

The Public

**A National Journal of Fundamental Democracy &
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making**

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EDITORIAL

Boycotting.

By the way, is it commendable to boycott meat, and criminal to boycott stoves? Or is it only commendable to boycott certain wicked packers, and criminal to boycott certain virtuous stove manufacturers? Or is it criminal for wicked undesirables—like Gompers, Mitchell and the rest—to advise a boycott of anything or anybody, and commendable for the patriotic Republican "Alameda citizens" to preach a boycott against defiers of the Administration? A little light, please, from the jurists! These matters involve fine distinctions, and we don't wish to go astray.

† †

A Courageous Grand Jury.

A report of a committee, appointed by the Mayor of San Francisco to investigate and report into the causes of municipal corruption in that city, has just been made, and has been published by order of the Board of Supervisors of the city and county of San Francisco. A copy lies before us. The chairman of the committee was William Denman, a prominent lawyer of the city. Among its members was William Kent, well known to our readers as an able and fearless citizen of Chicago for many years, always active in all efforts for civic righteousness and progress. The report is most interesting reading in all its parts, but that portion which seems most significant to us is the deserved and unstinted praise it gives to the

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grand jury which was appointed for the county of San Francisco in 1906 by Judge Graham, and which from its foreman has been known as the Oliver grand jury. It carried out in spirit and letter the duties which grand jurymen too often forget they take a solemn oath to perform: "To present no person through malice, hatred or ill will; nor leave any unpresented through fear, favor or affection." Nearly forty persons guilty of the offenses which had made the San Francisco city government a byword and reproach, were indicted. These crimes were openly condoned and participated in by leaders in the business, social and political life of San Francisco; and all the resources of money and prestige were used by the beneficiaries of these crimes—"the men higher up"—to prevent the indictments and balk and frustrate the prosecutions. After paying deserved tribute to the services of Heney, Spreckles, Older, Phelan and others in rescuing the city government from the band of thieves into whose hands it had fallen, the report well says: "But each of these men has had, with the trials and stress of the struggle, that honor and recognition,—in this case nationwide,—always bestowed upon strong men who become the people's recognized leaders in time of public danger. The members of the Oliver grand jury knew that no such distinction awaited the performance of their duty. They were business and professional men of good standing, none of exceptional fortune, most of them not even of the class known in American parlance as men of independent means. They, however, had growing businesses to endanger, credit at their bankers to be lost, powerful commercial antagonists to meet in the fierce competition of American economic life. . . . Harder to face, for some at least, was the severance of long-standing friendships, business and social, with the men against whom they ultimately found their indictments, and the social ostracism from certain circles, not only for themselves, but also for their wives and children." We heartily agree with the statement of the report that, "when the Pacific Coast compiles its records of civic patriotism, the names of these men should not be forgotten."

* *

Bryan's Congressional Platform.

If it were possible to spread broadcast the tariff speeches made last fall (vol. xii, pp. 924, 973, 1108) in Texas by William J. Bryan and Senator Joseph W. Bailey, a great national enlightenment might result. Although of much usefulness in many respects, this would be a good thing to do if only for the object lesson it affords in the difference between a statesman and a demagogue. To

call Bryan a demagogue is one of the commonest recreations of persons who are prejudiced against him and his opinions, and know of no other way of accounting for his tremendous personal influence. But in fact Bryan is no demagogue. Compare those Texas speeches, Bryan's and Bailey's, and instantly you recognize statesmanship without demagogy in Bryan's and demagogy without statesmanship in Bailey's. Bailey played the demagogue all the way through his Houston speech in reply to Bryan, from his coarse and brutal appeal to local race antipathies to his attempts at fulsome flattery of women; whereas Bryan's speech at Dallas, to which Bailey's was a reply, was characteristically dignified and manifestly sincere.

*

And Bryan's argument was sound, whereas Senator Bailey's, in so far as he may be credited with having made an argument, was without foundation. Bailey defended his own course in voting in the Senate against putting raw materials into the free list. He did so by asking his constituents of Texas to believe the false doctrine that the freeing of raw materials would increase the profits of manufacturers, and by putting forward the absurd proposition that there should be no abolition of protection on raw materials except as it is abolished on finished products. The truth is that the freeing of raw materials would not increase the profits of manufacturers; it would tend to reduce them by making competition in manufacturing freer and easier. Mr. Bailey's economic premises were all awry on this point, notwithstanding his boast of having mastered Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." Even if he had been right instead of wrong the tactics he proposed for ridding this country of protection were puerile if they were not treacherous. Protection cannot be killed at a blow, because all its beneficiaries would rally to its support. It cannot be killed by horizontal revisions, because this would make a perpetual seesaw between horizontal revisions downward and horizontal revisions upward. It can be killed only by putting one item after another as fast as possible into the free list. This policy must begin somewhere, and as raw materials of the kind that Bryan classifies offer the most vulnerable point of attack, it should begin there. When Senator Bailey demands protection all along the line until it is modified all along the line, he is like a military commander who should refuse to attack a fatally weak point in the enemy's defenses at a critical moment because he wanted to attack all the defenses at once some time or other in the future.

He is worse than such a commander, for not only does he refuse to attack the enemy's weak spot but he calls for volunteers to help repair it.

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In opposition to Bailey's fatally Fabian policy, Bryan's speech at Dallas, reinforced by his speech at El Paso, offered a sound and vigorous policy to the Democratic party. To those among us who object to Bryan because he does not go deep enough or far enough into the tariff question, these speeches should be a complete answer. True, he does not demand absolute free trade and direct taxation. But if he did, he would be unfit for leadership in active politics at a time when the Constitution stands in the way and there is no general sentiment in favor of a Constitutional amendment in that particular. But he does go the full length of tariff for revenue only—which is the extreme possibility of free trade in the United States at the present stage of public sentiment,—and he does advance elemental arguments in support of this demand. Such sentiments as these appear again and again in one form or another in Bryan's Dallas speech.

The security of the masses is to be found not in trying to get a tariff that will benefit them, but in reducing the tariff to the lowest possible point.

The masses of the people must not expect to get their hands into other people's pockets; their efforts must be to keep other people's hands out of their pockets.

I began the study of public questions with the tariff question, and years ago reached the conclusion that the protective principle is indefensible from every standpoint.

The man who contends for incidental protection soon becomes as unreasonable as the man who asks for direct protection. Incidental protection is protection that was not intended—a protection that came without planning; the moment you begin to plan for protection it ceases to be incidental and becomes direct and intended protection, and to defend it one must resort to the same arguments that are used to defend the protective system in general. It was in that spirit that Mr. Bryan at Dallas addressed the Democrats of Texas, who in their desire to protect local wool raising, had demanded the maintenance of protection on raw materials so long as finished products are protected.

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In the same spirit, Mr. Bryan proposed a Democratic policy of national scope for the coming Congressional elections, and here is what he proposed:

1. A platform is a contract between the candidate elected upon it and the people who elected him, the violation of which is an "embezzlement of power."

2. Congressional rules to "insure the rule of the majority on every question."

3. Free wool and abolition of the compensatory duties on woollens, together with a substantial reduction in the ad valorem rate on woollens.

4. Free lumber, free wood pulp, and free paper.

5. Free hides, leather, harness, boots and shoes.

6. Free oil and products of oil.

7. Free iron ore, free coal, and low duties on all manufactures of iron and steel.

8. Free binding twine, cotton ties and cotton bagging.

9. Material reduction in the cotton schedules and in the tariff on all other necessaries of life, especially upon articles sold abroad more cheaply than at home.

10. Articles competing with trust-made goods to go into the free list.

11. No tariff to be above 50 per cent ad valorem, except liquor and tobacco, and all rates above 25 per cent, excepting those upon liquor and tobacco, to be reduced one-twentieth each year until a 25 per cent rate is reached, the purpose being to reduce the tariff gradually to a revenue basis and thereafter to collect tariff for revenue only.

That platform is no broader than it ought to be, and no narrower than is absolutely necessary for effective purposes under existing political circumstances. The radical free trader who complains that it does not go far enough, is probably taking counsel of his impatience instead of his judgment; for, short of an improbable revolution, this country must get to a revenue tariff basis before it can establish free trade. The conservative Democrat who on the other hand objects to specifications so minute, may not be a protectionist, but he is justly open to suspicion. The only way to bind political leaders is to substitute specific for general instructions.

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The candidate for Congress next fall, who makes that platform his pledge to and contract with his constituents, ought to be supported by democratic Democrats whether he wears the Republican label or the Democratic. Senator Bailey has exposed himself by attacking it. Mr. Bryan has again served his party and his country well by proposing it.

+ *

A Great Citizen of Minnesota.

In speaking last March of the Citizens' League of Minnesota (vol. xii, p. 244), The Public said: "The name of S. M. Owen as a member of the executive committee is alone a guarantee throughout Minnesota of efficiency and good faith." Sidney M. Owen, editor of Farm, Stock and Home, and a regent of the University of Minnesota, died at his home in Minneapolis on the 2nd. He was born on a farm in Ohio in 1838, was educated at Oberlin, and served in the 55th Ohio during the Civil War. In 1885 he became the editor of Farm,

Stock and Home, established by his brother the previous year. Colonel Owen was the Farmers' Alliance candidate for Governor of the State in 1890, and received 58,000 votes, though without party organization or campaign funds. In 1894 he was the Populist candidate for Governor, and received 88,000 votes out of 296,000 votes cast, running ahead of the Democratic candidate. In addition to serving three times as regent of the State university, he was an active member of the State Forestry Board, and at one time its president. A man of clear mind and strong convictions, Colonel Owen's advocacy of the fundamental propositions of democracy never flagged. With tact and good humor, and above all at appropriate moments, his readers were led to peer deep into the well of political and economic truth, there to see below all the rest the eternal land question. Of him Governor John Lind has said: "I regarded Mr. Owen, and always shall, as the one man who has contributed more to the uplifting of the people's ideals than any other man with whom I have come in contact in public life."

