

## EDITORIAL

In starting a new periodical it is only right to give a reason for adding it to the great number already existing. The INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADER is published to urge the freeing of commerce between the citizens of different nations of all taxes.

The INTERNATIONAL FREE TRADER is the official organ of the International Free Trade League, published to give a voice to its members. We want it clearly understood that the magazine is not the personal organ of its editor, but that it belongs to all the members of the League, and that its success will depend mainly upon the degree of their cooperation. The editor will act as the servant of the members, striving to carry out their united will as best he may. He will try to furnish through our columns the news of the progress of our cause, and will arrange articles and letters for the printer; but it is hoped that the bulk of our reading matter will be furnished by members.

We trust that, with so many experienced and able writers in our ranks, plenty of timely articles will be contributed. When the editor makes mistakes or falls short, he wants to be told. This is the only way he can know how well he is succeeding or failing. Therefore, criticism will always be welcome.

Size and frequency of issue will depend upon the wishes of members. We are beginning in a modest way, with an eight-page quarterly—as befits our youth. But if support is forthcoming, the size will be doubled or quadrupled, and monthly numbers will be issued. We hope, too, to supplement the paper by frequent leaflets, pamphlets, etc.

The International Free Trade League has one definite object: To abolish all tariff barriers between nations, and thus to help toward the setting up of what Upton Sinclair calls the International Customs tariffs, whether for "protection" or revenue, are war; and they invariably lead, sooner or later, to armed conflict. Therefore, in the sense that we advocate the abolition of the chief cause of war, we are peacemakers or pacifists. Some of us believe that war with arms should be waged against Germany until she is defeated or exhausted. Others believe in peace by negotiation—as already proposed by President Wilson. Some of us are convinced that true patriotism consists of loyalty to the ideals of freedom of speech, freedom of press and freedom of assembly for which our forefathers died, and to guarantee which the First Amendment to the Federal Constitution was adopted. Others may agree with the Indian mentioned in President Wilson's Red Cross speech that the war is being waged to "make whole damn world Democratic Party" and that any difference of opinion with the Postmaster General is treason.

But we are all united on the pressing need for absolute freedom of trade between nations, and to that issue everything else in our columns will be subordinated.

By organizing in these critical and difficult times we show our conviction that this is the psychological moment to press our reform. Whereas, in the past the unthinking public has been mesmerized by constant repetition of specious untruths into believing in the superstition of "protection," the horrors of war have so pried their minds out of their accustomed ruts as to make them open and receptive to liberating truth. Consequently, there has never been a better time to urge the need for liberty and equal opportunity in international relations, both as a means of settling the present conflict and as a preventive of future wars.

Why do we think this? Because the governments of two of the greatest nations and the legislative assembly of a third have declared for freedom of trade. And the largest body of labor representatives in Great Britain has come out unqualifiedly in favor of the same measure.

Russia's people's government abolished customs taxes immediately on gaining power; and the executive committee of the Council of Workmen's and Soldier's Delegates declared last October as one of their terms of peace, "all countries to engage to renounce an economic blockade after the war."

President Wilson in all of his speeches on terms of peace has declared for free trade.

The German Reichstag in July, 1917, voted (214 to 116) that "only an economic peace can prepare the ground for the friendly association of the peoples."

And the British Trade Union Congress, last fall adopted by a vote of 2,339,000 to 278,000 the following resolution:

Resolved: That the economic conditions created by the War have in no way altered the fundamental truth that Free Trade between the Nations is the broadest and surest foundation for world-prosperity and international peace in the future, and that any departure from the principle of Free Trade would be detrimental to the prosperity of the Nation as a whole.

"What is the use of saying to the German people that if they want peace they must at once become masters in their own house, that they must destroy the Kaiser's power for evil and that they must come into line with the free democracies of the world, if we increase their already serious difficulties by intimating that when they have succeeded they are not to be a free people but to be commercially and economically isolated?"

What is to be thought of a statesmanship which invites the German people to form part of a Federation of Nations for the maintenance of a world peace and at the same time proclaims the intention of constructing a Federation of Allies for no other object than the setting up of a commercial boycott of Germany? Such a proposal, under all the terrible experiences of the war, may appeal to a section of the people influenced by the wounded feelings of today without regard to the consequences of the

morrow; but when the full effects are realized they will be found to be not only dangerous but criminal, and the sooner they are officially repudiated the better it will be for the Allied Cause."

Rt. Hon. ARTHUR HENDERSON, M. P.  
Is not this encouragement enough for us to press our claim now?

In the fall of this year a new Congress will be elected, a Congress that is likely to have to formulate the terms on which this country will make peace. We should make it our duty to see that every candidate is informed of our views and made to express himself on them. Then we should see that his attitude is known to the voters of his district.

To do this important work it is necessary for the League to have a headquarters in Washington, in order to reach the members of the present Congress and to use the press correspondents there. We have the seed of truth, the tools for sowing, and the soil of public opinion has been prepared by world events. All that is needed is the water of adequate support.

Bel Air, Md., June 5th, 1918.  
To the Editor *International Free Trader*:

Responding to your letter printed in today's *Baltimore Sun*, I take great pleasure in asking that my name be enrolled as an absolute Free Trader.

I have felt very strongly on this subject for years, for to me it seems manifest that the levying of duties on imports is *essentially immoral*. The advocates of "tariff for revenue only" have missed this point—that no government has the right, under the plea for necessary taxation, of compelling me to pay to an American manufacturer a larger price for a pair of gloves than an Englishman would gladly ship them to me for. It is *not* taking my money to support the government, it is enabling another citizen to get my money for his private profit. It is "robbing Peter to pay Paul"—and dishonest in principle. The "tariff for revenue" people have not grasped the fundamental immorality of any tariff, but have been seduced by the plausible argument that "indirect taxation" is least felt, and of all indirect taxation the easiest to assess and collect is a system of tariffs. Not for Protection—perish the thought!—but to derive necessary revenue in the least onerous way. So enters the insidious edge of the wedge. The thing being employed at all, the road to recent Republican atrocities is natural, easy, almost inevitable. If John Smith is "incidentally protected" to his profit, why should not I have my share of the swag?

