalist and Anti-Federalist has been maintained in theory at least and it is a distinction that will pass away only with the final establishment of the truth. During the war of 1812-15, the Federalists, as they were termed, were the most vigorous opponents of the use of power by the general government, and their most offensive acts, the proceedings of the Hartford convention, were nothing else than an attempt as it was deemed, to arrest and restrain the encroachments of the central authority upon the rights and interests of the separate States; whilst on the other hand the most enormous exercise of that authority—the acquisition of Louisiana by Jefferson—the suppression of South Carolina nullification by Jackson—the annexation of Texas by Tyler—have been resorted to by the leaders of the so-called Democratic or Anti-Federalist party. Indeed, so little consistency has

been exhibited by parties in this respect, that we have all observed, that in general whatever party was in possession of the Federal Government has been disposed to push the use of its functions to the utmost practicable verge, while the party out of power has opposed this use, and assumed the virtue of continence. The primary idea of our institutions was, as we have seen, that of a free Democratic Republic. The liberty and equality of the people was the animating spirit of our revolution, and the inspiring genius of the constitutional structure to which it gave rise. But among the States which formed the elements of the Union there were some not strictly democratic and scarcely republican. They were aristocracies or oligarchies built upon a diversity of races. Their political and social privileges were confined to a class, while all the rest of their inhabitants were slaves. The consequence was a growing divergency between the convictions, the interests and the tendencies of one half the Union which was eminently free and democratic and those of the other half which was slave-holding and aristocratic. By the year 1854, the question of slavery had become the controlling question in the Republic's politics. There was now the Pro-slavery party, which was the propagandist of slavery; the Democrats, who masqueraded in the faded wardrobe of democracy, but who cared more for office than principle, and the real Democrats who still retained the inspirations of the Jefferson school; the Whigs, who were the legitimate depositories of federal principles crossed and improved by modern liberalism; the Fire-eaters, who seemed to be opposed to the union of the northern and southern States under any circumstances; and lastly—the abolitionists, who were a moral rather than a political combination, though a large branch of them were not, in 1854, opposed to decided political action. The abolitionists and the fire-eaters, representing the extremes of Northern and Southern feeling, had no little influence on public opinion. In eloquence, earnestness and integrity of purpose they were superior to the other parties, the abolitionists in particular absorbing some of the finest ability of the country, oratorical and literary, but they were both too extravagant in opinion and too violent in procedure to conciliate a large and effective alliance. Their denunciations of the Union, proceeding from contrary views of its effects, the one condemning it because it was supposed to sanction and the other because it was supposed to interfere with slavery, neutralized each other, and led more tranquil minds to a conviction that they were both alike wrong. The constitution did not recognize the existence of slavery as such, at all, and in no form except indirectly, nor did it, on the other hand, confer upon the government any authority for meddling with it, treating the subject wisely, as was thought, as a matter of exclusive State jurisdiction; yet the spirit and letter of the federal constitution were alike instinct with freedom, and rightly interpreted, set up an insuperable obstacle against the extension of any form of servitude. The malice of its enemies found its food, not in legitimate operations of the organic law, as the framers of it intended to operate, but in those deviations which the craft of politicians had superinduced upon its action, in those workings and torturings of its structure, by which it was made to cure selfish and flagitious local designs. It would have been well if some of the anathemas pronounced

upon the factions at that time of an extreme type, upon the disunionists of either wing, had been levelled at these more formidable antagonists of the peace, the politicians, to whose unjust and reckless schemes we owe nearly all our violent national reactions. In 1854, the Whigs as a party were pretty much defunct. It had never succeeded in becoming for more than a year or two at a time, a predominant party. Respecting the Southerners there were some who were the propagandists of slavery, and some who simply wished their peculiar domestic system to be let alone. The latter class deemed slavery a burden at best and a sad inheritance and were anxious to manage it wisely with a view to its ultimate extinction and would have been glad to have been relieved of their painful weight of responsibility. The leaders of the Pro-slavery party identified themselves with the popular party of the North, and then, having accomplished that, gradually directed that party to the defence and spread of their peculiar doctrines. An eminent leader of the South, Mr. John C. Calhoun, while acting as secretary of State, engaged in an official defence of the system of slavery before the tribunal of the world and disgraced the nation by representing the Federal Republic as the apologist and defender of the most mean and offensive species of despotism. The demand for the introduction of slavery into the new territories of the West, the demand that the free States should be made a hunting ground for slaves, in rapid sequence, secession—the War of the Rebellion and the final emancipation of the slaves by Lincoln, rescued this great, this beautiful, this glorious land from a hateful domination and made all Americans, freemen! We come now to the present. We have to-day no profound, radical comprehensive questions to quarrel about either in the Republican or in the Democratic party. We want as a Republic a political party at the national helm, who will show us a steady continuance in integrity, a deaf ear turned to the charming of the adders of office, who will exhibit an eagerness to consult, amid all the shiftings of policy, the fresh impulses of the honest young heart of the nation and such a party will, ere long, gather about them the intellect, the virtue and the popular instincts of right, which are the redeeming elements of States. The best Republicans and Democrats are scattered through the respective parties at large and elsewhere, as leaven through meal, without having an effective control in them, or even, perhaps, connection. These are the men who represent the popular instincts, who cling to living ideas of justice and equal rights and progress, and who refuse to follow their fellows in a *pell-mell* abandonment of themselves to the seduction of machine politicians of either party. They are not a few in number either North or South, and comprise a majority of the young men of the nation, yet uncorrupted by official contact; but possessing no separate organization anywhere, they are sadly overborne by the practiced managers of the old organizations, who wield the machinery of party action and consequently of power. The other class comprise the official or machine politicians, so denominated because they move and talk as they are wound up, constituting a powerful body in the State. Office is conferred, not as the meed of patriotic deserts, but as the wages of supple and mercenary service. They who dispense patronage, do so in the conviction of Walpole that every man has his price, and they who receive it, take

