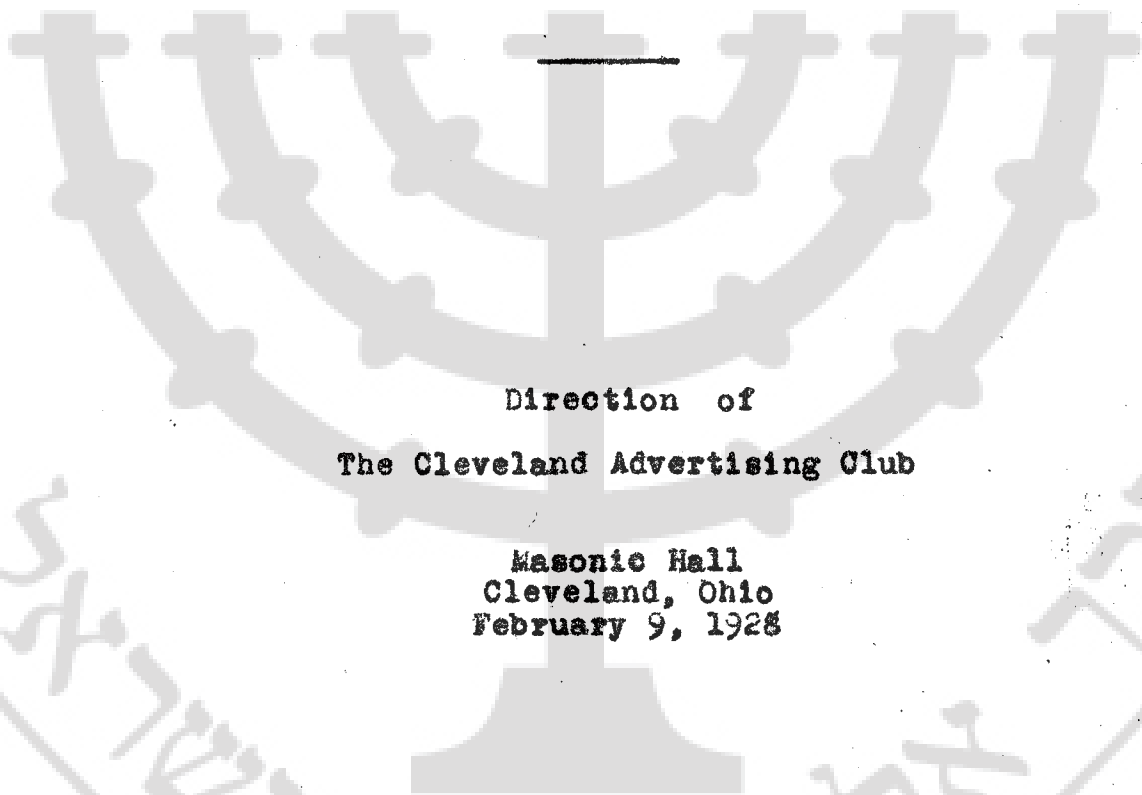




"IS MAN A MACHINE?"
AMERICAN JEWISH
A DEBATE
ARCHIVES
Between

CLARENCE DARROW
and
RABBI BARNETT R. BRICKNER



Direction of
The Cleveland Advertising Club

Masonic Hall
Cleveland, Ohio
February 9, 1928

A Debate between Clarence Darrow and Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, "Is Man a Machine?" was held under the direction of The Cleveland Advertising Club, at Masonic Hall, Cleveland, Ohio, on Thursday Evening, February 9, 1928, at eight-fifteen o'clock, Mr. Wilbur H. Hyde, President of The Cleveland Advertising Club, presiding.

CHAIRMAN HYDE: The members of the Cleveland Advertising Club welcome the citizens of Cleveland to an intellectual entertainment such as they seldom have the privilege of enjoying.

It is my pleasure to present, as the permanent chairman of the evening, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Ohio. Ladies and gentlemen, Chief Justice Marshall. (Applause)

... Chief Justice Carrington T. Marshall assumed the chair ...

CHAIRMAN MARSHALL: Mr. Chariman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Some months ago, in the city of Chicago, last September to be more exact, a great contest took place between two great physical giants. There were more people present on that occasion than I see here tonight, but I think from all I have learned that possibly that is because this audience room is not as large as that one was.

Tonight, we have a metaphysical contest between

two great mental giants. Permit me to say that I feel quite honored to have a part in this program, even though it be that of the innocent bystander.

I am told that a man named David Barry was the referee of that fight. (Laughter) I wasn't there but I don't mind confessing to you that I was listening in to all that MacNamee had to say. (Laughter)

Well, my friends, that was a great physical treat, but tonight we look forward to a great intellectual feast. It is said that this fight is staged to last two hours unless one of the contestants is knocked out earlier. (Laughter)

... Mr. Darrow looked at Dr. Brickner and winked, and Dr. Brickner remarked, "All Right, Mr. Darrow" ... (Laughter)

On the way to this meeting Mr. Moran said that if this fight lasted two hours he would know that it had been fixed. (Laughter) Be that as it may, I don't want any bricks nor "Brickners" to fall on me tonight. (Laughter)

I don't think he had better throw any at me. He will possibly have all he wants to do and to take care of if he aims them at some other victim.

A great many years ago when I was still living on the farm and was much younger than now, I first learned that man is an animal. That was a great shock because at that youthful age I felt I was somewhat superior to the horses and cows and dogs and snakes found on that farm, but I had to accept that as we have accepted a great many other scientific facts from that day to this. That was a shock, but it was a solution of the first great mystery of nature.

But since that time and as I have paid a little attention to psychology and to the mental phenomena, I have had a great many other mysteries and tried to solve them, none of which have yet been solved. We are here tonight to hear one of those mysteries discussed and, whether it will be solved or not will remain for you to determine.

I think it was Byron who said that man is a pendulum that vibrates between a smile and a tear; but even the great Thomas David was not able to describe man except in terms of contradiction because he said, "Base man that thou art mindful of him or the son of man that thou visitest him," from which we would get the notion that man is a very insignificant creature, and in the next sentence, "Thou hast made him a little lower than the angel and hast crowned him with glory and honor."

Shakespeare, the great prince of letters,
 speaking through the Melancholy Dane, said, "What a piece of
 work is man! How noble in reason!" and then something about
 "In attribute, in form, and moving, how admirable! In action
 how like an angel! In apprehension how like a God! The
 beauty of the world, the paragon of animals," and then, after
 all that eulogy, he winds up by saying, "And yet to me what
 is this quintessence of dust!"



אברהם ליבוביץ
 ישיבת תלמוד תורה
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And those are some of the contradictions that we face in our study of these great mental phenomena, and in order for you to get enlightenment on that subject, the Cleveland Advertising Club has invited the two greatest exponents of the two schools of thought, and we are to get some enlightenment upon the question, whether man is the creature of the fatalism and determinism or whether his actions are the result of free will.

The affirmative of the question, whether man is a machine will be maintained tonight by Clarence Darrow, lawyer -- I was about to say of national reputation, but to be more exact we will say of world reputation. Like all great men he was born in Ohio. (Laughter and Applause)

I will not say where he was educated, because without knowing exactly, I understand that his principal education has been in the school of experience and hard knocks. But it is quite certain that early in life he was a corporation lawyer. I never heard him admit that but that is what Who's Who says is true. But his real reputation has been acquired as a representative of the oppressed and the down-trodden, as the attorney for the laboring classes, defender of McNamara, Moyers, Pettibone, Loeb and Leopold, and Scopes, a man undaunted and unafraid.

I introduce Clarence Darrow. (Applause)

MR. CLARENCE DARROW: The Chairman is a little bit mistaken when he says I am not afraid. I am. I am rather afraid or nervous about my opponent in this debate, and still I am like a great many other people, I have always been interested and curious to know what this machine is that we call man. The world has always been curious about what is in it and of it, and before it and behind it.

Of course, they used to think that the earth was flat, that man was a center of the universe, the sun was taken out in the morning to light the day and pulled in at night, and the moon taken out in its place to light the night. Later they thought that the sun went around the earth to perform that work.

Man was created a full individual with a body and a soul, a body which died and a soul which never died.

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It was a world of miracles. If the man was ill he was possessed of devils. The way to cure him was to drive out the devils. If he was insane it was his own fault. He sowed his grain in the spring time, later, with a prayer thinking that it was a miracle if he gathered crops in the fall. Everything was a miracle. Man himself, the greatest miracle but rather easy to understand because he was the only thing in the universe of any importance and everything else in the universe was made for him.