Destroy all tariffs—root and branch—and national and international morality, justice and peace will be forwarded enormously.

Very truly yours,  
A. R. VAN BIBBER, M. D.

## The International Free Trader

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## Contents

To Whom It May Concern..	1
The Way of Salvation.....	2
By Henri Lambert	
The Outlook for Free Trade...4	
By Frank W. Garrison	
Free Trade vs. a Revenue Tariff 5	
Henry Ward Beecher on Free Trade .....	6
Election of Officers.....	7
Constitution .....	7
Editorial .....	8

## THE WORKSHOP.

Since this is a democratic league of workers, not a club of mere believers, every member has an equal right to help the cause. It is an utter impossibility for the Secretary or the Executive Committee to write letters to all the local papers in the United States and foreign countries. Yet there never was a greater need for public discussion of our reform. Every member of the League can and should constitute himself or herself a local press agent, and write frequently to all the papers within reach, urging the eternal rightness of freedom to buy and sell where one chooses, and the opportuneness of free trade as the basis of lasting peace. The recent success of two of our officers in getting over twenty letters published in a protectionist Philadelphia paper proves the possibility and practicability of this means of propaganda. Our proposal is morally incontrovertible; and if anyone needs arguments or data, they will be found in this paper. No one has yet refuted M. Lambert's splendid statement of principles and practice. Altho we are yet no larger than Gideon's band in numbers, the truth is all-powerful, and we should be ashamed not to urge it through every possible avenue.

## To Whom It May Concern:

## IT CONCERNS EVERYBODY.

In response to the Pope's peace message President Wilson wrote the following greatly significant words:

"Responsible statesmen must now everywhere see, if they never saw before, that no peace can rest securely upon political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and cripple or embarrass others."

These words gave free traders a thrill of delight. But the party of privileged trade-preventers, masquerading as "protectionists," thought that the President was uttering a platitude, and that nothing would come of it. But on January 8, addressing Congress, he proposed "the removal so far as possible, of all economic barriers."

That caused "protectionists" to sit up and take notice that the President is a dangerous man. So he is to privilege mongers and privilege seekers. The American Protective Tariff League is out in angry opposition. On January 17, it declared that it "recognizes in this latest assault upon the doctrine of true Americanism by the President fresh reason for presenting a solid, united, aggressive front for a nation-wide educational propaganda for the restoration of protection."

If the destruction of "protection" is necessary for the permanence of peace, these trade-preventers will have none of it. Goliath has issued his challenge, and the Philistines back of him are "united, solid and aggressive!" And with funds unlimited!

The President needs backing. Now is the time to do it.

The Organising Committee of the International Free Trade League believes that there has long been crying need for such an organization.

There are several leagues mis-called Free Trade Leagues, but so far as the Committee is informed, these Leagues are free-trade in name only, tolerating the infamy of tariff-for-revenue; admitting its advocates to membership, receiving their sometimes tainted contributions, in some cases being dominated by them. In sharp contrast with such reformers, Henry George advised his followers:

"The advocates of a great principle should know no thought of compromise. They should proclaim it in all its fullness, and should point to its complete attainment as their goal. Let the time-servers, the demagogues, the compromisers, those to whom nothing is right, and nothing is wrong,—let them all go their ways. Any cause that can lay hold of a great principle is stronger without them."

The International Free Trade League, believing that "protection" in iniquity, the principal cause of war, is out to destroy it in all parts of the world. Its terms of membership are \$1 per year, which includes payment for its quarterly bulletin.

It is expected that larger contributions will enable its Executive Committee and Secretary to extend its operations to all parts of the world. The Secretary does not wish to hear from tariff reformers, tariff deformers, tariff tinkers, tariff for revenue or tariff tolerators of any kind. Tariff destroyers, absolutely free traders are cordially invited to join us. Do it now, for the Philistines are "united, solid and aggressive," in their opposition to free trade, peace and good will among nations.

Executive Committee } Samuel Milliken,  
Mary Ware Dennett,  
Walter L. Elrich,  
Frank W. Garrison,  
Daniel Kiefer

Kenneth B. Elliman, Secretary

## Salutatory Address in THE LIBERATOR, Jan. 1, 1831.

"I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! No! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the

mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen; but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD. The apathy of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead."

—WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,

# The Way of Salvation: An Economic Peace

From "Pax Economica." By Henri Lambert

*"The essential principle of peace is the actual equality of nations in all matters of rights and privileges."*

WOODROW WILSON,  
Inauguration Address.

Harmony between men, peace, be it social or international, will never exist and endure unless founded on justice. Injustice, insecurity and conflict are inseparable; justice, security and peace likewise. With insecurity, every man must be a master or seek one. That the peaceful progress of Humanity and the continuance of civilization can have no other foundation than justice, social and international, may be accepted as a political axiom.

The all important question, therefore, is to know what, fundamentally, justice is. Obviously it is justice in the fundamental relations of men, that is to say, in their relations concerned with their fundamental needs, their means of subsistence—food, clothing, shelter. Fundamental justice is justice in economic relations.

An international status making for good-will, harmony and peace, because resting on justice, must first of all afford to all nations equality in economic rights, reciprocity in opportunities offered and in services rendered, a progress inseparable from international arrangements practically tending towards freedom of economic relations.

The pacifist, the international lawyer, the statesman studying the peace problem and overlooking the necessity of this international economic basis is to be compared to an architect who, planning a splendid cathedral, should lose sight of the need for it of a solid concrete foundation. Their work is worthless. Their edifices would crumble, even before completion.

## 2. Free-Trade, the Only Possible Peace-Maker.

Richard Cobden has said: "Free-Trade is the best peace-maker." We make bold to say: "Free-Trade has become the only possible peace-maker."