* * *

A Correction.

In *The Public* of December 10 (p. 1177), Lincoln's beautiful words on "charity for all" were attributed to his address on the field of Gettysburg. A friend of *The Public* who had the privilege of hearing the words fall from the President's own lips, reminds us that they were uttered at the close of the second inaugural address.

* * *

CIVIC ART A NATIONAL PURPOSE.

The soul of a man looks out not only through his eyes, but through the windows of his house. His disembodied spirit meets you at his gate, conducts you to his bodily presence and shows you through his house, affirming or denying his spoken words. Chairs and tables announce the simple, contented nature or denounce the social upstart. Pictures and books reveal the open heart and mind or mock the hypocritical hanger-on of art, the shallow thinker. Insignificant knick-knacks illuminate dark corners of the soul. The very essence of a man passes unaccountably into his belongings, is distilled throughout his dwelling place.

In fact, I question whether a man's possessions do not picture his inmost soul more unmistakably than his walk and conversation. Manner and speech may vary with the passing mood, can be studied, assumed for the occasion or special purpose in view, albeit with indifferent success. But

the character of a man's possessions changes only as his whole nature changes. It grows in beauty and meaning only as his soul develops.

Conversely, it may be said that personality is affected by and is to a certain extent the result of environment. Between the man and his external surroundings there is a constant interplay of subtle forces, uplifting and refining or degrading and debasing both the soul and its objective world. The environment may be the controlling factor, determining whether there shall be progress to a higher level or retrogression to a lower. Again, it may be a contributing factor only, providing a suitable medium of growth for an inborn impulse towards better things.

Equally true is it that the ideals of a people cannot remain hidden. The intrinsic nature of the things animate and inanimate with which it surrounds itself betrays its inner life and purpose. Towering office buildings proclaim the ideal of commercial success. Great schools, hospitals, churches, point to more lofty aspirations. A multiplicity of objects discloses a multiplicity of motives. Properly correlated and directed towards a definite end these infinitely varied motives constitute a national life of real meaning and significance. Struggling among themselves without thought of orderly co-operation or advancement, they render a nation's life chaotic. Its energies are dispersed, dissipated. Its destiny is left to fate and the working of natural forces.

The civic art movement in the United States is an instance of the gradual transformation of an isolated, unrelated impulse towards a higher ideal of civic beauty, into a conscious national purpose. Born of the vision of an inspired, far-seeing mind, it is slowly permeating and informing the consciousness of the people.

No great advances in the sphere of civic art are possible save on a solid basis of material welfare and prosperity. Before we can have beautiful cities we must have prosperous communities. Equality of opportunity and economic justice must make it possible for men to live with a degree of comfort. Constantly harassed and driven by the fierce struggle for a bare existence, the mind affords little foothold for ideas of civic beauty. Unsanitary tenements and filthy streets do not foster that sense of physical well-being without which it is idle to talk of spiritual things. Thus, the civic art of the future, as that of today, must rest on a substantial foundation of practical achievements. Broad, well-lighted streets must replace narrow, unsanitary alleys. Well designed and built dwellings must supersede the unsanitary

speculative tenement. Rapid means of communication must assure to the worker a degree of leisure in which to refresh and restore the soul. Beauty of perfect adaptation to an end must underlie beauty of form, color or texture.

Modern civic art is thus a natural outgrowth of all efforts to meet the essential needs of the city dweller. It is not an external scheme of decoration applied to the surface of the city's life. It is interwoven into the very warp and woof of its existence. Hence it will endure. Its highest mission must be not merely to contribute to the purely aesthetic enjoyment of the citizen, but to awaken within him that civic pride and feeling of personal responsibility which will tolerate nothing base or degrading in the city's life.

One phase of the civic art movement illustrates with especial clearness the growth of a local into a national sentiment. - Until the middle of the nineteenth century no American city had conceived the plan of refreshing and reinvigorating the lives of its citizens by bringing the country into city. Sporadic efforts there had been to better living conditions in congested city districts by providing small open spaces where a few trees and a bit of grass might feebly recall the memory of a lost paradise. There was no suggestion of landscape art in these areas, no appeal to the aesthetic instinct. It remained for New York to demonstrate in Central Park the feasibility of setting aside a large area of valuable city property where nature could not merely be suggested, but be actually reproduced on an adequate scale.

New York's example has now been or is being followed by practically all the large cities of the country. The park idea has been extended to include areas outside of the city proper which possess attractive natural features capable of presenting nature in her wilder and more untrammelled aspects. Parkways provide interesting and convenient means of communication between the various parts of the system. Ample breathing spaces for the future growth of the city are thus assured and its heritage of natural beauty is saved from the despoiling hand of commerce.

County and State reservations mark the next step in advance. In the great Western Park and Forest Reservations the park movement assumes a national scope—one might even say an international aspect. These huge national playgrounds are mute but expressive witnesses before the world of our national belief that a people's greatest assets consist not alone in its material resources, but in the uplifting power and spiritual appeal of its environment.

The growing consciousness of the double func-

tion of a public park as a source of spiritual as well as physical refreshment will demand that the highest standards of art be observed in its creation. The public park should lead public taste, not follow it, as is too often the case. All purely spectacular, fantastic and bizarre effects should be rigidly excluded. Each part should be harmonious with the whole. The whole should present nature in her best estate, in her most appealing moods.

Reacting on the taste and habits of life of the city dweller, these public parks, if they do not now, should eventually exert an appreciable pull countrywards, offsetting the inflow of the rural population to the city. The perennial fascination of the city, the varied spectacle and kaleidoscopic character of its daily life will always lure the country dweller grown indifferent to natural beauties because of too great familiarity. A growing appreciation of nature combined with greater ease and reduced expense of transportation will entice the city dweller into the suburbs. Here he can enjoy the delights of a rural or semi-rural existence without sacrificing the undoubted mental stimulus afforded by the city. The park movement will thus play an important role in shaping the future life of the American people. The ebb and flow of urban populations will result in a unifying of interests, a broadening of sympathies. Legislatures will no longer be torn in hopeless efforts to reconcile the conflicting claims of country and city.

Working hand in hand with civic art other movements national in scope might be cited which clearly indicate the slow but inevitable evolution of a formulated plan of national life. The conservation of our national resources, the crusade against tuberculosis, each in their way point to the growing conviction that a nation's destiny is determined by what it wills to do—not by an inner, automatic principle of growth. We have been hitherto, and still are in a large measure, a nation of "fatalistic optimists," as Mr. Wells cleverly puts it. Now and then a hidden social or economic danger looms on our national horizon, and we are awakened into a temporary state of purposeful activity. The immediate danger past, we fall back into our traditional attitude of complacency. Yet running through the apparently meaningless patchwork of cross-purposes and misunderstandings may now and then be seen the gleam of a golden thread drawing together the widely sundered elements of our national life. Not until these golden threads predominate may we be truly said to have attained a homogeneous, coherent existence as a people.

ALFRED B. YEOMANS.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

MORE ABOUT THE BRITISH ELECTIONS.

Glasgow, Scotland, Jan. 26, 1910

It produces a curious sensation in an American, this watching of election returns from day to day, not to speculate upon what the general result will appear to have been when fully reported, as in the United States, but to estimate what it may come to be when all the elections shall have been held, and to tighten the belt for each day's further fighting.

There have been election returns every day since the 14th, when the first announcement was made that there would not be an election in Joseph Chamberlain's district the following day, as no opposing nomination had been made. Two other unopposed seats were reported on the same day as having obviated the elections set in those constituencies for the day following. This lack of opposition is not uncommon in an utterly hopeless district, especially on the part of the poorer parties. For contesting a seat in Parliament is very expensive. The candidate must contribute not only his own campaign expenses, but his pro rata share of the public expense of holding the election, and it costs him from \$5,000 up. Often a party will think it necessary for tactical reasons to contest a hopeless district, in which case it will pay the expense out of party funds unless an ambitious man of means volunteers for the sacrifice; but many of the election returns since the 14th have been from uncontested districts.

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Since the 14th, every day but Sundays has been a polling day in some district or other—and not in one only, but in many scattered ones—until now 524 seats out of a total of 670 have been filled.

The complete result will be known to readers of The Public by cable before this letter appears in print; but the contest has advanced far enough to furnish indications of the final result sufficient for a judgment upon the significance of the probable outcome.

With the first pollings, the Liberals were encouraged. Although adverse reports came in from London and some other points, these districts had been Tory before the Liberal landslide of 1906, and reaction had been anticipated by the Liberals.

Taken as a whole, the returns of the first three or four days indicated a small plurality of Liberals over Tories. Later pollings, however, pointed to the necessity of a Liberal-Labor coalition in order to make an anti-Tory plurality, and immediately Liberal and Labor returns were bunched in the reports as virtually one at the present crisis. And when the returns from the counties (in contradistinction to boroughs, although borough landowners vote at the county elections)—when these began to come in, the Liberals found it necessary to look forward to a Liberal-Labor-Irish coalition in order to hold the Tories in a minority.

