History of Psychology

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LUDWIG REINHOLD GEISSLER AND THE FOUNDING OF THE JOURNAL OF APPLIED PSYCHOLOGY

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A significant number of earlier (1929–1987) and more recent (1991–2009) history of psychology textbooks have reported on the 1917 founding of the *Journal of Applied Psychology (JAP*). Although only G. Stanley Hall (1844–1924) was mentioned as the founder, the *JAP* had three financial founders: Hall, John Wallace Baird (1869–1919), and Ludwig Reinhold Geissler (1879–1932). They also served as co-editors for Volumes 1 and 2, and Hall and Geissler continued as co-editors for Volumes 3 and 4. Geissler's contributions to Volumes 1–4 far exceeded Hall's and Baird's. In unpublished autobiographical notes written in 1920, Geissler described himself as having "founded" and "established" the *JAP* with Hall's and Baird's aid; the evidence is consistent with that claim.

The first issue of the Journal of Applied Psychology (JAP) was dated March 1917. According to S. W. J. Kowalski, current editor of the JAP, it continues to be a highly successful journal.

JAP's impact is growing and is among the very highest among journals publishing empirical work within organizational behavior, human resources management, and industrial & organizational psychology. It is the largest journal in terms of number of published articles (138 in 2007), citations (9918 in 2006) and pages (1800). (S. W. J. Kowalski, personal communication, May 16, 2008)

In the first issue of the JAP, the editors were identified as G. Stanley Hall, John Wallace Baird, and L. R. Geissler. The *Introduction* noted, "The Journal is privately financed by the editors" (Hall, Baird, & Geissler, 1917, p. 2). Given that all three editors financed the journal in its beginning, it is reasonable to describe all three as founders of the journal.

Textbook accounts of the founding of the JAP

Brennan (2003, p. 192) reported that "Hall ended up investing \$8,000 of his own money" in the JAP. That was four times Geissler's salary in 1917 (Geissler, 1920a),1 so it might seem that Hall contributed more financially to the founding of the JAP than Geissler and possibly Baird. However, Brennan erred. In his autobiography, Hall (1923, p. 227) reported having to invest "eight thousand dollars more than it had brought in" where "it" referred to the American Journal of Psychology. Hall mentioned no amount of financial investment in the 7AP. Hall's (1923, p. 399) only reference to the 7AP in his autobiography stated that "we founded here [referring to Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts the Journal of Applied Psychology," and regarding "we" Hall named only Geissler. Hall's biographer, Ross (1972, p. 420), stated that Hall launched the 7AP "with two of his younger colleagues at Clark," but neither Geissler nor Baird was named.

Of 20 recent general history of psychology textbooks examined (1991-2009; see Section A of the References), 9 mentioned Hall in ways that suggest that he was the sole founder of 7AP (Benjamin, 1997,² 2007; Bolles, 1993; Brennan, 2003; Hergenhahn, 2009; Krapp, 2005; Schultz & Schultz, 2004; Viney & King, 2003; Wertheimer, 2000); the remaining 11 did not refer to the founding of the JAP. O'Boyle (2006) was the only textbook of the 20 where Geissler's name appeared in the index. O'Boyle quoted from the Foreword to the first issue of the 7AP and cited Hall et al. (1917) as the quotation's source. The quotation did not bear on who founded the JAP, but O'Boyle acknowledged separately from the quotation that all three were editors. Baird's name appeared in two additional indexes (Hothersall, 2004; Thorne & Henley, 2005) but in ways that were unrelated to the 7AP.

Similarly, an examination of 10 earlier general history of psychology textbooks (1929–1987; see Section B of the References) revealed that 5 mentioned Hall in ways that suggested that he was the sole founder of the JAP (Boring, 1929, 1950; Misiak & Sexton, 1966; Roback, 1952, 1961); the remaining five did not refer to the JAP. Baird's name appeared in 4 of the 10 indexes (Boring, 1929, 1950; Hilgard, 1987; Roback, 1952) but not in conjunction with the JAP. Geissler's name appeared in 5 indexes (Boring, 1929, 1950; Misiak & Sexton, 1966; Murphy, 1949; Roback, 1952),

but only Roback referred to Geissler and the JAP. Roback (1952, p. 382) wrote, "The Journal of Applied Psychology was founded in 1917, and L. R. Geissler, who was then teaching at Clark University, was the appointee as editor, by Stanley Hall, who most likely was the moving spirit in this successful venture."

