

vice, crime and misery resulting therefrom. The adoption of the resolution would have been construed as implying that the conference felt sympathetically toward such a position. Clearly those who do not feel so were right in objecting. Those who do not stand for social and economic justice should not be forced to appear as though they do. Those who tolerate Oppression should not be asked to give a perfunctory, apparent endorsement to Freedom. If Rabbi Stephen Wise was right in saying, "You are afraid of what the rich may say," then the conference took the only course it should have taken in tabling all resolutions. Insincere praise would be no honor—rather the reverse.

S. D.



Joseph Chamberlain.

The passing of Joseph Chamberlain arrests attention because of his connection with the reactionary movement in restraint of trade. And the fact that such a brilliant leader was unable to revive the protective tariff is good evidence that the British have made a distinct advance on the road toward direct taxation. While Americans, having a protective tariff, have resisted fifty years of campaigning to convince them that the tariff is a tax and that the foreigner does not pay it Mr. Chamberlain with all the power of the Unionist party and Tory landlords behind him was unable to persuade the English workingmen, lacking protection, that a tariff is not a tax, and that the foreigner pays it. In that significant fact lies great hope for economic progress. England was compelled to raise more revenue, and it was a question as to whether it should be raised by direct or by indirect taxation; in other words, whether it should fall upon the bent back of labor, or be drawn from the coffers of idle landlords. Mr. Chamberlain failed; Mr. Lloyd George has succeeded.



Just how much Mr. Chamberlain's course was due to conviction, and how much to overweening ambition may never be known. The fact that he should say in defending his tariff proposals that all direct taxes are either shifted to the consumer or drive the property taxed out of the country showed an utter lack of understanding of the incidence of taxation. The English landlord has not been able to shift to the tenant the land tax of the Lloyd George Budget; and there is very little likelihood of their taking their land out of the country. On the other hand, Mr. Chamberlain's surpassing qualifications for leadership might well

arouse in him aspirations that could not be satisfied while serving under Mr. Gladstone. It was unlikely that he should supplant his chief within the Liberal party; while it was possible, by means of clever political machinations, to ride into power at the head of a new party. Mr. Gladstone began his political career as a Conservative, and changed to the Liberals. Mr. Chamberlain started as a Liberal, and became Conservative. Their paths crossed, but were not long parallel; and the success of the one, and the failure of the other may be taken as an indication of the trend of the times. As Thomas Carlyle and Rudyard Kipling have failed with their Tory preaching to make an impression on the world commensurate with their literary ability, so Joseph Chamberlain, by his espousal of Toryism, has been unable to stay the march toward democracy.

S. C.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

CONNECTICUT'S PROGRESSIVES AT WORK.

Lake Compounce, Conn., June 27, 1914.

Breakers ahead for the Bourbons! More than a hundred militant Democrats assembled here this afternoon, to demand progressive measures and forward looking candidates from their party in this State. Harmony, independence and determination were the dominant notes of the convention. The terms direct primary, initiative and referendum, recall, preferential ballot, home rule in taxation, etc., echoed and re-echoed through it all. The event was without parallel in the political annals of Connecticut, and some of the old-time singletaxers here had to fairly rub their eyes open, to make sure that they were in the Nutmeg State. George M. Wallace of New Haven, chairman of the meeting and a democrat of the most fundamental sort, was finally authorized to appoint a committee of ten to organize the movement and lay plans for the coming campaign. The appointments will be announced later in the week. Another conference will be held within the next six weeks, in accordance with a unanimous vote of those present.

CHRISTOPHER M. GALLUP.



NEWS FROM ONTARIO.

Toronto, July 1.

We have just concluded a big fight. We have been defeated, but not vanquished. The enemy has won and the downtrodden are rejoicing that their oppressors are still in the saddle.

Eighteen months ago the people of this city by a direct vote of four to one declared in favor of local option in taxation. The city council prepared a bill to give effect to that vote; but when it reached the parliament, it never passed the committee stage, the eight representatives of the city utterly ignored the bill, and yesterday, at the elec-

tion, the public returned the same men at the head of the poll. Such is the difference between direct legislation and indirect legislation.

Not many weeks ago Sir James Whitney, the Premier of the Province, prorogued the parliament. The Reform party, or the Liberal party as it is generally called, had laid as the basis of its platform the abolition of saloons, local option in taxation and woman suffrage. To all these Sir James and his shadows had declared their emphatic opposition. There was therefore a very clearly cut issue between the two parties.