This view of the matter became pronounced on the 21st, when it appeared that the Tories had won 81 seats from Liberal and Labor, and that the Lib-

erals and Labors together had won only 11 from them, leaving a net gain of 70 to the Tories. This left the Tories to win only 16 seats in order to have just a majority of the House if they could establish an understanding with the 83 votes of the Irish party.

At that time the distribution of members elected was as follows:

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----|
| Tories | 185 |
| Liberals | 160 |
| Tory plurality..... | 25 |
| Liberals and Labor..... | 190 |
| Tories (as above)..... | 185 |
| Liberal and Labor plurality..... | 5 |
| Liberals, Labor and Irish..... | 248 |
| Tories (as above)..... | 185 |
| Progressive majority..... | 63 |

It is significant that the Liberal newspapers were fully in the habit by the 21st of counting the three parties—Liberal, Labor and Irish—as engaged in one progressive movement and interdependent. The significance is that the disappointing results which then threatened to deprive the Liberals of an independent majority while holding the Tories in a minority, were forcing the Liberals farther forward along the radical road. As these results have not been much improved by the subsequent elections down to and including the 24th, the outlook for a coalition of all progressive forces for home rule and social reform has not been impaired.

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Up to the 24th, including the reports for that day, the results were as follows:

| | |
|--|-----|
| Liberals | 203 |
| Labor | 83 |
| Liberals and Labor..... | 236 |
| Tories | 220 |
| Liberal and Labor plurality over Tory..... | 16 |
| Irish | 68 |
| Majority to date against Tories..... | 84 |

The popular vote to date (including the "outvotes," who vote outside of their place of domicile on the basis of property, and are almost solidly Tory) is as follows, in comparison with the Liberal landslide vote of 1906:

| | 1910. | 1906. |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|
| Liberal | 2,165,519 | 2,049,963 |
| Labor | 440,842 | 400,459 |
| Tory | 2,370,319 | 1,766,472 |

Without therefore counting the popular vote in Ireland, of which I find no computation, and notwithstanding the enormous "outvote" for the Tories, the Liberals and Labors together have at present a popular majority of 236,042 over the Tories.

A comparison of the seats goes to show that the indications of the pollings up to the 21st were verified by those that followed up to the 25th. The Liberal, the Labor, and the Irish parties must therefore co-operate in the next House of Commons in order to check the power of the House of Lords, and thereby to clear the way for progressive legislation, or the country will be thrown back into another more heated and more doubtful contest. In that event, should a Tory government manage to get a majority, as the present elections indicate that it might, the power of

the House of Lords would probably be strengthened and perpetuated by a reformation of the Lords on their own initiative through a law limiting their numbers. This would entrench their veto power over progressive legislation against every assault short of violent revolution. For no progressive ministry would then be able to "swamp" the House of Lords by appointments of new peers when the Lords were revolutionary as they were last Fall. Great Britain would in that event be under a single-chamber government whenever progressives were in the majority in the Commons; and the single chamber would be, not the House elected by the people, but a House composed hereditarily of the sons of their fathers—"the first of the litter," as these arrogant fellows quote Lloyd George, with indignation at his presumption in applying to "his betters" the kind of language that they themselves apply to their "inferiors."

‡

How much further the coalition of the Liberal, the Irish and the Labor parties in the next Parliament may go cannot be predicted. But as to Liberals and Labors there seems to be now for the most part a sympathetic community of interest, general spirit and immediate purpose.

In no instance has any Liberal contested a Labor district officially. In one or two districts, Liberals have done this, but they have been out of sympathy with and unsupported by their own party, and have been badly beaten. Keir Hardie's district is an instance. There are two seats there. The Liberals nominated one candidate only, and the Labor party nominated only Mr. Hardie. The official Liberal polled about 15,000 votes, and Mr. Hardie about 13,000, while the Liberal who opposed Mr. Hardie unofficially had only about 3,000.

In several Liberal districts, Labor candidates insisted upon making contests, in consequence of which the Tories have snatched several seats away from the radical side. These triangular contests were made as a rule by socialists of the "impossibilist" type. They were not encouraged by the Labor party, and with perhaps a dozen exceptions alluded to above they have not helped the reactionary elements, for the Liberal has won even in the triangular contest in all but about a dozen of the districts where these contests have occurred.

An instance of failure to produce their natural effect of electing Tories and shielding privilege in the hour of its peril is furnished by Victor Grayson's experience as a third candidate in a Liberal district. At a by-election during the last Parliament, Mr. Grayson had made a triangular contest and defeated a Liberal; but at the election the other day the Liberal had a vote of 4,741, and the Tory only 3,750, while Mr. Grayson came in third with 3,149. It was Mr. Grayson who was suspended from the House in October, 1908, by unanimous vote (vol. xi, p. 712) because he insisted, while participating in Parliamentary methods, upon resorting to unparliamentary tactics.

There seems to be every reason to believe, then, that there will be cordial co-operation between the Labor party and the Liberals in the next Parliament for primary progressive legislation, both political and economic. And all the more so because the Liberal

membership is strongly tinged with radicalism. It is recruited largely from radicals, and a large number of its members who do not rank as radicals have radical tendencies. Even those who are still whiggish will probably have to yield to the inevitable or get out of the way.

Among the strong radical Liberals re-elected are Josiah C. Wedgwood,* a thorough-going disciple of Henry George, who had much influence in his party in the last House and will have more in this. Mr. Wedgwood is proud of the fact that he fought for his seat distinctly as a Henry George advocate, and that Henry George, Jr., spoke for him in his campaign. J. H. Whitley,† a second whip in the last House and also a devoted disciple of Henry George, is another of the radical Liberals re-elected. Many more are more or less advanced advocates of the taxation of land values, and consequently in harmony with the Labor party on all the economic questions now at issue.

‡

On most of these questions the Irish party also may be counted upon. Mr. Asquith is committed to put forward the Irish home rule demand—home rule in local affairs as well as Imperial representation in Imperial affairs—if the House calls for it. The House cannot call for it without a coalition of Irish, Labor and Liberal members; but with that coalition they can. No coalition of the Tories with the Irish on that proposition is humanly possible. For the Tories to grant Irish home rule such as the Irish would accept would destroy the Tories with their constituents.

Nor is it very likely that a union of Liberals, Labors and Irish for throttling the Lords' veto and securing Irish home rule would stop short of putting through the Budget, with its land clauses at any rate unimpaired. And such a coalition might well go on to a reform of the present absurdly unfair electoral laws with their property qualifications, sex distinctions and plural voting.

While, then, official Liberals—those who care only for the name of party success—may feel the shock of a victory so moderate as to tend to force coalition of all the progressive elements, there is nothing for progressives in any of the three parties to deplore. A more radical attitude is necessary to the Liberals now, as the advances of the Budget were necessary to them a year and a half ago. The Tory protection appeals to workingmen would have placed the Tories in power at this election but for the radicalism with reference to land value taxation in the Budget; and it is quite clear that those clauses alone have met the protection appeals and kept the Tories out of power at these elections. With the prospective relations, then, of parties in the next House of Commons it is reasonable to believe that the organizations for the promotion of land value taxation, which have been doing tremendously effective work in England and Scotland in this campaign, and have probably saved the day, will be more influential than ever in the councils of the Liberal party.

‡

I say that the work of the land value taxers—their

*See last week's Public, page 104.

†See last week's Public, page 102.

work of education on platforms and through print and by organization, which Joseph Fels has backed without stint,—has probably saved the day. But the wonder is that the day could have been saved by anything whatever.

The "outvoter," as landowners in constituencies in which they do not live are called, has carried many a one of these elections for the Tories against the majority of the inhabitants.

The "publican"—poor hired or mortgaged liquor distributor for great breweries and distilleries, which own his license, and his liquor selling site—has played his part for the Tories and, as is fairly believed, with other arguments than sweet reasonableness.

The agricultural landlord has frightened his tenant, and the tenant has frightened his laborers, into voting Tory; for the ballot here, though said to be secret, is not felt to be altogether so by dependent voters.

Added to the affiliation of landlords, clergy (English Roman Catholic as well as Anglican) and the liquor interest, for the purpose of influencing the elections in favor of perpetuating feudalism, the Tories threw into the campaign, shrewdly enough, the "tariff reform" or protection issue, with old-fashioned American appeals to the workingmen, and highly colored stories of high wages and plenty of work in the United States. This was Joseph Chamberlain's wily contribution. Wherever it was met with the land question boldly, showing that the taxation of land values and not the taxation of imports is the remedy for disemployment, the effect has been satisfactory. Only in districts where plural voting, landlord intimidation, or "penniless plute" influences prevail, has a straight out land value tax fight as yet encountered defeat.

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Among the radicals who have been elected, and who are more or less in sympathy with Mr. Wedgwood and Mr. Whitley, and like those two are altogether so with the Lloyd George policy, are Mr. Wm. P. Byles, a brother-in-law of Mr. A. Kenyon Maynard, recently of the Northwestern University Settlement in Chicago, and Colonel James W. Greig, a brother-in-law of Judge Edward Osgood Brown of Chicago. Colonel Greig has made himself popular with the land value taxationists of Glasgow. Dundas White, another leader for land value taxation, who made a fine radical record in the recent Parliament, comes up for re-election here to-morrow.