The desire to suppress armies and navies, to have "freedom of the seas," to institute "World's Courts," to organize "Leagues to Enforce Peace," in order to suppress wars, proceeds from an extraordinary illusion. The truth—a truth of simple common sense—is that it is necessary to begin by creating international security before suppressing or even limiting armies or navies, and achieving "freedom of the seas." The truth is that it is necessary to begin by propounding and accepting the principles of international justice and morality before instituting tribunals for judging offenses against international rights and morals; that it is necessary to commence by adopting the conditions making for a just and worthy peace before "enforcing peace."

Now, in our epoch of industrial and commercial development, the basic con-

dition of international justice, morality and security is equality of opportunity for peaceful economic activities and welfare. Of this the ultimate and complete expression will be absolute international freedom in the exchange of mutual economic services, that is to say, freedom of international trade. It is along these lines that we must seek and can find the only means of pacifying the world and saving civilization.

This does not mean that the future regime of economic relations is the only international question, but it does mean that being basic it is the first to be solved. It is moreover the one question the solution of which could bring about the international good will and good faith indispensable for any prospect of a fair examination and successful settlement of the other questions.

## 3. "Reductio ad Absurdum."

If the protectionist system were in conformity with economic truth and usefulness, the securing by nations of exclusive and monopolistic domains could alone respond to the real and inevitable needs of progress and civilization. The founding by every nation of the greatest possible "empire" would then be not only a national right but a national duty—the fundamental national "virtue." Conquest would be justice; permanent war would be the true international morality.

In that case, imperialist Germany would have been right in provoking this war; and Great Britain would be right in becoming protectionist and militarist; the latter would only be doing her duty vis a vis herself if she carried through her projected enterprise of securing the third of the productive territories of the Earth for her own more or less exclusive exploitation and advantage; we should be obliged to approve and laud her if she succeeded in establishing the greatest territorial and commercial monopoly which ever cumbered the world.

Protectionism and militarism—which are inseparable—thus being truth and right, our democratic ideals of liberty, equality, fraternity, human co-operation and our whole conception of civilization would appear to have been fundamentally wrong. But then what are we complaining of? and what are we fighting for?

## 4. Past Failures and Present Duty.

If Germany and the United States, following the meritorious and persevering example given to the world by Great Britain during more than sixty years, had become free-trade, an alliance between Germany, the United States and Great Britain would have been quite naturally concluded more than thirty years ago. France would have joined them, perhaps after some hesitation. The whole world would have been legitimately controlled and administered by these great progressive peoples allied for Good and Progress.

They would have led all other peoples in the ways of liberty, true democracy and peace. A policy of association and co-operation of nations would have been substituted for "Imperialism." Humanity would not have followed the lead of the "Empire builders" and thus taken the road back to barbarism. Not only all our present international trouble and our future trouble with the Yellow World (for half a century misled by our bad example) but also a great part of our past and our terrific future social disturbances would have been avoided.

Probably the only remaining chance of salvation for our civilization is in the adoption by the United States and by Germany, and the preservation by England, of a policy of international economic freedom and morality.

## 5. The Democratic Peace.

This war can end safely only with a victory of freedom over Autocracy—aye, of freedom over Democracy! For, the world could not be made safe for "Protectionist Democracies." It cannot be conceived as a harmonious ensemble of nations restricting one another's "making of a living"—even if these nations are pleased to call themselves "Democracies."

For desire of territorial aggrandizements, for war, conquest and "Imperialism" (democratic or autocratic) there exists, by the nature and force of things, only one infallible and desirable alternative: the international policy of freedom of mutual services and complete equality of economic rights; for the national "will to power" the only conceivable substitute is the international "Will to Equity." Therefore, not a "League of Nations" for the enforcement of peace, but a "Concert of Nations" for the establishment of economic liberty and equity, is the safe democratic alternative of the "Balance of Power." An international community of interest between free trades peoples is the natural and final democratic substitute for "Hegemony."

Have Democracies never waged wars, never made conquests, never proved Imperialist? It will no more be sufficient for democratic nations to declare themselves peacefully inclined; it has become necessary for them to give one another and the whole World the practical proof of their desire for peace by creating the natural condition making peace desirable and possible for all nations—by establishing the natural and universal basis of peace.

To those who have a justified horror of an autocratic Pax Germanica, who do not want a Pax Britannica—nor wish for a Pax Americana—there remains one hope, that of the advent of the democratic Pax Economica.

Pax Economica! solving word, saving truth, necessary asset of Democracy, new departure in the History of Mankind!

## 6. Armageddon and Madness.

*"Where there is no vision, the people perish."*  
*"Blind leaders of the blind."*

But all nations appear to be waging this Armageddon with the view of establishing among themselves a system of accentuated privileges and mutual economic exclusions, which more than ever will make for desire—and maybe for real necessity—of conquest and hegemony. Brought about by monopolism, this seems to be a war waged by monopolists against other monopolists for the sake of more future monopolism. Not entirely unconscious of the inevitable result of their projected policy, the "Protectionists" of all countries urge "preparedness" for future wars. Meanwhile the peoples are fighting to death for the preservation of an error—for the continuation of the most formidable of all international errors; they are fighting "to a finish" for the accentuation of the very cause of their fighting. Among the statesmen and the great politicians of Europe no one yet seems to realize this monstrous stupidity of the international situation.

Voltaire never could have expected such a gigantic and fearful confirmation of his oft-repeated contention that "with pearls and diamonds common-sense is on earth the most precious but also the rarest of all things."

Perhaps the explanation of the present situation of the world is to be found in the "quos vult perdere Jupiter prius dementat"—it seems as if the gods had enough of the protectionist absurdity and immorality and as if, having resolved the destruction of the peoples, they had begun by making their leaders and rulers mad.

## 7. The Revolt of Truth Against Error.

And ye improvident business men, foolish politicians, weak-minded "leaders of thought," after three years of this terrific lesson of things, do you not see yet the real cause and the deep significance of this war?