Of course, since I have known men so well I have wondered why it was all made for men. It seemed a little strange to me. There have always been inquiring men trying to find out more about it. They have searched and researched the earth and turned their telescopes into space and have found that the earth is a very tiny, insignificant piece of mud among countless millions or billions of other worlds.

Many of them, at least are infinitely larger than the earth, which leaves a possibility that somewhere in this great universe there may be other beings fully as intelligent as human beings and probably as important.

This has given rise to a more serious study of man. By the use of the microscope, by the use of the telescope, by the study of biology, psychology, chemistry and other sciences, we have found out a great deal about man.

If we have not yet found the whole story we have discovered so much that it gives us a fair reason to believe that the rest can be found. I would not pretend to say tonight that I could demonstrate, as you could demonstrate a problem in geometry, that man is a mechanism and nothing else, but I think all the evidence is that way and while doubtless some things have not been connected up and fully explained, yet day by day and year by year we are filling in the links.

What is a mechanism, or a machine? When we talk about a machine we generally think about an automobile. That is only one kind of a machine. A machine is some sort of a construction that turns potential energy into real energy, that manifests itself in all sorts of ways, according to the structure through which it operates.

We all know what a machine is when we speak of a steam engine. We know that you feed coal into the boiler and that by chemical affinity the coal is broken apart and by breaking it apart it creates heat and the heat is applied to the engine, the heat is applied to the boiler creating steam and this is harnessed into the engine to make power.

We know that nothing is lost that all force and all matter persists in some form, that there is no more or no less in the universe than there always has been, either of matter or of force, but the form is constantly changing

from one thing to another.

This process, we understand, we understand it of all things that bear the evidence of a structure, all objects which seem inanimate, that are put together as one structure. We know that when we feed coal into the engine we know that the lump of coal dissolves. We know that a part of the fuel passes up into smoke, a part of it goes off into heat, a part of it into ashes, but we know if we could bring this together once more we would have just as much and no more as the coal we put into the engine.

It has taken a different form but if all of it could be assembled we would have all of it back once more. The power of the engine arises from the heat that is furnished by disintegrating the coal through chemical affinity.

Now let's look at man -- what is he? There is no mystery as to man's origin. There once was. Man began as a one-celled animal in the body of his mother which was fertilized by spermatazoa from the body of his father, one of ten thousand chances on the side of the mother and one of a billion chances on the side of the father, because each had that capacity, so each of us is the result of ten thousand chances on one side and a billion on the other, and why they picked on us is hard to tell. (Laughter)

We know that these cells, that this single cell, divides and subdivides and multiplies until there are millions of cells and a child is born. We know that nothing like human life could have occurred except through a cell which was fertilized by a spermatazoa. This we understand. We know that in old age, a little further along than I am (laughter), or in serious disease, or in accident, the cells are broken apart, and we hear no more of the individual.

Where do you get a chance for anything else in the individual except in the things I have talked about? No place for it, but take his body -- let's see how it operates. What is it? Beginning with a machine, a brain and a nervous system and childhood, without any thought or any mind of any kind -- that is what they have, all of them in the beginning, and most of them all through life. (Laughter) They begin training and more or less educating the child and continue in

education, such as it is, through life, and when the time comes that the cells can no longer exist together, that is the end.

How is the body taken care of? What does a human body do, anyhow? It converts food into power, or force, or whatever we may choose to call it. (I love that word "choose." (Laughter) It is a perfectly wonderful word, that is.) Where do we get the energy for our activities? We take the food into the stomach, there being no activity without the filler, the coal, the food, or whatever it is, and all of these things, so far, can be absolutely scientifically proven in the laboratory as well as in the human being.

I will try to come as near to proving it as can be done at this time. Food is taken in, by muscular action it is carried down the alimentary canal -- pure action and reaction of muscles. It reaches the upper intestines. There it comes in contact through a thin layer with a blood vessels. The part that makes power passes through this thin layer and enters the blood just as completely as any other machine that was ever made. It passes through.

That blood is carried through the whole system, feeding every part. That the human body may be kept alive, it must be fed. It is fed by the blood that goes through the whole system and it must have oxygen and when this stream of blood passes to the lungs for a fraction of a second, it comes in direct contact with the air, separated only by the thinnest sort of a membrane.

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And the air and the blood mix. The mixing of these is called osmosis. I will just give that word for the appearance of learning, not that I expect anybody to remember it; I have it written down here myself. (Laughter)

It is pushed around by a pump, the heart. The word heart you know is used for all kinds of meanings, love affairs, and knowledge. We know things by our heart. You might just as well say we know things in the pump. (Laughter) The heart is a pump, nothing else. The muscles open and contract and that takes the blood in at one side and passes it out through the veins into another to replenish the body. And then it comes back over the same course again, the waste being taken care of by new food as it is given to the body.

There is nothing more completely constructed on the principles of mechanism than this human body of ours; the movement of the arm, and the leg, are on the lever principle. The lifting of the weight of the muscles in the back is on the principle of a lever. Muscles contract and expand. There isn't a single human activity which can't be traced to that, except possibly thought, and it is fairly plain that that is the answer to that question, too.

Now there is nobody who can dispute the physical structure of man, and what he accomplishes, and everything a person can do in the expenditure of energy came from the force contained in the food, the food converted starch. The

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blood converts starch into sugar and the burning of this gives power. I should have said the liver.

No man can lift one pound more than is the equivalent of the food put into his body. He can't lift as much because there is always some waste unaccounted for. In the burning of an engine we do not get over one-fifteenth of the potential power of cold, much of it going off into heat, and engineers have never been able to find how we can get much more.

In the human body we get much beyond the one-fifteenth, probably more than in the other machine. No one can raise his hand or take a step without consuming this energy which comes entirely from combustion and the decomposition of this material.

Man is made of muscle, nerve, etc., etc. The nerves carry the impressions to the brain. Without them whatever happens to us we know no pain. It is a purely mechanical action. The impress runs along the brain to the nerve. And Cleveland's great surgeon, Dr. Crile, has shown the world how they may block the nerve so that whatever happens to you it will never be felt, because it doesn't reach the brain, you cut off the leg by blocking the nerve.

There isn't a single manifestation of man that doesn't bear kinship to it. You may measure under fine contrivances the amount of mental strength, mental power,

which he consumes. Of course, it takes fine instruments with most people, for they don't use much. But it can be done, at least approximately, and there is a perfect parallel between the action of the heart and the mechanisms so far as we know it of the nerves, and the result of all this activity which we call mind, for lack of any better knowledge on the subject, and which seems to indicate.

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I just want to add this, that from the day man first took cognizance of the universe and tried to explain himself without knowing anything, where all of his statements were in conflict with science up till today, every discovery we have made has been in the line of mechanism. Dr. Everett seeks to treat a patient without a thorough examination of the human machine. He can never find the cause until he finds there is something wrong with the human machine.

It may be that there is cause, and that there are causes that are subtle and that are not understood but there are a great number of manifestations that have been discovered and classified and in so great a proportion of all the cases that cause has been found that the thing justifies us in believing that with full knowledge nothing would be left that was not understood, nothing is explained, no phenomena of life, no phenomena of disease, is explained until intelligent men can explain it in the line of physics, explain it from the structure of the machine and from the lowest piece of organized matter up to the highest, the pattern is substantially the same and the operation is substantially the same.

(Applause)

CHAIRMAN MARSHALL: There are two classes of great men. In the one class there are those who are born in Ohio and in the other class are those who were born elsewhere and took up Ohio as their permanent dwelling place.

Using Mr. Darrow as argument, I might say that Rabbi Brickner had no choice, as to where he was born, but he has exercised the wisest discretion in choosing Ohio as his permanent dwelling place. (Applause)

Barnett R. Brickner was born in New York City. He was educated in the universities of that city, where he has earned several collegiate degrees. He came to Ohio and continued his education and earned another degree at the University of Cincinnati. He has had a varied career as educator, pastor of Jewish churches in the city of Toronto and the city of Cleveland, as you know. He is editor of a periodical and the writer of books. While he lived in Toronto they almost adopted him and except for the fact that he was an American through and through and was not willing to expatriate himself he might have been a legislator in their Parliament. The position was offered to him.

We are proud of him and proud to know that his loyalty to the Stars and Stripes forbade that he should accept that position.

