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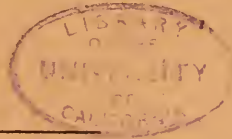
SELECT

LIST OF REFERENCES

ON THE

BRITISH TARIFF MOVEMENT

(CHAMBERLAIN'S PLAN)



COMPILED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

A. P. C. GRIFFIN

CHIEF BIBLIOGRAPHER

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## INTRODUCTION

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This List is intended to show what this Library contains relative to the fiscal controversy which has been agitated in Great Britain since the pronouncement of the Honorable Joseph Chamberlain in favor of the preferential treatment of the colonies in trade relations. The authoritative statement of the Chamberlain programme is found in his speeches printed under the title, "Imperial union and tariff reform," London, 1903. S. H. Jeyes's "Mr. Chamberlain, his life and public career," London, 1903, may also be consulted.

An important contribution to the literature on the controversy is "Economic notes on insular free trade," by the Honorable Arthur James Balfour, Prime Minister. The *Economic Journal* expresses the opinion that "For different reasons these 'notes' which were circulated by the Prime Minister to his colleagues in the Cabinet in the early days of August last, seem not unlikely to take a prominent place among the most remarkable of English State-papers." Mr. Balfour expressed qualified concurrence in the Chamberlain plan. He advocated scrutiny of the free-trade dogma and its effectiveness in present trade conditions.

The Chamberlain programme finds an advocate in Professor W. J. Ashley, a political economist of the historical school, in his work entitled "Tariff problems," London, 1904. Professor J. S. Nicholson, while not approving Ashley's thesis states in a review published in the *Economic Journal* that the author "seems to deserve the distinction of having produced the best book on the Protectionist side of the controversy now raging."

L. G. Chiozza-Money, in his "Elements of the fiscal problem," undertakes to reply to the arguments of Ashley.

Lord Brassey's "Fifty years of progress and the new fiscal policy" is said to be a "business like, scientific, and common-sense statement of the Free Trade position, based upon official statistics, Blue Books, and speeches of leading statesmen, British and Colonial."

A series of controversial articles by Harold Cox and E. E. Williams have been brought together in a volume entitled "Free trade *v.* protection; a fiscal duel between Harold Cox and Ernest E. Williams, with an introduction by L. G. Chiozza," London, 1903.



The work edited by H. W. Massingham, entitled "Labour and protection: a series of studies," is a collection of essays intended "to present a simple but complete *nexus* of argument against Mr. Chamberlain's protectionist policy from the point of view of labor."

The doctrines of the Manchester school are represented in a series of selections from speeches and writings of its founders in a volume edited by Francis W. Hirst, London, 1903.

A free trade argument based on statistical history from 1785 is the work by G. Armitage-Smith, entitled "The free trade movement and its results," London, 1903.

W. H. Mallock, in his work, "The fiscal dispute made easy," London, 1903, passes in review the arguments advanced by either side. He aims to make clear to the ordinary mind the principles which are advanced by the advocates of free trade on the one hand, and protection on the other.

The agitation for a change of fiscal policy has caused the preparation of a number of Parliamentary blue books dealing with the various phases of the trade relations of the Empire. These are noted in the list under Great Britain. In some respects the most important of these documents is what is popularly known as the "Fiscal blue book" published under the title, "British and foreign trade and industry. Memoranda, statistical tables, and charts, prepared in the Board of trade with reference to various matters bearing on British and foreign trade and industrial conditions," London, 1903. It contains a mass of statistical information in regard to the industrial and trade conditions of the Empire. Among the important papers may be mentioned the following:

"Imports and exports of manufactured goods into and from the United Kingdom, with notes of tariff and other important changes and events for a series of years;" "Export trade of the United Kingdom to protected and unprotected foreign countries and colonies for a series of years;" "Value of foodstuffs imported from foreign countries;" "Wheat prices in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and the United States, from 1840-1902;" "Consumption of food and cost of living in the United Kingdom and foreign countries;" "The export policy of trusts in certain foreign countries;" "Statistics on the industrial condition of the United Kingdom and certain foreign countries;" "Imports from foreign countries into the self-governing colonies."

Sir Robert Giffen's "Economic inquiries and studies," London, Bell, 1904, was published too late to be entered in the body of this list. It is noted here because of the high standing of the author as a writer on economics. The writer claims the distinction of having debated as early as 1871 an imperial tariff of a preferential and of an incidentally protective nature.



