

The Toronto World.

TUESDAY MORNING, MARCH 7, 1922.

THE ONLY HOPE OF THE REFORM PARTY.

At this juncture, when it is so important that patriotic men should come to the front, the reform party, containing many such men, men of clear mind, sensible, well-informed, the very men necessary to our public councils—algebraic shut off and excluded from all chance of participating therein.

For, taking the result of all by-elections held—held of all the meetings held—held of all the efforts made to get up protests against the Northwest and railway policy of the present government—there is but one fact prominently brought forward—no conclusion to come to—that is, that the people of Canada—farmers and townsmen—will support the national policy of protection, whether the election comes in six or eighteen months—and that, though they may—and many do—disapprove of Sir John's government in other points, they will condone all his faults, whether they belong to reform or conservative parties, he will certainly carry a majority of them to the polls on that ground, and win the election probably by larger votes than before.

The reform leaders have seen this for more than a year past, and they have made some advances in that direction. But what we would most earnestly point out to all who wish success to the reform, or to any party opposing the conservative, is that these advances are so slight, so useless, so ill-considered, and non-productive of possible effect that perhaps they had better not have been made. For if they had not been made, the crisis would not have been so acute, and the reform party would have been able to take a more dignified and more effective course.

What is that course? Why, say the reform leaders, we will, if we get into power, not injure vested interests; such factories as have started we will not crush. Now, this is all they have promised. We venture to say that no more foolish plan—no plan evincing more utter ignorance of the position and needs of the country—no plan, of the chance of the reform party could have been promulgated.

What is the true state of the case? Canada has, with the general approval of the constituencies—an approval which their majorities show, on every occasion, a tendency—a certain tendency to endorse by greater numbers—decided to enter on a policy of protection to manufacturers and of protection to farm products. This policy has produced certain effects, very encouraging as far as they go—many thousands of operatives have been given work, much machinery has been employed, much money is being paid out in wages, and generally speaking the prospects are that if the new system be properly carried out, it will be a great success. But no one considers for a moment that we have arrived at the end. No one supposes that the results yet achieved are all those we desire. All are aware that our protective system is only in its infancy—that it must be broadened, enlarged, added to, improved in a thousand respects before we get the result reasonably to be expected therefrom and which, from our present experience, we consider we shall obtain.

There are many fields yet untouched. For instance, our great iron industry alone, as soon as properly protected, which it can only be by raising the tariff to a paying point, will by itself simply double and treble the men our whole national policy has yet brought into employment. For we must remember that we may calculate on the vast market which the Northwest will give. At present we have seven thousand and additional operatives on the national policy. It is certain that no twenty thousand men can make the iron the Dominion will shortly require, allow as we may for the injudicious free entrance given to the syndicate materials. And this is far from being the only industry yet untouched. Canada is determined to continue the national policy—money will be far more largely invested in manufacturing businesses. What an opening there is for this may be well understood when it is remembered that the whole surplus—Sir Leonard's five millions—would not exist were our manufacturing system in full operation—these millions which were paid him this money as duties would have been largely made in our own bounds, and of course, not coming in, would have paid no duty. Protection, we repeat, is but in its infancy here. We expect—we have reason to expect—much more if it be carried out, if the experiment we have inaugurated give a chance to develop itself—and, we say again, the people of Canada are determined to give it the chance.

But, in this position of affairs, how utterly silly and impracticable is the proposal of the reform leaders that, if they are allowed power, they will not injure vested interests. That is not the question, gentlemen. No body desired you to be so very careful of these vested interests. If we were to go only what we have at present, what the present vested manufacturing interests would give us, it would be very doubtful whether we had much bettered ourselves by our protective policy. But what we have is the earnest and promise of much more. What we need is that the scheme should be carried out—that where more protection is needed it should be given. In short, the principle of protection should not be a dead letter, and bring forth what results it will. And till that experiment is fully tried, no patriotic Canadian will abandon it.

We have started on a voyage. We have freighted the protection ship for a protection harbor. But up come the reform leaders and say: "We will not scuttle your protection ship; we will only turn her round and bring her safe back to harbor!" This is nonsense pure and simple. If the reform leaders are willing to adopt the principle of protection, let them say so. Nothing else will carry the next election. This is well known.

We say again to the reform party, many of you are sensible, clear-headed men. You know that at the last election your party largely voted for protection. You know that the evils proscribed by the Globe if protection were adopted never arrived; on the contrary, it has evidently done good. Nothing but defeat stars your party in the face, if the policy your leaders advocate is followed. One only course can save your party in spite of your leaders. Bring out reform protection candidates, and whether you win the majority in parliament or not, at least your members, agreeing in the great principle Canada has adopted, will not be bickered on that point, can probably discuss other subjects, and will not sit the nonentity in the house that every free trader must heretofore and does now appear.