It is a war of conquest prepared, provoked and waged for possession of more soil, for more security and stability of economic opportunities, by a nation which, not without reason, complained of not having her "place in the sun." Why? Because the occupation of the countries by the nations was more and more coupled with the monopolization of the opportunities which they offer; for, the exchange of the products of the lands was not free, and continually threatened to become less and less free. Through division of labor and through exchange, the opportunities and the products of the earth are and must remain the gifts of God to the whole of human kind. Short of this, the law of the physical "Survival of the fittest" obtains. Thus men must co-operate—or fight.

It is true that the complaining nation was herself one of the worst adversaries of international economic liberty, equity and progress. But in its fear of freedom, in its economic militancy, exclusiveness and greed, in its exploitation of its "protected" people, a protec-

tionist and plutocratic autocracy is a consistent organization. Whereas, internationally or nationally, a "protectionist democracy" is not a democracy. At least it will not and cannot be a lasting democracy; it sooner or later will end in war or revolution—or in both.

No ideals of world domination, moreover, would have sufficiently developed in autocracies, no aggressive influences and interests therein would have become powerful and daring enough for precipitating their peoples and all humanity into this catastrophic abyss, if democracies had shown to the peoples of autocracy the ways of international freedom, equity, progress and true civilization. Have democracies given such distinguished examples? Have they not rather, all with the autocracies, more or less sunk into a contemptible protectionist plutocracy—with its present international and coming national consequences?

This war is a revolt of the invincible nature of things and the insuperable force of truth against the errors and falsities of the international policy of all nations. When its real cause and deep significance are understood by the peoples, there will be no more place for international hatred, but only for mutual reproaches of ignorance and error. Reproaches specially bitter and deserved will be addressed to the "leaders of thought" and to the "great statesmen." The false prophets of Pacifism, of Bellicism and of Protectionism will be cursed and stoned and the preachers and singers of hate will be despised and ridiculed.

## 8. The Peace of Wisdom and Love.

Thus it is seen that for the reign of Justice and Peace it is not requisite that human nature be reformed. If it were so, humanity would indeed have a hopeless future. Men are not naturally wicked. On the contrary they are naturally social and inclined to mutual sympathy. But they are naturally ignorant. Humanity has originated and men are born in ignorance. They continue to be have unjustly one with another (in most cases thinking that they behave justly) because they have not yet the knowledge of what is just and unjust. Behaving unjustly, they create insecurity among themselves. And then they behave wickedly (they lie, they defraud, they hate, they destroy, they kill) in order to subsist and survive in the insecurity which their ignorance has created.

Wars and revolutions are the outcome of international and social unintentional injustice much more than of international and social wickedness. Mankind lacks, the world wants wisdom much more than goodness. Civilization could not be promoted by good and ignorant feelings; it must be saved and furthered by intelligence. "Ignorance is the curse of God, knowledge is the wing that shall bring Humanity to Heaven."

Knowledge of international and social truth and justice, creating security and peace, and permitting the fulfilment of human spiritual Finalities, can only be found in the study of the laws of Na-

ture, which are the living and ever-present expression of the Will of God.

The fundamental natural ethical law is that of freedom to produce and to exchange, permitting all men and all nations to "make their living" and to develop peacefully in prosperity—to "multiply and replenish the earth."

When men know and observe that natural and divine fundamental law of the real Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man, they will be permitted to live in deserved peace and ultimately in love—but never before.

## 9. The Whole Pacifist "Secret."

With the exception of a few mystics and idealists (who deserve some sympathy and even respect) there is practically no individual on earth who in his private life does not, as a natural necessity accord to his "economics" a primary importance. Nobody, however, seems to realize that this care is even more legitimate and unavoidable on the part of nations—whose security depends on economic development and whose rulers, unlike private men, have no right to be disinterested, unforeseeing, unfarsighted.

Under the system of international free-trade, the economic opportunities, possibilities of development and "places in the sun" being worldwide, would for all nations, great and small, be brought to their maximum and be equal. International justice and security would be practically complete. International Peace would have its true permanent foundation. Such is the whole pacifist "secret" which Nature and God want men to discover.

Humanity, like a child, should be led by the hand up to the screen which, by the will of the Protectionists and with the consent of the Pacifists, hides from its eyes that fundamental and simple Truth. When the screen shall be raised men will not immediately thoroughly understand what they see. But they will know that there exists a comforting, hopegiving and consoling thing which hitherto has been hidden from them. They will thenceforth dream, think, discuss, and after some time they will "understand." They will understand what a great crime against mankind is Protectionism.

## 10. The Article First of the Treaty of Economic Peace.

*"Instead of exclusive combinations, I want to see universal co-operation."*

*"America shall stand for the just conception and basis of peace, for the competition of merit and for the generous rivalry of liberty."*

*"America came into existence, my fellow citizens, not in order to show to the world the most notable example of accumulation of material wealth, but to show the way to Mankind in every part of the World to justice and freedom and liberty."*—Woodrow Wilson, *Re-election Speeches.*

Europe, and with her the rest of the World, can be internationally and socially saved, civilization can be preserved, only if a great Statesman, equal to the emergency and opportunity of the times, as a Redeemer, ready momentarily to sacrifice his popularity and even his reputation for the service



of Mankind, resolves to put an end to the international enterprises of greed, injustice and spoliation served by ignorance.

All peoples of the World ought to be told and taught that no real and true "solution" of the international problem, no international security, no durable peace, no permanent liberation of smaller nationalities, no future disarmament, no association of nations, no safety for democracy, can be hoped for except through the general adoption of an international policy of economic justice and morality based on the principle of international freedom of economic intercourse and services.

No success of peace efforts or negotiations will be in sight until the nations in conflict have in principle agreed on freedom of trade as Article First of any peace treaty.

(Last paragraph abridged.—Ed.)

NOTE—An increasing number of men throughout the world know that there exists a system of taxation which not only is capable of ensuring important public revenues through fair and just ways but which also contains in itself great potentialities and virtues for the opening and the equalization of opportunities and for an equitable distribution of wealth. The adoption of this system of public taxation is necessary for the solution of the social question; though it is not, by itself, the only required economic, social and political asset of a new and better social order, it is to be considered as fundamental to this.