One of the defeats of the land value taxationists was in Mid-Norfolk, where W. P. Lester made the contest. So strong was the combined landlord, liquor and clerical influence there that he could hardly get a hearing; and when his defeat was announced he was savagely attacked by a mob. So savage was this attack, notwithstanding his defeat, that his campaign manager believes he would have been killed had he been elected. This district was carried by a Liberal in the landslide of 1906 by only 27, and Mr. Lester lost it by less than 300.

Another, and the only other notable instance of defeat of a pronounced land-taxer candidate up to the present date, was at Southport—a combination constituency of brummagem aristocrats, penniless plutes, agricultural landlords and farm laborers—

where Baron De Forest, a wealthy aristocrat in station but a fundamental democrat in sentiment, made an aggressively radical campaign. He lost by 7,218 to 7,637, an adverse majority of 419, in a district that went Liberal by about 200 in the landslide of 1906, but which is normally a pronounced Tory district.

In his campaign, however, Baron De Forest announced his purpose, come what might at that election, of going forward in the fight he had entered upon for the rights of the people. His position may be inferred from this quotation from his election address, the point he especially emphasized in his speeches: "Unemployment can only be mitigated by giving the people access to the land. Freedom to produce is the logical complement of freedom to exchange. When industry is freed from the shackles of land monopoly, increased employment and higher wages must inevitably follow. The taxation of land values is the means to attain this result."

Baron De Forest (whose title, by the way, is originally continental, but is borne in England by special license granted by Queen Victoria, and who himself is an intimate friend of Winston Churchill) made a sensation over a local land dispute in his campaign. A pamphlet had been issued by his authority giving an expert's estimate of the value of the undeveloped building land in his Parliamentary district. It disclosed 10,069 acres of such land, of a value of \$35,425,800 (on a moderate rental basis), and capable of yielding \$80,000 a year in taxes at the low rate proposed by the Budget. It now pays nothing in taxes. The other side challenged Baron De Forest to make an offer of even so much as \$2,500,000 for this land. Then they issued a poster declaring that the land in question was not worth more than \$2,925,000. Promptly Baron De Forest, refusing to quibble over the difference between the two sums, made a formal offer (as he was well known to be financially able to do) of the latter sum for the freehold of the land specified in his pamphlet, he to pay down 10 per cent in cash immediately upon acceptance of his offer. This offer remained open until the close of the polls, and there was no restriction as to time even after the close. It is understood to be still open. But there has been no acceptance.

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To understand the party situation as a matter of election results, one must consider the political complexion of the House of Commons heretofore, and I tabulate it from 1885, when the franchise had been last extended:

| Year. | Liberals. | Tories. | Irish. | Labor. |
|-------------------------|-----------|---------|--------|--------|
| 1885 | 334 | 250 | 86 | .. |
| 1892 | 274 | 315 | 81 | .. |
| 1895 | 177 | 411 | 82 | .. |
| 1900 | 186 | 402 | 82 | .. |
| 1906 | 376 | 157 | 85 | 54 |
| 1910 (to Jan. 24) | 203 | 220 | 68 | 33 |

From the above table it will be seen that there are now 524 seats filled; that the Tories are 17 ahead of the Liberals, and 16 behind Liberal and Labor together; and that the Irish hold the balance of power as they did under Gladstone in 1892 when he carried an Irish home rule bill through the Commons with their votes.

But the important question now is what will be

done when the elections are all over and Parliament assembles, as it will about the middle of February. It may not get into working order before the early days of March. But not long after that time, perhaps before, the significance of the election results will begin to become concrete.

Opinions here differ as to what will be done. Presumably, since the Tories are in the minority, the King will ask Mr. Asquith, the Liberal leader, to form a cabinet. As Mr. Asquith has declared that the Liberals will not take governmental responsibility unless assured that the Lords shall no longer baffle progressive legislation, he will doubtless require the necessary assurances before undertaking to form a cabinet.

These might be given in one of three ways: the King could appoint about 500 new peers, nominated by Mr. Asquith, thereby "swamping" the present majority in the House of Lords; or he might summon to Parliament only such Lords as Mr. Asquith names; or he might prevail upon the Lords to acquiesce in Mr. Asquith's demand for a modification of the Lords' veto. If he does undertake to form a cabinet, it may be safely assumed that one or another of those assurances has been given him.

If somebody else is named to form a ministry, it may be assumed that the King has refused to accede to Asquith's conditions. In that case, Mr. Balfour would probably be the person called into form a cabinet. He might decline, on the ground that he could not control a majority; or he might accept, with a view to being voted down in the Commons and going to the country for a new general election to be held at once; or he might come to an understanding with the Irish party to give him a majority. The latter is what William O'Brien (Irish, Tory and marplot) would like, but it is not what John Redmond, the real Irish leader, would like. It probably could not be done without a concession of complete home rule to the Irish, and this it is inconceivable that the Tories would assent to, for it would be party suicide.

Should Mr. Asquith take up the job of forming a cabinet, the Budget would probably be adopted by the Commons at once, under strict closure, and sent up to the Lords, and the general belief is that they would adopt it unchanged. But they would do so, if they did it at all, on the ground that they had referred it to the people, and the people had approved it. As this would leave them free to take the same course with any future Budget, the Commons would thereby be divested of control over the national purse strings, and the House of Lords would be able at any time to turn out of power a party it did not like, by simply "referring" its Budget to popular vote.

Precisely that is what Mr. Asquith, with the Liberals and Labor men and the Irish behind him, insists that the Lords must not be permitted to do. It may be expected, therefore, if Mr. Asquith does form a cabinet, that he will very soon take up the Campbell-Bannerman resolution, and, passing it through the Commons, send it to the Lords.

The Campbell-Bannerman resolution provides (1) that if the Lords reject a measure of any kind adopted by the Commons, a conference of the two Houses shall be had; that (2) if the conference fails to agree, the measure may be voted upon a second time by the Commons, and if it is again adopted a second

conference shall be held; and that (3) if the second conference fails to agree and the Commons adopt the measure a third time, it shall be law notwithstanding the opposition of the Lords.

It is as near a certainty as anything in the future can be, that under these circumstances the Bannerman resolution would be adopted in the Commons by the joint vote of Liberals, Labor and Irish. It is also as certain that it would be adopted by the Lords (either through "swamping" appointments, preferential summonses, or a "coming down" of the Lordly coon), for it is unthinkable that Asquith would undertake to form a cabinet without assurances from the King guaranteeing acquiescence by the House of Lords in his demands regarding the veto claims of that non-representative body.

Should an Asquith ministry hold a progressive majority in the New House of Commons together until the completion of this much of the progressive program, it is reasonably believed that the next general elections would be far off, and that meanwhile much reform legislation would be enacted. Such legislation would probably include a reapportionment of seats, a reformation of the franchise so as to extend voting rights and abolish "outvoter" privileges, and a full measure of home rule in home affairs for Ireland.

But if Asquith is baffled at the outset, early elections would be the probable result—perhaps long before summer. And this is what all the Interests over here are now praying for.

L. F. P.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

ABOLITION OF POVERTY.

Morrison, Tenn., Jan. 29, 1910.

Twenty odd years ago Father McGlynn of New York organized the Anti-Poverty Society. It held enthusiastic meetings. It attracted much attention. But it did not abolish poverty. Its enthusiasm and efforts seemed wasted. But it was not so. Words of truth are immortal. The word of the Lord does not return to him void, but like the rain, does good in the world.

For three years, in a feeble way, but the best I could, I have been calling attention to God's promise in Deuteronomy, 15: 4-5: "There shall be no poor with thee." Like all God's promises, it is conditional. The condition is national obedience to the principles of political justice revealed in the Law of Moses. Individual obedience to the Bible will abolish the poverty that springs from individual wrong-doing; and national obedience will destroy the economic or involuntary poverty that springs from national sinning. I have been much encouraged during the last months; for the sneers that formerly met my assertion that Christ had promised to abolish poverty, have ceased. And this week my heart sings for joy, for I read in the Outlook of January 29, on page 246, the following words from Lloyd George, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer:

"This is a War Budget. It is for raising money to wage implacable warfare against poverty and squalidness. I cannot help hoping and believing that before this generation has passed away we shall have

advanced a great step toward that good time when poverty and the wretchedness and human degradation which always follow its camp will be as remote to the people of this country as the wolves which once infested its forests."

JAMES B. CONVERSE.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article, on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Tuesday, February 8, 1910.

Closing Days of the British Elections.

The final results of the Parliamentary pollings (p. 106) seem to stand as follows, according to press reports:

| Ministerialists. | |
|---|------------|
| Liberals | 274 |
| Labors | 41 |
| Irish Nationalists, under leadership of John Redmond..... | 70 |
| Total..... | 385 |
| Opposition. | |
| Unionists | 273 |
| Irish Independent Home Rulers, under leadership of William O'Brien..... | 12 |
| Total..... | 285 |

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The apparent indifference to the suffragette agitation, on the part of both Ministerialists and Opposition when in the heat of conflict (p. 58), seems to have had a pacifying effect upon suffragette violence. According to press dispatches of the 3rd, their newspaper has announced that militancy is to be abandoned, not to resumed "unless we are convinced that the Government will yield to nothing else. We hope the need of it is over and that militancy has done its work," the article goes on. "Opposition to the government will be continued and the suffragettes will take the field in every by-election to urge the electors to vote against the government."

