

dents of the tariff question in its larger relation if we have not discovered that.

We are poor students of Henry George, too, if we are oblivious to this seldom regarded aspect of the question, and we invite our readers to the consideration of the following weighty words from the master:

"Instead of looking to importation for the supply of food stuffs and raw materials, which our agriculture can easily and cheaply supply from our own soil, we shall draw them from their source * * * Production at home will expand in all its branches, *and will therefore repel foreign competition.*"

And again:

"Every observer who will study attentively the course of foreign trade will be struck by the extraordinary and ever growing importation of heavy merchandise and bulky goods. Every year, the imports and exports of the great nations amount to millions of tons. *Yet all this displacement of matter is in no way necessary for the well-being of a civilization that is set on a right foundation.*"

There are many more neglected passages of Henry George that might be cited, but these must suffice. The attention of our critics is invited to these and like teachings of Henry George, which we do but humbly reiterate.

Germany and the New International Free Trade League

FREE TRADE IS ONLY POSSIBLE BETWEEN FREE PEOPLES

UNDOUBTEDLY the removal of tariff barriers, the free commercial intercourse of nations, makes for peace. Yet the struggle for trade supremacy has been, and continues to be, an active factor in fomenting war. Much diplomatic intrigue of a very dangerous character has been undertaken for the promotion of commercial advantages.

Doubtless much of such intrigue is entered into with an entire misconception of the nature of foreign trade. It has been assumed that great volumes of exports somehow result in a flow of money into the country, and that excess of imports tends to impoverish. But not all of such diplomatic intrigue is based on misconception. Many great industrial monopolies are actually so closely linked with the government as to form part of it, and constitute an *imperium in imperio*. These seek concessions through diplomatic channels. Ambassadors are their commercial travellers, those nearest to the government being the specially favored objects of this international intrigue. Patent rights, tariff concessions, natural monopolies and other considerations, form factors in this intrigue. The effort is made to enlist prominent financiers and native capital to play off foreign as against domestic industry.

When, as in the case of Germany, the great industries are linked to the government, do in fact form a part of the government, this policy is identical with her war policy. She has commandeered all trade and commerce to speed her war policy. It has been the deliberate one of strength-

ening her war resources and weakening the defensive power of her rivals.* To favor free trade or reciprocal tariffs, and protection and export bounties where the former would not serve, has been her unflinching course.

It is idle to preach the beauties of free trade in this connection. German industries have never been free to form their most favored connections. And international trade relations have with Germany been the most subtle form of securing that war supremacy to which her every activity has been directed with a thoroughness and completeness of which the world is only just now gaining a slight but shuddering knowledge.

In view of this knowledge, which has burst upon the world like an apparition, it would seem that it were very treason to humanity itself to start at this time a movement for world-wide free trade that should embrace an unrepentant Germany. Should this war leave a sullen, impenitent, plotting nation, such as she has been for years, it would seem that a closed door of commerce is the only deterrent to further wrong-doing on her part. Moral and ethical values, as we have contended (see editorial in March-April issue) must be considered in any proposition emanating from whatever source for the establishment of trade relations with her.

Perhaps the Coming Slavery

WHAT Herbert Spencer called "the coming slavery," was the reign of socialism. This foremost exponent of individualism as the true philosophy of society was not to be deluded by the humanitarian professions of the socialist; he discarded the perfectly well-meaning intentions of this class of "reformers" and preferred to look at men and things as they are.

Dove, in his "Theory of Human Progression," the work in which, long in advance of George, this remarkable Scot gave us the true social remedy of the Single Tax with a depth of reasoning equal to Henry George, but in a style much inferior to the great author of "Progress and Poverty," said that society would try socialism before it accepted the Single Tax.

Today there is every evidence that we are facing the menace of socialism in a form not hitherto looked for. It is idle to think that the socialism made necessary to government by the needs of war will be readily relinquished when the war is ended.

And this leads to certain reflections. The masterful intellects that have taken advantage of what socialists call the "capitalistic" state of society to build their institutions of privilege, will be able to use governmental socialism to secure for themselves the same economic advantages. And the masses of Americans, lulled into a false security, will be easy victims of the new slavery. As wages decline, a hopeless reaction will set in, and the slavery which Spencer predicted will be complete.

*Economic war is as important as military war, and therefore a war aim of the first importance.—Dr. Dernberg. In this spirit Germany has made business as she has made war.