it with a full knowledge that the stamp of venality is on every token of silver. Superiors in place are not superiors in merit, only superiors in craft and recklessness, while inferiors don the gilt lace and plush of their official varletism without a blush on their cheeks, or a sense of shame at their hearts. Government, in short, is converted into a vast conspiracy of placemen, managed by the adroiter politicians of the set, controlling elections, dictating legislation, defeating reforms, and infusing gradually its own menial and much-worn spirit into the very body of the community. The masses even, under the paralysis of such a domination seem to be rendered insensible to the usual influences of honor and virtuous principle; are deadened almost to the heroic examples of their fathers; lose the inspiriting traditions of an earlier greatness and grandeur of conduct; and virtually, if not actually, sink into slaves. We claim that ours is a representative government, yet under the present system of machine politics, a number of men, delegated for particular purposes to Washington, possessing not a particle of authority beyond that conferred upon them by the people, neglect the objects for which they were chosen, and proceed to accomplish other objects which are not only not wished by their constituents but are an outrage upon their sincerest and deepest convictions. Can we call them representatives? What we want in legislation, as in other trusts, are honest fiduciaries; men who will perform their duties according to our wishes, and not in pursuance of their own selfish objects; men who do not require to be watched at every step and whose fidelity does not depend alone upon our ulterior privilege of breaking them when they have done wrong. Any man in Congress who knowingly betrays the will of his constituents should be branded as utterly unworthy of confidence and support. He has done his share towards the conversion of our fair fabric of free government into a machine of office-holding despotism, and the only recourse that is left us, to mark his treachery, is to discharge him from every participation in its councils. With regard to our future, the beautiful region of the West, compared with which the largest principalities of Europe are but pin-folds, nay, compared with which the most powerful existing empires are of trivial extent, may well cause the heart of the American and of the foreigner even, who rides over them to dilate as he beholds in their rich fields, the future homes of an advancing and splendid civilization. We can hear, where but a few years ago was but the rustle of the grasses, the hum of a prosperous industry. We have seen magnificent cities rising on the borders of the streams, and pleasant villages dotting the hills, and a flourishing commerce whitens the ripples of the lakes; the laugh of happy children comes up to us from the corn fields, and as the glow of the evening sun tinges the distant plains, a radiant and kindling vision floats upon its beams, of myriads of men, escaped from the tyrannies of the Old World, and gathered there in worshiping circles to pour out their grateful hearts to God for a redeemed and teeming earth.

This great West, if appropriated to the people, will prevent the concentration of wealth, and stimulate the pride and industrial energies of our American citizens. We shall have no patricians to usurp the public domain, nor a people to grow poorer and corrupter, till at last they are fed like paupers from the public granaries. No despots like Sylla and Marius

of Rome, to convulse society by civil wars, and no tyrant Cæsar to arise and reap the harvest of previous distractions, and as the only salvation from profounder miseries, to erect on the ruins of the Republic an irresponsible monarchy. It is one of the dangers as well as glories of this Nation, that its plans are executed with the rapidity of magnetism. A thought is scarcely a thought before it becomes a deed. We scorn delays. We strike and parley afterwards; we actualize the dreams of the old philosophers, and impart to our abstract ideas an instant creative energy. Let us therefore now, as Americans, as freemen, as Christians, lay aside all party divisions and animosities in order to rescue our Republic from a hateful domination of machine politics. Let independent Democrats and independent Republicans meet for work on an independent, new platform, to work for the highest good of a Union formed for the establishment of liberty and justice—for a Union born of the agonies and cemented by the blood of our fathers—for a Union whose mission it was to set an example of republican freedom and commend it to the panting nations of the world. We are not yet arrived at such shameless debasement that we, freemen of the Republic, shall be suffocated by politicians into a silent acquiescence with corruption and machine politics, whether emanating from one party or the other. We propose, as the young men of this Nation, to dare to utter the words and breathe the aspirations of our fathers, and we propose to propagate their principles, and the time is ripe for a movement of the best progressive blood of the Republic, which shall reach from Maine to California, and who need dread neither ostracism nor political death; a movement which shall know *no North* and *no South*, but simply *our country*. Under the benign influences of such a movement the great interests of finance and commerce will awake and spring forth with newness of life and national happiness, prosperity and renown, strengthen and grow. By "our homage for our Pilgrim Fathers; by our sympathy in their sufferings; our gratitude for their labors; our admiration of their virtues, and our attachment to those principles of civil and religious liberty which they encountered the dangers of the ocean, the storms of heaven, the violence of savages, disease, exile and famine to enjoy and establish," let us rise up, crush machine politics and transmit the great inheritance unimpaired.

We hope we are alike free from a constitutional conservatism and a constitutional tendency to change. We neither belong to the class which clings to the old in all things, nor that other class which is so in love with progress as often to mistake novelty for improvement. We think, however, that a disappearance of the two present political parties will take place, not abruptly, but by gradual modification into something else; a new movement that all professional men will join. It will be a process of evolution. The promoters of such a movement will see to it that their legislators and public rulers become such by virtue of their statesmanship and power to rule; by their force of nature, their intellect and their higher worth; the best cultured and the most refined. The promoters of such a movement will see to it that it conforms itself to equity and reason. Nothing will be saved by its prestige. The required change is urgent, but the vehemence of its promoters must not be intemperate. The promoters of such a move-

