

Mr. Frank's address in full was as follows:

"President Burton, members of the faculties, members of the graduating classes, and friends of the University of Michigan: I am here as a living proof of the fact that even if every boy in America may not hope to become president of the United States, as the adage has it, he may some day find himself the beneficiary of a president's bad cold. You were to have listened today to the sententious and Franklinesque utterances of the Honorable Calvin Coolidge. It is, I know, a far cry, for you and for the university, from the distinguished head of the American state to a young journalist with no authority save the courage of his own indiscretion and audacity which he rather indecently displayed in accepting the difficult if delightful honor of substitution.

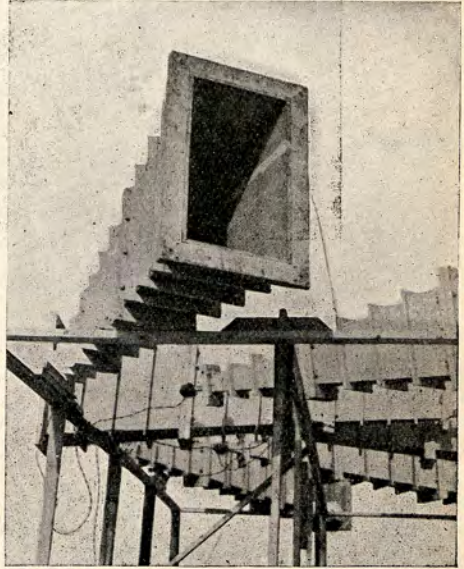
"At best I can hope to do little more than serve as the symbol of your disappointment. I shall not find it in my heart to blame you if you give me a reluctant attention. But, if I may paraphrase a sentence from a certain nominating speech of which you have probably heard, remember that you have only to listen to this address; I have to listen to it and make it. With the poor but honest words of apology, I shall now put your chivalry to the acid test.

"I think I know all of the rules that govern the ancient ritual of commencement addresses. I want, if I can, to break all of them. I think I know most of the stock advice that has been given to graduates from the days of Abelard to the administration of President Burton, advice about how to succeed in life. I shall indulge in none of this advice. I shall neither press-agent the virtues nor pillory the vices with which these graduates must reckon in the building of their careers. I do not mean to suggest that these personal matters are unimportant. They are greatly and gravely important. I am saying only that I shall not deal with them today. And for two reasons:

"First, because I should feel self-conscious and not a little foolish indulging in patriarchal gestures of personal advice to young men and young women many of whom are not more than a seventh of a century younger than I am.

"Second, because I am not at all sure that during the next 25 years, when these young men and young women are laying the foundations of their careers, the success or failure of men's lives will depend solely upon their personal virtues or vices, their personal efficiency and inefficiency. I am not sure that this was

ever true, but certainly today there are forces and tendencies marching through the world with seven league boots making history while we wait, forces and tendencies which, unless they are met and mastered by disciplined intelligence, may, despite, our private virtues and personal vitalities, pick up our personal careers and break them as if they were pipe stems.



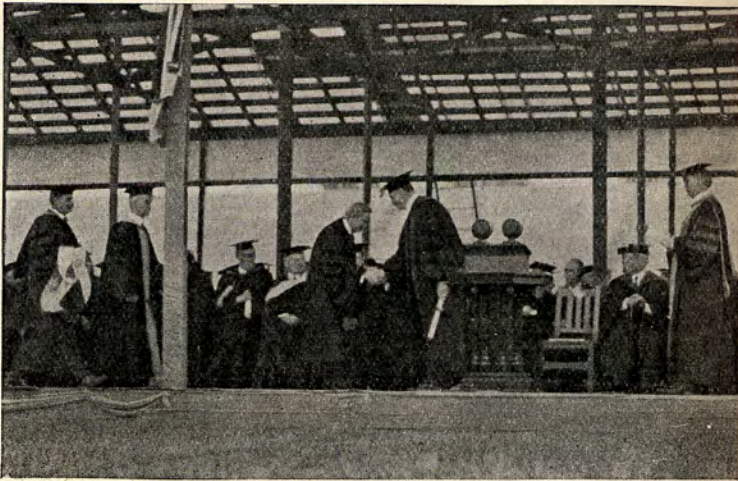
THE 'LOUD-SPEAKER'

The Device Located Above the Speaker's Stand Which Carried the Words to Every Spectator In the Huge Crowd.