This statement is erroneous. Geissler's editorial association began when he was at the University of Georgia in 1916, and Geissler (1920a) clearly believed that he was the "moving spirit" behind the founding and, in the words of Benjamin and Baker (2004, p. 133), the "principal editorial force." Confirming evidence in this article indicates that Geissler and Benjamin and Baker were correct.

It was erroneously reported that Baird was a "cooperating editor" of the JAP (Anonymous, 1919). The first issue of the JAP listed 19 "co-operating editors," but Baird was a co-editor with Hall and Geissler. Nevertheless, Baird made few evident contributions to the JAP during his 2 years as co-editor, probably because of a prolonged illness before he died on February 2, 1919 (Anonymous, 1919; Titchener, 1919). Hall and Geissler were co-editors through Volumes 1–4 (1917–1920), after which both were replaced. In their 4 years as co-editors, Hall made one contribution to the JAP, compared to Geissler's 27.

Before considering Geissler's contributions to the JAP, it may be interesting to recognize an error regarding the founding of the JAP that began with Boring (1929) and has persisted to at least 2005. Boring (1929, p. 508; 1950, p. 521) erroneously reported that the JAP was founded in 1915. More recently, Bolles (1993, p. 202), Krapp (2005, p. 452), and Schultz and Schultz (2004, p. 214) perpetuated Boring's error. Roback (1952, p. 155n) detected Boring's error and made the following sarcastic observation:

E.G. Boring in his *History of Experimental Psychology*, p. 508, gives the date of its founding as 1915. This must be a slip on his part, unless we are to understand that the founding refers to the laying of plans which would hardly be important as a date to fix in the mind. (1952, p. 155n)

Who was Geissler?

Ludwig Reinhold Geissler was born September 22, 1879, in Leipzig, Germany, where he attended public schools and earned a teaching certificate from the King of Saxony's Teachers' Seminar at Loebau. His course of instruction for the teaching certificate qualified him for admission to the University of Leipzig and later enabled him to receive course credits at the University of Texas, where he earned a LitB degree in 1905. He never enrolled at the University of Leipzig but did attend a few of Wilhelm Wundt's lectures (Thomas, in press). Wundt is widely recognized as being the principal founder of psychology as an independent scholarly discipline. In Geissler's obituary in the American Journal of Psychology, Dallenbach (1933) erred in reporting that Geissler came to Texas as a youth with his parents and that he received his early education there. His parents never came to the United States, and Geissler came to Texas at age 23, having received his early education, including college-level work, in Germany (Thomas, in press).

Geissler earned a PhD in psychology at Cornell University in 1909 under the supervision of E. B. Titchener, who had been Wundt's student, and Geissler's dissertation was published in the American Journal of Psychology as "The Measurement of Attention" (Geissler, 1909). He remained at Cornell for 2 years as an instructor, when he also contributed to Whipple's (1910) Manual of Mental and Physical Tests. Geissler then spent 1 year as a research psychologist at the National Electric Lamp Company in Cleveland, Ohio, where he investigated the effects of levels of illumination on mental efficiency associated with reading and close detail work (Geissler, 1913; Geissler & Cobb, 1913). This experience appears to have marked the beginning of his interests in applied psychology (Thomas, in press).

From 1912 to 1916, Geissler was an associate professor of psychology at the University of Georgia in Athens, where he continued research in the tradition of Titchener's laboratory, and he continued research in applied psychology involving Athens's merchants on the effectiveness of advertising (Geissler, 1920a); the latter research was completed after he moved to Clark University in September 1916 (see Geissler, 1917a). Evidence indicates that he began work on founding the JAP while he was at the University of Georgia.

In September 1916, Geissler moved to Clark College and University as head of the Department of Philosophy and Education in the college and as instructor in experimental and applied psychology in the university (Geissler, 1920a). He stayed at Clark University from 1916 to 1920, when the JAP was founded and through most of its first 4 years of publication. While at Clark University, Geissler also served as a nonresident lecturer at Wellesley College, and he taught during the summers at the University of Illinois (1917), Ohio State University (1918), and Indiana University (1920).