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The strength of the vote against tariff reform ("protection," as we call it in the United States), is dwelt upon in the later mail advices as well as in T. P. O'Connor's letter to the Chicago Tribune of the 6th. Says Mr. O'Connor:

Protection in England is dead. That, at all events, issues clearly from the results of the general election. * * * The sharply divided lines between different sec-

tions of English life never were more clearly drawn than in this great contest. The south of England, that beautiful, sleepy, feudal land, which you meet from Dover to London, remains inert in its century of sluggishness. Without manufactures, without commerce, without education, without freedom, or any instinct for change, it has reverted to its inherent Toryism and once more crawled under the heel of the parson and the squire. It is no more like the north of England than old Salem is like Chicago. In Yorkshire, in Lancashire, and in the great iron and coal regions of Scotland and Wales, life is whirling with the same activity as the gigantic mills, and the people are robust physically, mentally and politically. All these portions of the country have not only declared against protection, but have done so with even greater strenuousness than at even the mighty landslide Liberal election of four years ago. It is evident that no ministry could propose a protective tariff in face of such a verdict for free trade from these portions of the three kingdoms. Sleepy Sussex dare not tax progressive Yorkshire and Lancashire. If any such attempt were made, especially if it were accompanied by a tax on food, there undoubtedly would be a violent and perhaps revolutionary outbreak in all the industrial parts of England which would sweep away the ministry, and perhaps a good many other things before it was done with. Amid the loss of many hopes this great triumph for the progressive forces of England stands out in bold relief.

The Times (Conservative), with a suggestion of a sneer, said in its issue of January 18, "Where cotton fills men's minds the entry of novel commercial ideas seems to be difficult." The Nation (Liberal) of the 22nd, points to the same cleavage as "Tay Pay," claiming that—

The most significant features of the election are, first, the appearance of two Englands—North and South—one Radical, Constitutional, Progressive and Free Trade, the other Protectionist and indifferent to or ignorant of the constitutional issue; and, secondly, a class stratification similar to the geographical one. The Government has the great middle mass, the Opposition the top layer and some of the bottom. The Government has organized, independent labor, the Opposition the more dependent classes.

With lists of the Free Trade and Protectionist cities of Great Britain the Nation makes it strikingly evident that active, powerful, industrial England is for Free Trade. "On the other hand," says the Nation, "as we approach the smaller populations, the homes of the little industries—which would be swept up into trusts under Protection—the valetudinarian resorts (Bath, Bournemouth, Brighton), the suburban, sub-London constituencies (otherwise the Home Counties), the cathedral towns (with the exception of Norwich, York, and Lincoln), the dockyard and arsenal centres, and finally the hole and corner boroughs, relics of an obsolete electoral system, like Falmouth, we find Protectionist strength growing stronger and stronger." It is to be deduced, in a word, that "the moral force of the Protectionist

case is far weaker than its voting power." And in allusion to the contrast between sturdy industrial centers and luxurious health and pleasure resorts, the Nation announces: "*England cannot be governed from its bath-chairs.*"

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Examples of plural voting on the part of the holders of many estates are contributed to the Daily News. One gentleman reported an acquaintance whose father had 24 votes, and hoped to actually vote 18 times before the end of the elections.

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As to what the new Parliament will undertake first the leaders are silent, but it is remembered that Mr. Asquith, speaking at Leven in Scotland on January 18, said:

I promise no legislation of any kind in the next Parliament until we have settled our conclusions with the House of Lords, but I have also stated that in my opinion the Liberal Party would be perfectly free in the next Parliament, as it was not in the last, to support a measure for giving full self-government in purely Irish affairs to Ireland, subject to the maintenance absolutely unimpaired of the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament.

Speaking at Stourbridge on the 25th, Mr. Lloyd George is reported by the Daily News, as follows:

The elections have been won by a bold and strong policy, and I am perfectly certain that if we are going to listen to counsels of timidity and faintness the great democracy which has backed us up so strenuously will not merely be disappointed, they will be disgusted, and they will abandon us. (Hear, hear.) These great swinging majorities we have had in the North and in the West are majorities in favor of a strong and unflinching policy, and we dare not betray the trust that these millions have placed in us. (Loud cheers).

Let me just say a word about a suggestion made by our opponents as to what we are to do with the majority we are building up. I was very interested to-day to read an article in "The Times," in which the newspaper said, although there was a majority, after all, it was a drawn battle. (Laughter.) Nothing had really been decided, Tariff Reform not settled, nor Free Trade, the people had not decided as to the House of Lords. The people had given no real indication of their opinion. (Laughter.) I am not sure that the people expressed any opinion about the Budget. (More laughter.) Well now, I marvelled after reading this: "What on earth have they been voting about?" (More laughter.) And then "The Times" made this proposal—that the majority which had already been won by the vigorous, determined democracy should place its power in the hands of those timid and halting spirits who have opposed the Radical programme on which the battle was won, and install them in power to thwart that policy. (Laughter.) As a cool proposal—the coolest proposal ever made by a beaten party—we cannot accept it. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

Their real attitude is this: They say, "We have

still got the House of Lords. The House of Lords have not got to go down to the polls and submit themselves to the judgment of the electors, and whatever the opinion of the people may be there is not a single seat lost by the Peers." (Laughter.) Yes, they are still intact. There has been slaughter on both sides: Liberal members have lost their seats and so have Conservative members; some have had increased majorities, some reduced; we have had six weeks of a most strenuous campaign; we have been asked and we have answered questions; and at last after going through this ordeal the Liberals have secured a majority—but not a single peer has been turned out. ("Shame!")

Yet "The Times" practically said they dominated the situation. Still whatever the opinions of the electors may be, the House of Lords has got to decide what is to be done. (A voice: "Are you going to let them?") No, certainly not. (Loud cheers.) All I can say is, that the proposal of "The Times" that, having won a majority, we should hand over the policy to the people who have been beaten, is simply full of that insolence which belongs to the party and the class who seem to be under the delusion that providence has marked them out for the purpose of governing this country under any and every sort of condition. We cannot admit the claim for a moment. (Cheers.)

There is one thing, I think, which is a little encouraging. Both "The Times" articles and Mr. Balfour's speeches admit that Tariff Reform is impossible in this Parliament. (Cheers.) They rule it out; as they say, it is 'off.' (Laughter.)

Speaking earlier in the day to his own constituents at Carnarvon in Wales, after a great demonstration, Mr. Lloyd George is thus reported by the Daily News:

It was, he said, twenty years since he first stood on that spot to thank them for their help in winning his first victory. It gratified him to think that those who supported him in that first fight had remained staunch and true ever since, and now stood at his side in this latest fight, and celebrated this greater victory. They had borne his burdens in the past, and he would bear theirs in the future. The shoulders of the Welsh people had supported him hitherto, and while breath remained in his body he would fight for the freedom of Wales.

This had been a fight for the Budget and for all the Budget stood for, and the victory had been a notable one. The majority was good enough to satisfy the best Radical, and far too good to please their Tory opponents. They had the nobles of the land against them, but he cared nothing for that so long as the democracy remained true to itself. He would never forget that this had been essentially a soldiers' battle, and in the battle which yet remained to be fought the soldiers of democracy would win notwithstanding the opposition of the Peers.

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Canada's Proposed Navy.

Canada's program for a navy of her own (vol. xii, p. 1118) is arousing anew questions as to her exact relationship to the Mother Country. On moving the second reading of the naval bill in the

Dominion Parliament on the 3rd, the Prime Minister, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, speaking to a crowded and excited house, asserted the following as being the principles upon which Canada's naval history is to be founded: Independent control of her own ships; their use as part of Great Britain's fleet only when the Dominion Government gives such authority; construction in Canadian shipyards, if possible. "Daughter am I in my Mother's house, but mistress in mine own," he quoted from Kipling in support of Canada's constitutional independence. The bill calls for five cruisers and six torpedo destroyers.

* *

The High Cost of Living.

Both branches of Congress are making preparations to investigate the question of the increased cost of living (p. 108). Senator Stephen B. Elkins of West Virginia startled the upper house on the 3rd with intimations that Senator Lodge's food price inquiry resolution was not as searching as his own resolution which had been held up in committee for nearly a month, while Mr. Lodge's resolution had passed through committee with but a day's consideration. As reported in the Chicago Inter Ocean, Mr. Aldrich claimed that the Lodge resolution was much broader than Mr. Elkins had represented.

"Let's see," responded Mr. Elkins, "if it is. Where is there anything in it about trusts and monopolies? Are they to be investigated as to their effect on food prices? Let's see who is nursing them."

Mr. Aldrich responded that he had no desire to dodge a full inquiry nor to protect any interests. . . . "Do you think the trusts or the tariff responsible for the high prices?" asked Mr. Aldrich.

Mr. Elkins said he had desired that the investigation should develop that fact. He declared the country was alarmed over the situation.

Reintroducing his resolution with a request that it be referred to the finance committee, Mr. Elkins said:

"So far I have kept in the procession and stayed on the reservation; but I don't have to stay there always. Tariff laws do not live forever."

* *

Another Panic Predicted.

Professor William L. Phelps of Yale University is reported to have said in the course of a class lecture on the 2nd, that a business panic, possibly more serious than the one of 1907, will soon come if there is not an immediate change in the present situation. He laid the rising prices to the influx of gold and declared that an increase in interest rates alone would check speculation and its inevitable results. Professor Irving Fisher, of the department of political economy in the same university, is quoted in the New Haven Union of the 4th as having prophesied to his class in political economy on the previous day that, "We are headed exactly toward a financial and industrial panic." Professor Fisher laid the "amazing rapid-

ity" in the rise of prices to the increase in the volume of gold.

* *

Labor Loses in a Boycott Trial.