"It is of some of these impersonal forces and tendencies that will condition the careers of these graduates that I want to speak. Other and older men may, out of a riper experience, help these graduates rehearse 'the play' of their careers; I shall content myself with a discussion of some of the 'stage setting' of their careers.

"The three most important things in human life are not food, clothing and shelter. To man as an animal, food, clothing and shelter may be the most important things in the world; but to man as an intellectual and social being, the three most important things in life are education, religion and politics. The direction and momentum of affairs in these three fields pretty largely determine the lives and careers of us all, good, bad and indifferent.

"I dislike to speak of education, religion and politics as if they were three distinct fields. They are, or should be, an indivisible unity. Isolate



NEW HONORS FOR ONE OF MICHIGAN'S FAVORITES
 Frederick A. Stock, Director of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra
 Receiving the Degree of Mus. D.

any one of them from the other two and it is orphaned and ineffective. Certainly it is bad logic and a betrayal of life to separate education and religion. As we have been reminded by L. P. Jacks, the brilliant and provocative editor of *The Hibbert Journal*, 'all education should be religious * * * all religion should be educational * * * a religious spirit must enter into education * * * an educational spirit must enter into religion. * * * That which begins as primary education should end in religion. That which ends as religion should begin in primary education * * *. Take them apart, think of them as separate, and both will suffer damage. Religion will be a thing for which there has been no preparation; education will be a process that leads on to no definite goal, and certainly we may add, I think, that politics when divorced from education and religion becomes a poor and petty thing. The statesman is more than a juggler of postoffice appointments, more than the astute engineer of a party machine. When he rises to the nobler conception of politics, the statesman is the impresario of the collective life of his people. He gives voice to their inarticulate aspirations. He lures all the specialisms of scholars and preachers and bankers and business men and labor leaders and farmers out of their air-tight compartments and welds them into a fighting fraternity for the common good. Obviously this field of politics in which all the rich and radiant human forces of a nation meet cannot be considered apart from the fields of education and religion.

"The professor, the parson, and the politician are at work on the same job, not on three separate jobs. And that job is the achievement of 'the good life' for the citizen and for the nation. Here is a trinity in unity and a unity in trinity that we can and must understand. We ignore it at our peril. Now and then the professor, the parson, and the politician can best co-operate by valiantly opposing each other. Times come when only out of a clash between university and church and state can corrected vision and creative policy arise. But even in these hours of necessary opposition, university and church and state are engaged in a common task.

"I want to suggest that today out of these three fields—education, religion and politics—are coming three challenges to the educated men and women of this generation, three challenges that the educated men and women of western civilization must meet if we are to change the twilight of a new Dark Ages into the dawn of a new Renaissance. And these three challenges, as I see it, are:

"First, the challenge to make the university free.

"Second, the challenge to make the church pacific.

"Third, the challenge to make the state realistic.

"Let me discuss these briefly in turn. I must throw provisos and qualifications overboard rather recklessly in this discussion, if I am to get through before the summer session opens.

To be exhaustive would be exhausting. I can do little more than scent the trail of the contentions I want to make.

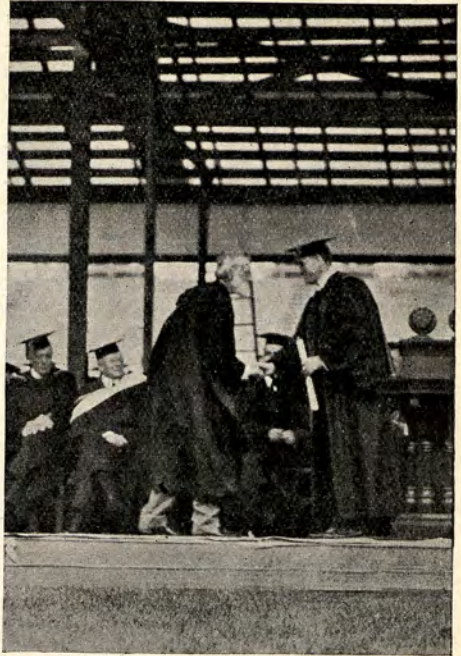
"The success or failure of the democratic experiment on this continent will ultimately be decided in our schools. To quote Dr. Jacks again, 'If the battle of civilization is lost in the schools, who is going to win it afterwards? If the whole community is set wrong in its education, what chances have the clergy of being able to set it right from the pulpit? What are the chances of legislation? To begin by starting the community on the wrong road, in the plastic period, and then, when it is grown up, to send out the parson and the policeman to bring it back—what fool's enterprise could compare with that?'