ment will nominate men for office with whom no question shall be too subtle as to elude their grasp, or so complex as to defy their penetration. The spirit of bigotry has no place in our mind. We are tolerant of the opinions of others, and claim to be generous in our judgments toward them, but it is an immutable law of Providence that decay follows growth, and at present we have no cause to be proud of the degradation and corruption of American politics. There are men as bright in intellect, as pure in patriotism, if not as powerful in influence, as those whose grave has closed upon their labors leaving their memory and their career at once an incentive and an example for their countrymen, who would gladly join a progressive movement, and such a movement will yet put forth men who will stand prominently forward upon the canvas of history, impressing their characteristics upon this century. Such a movement, among other things, will address itself to the duty of calling a certain class of the people back from revolutionary theories to the formation of habits of peace, order and submission to authority, and of absolute reliance on constitutional remedies for the correction of all errors and the redress of all injustice. Such a movement will be at the same time eminently conservative of peace, and of the great principles of constitutional liberty on which the republican institutions of our country are founded. The promoters of such a movement will see to it that men of clear intellect, intuitive sagacity and fate-like will shall represent them, and what *wrong* is there which such a movement of the American people cannot successfully crush, and what *right* is there which can withstand their united power? Such a movement, which will be a declaration of the supremacy of the American people, will make this Republic great, prosperous and happy, and will labor to keep the Constitution and the Union in vigorous existence, under whose genial influences all that glory and happiness and prosperity we know, has been achieved. Such a movement will have a freedom of thought, a dignity and an intellectual health which fail to obtain when machine politics are in the ascendancy.

#### MUNICIPAL REFORMS FOR CITIES.

*All cities in the various States of similar grades should have charters that are alike; they should have the same methods of bookkeeping; they should pursue the same course in the assessment and valuation of property for the purpose of taxation; and they should pursue the same policy with reference to the ownership of plants for furnishing their people with light, with water, with pavement and with sewers.* The charter of these cities will direct as to how the city accounts are to be kept. There should be a State Commissioner of Finance in every State, and every city should be under obligation to report yearly its financial condition to the central State authority. It would then be easy, at the capital of any State, to ascertain the exact receipts and expenditures of any city in the Union. The methods of cities need to be unified and simplified as to their administration and their accounts. This is one of the administrative and economic problems that confront the promoters of a new movement.

Many municipal governments are very expensive, very inefficient and very scandalous. This cannot be otherwise while they are controlled by organizations formed merely for the distribution of spoil. Such a condition of things can only be remedied by good

citizens uniting in vigorous and persevering efforts to put down the organized spoilsmen and divorce city government from party politics. The qualities which the head of every municipal government should possess are, a thorough knowledge of municipal affairs, and of the men who have been or who seek to be active in them; that knowledge acquired not only by study, but by a long and large practical experience; a head full of the strongest common sense; a calm and clear judgment; a courage to down rascals; a sturdy uprightness of character and an absolute integrity of purpose; and a no man's man, a man who will feel and conduct himself as the servant not of a party or of a clique, but of the whole people of the city and their true interests, and a man whose word is as good as his bond.

#### THE NEED OF A FIRST RATE COAST DEFENCE AND A FIRST RATE NAVY FOR THE REPUBLIC.

We need to protect the seaboard of the Republic by a first rate system of coast defence, and we also need a first rate navy. Our great Pacific seaboard and the Atlantic coast are alike helpless. The maintenance of peace will be better assured by a due preparation for war than by any other means. Mr. Erichson's system of coast defence vessels is very efficient and should be adopted. This Republic should be made a great sea power, but this cannot be accomplished without a strong navy, and no country can maintain a strong navy without an extensive merchant marine. With a strong navy there will be the absolute necessity of coal and supply depots in many parts of the world. Without these, extended operations must fail. No great sea power can now exist without abundant, well placed and easily defended depots. Among the questions which are of first importance in naval war are, as Captain A. T. Mahan, of the U. S. Navy, says, "the proper formation of the navy in the war, its true objective, the point or points upon which it should be concentrated, the establishment of depots of coal and supplies, the maintenance of communication between these depots and the home base, the military value of commerce-destroying as a decisive or secondary operation of war, the system upon which commerce-destroying can be most efficiently conducted, whether by scattered cruises or by holding in force some vital centre through which commercial shipping must pass." We should revive our navy and infuse new life into it and become a great sea power.

#### LABOR REFORM.

One of the most important reforms that a new movement will have to deal with, is Labor Reform, and I submit several distinct propositions which can readily be used for legislation.

1. *Legislation against child labor.*—The State must educate all its children so as to ensure them growing up with vigor of mind and body, which they cannot do if put to work in mills, etc., at an early age. This is a matter of national importance, as the source of our permanent national prosperity is to be found only in *all* of our American children growing up with strong physical, moral and intellectual health, and this is impossible if they are removed from home to the dangerous moral atmosphere of shops, factories and mills. The State must protect its children from this physical and moral evil.

As Richard Michaelis says, all men should under-



stand that the great reason why communism is not the proper form of society and why everybody should not have an equal share of the products of labor is, that men are not alike. They differ in mental power and physical ability, and as the result if the labor of men is different, there is no reason why the wealth of the nation should be equally divided. We have in our Republic to-day the best organization of society ever known in the history of mankind. Labor agitators should understand this perfectly. If the workingmen of the nineteenth century, instead of sacrificing enormous sums in strikes, would organize one trade after another into coöperative associations, they would solve what they style the social questions with comparatively little trouble.

2. *Legislation to restrict properly the labor of women in industrial establishments.*—We must preserve, at all hazards, our American homes, that the mother may not leave the children to grow up demoralized without a mother's care.

3. *Legislation looking toward the improvement of the sanitary condition of the dwellings of the urban laboring classes.*—Houses unfit for habitation should be torn down and small parks provided to give breathing places for the crowded sections.

4. *Legislation against Sunday work.*—All factories, workshops and stores should be closed every Sunday and no employees compelled to work for seven days in the week. The working classes have suffered this slavery long enough. No railroads should be allowed to run coal trains in Sunday. There is no true American so apathetic, so avaricious or so selfish as to be willing to blight the prospects of his fellow man by condemning him any longer to this servitude. An American District Telegraph boy has just come into my office. He tells me he works seven days in the week, getting \$3.60 per week, and every other Sunday off. Why does this rich company treat boys so?

