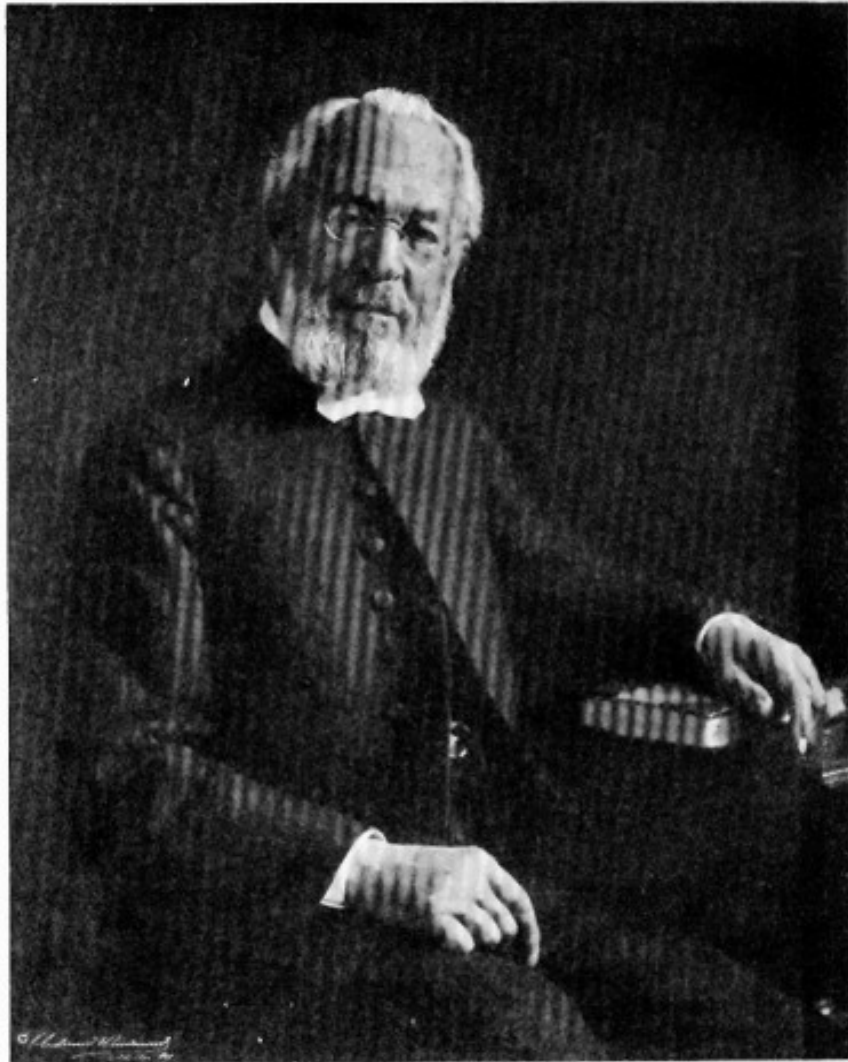


MY FORTY YEARS IN NEW YORK



Chas. H. Parkhurst.

BY

REVEREND C. H. PARKHURST, D.D., LL.D.

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A FOREWORD

THE tests applied to a New York City preacher are severe and conclusive. They all are summed up in whether he can endure the place and whether the place will endure him. Can he stay? One of the ablest Bishops of my Church who served successfully two terms in the city, in what was our most prominent church, told me that New York City sifted a preacher as no other place in the world, and that every year men were ground to dust between the upper and nether millstones of the pulpit. The fact that a man was invited back to the same pulpit in New York was a vindication of his powers, and that was said when the term of service was only five years. Dr. C. H. Parkhurst remained more than seven times that time, including a period of intense controversy and strife. Through storm and calm his enemies never flattered themselves with the thought that they could substitute for him another occupant of his pulpit. They brought to bear upon him every force possible but every year saw him victorious over his foes and gathering to himself increasing power. If you were to ask me what that power was I would answer you with the single word "pulpit."

Since the Apostles there have been remarkable pulpit demonstrations. The pulpit of Dr. C. H. Parkhurst is one of them. It was not a collective pulpit; he preached alone, while good men questioned the expediency and the wisdom of such preaching. Why, such conservatism at such a time, when the issues were as moral as the Ten Commandments and their spiritualized forms the beatitudes is amazing! Politics was prudent; business was cautious; friends were timid; the foe was vicious; the church kept its sacred robes respectably out of the mire. Wise counsels talked a misapplication of the wisdom of the serpent and left the dove to flutter out of his charms as it could, or more often, could not. One pulpit, fastened to a rock, built into the rock, aimed its rifled gun against the most conspicuous iniquity in the continent's greatest city. Dr. Parkhurst preached the devil into the light where his hideous form was revealed, and showed men that he could be conquered by preaching. He had been too great a devil for any other force to handle. All forces had been conquered by him and had joined with him, and he had derisively grinned and leeringly flung out the old question, "What are you going to do about it?" And that devil devouring our municipal authority, corrupting the defenders of our homes, treading on our virtues, shaming us unutterably in the whole civilized world, was preached to death by the single-handed and lone Presbyterian preacher on Madison Square. He shot holes through him. He captured his minions and put them on exhibition before the people. He toyed with that devil's champions of patronage and made them contemptible; he penetrated his jungle and lair and wrought dismay and consternation in that devil's mightiest counsels. To all of their defense and apologies, their threats and defamation, through the press and otherwise, the preacher aimed the rifled gun of the Madison Square pulpit and aimed it straight!

Do you tell me that the courts woke up and great lawyers came to the help of the preacher,—yes, that is true, and no one has more cheerfully given every credit to them than Dr. Parkhurst. But what he would not claim, thousands now see; it was the preacher who aroused the courts from the slumbers and quickened the public conscience and made the logic of resistance to the monster of iniquity an appeal of all the people.

The pulpit has always been a signal power. It is measured by fearless application of force when all else has failed and its power has shot out in tongues of flame. It appeared among the prophets of old; it counted not its life dear to itself among the Apostles; its enemies have been potent along the peaks which have lifted centuries into ranges of conquest and progress. It has been a call of God when nothing else would do the work, and the work seemed too great for a voice and no other voice would be heard. And there came the man; the man who heard nothing but that voice. Prudence was against it; taste, comfort, reputation were against it, and it stung the conscience; it deafened every other sound; it thundered; it roared like a tempest; the stars were out of their courses, and the inner man cried out: "Here am I, send me! Send me! Not with a sword, not with my friends, not with wealth, not with the

wisest and best, but against them; against my friends, against my confidential advisors, against riches and power and influence. Send me with a sermon; with a pebble and a sling, but I will go, and I must go, and I can go because Thou art sending me."

Forty years ago there was no more brilliant preacher in New York than Charles H. Parkhurst. He was the preacher of a great ecclesiastical body, signalized for its loyal part in the Revolutionary War, consecrated to the best things for humanity. His church was uptown on one of the city's great squares. His pulpit was historic. He was a cultured son of Amherst College; his tastes were literary; he was gathering to his hearing some of the foremost lights of the western hemisphere's Metropolis. Chapin's sacred oratory was a setting sun; Bellows' graceful eloquence was dropping its fragrant petals; John Hall had come for a service fast maturing; Parkhurst was without a rival in the pulpit; he suggested no rival. Among the fading lights no one of them suggested him; he was of himself and needed not to covet any man's gift who was passing out before him. He could afford to be himself in the fear of his God, but Dr. Parkhurst turned aside from all of this and went out whither the Lord would send him. He had a vision; he saw his city fast being given over to the wicked one. He saw a few men in an unequal fight; there are always a few. He preached; he put on an armor that did not fit him, but he made it fit him, and he preached on, and changed the current of his life—what it might have become; not what God meant it should be, but what human wisdom and prudence mapped it out to be. What disappointment it secretly must have been, but what a triumphant entry into immortality! What he could not do he had compelled others to do by his preaching. He had forced a lawyer as brave as himself and as resourceful to use the courts. He had revealed to his fellow citizens the fires of Hell in the nostrils of the monster of corruption, consuming the innocent and destroying a city which he was sent to save and for which God had prepared him among the hills of New England. And it was to be done as it always must be done, by preaching.

Whatever may be your estimate of Dr. C. H. Parkhurst you will have to concede his greatest power was his preaching. That he might have developed other talents there can be no doubt. He had the qualities of a statesman, but he would have failed as a politician of his times when you use that term in its best definition, for he was not politic. There was no balancing of probabilities or possibilities; there could be but one possibility, and that must square with what he understood to be eternal right and before right all men must go down or stand upon right at any cost. No man measures anything by any other scale. That is where the preacher differentiates; what is the commission; who utters the command? It permits no such thing as a bargain or a price. The world has always feared such men; if it had had enough of them a chance of a speedy millennium would have been infinitely improved. Its greatest lack today is that such men are too scarce in the pulpit. But while this is a simple statement, it is not all of it; it carries many and fundamental qualities.