The object of the present book is not to propose nor to propound the taxation of land values. But it may be of interest to state here that if the endeavors of the Single-Taxers are to be crowned with success in the future, their success will depend on the triumph of international freedom of trade. For this alone can re-establish—or rather establish—international security, and no great and progressive economic, social and political reform can any more be carried through before international security becomes a definitely settled fact.

It is a very profound truth that "the world must be made safe for Democracy."—*Pax Economica*.

#### WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON:

In first number of GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION:

"The question of expediency has nothing to do with that of right and it is not for those who temporize to say when they may safely break the chains of their subjects. As well may a thief determine in what particular day or month he shall leave off stealing, with safety to his own interest."

With all that God has done for us in giving us such a goodly heritage, cannot we contrive to live and flourish without erecting barriers against the freest intercourse with all nations? Must we guard our ports against the free importation of hemp, iron, broadcloth, silk, coal, etc., etc., as though it were a question of quarantine for the smallpox or the Asiatic cholera?—*Life of Garrison*, by his children, IV:265.

## The Outlook for Free Trade

Frank W. Garrison

There has never been an opportunity like the present for the introduction of universal free trade. The world war has carried down in the general wreck the old national systems, and it will be possible to make peace on lines of international justice instead of reestablishing the multiple antagonisms of traditional diplomacy. This can be done even if the control of the war-making governments continues in the hands of the financial groups whose clash of interest in economic exploitation made the conflict inevitable. The greedy exploiters of India, Egypt, China, the Philippines, and the four corners of Africa have not changed, but the necessity which rules war has forced the opposing powers to seek support by acknowledging the right of weak nations to political independence, and by recognizing the importance of economic justice as the foundation of international peace. All that is needed to turn the lip service of democracy into beneficent action is a sufficient demand on the part of the people themselves that the world be made safe for democracy by means of a democratic peace.

Emerson defines Right as "conformity to the laws of nature as far as they are known to the human mind." These laws, says Goethe, are the freshly uttered word of God, and the utilitarian mind comes to the same conclusion by reviewing the past and finding that men have prospered in so far as they have been unhampered in the free exercise of their ability to produce and exchange wealth. Ignorance of natural laws permitted the growth of economic privileges, and the wealth secured by individuals through colonial monopoly, spheres of influence, preferential and protective tariffs, was confounded with national prosperity. Inertia and the difficulty of overcoming vested interests prevented reform even when the need was demonstrated. The threat of financial panic was effective. But now that chaos rules the markets of the world and every nation faces bankruptcy, that threat has lost its power. It will be easy to show that any attempt to check production or prevent the flow of wealth is a crime only less guilty than war itself.

No doubt the Protectionists will fight to the last ditch. They are much disturbed by the President's reiterated demand for economic justice. In England they have secured a new Corn Law and hope to control imports and exports through the Privy Council by extending its war powers for a term of years. The London Nation denounces this means of setting up a protective and discriminating tariff, and predicts a rude awakening for "those who think that the war provides an atmosphere in which they may push forward every scheme of State Socialism, so as to hand over the nation at the close of the war bound hand and foot to a well-established bureaucracy."

Herein lies the great danger, and the need of the hour is discussion. The old financial oligarchy depends for support on the indirect help of the pseudo-scientific Fabian Socialism which has always

courted popularity by steering clear of radical proposals. Mr. Sidney Webb, who presides over this group in England, assures us that "it will be plainly impossible to revert immediately to the unfettered scramble of private enterprise that we call free trade." Assuming to speak for the British Labor Party, Mr. Webb says that it "stands essentially for revolt against the inequality of circumstance that degrades and brutalizes and disgraces our civilization. It abhors and repudiates the unscientific and criminal doctrine that the competitive struggle for the means of life is, in human society, either inevitable or requisite for the survival of the fittest; it declares indeed, in full accord with science, that competition produces degradation and death, while it is conscious and deliberate co-operation which is productive of life and progress."

What can be said for the scientific standing of economists who make no distinction between the struggle for the means of life under conditions of freedom, and under numerous legal restrictions which not only prevent men from working without the permission of a privileged class of landlords, but systematically rob them through an iniquitous system of taxation?

Will the masses who have suffered so terribly for their past ignorance trust their chances of future happiness to advisors who threaten the old regime with no serious interruption, or will they awake in time and, in accordance with the principle of liberty, sweep away all restrictions to the production and exchange of wealth?

The convention of the American Federation of Labor at Buffalo adopted on November 21 the following resolution:

"Resolved, That this convention go on record in favor of a policy of industrial preparedness and the enactment of laws by Congress that will adequately protect all wage-earners of our country against loss of employment through any invasion of the products of any other nation."

This is a bid for division of spoils. It is a bid to the Congress that it enact a tariff law that will skin the toilers more effectively than the tariff swindle we now suffer from.

Penrose, Rockefeller and their coterie of privileged labor oppressors must have had the laugh of their life when they read this resolution of their victims.

Whoever wrote the resolution must have tumbled out of some Morganfeller school with thirty-third degrees spattered all over himself.

But then maybe a humorist wrote that resolution. Imagine a poor man fearing losing his job because Canadian butter and cheese and mutton and potatoes "invades" his kitchen! When that "invasion" comes my way Gompers himself can have my job. I fear no invasion I can eat.—*Greenfield Bulletin*.

## Free Trade versus a Revenue Tariff

Address delivered at the Annual Meeting and Dinner of the American Free Trade League in Boston on Saturday, May 20, 1911, by Mr. Louis R. Ehrich of New York, President of the League.