5. *Legislation against night work for women and children in manufacturing establishments.*

6. *Legislation in favor of the length of the labor day being kept within the bounds prescribed by physiology and hygiene,* that the head of the workingman's family may be enabled to perform his duties as the father of a family and as a citizen.

7. *Legislation, that by the governmental dissemination of appropriate lectures and literature among the working classes, ignorance shall be so replaced by enlightenment, as to diminish the excessive mortality of working people, and especially of children.*

8. *Restriction of excessive immigration of foreigners, especially of the lower classes, who injure American workingmen, and laws to keep out contract labor and all the most degraded foreign element.* No law of Congress should be framed against nationalities as such.

9. *Legislation tending to restrict corporations and trusts formed for the purpose of antagonizing labor and vice versa.*—If there are vast combinations of capital, there will be vast combinations of labor and if there is a collision between these two interests, the State suffers and its public welfare.

"A happy bit hame this auld world would be  
If men, when they're here, could make shift to agree,  
An' ilk said to his neighbor, in cottage an' ha'  
'Come, gie me your hand, we are brethren a'.'"

10. *Legislation in favor of the better protection of life and limb of the working classes.*—The employer's liability acts need to be more and better, and there

should be no tendency of our courts to decide against workmen in suits for damages.

There should be stringent factory laws, including protection against dangerous machinery, sufficient fire escapes and satisfactory sanitary arrangements. A new movement will see that there is a higher development of laws protecting the person, shielding it and guarding it in all its capacities.

11. *Legislation to improve our educational facilities.*—By manual training and industrial schools. Girls should be taught by the State sewing, cooking, and the care of the house. We should so legislate that there shall be no such thing as an illiterate or uneducated class of Americans. That there shall be no neglected and uncared for children. Education in some form should be carried on by the State to the age of 16 or 17. This will give to our American children an immense advantage in the competition of life, and train to habits of industry and mental application. We can thus extinguish the pauper and semi-pauper class, so that there will be no more to disgrace America. There is such a thing as to so exaggerate the doctrines of freedom as to glory seemingly in our abuses. *Education must be compulsory.* The church and the school house are the crowning of this Republic.

12. A better administration of the law, fair but just. Less police brutality and more responsibility.

13. Legislation tending towards a recognition of all that is good and repression of all that is bad in labor organizations.

14. *Legislation tending toward public property defense.*—To guard public domain and public parks and to secure for the public the full value of public rights. The property of the public must be paid for and protected like the property of individuals.

15. Legislation to encourage thrift, to prosper the masses by more savings banks of undoubted security. Banks must be rendered secure by bonds to the nation, and where practicable, State and municipal banks started. The debts of all larger cities in the United States, held in small sums by the masses to ensure better political effects. Every citizen should have a direct interest in municipal affairs and in the purity of local, as well as of national politics. If the national government ever have to borrow money, have national postal savings banks everywhere.

16. Legislation tending so to regulate monopolies and corporations that the people may be assured of lawful methods, corporate honesty, no interference by them of legislative enactments, no popular rights defied, and no public property stolen. Legislation that shall secure individual responsibility of manager with civil and criminal remedies, and measures adopted that will make it possible to place responsibility for corporate acts upon some one individual.

17. Legislation tending toward the public management of natural monopolies, like gas works, water works, electric lighting works, telegraph companies and railroads.

Every town in the United States is better off if it owns the water and gas works. Public bodies should help themselves, not depend on others. These are public functions. No party has ever yet succeeded in protecting individual rights. Not a city in the Union under their policy, is today strong enough to force street car lines to lay properly grooved rails. Corporations do not bear their due share of public burdens. We want municipal, State and national

self help. The beginning should be made in local governments and from these extend to State and nation.

18. Legislation tending to provide public play grounds for the children in every city, to keep them out of mischief which degenerates into bad habits, intemperance and crime, and also to provide for more public libraries, museums and art galleries and free concerts so that the people may have full opportunity to enjoy all the advantages of literature, music and art, and the elevating and refining influences of their agencies.

19. Legislation such as necessary, tending to a reform of taxation.

20. Legislation tending toward a further development of labor bureaus, managed by trained experts.

21. Legislation tending toward a prudent encouragement of coöperation. It will promote thrift and temperance, when laborers like the Minneapolis coopers themselves become capitalists and self employers by placing in a common fund their savings and managing their own business.

Respecting the *Purification of the Ballot Box* the great demand, we think, is for an educational qualification for voters and a ten to twenty-one years residence, at least, in the United States. *No man should vote who cannot read and write, or who cannot read and understand the constitution of the United States.*

Governments, in a certain way, have always done something to aid men in their endeavors to stay the pestilence and save the afflicted; but never adequately. They have generally refused to make the medical profession a permanent integral part in the administration of the State; that is in the making and the execution of sanitary laws.

What laws are necessary for the full employment of our beneficent profession? We reply: those that relate to the social state of the people for the prevention of disease. They comprehend an amplitude and purity of water supply, proper dwellings for the lower classes without overcrowding or deficiency of light and air, unadulterated food, complete drainage and disinfection of excrement, the preservation of rivers and smaller streams of water from pollution, the regulation of the hours of labor, the protection of childhood from the imposition of toil, and their proper education, cleanliness of streets and planting of shade trees for protection from intense solar heat, and the decomposing power, by their leaves, of deleterious gases and miasms; the establishment of public baths, the operations of quarantine to prevent invasion of pestilence and landing of immigrants with diseases dangerous to others, the isolation of persons attacked with infectious disease and the disinfection of localities, the construction and management of general and special hospitals, the care of the sick poor in their homes, the prevention of consanguineous marriages and of those who have destructive types of constitution, the warning of society of the evil consequences of abuses of the brain, the material basis of consciousness, whereby a free will is impaired and the sufferers become irresponsible and are often mentally ruined; and lastly, the regulation of those two great giant evils of civilization, intemperance and prostitution.