"But the mere existence of magnificently housed and largely attended universities in a democracy is no guaranty that reason and right will determine its policies and dictate its actions. Democracy may be stabbed to death in its universities. Everything depends upon the kind of universities a democracy develops. Universities that teach their students *what* to think are a danger to a democracy. Universities that teach their students *how* to think and then trust them to decide what to think from year to year in a growing world are democracy's one indispensable safeguard. The university is not a retail store dealing in facts; the university is a temporary retreat from the world where young men and young women may breathe the air of freedom and achieve emancipation from the obsolete dogmas, the unworthy loyalties, the irrational inhibitions, the tribal conformities, and the cowardly cautions that crush and kill the uneducated mind.

"The university must do more than furnish the minds of its students; the university must free their minds as well. American democracy needs mental freedom even more than it needs mental furniture. And, obviously the university cannot emancipate the minds of its students unless it is itself free from the sins and surrenders that mark the common mind.

"In the field of the natural sciences the university has achieved freedom. As long as scholars in the natural sciences were imprisoned for their impudent investigation of ancient ideas, natural science was held, roughly speaking, at a standstill. Finally, however, the university has won practical freedom in the study and teaching of the natural sciences, and as a result our knowledge and control of natural forces has gone forward by leaps and bounds.

"But the plain truth is that the university has not achieved a similar freedom in the study and teaching of the social sciences. And the result is that the knowledge of the natural sciences is today in the hands of a society that lacks the intellectual insight and moral power to use them wisely. Until the university completes its battle for freedom, until freedom in the study and teaching of the social sciences is as great as freedom in the study and teaching of the natural sciences, the fate of civilization will hang in the balance.



BRITISH POET HONORED

Dr. Robert Bridges Receiving the Degree of LL.D.
from President Burton

"It is to this second half of the battle for the freedom of the university that the educated men and women of this generation are called.

"Can the church be Christian and patriotic at the same time? This question has hovered in the anterooms and haunted the counsels of every national religious assembly that has met during the last year, and despite the hours of debate spent upon it and the gallons of printers' ink spilled upon it, it remains unanswered.

"The various denominational bodies have passed admirable resolutions of protest against

the men, the motives, and the movements that lead to war. They have pledged themselves to work for international co-operation. I think I have read all of the resolutions regarding war that have been passed by national religious assemblies during the last year, and not a single one, as far as I can see, contains a single thing that has not been said over and over again in resolutions by chambers of commerce, labor unions, agricultural organizations, and like bodies. In other words, on the question of war the church has not to date sounded a single distinctive note.

"It may be that institutional Christianity has no distinctive note to sound. If so, let us honestly admit that such is the case, and stop wasting time on the assumption that the church has a unique contribution to make to the problem of war and peace. Christianity either has or has not a distinctive word to say about war. If it has, the church must say it without equivocation, or frankly join the politicians, the business men, and the labor leaders in the half-measures and compromises with which they are timidly and ineffectively chiding the war makers. Peace cannot be achieved by merely gazing wistfully at war.

"Dean Inge has a way of speaking honestly, a refreshing habit in this age of evasion. In the first volume of his "Outspoken Essays", he says frankly, 'Lovers of peace have not much to hope for from organized religion. National Christianity, as Mr. Bernard Shaw says will only be possible when we have a nation of Christs.'