In 1920, Geissler left Clark College and University for Randolph-Macon Woman's College (R-MWC) in Lynchburg, Virginia. Leading up to Geissler's move to R-MWC, he wrote a letter to Professor E. B Crook at R-MWC that included the following:

You have probably heard of the changes that have taken place at Clark, of the resignation of both presidents, Sanford and Hall, of the election of Atwood, professor of physiography at Harvard to be president of both institutions, and of the reduction, on account of financial stringency, of the College faculty. . . . Had I known of the true internal situation at Clark, I would not have left the South. (Geissler, 1920b)

The circumstances Geissler described are corroborated by Koelsch (1980), Ross (1972), and Pruette (1926), who described even worse occurrences than Geissler had indicated.

Geissler remained at R-MWC until his death on December 15, 1932, of cardiovascular disease. Among many professional honors and appointments received during his life, Geissler was a fellow in the American Association for the Advancement of Science, president of the Southern Society for Philosophy and Psychology, and, during World War I, a member of the National Research Council and its Psychological Committee on Problems of Vision (Thomas, in press). Geissler's (1929) Southern Society for Philosophy and Psychology presidential address, "The Objectives of Objective Psychology," published in Psychological Review, would bear reading for cognitive psychologists today in consideration of, for example, theoretical tensions between cognitive psychologists and behavioral neuroscientists (Uttal, 2001).

Geissler's contributions to the JAP

THE BEGINNING.

That Hall, Baird, and Geissler were the financial founders of the JAP was stated in the Introduction

to the first issue (Hall et al., 1917). The question of "founding" in the sense of who first conceptualized the JAP may never be answered, except to accept as true Geissler's statements that he "founded" and "established" the JAP "with the aid of President G. Stanley Hall and the late Professor J. W. Baird" (Geissler, 1920a).

However, there is very strong circumstantial evidence to support Geissler's statements. First, in his autobiography Hall (1923) mentioned Geissler but did not mention Baird in conjunction with the founding of the 7AP, which seems to narrow the initiation of the conceptual founding of the 7AP to Hall and Geissler. Apparently, in 1920 Geissler (1920a) drafted a handwritten account of his educational and professional history and from it typed other versions. Geissler wrote, "Since coming to Clark University, I have established and edited the *Journal of Applied* Psychology." Then, using the insert symbol between "established" and "and," he added, "(with the aid of President G. Stanley Hall and the late Prof. J. W. Baird)." In the typed version this handwritten version became, "Since coming to Clark I have also established (with the aid of President G. Stanley Hall and the late Professor J. W. Baird) and conducted as Managing Editor the Journal of Applied Psychology."

In another version that appears to have been meant to be a one-page synopsis titled "Academic Career of Dr. L. R. Geissler," it was typed, "Here he founded (in cooperation with President G. Stanley Hall and the late Prof. J. W. Baird) the Journal of Applied Psychology"; in handwriting, Geissler struck through "he" and wrote "I" above the line. Later in the same paragraph and referring to himself, he typed, "The Chief-Editorship involves also the writing of many book-reviews, notices, summaries, etc. and much correspondence with psychologists in this country as well as in foreign countries." Thus, Geissler perceived himself to be the founder of the JAP and the "Managing Editor" and as having the "Chief-Editorship."

There is evidence that Geissler began work on the JAP while at the University of Georgia in 1916. As quoted earlier, his duties as chief editor included much correspondence. One such correspondence involved Hugo Munsterberg (1909, 1913), a pioneer in applied psychology. A letter from Munsterberg to Geissler dated November 4, 1916, shows that Geissler had asked him to serve as a cooperating editor and to provide publication material for the JAP. Munsterberg's (1916) letter began, "I am extremely glad to see from your letter that the plans for a Journal of Applied Psychology, about which we corresponded half a year ago, are now sufficiently matured." This indicates that Geissler may have written to Munsterberg about plans for the JAP in early May 1916, when Geissler was still at the University of Georgia. This would not establish Geissler as the initiator of the founding of the JAP, but it does show that he was working to establish the journal before he joined Hall at Clark University. Munsterberg (1916) also wrote,

As to your suggestion that I sign as a cooperating editor, I am perfectly willing to comply with your request. Yet I should like to know beforehand how many such cooperating editors are planned. As I see that you have invited Professor Langfield to the same function, I should like to find out what your plans are in that respect and who the other cooperating editors would be. A long list of them would seem to me to make that function rather meaningless.

