

With the moan of the wind thru the sombre pines,
as it went on its wandering way,—
As there in the cavernous windowed aisles, with
ravenous tooth and claw,
Should fatten the pack of the Wolves of Greed, still
ruled by the ancient law.

As under the gray of your grime and smoke is the
flame of your forge's fire,
So under the shame of your pitiless greed, is kindled
a dim desire;—
It will burst into flame with a breath of Love, it
will redden from soul to soul,
Till Amalgam Divine shall the Many be One, shall
be welded the Few to the Whole,—
Till the Briton and Scot, with the Croatian and Slav,
and the hordes from the lands between
Shall be molded anew in the purpose of One, who
dreameth the Cosmic Dream.

DWIGHT MARVEN.

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THE GREAT AMERICAN FREE TRADER.

Louis R. Ehrich At the William Lloyd Garrison Memorial Meeting in New York, January 26, 1910.

During the last year several of our very richest multi-millionaires have passed away. Their individual fortunes were estimated at fifty millions, seventy-five millions, over a hundred millions of dollars. They were men who rendered great services to the Nation along practical, material lines. They were all-powerful while they were alive, and were paid wide worship and obsequious homage. But now that they have gone we do not hear of any Memorial Meetings held in their honor. In contrast this meeting is held in memory of a man who probably in his whole life did not amass the equivalent of what was a single month's interest on the fortune of such a Modern Croesus. Why, then, this and other memorial meetings for him and none for them? They launched enterprises. He launched principles. They were leaders in the world of trade and of finance. He was a leader in the world of ideas and of ideals. They were captains of industry. He was a captain of the spirit. They spent their lives in perfecting their powers of acquisitiveness and in adding to their huge fortunes. He devoted his life to the ennobling and refining of every fibre of his heart and brain that he might lay his conquests at the feet of mankind.

He was the son of his father. We are still too near to the last century to judge it fully, but I have long been persuaded that as time goes on and we shall gain a true historical perspective, it will be universally recognized that William Lloyd Garrison the father, was pre-eminently the hero of the 19th Century. When he died, he left a legacy of great wealth, of mental and moral wealth. This legacy was happily inherited in generous propor-

tions by all of his children, but the principal heir was the son who was his namesake.

It is a strange fact that the human mind tends towards light or darkness in all directions very largely in proportion as it reaches a true or false conclusion relative to some commanding question which is submitted to it. Like tends to produce like. The idea is vaguely intimated in the old legal maxim: "Falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus," "False in one, false in all." But I contend that the converse is also approximately true. "Verus in uno, verus in omnibus," "True in one, true in all." Thus William Lloyd Garrison, the father, in piercing the intellectual fog and cloud which in his day obscured the great Question of Slavery, reached the sunlight of Truth which conferred on him a clarity and strength of vision in relation to all other great public questions which were presented to his mind. As far back as 1847 he wrote to a friend: "Next to a fort, arsenal, naval vessel and military array, I hate a Custom-house. . . . I go for Free Trade and free intercommunication the world over, and deny the right of any body of men to erect geographical or national barriers in opposition to these natural, essential and sacred rights."

This spirit of protest and of revolt against legislative interference with man's industrial freedom, with his right to freely exchange the product of his labor with that of any other man on the earth, lived on and became intensified in William Lloyd Garrison, the son. He was, as will be abundantly brought out by what is said here tonight attached to many movements for reform. Every cry for human betterment appealed to him. Yet I feel confident that, in the last decade of his life, he had come to see, just as Henry George and Ernest Crosby had come to see, that the first essential for a great uplift in the world's civilization necessitated the sweeping-away of the restrictive trade barriers which stand between the nations. He realized clearly that if we desire to raise the level of the race, especially if we wish to ameliorate the lot of the working-classes, by increasing the demand for their labor, by reducing the cost of their subsistence, by shifting from their backs the weight of indirect taxation, and by granting them a more equitable distribution in the products of their labor, we must stand for Free Trade.

He realized further that if we would set a stepping-stone toward other great reforms, if we desire to purify the well-springs of our political life, and if, above all, we wish to promote Peace and Good Will throughout the earth, we must stand for absolute Freedom in Trade.