I said awhile ago that he shouldn't throw any bricks at me because he had better aim them at his adversary, that was just to encourage Mr. Darrow. I say to Mr. Darrow now that he had better put on all the armor he has because there is something coming to him. (Laughter)

Rabbi Brickner has become famed through the

middle West as a broadcaster himself. This audience here of only a few thousand is not a drop in the bucket to the other thousands and I might say millions who are listening in tonight. They are about to listen, now, as you are, to the negative presentation of this question on behalf and by Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner. (Applause)

RABBI BARNETT R. BRICKNER: Mr. Chairman, Dear Machine, Mr. Darrow, and Friends: I think it was Dr. Watson who said, sometime ago, that Mr. Darrow was the world's greatest student of law and the world's most terrible speaker. (Laughter) I am no judge of the former at all. I am just a minister. ^{and} ~~So I~~ know knothing about the law. I ~~know nothing about the presentation of evidence, about forensic appeal and all that sort of thing that goes with moulding the mind of an emotional jury.~~ I assume ^{on my own} that Mr. Darrow is one of the world's best students of law. ^B But now I do know, ~~I NOW KNOW~~, after twenty five minutes of very bitter experience, that he is the most terrible speaker in the world. (Laughter) Terrible for the man that has to answer him logically and scientifically. (Laughter)

Some of my ^{low brow} friends said to me, "Rabbi, you know you ought to come to this debate with some brass knuckles on your hands and a steel vest."

I ^{asked} ~~said~~, "Why?"

"You know ^{they said} Mr. Darrow is a rather irresponsible ~~sort of a man. He~~ (doesn't believe that a man is responsible

for his conduct. If you get him ^{" with your arguments} ~~sore~~ he is liable to go for you." (Laughter)

I have been a student of Mr. Darrow's writings for a great many years. I am very fond of him personally. I don't mind saying it now before all of you that I regard him as one of America's great humanitarians ^{and leaders in the reform of our penal institutions} and I think he is going to be careful about what he says to you and what he does to me. (Laughter)

This really would be a very happy world if we were machines. You know the first one ^{to have} ~~that~~ discovered ^{that it} was a rooster. One rooster, meeting another rooster ^{asked} ~~said to~~ the other rooster, "Tell me, how ^{is your} ~~is~~ married life ~~is it~~ a happy one?"

^{seem} The rooster answered, "Why of course it is. Why should you ^{ask} ~~ask~~? Don't you know that my mother-in-law was an incubator?" (Laughter)

All of those who laughed and applauded tonight, Mr. Darrow, wish their mothers-in-law ^{had been} ~~were~~ incubators. (Laughter and applause) I wonder how many of the ladies applauded.

^{lets} ~~Getting~~ down to business, ^{now} ~~and I have taken~~ about three minutes of my time, and I have bantered about, ^{to night we} ~~we~~ are going to place Mr. Darrow on trial ^{the stand in} for his life tonight. He has been in very many famous legal battles over the lives of people. ^{not machines} ~~I don't know why he should have battled about~~

the life of anybody whom he knew in his heart was only a machine but he has battled for human life, not for machines, and he has battled before juries that weren't machines and he knew it. HE KNEW IT REAL WELL!

and now We ~~are putting~~ ^{shall} ~~Mr. Darrow~~ ^{him} on the stand tonight so that he may battle for his life, for that which is human in Clarence Darrow and is not, ~~my friends~~, a machine.

~~You see~~ The trouble with Mr. Darrow's whole position about man, in my humble judgment is that ^{he has no illusions about the} he ~~sees~~ ^{of} over-simplifies the whole structure and function of this very complex organization of cells that we call man.

Complexity of the world

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He reminds me somewhat of the composition of a little boy. The class was asked to write a composition about "What is Man?" One little boy wrote: "Man can be classified under three headings: a head, ~~and~~ a chest, and a stomach. The head consists of the eyes ~~and~~ the ears ~~and~~ the nose and the mouth and a brain, if any. The chest consists of the lungs and the liver; and the stomach consists wholly of the bowels, which consist of a, e, i, o, u, and sometimes w and y." (Laughter)

Now, if ~~it were all~~ ^{man were} as simple as that, friends, ~~by the whole thing~~ ^{debate} wouldn't be worth your interest nor mine and, frankly, Mr. Darrow knows that it isn't as simple as all ~~of that.~~ ^{yes Mr Darrow tried to tell the story of man's Elementary} ~~You noticed in his whole simple lesson in physiology~~ ⁱⁿ that is all he gave us this evening, ~~just a simple lesson in physiology such as we get any time in public school or in high school (never in college, for no professor would stand up and tell us that man is just as simple as a fulcrum or a lever or just the vowels or the bowels of the stomach.)~~ Just think of this: ~~Here is Mr. Darrow with an honest-to-goodness conception, a philosophical conception that he wants to make very simple and he tries to crowd the whole conception that he has in a word, in two words. Really he says, man equals a human machine.~~

If I had Mr. Darrow's conception of life, I would try to find the word that described it, that was truly

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adequate of my conception, that covered my conception, instead of leaving most of that which is important, out. Why does Mr. Darrow speak of you and of me as a human machine? He didn't use the word tonight, but he has used it on so many occasions!

You see, Mr. Darrow is at least seventy-one years old, they tell me. He acts tonight as if he were forty, in the prime of his manhood. Thank God for that! But why should he use the word "human" in conjunction with a machine unless he wants to drag into this discussion the conception that there is such a thing as a mechanistic organism? But, ladies and gentlemen, that is what the whole debate is about, as to whether a mechanism ever can be an organism and an organism ever can be reduced to a mechanism. He is begging the question. He hasn't any right to assume that a man can ever be a machine unless he proves this, and this is very important -- notice he said he can't prove this like a theorem in geometry. Then what is the debate about?

If there is one thing we know about science -- you see, I am not mentioning anything about religion, and I hope Mr. Darrow doesn't (though secretly I know he is -- I feel it is going to crop out) (laughter) -- but here is the thing that we are after: Here is a word "machine." Now, do you know of any word in the English language, or a corres-

ponding word in any other language, that is so shot full of purpose and of a creator or an inventor?

A man has done all sorts of fool things, but no man ever invented a machine unless he had some purpose for it and no machine ever threw itself together accidentally, and yet here we are supposed to accept the idea that man is a machine.

Well, now, Mr. Darrow does not believe that either man or the universe had a creator, and when I tell you this, I am telling you no secrets. He doesn't believe that there is any purpose in this whole blind thing, and yet, he uses a word like "machine."

The difference between Mr. Darrow and myself is that I believe man is the singer of a song, and Mr. Darrow believes that a man is the gramophone record of the song. I am going to take Mr. Darrow literally tonight. Yes, I am going to hold him down to that which he says he believes. Mr. Darrow is a machine. A gramophone is a machine. Nobody doubts that you can take a wax record and talk to it and then make it repeat itself.

You and I get in trouble. We need a criminal lawyer badly to defend us and then you and I go to Mr. Darrow and we say, "Mr. Darrow, we should like to have you defend us," and he says, "I am a machine. The jury is all machine. Why don't you take a gramophone record, or a couple

of records and a gramophone and present it to the jury, put on the needle, stick on the record, and let the thing go."

What would happen? You would say, "Mr. Darrow, you are asking a little bit too much. You are asking me to believe that that gramophone record and that machine can do what you do as you hunch your shoulders and point your finger and use your voice and squint your eye and talk to that jury so that that jury is influenced by the personality, by the sincerity, by the something in the mind of Clarence Darrow that is getting itself across to the jury."

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Mr. Darrow said, that it is all explainable in terms of physics and chemistry. That is what the mechanists say, that everything, the love of the human heart, that the thought of the human brain, is like the erosion of the hills or the flight of the wind, or the tide of the sea.

How can you, Mr. Darrow, explain the fact that America's greatest poet, Edgar Allen Poe, hadn't had in his stomach any food for several days when he sat down and with what we call the power of genius wrote the greatest piece of poetry an American poet has ever produced, and then when he was all through with the Raven, sold it for a flask of whiskey and some sandwiches, went into a saloon, fed that thing in his bowels, converted it into steam, got all his compression up, and then he didn't turn out a line that was worth reading for months and months and months?

Raymond Pearl, one of America's outstanding biologists -- he is a friend of Mr. Darrow's -- points out that it is very difficult to understand the whole problem of genius in terms either of heredity, about which we know nothing or almost nothing, in spite of Goldwin's work and especially in terms of environment.

What in the environment of Clarence Darrow -- I don't know anything about his heredity, and I think he knows less -- what in the environment of Clarence Darrow makes him America's outstanding criminal lawyer and student of

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criminal law? What in the environment of Abraham Lincoln, God's gift to America, the great saint of democracy, what in his environment is responsible for that greatness?