We affirm that all the measures for public relief on these important subjects should be under the guidance of medical men.

It is not the mere knowledge of the human frame

as a diseased thing, or a mechanism, that should give us highest consideration in the State, but rather our capacity to prevent sickness by securing the proper administration of the laws of health. At present we occupy positions but little better than mere advisers to authoritative bodies; our soundest suggestions are at the mercy of ignorance and prejudice of uninformed legislation. The medical profession holds itself ready not only to diminish the fearful destruction of life now going on, but ultimately to destroy the contagia that cause it.

The alcohol question must be met by educating the public as to the physiological action of alcohol on the individual and his offspring, and it would be a measure of great advantage to have a law making it a felony to sell adulterated or impure liquors, and to have every State enforce this law rigidly. This would be a very practical wedge to insert and drive home, and having done this, we could then so legislate as to restrict the sale of alcohol as is the case with other poisons. The immense profits in the liquor trade are largely due to the manufacture and sale of adulterated and impure liquors, and by restricting by Governmental legislation such sale, you diminish the immense profits of those who sell liquor to your boy or my boy and cause his physical, moral and intellectual death. Alcohol is not a food. It is a poison, and when the whole community are thoroughly educated up to this fact, and a sufficient public sentiment created, the temperance problem will be solved, except for the inebriate whose disease of inebriety has destroyed his will power and resulted in an irresistible craving for alcohol which he is powerless to control, owing to his disease.

Respecting tariff revision, we need such a degree of protection as will best serve the interest of the American people as a whole. The South needs protection for their rice, their sugar, their oil and their wool, and the experience of the other nations of the world teaches us that very careful thought and wisdom must be used. We must make great material prosperity conduce to individual advancement by teaching the American people to recognize God's ownership in all our substance. Wealth, instead of being centralized, will be distributed, when Christian stewardship is accepted. The number of missionaries in our cities must be increased twenty-fold, and mission chapels built among the densest population of all the cities. It is for all true Americans to see to it that the dangerous and destructive elements do not make greater progress than the conservative. To-day the reverse is true, and the future of our American Republic depends upon the way in which American Christian men meet the crisis. America Christianized means the world Christianized, and any new movement must, to be successful, become God's right arm in His battle with the world's ignorance and sin. We must work to Christianize every citizen of our Republic, which means all the races. Such a movement has glorious possibilities before it. Shall we realize them? We must see to it that there is placed in the hand of every Christian agency in the great West every power that money can wield. The whole civilization of the West must have Christian education. Men of wealth should take pleasure in liberally endowing the young Western colleges, which are characterized by a strong religious influence. There are boundless possibilities for usefulness in wealth, and Christian men will make them realities.

Any new movement will be an American movement for the world's sake. It must use the Gospel to transform the lawless men and women of our great cities into good citizens, for nothing else can do it. The watchword of any new movement must be, *Religion, Learning, Liberty and Law*. *In hoc signo vinces*, Christianize the immigrant and he will be easily Americanized. Christianity is the solvent of all race antipathies. Christianity will antagonize modern socialism far more rapidly than political economists, and reconcile social classes. The remedy is Christianity as taught in the New Testament. We say to every American citizen, if you are a true patriot and love your country, work together to evangelize the poorer classes in all the large cities. We say to great manufacturers, be just, and admit the workingman to a just share in the profits of his labor. This will result in the twofold improvement of material prosperity by the great improvement of your people in your factories, and in seeing your dividends increase and the wages of your operatives increase with your dividends. Popular discontents would then decrease wonderfully. True Americans will legislate patriotically and wisely, and we have no use for professional politicians and every use for Christian statesmen. Every true American citizen wishes for National prosperity. Every one who believes in the Christian religion knows that by rendering man temperate, industrious and moral, it makes him prosperous. If each of these professed Christians who would like to see Christian statesmen in office would give ten cents a week, it would amount in a year to at least \$52,000,000 for a fund to do good with. If we are to have an American movement let every American man, woman and child take an interest in it, as its object is to benefit us and our country. We have the power to mould the destinies of unborn millions if we will but exercise it. Let us not devitalize ourselves as Americans by alcohol, but eagerly grasp the grand possibilities of spreading Christ's Kingdom on earth in this epoch of civilization in which traditional creeds are losing their hold. As men of science we have good reason to believe that the laws of the spiritual world are simply the laws of the natural world, and that to-day it is possible to enunciate spiritual law in the exact terms of biology and physics. We have to-day an entire recasting of truth, and all that is needful in order to offer to mankind a scientific theology is the introduction of law among the phenomena of the spiritual world. Law introduced among the scattered phenomena of nature has transformed knowledge into eternal truth and has made science, and to thinking men the reign of law will transform the whole spiritual world as it has already transformed the natural world. We have to study truth in nature as it came from God. Bagehot has given us the extension of natural law to the political world; Spencer has given us the application of natural law to the social world; and last and greatest of all, Henry Drummond has given us the extension and application of natural law to the spiritual world, and his work has, I trust, been read by every man and every woman. At the top of natural law we touch God, and there we find the same fixed laws that so impress us in nature. It should be the crowning glory of such an academy as ours, to seek to civilize and evangelize all races who come to America so far as we are able. The foreign policy of any new movement will not be one of arms, but of vitality, civili-

zation and evangelization. We welcome in our country men of every race and clime, and once here he is free to become whatever he can make of himself. The race question can be solved in a measure by first educating and Christianizing the colored man, and then sending him to darkest Africa, which such explorers and heroes as Stanley have opened up, for the purpose of civilizing and Christianizing his African brethren. An American movement, if represented by Christian statesmen, and adhering to the central pivot of religion, learning, liberty and law, can radiate out in every direction, and what wrong is there which it cannot right, and what evil that it cannot suppress? America is yet to rule the world, and an American movement should naturally be the movement at the National helm. We have nearly seventy millions of people here, and we have room for a thousand millions. We are to have the great preponderance of numbers and of wealth. Arts, sciences and empire are fast traveling in our direction. Do our wealthy men realize their Christian stewardship? Will they use their vast wealth for the good of the Republic? We are going to have not only the greatest numbers, but also the highest civilization, if wealth is rightly used, that the world has ever seen. The great principle of a new movement must be to lift up all who come to our shores into the light of the highest Christian civilization, so that as American citizens their watchword will be identical with ours.