D. E. Loewe & Co., hat manufacturers of Danbury, Conn., received an award of \$74,000 by a jury verdict in the United States Circuit Court sitting in Hartford on the 4th, as damages from the United Hatters of North America (vol. xii, pp. 277, 590). As the suit was brought under the Sherman Anti-Trust law, triple damages can be recovered, so that the Hatters' Union may have to pay \$222,000 damages, and more than \$10,000 court costs and counsel fees. The suit was for \$240,000, estimated by the manufacturing firm to have been lost to them by the strike of July 23, 1902, and by the boycott against their hats which followed. Suit was originally started to determine whether the Union could be prosecuted under the Sherman Anti-Trust law. The firm lost in the lower courts and carried the case to the Supreme Court, which decided that the firm had a right to sue for three-fold damages. The suit just decided for the plaintiffs then followed. It has run for eleven weeks. The jury were out less than two hours. The case will be carried to the Court of Appeals, and if the verdict is there sustained, to the Supreme Court of the United States.

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The Striking Shirtwaist Makers Winning Out.

In Philadelphia the shirtwaist makers have won their strike (p. 11). It was announced on the 5th that the Manufacturers' Association had agreed to recognize the union; that 70 per cent of the strikers were to return to their work at once, places for the rest to be found within a month; and that the question of wages was to be arbitrated by the union and the employers. The Manufacturers' Association included seventy-one firms, eighteen of whom capitulated before the strike closed, and the present settlement includes all the others.

* *

In New York the strike (pp. 84, 110) is nearly won. During all last week employers were capitulating, and at last advices 294 manufacturing companies, out of the 337 which have been members of the Manufacturers' Association, had come to terms with their employees. In the 294 are included all the largest employers of labor, and 90 per cent of the girls are now back at work.

* *

Illegal Police Detention to be Investigated in Philadelphia.

On motion of Frederick H. Warner, a member of the Philadelphia Common Council and an attorney, the Council unanimously passed on the 3rd a resolution of investigation into illegal police detentions, and on the same day the resolution

passed the Select Council. The resolution runs as follows:

To direct the Joint Committee on Law to investigate certain charges relative to the Bureau of Police.

Resolved, By the Select and Common Council of the city of Philadelphia, that

Whereas, It has been openly charged for some time past, in the newspapers and through other sources, that persons arrested by the police of the city of Philadelphia, are held in the various station houses and in the county jail, overnight, and for periods exceeding 24 hours, without being permitted to communicate in any way with their families, friends or attorneys; and

Whereas, Such charges, if true, show a flagrant violation of the rights of citizens and of the laws of this Commonwealth; and, if untrue, should, for the credit of the municipality and its government, be disproven without further delay;

Therefore, The Joint Committee on Law, of Select and Common Councils, is directed to forthwith investigate fully and thoroughly the charges above mentioned, and to report the result of its findings to these Councils, together with a recommendation for such legislation, if any, as its investigation may show to be needful; and for the purpose of aiding it in its said work, said committee is authorized to and vested with full power to issue subpoenas to compel the attendance of all persons whom it may desire to call for the purpose of testifying concerning the matters to be investigated by it.

Of this resolution Mr. Warner says, as reported in the Philadelphia Record of the 4th:

I want to say that there is no politics in it; that it is not the purpose to make it serve a political interest, but is being offered in a friendly way. If the conditions exist they should be stopped and if untrue the reports should be so declared to be false. But it has been repeatedly reported through the public press and by individuals that men and women have been arrested for trifling offenses, transferred from one station house to another, and in that way concealed from their friends, attorneys or others who could give them aid, or put in prison and allowed to remain there in excess of 24 hours before anyone is allowed to see them. As an attorney, in the practice of my profession, it has come to my notice that one person was locked up and secreted from friends from Friday until Monday. The arrest was not only unwarranted, but the detention unwarranted as well. If these conditions reported are true, and those that have come to my personal attention be generally practised, then it is time to call a halt.

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In the Illinois Legislature.

By a vote of 100 to 39 the lower house on the 1st passed the Hamilton-Staymates automatic direct plurality primary bill, to take the place of the third direct primary law of Illinois, nullified by the Supreme Court of the State last June (vol. xii, p. 612). As summed up by the Chicago Record-Herald of the 2nd, its chief features are the following:

Scope—It applies to the nomination of all candi-

dates for all elective State, congressional, senatorial, county, city and village (including officers of the Municipal Court of Chicago), town and judicial officers, members of State board of equalization, clerks of the appellate courts, trustees of sanitary districts.

It applies to the election of precinct, senatorial and state central committeemen.

It does not apply to presidential electors and university trustees and to township and school elections.

A political party is a party that polled 2 per cent of the votes at the last preceding general election.

Dates—Primaries this year are to be held Sept. 10.

Officials—Judges and clerks of regular elections shall serve at primaries; polling places shall be those used in general elections.

Party machinery—The bill provides the same system as that in the old Oglesby law.

"One-two-three"—senatorial committees shall fix and determine the number of legislative candidates to be nominated; each voter may cast his vote for three candidates or cumulate on one or two.

No advisory vote is to be taken on United States senator.

Names of candidates shall be printed on the ballot in the order in which petitions are filed.

Persons desiring to vote shall declare their party affiliation.

The registration feature is altered to conform to the decisions of the Supreme Court.

The person receiving the highest number of votes at a primary as a candidate of a party for the nomination for an office shall be the candidate of that party for such office, and his name as such candidate shall be placed on the official ballot at the election next ensuing.

The bill has now gone to the Senate.

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The Gorman bill for the commission form of government for cities passed the lower house in an amended form on the 2nd by a vote of 87 to 11. The Barr bill, originally identical with the unamended Gorman bill (vol. xii, p. 1233), as already noted (p. 61), passed the Senate January 13. The amended Gorman measure now goes to the Senate.

NEWS NOTES

—"Privilege and Seamen" is the subject of Victor Olander before the Chicago Single Tax Club on Friday, the 11th, at 7:30, Hall 302, Schiller Bldg.

—At the Chicago municipal election on April 5 the question, "Shall this city become dry territory?" will go upon the ballot on petition, being supported by 74,805 signatures—61,000 only being required.

—Fountain L. Thompson, senator from North Dakota, having resigned his seat on account of ill-health, W. E. Purcell of Wahpeton has been appointed as his successor. Mr. Purcell was sworn in at Washington on the 2d.

—The Madrid government's troops in Nicaragua, under General Vasquez, and an insurgent army un-

der General Mena, fought near Santo Tomas on the 4th. Each side claims to have inflicted a crushing defeat on the other.

—The annual Lincoln dinner of the Women's Henry George League will be held in New York on the 12th at Coddington's restaurant, 767 Sixth Ave., at 6:30. Owing to the present agitation against the meat trusts the dinner will be a vegetarian table d'hôte. The subject for discussion will be "The Progress in Women's Emancipation."

—C. C. Dickinson, Democrat, defeated Philip Griffith, Republican, in the special election in the sixth Missouri district for a successor to the late David De Armond of the lower house of Congress. Mr. Dickinson's majority was 3,791, which is the largest majority that the counties composing the Sixth Missouri district have given a Democratic candidate in 20 years.

—President Taft has been invited to outline his conservation policies at a mass meeting to be held in Chicago about the 17th of March, and he has signified the probability of his presence. The meeting will be held under the auspices of the leading Chicago civic bodies, and is being arranged for by Walter L. Fisher of the National Conservation Association (p. 83.)

—The wooden steamship Kentucky sank off Cape Hatteras on the 4th, but not before her crew of 47 men had been saved by the Alamo of the Mallory Line, summoned by wireless. The Kentucky used the new international distress signal, S. O. S., followed by, "We are sinking. Our latitude is 32.10, longitude 76.30." The message was caught at Cape Hatteras as well as by the Alamo which was on her way to Key West.

—The mine explosion at Primero, Colo., on the 31st, reported last week (p. 111), when 75 men lost their lives, was followed by a similar explosion at the Browder coal mine at Drakesboro, Ky., on the 1st, with a probable loss of 35 men; and again by an explosion at the Palau coal mine near Coahuila, Mexico, on the 2nd, with an official list of 68 dead; and yet again by an explosion at the Ernest coal mine near Indiana, Pa., on the 5th, with 11 dead. All were caused by the explosions of gases.

—Woman suffragists from Chicago while visiting in New York are cordially invited to Sunday afternoon "at homes" at the Liberal Club, 19 Madison Square East, New York City. From 4 to 6 each Sunday afternoon in February and March these "at homes" will be given by the Liberal Club and the Equality League of self-supporting women; Mrs. Edmond Kelly for the former and Mrs. Graham and Mrs. Florence Kelley for the latter acting as a joint committee on hospitality.

—The American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes was organized at Baltimore on the 6th. Officers elected to serve for the first year were Dr. James Brown Scott, president; John Hays Hammond, vice-president; J. G. Schmitlapp, Cincinnati, treasurer, and Theodore Marburg, secretary. The society will devote itself principally to issuing articles by leading men of all countries and to organizing meetings of national scope in various parts of this country from time to time, all as part of a propaganda of world peace. It proposes to

settle points of international controversy in the same general way in which differences between individuals are now settled.

—The new Prussian electoral reform bill (p. 111) is very far from satisfying the reformers. The difficult qualifications as regards income and education remain as before, and voting would remain open, instead of by the secret ballot which was much desired by the reformers. The government fears that the secret ballot might permit the introduction of socialism into the Diet. The only considerable reform in the bill is to substitute direct voting for the present indirect method of voting for electors who in turn elect the members of the Diet.