Mr. Darrow talks about life and energy as if they were interchangeable terms. Now he is a lawyer and I am a Rabbi, and I don't confess to know very much about biology. Though I confess to have done a good deal of study in that field before this debate and for this debate.

Mr. Darrow isn't an expert in biology. That isn't his speciality, and I looked up the question, and I want to tell you what Richard Swanley (?) said about life.

He says we don't know anything about life, life is too unique. It isn't comparable to energy. The only way we know something about a thing, the only way we define a thing, is to compare it to other things, but there is nothing in the world to which we can compare life.

And so to talk of life as if it were electrical energy, just because our good friend, Dr. Crile made a stab and a guess at what he calls himself a bi-polar theory of life. He apostolates the note as a scientific fact, because in the field of science, men and women, we never say we know until we know. We never say that a thing is a fact until we completely know it is mechanism, and can repeat the thing.

Did Dr. Crile and Dr. Japhlo, did any one of the mechanists ever put the whole man into a test tube? And

until we have the evidence, we aren't on scientific ground when we put hope in terms of scientific theory.

Now the characteristics of a machine are these, that its mechanism is completely known. We say that light is a wave length because we can measure it. But no one has ever measured the length of a thought, and doesn't know what it is yet, and you notice Mr. Darrow steered clear of what he called or what we call thought and mind and said, "Well it is true we don't know anything about it, yet we are on the way."

Well now, ladies and gentlemen, you may be on the wrong way. How do you know you happen to be on the right way? I have an open mind on this question, and Mr. Darrow, I am not going to let you nor any mechanists say that they know untill you really know.

In a mechanism you can duplicate the mechanism and you can completely control every movement of it. Let me tell you what as great a biologist as Conklin of Princeton has to say on this question. He says, from the laws of Mendel and the laws of heredity, we do know something about it! We do know this: that man is so complexly organized a structure of cells that there is a possibility of three hundred thousand billion different kind of individuals in the world, no one of which would be exactly alike any other, and every human being has the characteristic of uniqueness, of uniqueness as unique that the likes of him or her will never be on the face

of the earth again.

Now in the light of that, isn't it a piece of great preposterous scientific nonsense to say that you can predict everything that you will do or I will do if you know about my past completely and all about my present? Sure you could, if you knew what we mean by the force of life. But in a machine you have the production always standardized, the parts are interchangeable. If you are a good mechanic, you come right to the Ford shops and get a complete set of the parts. You put them together and you have a machine like that which comes from the factory.

I admit that man is like a machine with respect to the elementary chemical and physical functions. Of course man has reflexes. Of course you can block off the brain and operate on a man under local anaesthetics without hurting him so far as he knows consciously, though the Freudians have come in and said you don't begin to know how much it hurts subconsciously and what an effect that has on what we call man's subconsciousness.

But the difference, and that is where the whole theory falls down, it is a half truth, and if they kept it a half truth, I would be with you 100 per cent, Mr. Darrow, but the trouble is that you are taking this half truth which is the physical and chemical in life, and you are saying, because man is chemical and physical in his physical reactions, in his

physical structure, that is all man is.

And I say to you that you are only telling a half truth. A man never reacts the same stimuli in the same way, because he is never the same man. Take Mr. Darrow. Now Mr. Darrow is not the same today that he was 40 years ago. He couldn't possibly be. I mean physiologically. The cells in his structure have changed completely since then. Yet we know Mr. Darrow, don't we? How? Mr. Darrow knows himself. How? Because there is about this organism we call man a consciousness and an awareness, a psychic unity, which if Mr. Darrow didn't have he would have no identity as Mr. Darrow at all. He wouldn't know himself, and what is worse, he wouldn't have anything to doubt the doubts that he now doubts. (Laughter)

Don't you see, ladies and gentlemen, that the ability to doubt your own doubts is the first proof of a characteristic about a human being, that no animal and certainly no machine has. No human being ever reacts the same to the same stimuli, because it is never the same. Life has in itself an element of elusiveness, creativeness and expectativeness.

When Mr. Darrow can show me two printing presses that can mate with one another and produce a third printing press, when he can show me a printing press that is not built up piece by piece but grows through a process of organic

development from a microscopic cell to its completed shape, when he can show me a printing press that can start and stop of itself, of its own volition, that can work or lay off as it pleases, that can repair itself when it breaks down, that can go through the vital processes that we call thinking, that can conceive ideas, that changes itself or its mind, that can correct mistakes, that can repent for its offences -- sometimes I wonder whether Mr. Darrow isn't repenting for some of his offences, but that is an aside -- when he can show me a printing press that can write a Hamlet or compose a Tschaiovski symphony, in other words, when he can show me a machine with a mind, I will agree to call man a machine. But before then, for the sake of very clear thinking, I insist on calling man a cell of conscious, creative personality.

Now Mr. Darrow contended on other occasions, such as this, that man's kinship to a machine and all other forms of animal life clearly proved and is accepted by all scientists. Again, friends, I say to you, this is not the whole truth but a half truth. Many scientists beg to disagree. Let me quote you just one or two authorities. I know that authorities don't mean very much. It depends upon those who judge the authorities. But frankly, who is Mr. Darrow, with all due respect to him, or I to judge such men as Poincaré and Haldane, perhaps the greatest physiologist the world has today, and Professor McDougal of Harvard, one of the greatest

psychologists of the world, Professor Conklin of Princeton.



AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES



זכר אלה יעקב
דישראליא

And Hans Dreisch who was raised in Haeckel's laboratory and had every reason to be a mechanist, agrees with Haldane. And Professor MacDougal says it is untrue to the science of psychology to say that man is merely a complicated penny-in-the slot machine and that all his aspiration and struggles to make the good prevail and leave the world a little better than he found it are an illusion and futile. This he says, "Believe this is to believe a fairy tale and to teach the scientific fact is intellectually damaging and morally corrupting."

What is it that psychology and biology tells us about a man? Let me give you, in a few minutes, a different line of the picture from that which Darrow gave you, though in the bare elementary outlines Mr. Darrow said things that are perfectly true, only they don't go far enough. They are good for children in the kindergarten class but when you get up in college you have to have it with all the details and you have to fill them in.

What do the physiologists and biologists tell us about life? They say simply as a theory, I happen to be one of those who believe in that theory, the theory of evolution. I want to tell you that there is a great many scientists who don't believe it as a scientific fact.

For example Jack Lebb(?), the greatest American mechanist, went to his death saying, "I don't believe in evolu-

tion as a scientific fact." Why, did he say that? "Because nobody has yet discovered the complete mechanism of evolution and until somebody can actually prove to me that an amoeba came from something inorganic and that a man is the result of an amoeba through a process of evolution, I cannot say that is a scientific fact. All I can say is that it is a theory that has not yet been completely proved."

I like the theory of evolution and operate on it because I believe it is a helpful theory for human thinking, which I don't believe about mechanism. What is the theory? The theory is that we came up through a series of stages from what they call inorganic matter to man. We went through a series of these stages and at every stage we have all of the elements of the previous stage, plus something. That plus something is the thing that gives that stage its characteristic and makes it different from the preceding stage.

Now, it doesn't take much of a mind to comprehend the fact that there is something in plant life that there isn't in a crystal, or that there is something in an amoeba that there isn't in a plant, or there is something in a monkey that there isn't in an amoeba. Certainly, it doesn't take much brains to understand, and Mr. Darrow will accede to this, that there is something in a Lincoln that there isn't in a

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chimpanzee. (Laughter)

What is it? At every state in the process of creative evolution, and creative evolution is simply a theory to explain what we believe are the processes of development, every stage develops because of its complexity of organization of cellular organization, a unit and when we get into man we call that unity -- mind!

Mr. Darrow says that that is only so much brain matter working. You never saw a brain he tells you, or a mind. No surgeon ever operated to find a mind, he said, that every physician has to find something wrong with your structure before he can explain you.

How do you explain the psychoanalyst, Mr. Darrow? How do you explain the pain that comes to an artist because a great statue which he moulded with his fingers doesn't begin to approach the conception of the statue which he had in his mind? How do you explain the pain that comes to a coward who has an opportunity for heroism and doesn't make the grade? How do you explain all that genuine pain along side of which all physical pain isn't painful at all, that comes out of what we call the psychic?