The first issue of the JAP showed 19 cooperating editors, including Professor Herbert S. Langfield. We may never know whether Munsterberg thought 19 cooperating editors was too many because he died suddenly on December 17, 1916. A memorial to Munsterberg appeared in the first issue of the JAP (Stern, 1917), and a note signed by "The Editors" in the first issue (p. 99) mentioned that he had agreed to be a cooperating editor for the JAP. Geissler appears to have had a major role in inviting the cooperating editors and soliciting publishable works from them (seven of whom had articles in the first issue of the JAP).

THE MIDDLE.

The first issue of the JAP was dated March 1917, and the three editors, who were not distinguished by title in the journal, were listed in order as Hall, Baird, and Geissler. Copyright for the JAP was held by Hall from 1917 to 1921, but that might be expected because the JAP began publication when Hall was president of Clark University, where the journal was based. In the Introduction to the first issue of the JAP, it was written, "The Journal is privately financed by the editors" (Hall et al., 1917, p. 2), and the Introduction con-

cluded, "Communications and Mss. may be sent to any one of the three editors; Reviews, notices, books and articles for review should be addressed to Dr. L. R. Geissler, Clark University, Worcester, Mass." (p. 3). This indicated that Geissler's editorial responsibilities were greater than Hall's or Baird's, and an audit³ of Volumes 1 and 2 that Hall, Baird, and Geissler coedited (Baird died in early 1919) and Volumes 3 and 4 that Hall and Geissler co-edited showed that in those 4 years Hall wrote 1 article, Baird wrote 1 article and 1 book review, and Geissler wrote 3 articles, 17 book reviews, and 7 items in the category of "notices" (e.g., summaries of meetings).

Furthermore, in the first issue of the JAP, Geissler (1917b) wrote an article titled "What Is Applied Psychology?" This article helped to define the field of study and the scope of the new journal. Before considering this article further, it is pertinent to note that the only article Baird published in the JAP was "The Legibility of a Telephone Directory" (Baird, 1917), and the only article Hall published in the JAP was "Practical Relations Between Psychology and the War" (Hall, 1917). Both articles were pertinent to applied psychology but had fewer implications for defining the scope of the field and the journal than Geissler's article.

In "What Is Applied Psychology?" Geissler (1917b) used an analytical perspective to distinguish between "general or pure or theoretical sciences" and "practical or applied sciences or technology." He outlined a schema to compare and contrast the two in terms of "aim," standpoint," "scope," "problem, "and "method." Much of the article was devoted to identifying similarities and differences between the two approaches and to defining the scope of applied psychology. The article includes much information that is relevant today, and clearly it was intended to provide a general definitional guide for the field of applied psychology and hence for the contents of the journal.

In the JAP's second year, Geissler (1918) wrote "A Plan for the Technical Training of Consulting Psychologists," which also had broad implications for the developing field of applied psychology. Arguing that systematic training programs to prepare one to be an applied psychologist were essentially nonexistent and badly needed, Geissler outlined a program of study for undergraduates that would qualify one to become an "assistant consulting psychologist," a master's pro-

gram to become a "consulting psychologist," and a doctoral program to become an "expert consulting psychologist." Geissler also called for the American Psychological Association to consider officially the question of training applied psychologists, and he invited further discussion in the JAP regarding training for applied psychologists.

THE END.

In a letter to E. B. Crook regarding Geissler's possible move to R-MWC, Geissler (1920b) also wrote, "And would a position at Randolph-Macon offer the opportunity for continuing my editorship of the Journal of Applied Psychology?" Geissler's expectation of continuing the editorship was corroborated by Hall (1920) when he wrote, "It is quite possible that wherever he goes he will take the Journal of Applied Psychology with him, of which he has been practical editor, although I am the figure-head editor. He began with nothing and has made it pay already." In view of the ambiguity of "the figure-head editor," recall that Geissler was also listed in the journal as editor.