Let the great idea be the love of liberty and the love of God, and nothing can withstand our power. Our Pilgrim Fathers came here with that idea, and may it always be perpetuated. It is impossible to overestimate the influence upon the entire world of any nation which becomes distinguished for its marked religious character and its educational advantages. The whole civilized world will acknowledge its empire, and such a career has this young Republic of America. May the time come when the entire population of our beloved country may be found in church every Sunday, and we will see to it that nothing is allowed to extinguish the moral illumination of this day, and break this glorious mainspring of the moral government of God. Growing intelligence will never compensate for decaying morals, and intelligence must keep pace with the growth of population—and with an educational qualification for voters and compulsory education for children, such a thing as illiterate voters, or an illiterate school population, will be unknown. We must look well that moral and religious influences are peculiarly strong where our social explosives are gathered, *i. e.*, in the large American cities. This is the way to antagonize the dangerous elements of our civilization. This is the great conservative principle by which society can be kept together.

Finally, I desire to speak briefly of one of the most important problems with which society in our Republic has to do today, *viz*: *The Family, the Church and the State*, and their relations to the great social fabric. Let us first look at the Family. We have under this head the questions of sex, education and marriage. Leaving the questions of sex and marriage to be dealt with at some future time we come to the subject of education. We wish our children to be well educated in literature, art and music and above all in religion. How shall we accomplish it? "It is noticeable (says Coleridge) how limited an acquaintance with the



masterpieces of Art will suffice to form a correct and even a sensitive taste, where none but master pieces have been seen and admired; while on the other hand the most correct notions and the widest acquaintance with the works of excellence of all ages will not perfectly secure us against the contagious familiarity with the far more numerous offspring of tastelessness or of a perverted taste." This holds true equally in literature, music and in morals. Bring the children up on masterpieces, if you would have them acquire the strong bone, and blood and muscle of a correct taste and a lofty moral character. Do not vitiate their taste or their morals by bringing them into contact with vile art, vile literature or poor music, when it is just as easy to surround them with all that is highest and purest and most elevating. If every patriotic parent and teacher would, as Hamerton has said, so store his mind and the minds of his children and pupils with knowledge and make their judgments sure, in order that the national mind, of which their mind is a minute fraction, may be enlightened by so much, be it ever so little, think what the result would be; Hamerton truly says that the intellectual life of a nation is the sum of the lives of all intellectual people belonging to it, and in this sense, your culture is a gain to your country whether she counts you among her eminent sons or leaves you forever obscure. "Act well your part; there all the honor lies." John Foster, one of the most profound thinkers, says "lay hold on the myriads of juvenile spirits before they have time to grow up, through ignorance, into a reckless hostility to social order, train them to sense and good morals; inculcate the principles of religion, simply and solemnly, as religion, as a thing of divine dictation and not as if its authority were chiefly in virtue of human institutions; let the higher orders, generally, make it evident to the multitude that they are desirous to raise them in value and promote their happiness; and then, *whatever* the demands of the people as a body, thus improving in understanding and sense of justice, shall come to be and *whatever* modification their preponderance may ultimately enforce on the great social arrangements, it will be infallibly certain that there never *can* be a love of disorder and insolent anarchy, a prevailing spirit of revenge and desolation. Such a conduct of the ascendant ranks would, in this nation at least, secure that, as long as the world lasts there never would be any formidable commotion, or sudden, violent changes. All those modifications of the national economy to which an improving people would aspire and would deserve to obtain, would be gradually accomplished, in a manner by which no party will be wronged and all will be happier." One reason of the greatness of our country is that ever since the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, religious principles have been impressed on the opening minds of the American youth, and it has been under the ascendancy of this divine wisdom that our children's discipline in any other knowledge has been conducted, and nothing in the mode of education has had a tendency contrary to it and everything has been taught in a manner recognizing the relation with it, as far as has been consistent with a natural unforced way of keeping the relation in view. With the American youth the sense of *propriety* is *conscience*; the consideration of how they ought to be regulated in conduct as a part of the community is the recollection that a Divine person dictates the laws of that conduct and will

judicially hold them amenable for every part of it.

We come, now, to *The Church*. To make a strong Republic, the church must become the most powerful factor in the social and political life of the land, for as Foster says, "is not a discipline thus addressed to the purpose of fixing religious principles in ascendancy, as far as that difficult object is within the power of discipline, and of infusing a wholesome tincture of them into whatever else is taught, the right way to bring up citizens faithful to all that deserves fidelity in the social compact?"

There is coming, and it is not far off, we see it in the Republic of France, in the newly formed Republic of Brazil, we hear it dimly muttering from the mines of Siberia, a great change in the social systems of the Old World. Webster says, "What is that conservative principle by which society can be kept together, then, when Empires and Kingdoms shall have no more influence? The only conservative principle must be and is, Religion! The authority of God! And the influence of the teaching of the Church". Coleridge says, "yet those who confine the efficiency of an established church to its public offices, can hardly be placed in a much higher rank of intellect, than 'minds of the most vulgar cast' who undervalue the Christian mainstay. That to every parish throughout the kingdom there is transplanted a germ of civilization; that in the remotest villages there is a nucleus, round which the capabilities of the place may crystallize and brighten; a model sufficiently superior to excite, yet sufficiently new to encourage and facilitate imitation; this is the unobtrusive continuous agency of a Protestant church establishment, this it is which the patriot and the philanthropist, who would fain unite the love of peace with the faith in the progressive melioration of mankind, cannot estimate at too high a price". One of the greatest works of the church is to teach the children to keep themselves pure and unspotted from the world and to do this by inculcating the love of their Father, for them, and by exciting their love and reverence for the church as his temple in which to do him honor. That great statesman, Daniel Webster, has said of the Christian ministry of the United States: "And this body of clergymen has shown to the honor of their own country and to the astonishment of the hierarchies of the Old World that it is practicable in free governments to raise and sustain by voluntary contributions alone, a body of clergymen, which, for devotedness to their calling, for purity of life and character, for learning, intelligence, piety and that wisdom which cometh from above, is inferior to none and superior to most others".