The last half-century witnessed a great development of the policy of international trade isolation. Protection, which has been recognized as the mother of Trusts, is the daughter of War. Our civil conflict and the German-French war gave birth to a progeny of Protectionism. These same fifty years, owing largely to the exploitation of the powers of steam and electricity, have effected a marvelous increase in the aggregate of the world's wealth. If in 1860 a statesman had been gifted with a vision of the tremendous wealth-accumulations of our time, he would have been well justified in prophesying that these opening years of the Twentieth Century would be blessed with the abolition of extreme poverty, with a great reduction in the effort necessary to win a livelihood, and with a great increase in the spirit of peace and of content throughout the civilized world. Strangely enough the very opposite conditions prevail! The Nations are armed to the teeth, and their armaments are still increasing. Although some classes have grown rich beyond the dreams of avarice, large sections of society are steeped in poverty so excessive as to demand the constant ministrations of highly organized charities. Despite the wonderful growth in the powers of production, from which a reduction in the cost of living might reasonably have been predicted; we are faced with a great increase in the cost of life's necessities. Everywhere there is unrest and discontent.

#### Dangerous Social Experiments

Society realizing that there is something radically wrong in the distribution of the vast wealth it has been creating, is venturing on all kinds of unreasonable and dangerous social experiments. In the effort to get back some of the disproportionate possessions which it has legally licensed certain classes to acquire, Society is resorting to such unscientific and confiscatory measures as inheritance taxes, graduated income taxes, etc., etc. By ill-considered legislation we have engendered monopolistic trusts, and now we seek to curb their power by disturbing attacks on their existence and methods of business. In all of the Western Nations increasing numbers of citizens, realizing the present unfair distribution of what society produces, are rushing to the dangerous socialistic proposal that the State shall be the sole producer. There is little doubt that in our time, and largely owing to legislative device, Capital and the services of those representing Capital have been overpaid; which is tantamount to saying that Labor has been underpaid. Every dynamite outrage is a criminal protest against the existence of unjust industrial conditions.

#### Strange Explanations

The most curious explanations are afloat. One set of professors maintain that the present high cost of living is

explained by the fact that we are digging an unusual quantity of a certain yellow metal out of the ground. They forget that when we buy, we simply exchange human services. Price is only a register of the reciprocal value of services exchanged. The basic complaint today is not that, to make life supportable and comfortable, we have to surrender too many grains of the yellow metal, but that we have to expend too much of human effort. And this comes because, through evil legislation, we have empowered certain classes to overvalue the commodities they offer in exchange. And this same inequitable system practically prevails throughout the earth.

#### Unnatural Conditions.

Protection throws the whole balance of production and consumption out of equilibrium. Under natural competitive conditions Capital must seek its reward by an ever-increasing production with coincident reduction in prices, thus creating an increasing demand for Labor, with a cheapening of what the laborer must buy. Under our present arbitrary interference with natural laws, Capital secures its disproportionate reward by restricting output with corresponding advance in prices. This means a decreased demand for labor with added burdens in the struggle for existence. It explains why, in this day of plenty and of miraculous invention, great armies of human beings are condemned to live on below the margin of subsistence.

Protection is a war-breeder! Externally it means commercial war between Nation and Nation; internally it means industrial war between Capital and Labor. At this very epoch, when the improvements in transportation have brought the Nations into closer and closer relations, the business of the world is still based on the spirit of isolation and of injustice; and injustice is always a pent-up volcano.

#### Is a Revenue Tariff Acceptable?

Is a revenue tariff acceptable? It is surely less objectionable than extreme Protection; but, on the score of logical consistency, it is even less defensible. That a man, who, by some process of tortuous reasoning, has convinced himself that it is wise to reduce the natural labor demand which flows from imports, who favors a policy tending to burden men with work rather than to make easier the satisfaction of their wants, whose mind is intent on production of wealth without regard to its equitable distribution, that such a man should champion Protectionism is logically conceivable. But that a man who favors the international exchange of commodities, who believes that the incidence of taxation should not fall on the poorer classes, whose motto is "Special privileges for none," and who advocates economy in Governmental expenditures—that a man of such convictions should defend a revenue-tariff is logically incomprehensible.

A revenue-tariff is only diluted Protection. It acts equally as an un-

natural barrier between nations, it is equally productive of Governmental extravagance (and if well-devised may become more so) and it reduces the scale but does not destroy the essence of special privileges. Some Democrats frankly admit this. Three years ago the Democratic State Convention in California again declared in its Platform: "The difference between Parties is one of the degree of protection to be afforded."

#### Revenue-Tariff Experience.

But the worst feature of a revenue-tariff is that it is only a temporary adjustment. It keeps the tariff question alive. It maintains intact all the administrative machinery for high protection; it keeps in hungry suspense the appetite of the classes who have fattened on Protection favors; and, no matter how well justified by the results, it will be constantly attacked and, with the first coming of accidental adverse conditions, is sure to be overthrown. Thus the same battle for Tariff-reduction will have to be fought over and over again. The Walker revenue-tariff of 1846 gave us the most prosperous years ever enjoyed by our Nation. Its effects had been so satisfactory that none of the National political platforms of 1856 contained any allusion to the tariff. The optimists of the period persuaded themselves that the Tariff Question had been permanently settled. Yet today after an interval exceeding half a century, we find ourselves suffering from the most Protective Tariff ever enacted. The policy of Protection will never cease from poisoning our political and industrial life until the Tariff is completely abolished. Free Trade, absolute, unlimited Free Trade, is the only practical, the only satisfactory, the only permanent solution.

#### The Fear of Cheap Labor

The removal of all interference with the natural laws of exchange would bring world-wide beneficent results. Above all it would increase the share of the wage-earner in the wealth which he helps to produce. We find many thoughtful men who have been converted to Free Trade with the highly civilized Nations, but who fear unrestricted exchange with Asiatic low-paid labor. They do not appreciate the demonstrated facts that the highest-priced labor is the cheapest labor as measured by the product; and that low-wage labor is always employed on the low-priced commodities which are the least profitable to manufacture. On this issue we can turn from theory to experience. For the last sixty years England has opened wide her ports to free exchange with all the nations, wholly irrespective of their wage-scale. The convincing result is that, despite her limited area, her congested population, her iniquitous land-system, and her prodigal waste of treasure in colonial adventures, England pays her laborers higher wages than those prevailing in any of the protected Nations (the United States alone excepted), and she has amassed wealth in such superlative degree as to make her the creditor Nation of the globe.