So it came that just as William Lloyd Garrison the father was acknowledged the absolute head of the Abolition movement, so William Lloyd Garrison the son came to be recognized as the leading champion of the Free Trade propaganda in the

United States. For several years before his death, he acted as Secretary and finally as President of the American Free Trade League. The League centered in him. It was characteristic of him that, although by no means a man of wealth, he served without a penny of salary. He edited a publication issued by the League in advocacy of Free Trade. In the first number he wrote:

"This is the work of agitation demanding a consecrated service, with the single object of humanity and civilization in view."

Evidently some of the League members found fault with his straightforward, clearcut declaration of principles, because in the second issue he writes:

"If instead of presenting a determined front, we prefer to temporize, to withhold forcible speech for fear of hurting someone's feelings, or keeping away conservative support, the management must be changed, and some Secretary found who has a predilection for such service."

Again he says: "If a reform is to command respect, its leaders must hold fast to the primal truth, undeflected by excitement or tempted by hopes of political success to compromise its integrity. There is no need of more politicians or parties, but there is an urgent demand for light-bringers, and creators of a public sentiment to which, sooner or later, all parties must bend. In this faith we are content to work." It was this faith, which amid all opposition and trial and many sources of discouragement kept his heart warm and his spirit bright. This he evidences when he said: "Free traders cannot in the nature of things be pessimists. Else what incentive to continue the up-hill fight, to be counted on the unpopular side, to be shut out of political life? Only abiding trust in the ultimate triumph of right sustains them." Abiding trust in the ultimate triumph of right! That explains the whole secret and the blessed triumph in the life of William Lloyd Garrison. It explains the respect and admiration for him which has brought us here tonight. And I feel that I act wholly in the spirit of Garrison when I voice the hope that this shall be to us not only a night devoted to memory but also a night of consecration, of consecration to the noble causes for which he fought so valiantly and so unselfishly.

Great reforms ripen slowly. Some clear-sighted, heroic, self-sacrificing soul scatters the seeds. It may be disappointingly long before they take root, germinate, and finally yield the glad harvest. But if this be a moral universe, if there exist "a Something not ourselves which makes for righteousness," then such a reform which is rooted in Truth and in Justice, must attain to victory. And when the victory comes,—a victory which, by destroying all artificial international barriers, shall lighten the burdens of mankind, shall smooth the path for other salutary reforms, and shall strengthen the ties of interdependence and of

peace throughout the world,—then on the day of celebration, the speakers of that hour, looking back on this agitated period, will adequately remember the noble, effective contribution and service of him we mourn tonight, and will pay just tribute to William Lloyd Garrison as the foremost leader in the Free Trade movement of our time.

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THE BRITISH LAND TAXES AND AMERICAN CONSERVATION.

From "The Morrow of the Battle," by Harold J. Howland: Staff Correspondence from England in *The Outlook* of February 19.

The land taxes in the Budget and our own movement for the conservation of natural resources have their foundation on the same principle. It is the principle . . . that since the only natural right to property is the right of every man to the product of his own labor, natural wealth belongs of right to the whole people. What a man makes by his hand or his brain, or through any other expression of his personality, is his, to have and to hold and to enjoy against all the world. What God has made and given to man—land, water, forests, streams, minerals—belongs to all men. The only right which an individual may have to any of these things is an artificial one, derived from some arrangement made by society, that is by all men, who are the real owners.

This principle we are coming to recognize in the Conservation movement. The Government, that is, society, that is, all men in the United States acting together, still owns vast natural resources—a third of a billion acres of land, including stores of coal and other minerals, forests and water powers. Till now the real owners of this wealth have given it freely to all comers, in order that the country and its resources may be rapidly developed. Now the owners—you and I and the rest of the ninety million people—are stopping to consider and saying or preparing to say: "We will not give away our resources any more. We will let individuals develop them, and make fair and generous profits from their development, but they must pay us, the real owners, for the privilege, and the ownership must still rest in us."

England no longer, practically speaking, has any natural resources which nominally belong to the whole people. The land, forests, mines, water powers, have passed into private ownership. To those private owners the Chancellor of the Exchequer says, "A large part of the profits which you make from your land is the result of nothing which you have done, but comes from the common store of wealth which naturally and justly belongs to the whole people. Therefore in the