The Tax Reformers in Toronto nominated Mr. Arthur B. Farmer, M. A., the secretary of the Tax Reform League, for one of the seats, and shortly afterwards he was endorsed by the Liberals. This seemed to give him something of a fighting chance, although he was opposed to the Hon. Mr. Crawford, who for some time had been Speaker of the House, and who had won the previous election by a vote of 5,469 to 1,519.

At once vigorous methods were adopted to appeal to the public. Two tents were secured and various speakers kept busy night after night. It was cause for great rejoicing at last to have the chance in an election to proclaim the grand truths that God made the land for the people, and that a race of land speculators have no more right to exist than a race of potato bugs. Besides the tent meetings, some of the boys invaded the street corners, where they took the same kind of a platform as the apostles of old, with the heavens for their canopy, and there they discoursed to the people on the essential difference between the value that comes with the growth of population, and the value due to the efforts of industry.

Last night the votes were counted, for Crawford 5,934, for Farmer 3,805. It is true that Mr. Crawford will sit in the next parliament, but not by a vote of three to one, as formerly.

The ridings are arranged in such a way that they give no possibility of any approach to fair representation. The constituencies were cut up purposely to deprive the Reformers of all representation. The total Tory vote in the whole city was less than 50,000, while the Reform vote was upwards of 26,000. With any kind of fair voting, therefore, out of the ten members the Reformers should have had three seats. As it is they have none.

In each constituency two men had to be elected, but not necessarily the two who had the highest number of votes. Mr. Farmer, whose platform was primarily for Tax Reform, was pitted against Mr. Crawford, and Mr. McTaggart, who fought principally for the closing of the bar, was pitted against Mr. McPherson. As Mr. Farmer had about 500 more votes than Mr. McTaggart, it seems to indicate that Tax Reform was more popular than Temperance Reform.

Our good friend and champion for Tax Reform, Arthur Roebuck, ran in another constituency and made a valiant fight, losing his election by only about 400 votes.

In the city of Ottawa, our good friends, the Southams, the owners of the Ottawa Citizen, an old Tory paper, came out in opposition to their own

party, with the result that the two members returned from that city stand for Tax Reform.

I cannot but feel that the Labor party has been humbled. Out of the whole Province they have won only one seat. Mr. Studholm of Hamilton, the lone representative in Parliament for some years, offered himself for re-election, and though the Tories had an overwhelming majority of members in the House they did not have the chivalry to let the labor men keep that seat without a contest. I am glad, however, that the public stood by him and returned him with a majority of about a thousand. For many years he has been a faithful friend to the Tax Reformers.

At the last municipal election in Toronto the Labor party put James Simpson at the head of the poll for the position of Controller. Today the Labor party has not a single representative to parliament in this city.

My impression is that we are on the eve of a commercial depression. That may lead the people to think. The Prodigal had to come down to the hog trough in order to "come to himself." Often the same thing is true of nations, as of men.

W. A. DOUGLASS.

NEWS NARRATIVE

The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of The Public for earlier information on the same subject.

Week ending Tuesday, July 7, 1914.

The President's Independence Day Oration.

In a Fourth of July address at Philadelphia President Wilson advocated application of the principles of the Declaration of Independence to modern conditions. Among other things he said:

Liberty does not consist in mere general declarations as to the rights of man. It consists in the translation of those declarations into definite action. Therefore, standing here, where the declaration was adopted, reading its businesslike sentences, we ought to ask ourselves what is there in it for us. There is nothing in it for us unless we can translate it into terms of our own condition and of our own lives. We must reduce it to what the lawyers call a bill of particulars. It contains a bill of particulars—the bill of particulars of 1776—and if we are to revitalize it we are to fill it with a bill of particulars of 1914. . . . Patriotism consists of some practical things—practical in that they belong to every day life; in that they belong to no extraordinary distinction, but to those things which are associated with our every day, commonplace duty. . . . I have had some experiences in the last fourteen months which have not been refreshing. It was universally admitted that the banking system of this country needed reorganization. We set the best minds we could find to the task of discovering the best methods of reorganization. We met with hardly anything but criticism from the bankers of this country, or at least from the majority of