"This distinguished English church man unless I misread him, recognizes that the religion of Jesus is incompatible with the aims and methods of the political and economic systems which make up what we know as the modern state. If you incorporate the prophetic and free lance religion of Jesus into a church, into a highly organized institution concerned with lands and properties and budgets, you inevitably entangle the institution with the aims and methods of the political and economic system of the state.

"A free lance prophet can ignore the life around him and, if need be, starve for his principles. But institutions must be kept going, or at least we are likely to think they must be kept going, and inevitably institutions become cautious and compromising. A prophet may be willing to lose his life in order to save it, but that is a dark and difficult counsel for any institution to take to heart.

"This is the dilemma that is paralyzing the

churches whenever they are called upon to state their attitude toward war. Can they take an attitude toward war that is consistent with the religion of Jesus and still maintain themselves as highly organized institutions supported by the rank and file of business men, politicians, lawyers, editors and other laymen whose incomes will be jeopardized by their taking an attitude that runs counter to the policies of the political and economic systems of which they are servants? I think that this question has unconsciously influenced the attitude of the church toward war through all the years. I am not blaming anybody. I am trying simply to state the situation clearly and honestly. And a situation understood is a situation half met anyway.

"At a meeting of the general conference of The Methodist Episcopal Church last month I made a statement on a resolution that was then before the conference to the effect that the church would not as an organization, bless or take part in any war in the future. The resolution made no attempt to legislate the action of any individual member of the church. It dealt with the official action of the church.

"The statement I made was short and open to all sorts of cross-questioning. It appeared in part or in whole here and there in the daily and weekly press. I want to relate it to what I have just said and clarify it a bit. In that statement, I said:

"The central message of Christianity is not to be found in any social, economic, or political platform, but the church is doomed if it keeps discreetly silent or indulges in merely amiable generalities about the moral issues of politics and industry of war and peace.

"I believe that anything less than a clear and courageous cutting loose from the whole war business means at best a slow suicide for the church. The church cannot as it did in the last war, make its God the ally alike of Pershing and of Hindenburg and bring Him back unsullied for worship in peace time. Ministers of God cannot turn themselves into hysterical press-agents of general in war time and expect to take them seriously as authentic representatives of Jesus of Nazareth the day after the armistice.

"We forget so easily. During the war our religious and secular press was filled with articles prophesying the vast spiritual uplift the war would bring to our civilization. We were told that out of the war would come a refining fire that would burn the dross out of the lives of men and of institutions, that we would come

back from the war with a new and more spiritual conception of the state and of public affairs. Where are those fine dreams now? Can any honest observer contend that a single nation on earth has reaped a single lasting spiritual benefit from the war?

"Was our war time idealism only tongue deep, a sort of parade piety? No, I think it was honest. To the inarticulate millions of earth, politics and war seemed actually to have become the supreme spiritual adventure of mankind. We were honest in our dreams, but we are disillusioned in the waking.

"The few moral disciplines we had built up before the war have in many cases been scrapped without apology. The repressed liberalism of the race was released by the war. Not only the men who fought in the trenches, but the men and women behind the lines who were vicariously vicious as they knit socks or sold *Liberty bonds were, regardless of the loftiness* of their aims, schooled by war in a cruelty of temper that it had been the business of generations to humanize and civilize.

"Vast masses of men and women who before the war were sensitive and shrinking at the thought of brutality are today bringing a firing-squad mind to the issues of peace. For four and a quarter years men lived by a philosophy of getting what they wanted by fighting, and they have carried the philosophy over into civil affairs. Social revolutions, labor wars, and the madness of Ku Kluxism are the certificates that show how well the race learned its lesson of conquest by cruelty.

"The war brought a transient discipline to mankind, but it also bred a revolt against discipline. Men will submit to rigid discipline for a time if the adventure is dramatic enough, but peace, when it brings no challenge to spiritual adventure, seems drab and purposeless after a war. And the sterile peace that has followed the last war has bred a world-wide rebellion against hard work, against the loyalty to homes that seem humdrum after the lawless seasons of war time, against all the controls and traditions and disciplines and procedures that had been slowly built up by years of civilized effort.