When you have mind, which Mr. Darrow considers inconsequential, of no account hardly, it is all physics and chemistry, I say to Mr. Darrow when you deny that as a result of this tremendous organization that we call man not something

simple, why friends this thing is so complex that every time the physicians discover something new they uncover so much that they didn't know before that they stand before the whole thing aghast -- aghast! Yes! I say to you, Mr. Darrow, if you deny mind and you call it physical only, let me call your attention to a man who approaches behaviorism more than any man in the whole world, Bertrand Russell and his new book on Psychology. It is one of the finest bits of philosophical writing that has ever been done in the whole range of philosophical literature. He says, "Is a mind a structure of material units?" I think it is clearly that the answer to this question is in the negative. As we saw earlier there certainly is knowledge in psychology which cannot ever form part of physics.

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The difference between physics and psychology, he says, is analagous to that between a postman's knowledge of the letters and the knowledge of a recipient of letters. The postman knows the movements of many letters, but the recipient knows the contents of a few.

We may regard the light and sound waves that go about the world as letters of which the physicist may know the destination, but some few of them are addressed to human beings and when read, give psychologic knowledge.

Now what have you got there? You have got mind postulated without which you can't have a human being, and I should like Mr. Darrow to point to any machine that has mind. Without mind we would have no such thing as progress, the projection into life of ideals and goals which the human minds of the past have held dear.

Oh, of course, Mr. Darrow will say to me, "Well, mind and progress are all so much bunk," but I say to Mr. Darrow, "If progress is bunk and mind is bunk, then the whole thing is bunk and what are you talking about?"

You wouldn't have any knowledge of the world if there wasn't any mind. All you know about the world are the representations on your mind, and even Huxley admitted that consciousness is neither matter nor force, nor any conceivable modification of either.

12-2

Let me go one step further in this. I want to go as far as I can in the few more minutes allotted to me. Take the concept that man is the product of environment. That is what the mechanists say of heredity and environment. I have already pointed out to you that it is up to them to explain their theory on the position now that has to do all the explaining. I am here simply to refute the position, to show how ridiculously inadequate it is.

I have asked them to explain on the basis of heredity and now of environment -- genius. I have asked them to explain in terms of physics and chemistry -- heredity. The first law of survival -- the first law of life is survival and yet a man will do something he knows is bad for him, is going to destroy him, because it is good for somebody else, and Mr. Darrow is going to tell me that is because it gives him less pain to immolate himself than not to immolate himself. My answer to that is -- bunk -- try it yourself some time and find out.

Yes, friends, take the question of man's environment. Man is the product of the environment, isn't he? What do you mean by environment? There are two kinds of environment, a natural environment, and there is a social environment, but the whole social environment is the product of man's own making. Man made his government; man made his school system; man made all of those influences social in

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character that influence his whole makeup and when it comes to nature, see what man has done to master nature! Surely man can't change the laws of nature, but man can apply those laws so that they fit some purpose that man has in mind. Man extends his sight by a telescope. Man extends his power to travel by the aeroplane and the railroad. Man extends himself through a mastery of the thing which is supposed to master him.

Spencer defined education as "The adaptation of the individual to his environment." Now we define education as "The training of the individual not only to adapt himself to his environment, but to adapt his environment to suit his own needs."

Can Mr. Darrow show us machines that can adapt its environment to suit its needs? Friends, doesn't it seem apparent to you as it must to anyone who understands this thing, that what you have here is man on the lower level, surely, acting according to the laws of physics and chemistry, but rising higher because of creative evolution into a psychic unity, into a realm where there is intelligence, where there is moral judgment, where there is esthetic quality, where there are human ideals?

Biologically man is war, but philosophically man is peace. Biologically man is a cannibal, but philosophically man is a vegetarian. Biologically man is an animal.

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Philosophically man has created the great civilization that we now for some reason are trying to destroy, but which is ours if we only develop it.

My position is this, friends, that we are not free from law, but within law we are free, and that is the important thing. Here is heredity and here is environment, and we are supposed to be in between; the vise is supposed to be pressing on us, but within it we manipulate and not only do we manipulate, but we spread the vise out and we liberate that which is you and that which is Mr. Darrow and myself.

I should hate to think that we are living in a world of Robots. I would hate to believe, and I don't think Mr. Darrow can prove that there is such a thing as a world of Robots. It would be unfortunate if it were true, but if it were true, we should have to believe it. Fortunately it isn't true. Fortunately man can rise. Fortunately man is not a machine. Man is a self-conscious, creative personality that can adapt his environment to his own needs and live on the plane of his highest self. (Prolonged Applause)

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CHAIRMAN MARSHALL: The argument will be further advanced on behalf of the affirmative of the issue by Clarence Darrow. (Applause)

MR. DARROW : I will admit that there is a difference between the chimpanzee and Lincoln. (Laughter) But my experience with the human race has reminded me of the chimpanzee much oftener than it has of Lincoln. (Laughter) All humans are not Lincolns and all machines are not automobiles or printing presses. (Applause)

Now, if I had been called on to debate the subject, I would hardly have stood like a lawyer and say, "You haven't proven your case." I would have undertaken to say what man is. Have we the slightest vestige of information about man from the speech we have heard? He doesn't even dare to say that he has a soul. If there is anything else in man but his machine, what is it? (Applause)

It is not enough in debating things which are more or less theories, for there is very little in this world that is proven to mathematical certainty, it isn't enough to say, "You can't prove yourself positively," but to stand idle and silent when you are undertaking the other side! He says, we have a mind, yes, but what is mind? Strange enough, my friend has quoted from Bertrand Russell, who, I will agree, is the most eminent philosopher and scientist of today, but who is a thorough-going mechanist, as all of them are, nearly.

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There are disputes and differences.

My friend says he is an evolutionist. How many evolutionists are there in the world who are not mechanists? Almost none. And what is there left, if you believe in evolution, excepting mechanism for a theory of human life? I insist there is nothing, although here and there there is an evolutionist who says he is not a mechanist -- but none of the great ones.

He quotes Huxley, the first great champion of man as a mechanism. Now let me ask him some questions!
(Laughter)

Can he tell us what he means by "mind"?
(Applause) There isn't a man living who can define it with any certainty. All we do know is that mind is probably the result of the action of the body. That is all, and a man who loses his little toe, loses a part of his mind, because the action is not so complete -- I see some of the people shaking their heads -- you don't know a thing about it; not a single thing about it, just living in blind prejudice and ignorance about things that intelligent people are studying.

You know, paralyze one arm and another arm, and one leg and another leg, and as much of your body as you can and leave life, and you have lost a part of your mind. Practically every scientist today who has investigated that question, says that mind is a product of an activity of the

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body.

What is it? Pray tell us, is it physical? If it is not physical, what is it? Nothing? Wh^o, it is absurd to use such expressions as -- what was it, some kind of unity -- what kind of unity was that you were talking about? (Laughter) Oh, psychic unity! Let's have it psychic unity. Nobody on earth knows what it means -- call it that. If you are going to shut your eyes to all the facts of life, call it psychic unity. It lacks unity and it lacks psychic, both.

Let's go a little farther about it. He says, "Talk about a machine, here's Abraham Lincoln. Compare him with a machine. Compare him with a chimpanzee."

Well, he was compared with one when he was running for President. (Laughter)

But now let me give him one and see if he will answer it. Has a chimpanzee a soul? (Applause) Because there is nothing in him but soul stuff. Did Abraham Lincoln do a thing that the chimpanzee doesn't do? Not one single thing. He did it with greater power, that is all.

They think, they reason, they follow a result of cause to effect. They have every single faculty that any human being has. Talk about evolution, why, there isn't an evolutionist on earth, except it is yourself, who denies it -- not one. Pray tell me where in between a chimpanzee and a

man did they put in a soul and how? Did they put it in the day of creation or when, or where, or what became of it?

You are talking metaphysical, theological nonsense, something that can't be comprehended or understood upon any scientific basis. Give one single fact that proves it. (Applause) Just one!

Why talk about a chimpanzee? Everybody who knows anything about them knows that they are probably next to man in their possibilities. They have not gone quite as far, but everything that man can do, they do, and that we came from the same source with them and are akin to them, the closest kin, is not disputed by any evolutionist in the world.

Look at their body, measure them bone for bone, nerve for nerve, action for action. Stand up their skeletons. You can't tell the difference between a man and a chimpanzee. He probably thinks you might tell the difference by their souls, but he never saw the soul of either of them and never will or can. It is out of the question, if you are talking anything but dreams, and I am not interested in dreams. When I dream, I want to go to sleep. I like, myself at least, to distinguish between my dreams and my wideawakeness, whether anybody else can or not.