Single Taxers will then be able to contemplate with anything but satisfaction the ruin to which they have contributed by their silence and their toleration of socialistic palliatives out of motives of weakness and expediency. For little by little in recent years the Single Tax movement has grown to be more and more acquiescent in what socialists have proposed. Its decline has been coincident with the growth of this spirit. Possessing the only answer to socialism they have failed to preach it with clearness and emphasis. Losing sight of the philosophy of the natural order for which the term Single Tax is so pitifully inadequate a designation, they have linked it with socialistic remedies. We have joined the socialists in their criticisms of existing conditions; we have weakly admitted the correctness of their diagnosis, whereas it is wholly incorrect, and have said mildly that their remedy is a mistaken one, whereas it is a wholly vicious and destructive one.

The assertion of individualism by those alone competent to define its philosophy and its economic application, has been wholly wanting. Socialism as a political principle has secured expression through a political party; Single Taxers have weakly evaded their responsibility by refusing to accept the challenge to similar independent political action, being content to act with the Democratic Party. They have lent themselves to such countenance of socialistic tenets as that party, along with the Republicans, has given, which has helped to magnify the claims of socialism and minimize the opposition which millions of our citizens, inheriting the traditions of American self-reliance, must entertain for the teachings of socialism. The latter group have been politically powerless because Single Taxers have, in a measure, though unwittingly, betrayed their cause into the hands of their enemies.

The time has come to cry aloud the claims of a true individualism; to show that the Single Tax is the only answer to socialism; to call into the fold those who believe in the rights and the dignity of the individual, the beneficence of the law of free competition, the fallacy of government aid to industry, the reasonableness of the natural order of distribution when once the true factors are understood.

Socialists have taught that the individual withers and the State is more and more; that this is the trend of economic evolution. The very reverse is true. Everywhere the natural tendency is away from authority; most of the great struggles of humanity have been to divorce the individual from some form of State control, some group dictation, some collective authority, and this struggle has been an almost universal one. The record of its successful triumph is the record of the progress of true civilization.

IDEAS are more powerful when they are fresh. Enthusiasm cools, emotions die away, when the cause which evoked them grows familiar. Our hearts are like metal, malleable at high temperature, but hardening as the heat evaporates and selfishness begins to assert itself.

JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE.

Natural Law in the Economic World

WHEN Newton took "his leap" from earth to celestial spheres, and announced a law of physics which moon and stars obey, he indicated a harmony of relationship which governs in other spheres. These forces that act in the physical world, and are called, therefore, "physical forces," are by that very name, to the superficial view, robbed of their deeper significance.

These forces indicate not only a harmony but a dependence and interdependence. They point to a similar analogous natural order in economic and social relationships. They indicate that the same methods of scientific investigation and generalization might reveal equally important discoveries in other departments of knowledge.

The study of economic phenomena has not been approached in this spirit. No such splendid generalizations have been attempted as Newton, Leibnitz and Spencer have given us in other fields. Facts have been studied as isolated phenomena. There has been no attempt to classify the knowledge thus obtained, such as Cuvier provided for the study of the animal world, a classification that must precede any really valuable discoveries or generalizations.

The study of economic phenomena remains in the same stage that characterized chemistry in the days of alchemy and astronomy in the era of astrology. It is the age of fable that precedes the age of science. It is characterized by an amazing amount of quackery which abounds when a great body of phenomena is not subject to scientific method by even its most enlightened students, where nothing is correlated, and where it is assumed that artificial and governmental regulations are the determining factors in economic life.

The writing of history was long pursued in the same spirit. Slowly but surely the scientific test began to be applied. Buckle, to take an example, pursued the study of history in a scientific spirit. We may disagree with him as we will, but his method is one to which we must call attention as a contrast to the lack of method in the study of economic phenomena.

Buckle laid down, as every great constructive historian must, that the movements of history, the birth, growth and decay of laws and customs, are not due to caprice. He led his readers to accept the doctrine that some influences are malign and some beneficent, and that the progress of civilization is due to the observance of certain principles, to ignore which spells disaster.

Much of history had theretofore been written, as indeed much of it continues to be written, as mere accounts of wars and battles, conquests and dynastic struggles, without consequence or connection. That anything exists like cause and effect in these tremendous movements of peoples, that given a set of conditions certain results must follow, that the possession of certain impulses shared generally by men and women will, if unaffected by impulses which modify or destroy them, mould institutions and the char-