The man who preaches is a messenger who gives himself daily to the message he receives. Anyone who knows C. H. Parkhurst feels the force of his whole consecration. Preaching with him is not a profession; it is not to get a living or for fame; it is talent as a trust for which there is an accounting to be given and to which there attaches a daily conscience. It has an objective.

A sermon is not a passing entertainment. It is not to please an audience. It might be the opposite of all that; it will depend upon the manner of man you are who hear. It is a tremendous responsibility which is imposed; how it weighs will explain the preacher; his vision, his interpretations of personal privilege and liberties; the values attaching to his ministry, what he may do with it and what call attaches to it. A call to preach is not a voice and an answer from which a departure is taken and at which a date is fixed, and that is all; it is a day by day affair as much as one's daily bread. The preacher must renew it to know that he has it; he cannot lay it off in periods, he must live it. It is a life. He synchronizes it with the rhythm of his heart. You never will understand Dr. Parkhurst until you feel his preaching call in the consecration of his being. There can be no retreat. To carry on from day to day

appears in the freshness of perpetual verdure and bloom of thought. Every sermon, even if a repetition is attempted, is a new application which sounds like the melody of a new truth. You never heard it on this wise before. It has been growing new roots in the heart; it has been preparing for new fruits in its blossoms. There are bloomings for ornament only. The Japanese cherry never fruits; it riots in blossoms. There are sermons like it; they dazzle with illustration but the boughs never bend under fruit. The hearer of Dr. Parkhurst's sermon must solve a question of obligation; he must choose sides. There is nothing indefinite or merely ornamental about what he has heard; it is not a Japanese cherry tree to admire simply!

Among the traits of Dr. Parkhurst as a preacher you would expect courage and you are not disappointed. But it is a high quality of courage. There is a courage which is belligerent and provocative; it arouses antagonism; it is combative. There is another which is quiet and unassertive; its source is conviction of right and duty. It is never boastful but it is always respected. It does not need to count the cost, it has but one price and that is fixed by the justice and merits of the cause. There is a courage which shouts with the crowd and it goes with the crowd and it disappears when the crowd does. There is a courage which stands alone, having settled the issue and already taken the consequences; that courage is dangerous. There is always a demand for such courage in the preaching which conquers.

Incisiveness is a potent quality of the pulpit; the power of analysis; the separation of truth from error, or of truth into its parts and setting them forth in their relative values and claims. It is not that analysis which refines, tediously, distinctions to satisfy the uncertainties of one's own mentality. A listener to Dr. Parkhurst always carries away the impression that the truth under discussion has had an impartial hearing in the study of the preacher, in all of its bearings, before it is submitted to the hearers in the audience. No essential parts are missing. There is no blundering by anatomical carelessness; it has been divided at its joints and resolved into its components, that God's thoughts may be seen and followed in their order. The trouble with many who feel compelled by their impulses to build sound morals, is their failure to appreciate relations of the truth in its application to humanity as a harmonizing whole. The analytical, incisive mind does not embarrass his cause by such blundering; and this leads to another preaching quality somewhat kindred. That is the comprehensive gift. It may be cultivated but it seems to me first a gift. Some minds will see only one thing in a landscape; it may be only mountains or all lakes or all sky lines. But there are valleys and foothills; there is White Face and forest preserves, and meadows and gorges. It is the high art of the preacher to discuss them all.

One of the high qualities which has fitted Dr. Parkhurst to lead the thoughts of men has been the teaching character of his preaching. Nothing has ever been so great that it could be enthroned to the exclusion of all things beside, and nothing is so small that it could be laid aside as of no consequence, in any great appeal which must go forth in the name of God. A judgment of relativity should be classed among the ten talents, or one talent equal to ten. In this Dr. Parkhurst qualifies superbly and he should be often heard and faithfully studied by forcible reformers who fail to comprehend the value of comprehensiveness.

As a constant preacher Dr. Parkhurst has much to aid him in the free gifts, which if cultivated, are what they are because they were present to be cultivated. An impressive personality; an attractive style; a clear voice; a quiet earnestness and intensity; a happy illustration passing from classic literature to life's common story in striking simile, sometimes relieving the hearer from the tension of his thought, sometimes flooding the whole subject with a light like a sunburst, so radiant, so happy, that you wonder it did not occur to you. They are not overwrought, they are not conceits, they belong to Parkhurst, and they bear his trademark. They are surprises in the landscape through which he takes you. They illumine logic.

Dr. Parkhurst is well timed. He comprehends his subject and has no trouble in making you

comprehend it, but he does not exhaust it nor himself nor you. You always wish there were more of the same sort. It is a pity that so many preachers spoil their sermons by over-preaching them.

Dr. Parkhurst uses a manuscript. I have wondered whether he would do better without it; I doubt it. That question he doubtless has raised and settled. Some preachers spoil themselves by trying to be extemporaneous without the gift or the nerve control. Some never can handle a manuscript successfully. Dr. Parkhurst uses the manuscript most effectively and when he is through you lack nothing of aroused convictions and you are glad that it is in form for preservation and he has it as he thought it and said it and not as a reporter spoils it.

The friends of Dr. Parkhurst hail with delight the announcement that after the retiring hour of the army and the courts is past, a church of another denomination has persuaded him to give his great city another year's preaching. We envy this congregation, but those of us who have the privilege of his sermons in the summer among the Adirondacks will insist that the vacation period shall not be shortened because a congregation from all over our country will be waiting eagerly one of America's greatest preachers!

JAMES R. DAY,

Ex-Chancellor Syracuse University.

A TRIBUTE

"THAT young minister has the right spirit. He will be heard from yet." Thus commented the late Bishop Henry C. Potter after a visit to the "white church on the hill" at Lenox, where he heard Doctor Parkhurst preach. In the writer's presence the Bishop in 1904 narrated this circumstance as attending his visit to the church in Lenox. At that time Doctor Parkhurst was unheard of outside of the community where he ministered to his rural congregation. His transference to an opulent metropolitan church was to him, of course, an event of great importance, but to citizens of New York it proved of even greater importance.

At that time conditions in the municipal life of New York were what was publicly described as intolerable, and yet there seemed to the people no means of relief. Like a pall there settled down upon the city that feeling of apathy which not infrequently is characteristic of democratic institutions and which expresses itself in the popular saying "Oh, well, we cannot change things. Let us make what we can out of them." Since the close of the Civil War, by the process of political party accretion there had been accumulating misgovernment and political corruption. The people were thoroughly aware of their existence, but seemed to be either incapable or unwilling to relieve themselves from the ever-increasing burden of odium and taxation. To the student of the workings of democratic institutions, it must be cause for deep concern to observe on the one hand the apathy of the well-meaning, comfortable citizen who is satisfied to drift along with the tide because it would be too much trouble to pull against it, and on the other hand the large number of men who have either an interest or a profit, actual or expectant, in the existent political order.

Party rule or ascendancy as such cannot be held responsible for bad government or political corruption. It is the perversion of the party machinery to evil purposes by men who work into control and who cleverly utilize party feelings and loyalty to subserve their own evil designs.

Several efforts were made to break the domination of the "ring" that held the city in its iron grip, but with one exception they all lacked sincerity and were simply the noise made by the "outs" trying to break into the "ins." That exception was resultant from the exposure of the Tweed plunderers, and when

the public-spirited men that led that movement passed from the stage of activity the city relapsed into a passive quietude which was occasionally ruffled by the spasmodic efforts of the various brands of democracy seeking the stamp of regularity. Almost every year a movement for reform was started. Sometimes the reformers were partially successful, but when they were the reformers after a short time needed reformation. Generally speaking, the struggle for municipal control was for the offices, the patronage and the consequent pickings. There was no genuine attempt to purify the city government and construct a better system in its stead. It was before the era of great corporate franchises and industrial development that have made political favors so valuable. The prevailing vices of government affected the people in their intimate relations of life, and, consequently, were the more galling.

The maintenance of peace and order and the safety of person and property were of personal interest to the citizen, and the department of the city government charged with these functions was the one that bore the most intimate relations to the people in their lives and daily occupations. This department, known as the Police Department, had been for years made the football of party politics, had been used as an instrument for party advantage, and incidentally as a means of profit to the favored among party supporters. It would be difficult to conceive a more effective method to accomplish these purposes than the one that had been put in operation, known as the bipartisan commission. This consisted in the requirement of law that the Department of Police should be governed by a commission consisting of four members, two from the Democratic Party and two from the Republican Party. In selecting their respective commissioners, the party leaders took good care that the most trusted, useful and serviceable men to their party were selected, and from this system there sprang the most odious, oppressive and corrupt system of police administration that ever disgraced municipal government.