Let's go a step farther. He says a machine can't reproduce itself. Can't it? How do you classify a

tree? It is built on cells just like a human being, different in degree, of course; cell upon cell that reproduces itself in the shoots that come up around it. Of course, if you say a tree can't reproduce itself the way a man reproduces itself, yes, but what of it? An automobile can't operate like a flying machine -- different structures, but built upon the same pattern and operating to the law of mechanics.

"What, pray tell, you have asked me, what is the difference between the moron and Lincoln? And you have asked me why? Why don't you answer? I will tell you what is the difference. Is it all environment? No. There is a difference in the make of every two human machines. There is a difference in the fineness of the nervous system, as much as there is in a first-class violin and one you buy on the ten-cent counter.

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Everything that sweeps through it, every wind, like a harp produces different music in a perfect machine than it produces on an imperfect machine. But that doesn't mean but what they are both formed upon the same pattern and operate purely mechanically. It doesn't mean it at all. All these machines are different.

Tell me there is a difference between inorganic matter and organic matter. Where is it? No human being can tell where inorganic matter leaves off and organic matter begins. Is there a difference between animal life and plant life? No!

What of the sponges? I mean the sponges we get in the sea. (Laughter) What are any number of other things that I could mention if I could think of them? (Laughter) No man living can distinguish whether they are animal or plant. There is no man living who can.

They go off into gradual gradation from one to the other. What is the oyster in the sea? Has that too got a soul? Where did it get it and what became of it? Did we swallow it when we ate it? (Laughter) It is probably animal life. What better guarantee have I of a soul or have you of a soul than the chimpanzee? His manifestations are just the same and we come from the same source, exactly the same source and everything that went into making him goes into making us -- every single thing.

There may be a fineness, a difference in the structure of the instrument. There is that between every two human beings but the pattern is the same and the reason is the same and no two things in this universe are the same. Nobody can build two automobiles that are the same. It cannot be done. There is a difference in the structure and when the structure is applied in the environment that accounts for the differences in men as they are as we can get at it thus far.

Is there any great gap between mental activity and any other kind? He says Lincoln thinks or once did. He hasn't so far as I know said he hasn't stopped thinking. He may say that next. (Laughter) But a machine cannot think.

Can a plant think? Can a sensitive plant think when it opens its leaves and catches a fly and closes them and digests the fly and opens its leaves again for another one? Ask me and I say that I don't know. It shows every manifestation of it, but that is all.

Can any man tell where organized life begins thinking and why? Undoubtedly as far as we can see it is due to the character and the fineness of the machine. I don't say man is a sponge of the kind we spoke of -- or I spoke of, but I do say that probably both animal and that between the sponge and between the highest or even the lowest man there is a great long gap and yet, we are justified in

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believing that it is bridged by a few short intervals here and there as one thing has grown out of another.

Let's see if we cannot make this absolutely positive. If there is anything else in man but mechanism what is it? He said, how can you account for the inspiration that goes with a great poem? What do you mean by inspiration anyhow? In the sense you use it, it is foolishness. You see, I can account for slowing down or speeding up of the nervous system. He tells me that Poe wrote "The Raven" without any food in his stomach. That isn't a bad idea. (Laughter) I would suggest he come out some time when he wants to make a first class speech and go without his supper. (Laughter and applause) The activity is greater. Purely a mechanism.

You can eat yourselves to death a lot easier than you can drink yourselves to death these days, and the activity stops, but do you suppose Poe, who died some hundred years ago, could have kept on writing better and better poems up to the present day if he hadn't eaten or drank? Nonsense!

The human body takes in food as I told you. All of it isn't used at the time. Some of it is stored up in fat or in muscle and he can run along on that a long time on the stored up fat and muscle, but Poe never wrote his poem without being thinner and weighing less after it was written than he did before.

I can demonstrate it on any delicate machine if you have an active enough mind to consume anything and produce anything. It simply means the burning up of tissue, the converting of food into power, which means the breaking up of matter. That is where the force comes from.

Thought isn't a difficult thing. It may be somewhat difficult. I cannot say and I am perfectly willing to admit that I cannot cover every step with a demonstration, but there is no sort of question that to have thought you must have food, that it must be converted into power, that a certain part will -- or a certain amount will last but a certain time and that every single thought consumes some of the power, neither is there any question about the effect of the nervous system upon thought, that they run on parallel lines, every single manifestation of man practically can be explained upon this theory better than any other.

So far we have had no other theory on which to explain it. What is man otherwise?

Take an egg, a hen's egg this time (laughter) an egg will not produce a chicken unless it is fertilized, it is made up of cells as a tree is made up of cells, as a human being is made up of cells, but if none of them, and they cannot produce anything without fertilization any more than humans can. It requires fertilization and incubation.

Perhaps the ultramechanical way is just as good

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as the other, possibly better, I don't know, but it requires
patience for a certain time and a chemical action sets in until
the cells begin to multiply and divide and the chicken is born.
That is just exactly the same process as with a man.

How are you going to say that a man out of the
infinity as apart of psychic unity -- whatever it means (laugh-
ter) -- has been endowed with a soul and another chicken hasn't.
Why? Their entrance was the same, their beginning was the
same, every mother has the capacity for 10,000 children by
the cells. Where is your 9999 brothers and sisters? (Laugh-
ter) Where are they? If those cells had been fertilized
they would have been human beings. When did this
psychic unity stunt got busy with the germ plant and where?
Under a blindness.

If that sort of attitude had ruled the human
mind we today would be coaxing and threatening devils to come
out of sick people, because nobody could understand disease
except the devils. Science hasn't anything to do with it.

I don't say that science and scientists
cannot be quoted on both sides of this subject, but I do say
this, from the days of Huxley, down to now, nothing has made
greater progress than this idea. Nobody can stand up and
give an intelligent theory of life, except upon this basis
unless he rests it entirely upon theology. And if my friend
wants to base it on theology, we better have it out on that.

But he doesn't seem to.

He cannot be an evolutionist and theologian although some people try to straddle that far. (Applause)

The only man who can debate the other side of this question and give you anything for your money is the fundamentalist. (Laughter and applause) He is the only kind. Of course he understands it. God made Adam directly out of mud, or the dust of the earth and he performed the first great surgical operation by cutting out one of Adam's ribs and making Eve out of it. He took a perfectly good man's rib to make a woman out of it. (Laughter)

Now, there is a theory for you and I insist that between that theory and mechanism there isn't a place to rest. If you need any proof I will refer you the elemental fundamentalist of the day. I like my brother's position better because he is imbued with too much sense to accept it and still he tries to hang on to the shadow after the substance is gone. (Laughter and applause)

The greatest study of mankind is probably man. It has been done by dissecting, it is done by the microscope, it has been done by studying psychology, which means that it is a study of human behavior. It isn't a science in any other way except as observing how men behave. Every discovery brings us more.

Fifty years ago if anybody had been discussing

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this question they would have made a miracle out of every human activity.

Today, almost everything is given up and almost all of man is reduced to law.

I believe that where in those places, where we haven't been able to produce absolute proof we have come so near it as to leave no other theory for intelligent human beings to hang to and the farther we investigate it the more there is to support it. Man isn't a miracle. He isn't even a psychic unity. (Laughter and prolonged applause)

CHAIRMAN MARSHALL: The argument will be further advanced on behalf of the negative of the issue at this time by Rabbi Brickner. (Applause)

RABBI BRICKNER: What is left of me will try to advance this issue further. I am not quite demolished.

Mr. Darrow said in the latter part of his discussion on my presentation of the subject that no theologian can be an evolutionist. Well, Mr. Darrow, here is one who is and if you don't believe it let me show you how a man can be both a religionist, not a theologian, I do make that modification, because a theologian is a man whose wholly religious faith is pinned to a certain theology, thank God, my religion isn't pinned to a theology which somebody formulated somewhere for me.

Being an evolutionist, believing that religion

was made for man instead of man for religion, I reserve to myself a right that is supreme to the human mind to change my mind about anything that I have new evidence about.

I am sorry that Mr. Darrow is a dogmatist in his position. He isn't keen about changing his mind. He says he has an open mind but he isn't likely to change anything that he has already believed. It costs too much cogitation to go about doing that.

Here I know, just as well as he knows, that all of ancient theology originated in ~~theory and~~ ^{domin} superstition. But in recent days, since evolutionists have come to me as a theory of how to think about things, we have had an exodus of superstition and most of the old theology that grew out of it and a genesis of what we like to have called religion.