## Results of Free Trade

We hear much these days of "Conservation," of "Scientific management," of "the doctrine of efficiency." There can be no real efficiency in our industrial life, scientific management or conservation of the resources of this planet until these resources are virtually conveyed to the race as a whole by the simple expedient of removing all trade barriers, and by conferring on every man the privilege of making what he can most advantageously produce, and the right to exchange it in absolute freedom with the rest of mankind.

Free Trade would reduce poverty, and poverty's issue—crime. Free Trade would introduce more normal and more stable conditions in our business life, preventing the present oscillations between hot-house prosperity and trade stagnation. Although Free Trade, with the reasonable tax laws which it would bring as a sequence, would make it impossible for any man to acquire hundreds of millions in the period of a single life, it would none the less yield ample reward to the captains of industry, with the added consciousness that their possessions were made far safer against the inroads of society, and that they had not been obtained by the legalized plunder of their fellowmen. Free Trade would tend more to introduce peace and good-will in the world than a hundred Hague conferences or a thousand Peace temples.

## The Practical and the Ideal

To all this men are apt to reply: "Free Trade is ideal, but it is not practical." My friends, the ideal is always the practical. It is the only practical. It is the ideal because it is the practical. Men shrink from the great forward movements through timidity, through the power of inertia, through a misnamed Conservatism. When in this very city men first contended that the only cure for slavery was its complete abolition, they were scoffed at as fanatical idealists; and yet our history and our experience abundantly prove that they alone were the practical men, and they alone offered the only practical and permanent solution of the question.

It will be found that the expenses of State and of Nation can be readily and abundantly met, without subtracting from the results of individual efforts, by the absorption of the wealth which Society as a whole produces through the increase and concentration of population.

## Conclusion

A revenue-tariff means repeated agitation and change incident to the ups-and-downs of party control. Free Trade means a settlement once and for all of this most persistent and most troublesome issue of American politics. Let us build not on the shifting sands of popular impulse, but, basing our structure on the solid rock of equity and of justice, let us construct an industrial system which shall be in harmony with the laws of Nature and with the highest aims of civilization, and which shall bring increasing progress and well-being to mankind for all time to come.

But while others will tonight talk with you about figures, and tell you what are the results of protection upon the business of the country, I plead for the principle of liberty. There have always been plenty of people in this free country to doubt the expediency of freedom. Liberty of conscience was thought dangerous, but our forefathers fought battles for that, and gained it for us. Liberty for the slave was thought to be full of peril, and predictions abounded on every side that emancipation would bring ruin and bloodshed upon the country. But we liberated the slaves, and it has been found by the South itself that liberty was better than slavery, and that the South has prospered under liberty as it never did prosper or could have prospered before. The Republican Party has hitherto stood for liberty, and therefore I have stood with it. But now I take my stand on liberty of commerce, as just as essential and just as sound as liberty of conscience, liberty of speech, liberty of the press, and liberty of the person. I believe that liberty is just as safe and just as necessary in commerce as in anything else, and I look upon this battle for freedom of commerce as only one part of the great battle for freedom which we have been fighting for many years.

I reject the doctrine of "protection," as opposed not only to the principles of liberty but to the essential principles of Christianity. I regard it as in its very essence anti-Christian and immoral. And the fact that such theories as have been advanced by the high protectionists have found so much favor in this country is not creditable to its Christian character. The fundamental doctrine of Christianity is that all men are brethren. The fundamental doctrine of protectionism is that all men are not brethren. Christianity teaches that all men, in all parts of the world, should love each other. Protectionism teaches that all men on one side of an imaginary line should hate, or at least disregard, all who live on the other side of that line. Not only so, but protectionism teaches Christians to hate their fellow-Christians more than they do the pagans. We do not build up our tariff against heathen countries. Our Congressmen are not specially concerned to keep out the products of Africa. It is against Christian countries that all the energy of protectionism is directed. And England, the country which is most like our own in matters of religion, being all Christian and mainly Protestant, is the very country which our protectionist Protestant Christians in America hate the most and strive to injure the most. We send missionaries abroad to convert pagans into Christians and teach them the arts of civilized life. And then, the moment the missionaries have, with infinite pains, taught the converted pagan to make anything fit to send to this market, we hasten to build up a high tariff wall to keep it out. Our country was a large exporter of religion, sent millions of dollars to heathen countries to instill the principles of Christianity into the mind of unbelievers while the article went a-begging at home

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

## TRADE BOYCOTT ON GERMANY AFTER WAR IS PROTESTED

New York, Feb. 14.—The National Association of Manufacturers has dissented from the proposal of a trade boycott on Germany after this war, it was announced tonight. The question was voted upon in a referendum submitted to its members by the Chamber of Commerce of the United States. The ballot of the association has been forwarded to Washington. A statement by the association says:

"The economic boycott proposed by the referendum is an unwarranted interference in a matter of international relations, the handling of which rests with the President and Congress. The creation of a boycott, as outlined by the Paris conference of 1916, we believe to be at variance with the sentiments of President Wilson, as stated in his address to Congress on April 6, 1917."

## WAIL OF A PROTECTED MANUFACTURER

By Benjamin Franklin.

I am a manufacturer, and was a petitioner for the act to encourage and protect the manufacturers of this state. I was very happy when the act was obtained, and I immediately added to the price of my manufactures as much as it would bear, so as to be a little cheaper than the same articles imported in paying the duty. By this addition I hoped to grow richer. But, as every other manufacturer whose wares are under the protection of that act has done the same, I begin to doubt whether, considering the whole year's experiences of my family, with all these separate additions which I pay to other manufacturers, I am at all a gainer. And I confess I cannot but wish that, except the protecting duty on my own manufacture, all duties of the kind were taken off and abolished.

## ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

The mail ballot resulted in the election of the following officers of the League for the year ending March 31, 1919:

## Executive Committee.

Mary Ware Dennett  
Walter L. Ehrlich  
Frank W. Garrison  
Daniel Kiefer  
Samuel Milliken

## Secretary

Kenneth B. Elliman

## ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

BELGIUM.  
Senator Henri LaFontaine  
Henri Lambert

## CANADA.

Manitoba: F. J. Dixon  
Nova Scotia: William E. Marshall  
Mr. Justice Russell  
Ontario: Mrs. Christine Ross Barker  
W. A. Douglass  
Quebec: Charles P. Rice

## DENMARK.

Georg Brandes

## ENGLAND

Henry Bool  
John A. Hobson  
Arnold Lupton

## ALABAMA.

Ernest B. Gaston

## CALIFORNIA.

Dr. David Starr Jordan  
Upton Sinclair

## COLORADO.

Hon. James W. Bucklin

## CONNECTICUT.

Miss Mary B. Ely  
Theodore Schroeder

## DELAWARE

Frank Stephens

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Jackson H. Raiston  
H. Martin Williams

## IDAHO.

G. M. Paulsen

## ILLINOIS.

Otto Cullman  
George E. Dawson  
Fay Lewis  
Fred A. Moore

## IOWA.

Rabbi Emanuel Sternheim

## MARYLAND.

Western Starr

## MASSACHUSETTS.

William Lloyd Garrison, Jr.  
Mrs. Martha S. Morris  
John Orth

## MICHIGAN

Frederick F. Ingram

## MINNESOTA.

C. J. Buehl  
S. A. Stockwell

## MISSOURI.

Judge James M. Rea

## NEW JERSEY.

Charles H. Ingersoll

## NEW YORK.

Miss Crystal Eastman  
Bolton Hall  
Lincoln Steffens  
Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard

## OHIO.

Edmund Vance Cooke  
Fred S. Wallace  
Hon. Peter Witt

## OREGON.

Charles Erskine Scott Wood

## PENNSYLVANIA.

Albert Warren Keisey  
Charles F. Shandrew  
Marshall E. Smith

## RHODE ISLAND.

John Keiso

## TENNESSEE.

Bolton Smith

## TEXAS.

William A. Black  
Hon. John Davis

## VIRGINIA.

Dr. James H. Dillard

## WISCONSIN.

I. Weller Long

[The following additional members of the Advisory Committee have been elected by the Executive Committee since the mail ballot closed:

## ENGLAND.

George Lansbury  
Josiah C. Wedgwood, M. P.

## HOLLAND.

Chevalier August van Daene van Varick

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Charles T. Hallinan

## MASSACHUSETTS.

Prof. H. W. L. Dana

## MICHIGAN.

S. G. Howe

Wilber Brotherton

## NEW JERSEY

Dr. Mary D. Hussey

## NEW YORK.

Dr. A. L. Goldwater

## PENNSYLVANIA.

Mrs. Walter Copel

In accordance with Art. IV. of the Constitution, the Executive Committee has elected Mr. Walter L. Ehrlich Treasurer, and hereafter Mr. Ehrlich will handle all the funds of the League.

## CONSTITUTION.

## ARTICLE I

The name of this organization shall be the International Free Trade League.

## ARTICLE II

The object of the League shall be to abolish all tariff barriers of every kind between nations.

## ARTICLE III

Any person in sympathy with the object of the League may, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee, become a member upon the payment of one dollar annually.

## ARTICLE IV

The officers of the League shall be an Executive Committee of five members, a Secretary, and an Advisory Committee. The Executive Committee may elect one of their members Treasurer, to collect funds and supervise their expenditure. All officers shall be elected by mail ballot. The annual election shall

be held in March of each year. Every officer shall continue to hold office until his successor is elected.

## ARTICLE V

Subject to these articles, the Secretary shall manage the affairs of the League and dispose of its funds. The Executive Committee may fill vacancies pending an election, and elect additional members of the Advisory Committee.

## ARTICLE VI

Before the 15th of February the Secretary shall prepare a ballot containing all nominations for office, and shall mail a copy of said ballot to each member of the League. Nominations may be made by any member of the League, and, when seconded by another member, they shall be printed on the official ballot. Ballots marked in accordance with the preference of each member shall be returned to the Secretary in time to reach him before the end of March, and the preferential system of voting may be used when there are more than two can-

didates for any office. The candidate receiving a majority of the votes cast for any office shall be declared elected.

## ARTICLE VII

At any time that an officer has held office for over a month, on the demand of a dozen or more members a recall election shall be held by mail ballot. In such an election a majority of votes cast for any other candidate shall remove the incumbent.

## ARTICLE VIII

Amendments to this Constitution or changes in the policy of the League may be initiated at any time by twelve or more members. When the Secretary is notified of such proposals, he must within ten days submit them to all members for approval or rejection. The approval of any proposal by a majority of those voting upon it shall make it operative. Thirty days from the time such a measure is submitted shall be allowed to hear from members.

"The democratic tendency is always toward individuality. Direct legislation and equal suffrage are both democratic in that they extend,—distribute—power to a larger number of persons. Everything that can safely be taken out of the hands of officials, and done directly by ourselves, distributes power and curtails authority—makes us more democratic. To extend the scope of private functions as democratic, for it lessens the number of officials and the amount of delegated power. We shall reach pure democracy when—and only when—we have reduced public functions to the one business of maintaining equal freedom in the use of the earth.

Every movement in the other direction leads to despotism and interference with human freedom. The legal definition of property must be made to agree with the moral definition. And its concomitant is, free natural resources. For the product is merely the human work stored in the resources in order to fit them for satisfying human desires. The public is merely the individuals of a given area acting together, that is, politically,—as a "body politic." It has nothing, and can have nothing, not derived from its members, or through their actions. Multiplying zero makes nothing. No individual has any natural property right in natural resources. And consequently, none can delegate any to the public. Each individual has a natural moral claim to all the work he stores in products, but not to what any other person stores. Consequently, no one can delegate to the public a moral claim to any stored human work but his own; and no majority can equitably—morally—take from any person his product unless voluntarily given.

Equally free persons cannot be coerced by either majorities or minorities. Their freedom to engage in any business they choose, or to refrain from engaging in any they do not wish to engage in, cannot be interfered with without infringing their equal freedom.

—THE EQUITIST.