Appointment on the force as patrolman could only be obtained by purchase, and thereafter every step of preferment had to be paid for. Efficiency in the performance of duty was of but slight consideration. The rank of captain was highly prized, eagerly sought for, and commanded a purchase price in proportion to the illicit revenue to be derived. A police captain was a veritable czar in his precinct. He exercised arbitrary power over every person and business that could be brought within police regulation or interference. Nor was this surveillance confined to those occupations that existed by infringement of municipal ordinance or violation of law. It extended to the trader and merchant in legitimate trade and commerce. Police protection of premises or property that should have been given as matter of right and duty was obtained only by purchase. All occupations or lines of conduct that were followed in defiance of law and morals were subjected to tribute. From the liquor saloon to the gambling house, from the policy shop to the pool room, from the fashionable house of ill fame that had to pay monthly, according to the neighborhood and number of its inmates, to the unfortunate street-walker that had to pay nightly for the privilege of walking the patrolman's beat—every source of blackmail and extortion was utilized and formulated into a system, so that the trail of graft was traceable through nearly every channel of municipal life and activity.

Mere accumulation of wealth through graft was not the only pursuit of the police captain. He was expected by his political sponsors to see that the election districts in his precinct made suitable returns on the night of election. In fact, there were few things in the life of the city in which this omnipresent official did not participate. The extent of his manifold activities was well expressed by the Bohemian people who resided in a certain precinct and who from a painful experience found a word in their Czech language to convey their understanding of his multifarious character, and that was the "Pantata," which meant "Father of all things."

But while corruption ran riot and its flood was taken as a matter of course, it was not the worst affliction on a citizenship that seemed inert and supine. That affliction was the abject and cringing submission to police violence. Clubbing was the order of the day. No police duty could be performed without clubbing. No matter how slight the infraction of peace, the offender had to be clubbed, and it

was not all done in public. Frequently the unfortunate who resisted arrest or otherwise aroused the wrath of the guardians of the peace, was beaten in the police station cell. Occasionally a citizen who had been wantonly assaulted by a policeman sought legal redress, and he was laughed out of court. The quickest and shortest route to popular or official favor was brutality in the use of the club on the citizen. Indeed, the most popular, if not the most potential, officer of high rank on the force was generally known as "Clubber _____." Withal there was thorough efficiency by the police in dealing with the declared enemies of society, such as burglars and robbers. From the very nature of their criminal pursuits they could not be arranged or reduced to a system that would yield tribute. Besides, when drastic methods were used to protect banks, houses and highways, the people, by way of compensation, became acquiescent to the reign of the club and the welter of graft.

These twin evils so encrusted New York that her people became deadened in civic pride and American citizenship to such extent that it seemed nothing short of a moral earthquake could arouse them. And it came, and from a quarter least expected. In the month of February, 1892, Dr. Parkhurst delivered his memorable course of sermons in which he with vigorous and scathing language riveted the attention of the people to the shameful and degraded condition of their city. At first he was derided, then he was jeered, then he was challenged, and finally dared to proof. That a mere minister should use his pulpit as a hustings platform from which to fulminate political harangues was a disgrace to the church and should not be tolerated. It was eminently proper that a minister of the Gospel should in general and glittering terms denounce Satan and all his works and extol piety and all its fruits; but that he should denounce crime flourishing with the connivance of the public authorities was a thing unheard of and calculated to scandalize religion. This was the chorus of condemnation joined in by the thoughtless, indifferent, bellwethered crowd, while those for who because of interest or guilt felt the well-aimed shafts, language failed to plumb the depths of their indignation. The public authorities whose duty it was to investigate whether the conditions described existed, laughed at the Doctor's charges with scorn and refused to take any official notice. Then arose a demand from press and public for proofs. This it was confidently believed would silence the Doctor and extinguish him in the confusion of failure.

How could such. proofs be adduced in the face of reiterated declaration by the sworn officers of the law that the charges were groundless? Here was a test. To meet it required the very highest quality of moral courage, a courage that did not partake of the qualities of the animal or brute, but one that searched the very soul for strength and fortitude. Failure meant all that the word implies, and in addition the derision of the mob and the mockery of the accused. The test was met triumphantly. The proofs were produced, and the challengers were confounded. Immediately the public conscience was quickened, civic bodies such as the Chamber of Commerce commenced to move. The Grand Jury began to inquire. Civic movements sprang into existence. A halting legislature decreed an investigation. And there followed an exposure of corrupt practices in municipal government that shocked the country.

The influence and effect produced were not confined to the City of New York. Large and small municipalities throughout the United States took warning and adopted measures for protection against the spread of the evil contagion.

While it may be true that lapses have occurred, yet on the whole there has been a great improvement in municipal government. The moral tone of the people in relation to it has been elevated to a higher and healthier plane. Particularly is the change made manifest in the attitude of the policeman to the citizen. No longer does he twirl and use his "locust" on the unoffending citizen as if it were his legitimate function. The citizen now has rights which even the uniformed paid public servant must respect. To Dr. Parkhurst beyond all other men must be accorded the credit for this great change. His genius and courage were the sparks of ignition. He has been classed as an idealist in pursuit of a dream impossible of realization. He recognized that by man-made law alone men could not be made

honest nor women be made virtuous. He did not set himself up as an evangel to abolish the social evil. What he did direct his efforts to was the destruction of the criminal combination between the licensed violators of law and morals and the officers of the law who were sworn to prevent such violations and who for their tolerance and participation derived wealth and power.

JOHN W. GOFF.

CHAPTER VII

SUCCESSFUL ASSAULT UPON THE TAMMANY INTEREST, CONDUCTED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PREVENTION OF CRIME IN 1892-1894

I AM devoting considerable space to this matter for three reasons: first, because I was myself so involved in it that my autobiography would be incomplete without it; second, because there has been expressed to me the desire that the public should have given to it a simplified narrative of the campaign; third, because there were lessons taught then that should be impressed upon the minds of those who were children at that time but who are now sprung up into years that entail active civic obligations.

Tammany's defeat in '94 was achieved by the Society for the Prevention of Crime, an organization dating from October, 1878, and reckoning among its incorporators such men as Peter Cooper, Howard Crosby, Frederick A. Booth and D. B. St. John Roosa: Howard Crosby being its first president. I became connected with the Society in November, 1890, by invitation of Dr. Crosby, he being moved thereto by a published report of a sermon which I had preached shortly prior to the November election.

Dr. Crosby died soon after, and I was elected to fill his place April 30th, 1891. The Society was at that time limiting itself to quiet work with no purpose of achieving- radical results. I accepted the presidency on the condition that we cease occupying ourselves with cutting off the tops and apply ourselves to plucking up the roots.

As a country boy I had always looked upon New York as a kind of Jerusalem, a sort of holy city, a monumental exhibit of the finest product of modern civilization. Coming here in '80 I had no immediate means of learning anything to the contrary, for my attention was confined to the members of my congregation, who only confirmed me in my optimistic estimate. My congregation contained a large element of young men whose brightness and alertness arrested my attention and aroused my deep interest.

As a result of closer acquaintance with them, and in consequence of what I learned from trusted members of the legal and medical professions, I became acquainted with facts that considerably chilled my optimism, and led me to believe that my young parishioners would more easily grow up into manliness of life if they were less exposed to certain exacting temptations.

We had but a small force in our office, but such as we had I set in motion along the lines of the gambling and the social evils, only to learn to my innocent surprise that it was the Police that constituted the outworks of the fortification that I was undertaking to besiege, and that it was the city which I had so greatly admired from a distance, which, in one of its most prominent Departments, stood between me and the young men whose interests it was my duty and privilege to safeguard. It dawned upon me that crime was the policeman's stock in trade, his capital, which of course it was to his

interest to encourage in order to the enhancement of his personal revenues. That was the situation which I confronted and which I stated to the directors of my Society—the S. P. C.—with the insistence that they drop all minor matters and deal directly with the Police Department, making no alliance with it and giving it no quarter. The proposition was accepted with prompt and unanimous cordiality. That established a policy. The working out of details was another and more difficult problem, which was left to the Executive Committee consisting of Frank Moss, Thaddeus D. Kenneson and myself. To my colleagues I yield unstinted praise and unbounded honor. Our motto was, "Down with the Police."