CONKLING'S CHOICE. Erastus Conkling, for years past one of the foremost leaders of the republican party, was recently appointed by the president to a seat on the bench of the United States supreme court, and his nomination was confirmed by the senate. Whether he will accept it or not is a question of the hour over the border. A Washington despatch, forwarded yesterday afternoon, says very briefly that the president has received no communication from Conkling concerning his appointment. This may be literally true, while the ex-senator's determination in the matter may be well enough known within inner circles, for all that. The New York Truth says it is already settled, and that Conkling declines the appointment. Other papers mention reports that his letter of declination was really despatched the end of last week, though the time of its being officially received may be in question. Unless reports from all quarters be wrong, it may be assumed that Mr. Conkling declines to drop politics and retire to judicial life in his highest sphere within the republic.

Assuming in the meantime that Mr. Conkling has determined to remain in the political field, the reasons for his decision may turn out to be even more important than the decision itself. One reason there is, already circulated from hostile sources—that he feels offended because President Arthur did not take him into the cabinet. The traditions of American politics do certainly lend color to this belief, though they still fall a long way short of confirmation. Had Arthur been regularly elected president in 1880, then Conkling's claim to the foremost place in the cabinet—that of secretary of state—would have been irresistible. But President Arthur's accession to the first place of all the other offices, and hence, and hence, several departures from customary procedure. "As reports go, he has set himself the rather difficult and perhaps impossible task of harmonizing the two wings of the republican party, with what success remains to be seen. If his own will could decide, he would doubtless have had Conkling in the cabinet ere now, and to do this would mortally offend what we may call the Garfield wing, and might break up the party altogether. Apparently he wishes to keep on good terms, or let us say on living terms, with both wings, with a strong leaning towards the Conkling side. But he hesitates to disturb the late president's appointments unless cause and opportunity combine to favor; and feels his way cautiously. Possibly Mr. Conkling thinks that the president is acting too cautiously towards him, at all events, for an old friend, and that a little more boldness in a friend's cause would have been in order.

Another reason, promulgated from sources friendly to Mr. Conkling, is much more important, if only it be true. It is said that the ex-senator will take the field as the champion of the party in the fight against railway monopoly, and that he expects to rouse such an outbreak of popular enthusiasm on this question as will elect him to the presidency in 1884. There are circumstances which point to this as a forecast sufficiently probable to invite attention. It has been generally supposed that Conkling's defeat in the New York state legislature last year, when he sought re-election as U. S. senator, was a spontaneous expression of public opinion, in condemnation of his alleged factious course. "Not at all," say some who profess to know,—"it was the result chiefly of money and influence expended by Vanderbilt to crush him, if possible." He had refused to be Vanderbilt's tool, therefore the heaviest pressure that the railway power could bring to bear was used against him. One fact of some importance in this connection has been pointed out. Of five men who were in Congress twenty years ago—Conkling, Blaine, Sherman, Allison, and Windom—the first only is as poor now as he was then; the other four are millionaires. "Does any one doubt," says the New York Truth, "that Conkling might have been?" As things go in the States, we may feel sure enough that Conkling, in such prominent and influential political position as he has occupied for many years, might have been a very wealthy man by this time had he worked in favor of the schemes of Vanderbilt and Jay Gould. It may pretty safely be believed that he must have opposed the railway dictators in their schemes, and that they have "had it in for him" in consequence. How far this accounts for his recent defeat at Albany we may hear by-and-by, but should the fact stated turn out to be true, the reason for Conkling's choice will be more important than by far than the choice itself.

HOW JUSTICE WOULD SUPPRESS VICE.

To THE WORLD: There now exists in this city a society for the suppression of vice. No doubt the promoters and members of it have gone into this conscientiously and from good motives. But it is a mistake, if not anything more, no vice can be suppressed. Crush it in one place and it springs up somewhere else another form. Vice is a disease, and we suppose all doctors are wise who would be alarmed at an outbreak on the surface of a patient's skin and strive, with the greatest effort of his skill, to remove this eruption from the outside, so that it would not be seen and the sick would look well. That would not be the case with the disease of vice, which would strike inwardly, with a firmer hold, till it poisoned the whole system and death would follow. Nor does a wise general chop off the heads of the weeds as they appear in his flower beds. He knows that although this may be easy and make the appearance required at the moment, that so long as the roots remain they will strengthen and spread, and in greater or less degree will eventually reach the approach of light. To overcome evil with good is the only way and the only radical cure.

That the suppression of vice society's plan of raiding the houses and imprisoning the inmates tells only of women, and is a great wrong to history, has already been ably shown by others. If women are to be imprisoned, so ought men and children of another sex. It is a "did not support them" and use them. But no legal penalty ought to be administered for this. It is not like that of work, or injury of another, against him or her will. It is imposed by mutual consent and for mutual pleasure. All reformations, released on the expiry of their terms of imprisonment, a large proportion return to their former mode of life. They are given no special attention. It is also known that it is quite in the interests of this vice to have the women taken up and imprisoned, while the demand is so great of them, that this is a most serious point to be considered. A score from vice society might do great good. 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