

of the Allies. "We hold," said Mr. Putnam, in a recent letter, "that the Allies are fighting not merely for their own existence, but in support of civilization and in defence of the liberties of the United States." The Carnegie Hall resolutions are as follows:

Whereas, We hold that Prussian Imperial Militarism has brought about the subjection of the people of Germany to an ambitious and unscrupulous autocracy, and the corruption of the ancient German ideals through a dream of world-dominion; and

Whereas, We believe that the success of the schemes of this Prussian autocracy means the crushing of friendly nations and the subjection of their peoples to a brutal and cruel military rule; and

Whereas, We believe that, intoxicated with the military successes of 1864, 1866 and 1870, and by the wonderful development of the economic strength of the country, the ambitions of Prussian leaders have expanded until they have culminated in a world-war for imperial domination; and

Whereas, This war has been conducted by Prussia and her Allies with practices of unprecedented barbarity, including the killing under official orders of thousands of non-combatants, women, and children, and including the crowning atrocity of the Armenian massacres; and

Whereas, We believe that the Monroe Doctrine and even the territories of our own country have been, and now are, an avowed aim of Prussian aggression, and that, in the event of the success of the Teutonic powers, the next attack would be made against the United States; and

Whereas, Without undertaking to approve all the acts of the Entente Allies, in the present war, we hold that the Republicanism of France and the Democracy of England are united in contending for those rights of the people, and those ideals of humanity which are essential to the preservation of civilization; and

Whereas, We believe that neutral nations look to the United States as the leading power that should maintain the principles of International Law, and defend the sacred principles of humanity, that the peoples of these nations are convinced of the righteousness of the Allied cause, but hesitate to declare themselves, and that action by the United States would have a potent influence upon hesitant neutrals, and would tend materially to shorten the war, to save further sacrifice of human life, and to assure the more speedy triumph of law and justice;

Now, therefore, be it

Resolved that the safety and honor of the American people, and their duty to defend and maintain the rights of humanity, re-

quire us to approve of the cause for which the Entente Allies are fighting, and to extend to those Allies, by any means in our power, not only sympathy but direct co-operation at the proper time, to the end that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth; and

Resolved Further, That in spite of the unwarranted destruction of American lives, there should be between the American people and the German people no enmity, and that, when the Germans shall abjure with the dream of empire, the pernicious ideals of their present rulers, the Americans will rejoice to come again into fellowship with them in the work of advancing the true ideals of justice, humanity, and civilization.

Resolved, That we, the members of the American Rights Committee, and their friends, in general meeting assembled, hereby pledge our hearty support to the President of the United States in his firm stand in defence of the rights of American citizens, as announced by him in his letter of the 24th day of February, 1916, to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and we condemn all members of the Congress of the United States who are willing to surrender those rights, under the pressure of German thoughts.

The Penitentiaries

Improve Men, not Degrade Them. is the Spirit of the Times. Public Opinion is insisting that Prisons shall become Moral Hospitals

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Once again the discipline and efficiency of the Penitentiary system has been assailed and defended in the Commons at Ottawa. Without taking sides either with the Minister of Justice or his critic we may seize the moment of public attention to discuss some of the criminological questions which underlie such a controversy.

In the first place, it is a mistake, in seeking the improvement of the administration of justice, to fasten one's attention upon the penitentiaries. The main problem lies elsewhere. There are less than two thousand inmates in all the penitentiaries of the Dominion. Any police court in a moderate sized city deals with as many offenders each year. The larger cities deal with many times that number. Winnipeg, for instance, saw over thirteen thousand police court cases in the last municipal year.

The Desperate Felon and the Petty Offender.

It is characteristically human to be dazzled by the spectacular. The bulk and grimness of these huge prisons, and the fact that the most dangerous and desperate felons are shut within them, catches the interest of the public and prevents them considering the far larger mass of petty offenders.

Yet it is the petty offender that deserves the greater consideration. For he is not only present in larger numbers, but he is more apt to be a beginner in crime. He is at that stage of his anti-social career where efforts to reform him are most hopeful. Just as public education thinks more about the common school than about the university, so the dispensing of justice thinks more about the police station and the common gaol than about the penitentiary.

The Parole System.