What has been already related led up to what might be called "the first gun of the campaign," viz., the sermon which I preached in Madison Square Church Sabbath morning, February 14th, 1892, from the text, "Ye are the salt of the earth." No notice was given of its delivery, and it did not occur to the preacher that it would excite particular interest or create any marked impression. Viewed on general principles it was a most indiscreet performance, but it is probable that if I had said only what it was discreet to say, nothing would have come of it and it would have proved a blank cartridge. I am going to make extended extracts from that sermon for otherwise what occurred later would be inexplicable.

FIRST SERMON

"'Ye are the salt of the earth.' This, then, is a corrupt world, and Christianity is the antiseptic that is to be rubbed into it in order to arrest the process of decay: an illustration taken from common things, but which states at a stroke the entire story. The reason for selecting the above Scripture, and the burden that is upon my mind this morning is this; that current Christianity seems not in any notable or conspicuous way to be fulfilling the destiny which the Lord here appoints for it. It lacks distinct purpose, and it lacks virility. We are living in a wicked world, and we are fallen upon bad times. And the question that has been pressing upon my heart these days and weeks past has been, What can I do?

"We are not thinking just now so much of the world at large as we are of the particular part of the world that it is our doubtful privilege to live in. We are not saying that the times are any worse than they have been; but the evil that is in them is giving most uncommonly distinct tokens of its presence and vitality, and it is making a good many earnest people serious. They are asking, What is to be done? What is there that I can do? In its municipal life our city is thoroughly rotten. Here is an immense city reaching out arms of evangelization to every quarter of the globe; and yet every step that we take looking to the moral betterment of this city has to be taken directly in the teeth of the damnable pack of administrative bloodhounds that are fattening themselves on the ethical flesh and blood of our citizenship.

"We have a right to demand that the Mayor and those associated with him in administering the affairs of this municipality should not put obstructions in the path of our ameliorating endeavors; and they do. There is not a form under which the devil disguises himself that so perplexes us in our efforts, or so bewilders us in the devising of our schemes as the polluted harpies that, under the presence of governing this city, are feeding day and night on its quivering vitals. They are a lying, perjured, rum-soaked, and libidinous lot. If we try to close up a house of prostitution or of assignation, we, in the guilelessness of our innocent imaginations, might have supposed that the arm of the city government that takes official cognizance of such matters, would like nothing so well as to watch daytimes and sit up nights for the purpose of bringing these dirty malefactors to their deserts. On the contrary, the arm of the city government that takes official cognizance of such matters evinces but a languid interest, shows no genius in

ferreting out crime, prosecutes only when it has to, and has a mind so keenly judicial that almost no amount of evidence that can be heaped up is accepted as sufficient to warrant indictment.

"We do not say that the proposition to raid noted houses of assignation touches our city government at a sensitive spot. We do not say that they frequent them; nor do we say that it is money in their pockets to have them maintained. We only say (we think a good deal more, but we only say) that so far as relates to the blotting out of such houses the strength of the municipal administration is practically leagued with them rather than arrayed against them.

"The same holds true of other institutions of an allied character. Gambling-houses flourish on all these streets almost as thick as roses in Sharon. They are open to the initiated at any hour of day or night. They are eating into the character of some of what we are accustomed to think of as our best and most promising young men. They are a sly and constant menace to all that is choicest and most vigorous in a moral way in the generation that is now moving on to the field of action. If we try to close up a gambling-house, we, in the guilelessness of our imagination, might have supposed that the arm of the city government that takes cognizance of such matters would find no service so congenial as that of combining with well-intentioned citizens in turning up the light on these nefarious dens and giving to the public certified lists of the names of their frequenters. But if you convict a man for keeping a gambling-hell in this town, you have to do it in spite of the authorities and not by their aid.

"It may be said that this method of stating the case is injudicious; that it is unwise too sharply to antagonize the powers that be; that convictions will not be obtainable if we make enemies of the men who exercise police and judicial functions. On the contrary, there are only two kinds of argument that exercise the slightest logical urgency on the mind of that stripe of bandit,—one is money and the other is fear. We shall gain nothing by disguising the facts. To call things by their right names is always a direct contribution to wholesome effects. A steamer can only make half-time in a fog. The first necessity of battle is to have the combatants clearly and easily distinguishable by the diversity of their uniform. We want to know what is what.

"Every solid statement of fact is argument. Every time you deal with things as they are, and name them in honest ringing Saxon, you have done something. It has always been a trump-card in the devil's game to keep things mixed. He mixed them in Paradise, and he has been trying to keep them mixed ever since. If the powers that are managing this town are supremely and concertedly bent on encouraging iniquity in order to the strengthening of their own position, and the enlargement of their own capital, what in Heaven's name is the use of disguising the fact and wrapping it up in ambiguous euphemisms?

"But after all that has been said the great fact remains untouched and validated, that every effort that is made to improve character in this city, every effort to make men respectable, honest, temperate and sexually clean is a direct blow between the eyes of the Mayor and his whole gang of drunken and lecherous subordinates, in this sense that while we fight iniquity they shield and patronize it; while we try to convert criminals they manufacture them; and they have a hundred dollars invested in manufacturing machinery to our one invested in converting machinery.

"We speak of these things because it is our business as the pastor of a Christian church to speak of them. We are not slow to insist upon keenness of spiritual

discernment, or upon the reticent vigor of a life hid with Christ in God. Piety is the genius of the entire matter; but piety, when it fronts sin, has got to become grit. Salt is a concrete commodity, and requires to be rubbed into the very pores of decay. I scarcely ever move into the midst of the busier parts of this town without feeling in a pained way how little of actual touch there is between the life of the church and the life of the times.

"We have no criticism to pass on the effort to improve the quality of the civilization in Central Africa, but it would count more in the moral life of the world to have this city, where the heart of the country beats, dominated in its life and government by the ethical principles insisted on by the Gospel, than to have a belt of evangelical light a hundred miles broad thrown clear across the Dark Continent. And the men and women that live here are the ones to do it. It is achievable. What Christianity has done Christianity can do. And when it is done it is going to be done by the men and women who stand up and make a business of the thing, and quit playing with it: quit imagining that somehow we are going, by some indescribable means, to drift into a better state of thing.

"Say all you please about the might of the Holy Ghost, every step in the history of an ameliorated civilization has cost just so much personal push. You and I have something to do about it. If we have a brain, or a heart or a purse, and sit still and let things take their course, making no sign, uttering no protest, flinging ourselves into no endeavor, the times will eventually sit in judgment upon us, and they will damn us. Christianity is here for an object. The salt is here for a purpose. If your Christianity is not vigorous enough to help save this country and this city, it is not vigorous enough to do anything toward saving you. Reality is not worn out. The truth is not knock-kneed. The incisive edge of bare-bladed righteousness will still cut. Only it has got to be righteousness that is not afraid to stand up, move in the midst of iniquity and shake itself. The humanly incarnated principles of this Gospel were able in three centuries to change the moral complexion of the whole Roman Empire; and there is nothing the matter with the Christianity here except that the incarnations of it are lazy and cowardly, and think more of their personal comfort than they do of municipal decency, and more of their dollars than they do of a city that is governed by men who are tricky and beastly.

"But you ask me perhaps, what is the use of all this asseveration and vituperation; what is the good of protesting? Do you know what the word Protestant means? Do you know that a Protestant is nothing but a protestant? A man who protests? And did not the men who protested in the Sixteenth Century do a good deal? Didn't they start a volcano beneath the crust of the whole of European civilization? Wherever you have a Luther, a grand stick of human timber, all afire with holy indignation, a man of God, who is not too lymphatic to get off his knees, or too cowardly to come out of his closet, confront iniquity, look it in the eye, plaster it with its baptismal name, such a man can start a reformation and a revolution every day in the year if there are enough of them to go around. Why, it makes no difference how thick the darkness is, a ray of light will cut it if it is healthy and spry.

"Do you know that the newspapers had not been solidly at work for more than about four weeks before the dives began to close up? Why, the truth will frighten even a policeman, if you will lodge it where David did when he fired at Goliath. Truth, with explosive enough behind it, would scare even the captain of a precinct, and chase the blushes from the callow face of a District Attorney.

"You see that these things do not go by arithmetic, nor by a show of hands. A man who is held in the grip of the everlasting truth and is not afraid is a young army in himself. That is exactly what the Bible means when it says that one man shall chase a thousand. That is the way history has always gone. That is what the Bible story of Sodom means and the assurance that ten men would have sufficed to

save it. Not ten that were scared, but ten that so had the courage of their convictions, and that so appreciated the priestliness of the office to which they had been called that the multitudinousness of the dirty crowd they stood up among neither dashed their confidence nor quenched their testimony.

