

power that has already paralyzed the trade in certain food commodities and is likely to effect a heavy loss in the business at which it is especially aimed—can hereafter denounce the labor leaders for their very modest exercise of an inalienable right. This meat boycott is one of the greatest and simplest demonstrations of the power of public opinion that has been exhibited in recent years and it may afford the key to a way out of many of the dangerous paths into which the easy going American citizen has been lured by the wreckers along the seas of business and the pickpockets that infest the marts of trade.

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Which Kind of Conservation Do You Want?

Puck, Jan. 26.—In the matter of Conservation, which policy is to be vindicated: the policy of Pinchot or the policy of pinch it?

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"Jo-Uncle" and Conservation.

Collier's, Feb. 5.—Cannon, prize obstacle to conservation as to many other human forward steps, retains Mondell as chairman of the Public Lands Committee of the House. If the country will allow Heyburn, Mondell, and Cannon to prevent the passage of proper conservation bills, why then perhaps the country deserves nothing better than it gets.

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The Taft Possum.

(San Francisco) Star, Jan. 22.—Didn't President Taft make a mistake in selecting the 'possum as the patron saint of his administration? In the first place, the Latin "possum" means "I am able," and Taft isn't. In the next place, the 'possum deceives his enemies by pretending that he is dead, while Taft is pretending that he is alive.

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Further Diminishing a Short Supply.

Puck, Feb. 2.—One of the packers admitted the other day that the price of meat was high; but, he said, the reason for it was plain: The supply of beef, for instance, did not begin to equal the demand, so prices just had to go up. Assuming for once that the packer told the truth, how will a legal victory for the Government permanently help matters? Will it increase the supply, or lessen the demand? The fact of the matter is, and it is getting plain enough for the blindest to see, the Republican party is the defendant in this suit, not the Beef Trust. With the demand for beef greater than the domestic supply, the Republican party maintains a tariff schedule for the Beef Trust's benefit. Prices may be extortionate, but it is legal extortion, and legalized by a Republican Congress. The Beef Trust takes advantage of its opportunities, that is all. Don't blame it. Take away its opportunities and there will be a decreased cost of living in one item at least. Other methods of relief are clumsy, insincere, and—futile.

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There is no remedy for abuses of liberty except absolute freedom.—Ellen Key.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

For The Public.

Hail! hero of an anxious whirlwind fray;
Great vallant oak that stay'd the tempest doom
Of war which plunged a nation into gloom.
Proudly we celebrate thy natal day;
Thy fame should e'en survive a world's decay.
Sons who now reap thy fruits humbly assume
To heap new laurels that fore'er shall bloom
While righteous Heaven-sent Freedom holds her
sway;
Better should we, as thy wise mind hath taught,
Cherish that freedom as a treasure rare
Which many a blood-washed Gettysburg has bought,
Lest it depart through some new slavish snare.
For glorious truth 'mid agony you trod;
Thus let us strive, thou noble son of God.

JOSEPH FITZPATRICK.

+ + +

LINCOLN, THE FLOWER OF THE FRONTIER TYPE.

Chapel Address at Albion College, Feb. 12, 1909, by
Frank T. Carlton.

Every great man represents the best of some epoch in the world's progress. Abraham Lincoln stands before the American people as a type of the best in American citizenship in the period immediately preceding the Civil War, an era of expansion, of westward growth, of pioneer home making, industrial development, and friction between the slave-holding and non-slave-holding States. Lincoln stands for the best in American citizenship in the era before the birth of the trust, the transcontinental railways, world markets, and heaped up city populations, concentrated wealth and nationally organized labor. Developed in the hot-house atmosphere of politics and national responsibility, Lincoln became the choicest flower of this epoch.

What are the rare elements in the character of this untutored child of the American frontier? Why should this man of the masses, born in poverty and nurtured in privation, become the best beloved of all Americans? To answer these questions we must picture the situation.

In the fifties the struggle over the extension of slavery was approaching a crisis. A new party was brought into being for the purpose of preventing the spread of slavery. In that crucial campaign of 1860 Lincoln was chosen as the Republican standard bearer over Seward and Chase. Lincoln was chosen not because he was recognized as a great leader, but because of his availability. He could

carry certain wavering States, and had made few enemies within his party. Furthermore, since the convention was held in Chicago, the atmosphere was favorable to an Illinois candidate.