"Six years after the war we are still citizens of a hungry, disheveled, fear-stricken, and unstable world, a world in which statesmanship serves to do little more than stage-manage a sordid scramble for concessions, a devil-take-the-hindmost jockeying for position in the next war, a nakedly barbaric struggle for national existence, with little thought given to the qual-

ity of the existence. The "war to end war" has given us only "a peace to end peace."

"We have turned our backs upon every one of the things by which we gave a seeming spiritual sanction to war. Having stilled our conscience with the thought that we went to war to save the souls of men, we are in danger of trimming down our mission to the smaller project of saving our own skins.

"This is the end of a war which the churches, in the main, felt justified in blessing.

"The brutal truth is that from the beginning of time war never has stimulated, and to the end of time war never will stimulate spirituality in anything or anybody. War is the utter negation of all that the religion of Jesus stands for.

"The state may spend its time dilly-dallying with the problem of war; the church dare not. If in the future the church is to be more *than an exhorting ambulance driver in world* politics, it must choose now between Jesus and the generals.

"It is so easy for the church to say that, as an organization, it will not bless any war, and then follow such an assertion with a weasel phrase such as "except wars of defense and wars waged in a righteous cause." As if any nation ever admitted that it fought a war not in self-defense or a righteous cause! Personally I believe it is wiser for the church to remain silent on the subject of war until it is ready to speak with a sweeping courage that will mobilize the planet against war.

"I do not say that we may not find ourselves manoeuvred into a position that will compel us to enter another war even within the lifetime of this generation. All I say is that if we find ourselves dragged into another war by the stupidity or cupidity of political or industrial leadership in our own or some other nation, let us go into war honestly admitting that it is an ugly job, as the cleaning of a sewer is an ugly job, an ugly job that has been made necessary by stupidity and cupidity, and not insult the name and disgrace the church of Jesus of Nazareth by fooling ourselves into thinking we are entering a spiritual crusade.

"Even a war waged for a righteous cause is a spiritually destructive process. If ever a war was spiritually justified, it was the war waged for the war aims formulated by Woodrow Wilson and approved by Allied statesmen, and yet witness the spiritual havoc that marked its aftermath.

"Make no mistake. If the church says frankly and uncompromisingly that, as an organiza-

tion, it will never sanction or take part in war, many of its semi-Christian laymen will withdraw their financial support from the church and its activities. In fact, laymen have sent telegrams to recent church assemblies threatening withdrawal from their church if their church took any such attitude toward war. The question the church must face is this: Could not the church well afford to retrench upon many of its official activities, if necessary, in order to free itself for the taking of a courageous step that would morally electrify the world? The church is not an end in itself; it is a means to an end. The church must not allow the care of its machinery to steal away its strength from the serving of its deepest mission, which is the Christianization of human society, a thing that will remain impossible, in my judgment, as long as churches sanction war.

"I suggest that the church, in considering the problem of its attitude toward war, must choose one of three attitudes:

"First, it can assume that its business is to cultivate the inner spiritual life of individual men and women as best it can in an imperfect world, ignoring the moral issues of politics and industry, of war and peace, and contenting itself with weeping when political and economic leadership plays havoc with the lives of its members.

"Second, it can frankly admit, as Dean Inge

admits, that "institutional religion does not represent the Gospel of Christ, but the opinions of a mass of nominal Christians. It cannot be expected to do much more than look after its own interests and reflect the ideas of its supporters. The real Gospel, if it were accepted, would pull up by the roots not only militarism but its analogue in civil life, the desire to exploit other people for private gain. But it is not accepted."

"Third, it can run the risk of losing its life as a popularly approved and supported institution by trying to apply ruthlessly and realistically the principles of Jesus to the problem of politics and industry, of war and peace. This would mean, for one thing, I think, that the church would refuse to bless or take part in any war. It would almost surely mean a desertion from its membership and a depletion of its treasury, but I think it would mean an increase in its real moral influence on public affairs.

"If the United States were invaded, I should volunteer to fight the invader. But I have a son, five and a half years old, and I should like to see the church choose the third attitude. I should like to feel that the church was helping me to fight the perverted notions of nationalism and patriotism that have kept the world on a consistent schedule of wars and revolutions and will, unless checked, revised and spiritualized, almost certainly claim my son as a victim.