We have finally to consider *The State*.

What constitutes a State?

Not high-raised battlement or labored mound  
Thick wall or moated gate:

Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned;  
Not bays and broad-armed ports,

Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;  
Not starred and spangled courts,

Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume and pride.

No: *Men*, high minded *men*,

With powers as far above dull brutes endowed,  
In forest, brake, or den,

As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude;  
Men who their duties know,

But know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain:  
Prevent the long-aimed blow,

And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain:

These constitute a State;

And *Sovereign Law*, that State's collected will,

O'er thrones and globes elate  
Sits empress, conniving good, repressing ill.

At the meeting of the first Congress of the United States, Daniel Webster tells us that there was a spirit of Christianity which rose above forms, above ceremonies, independent of sect or creed and the controversies of clashing doctrines, and John Adams in a letter to his wife, Mr. Webster says, states that he never saw a more touching spectacle. "Mr. Duché read the Episcopal service of the Church of England and then, as if moved by the occasion, he broke out into extemporaneous prayer, and those men who were then about to resort to force to obtain their rights were moved to tears, etc." Let the State as well as the church, teach the children to keep Sunday as a holy day. By arresting the stream of worldly thoughts, interests and affections, stopping the din of business, unloading the mind of its cares and responsibilities and the body of its burdens, while God speaks to men and they attend and hear and fear and learn to do His will, man gains in physical, moral and intellectual health. Is there one so shortsighted, whether Churchman or not, who would willingly extinguish the moral illumination of Sunday, and break this glorious mainspring of the moral government of God? Let no statesman ever forget what the family and the State owe to the church and to the ministers of Christianity, and neither let them forget that the only great conservative principle by which society can be kept together is religion, and let State and church work together for the highest interests of our American Republic. Let us send as far as possible Christian statesmen to Congress, to our State Legislatures and Senates and we—the people—will ourselves solve the most difficult problem of modern society. It is the duty of the State to inculcate patriotism in the teaching of scholars in the public schools and in the homes of the people. Teach the children's hearts to respond with every throb to these words of Daniel Webster, "Hail! all hail! I see before and around me a mass of faces glowing with cheerfulness and patriotic pride. I see thousands of eyes turned towards other eyes all sparkling with gratification and delight. This is the New World! This is America! This is Washington! and this is the capitol of the United States! and where else, among the nations, can the seat of government be surrounded, on any day of the year, by those who have more reasons to rejoice in the blessings which they possess? Nowhere, fellow citizens! assuredly nowhere! Let us then meet this rising sun with joy and thanksgiving. . . . The muse inspiring our fathers was the Genius of Liberty, all on fire with a sense of oppression, and a resolution to throw it off: the whole world was the stage, and higher characters than princes trod it: and instead of monarchs, countries and nations and the age beheld the swelling scene. How well the characters were cast, and how well each acted his part, and what emotions the whole performance excited, let history, now and hereafter, tell. . . . Fellow citizens, this inheritance which we enjoy to-day is not only an inheritance of liberty, but of our peculiar American liberty. Liberty has existed in other times, in other countries and in other forms. There has been a Grecian liberty, bold and powerful, full of spirit, eloquence and fire; a liberty which produced multitudes of great men, and has transmitted one immortal name, the name of Demosthenes, to posterity.

But still it was a liberty of disconnected States, sometimes united, indeed, by temporary leagues and confederacies, but often involved in wars between themselves. The sword of Sparta turned its sharpest edge against Athens, enslaved her and devastated Greece; and in her turn, Sparta was compelled to bend before the power of Thebes. And let it ever be remembered, especially let the truth sink deep into all American minds, that it was the *want of union* among her several States which finally gave the mastery of all Greece, to Philip of Macedon.

"And there has also been a Roman liberty, a proud, ambitious, domineering spirit, possessing free and popular principles in Rome itself, but even in the best days of the republic, ready to carry slavery and chains into the provinces and through every country over which her eagles could be borne. What was the liberty of Spain, or Gaul, or Germany, or Britain, in the days of Rome? Did true constitutional liberty then exist? As the Roman empire declined, her provinces, not instructed in the principles of free popular government, one after another declined also, and when Rome herself fell, in the end, all fell together. Our inheritance is an inheritance of American liberty. That liberty is characteristic, peculiar and altogether our own. Nothing like it existed in former times or was known in the most enlightened States of antiquity.