These were the conditions which pushed Abraham Lincoln into the limelight of history, and made the opportunity which he seized. Elected President of the United States in the greatest crisis in the history of the nation, this man of the people rang true. Add to this the martyr's crown which came to him just at the close of the great struggle, and before the awful attempt at reconstruction was started; and we have the external circumstances. But opportunity and martyrdom alone cannot make a man who will stand the crucible test of history.

Granted the unusual conditions which came to the first martyred President of the United States, what were the personal qualities which made him, perhaps, the greatest and most lovable figure in the pages of American history, and certainly the most wholesomely inspiring man among the nation's honored dead? We should honor Lincoln, not because he was President, not because he met death at the hands of an assassin, not because he signed, as a war measure, the famous emancipation proclamation. We should honor this American for his simplicity, honesty and sympathy for common suffering humanity.

Abraham Lincoln was a man of peace, yet the force of circumstances made him the leader in the greatest war ever fought on the American continent. He did not glory in our "far flung battle line." This man was too closely in touch with the masses who have ever been the food of the Dogs of War, to be dazzled by the pomp and glitter of military service. To his clear vision war meant dead, dying and bleeding men, weeping women and children, desolation, ruin and despair. Few men have ever borne as heavy a burden of sorrow and responsibility as this great-hearted, humanity-loving President. Not only did he feel keenly the suffering of divided, bleeding America; but he faced indifference, fault-finding, corruption and inefficiency on the part of many who should have aided in bearing the heavy burden. We can count by the thousands the brave young lives that were snuffed out because of the inefficiency, the indifference and the criminal greed of northern men.

Perhaps the darkest day of all came to Lincoln in 1863 when he received the news of the disastrous fight at Chancellorsville. But the turning point soon came. Grant won at Vicksburg, and Meade stayed the northward march of Lee's veterans at Gettysburg.

Yet, through all this long struggle, and in the midst of fierce personal attacks, Lincoln remained a gentle and a forgiving man. He hated wrongdoing; but he invariably excused the wrong-doer. Lincoln always looked for extenuating circumstances. Many were the men who owed their lives

to pardons granted by the President. His generals complained that his free use of the pardon for deserters and military offenders was demoralizing the discipline of the army; but he could not bear to make more homes desolate. So we find Lincoln in the closing days of the war, in his second inaugural address, using those immortal words,—“with malice toward none, with charity for all.” If this man who thus breathed forth the spirit of brotherly love had been spared, we may well believe that the blot upon the pages of American history, known as the reconstruction period, might never have been made.

In November, 1863, a vast multitude of American citizens, soldiers and civilians were gathered upon the greatest battlefield of the Civil War to dedicate a portion of that ground as a burial place for the soldiers who had died on that bloody field. For two hours one of America's most learned and accomplished orators, a member of a notable New England family, spoke to the assembled multitude. It was a great oration. After the dignified and self-possessed speaker had taken his seat, and after the applause had died away, a tall, gaunt figure shuffled forward to the front of the platform. The contrast between this ungainly man with the marks of care and suffering deeply engraven on his face, and the aristocratic son of New England who had just taken his seat, was almost painful. This was the President. In about two minutes, this unpolished son of the backwoods delivered a message which will be read long after Everett's oration is forgotten, yes, as long as the American nation and the English language exist. The famous Gettysburg speech was the effort of an earnest man with a message which he wished to give to his suffering people. The message, not the oratorical effect, was the idea uppermost. It was the word of a leader to his people. Simplicity, sincerity and kindness are the three vital characteristics of this immortal speech.

The lessons of Lincoln's life for us of today are many. His career teaches that the ideals of democracy are right. The masses, the common people, contain many inarticulate Lincolns. It is the duty of men of today to see that the door of opportunity is not shut in the face of any struggling young man or woman. Inequality of opportunity, injustice and greed, are now stifling many a noble young soul. If it be true that opportunity in the America of today can come only through wealth, then are we as a nation going down the path which leads to ruin. Lincoln's life clearly and unmistakably points out that the way to national greatness is through true democracy, the state of Christian brotherly love.

We of today who would be leaders, yes, who would be real men and women, must aim to understand and assuage the present wrongs of suffering humanity. We of today are facing problems almost as difficult and dangerous as faced Lincoln

and his contemporaries. But unless one is able to grasp the view of the common man, unless one is, as was Lincoln, in touch with the workers, with the oppressed, the exploited and the downtrodden, unless one is able to understand and express the inarticulate ideal of that great incoherent mass—the American people—that man can never hope to live in the hearts of a grateful people.