—The Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, of Cincinnati, will lecture from March 14 to March 19 inclusive, in Maryland (address J. Ogle, 408 Union Trust Building, Baltimore, Md.); and in the State of Delaware from April 4 to April 9 inclusive (address Stephen C. Singleton, 203 W. 9th St., Wilmington, Del.). Mr. Bigelow will be available for mid-week lecture tours east of the Missouri river during March and April. Between May 1 and October 1, 1910, he will make an extended lecture tour to the Pacific Coast. He is lecturing under the auspices of F. H. Monroe (Palos Park, Ill.).

—Fourteen indictments against city hall officials and employes were returned by the Chicago January grand jury. The charges are chiefly of conspiracy in connection with the payment by the city of \$45,984 for the excavation in constructing the Lawrence Ave. sewer, of shale rock that never existed. The chief men indicted are: M. H. McGovern, who held the contract for building section "D," where the shale rock was said to have been excavated; John Ericson, city engineer; Paul Redieske, former deputy commissioner of public works, who was forced to resign under fire, and Ralph A. Bonnell, former assistant city engineer, also forced from the service.

—The commission form of government was defeated at a special election at Watertown, So. Dak. (vol. xii, pp. 114, 520), on the 26th, by a vote of 357 to 300. The vote was light, presumably owing to the heavy winter weather. The defeat of the "plan" is especially laid to the strenuous opposition of W. H. Stokes, a large holder of outlying acreage and farm property, which would be reached by the tax gatherers under any new form of government. During the campaign Mr. Stokes said that in his opinion outlying acre and farm property had been paying its fair share, or even more than its share, of the city taxes, and he would be opposed to any plan that would force it to pay a greater proportion of city taxes. Last year the kind of property Mr. Stokes had reference to, probably possessing an average value of \$150 per acre, was assessed at a trifle over \$18 per acre, or about the same value as was placed upon similar farm land twenty miles from the city. Because of the special charter, this land paid no taxes whatever into the general city fund.

* * *

The beast whom they load with books is not profoundly learned; what knoweth his empty skull whether he carrieth firewood or books.—From the Gulistan of Musle-Huddeen Sheikh Saadi, Twelfth Century.

PRESS OPINIONS

Industrial England Has Spoken.

The (London) Nation (Lib.), Jan. 22.—Protection, as the Prime Minister well said, will never stand against the fixed decision of the productive energies of the nation. The Tories may think that it makes a good trump card. But it is a losing one. Manchester, Glasgow, Leeds, Bradford, Newcastle, have settled that bit of English history for ever.

* *

The British Verdict Against Protection.

The (New York) Journal of Commerce, January 31.—The failure of the Unionist party to make any substantial impression on the manufacturing constituencies of England and Scotland ought to sound the knell of the Protectionist movement in Great Britain. Circumstances favored the cause of what has been miscalled "Tariff Reform" as they are not likely to do again. The industrial depression on which the Unionists traded so freely is coming to an end and the foreign trade of Great Britain is resuming its normal proportions. The policy of fiscal change found its advocates among the wealthy landlords and some of the manufacturers of the country. It appealed to rural constituencies where the taxation of food was purged of its odium by the certainty that it would advance the price of home-grown grain.

* *

Special Interest vs. Public Welfare.

The Outlook (New York), January 29.—The political issue in Great Britain and that in America are in form very different but in essentials alike—the issue between special privilege and the popular welfare. In Great Britain the question is: Shall wealth pay a larger proportion of the expense of government than it has paid in the past? In America are two questions: Shall the public domain pass into private hands to be administered for private benefit, or remain the property of the public, subject to its control and administered for its benefit? and, Shall public corporations, especially public service corporations, be administered under the supervision of the government and with regard to the welfare of the people? In both countries there is the same contention: That the land and its contents, like the air, the sunlight, the seas, and the navigable rivers, belong to the public. In America the public is attempting to retain its control and ownership of lands which it has not already alienated. In Great Britain it is attempting to impose on such lands a rent in the form of a land tax.

* *

The Single Issue of the British Elections.

The (London) Daily News (Lib.), Jan. 29.—This has been an extraordinary election, and the wonder is, all things considered, not that the Liberal Party should have lost seats, but that it should have succeeded in keeping the dominant issue really dominant, and have secured its majority on that issue. For the Government and its supporters there was, and is, one supreme question before the country; but

that question it has been the whole business of the Opposition to evade and to confuse. . . . The essential point is here. Battle was accepted by the Government on the issue of the Lords' veto; the Lords themselves claimed to stand or fall by the judgment of the nation upon the Budget which they rejected. Upon the judgment of the nation they are condemned. By the admission of the Opposition press the Budget is approved and is destined to go through. The Tory dilemma is, therefore, twofold. On the one hand, nothing but a most decisive vote against the Budget could have been quoted as a justification of the action of the Lords; on the other hand, nothing but an overpowering majority for Protection could have made it possible for the Opposition to assert that the country preferred Tariff Reform to the Budget. No matter how the result of the election is regarded, nothing can alter the fact that the majority has declared against the House of Lords, and in doing so has given the Prime Minister the mandate for which he asked. What before the election was the dominant issue is now the immediate and the only issue; and with respect to the Government's action there is room for neither doubt nor hesitation.

* *

The Rebuff to the Peers.

G. K. Chesterton in the (London) Daily News (Lib.), Jan. 22.—It must be ringingly emphasized that this is not an ordinary election, in which even defeat and victory are a matter of degree. If the Lords do not win completely, then they lose completely. And that for this simple reason, that their exceptional action could only be justified if it were exceptionally popular. We might argue whether the Second Chamber should strain its powers to appeal to a wronged or misrepresented people. But we all agree that the Second Chamber should not strain its powers to appeal to a moderately contented or indifferent people. We all agree that the Peers should not throw out an ordinary Budget; and it is quite plain now that in the popular opinion this is a quite ordinary Budget. Therefore I say a man must admit that the Lords have been thrown back, even if he thinks that Tariff Reform has been thrust forward. For that is exactly the difference between making an ordinary claim and making a claim to violate a system. If I walk along the street saying that the King is longing to see me, I may be believed or not. But if I knock down a policeman and break into Buckingham Palace, then it becomes a very vital question whether the King does want to see me or not. If he rushes out with open arms and falls on my neck, exclaiming that he would sacrifice twenty policemen to such a meeting, then my eccentricity has justified itself. But if (as is only too probable) a certain coldness is perceptible in his courtesy, then, beyond question, I am put to shame. Just so beyond question the Peers have been put to shame. They have broken into the people's house, claiming an irregular invitation; and it is quite clear that the people did not particularly want to see them.

* *

The Right of Boycott.

Fulton County (N. Y.) Democrat, January 27.—It is difficult to comprehend how a defender of the widespread boycott of meats—an exercise of punitive

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.

* *

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?

* *

"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.

* *

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.

* *

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.

* * *

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 stayed 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 crucial 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
Wrongéd 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.

HIGH PRICES.

From a Sermon by the Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, as Printed in the Ohio Journal of Commerce.

The cause of high prices can be divided into two parts—first, what is not the cause, and second, what is the cause?

First of all, the increased production of gold is not the cause, neither is the tariff, so I cannot be preaching either Republican or Democratic politics.

Gold is the measure of all values. Cheap gold must raise all prices alike. You make hats; I make shoes. Hats are \$5, so are shoes. Suppose that hats go to \$10. What difference is that to me, if shoes go to \$10? Prices are nominally high, but I can still get a hat for a pair of shoes. If hats went to \$10, while shoes remained the same, I would be injured; but if this were the case, cheap gold could not be the cause, for cheap gold necessarily means increased prices of everything of which gold is the measure of value; that is, of all labor products and of all labor also.

The tariff, then, say some. This also is a fallacy. Suppose by reason of some unaccountable increase in the demand for shoes my shoe business suddenly became twice as profitable as your hat business. You do not make hats because you want hats. You make hats because you want money. If you can get money more easily making shoes, you will quit the hat business. If you do not go into the shoe business, enough others will, to bring my profits down to the average return.

But suppose this increased profit in the shoe business were due, not to an increased demand for shoes, but to a tariff on shoes. Will not the advantage due to the tariff invite fresh competition just as certainly as though it were due to something else? What, then, is the cause? Let us look at it before we give it a name.

You may raise the price of your hats as high as you like, but how can you compel the public to pay your price? You cannot, unless you can prevent others from making and selling hats more reasonably.

Notice now the ways of doing this. If you can get a patent on something that the people want, you can charge a high price because the patent makes it impossible for the public to buy of anyone else.

Or you may get a franchise fixing some unreasonably high price at which you are given the exclusive business of selling goods. If you have hats or shoes to sell, of course you will not be foolish enough to expect such a grant. But if you are selling gas or electricity or street car transportation, you will seek a franchise which will protect you from competition while it permits you to charge enough to pay the customary widows' and orphans' dividends.

Again, you may engage in some business, like

railroading or the manufacture of woollens, which, while not resting on any legal privilege, nevertheless requires such vast investments of capital that combination is easily possible, and, through the formation of trusts or by secret understandings, iniquitous profits may be reaped.

Finally there is one other way. Get the possession of something which men have to have, but which cannot be reproduced. If you can find anything answering to that description, get it and you will find that you will have the power to reap where you have not sown.

There is only one thing answering to this description that I know of, and that is land of a certain character. The land of a growing city, ore fields, coal lands, water power lands, are examples of something that cannot be reproduced, and yet they must be had.