However, beginning with Volume 5, both Hall and Geissler were replaced in 1921. Nothing was mentioned in Volume 4 or 5 of the JAP regarding Hall's and Geissler's replacement as co-editors. The new editors were James P. Porter of Clark University and William F. Book of Indiana University. Copyright for the 7AP for Volume 5 continued to be assigned, as it had been for Volumes 1-4, to G. Stanley Hall, and the 7AP's publisher for Volume 5 continued to be "Worcester, Mass. Florence Chandler, Publisher." However, with Volume 6 Porter, who continued to co-edit with Book, had relocated to Ohio University, copyright was transferred to "the Editors," and the journal was now "Published by the Editors, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana." Porter and Book co-edited the 7AP through Volume 11, and Porter continued to be involved closely with the JAP until he retired from Ohio University in 1943, by which time he was sole owner. Porter offered to sell the JAP to two colleagues at Ohio University, but as one of them expressed it after citing wartime conditions that were hurting the journal and lack of enthusiasm by the university's administration (Klare, 1991, p. 152), "We decided against it, or perhaps just did not decide for it, and the Journal became one of the American Psychological Association's publications."

Although specific details associated with Geissler's separation from the JAP have not been seen, reasons for it have been. In a letter written in response to a letter from Titchener (1923) urging Geissler to apply for E. C. Sanford's (who had retired) former professorship at Clark University, Geissler (1923) wrote, "There are several strong reasons why I would not consider the place. In the first place, Pres. Atwood and I are incompatibles, on account of the despicable treatment he gave me in connection with the J. Appl. Psychology."

Similarly, in a letter to Edwin D. Starbuck, one of Hall's former students who had apparently asked Geissler for impressions of Hall after Hall's death, Geissler (1924) wrote,

I have known him rather well while I was a member of Clark University Faculty, 1916–1920; during which time we were also thrown together in an editorial capacity, since he had helped me to establish at Clark the Journal of Applied Psychology, which with the change of administration after President Hall's resignation, was forced out of my hands.

Why James Porter was allowed to leave Clark in 1922 and take the journal with him, whereas Geissler, who left in 1920, was not has not been determined, but it may have been related to Geissler's leaving Clark so soon after Atwood was appointed president of Clark University and just as the turmoil there associated with Atwood's new presidency was beginning to unfold. Geissler had begun applying elsewhere, presumably before he could have known about Hall's surprise resignation and Atwood's impending appointment (Ross, 1972, p. 428); nevertheless, Atwood may have taken offense at Geissler's departure. On the other hand, Porter had received his PhD at Clark and had served for 12 years as dean of the college (Koelsch, 1987). Additionally, with the beginning of Atwood's tenure as president of Clark, Porter remained at Clark initially at Atwood's request (Klare, 1991). For all the reasons just stated, perhaps, Atwood felt a greater obligation to Porter when Porter decided to leave Clark for Ohio University in 1922 and take the 7AP with him, or, possibly, Atwood had too much on his hands then to worry about a journal in psychology (Koelsch, 1980, 1987). It appears that Atwood's legacy at Clark included a great injustice

to Geissler concerning the JAP. Fortunately for the JAP, the journal was transferred to the capable care of Porter.

Concluding remarks

The founding of the 7AP was seen as being of sufficient interest to be mentioned in 9 of 20 recent and 5 of 10 earlier general history of psychology textbooks, and in each case the founding was attributed to Hall, and neither Geissler nor Baird, both financial and editorial cofounders, was mentioned. Geissler (1920a) wrote in unpublished autobiographical notes that he "established" or "founded" the JAP with the aid of Hall and Baird; there is very strong supporting evidence to confirm that, and there is no basis to believe otherwise. Clearly Geissler was the most involved of the three in planning and implementing the contents of the first four volumes and in ensuring the 7AP's financial stability. If authors of history of psychology textbooks continue to report on the founding of the 7AP and continue to ignore Geissler's major involvement compared to the minor involvement of Hall and Baird, they will misrepresent that founding badly.

Why did so many textbooks get it wrong?

Unless otherwise identified, "textbooks" here refers to general history of psychology textbooks. In fairness, before having access to the information in this article, it would not have been reasonable to expect textbook authors to know about Geissler's primary role in founding the JAP, with the possible exception of those who have read Hall's (1920) unpublished letter to White, which was only suggestive of Geissler's primary role.