It may not be given us to occupy high places, as did Lincoln; but each and every one of us may cultivate the virtues of simplicity and of genuine sympathy for fellowmen. It is not given us to strike at slavery; but each may strike at other giant evils which cause inequality, injustice, overwork, underpay, suffering, crime, degradation, ill-health and premature death, and national degeneracy. It is given to each and every one of us to participate in the movements which aid in making men brothers rather than brutes. Shall we do it? Will you do it, young man? Will you do it, young woman?

* * *

LINCOLN.

For The Public.

All tongues in reverence breath his name;
World-wreathed his brow, world-sung his fame.
He searched the ancient wrong, and stood
For all-inclusive brotherhood.

But ere were loosed the gods of wrath,
He felt the bitter after-math;
His heart was wrung, that thus should he
Preserve a nation's liberty.

Large-hearted man, we love him. God
Has given not many such; he trod
Our world so meekly, vanquished pride,
Sublimely self-repressed. Beside
Wronged humanity he stood—yea, stands—
Death could not tie those tender hands
That dared unlink the shackled slave—
They are not rotting in the grave.
Ill-counseled man who thought that he
Could rob the world of him;—we see
Him in our streets today. No time
Can ever turn his locks. The pine
That lit his books has not burned out,
But lights the whole world now. The shout
Which Freedom gave when Hell upraised
A hand to strike—and so amazed
The awe-struck people then—is heard
Still echoing 'mongst our hills. The blurred,
Half-written history of a race,
Becomes an epic, when we trace
His history in it. God affirms
Himself the Author, he its hero; turns
A leaf down here and there and bids
Us read and ponder. 'Twixt these lids,
The coming patriot shall learn, and stand
For higher freedom. Proud the land
That holds as heritage his name
Enrolled among her sons of fame.
He dwells all mortal mists above,
Enshrined in God's great Heart of Love.

DWIGHT MARVEN.

TORY DEMAGOGUERY.

Gilbert K. Chesterton in the *London Daily News* of
January 29.

The weakness which underlies our latter-day ethics is very clearly shown during or after an election. The modern weakness is that denunciation of sin is not balanced by confession of sin. What makes the ordinary political partisan spiritually unconvincing is, not so much that he points out that his opponent is spotted, as that he implies that he himself is spotless. The true reason for hating crime is not that we could not commit it, but that we could; a better reason still for hating crime is that we have committed it.

Now in these crises there is a clash of rowdy Pharisaism which makes it very difficult indeed to tell the modest truth about anything. We ought not to be discussing where and by whom a vulgar trick was used, as if it were a miracle. We ought to be asking whether amid a mass of vulgar tricks this or that has been unquestionably cruel or indecent. Making this full allowance, I, for one, am quite certain that one or two of the tricks have been cruel and indecent, and that most of these tricks are Tory.

To take but one point out of fifty, I have seen everywhere posters in which the Tories claim as a peculiarity things admittedly peculiar to the other side. If we take the two leaders' names as typical of candidates: I have seen "Vote for Balfour and No Taxes on Food"; the only possible inference being that Mr. Asquith wants taxes on food. I have seen "Vote for Balfour and Old Age Pensions"; the only possible inference being that Mr. Asquith had not introduced Old Age Pensions.

And though Liberal electioneering is full of folly and even foulness, like all electioneering, I have not seen the same bland and impudent lie on our side. I have not seen our posters claim a thing special to our enemies' scheme. I have not seen "Vote for Asquith and Make the Foreigner Pay." I have not seen "Vote for Asquith and Repel the German Navy." I think upon a humble and sober reckoning, and with full consciousness of the unclean machinery of our own politics, it remains true that in a simple and violent unfairness the Tories win.

Nor do I think that this originates in any vital intellectual insincerity about them; nay, rather in their vital intellectual sincerity. The Tory is a demagogue for a very simple reason. It is merely because a demagogue means a man who disbelieves in democracy. If a man sincerely thinks that white Christian men should be controlled like lunatics, it is not dishonest in him, but rather honest, that he should also think they must be soothed and deceived like lunatics. Both Radical and Tory play to the gallery; but it is the Tory who plays down to the gallery. And he is right, on his own quite rational premises.