"This is not bringing politics into the pulpit, politics as such. The particular political stripe of a municipal administration is no matter of our interest, and none of our business; but to strike at iniquity is a part of the business of the church, indeed, it is the business of the church. It is primarily what the church is for, no matter in what connection sin may find itself associated and intermixed. If it fall properly within the jurisdiction of this church to try to convert Third Avenue drunkards from their alcoholism, then certainly it is germane to the functions of this church to strike the sturdiest blows it is capable of at a municipal administration whose supreme mission it is to protect, foster, and propagate alcoholism. If it is proper for us to go around cleaning up after the devil, it is proper for us to fight the devil. If it is right to cure, it is right to prevent, and a thousand times more economical and sagacious. If we are not, as a church, transcending our jurisdiction by attempting to convert Third Avenue prostitutes from their harlotry, then surely we are within the pale of our authority as a church when we antagonize and bear prophetic testimony against an administration the one necessary outcome of whose policy it is to breed prostitutes.

"The only object of my appeal this morning has been to sound a distinct note, and to quicken our Christian sense of the obligatory relation in which we stand toward the official and administrative criminality that is filthifying our entire municipal life, making New York a very hotbed of knavery, debauchery and bestiality, in the atmosphere of which, and at the corrosive touch of which, there is not a young man so noble, nor a young girl so pure, as not to be in a degree infected by the fetid contamination. There is no malice in this, any more than there would be if we were talking about cannibalism in the South Sea Islands; only that having to live in the midst of it, and having to pay taxes to help support it, and having nine-tenths of our Christian effort neutralized and paralyzed by the damnable pressure of it, naturally our thoughts are strained to a little snigger tension.

"I have meant to be unprejudiced in my position, and conservative in my demands, but, Christian friends, we have got to have a better world, and we have got to have a better city than this is; and men who feel iniquity keenly and who are not afraid to stand up and hammer it unflinchingly and remorselessly, and never get tired of hammering it, are the instruments God has always used to the defeat of Satan and to the bringing in of a better day: with a confidence so intense that we shall not be afraid; loving righteousness with a loyalty so impassioned that we shall feel the might of it and trust it, and our lives become this day enlisted in the maintenance of the right, and thus show that Almighty God is mightier than all the ranks of Satan that challenge His claims and dispute His blessed progress."

From innumerable newspaper comments passed upon the sermon, I introduce only two, as follows:

"We hope that every good citizen of New York will read the admirable report of the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst's rousing sermon yesterday morning at the Madison Square Presbyterian Church. It was the severest indictment of this Tammany-debauched municipal government that has been made. It is a good sign when the ministers of this city find time and tongue to denounce our monstrous misgovernment."

"The Rev. Dr. Parkhurst 'took on dreadful' last Sunday. With well feigned virtuous indignation he rhetorically assaulted the whole municipal outfit, plainly stating that the

officials, from Mayor Grant down to the last Dago appointment in Tom Brennan's street-cleaning force, were the silent partners of all the enterprising criminals in town. Dr. Parkhurst would be entitled to all the way from five to five hundred years' penal servitude for such an assertion, if it were to be leveled at specific individuals."

The charges that I made from my pulpit on the 14th of February were founded exclusively on rumor. It was on that account that I was grilled by the officials of the city, all of whom realized the truth of my charges, and knew that if I had gone considerably further the truth would still have been on my side; that fact, however, did not relieve the Society for the Prevention of Crime from the perplexed situation in which my unsubstantiated accusations had placed it.

On the morning following the delivery of the discourse I visited the District Attorney at his office accompanied by my counsel Mr. Frank Moss, and presented to him for his action half a dozen excise cases which had been worked up with a good deal of care, and which had to do with offenders of a stripe that the Attorney might not care to inconvenience. I told him that the report had of late frequently emanated from his office that he found it difficult to obtain evidence sufficient to convict violators of excise and that the Society for the Prevention of Crime would be only too glad to render him assistance. In reply the Attorney said: "Dr. Parkhurst, I refuse to have any official communication with you till you have withdrawn the falsehoods that you have spoken against me from your pulpit." "That being the case," said I, "I will ask our counsel, Mr. Moss, to confer with you in my stead."

Now just at that point was the District Attorney's opportunity. His passion got the better of his discretion. If he hadn't lost his self-control he would have replied to me in something this way,—"Notwithstanding the fact that you have lied about me yesterday and referred to me in a way that was calculated to make me ridiculous, I am nevertheless just as anxious as you are to have any existing evils corrected, and will cordially appreciate any assistance which you or your society may render." Now if he had said that, every breath of wind would have gone out of my sails. Tammany's defeat in '94 hinged on that moment. The demand was openly made that I must either substantiate my charges or be sued for libel. In prospect of a libel suit, as competent legal talent as the city could offer was immediately put at my gratuitous service.

It followed almost as matter of course that a subpoena was issued for my attendance before the grand jury. I found the atmosphere of the jury-room distinctly uncongenial. What occurred there was more to the satisfaction of the District Attorney and the Jurors than to myself. I was in a hole deeper than that into which Joseph was thrown and without even a Midianite to extricate me. I could not swear that the Attorney lived an irregular life, that police officers were blackmailers, that the Tammany bench was tainted or that the entire Fourteenth Street organization was not a disguised branch of the Prohibition party. The exercises closed with a foreman's polite indication that further attendance on my part would not be required. I retired, cheerful but worsted.

A few days later the grand jury issued a presentment. My name was not stated in the document, but it bore on its face the indication that it was against me personally that the presentment was framed. Two paragraphs of the jury's finding were the following:

"We find the author of the charges had no evidence upon which to base them, except alleged newspaper reports, which in the form published had no foundation in fact. We desire further to express our disapproval and condemnation of unfounded charges of this character, which, whatever may be the motive in uttering them, can only serve to create a feeling of unwarranted distrust in the minds of the community with regard to the integrity of public officials, and tends only to hinder the prompt administration of justice."

After the grand jury's presentment Judge Martine, who had the jury in charge, addressed it at some

length. After congratulating it upon the thoroughness of its investigation of my attack, he said in part: "It is gratifying indeed to find that your body has seen fit to make some investigation of the attack, such as was made in the public press by a certain gentleman in this community. After the first inquiry,—after the first suggestion of official inquiry,—the people came to comprehend that there was no foundation for the accusation, and it is indeed gratifying to find that after your investigation there was nothing but rumor, nothing but hearsay to base any accusation upon."

The foregoing from the grand jury and the bench was designed as a quietus and was understood to be such by city officials, by Tammany and by the public journals published in Tammany's interests.

At this juncture the situation was such that only two alternative courses were open to me: one was to drop the matter and acknowledge myself defeated; the other was to make myself able to say "I know." The latter would involve making a city-wide tour of personal inspection, a policy that would expose me to the gibes of the enemy and to the criticism of some of my friends. In arriving at a decision I consulted only the other two members of the executive committee of the S. P. C. and Mr. David J. Whitney, who was a fighter from away back and well versed in the wiles of our adversary. He appreciated the advantage that would accrue to me from being able to speak from personal knowledge but warned me in emphatic terms of the barbed arrows that would be shot at me if I adopted a policy so contradictory to the average sentiment of polite society.

The idea was put forth that instead of doing the work myself the same results could be secured by the employment of paid detectives. Such a notion could be entertained only by people ignorant of the hesitant respect that is shown to the testimony of hired detectives. It has also been claimed that as a tour of personal investigation involved contact with what is disgusting I ought to have hired some one to do it for me. When the Editor of the Times of that date printed that idea I went to his office and asked him if he had so little respect for me as to suppose that I would pay some one else for doing what was so repulsive that I was unwilling to do it myself. He was frank enough to acknowledge that that view of the case had something to commend it.

I was obliged to use as guide a man who was familiar with the underworld. I also availed of the attendance of a member of my congregation who volunteered his services. I do not know whether he suspected all that was in my mind or how necessary to the success of my enterprise was the presence with me of a man whose known character and position in society would, under all circumstances, entitle his word and testimony to confidence. If in connection with this entire warfare there have been spoken words of invective and insinuation too dastardly to be forgiven either in this world or elsewhere, they were words that were spoken of my noble companion, Langdon Erving. Langdon had been for twenty years associated in business with the late James A. Scrymser of the Mexican Telegraph Co., who in a volume of his own authorship, says of Langdon,—"He consulted with me very fully before offering his services to Dr. Parkhurst. Of course we both foresaw something of the tremendous sacrifice and the abhorrent notoriety which would result, but on the other hand, we realized the vital necessity for a man of the type of Mr. Erving, if Dr. Parkhurst were to accomplish the upheaval at which he aimed. The testimony of a man of unimpeachable integrity and character was invaluable; a lifelong New Yorker, a New Yorker for generations back, a man of refinement and a gentleman, such a man was Mr. Erving and his testimony was bound to succeed in the end, where the testimony of some paid detective would have had little, if any, effect upon the court and jury."