"The State must guard and perpetuate our distinctive American political principles which are: 1. The establishment of popular governments on the basis of representation. 2. That the will of the majority, fairly expressed through the means of representation, shall have the force of law, and 3. That the law is the supreme rule for the government of all. . . . And I now proceed to add that the strong and deep settled conviction of all intelligent persons amongst us is, that in order to support a useful and wise government upon these popular principles, the general education of the people and the diffusion of pure morality and true religion are indispensable. Individual virtue is a part of public virtue. It is difficult to conceive how there can remain morality in the government when it shall cease to exist among the people; or how the aggregate of the political institutions, all the organs of which consist only of men, should be wise and beneficent and competent to inspire confidence if the opposite qualities belong to the individuals who constitute those organs and make up the aggregate." The secret of the strength and uniqueness of our Republic lies in the fact of our union and also that from the beginning, the church and the school-house have everywhere marked the steps of American civilization. The whole duty of the great public men of the State, patriots and warriors, orators and statesmen may be admirably outlined in the words of Daniel Webster when he said—supposing George Washington back again to address the people at the occasion of the laying of the corner-stone of the addition to the Capitol on the 4th of July, 1851, when Mr. Webster made the address, "would he (Washington) not say to us: 'Ye men of this generation, I rejoice and thank God for being able to see that our labors and toils and sacrifices were not in vain. You are prosperous, you are happy, you are grateful: the fire of liberty burns brightly and steadily in your hearts, while *duty* and the *law* restrain it from bursting forth in wild and destructive conflagration. Cherish liberty as you love it; cherish its

securities, as you wish to preserve it. Maintain the constitution which we labored so painfully to establish, and which has been to you such a source of inestimable blessings. Preserve the Union of the States, cemented as it was by our prayers, our tears, and our blood. Be true to God, to your country and to your duty. So shall the whole Eastern world follow the morning sun to contemplate you as a nation; so shall all generations honor you as they honor us; and so shall that Almighty power which so graciously protected us and which now protects you, shower its everlasting blessings upon you and your posterity."

# HYGIENE AND PHYSIOLOGY OF THE SEXUAL SPHERE, AND THE PHYSICIAN'S RELATION TO THE LAITY AS REGARDS THIS SUBJECT.

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This is a subject of universal interest, and vital importance to all mankind, whether it be considered from a physical, moral, social, or medical standpoint. It lies at the foundation of all human improvement, and enduring progress. The function of reproduction as examined into by the most scientific physiologists, and moralists, is considered to be the most influential of the human economy. Nowhere does knowledge mean so much, because here it materially influences morals, public health, population, disease, mortality; besides personal reputation, property, legitimacy, and even life itself. Yet in spite of this, it is a subject which is not taught in medical colleges, is ignored in text books on physiology—even ministers are ignorant on it; and worse than all, physicians are doing little to lift the veil of mock-modesty and hypocrisy which keeps the masses in ignorance and vice. Is it not an outrage on the people that they should be allowed to live, propagate and bring up children in entire ignorance and darkness as to this the most important of all subjects; while every trade, profession, and occupation, and every other branch of physiology are taught, and have light thrown upon them to all? True physiology teaches that, in the proper exercise of any natural faculty, or propensity in man, there is nothing that is impure, low, sensualizing, or in any way degrading. Then is it not high time that true hygiene and physiology of the sexual organs should be taught to all? For the amount of misery, disease and crime, resulting from abuse of these organs, through ignorance, is appalling; and few would give credit to its alarming extent. In ancient times the physical side of man dominated the intellectual; in more modern times the intellectual ruled the physical; and now, the time has come for the moral faculties to govern the intellectual and all others. In early life, even while a child is yet in the cradle, bad habits are formed of touching and playing with the sexual organs, as a result of improper diet, and external physical irritation. Physiology explains this in that the sexual organs are lined with similar mucous membrane to that of the mouth, stomach, bowels and other organs; and when part of this membrane becomes irritated any part of the body covered or lined with this membrane, may become deranged. Tea, coffee, meats, spices and confectionery are the principal causes of irritation

of these organs at this early age. If children are fed to develop permanent congestion and constant irritation of the pelvic organs, then precocious and entirely morbid amateness must result. Such children become an easy prey, and are early led astray by the bad influence of morally corrupt associates, to which every child is more or less exposed. None will deny that it is best that the young, especially the males, should, to a certain extent, be informed on these things; but is it right, is it wise, is it safe that they should be initiated into this subject by those of low morals? Is it not the parents' duty to give the children a rightful knowledge of this subject at the proper time, and is it not the physician's duty to enlighten and advise the parents on such a vital matter? If children are liable to contract bad habits in infancy, they are ten-fold more so at the age of puberty, because of the sudden and rapid development of the sexual organs, with consequent great amorous impulse at this time; in fact, touching and manipulating are almost instinctively developed. As a result of such artificial excitation, a child is in the most perilous danger of contracting the baneful habit of masturbation, which may mean the ruin of the victim morally, mentally and physically. Is not the weight of responsibility tremendous on those who have the guardianship of children during this critical period? For a child without careful, watchful guidance at this time, is in a worse state than a ship without a pilot in a storm, among rocks and hidden shoals. The inseparable relation of the moral and physical life is seen at this age; and it is the greatest fallacy to endeavor to separate mind and body in educational arrangements. Children must be taught to eat, drink, dress, and exercise hygienically; and be given proper moral instruction. This would greatly tend to make them healthy in body and mind, and fit for the duties and hardships of after life; and they in turn would have well-born off-spring.

In marriage there are no means adopted to prevent the diseased and infirm from entering the matrimonial state and begetting children like themselves. People mate with everyone and anyone, regardless of health, age, temperament, and the means and ability to support and educate a family. It cannot be denied that premature, late and ill-assorted marriages, as well as those among the diseased and infirm are highly injurious to the procreation of vigorous, healthy offspring, and to public morality; nor can it be denied that this evil exists to a most alarming extent. The disease, suffering and vice resulting from such marriages, are not confined alone to one family, but are handed down from generation to generation. Is it not essential, then, for the prevention of such catastrophes that the public should be enlightened on this subject? If the unsound and the vicious, as well as those without the means and ability to support a family will marry or have illegal intercourse, is it necessary, is it right, is it just that such should beget children when there are hygienic means to prevent conception?

A large per cent. of the uterine diseases and disorders result from too frequent and improper sexual intercourse; and from the same cause an equally large per cent. of men suffer from lack of vim, tonicity and vigor. Because of ignorance should women suffer from deplorable disease and misery, and should men fail in life and fail to attain to the highest their