Professor William Graham has just published, through Kegan Paul, a work entitled "Free trade and the empire," "a volume in which the author supports certainly a two-shilling, and possibly even a four-shilling, duty on wheat, and some measure (not particularly specified) of retaliation and of opposition to dumping, but in which he opposes what he describes as 'an indiscriminate tax of 10 per cent. on the average on manufactures, as Mr. Chamberlain suggests.'"

In the "Edinburgh review" for January, 1904, there is an article on the tariff controversy, using as a text Chamberlain's "Imperial union and tariff reform," the "Fiscal blue book," Ashley's "Tariff problems," and Pigou's "Riddle of the tariff."

Among the writers of monographs noted in the body of this List who support the Chamberlain policy are Caillard, whose work is said by a critic unfriendly to Caillard's thesis to be "a reasoned statement of the case for the reversal of [the British] fiscal policy." Byng, Dale, Fell, Gaskell, Molesworth, Pope, and Wilson.

Flürscheim in his "Clue to the economic labyrinth" argues for an imperial protective tariff.

"Imperial reciprocity" is a series of articles, grouped under the topics "The retaliation issue," "The inquiry," "Food and transfer of taxation," presented to advance the cause of fiscal reform.

Among the writers in opposition are Chiozza-Money, Cox, McClelland, Perris, and Pigou.

Sir John Barnard Byles's work is "A treatise in favor of protection, published in 1849" which has been reprinted with an introduction and notes by W. S. Lilly and C. S. Devas with regard to the present fiscal controversy.

Agacy, in his work entitled "Free trade, protection, dumping, bounties, and preferential tariffs," discusses in a few chapters the issues of the fiscal policy, and favors modification of the present regulations without destroying the principles of free trade; decides that it is not desirable to abandon free trade for protection; advises countervailing duties to prevent dumping, and a preferential treatment which will steer clear of the evils of protection, with a résumé of the arguments. In the "Economic journal" it is stated that "the chief merit of the book lies in the presentation with a due sense of proportion of the principles, ideas, and ideals of the controversy rather than in a final treatment of any one topic."

The periodical press has teemed with articles on the controversy, and most of them have taken position in accordance with party affiliations. The "Saturday review" has been a consistent supporter of the Chamberlain scheme. It announces in an advertisement that "its policy is the policy of the greatest Secretary of State the Colonies ever had; and is supported by many of the chief daily, weekly, and monthly periodicals."

The other leading weeklies, the *Spectator* and the *Speaker*, are ranged with the opposition.

The following monthly magazines contain articles favorable to the Chamberlain policy: "Blackwood's Edinburgh magazine," the "Nineteenth century and after," and the "National review." The "Magazine of Commerce, an illustrated monthly for men of affairs," which is devoted to "the advancement of commerce," contains numerous articles in favor of the Chamberlain plan.

The "Economic review," London, and the "Economic journal, journal of the Royal Economic Society," admit articles on both sides of the question.

The "Economist," "Fortnightly review," "Contemporary review," "Edinburgh review," "Independent review," and the "Westminster review," are on the side of the opposition.

Among Chamberlain's most ardent supporters are Sir Gilbert Parker, C. Arthur Pearson, and W. A. S. Hewins. The present List contains references to magazine articles written by them in advocacy of the fiscal policy. The index will direct to these articles.

Some of the leading magazine writers in opposition are Augustine Birrell, Winston S. Churchill, Leonard Courtney, Sir Robert Giffen, G. Shaw Lefevre, J. A. Spender, and Lucien Wolf.

Statistics of trade are given in the following official publications of the British government:

"Annual statement of the trade of the United Kingdom and British possessions;" "Monthly trade and navigation accounts;" "Monthly trade and navigation accounts of foreign countries and British possessions;" "The Board of trade journal;" "Statistical abstract for the United Kingdom in each of the last fifteen years;" "Statistical abstract for the several colonial and other possessions of the United Kingdom in each year;" "Statistical abstract relating to British India;" "Statistical abstract for the principal and other foreign countries in each year."

Elaborate statistical tables, with special reference to present fiscal conditions in Great Britain, are printed in the *Financial Reform Almanack*.

A. P. C. GRIFFIN,  
*Chief Bibliographer.*

HERBERT PUTNAM,  
*Librarian of Congress.*  
WASHINGTON, D. C., *April 23, 1904.*

# LIST OF REFERENCES ON THE BRITISH TARIFF MOVEMENT

(CHAMBERLAIN'S PLAN)

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