For me, Mr. Darrow (and I think you would subscribe to my definition of religion) religion is a man thinking his highest, feeling his deepest, living his best. (Applause)

You see, for me God isn't a cosmic bellhop who appears every time you push the button in prayer. God isn't for me some old ~~benighted~~ kindly Santa Claus with a ~~great~~ big grabbag full of gifts that he pulls out and hands me every time I call upon him. God is for me that creative spirit in the universe that is constantly making with man's help for goodness, truth and beauty. (Applause)

The Science originated like ~~evolution~~. You know *religion from primitive beginnings*

chemistry was once upon a time alchemy. You know that chemistry didn't spring full-blown out of the mind of some scientist. Astronomy was once upon a time astrology.

Would you say to a man who is an astronomer that just because astronomy was once astrology; would you say to a chemist just because chemistry was once alchemy, and people believed they could make gold out of lead that he couldn't be an evolutionist and to a chemist that he couldn't be an astronomer and an evolutionist?

It is just about as much reason to be able to say to me that because I am an evolutionist I cannot be a religionist.

Mr. Darrow said to me, "Why didn't you tell us man has a soul? Why did you beat around the bush? What were you afraid of?"

There are some things I don't believe in - Hence I don't speak about them
I will tell you what I was afraid of, Mr. Darrow, ~~because just like~~ I don't believe a lot of the miracle stories in the Bible to be more than beautiful stories, containing fine ethical concepts, *so I don't deal with them as history* ~~as~~ I don't believe, even as a religionist in the old idea of the soul as an entity which God put ^{is} into a human being when he was born and then snaps out of him when he takes him away in death.

For me, the soul, if you please, in psychological terms is an ego, the "I", the consciousness in me. What

is it? What is it Mr. Darrow that sends you around on behalf of every underdog that calls upon you? ~~What sends you around even though it is difficult to get around, it must be even as young as you are you must be a bit tired getting around the country protecting them?~~

(I will tell you what it is. It is the consciousness, it is the unity, it is the ego, that we call ~~them~~ God, CLARENCE DARROW, that says to society, "Society, you ought not to do this inhumane thing to a criminal."

You know, Mr. Darrow, I have always defended your attitude toward the criminal because I think there is something in the human being that you deny to him, but that you must, in some subconscious way believe it.

You say to a criminal, "You aren't responsible for what you have done. Poor thing, it is just chemistry and physics and concatenation of one cause after another and environment and heredity."

Sometimes ^{when} Mr. Darrow pleads for a criminal. I would like to pass the bucket around and make a collection, not a plate, but a bucket because you could fill that up with your emotional appeal.

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And then he turned around and said, mind you, an individual has no sense of responsibility because he hasn't any mind to speak of, he is just chemistry and physics, and then he says society ought not to do such a thing.

Now, Mr. Darrow, how do you get that way?

(Laughter) How do you get that way? If ~~the criminal, if~~ those supposed criminals ~~are~~ as physics and chemistry and irresponsible, and can't help it, what do you think we are? We are just a group of machines, physics and chemistry. When a man goes out and shoots my brother, why the impulsive, chemical, physical thing for me to do is to pick up the nearest gun and go for him tooth for tooth and life for life. You step up and say, "You, Brickner (and all of us), don't clamor for blood. You ought not to do that." Why oughtn't I to do that, Mr. Darrow, because ^{you say I am not} you aren't a low-grade moron; ~~you~~ ^{are} a man of intelligence, ~~you are~~ ^{am} a man of ideals. You have mind; ~~you have~~ consciousness. You have responsibility. You have self correction. You can interpose between the impulsive thing and the act out there, a zone of reason, a zone of thought, a zone of moral judgment and a zone of deliberation.

You are right, Mr. Darrow, I can, and because I can, I ought not. But the criminal out there ought not to have done it either. And because I believe that there is in him a power of oughtness that is educatable, ^{that} ~~but~~ didn't have the chance, because I know that he will be responsive to

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treatment if we can get the right treatment for him, I say to you, "Do something for him." Don't shed his blood. You get nothing that way, but ^{treat him and you} get a reasoned individual, helpful to society, back again.

I don't believe, Mr. Darrow, man has a soul in the old sense of the term. But I do believe that we possess, for want of a better word, what we call mind. Now mind isn't anything I ever saw excepting through behavior, but it is that behavior which is the distinctive thing of a man, and it isn't chemistry and physics, because chemistry and physics would lead me to do things sometimes which my mind says I ought not to do.

The human race has been trying to understand that, and then you come along with a simple little children's formula ^{and say we have the explanation for} and you, ~~you~~, Clarence Darrow, and ~~thank God~~, ^{you ask} you are the last of the Mohicans, of that whole group of mechanists, because most of them died long ago. Yes, most of them died long ago. We hope that God will give you a long life to change your mind yet on this question of mechanism. (laughter and Applause)

I say to you men and women, this thing we call mind is the only reality that we know. It is the only thing that gives purpose and direction to our life. If you want to know, that ego which we call soul, isn't something which is blown into your body, ready-made, at birth, nor more than

are the theorems of geometry, and I say to you, that this something in me, which gives me the power to say that two and two are four, that three angles of a triangle equal two right angles, that something in me, in my mind which speaks about beauty, truth, justice, and righteousness, that something is the highest thing in me. Take it from me, and you have nobody. you have a piece of dead matter that by passing an electrical current through you can get my arms in a galvanizing process to move, you can get my legs to vibrate. You might get even my heart to pulsate, but you haven't got me, and you haven't got mind.

When you have mind, friends, you have responsibility. When you have mind you have human freedom. When you have mind you have human knowledge. When you have knowledge you have human power.

Is it my duty tonight, Mr. Darrow, ~~is it really my duty, really and truly,~~ to tell you what a man is? Why, Mr. Darrow, you know what the fellow said when he was asked, "Why don't you tell me what a genius is? ~~Why don't you define a genius?~~" ~~I asked you to define the science by which you know what a machine is, and you said, "A man is a machine."~~ You know what a machine is, and you said a man is a machine.

and he answered
~~This fellow said,~~ "If I knew what a genius was, do you think I would tell you? I would go and become

one." (Laughter)

I frankly say to you, Mr. Darrow, there are aspects in a human being's life that are purely physics and chemistry. ~~There~~ ^{yet} is no question about that. ~~There~~ ^{yet} are a great many things even in the physics and chemistry of a human being which are so vitally different from that of a machine.

Just think of it, men and women, a machine can't repair itself. A machine can't even put the fuel in ^{to} ~~itself or in its stomach,~~ ^{well} and the fuel that goes into its stomach, the coal ^{is} ~~is~~ ^{absolutely} potentially

Oh, then, you can't say, Mr. Darrow, that a tree is a machine. A tree has life in it, a tree grows. You can't even predict how that tree is going to grow, because there isn't any two trees exactly alike. And, Mr. Darrow, there are machines that for all intents and purposes are absolutely alike. If you want to doubt that, I will tell you how you can prove it.

Then the new Ford that you are going to buy goes wrong, when something happens to the carburetor you just send to Detroit or to the nearest agent and buy another carburetor and stick it in there ~~if you can't get a mechanic to do it,~~ and it will run the same as before. But let something happen to your heart and you can't send to ~~Ways~~ Brothers or any other place for a heart, and you can't

even send for a physician to tell you what is wrong in that heart, because the thing is so complex, so elusive, that very few people understand it, and we wonder whether it ever will be understood.

You say that a chimpanzee can do everything Mr. Lincoln did and you want to ask me, as you did, to tell you what Mr. Lincoln did that a chimpanzee didn't. Well for one thing Mr. Lincoln had an awfully good sense of humor, Mr. Darrow. You don't know of any chimpanzee that has, do you?
(Laughter)

I remember some of the funny stories which he told, and some which he told only to his intimate friends. I think sometimes they were the best part about Abraham Lincoln. Abraham Lincoln wrote the Emancipation Proclamation. No chimpanzee ever wrote that yet. (Laughter and Applause)

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Our moronic civilization, these people you say, Mr. Darrow, these machines whom you love, every one of them, whom you say come out of the same stock as the monkey -- as a matter of fact, no evolutionist, not even Darwin, ever said it. We don't know we come from the monkey stock and it isn't true, biologically speaking.

The monkeys went one way. Thank God, they went that way. They can have it. You know that old story, it is very old, but I can't resist telling it. It may be new to the ladies. You know the story of one of my people who sent his boy to college. When he came back, he said, "What did you learn in college?"

He said, "Daddy, you would never understand. We learned science, biology, evolution."