Some conception of the "tremendous sacrifice" to which Mr. Scrymser makes reference, can be inferred from the fact that in one of the court trials in which, later on, Langdon was a witness, the counsel for the defense, out of malignant desire to put him to the torture, subjected him to such a mortifying grilling that he fainted away on the witness stand.

I certainly have no purpose of reproducing here the details of those three weeks, which, in the

company of Erving, and under the guidance of my detective, I spent in traversing the avenues of our municipal hell. The details have been given to the public through the press and by no journal more prolifically or with more zest than by the one that has affected the deepest anguish at the vast number of pure minds that have been sullied by the repulsive disclosures. I can only say that having once determined upon a policy of personal inspection I consistently determined to acquaint myself with the worst thing that was to be known and seen. If it was to be done it was to be done thoroughly, or, to use the phrase employed by Judge Noah Davis a few weeks later, "If I was going to enter hell I would seek out its most hellish spot."

The attempt was made, especially by Dana's paper, to prejudice me in the public mind by charging me with persecuting the unfortunate inmates of houses of evil resort, and the police chimed in with Dana to the same purpose. Whether in spoken address or in published communications I made continuous endeavor to make it understood by the public that I was not fighting the social evil, and that my exclusive warfare was against the commercial relations which existed between the police and the keepers of those resorts, whereby the keepers by paying to the police a certain sum when they opened a house and so much per month after it was opened, could enjoy immunity from arrest.

The following incident will set the situation in clear light. One cold winter's night, with the ground deeply covered with snow, the police raided a lot of houses on 31st Street, and the girls, lightly clad, were thrown out into the snow, the police explaining their action to the girls by saying that they were proceeding according to orders received from "Old Parkhurst." Nothing could have more effectively embittered them toward me or have produced a more unfavorable impression upon the public. About forty of them trooped down to my house on 35th Street, all of them howling mad. They made a unanimous and clamorous charge of cruelty, which Mrs. Parkhurst and myself listened to quietly till they had become exhausted and then having invited them to seat themselves, I expressed my sympathetic regret at the exposure to which they had been subjected; that I had known nothing about the affair till that moment; that Mrs. Parkhurst would presently supply them with something that would feed them if they were hungry and warm them if they were cold, and that then we would have a frank and kindly talk with them about the situation. I need not rehearse what passed between us in the way of question and answer, after they had satisfied themselves with tea and toast. It is enough to say that they went away from 35th Street loving Mrs. Parkhurst and myself as sincerely as they hated the police and the city government.

In contrast with the *Sun*, the *New York World* was a very helpful auxiliary. Its editor asked me to his office and said: "I am now beginning to understand what it is exactly you are aiming to accomplish; that it is not the social evil that you are combating, but the collusion between the police (along with the powers higher up) and the criminal classes (gamblers and keepers of houses of prostitution). I will send a reporter to your house and he can fill an entire page of the *World* with details of your work and exposition of your object and aim." The reporter's work was appreciatively done and was of great service.

SECOND SERMON

Intimation had been given that on the morning of March 13th the discourse preached in Madison Square Church would be devoted to a reply to the Grand Jury's Presentment and to Judge Martine's congratulations to the jury upon its faithful and successful investigation of my charges. On that occasion the place on the pulpit usually occupied by Bible and hymn-book was filled by a bulky package of affidavits. Preaching from the text, "The wicked walk on every side when the vilest men are exalted," I spoke in part as follows:—

"It will be well for us to come to a frank understanding with one another at the

commencement of our discussion, as to the scope of our campaign. What was spoken from this pulpit four weeks ago was spoken with a distinct intent, from which we have not in the meantime swerved, whatever the obstruction and intimidation, official or otherwise, that has been launched against us, for the exclusive aim of the movement is to lay bare the iniquity that municipally neutralizes the efforts which a Christian pulpit puts forth to make righteousness the law of human life individually and socially. So that I apprehend that my function as a preacher of righteousness gives me no option in the matter.

"It is important to recognize the purely moral intention of the crusade as security against its becoming complicated with considerations that stand aloof from the main point. A great many civic efforts have been made here that have resulted in nothing, for the sufficient reason that they have been side-tracked and mortgaged to some competitive interest. Let me say then that I do not speak as a Republican or a Democrat, as a Protestant or a Catholic, as an advocate of prohibition or as an advocate of license. I am moved by the respect which I have for the Ten Commandments, and by my anxiety as a preacher of Jesus Christ, to have the law of God regnant in individual and social life; so that I antagonize our existing municipal administration because I believe that administration to be essentially corrupt and to stand in diametric resistance to all that Christ and a loyally Christian pulpit represent in the world.

"Tammany Hall is not a political party but purely a business enterprise, as much so as Standard Oil or the Western Union Telegraph, and superior to any other company of which I have knowledge, in respect to the perfection of its organization. The material in which it deals and from which it draws prolific dividends, is crime and vice, such as flourish in gambling resorts, disorderly houses and corner groceries. The more material it can handle the larger its profits and therefore the policy which it steadfastly pursues is to foster crime and exercise guardianship over the criminals.

"And not only does the organization stand as the organization of crime but it embodies the tyranny of crime. There are citizens in this town abominating the whole existing system that do not dare to stand up and be counted. The most striking feature of the immense number of letters of encouragement that I have received during the last four weeks is the large percentage written by people who did not dare to append their signatures, afraid to put into black and white over their own names, views of a government whose duty it is to foster virtue, not drive it into hiding. Let me say that it is an excellent time to speak out, an admirable opportunity for moral heroism to come to the front and assert itself. Nothing is so easily frightened as vice. 'The wicked flee when no man pursueth,' and they make still better time when somebody is after them.

"Men of tainted reputation cannot occupy positions of high municipal authority without that fact operating to the discouragement of virtue and the lowering of moral standards. It is a trying condition of affairs for such as are attempting to improve the moral state of our young men, to have men exalted to positions of distinguished authority against whom the most damning charge that can be made is to publish their history. A while ago the treasurer of a bank downtown, who was not even suspected of being dishonest, but whose name, through no fault of his own, had become associated with a disreputable firm, was thrown out of his position. The reason stated by the directors was that, though unanimously recognizing the integrity of the treasurer, they could not afford to jeopardize the interests of the bank by having associated with them a man that was tainted even to the slightest degree of being mentioned in connection with

dishonest dealing.

"Now, that is the way you run a bank. That is the style of condition that you impose upon candidates for positions of financial trust. But when you come to run a city, with a million and a half of people, with interests that are a great deal more than pecuniary, and a city, too, that is putting the stamp of its character or of its infamy upon every city the country through, then you can see put into positions of civic trust, men that are ex-dive-keepers and crooks and ex-convicts and men whose detailed written history would draw tremblingly near to the verge of obscene literature.

"Last Sunday while we were quietly discussing City Missions here in the church, I had a force of five detectives scattered through the town studying up City Missions. I have here on the pulpit the results of their day's work, neatly typewritten, sworn to, corroborated and subject to the call of the District Attorney. I have first the list of parties that last Sunday violated the ordinance of Sunday closing. One of these covers the East Side, and the other the West Side of town. These names are interesting, some of them particularly so; in some instances on account of their official position, in other instances because of their family connection with the powers that be.

"These lists include violations in 22 precincts. I have also here the list of places, with addresses and the number of people present in each. Then comes John Jones' sworn corroboration of John Smith's affidavit. In other words 'Legal Evidence,' which is what I understand our municipal administration is anxious to have this pulpit furnish to it. Of course I am not going to take up your time by reading the names. Only a little in the way of recapitulation, for illustration's sake.

Second Precinct, 7 saloons open, 55 people present; Fourth Precinct, 10 saloons open, 45 people present; Fourteenth Precinct, 15 saloons, 167 people present; Nineteenth Precinct (that is ours), 18 saloons open, 205 people present. In all (I do not mean all the saloons that were open, but all the open ones that our detectives happened to strike), in all, 254 saloons, 2,438 people present. They don't want 'generalities,' they want particularities. Well, there are 254 of them, not pulpit grandiloquence, nor ministerial exuberance, but hard cold affidavits. If the concerned guardians of the public peace and the anxious conservators of municipal laws want facts we will guarantee to grind them out a fresh grist every blessed week. Now, let them take vigorous hold of the material furnished above, or quit their hypocritical clamoring after specific charges.