In the second place, it is to be remembered that under the excellent parole system which was begun fifteen years ago one-fourth of the convicts in the penitentiaries are liberated each year. This is a humanitarian reform of great importance. The parole system has served its probation and made good. The wonder is that it has not been enlarged in scope. Mr. Archibald, the Dominion Parole Officer, could use to great advantage a number of probation officers, if he had them. But even the simple machinery in operation has succeeded in lighting the convict's cell with a ray of hope. And hope is the essential thing in reforming criminals. That this method of clemency has not been abused is shown by the statistics of fifteen years of activity. Of 3,454 offenders who have been paroled from the penitentiaries only 2.9 per cent have later been convicted of further crime, and only 3.5 per-

cent have been rearrested for non-compliance with the terms of their conditional liberation. That is, only 6.4 per cent have failed to make good use of the second chance afforded them. Surely it was well to set those men free. Surely it would have been unwise to have retained in custody so many fit to be at large.

The Good Work of Prison Reformers.

The wave of humanitarian sentiment which broke upon the world in the closing decades of the eighteenth century has effected enormous changes in prisoners. One who reads the journal of John Howard, or the story of Elizabeth Fry, is staggered and revolted at the conditions revealed. Since then prisoners have become decent, orderly, and measurably humane. That humanitarian wave is still advancing. Public opinion is now demanding changes in prison management no less radical than those which have already taken place. It is insisting that prisons shall become moral hospitals, and that the welfare of the offender shall be their chief object.

There has been, of course, a great deal of loose thinking on the subject. And it is a subject which it is peculiarly dangerous to think loosely upon. The careless pity of the populace is easily turned to reckless fury on occasions of crimes which are vile or dastardly. There are lawless elements in the best-behaved community which require to be overawed, or checked, or repressed with promptness and certainty. At the same time we have had the demonstration during centuries of the ineffectiveness of doing nothing to crime but severely punishing it. Surely the problem involves a study of the causes of crime and of their prevention. It as surely involves a study of the criminal, and of the means to be used to transform him into a law-abiding citizen.

The Purpose of Punishment.

It is of prime importance that the purpose of punishment should be clearly perceived. There are three theories presented in the books on criminology, and all these are to be found in the minds of people who never read these books. The whole problem suffers from theorizing. It is really a matter for common sense and not for metaphysics. There is truth in the retributive, in the deterrent and in the reformatory theories of punishment. No one of them has a monopoly of the truth. Any one of them is false and misleading when it claims, as it sometimes does, to be exclusively true. The plain sense of the matter is that we should be guided by motives of public utility. So we must keep within

the limits of general moral approval — so far the retributive theory is right. We must make public examples of our trials of justice so that no would-be offender may feel safe in committing a crime — so far the deterrent theory is right. We must deal in our courts with a man who has fallen before temptation as if he were a person and not a human appendage to a deed, considering the offender rather than the offence — so far the reformatory theory is right. But if the community will regard itself as a family and the criminal as an erring son or daughter it will not have need to refer their misdeeds to any theory.

The subject is too big for one article. We shall require to return to it again. For it is in the forefront of our domestic legislation. The Juvenile Court has been in Canada since 1909. We can never again go back to the old callous, clumsy and destructive way of trying children which used to be the law. We must go on to new applications of the sound principles which underlie the Juvenile Courts. The next step may be the Domestic Relations Court. Or, it may be something like the Borstal System for "young offenders" from Britain. Or, more likely, it will turn towards the renovation of the interior management of the gaols and prisons.

Poverty and Crime.

Some day we shall face the question of the handicap of poverty in regard to the breaches of the law. How many hapless men, do you suppose, are behind iron bars in Canada to-day simply because they lacked ten dollars and costs?

Some day we shall ask why it is that a maiden may not sell or give away her property, if she have any, till she is twenty-one years of age, while she may dispose of her honor and chastity with impunity as soon as she is sixteen.

There are many anomalies in the criminal code, about which we hear occasionally. But such things as these are not anomalies. They are crimes which society commits against the criminal.

Ontario has taken the inmates from the Central Prison in the midst of the railway tracks of Toronto and is succeeding in making men of them upon a farm at Guelph. Toronto is doing a similar thing with her police court "repeaters." Fort William and Winnipeg, and probably other cities, are planning similar action. And not a voice is raised in dissent. Everybody agrees that is better to improve men than to degrade them.

So long as our prisons make no appeal to a man's self-respect, but keep him in an atmosphere of servitude and shame, they are defeating their own purpose. They are increasing rather than diminishing crime. For the discharged convict comes forth unmanned, untrained, with fear and suspicion in his heart, and often bitterness as well, less able than before to fight the battles and resist the temptations of life. In the thieves slang of France the word for prison is "college."