These are four ways of making people pay you exorbitant prices—patents, franchises, collusion with your competitors, and the ownership of social value in land. The best name for these four things is monopoly—and arsenic would be a good remedy.

BOOKS

BERNSTEIN'S SOCIALISM.

Evolutionary Socialism. A Criticism and Affirmation. By Edward Bernstein. Translated by Edith C. Harvey. Published by the Independent-Labor Party, 23 Bride Lane, London, E. C. Price 1 shilling net. Also by B. W. Huebsch, New York. Price, \$1 net.

In this book English readers may study the ideas underlying the "revisionist" influence in the Socialist politics of Germany, which began to attract general attention through Bernstein's activities some ten years ago. Opponents of socialism regarded the book when it originally appeared in German (*Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus, und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie*) as a fatal attack from within, while old line Socialists denounced it as an abandonment of the fundamental principles of Marxian socialism. The author himself declares his continued belief "in the socialist movement,—in the march forward of the working classes, who step by step must work out their emancipation by changing society from the domain of a commercial landholding oligarchy to a real democracy which in all its departments is guided by the interests of those who work and create."

Bernstein's socialism is distinctly progressive, as opposed to the type which looks forward to a collapse of the capitalistic order. He therefore rejects the policy of segregating socialistic activities from the general activities of democratic reform. Supporting the social growth idea, he

favors co-operation with the non-socialist efforts that make for socialistic growth.

Although taking Marx for leader, he nevertheless criticises him freely, and in a friendly manner, yet without reserve, exposes some of the weaknesses of Marx's worshippers.

Among the errors that appear in Marx's work, as Bernstein concludes, and one to which revolutionary socialists cling tenaciously, is the notion that under the present social order wealth concentrates in a few hands. In opposition to this, Bernstein shows by statistics that the social surplus is in fact diffused, and that the working class itself, and not a capitalist class, absorbs "the parasitic elements of the social body." Although it is this conclusion especially that has brought him into sharp conflict with Marxian leaders, Bernstein does not regard it as at all inimical to socialism of the evolutionary in contradistinction to the revolutionary or catastrophic species. "Whether the social surplus produce is accumulated," he writes, "in the shape of monopoly by 10,000 persons, or is shared up in graduated amounts among half a million men, makes no difference in principle to the nine or ten million heads of families who are worsted by this transaction. Their struggle for a more just distribution or for an organization which would include a more just distribution is not on that account less justifiable and necessary." In other words, the social conflict which orthodox Marxians see as a clash of interests along class lines, appears to Bernstein (correctly as it seems to us) as a clash of interests along moral lines—a clash over questions of justice and not of personal classes.

Because he finds himself in controversy with socialists who have sprung from his own school, that of Marx and Engels, Bernstein maintains his opinions by a systematic criticism of all the other points of the Marxian theory which appear to him especially mistaken or self-contradictory, tak-

ing the conciliatory ground that "the further development and elaboration of the Marxist doctrine must begin with criticism of it."

Accordingly, he first inquires into the theory of the materialist interpretation of history and historic necessity, which he characterizes as beyond denial "the most important element in the foundation of Marxism, the fundamental law, so to say, which penetrates the whole system." Any one who advocates that theory he classifies as "a Calvinist without God," and concludes that a true understanding of the Marxian idea does not warrant the theory in an absolute sense. Economic forces and motives, he argues, do not alone determine the social movement.

The doctrine of class war is regarded by Bernstein as an error springing from the distorted materialist conception of history, and this in turn as unfolding the Marxian doctrine of surplus value.

So the author re-examines and criticises the doctrine of surplus value. In the course of this criticism he goes behind the mask of "value," and finds that the true substance of the doctrine is not "surplus value" but *surplus labor*—the labor which the worker must perform without compensation. "When surplus labor was performed in ancient time," he writes, "it was not hidden by any conception of value. When the slave had to produce for exchange he was a simple labor machine. The serf and the bondsman performed surplus labor in the open form of compulsory service; the journeyman employed by the guild-master could easily see what his work cost his master and how much he reckoned it to his customer." The concept of value hides this fact in modern industry, but the fact continues, and the surplus value theory is a misleading reference to it.

Marx never based his demands upon the surplus value doctrine, the author continues, but upon

THE other day I met a friend whose subscription to THE PUBLIC I secured about three months ago.

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the doctrine of a necessary collapse of the capitalist mode of production,—a process of greater and greater centralization of capital and an increased rate of exploitation of labor. As a tendency this doctrine is conceded by Bernstein. But not as a fact. He invokes statistics, as we state above, to prove that it is "quite wrong to assume that the present development of society shows a relative or indeed absolute diminution of the number of the members of the possessing classes," and contends that "their number increases both relatively and absolutely." Regarding this, however, as no menace to the essentials of socialism, he seeks, as one of the purposes of his criticism, to check the menacing influence upon socialism of socialists who cling to the expectation of a class war between a diminishing capitalist class and an increasing proletariat.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—Searchlights. By George W. Coleman. Published by the Arakelyan Press, Boston. 1910. Price, 75 cents, post paid.

—Each for All and All for Each. By John Parsons. Published by Sturgis & Walton Co., New York, 1909. Price, \$1.50 net.

—The Daily News Year Book, 1910. (Formerly "The Reformers' Year Book.") Published by The Daily News, Ltd., London and Manchester.

—Scientific Living. The New Domestic Science. By Laura Nettleton Brown. Published by The Health Culture Co., 1133 Broadway, New York. 1909. Price \$1.00.

—Blue Book of the State of Illinois, 1909. Compiled and Published by James A. Rose, Secretary of State. Printed by the Illinois Printing Co., Danville, Ill.

—Proceedings of the Cincinnati Conference for Good City Government and the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League. Held November 15th to 18th, 1909. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Editor. Published by the National Municipal League, North American Bldg., Philadelphia.

PERIODICALS

—The Milwaukee Idea, "published weekly by the Republican Municipal League, in the interests of clean politics and good government," has in its initial number a brief account of "Milwaukee's Garbage Disposal Plant," which on being put into operation this Spring "will burn the refuse without use of other fuel," simultaneously saving the heat and converting it into steam at the rate of 18,000 pounds per hour.

A. L. G.

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In the Consular Reports of January 31, 1910 (Department of Commerce—the Bureau of Manufactures), Consul Norton of Chemnitz notes that "careful calculations have recently been made in Germany to establish the average amount paid for rent in the leading cities and the proportion this item bears to the entire budget of the average family." In seventeen large cities the average annual rental varies from \$60 to \$171, and the percentage from 12 to 22.8, the latter being in Berlin. "The item of rent is proportionately less than in England, where as a rule one-fourth of the income is devoted to this purpose."

A. L. G.

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Of the Shirtwaist Workers' Strike in New York, Edward T. Devine says editorially in the Survey for January 15: "The struggle is not fundamentally against an intolerably low wage, or unsanitary shops, or exposure to exceptional physical risks. . . . The real grievances are the sub-contractor, the slack periods, and interference with the organizing of unions. The girls have become convinced—and this very fact is one of the most extraordinary of all—that the only effective remedy for their unsatisfactory condition is a union, in full control of every shop on the side of the employes, and authorized to bargain with the employers on their behalf. The Survey initiated an investigation of this strike by a committee of two women and two men and through one of the members, Dr. Woods Hutchinson, reports results in its issue of January 22. Dr. Hutchinson, after an account of committee method, and conditions found, remarks that "it is probably not too much to say, though here I would not involve any other members of the committee, that at least one-third of the strike and

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the feeling that led to it, was due to an overwhelming desire on the part of girls who had little to complain of personally in point of wages and hours, to put a stop to the serious injustices practiced upon their less fortunate sisters, and the incessant annoyances, tyrannies, favoritism and drivings to which they themselves were subjected." Further, his opinion is positive that "the most potent single influence in spreading the strike after it had once been started, was the conduct and attitude of the police." "We

were informed," he writes, "that shop after shop struck solely on account of the manner in which they had either seen or heard the police treat strikers and pickets." There follows a pageful of comments on police which is perhaps the most valuable part of the paper. Florence Kelley in the Survey of January 29, tells of the Trade Boards just created throughout England for establishing minimum wage rates for piece workers and wage workers of specified trades. This movement has been extended into America

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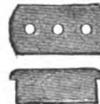
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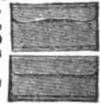
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A. L. G.

First Chauffeur—"War is absurdly sentimental."
Second Chauffeur—"Yes, they actually go back and bury the dead."—Chicago Tribune.

+ + +

It is under discussion by persons who think with temporary despondency of President Taft, which

is harder to cure, the drink habit or the habit of thinking like a judge. The judge habit seems to get hold of the tissues of the brain and of course it is no play-time job to eradicate it.—Life.

+ + +

An Irish recruit who ran at the first shot in his first battle was unmercifully laughed at for his cowardice by the whole regiment, but he was equal to the occasion.

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✦ ✦ ✦

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"Yes," said a friend standing by, "but four times he who gets his blow in fust!"—Lippincott's.

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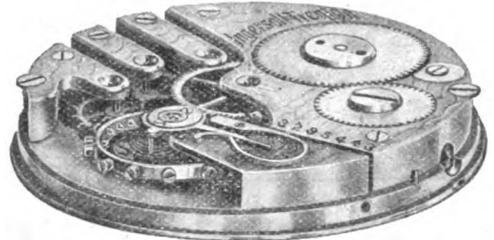
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