"We have interested ourselves also in gambling-houses, of which I mention two because of the youthful character of their patrons; one near 40th Street in which were counted forty young men and another three blocks above this church where were forty-eight. More young men in either of these places than are ever seen in our church.

"Leaving the gambling-houses for the present, I must report to you what was discovered in a region of iniquity that in this presence will have to be dealt with with as much caution and delicacy as the nature of the subject will allow. I have here a list of thirty houses, names and addresses, all specified, that are simply houses of prostitution, all of them in this precinct. These thirty places were all of them visited by my friend, or my detective, on the 10th and also on the 11th of March, and solicitations received on both dates. I spent an hour in one of these places myself, and I know perfectly well what it all means, and with what entire facility such houses can be gotten into. That house is three blocks only from the spot where I am now standing. All of this has been neatly typewritten, sworn to, corroborated, and is subject to the call of the District Attorney.

"And now, fathers and mothers, I am trying to help your sons. From the very commencement of my ministry here I confess that to be of some encouragement and assistance to young men has been my great ambition. Appeal after appeal has come to me these last four weeks, signed 'A Father' or 'A Mother,' begging me to try to do something for their dear boys. But as things are, I do declare there is not much that I can do for them. I never knew till within three weeks how almost impossible it is for a young man to be in the midst of the swim of New York City life, under present conditions, and still be temperate and clean. I had supposed that the coarse, bestial vices were fenced off from youthful contact with some show at least of police restriction. So far as I have been able to read the symptoms of the case, I don't discover the restrictions. There is little advantage in preaching the Gospel to a young fellow on Sunday if he is going to be sitting on the edge of a Tammany-maintained hell the rest of the week.

"Don't tell me I don't know what I am talking about. Many a long, dismal, heart-sickening night, in the company of two trusty friends, have I spent since I spoke on this matter before, going down into the disgusting depths of this Tammany-debauched town; and it is rotten with a rottenness that is unspeakable and indescribable, and a rottenness that would be absolutely impossible except by the connivance, not to say the purchased sympathy of the men whose one obligation before God, men, and their own conscience is to shield virtue and make vice difficult. Now that I stand by, because before Almighty God, I know it, and I will stand by it though buried beneath presentments as thick as autumn leaves in Vallombrosa, or snowflakes in a March blizzard.

"Excuse the personal reference to myself in all this, but I cannot help it. I never dreamed that any force of circumstances would ever draw me into contacts so coarse, so beastly, so consummately filthy as those where I have repeatedly found myself in the midst of these last days. I feel as though I wanted to go out of town for a month to bleach the memory of it out of my mind and the vision of it out of my eyes.

"I am not ignorant of the colossal spasms of indignation into which the trustees of Tammany ethics have been thrown by the blunt and inelegant characterization of a month ago, and I have a clear, as well as a serene anticipation of what I have to expect from the same sources for having deliberately sought out and entered into the very presence of iniquity in its vilest shape. But the grim and desolate part of it all is that these things are all open and perfectly easily accessible. The young men, your boys, probably know that they are. The door will be open to them and the blue-coated guardian of civic virtue will not molest them. I spent an hour in such a place yesterday morning, and when we came down the steps I almost tumbled over a policeman who appeared to be doing picket duty on the curbstone.

"To say that the police do not know what is going on and where it is going on, with all the brilliant symptoms of the character of the place distinctly in view is rot. I do not ask any one to excuse or to apologize for my language. You have got to fit your words to your theme. We do not handle charcoal with a silver ladle nor carry city garbage out to the dumping ground in a steam-yacht. Anyone who, with all the easily ascertainable facts in view, denies that drunkenness, gambling and licentiousness in this town are municipally protected, is either a knave or an idiot. Here is one of the rules and regulations of the Police Department: 'It is the duty of the Superintendent to enforce in the city of New York all the laws of the State and ordinances of the city of New York and ordinances of the Board of Health, and the rules and regulations of the Board of Police; to abate all gaming houses, rooms, and premises and places kept or used for lewd or obscene purposes, and places kept or used for the sale of lottery tickets or policies.' With the backing then of such facts legally certified to as have been presented this morning, we insist in behalf of an insulted and outraged public, that the Police

Department from its top down, shall without further shift or evasion, proceed with an iron hand to close up gambling-houses, houses of prostitution, and whiskey-shops open in illegal hours. If this is what they cannot do, let them concede the point, and give place to some one who can. If this is what they will not do, let them stand squarely on the issue and be impeached according to the provisions of the Code.

"In a closing word, voicing the righteous indignation of the pure and honest citizenship of this tyrannized municipality, let me in a representative way say to Tammany: For four weeks you have been wincing under the sting of a general indictment, and have been calling for particulars. This morning I have given you particulars, two hundred and eighty-four of them. Now, what are you going to do with them?"

Tammany Hall blackguarded me for preaching my sermon of February 14th because I indulged in generalities and spoke from hearsay, but that was not a circumstance to the way they blackguarded me for my sermon of March 13th because I gave them particulars and spoke from personal knowledge. There is difficulty in proceeding against criminals in a way that will conform to their convenience. Being of a legal mind it had seemed to me that the District Attorney would be gratified by the particularity of my legally sustained charges, but I received no intimation from him to that effect. The only comment that I heard of Police Commissioner Markine passing upon the discourse was to express regret at the effect that must have been produced upon the pure-hearted attendants at my church that morning; which indicates that all the threats, official and unofficial, that were flung at me on the occasion of my first sermon were simply parts of one stupendous game of bluff played in order to deter me and every one else from anything more of the same kind.

The March grand jury under Henry M. Tabor, as its foreman, in session shortly after the delivery of the sermon from which I have just quoted, adopted the following resolution: "Resolved, that the District Attorney be, and hereby is requested to produce all evidence before this grand jury regarding the cases referred to by Dr. Parkhurst and his associates and society's agents and request Dr. Parkhurst and his agents to appear before this jury at the earliest practicable moment."

I took the liberty of intimating to the grand jury that I had no interest in their securing indictments against the particular houses upon which my testimony bore, and that my purpose reached further than that, viz., to the Police Department by which those houses were protected. Whether the jury was influenced by my request I cannot say but the presentment which was issued against the Police Department, extracts from which I subjoin, was exactly what I wanted, as follows:

"A large amount of testimony has been presented showing the existence and violation of law in large numbers of these places. The grand jury has indicted the proprietors of some of these places, and they have been arrested under such indictments and have pleaded. In these very cases further testimony has been presented showing that there was no abatement in these premises of the same disorderly practices, and that there was no appearance of police interference.

"With the facts before us that these places do exist in large numbers, that they are well known to the police, that their locations and special lines of business are recorded by the Department, and that very particular and express duties are imposed by law upon the police to inspect and repress these places (Section 282) and that extraordinary powers of breaking into houses without previous application for judicial warrants are allowed to the police in order that they may perform such duties (Section 285) and with the fact that has plainly appeared to us that the police seldom use these powers, or even apply to magistrates for warrants to carry out their legal duties, there are presented to us

the best reasons for condemning the inaction of the Police Department in these matters. They are either incompetent to do what is frequently done by private individuals with imperfect facilities for such work, or else there exist reasons and motives for such inaction which are illegal and corrupt. The general efficiency of the Department is so great that it is our belief that the latter suggestion is the explanation of the peculiar inactivity.

"Indeed the publicity with which the law is violated and the immunity from arrest enjoyed by the lawbreaker is inconsistent with any other theory. It is obvious that when a confession by a lawbreaker of payment for protection would subject him to penalties not only for his acknowledged crime but also for bribe-giving, it is extremely difficult to collect trustworthy evidence in direct proof of such charges. It has been thought best at the present time to go no further than to make this general presentment, so that the courts and the residents of our city may be properly informed and warned against the dangerous evil that is in the midst of us.

"The foregoing was unanimously adopted.

HENRY M. TABOR, *Foreman*, Grand Jury Room, March 31st, 1892."

Public sentiment was very considerably affected by the grand jury's condemnation of the Police Department, as was manifested, for instance, by an invitation to speak in Washington which was signed by the pastor of the Church of the Covenant in that city, Justice William Strong, Honorable H. L. Dawes, John Wanamaker and S. B. Elkins. I began to feel that I was becoming respectable. President Rankin of Howard University presided on the occasion, and in the course of his introductory remarks said: "What Dr. Parkhurst has done for New York he has not done for New York alone. He has done it for Washington and Chicago and every other great city on this continent. If there is any shame in the act, we Christian citizens of this capital city of the nation wish by our presence here to participate in that shame. When a thing ought to be done, it must be done in the only manner in which it can be done. There is no inconsistency between the scourge of small cords for the back of the tempter, and the tender words, 'Neither do I condemn thee' for the ear of the broken-hearted penitent. The Lion of the tribe of Judah is the Lamb of God that takes away the sin of the world."