However, it is less excusable among those who reported on the founding of the JAP to have overlooked that Geissler was a cofounder because in his autobiography, Hall (1923) mentioned Geissler and no one else as cofounding with him the JAP; six of the nine recent textbook authors who attributed JAP's founding only to Hall included Hall's autobiography among their references. Additionally, it is less excusable to have overlooked that Geissler and Baird were financial cofounders with Hall, as that was stated in the Introduction to the first issue of the JAP. Among recent textbook authors, only O'Boyle (2006) came close to identifying Hall, Baird, and Geissler as cofounders, because she quoted from the Foreword to

the first issue of the JAP and identified them as coeditors. However, this is not meant to suggest that O'Boyle was negligent by not reporting that Hall, Baird, and Geissler were cofounders of the JAP, as hers was among the 53% of textbooks examined that considered the founding of the JAP sufficiently unimportant to be mentioned at all. Nevertheless, for those who identify founders of journals, it is best to be accurate.

Why so many textbooks may be associated with recurring errors has been discussed in conjunction with other recurring errors in textbooks (Thomas, 2007). Agreeing with others who commented on textbook errors, Thomas suggested that such errors probably result from the use of faulty secondary sources. Among erroneous secondary sources that identified only Hall as the founder of the 7AP, it seems reasonable to suggest that most authors of textbooks examined here are familiar with Boring's (1929, 1950) textbooks, because no one else is as widely known as E. G. Boring as a historian of psychology. Despite citing Hall's (1923) autobiography among his references, Boring also erred by acknowledging only Hall as the founder of the 7AP. In three cases of recently erroneous textbooks, Boring's imprint is on the 7AP founding error regarding Hall, because they also repeated Boring's error that the JAP was founded in 1915 (Bolles, 1993; Krapp, 2005; Schultz & Schultz, 2004). However, only they and the other erroneous authors can confirm their sources, so it is useless to speculate further which secondary sources may have been used.

The authors of history textbooks might also have fallen victim to the Matthew effect. Merton (1968) proposed the Matthew effect as a simile to explain why well-known people in the history of science (e.g., Hall) may receive undue credit for the contributions of others less well known (e.g., Geissler). Merton quoted Matthew 26:29 from the King James Bible.⁴

For unto everyone that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance;

But from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he hath.

Merton defined the Matthew effect as the undue recognition that scientists of high accomplishment (e.g., Nobel laureates) often receive to the detriment of lesser-known scientists; see Merton for examples, including some psychologists. Hall was one of the best-known psychologists in the world during his lifetime, and his accomplishments included founding journals such as the *American Journal of Psychology*, the first psychological journal in America. Hall's "abundance" increased when he received undue recognition for founding the *JAP*. Meanwhile, Geissler's premature severance from the *JAP* took away "that which he hath." Together Hall and Geissler provide a case study that exemplifies the Matthew effect, and in this context it is easy to understand why Hall is erroneously credited for founding the *JAP*.

NOTES

The author is grateful to L. R. Geissler's granddaughters, Barbara Noel Dowds and Ruth Marie Noel, for providing an invaluable collection of primary materials about Geissler's life and career. They also gave permission to have the materials archived, together with other materials collected by the author and bearing on Geissler's life and career, in the Hargrett Library of Rare Books and Manuscripts of the University of Georgia, where they are available for use by future scholars.

The author also thanks Al Fuchs for suggesting the Matthew effect and other improvements to the content and clarity of this article.

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- 1. Geissler's autobiographical notes were undated, but statements within them indicate that they were written in 1920. Pages in his autobiographical notes were not numbered, so page numbers cannot be cited with quotations from these notes.
- 2. Benjamin (2009) arrived after this manuscript was submitted. Although the JAP's title was not specified, as was done in Benjamin (1997, p. 242), referring to Hall, Benjamin (2009, p. 80) wrote, "He later founded other journals, including ones on applied psychology."
- 3. The audit was conducted by the present author by pursuing the page entries for Hall, Baird, and Geissler in the "Names" indexes for Volumes 1-4. This may have underestimated their contributions because many items in the "Notices" category were unsigned, and one page entry for Hall was erroneous (nothing on that page was found that Hall had written).
- 4. Merton did not specify a source for the quotation.

 Matthew 26:29 clearly refers to worldly matters, but a slightly differently worded verse, Matthew 13:12, also in the King James Bible, seems inappropriate in the context of the Matthew effect. In Matthew 13:12, what one "hath" and stands to increase in "abundance," versus what one "hath not" and stands to lose "even that which he hath," appears to refer to faith.

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