

both in burghs and counties. We hope to see this bill passed next session, but we hope to see it for England and Wales as well. It is the first step to any far-reaching land reform. Without it we are all more or less in the dark on the land question. Arguing with hypothetical figures, we can show the general tendency of the financial change proposed. We can see, for example, that the separate rating of the site must tend to reduce the rate on buildings. But how much this tendency is worth, what proportion, taking the country over, its site value bears to its improved value, how the proposed reform would affect overcrowded towns, and how it would apply in rural districts are questions which we cannot know until we can replace the hypothetical figures with real figures. We can push this valuation, and we can push a preliminary measure for the development of small holdings in the coming session. But we cannot adequately grapple with the ramifications of the land problem till the results of the valuation are known.

## BOOKS

### A NEW BOOK ON THE TARIFF.

Second Review (See p. 1076).

**The Tariff and the Trusts.** By Franklin Pierce. The Macmillan Co., New York. Sold by The Public Publishing Company, First National Bank Building, Chicago. Price, \$1.50, postage 12 cents.

In the last chapter of this book, which curiosity led me to read first, I found words that seemed perhaps overstrong in indignation. "Our democratic government," says the author, "needs to-day leaders burning with indignation and horror at the injustice of this legalized robbery of the people. We need agitators like Garrison and Phillips, like Cobden and Bright, who hate in their hearts and with all the loathing of their souls this cruel injustice." These seemed strong words, and yet when one turns back and reads the book through, he will see that the words are not too strong. There was a good eye to business in the old gentleman of the story who rose in a dilly-dally meeting and said, "O Lord, I pray thee that some of us may get mad." It is indeed hard to see how anyone can read this book through and not feel at the last all the indignation that the author demands.

Since Henry George's "Protection or Free Trade," this is the best book that has appeared on the tariff question. One cannot but wish that like George's great work it could be put through the Congressional Record in piecemeal and as widely distributed. Chapter III, on "American and English Shipping," might be sent to congressmen for enlightenment on our shipping industry. Chapter IV, on "Protective Tariffs and Public Virtue," might be sent to Good Government clubs and Civic Federations. Chapters V, VI, VII, containing Talks to Manufacturers, Laborers, and Farmers, might be sent to these respectively. Chapter VIII, "Our Tariff History," might be sent to the teachers of history in the colleges. And selected passages from the last three chapters might be sent to the White House.

By and by, in a hundred years perhaps, or, let us

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hope, in fifty, the people will see, and history will show, the vapidness of the reforms proposed by the present administration, which takes itself so seriously as representing a period of reform. A good illustration of the type of reform represented by the present regime is given by the author of this volume in his last chapter. He quotes from the President as follows: "As a matter of personal conviction, and without pretending to discuss the details or formulate the system, I feel that we shall ultimately have to consider the adoption of some such scheme as that of a progressive tax on all fortunes beyond a certain amount."

In other words, as Mr. Pierce shows, the policy is, let the methods continue whereby immense fortunes are gathered into a few hands, and then by special, invidious legislation take some of it back. Cannot the wayfaring man see that this is no truly effective policy? If there be laws, like the Dingley tariff, which foster the concentration of wealth to the injury of the many, how absurd it is to permit the continuance of such laws, and then seek, with great show of reform, to get even by taxing in a special way the fortunes our laws have helped to make! We have made laws to bring trusts and great fortunes into being, and our reforming White House backs up all such laws; and then we become great reformers, the White House this time being in the lead, and talk great swelling words about laws to punish the trusts and great fortunes.

There is no better page in Mr. Pierce's book than that in which he points out the bad sign of the increasing demand for penal statutes. After drawing a Roman parallel, he says: "In our own country the multiplication of penal statutes has a most ominous foreboding. Some student a thousand or two thousand years from now may be searching among our statutes for a diagnosis of the maladies which destroyed us, just as historians have seen in the Theodosian Code the evidence of Rome's decay. The politicians create the conditions out of which monopolies naturally arise, and then attempt to make political capital with the people by an attack upon the very evil which they have created." It is a very old story, as all students of history may know.

What roarings of politicians have we not heard against concentrated wealth and the dangers of its power? The denunciation has become popular even with many Republican leaders who continue to support a high tariff. The President is one of these. In his salad days he spoke as valiantly as any free-trader against the theory of protection, and yet in his term of office what has he done, or even tried to do, against an excessive tariff? Why roar against excessive fortunes, and at the same time uphold one of the main producers and props of these fortunes?

The inconsistency of such action and inaction cannot fail to be seen by the readers of this book, which puts the case against the tariff in so clear a light that all may see its evils and its injustice. Mr. Pierce has written in a simple and attractive style, and his book should have a large circulation. There are, of course, many voters who are not open-minded on any question, and on no question are many less open-minded than on the tariff question. But yet there are many who happily are still open-minded on this question, in spite of inherited opinions, and

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**Labor and Capital. A Letter to a Labor Friend.** By Goldwin Smith, D. C. L. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. Price, 50 cents, net.

From the pen of Goldwin Smith have come words of power in the cause of freedom for the bond slave and in the cause of freedom of trade, but he has no clear or strong voice in the present conflict for economic freedom. This brief letter to "a labor friend" conveys no message. It is apparently an attempt to soothe the discontent of labor, but offers nothing toward removing any cause of discontent. Goldwin Smith tells his friend that others suffer as much as he, and that he should therefore be patient in endurance. "Laborers with the brain, as well as laborers with the hand, have their sufferings and their grievances, feel weariness, would like shorter hours and are liable to being underpaid." He states that "the existence of misery on a terrible scale cannot be denied, and must touch the heart of any man who has studied the history of his kind," and then weakly concludes: "We can only trust that this is not the end. But even as things are, there seems reason to hope that the inequality of happiness is not nearly so great as the inequality of wealth."

Goldwin Smith sees that labor of all sorts is essentially the same in economic position, and that labor and capital are necessary to each other, but he cannot see that they are entitled to the wealth they produce, and to have free access to land for the production of wealth. He thinks that "labor is entitled to such wage as the capitalist, allowing for his risk, can afford to give," and that the right to employment cannot "be asserted when no employment offers."

He sees no evil in private ownership of land or land monopoly, and tenancy is to him merely "a share in private ownership under the same legal guarantee as free-hold." He has not a word to say about the possession of wealth by non-producers, or about the exactions by the owners of natural opportunities from the earnings of labor.

He reflects "with sadness on the terrible inequalities of the human lot," but warns his labor friend against adhering to the Single Tax or Socialism, because "this is manifestly an imperfect world," and so on. He wishes labor to be satisfied with the crumbs that fall to it. This book will add nothing to the fame of Goldwin Smith.

J. G. P.

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