Mention should be made of the mass meeting held in Cooper Union Hall in June, '92. It rather marked the turning of the tide and was the first popular expression of sympathy. I must include an extract from the address given by ex-judge Noah Davis. The judge, whose participation in the breaking of the Tweed Ring made his interest in the present cause so natural and so gratifying, was enthusiastically greeted. He said in part: "You have come here to answer the question whether or not your boys shall be brought up in the midst of officially protected crime. If you say that that shall not be done, you can only say it just now by your applause, but later, by your hearty devotion to those who have courage to pluck aside the curtain and show just where we live, and what we are, and what is around us. Most men tell us that the President of this Society should never have done what he has done; that a minister of the Gospel should spend his whole life persuading mankind to make some atonement for the sin of Adam; that he should let all modern Adams alone; that he should preach upon the old line, 'In Adam's fall we sinned all.' I make no pretensions to fighting Adam myself, but if I had been brought face to face with the situation that confronted Dr. Parkhurst, if my charges had been denied, if a district attorney had laughed at me, if a grand jury had pointed the finger of scorn at me, I would have dived to the bottom of hell, if need be, to prove that I had spoken the truth. If there be clergymen in this country or this city or anywhere, who say they could not have gone through such a thing, all I have to say is that they know more about themselves than I know. By that I mean only just what you think I mean."

The Cooper Union meeting was suggested and arranged for by Mr. James A. Scrymser, who threw himself into the cause at an opportune moment. I cannot speak too highly of his wise and effective cooperation. His influence with the leaders of the press was the means of securing the support of the Mail and Express, the Post and Herald, and also the City Club.

In connection with him I should pay my grateful respects to the memory of Charles Stewart Smith. We came into very close relations with each other. Before I had known of his particular interest in the movement he called upon me one morning and said,—“Doctor, I am going to take off my coat and enter into the fight, even if it takes five years off of my life.” The association with such men as I am mentioning,—and there was a host of them,—was one bright feature in my two years of otherwise disagreeable experience.

Until the movement was well under way the churchly element of the population showed a distinctly retiring disposition, with a distinguished exception in the person of Bishop Potter, who was with me from the first and declared his sympathy in so public a way as to leave no uncertainty as to his attitude. When the New York Presbytery had a session to discuss the question as to what that body should think of me, Henry Van Dyke rose and said,—“I do not think the real question is what we think of the Doctor, but what the Doctor is going to think of us?”

It is useless to undertake any detailed account of the activities of the months following. Whether we won our cases in court or lost them, the matter was kept constantly in the air. I addressed grilling letters to Byrnes, Superintendent of Police, and he grilled me in return. The newspapers were kept well supplied with material, and they used it faithfully. When Judge —— charged me with keeping a detective on Byrnes I replied that, if I chose, I should keep a detective on the Judge himself; that that is what detectives are for. All such matter kept the fire burning. And so I hasten to the determinative part taken by the Chamber of Commerce.

The action taken by the Chamber of Commerce was in part due to our failure to secure the conviction of Captain Devery. Devery was about as thoroughly developed a product of the Tammany system as we ran against in all our encounters and in consequence he received from us an exceptional amount of attention. He was not lacking in a certain kind of genius but it all ran on depraved lines. His precinct was an open advertisement of his character and we made an analytic study of it to use in dealing with him. We succeeded in having the grand jury indict him, but the trial jury that he was brought before was of a complexion favorable to Devery's interests and we were defeated.

The defeat, however, as had frequently happened before, worked to our advantage, for his own disreputable character and that of his precinct had been so widely published that the public felt itself outraged by the acquittal and realized that no reliance could be put upon the courts for the purification of the Police Department. Among other results was action on the part of the Chamber of Commerce.

At the meeting of the Chamber January 25th, 1894, Mr. Augustus H. Schwab presented three resolutions of which the third was adopted; which read: “Resolved, That in the opinion of this Chamber there should be a thorough legislative investigation of the Police Department before any radical change is made in its administration.”

In response to this action of the Chamber and in compliance with the earnest sentiment prevailing in this city a resolution authorizing such investigation was introduced into the Senate by Senator Clarence Lexow.

This resolution was adopted and a committee of seven members appointed to carry it into effect. Of this committee Clarence Lexow was chairman.

It should be stated at this point that the Society for the Prevention of Crime was not altogether sympathetic with this movement. Nor,—as will appear later on,—was its hesitancy altogether without justification. When we put a matter into the hands of politicians we do not know exactly where it is or

whether we shall ever see it again. The total result of most investigation is the pecuniary indemnification of the investigators for their fruitless waste of time.

The following telegram was received here almost immediately after the names of the Investigating Committee were announced, indicating their readiness to undertake their work, or at least their curiosity to come down and inspect our work:—"Senate Committee to Investigate Police Department of New York will meet at the Hotel Metropole, Friday evening at four o'clock. Like to have you present, and ready to suggest names of counsel to conduct the investigation, from which the Committee may make its selection. We will be ready to hear testimony Saturday at ten A.M.— CLARENCE LEXOW, *Chairman.*"

The Committee made their first appearance in town on the evening of February 2nd, and convened in the parlor of the Hotel Metropole, a number of gentlemen interested in the investigation,—among others Messrs. Charles Stewart Smith, Darwin R. James, Gustav Schwab, and myself,—being admitted to the conference. Probably none of us ever attended a gathering so critical in its character that was so absolutely uninteresting and hopeless. After the Committee had disposed themselves and been called to order by Mr. Lexow, the Chairman stated that they were a Senatorial Committee of Investigation and that they were now present in their judicial capacity and called upon Mr. Smith as representative of the Chamber which had requested the investigation to state his case. Mr. Smith courteously replied that he had no case, but supposed the Committee had come down to make one. The Senators gave quiet token of a sense of rebuff and of having their feelings crumpled. "Then certainly Dr. Parkhurst has a case?" said Chairman Lexow. With possibly less urbanity than had been exhibited by Mr. Smith I replied not only that I had no case, but that I had serious misgivings as to the wisdom of their coming down to New York anyway.

Up to that time the Senators had had not the slightest inkling or suspicion of what they had come down for. They had heard a good deal about the fault that some of us had been finding with the police force, and they imagined that all they had to do was to put in two days a week for the next three weeks (or till the 20th of February) sizing up the researches of the Society for the Prevention of Crime. In other words, they had come down not to investigate the Police Department, but to investigate our investigation of it. At a late hour the Committee adjourned in a distinctly interrogative frame of mind.

The session held the day following was of the same general complexion only rather more so. Clear intimations of distrust were expressed by some of us, and the Committee was politely reminded that there had been a previous committee sent down from Albany on a similar errand and that when the inquisition began to grow interesting, the committee was "called off." We ventured to suggest whether there was any danger of history repeating itself. We none of us wanted to show any disrespect to our visiting statesmen, but we had scruples against so far committing ourselves to the senatorial wave as to run the risk of being swamped if the tide should happen to go out to sea. We knew we had been working two years in accomplishing what little we had, and that it would take these seven Senators, many of them from a remote part of the State, and as ignorant of the details of the situation as though they had been born on the Pacific Slope, a good deal more than the eighteen days within which time by the terms of the Senate's resolution, they were to be prepared to make their report. We also seriously questioned whether any representatives from an Albany legislature could be trusted to bring in a report adverse to Tammany.

Then there was the critical question as to who should serve the Lexow Committee as counsel. The Committee had up their sleeve as counsel a man from Western New York who knew no more about the case than the Committee did, and he was actually set to work. We had our own man for the position, John W. Goff, and it was only as result of severe pressure upon him that we succeeded in inducing him to take the place and only by some adroit work on our part that we got him established in the position in place of the adviser desired by the Committee. We knew the man, and knew also that once he

secured his grip upon the investigation there would be no shaking him off and that the results aimed at by us (not by the Lexow Committee) would be achieved and they were, to the distinguished credit of Mr. Goff and to the triumph of our cause.

The details of the investigation, which continued for a year, and which fill several volumes, I have no intention even to recapitulate. It is sufficient to say that it was Mr. Goff and his associates, working under the auspices of the Lexow Committee (which in time became disciplined to a receptive attitude of mind) that put the cap-sheaf to the efforts of the two previous years, triumphantly demonstrated the truth of all and more than all the charges which I had urged against the Fourteenth Street organization, and so deeply impressed the popular mind that minor considerations passed out of view, and the intelligent conscience of an aroused municipality accomplished the nomination and election of a Mayor who owed no fealty to Tammany Hall and was free to achieve the best interests of the municipality.