"Evolution, what is that I hear about it in the newspaper?"

"Daddy, evolution is a theory that man came out of monkeys."

The man straightened up and said, "Jakey, maybe you did, but I didn't." (Laughter)

Friends, Mr. Darrow has asked me what mind is. I told you that I thought that it was a psychic entity. It is the entity that characterizes you and me. I can't say any more about it, because I don't know any more about it, but one thing I do know and Mr. Darrow has avoided the issue all through

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this evening debate -- I know that though it is of the body, it is not the body. I know that it isn't the chemistry and the physics of the body. I know that it is a realm dormant and dominating, this thing we call "body" that cannot be completely explained by the descriptive sciences of physics and chemistry. That is why we have psychology. That is why we have philosophy. If we could have explained it in terms of physics and chemistry, then we could have spanned way back before the days of Plato and Aristotle told us this little secret Mr. Darrow is telling us tonight about physics and chemistry, but Aristotle and Plato knew better and the philosophical minds since that time are struggling with it, and Mr. Bertrand Russell says that it is what I called it, a psychic entity. I could give you other words, but Mr. Darrow was afraid of long words and I don't want to shock him tonight. We are good friends.

Mr. Russell said that the mind is a unity, that the functions of the mind are within the body, that it is the spiritual quality of living energy, that when we have it, we have human life, when we have it in the lowest stages, we have animal life, when we have it still in the lowest stage, we have the amoeba and when we don't have it, we have the things that machines are made of, inorganic matter. (Applause)

Mr. Darrow, we have debated now a very old, but always new subject. I say to you Mr. Darrow is a practical

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reformer and I am not making a last moment appeal to you. I have kept this whole discussion off the field of religion because I didn't want to give you the opportunity to stray from the subject.

You see, somehow or other, Mr. Darrow, you missed heaven, and you have been raising hell on earth about it ever since (laughter), but I didn't want to give you the opportunity to get off the subject. I stuck to biology. I stuck to psychology. I stuck to the field of philosophy, but I say to you, Mr. Darrow, as a matter of practical reform, you are interested in these machines. You want them to be better machines. You want them to be functioning on their highest self and the highest level of their selves.

You know, Emerson said, "We know this is a mean world, but how do we know we know it excepting by the fact that there is something in us reaching out of us, aspiring beyond us." Ever since the human race has been human, it has been aspiring. Aspirations are the highest, finest part of human history. We may have failed in our aspirations, but we have hitched our wagons to those stars. Hitch your wagons to those stars if you can, and, with the great power and the influence that is yours, you come to the human machines of America and you say to them, Why, men and women, you are just a lot of machines. You don't have any more power or any more responsibility, any more freedom than mere puppets of

fate. Then what are you doing? You are robbing these people in whom you are interested of that which will lead them to be better than they are and without which life isn't worth living. (Applause)

I say to you, Mr. Darrow, it may be only an illusion, but it is such a beautiful illusion! It is such a fine thing to reach out and say, "I can be captain of my fate, and master of my destiny." That, Mr. Darrow, is what human beings have been searching for all their lives. They have found it not in physics and chemistry, helpful and physics and chemistry are to explain these things about a human being's lower life that should be explained, but when you have said physics and chemistry, you have described a machine, but you have failed to describe a human being. (Prolonged applause)

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CHAIRMAN MARSHALL: The argument on behalf of the affirmative will be closed by Mr. Darrow. (Applause)

MR. DARROW: I hope, my good friend didn't understand me to say that human beings come from monkeys or chimpanzees. I didn't. I know they come from way down below that. (Laughter) I certainly never said that human beings come from monkeys. I have too much regard for monkeys to make a statement like that. (Laughter)

I certainly want to give him a day in court before I would do that.

Now, let's see. I like my friend here. I sometimes think with his high ideals and I believe he is rendering a great service to the world, I find we are awfully close together. But it isn't a closeness over toward him.

I noticed considerable applause after he got through. I am glad of that. You see if I got a whole lot of applause I would think I was wrong. (Laughter) But you have been very nice and appreciative and generous to me. But let me say that I want to see where we stand in this matter.

I take it a good many of you people are religious people. I judge from the way you look (laughter) and the way you applaud utterly irrelevant things.

Now, my friend says he is religious. But he defines religion to be an aspiration for the highest. Well

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I have it! (Laughter)

Is that a definition of religion? Oh, no.

You people who work at the profession just say whether that is a definition of your religion. Has it anything to do with God and your immortal soul? Oh, yes. That is religion. That is the conception of religion that the world takes. I don't quarrel with inspiration. I would like to be that too.

He says something about God, but how does he define him? Let me see -- a creative spirit in the universe including man. Now, pray, tell me what the spirit means. And is that God? Is it your God? Why, I could take him. But tell me about this creative spirit. Has it a mind? Nobody ever dreamed of a mind that wasn't hooked up at least with a physical organism. There never was such a thing.

There isn't a scrap of evidence in the universe that such a thing ever existed. When I am dead, there is nothing to make a mind. Perhaps there isn't when I am living but certainly not when I am dead. "A creative spirit in the universe." Has that got a mind? If so, he must have brain and nervous system, or we cannot conceive of it. And that is the religious God and all these ideas hang over.

It may be true. I don't think so. I haven't the slightest idea that this eminent and able and idealistic friend of mine would ever, ever, use such words except for religious hangovers. (Applause) He is too intelligent to

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give a definition of religion which any one of you people would dare give when you go to church, and he is too honest to say it when he doesn't believe it and I admire him for it very greatly.

I don't know that we ought to try to find things to debate when we come to agreeing. Ask your preacher if his God is a creative spirit in the universe including man.

Well -- nonsense! Is his religion one that can be defined by striving for higher things? No. It has relation to a God and to the keen desire of human beings to hang on to their little bits of souls.

Now you take that out of it and it is gone. How many people in this audience would care anything about a religion that didn't involve your personal individuality after you are dead? You want to know your name was John or Sally on the earth and you lived in Cleveland, Ohio. That is what you mean by it and nothing else.

Now, that cannot be much to debate over. What good is it for a man to tell his views? Either this whole subject is one for scientific investigations, constantly under development, man constantly finding out more, or you must run back to an ignorant and unreasonable religious view. You cannot do both. One or the other it must be.

It may be that science or investigation may sometime develop something that I don't conceive there. If

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so, I am ready to accept it. I will take a soul if you will show it to me, or give me the slightest manifestation of it, or the least bit of proof of it, but although I might like to believe it I cannot believe a thing simply because I want to.

If you could, buy your religious and political and ethical creeds in a drug store, I might go and buy one, but a man's beliefs are founded upon something else.

Let me call your attention to the closing bit of my friend's statement. You can think this over and if you are interested in the question, study it. You cannot get it from a catch-as-catch-can quick debate. Study it honestly, sincerely. There is plenty of literature on it and there will be more of it after I am dead. I am not the last. I am one of the first. (Laughter and applause)

Let's see what he said. He repeats that drivel of Henry, "I am the master of my fate, I am the captain of my soul." The captain of his soul; he isn't a deckhand on a raft. (Laughter)

And then to wind it up he says practically this, but every preacher I ever saw has said as a last resort, even if it isn't true, it is better to have people believe.

O, my, you are wrong! You are wrong! You and I cannot be prescribing what is good and what is bad for people.

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Some time they have got to grow up. We must quit feeding them on pap and on milk. Give them something stronger, if you can find it. Sometime they have got to grow up.

Are we interested in the truth? If you are not, why bother? Just grab the crudest thing you can get and stick to it for dear life, but, if you are interested in the truth, you are not interested in where you come out. If you are, don't look for it. I am only interested in taking life as I find it, considering the evidence I get. I have got time to dream after I get through thinking. I thank you very much! (Prolonged applause)

CHAIRMAN MARSHALL: The fight is over. The fight has been fair. If McNamee were announcing, he would say that both contestants are gluttons for punishment. When Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war, and when flint strikes steel, then the sparks begin to fly.

We have had a great intellectual treat. We have been going to school tonight.

Foep has said, "Know, then, thyself
Presume not God to scan
The proper study of mankind
is man."

We have been going to school. Now, just one word more. I am sure this great audience that fills every seat in this hall and the unseen audience, including the thous-

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ands who have been turned away tonight and have hurried home to their radio instruments, have a great appreciation of their splendid entertainment staged by the Cleveland Advertising Club and of these two contestants who have contributed of their time and of their energy. (Applause)

You stand dismissed.

... The meeting adjourned at ten-thirty o'clock ...

