

the sovereign rights and powers of the people as against both the sovereignty of the State, as such, and that of the Federal Government. They are the people's bill of rights.

Conditions Have Changed.

In the last 120 years conditions have greatly changed. Electricity and steam, the telegraph, telephone, railroad and steamboat have established media of instantaneous intercommunication of ideas and rapid co-operation of action of the individual units of society.

Centralization of government, business and the individual units of society is the inevitable result incident to the evolution of civilization. With this centralization comes increased power, and to insure the proper use of same it must be correlated with increased responsibility and accountability, which should go together.

Responsibility and Accountability Must Go Together.

To insure good service, responsibility and accountability must go together. Whatever an individual is responsible for he should to the same degree be accountable for. Under delegated government he is accountable to the political boss, who in most cases is but the agent of the largest campaign contributor, at best a shifting accountability, because of the relative fluctuations of contributions and contributors. Under popular government like the Oregon system the accountability is always to the composite citizen—individual unknown—always permanent, never changing, the necessitated result being that the public servant must serve the composite citizen who represents general welfare or be recalled, where the recall exists, or fail of re-election where an efficient direct primary exists.

The greater the centralization of power the wider should be the distribution of accountability. Where the accountability is to the individual, the payment will be personal, meaning necessarily special privilege or serving a selfish interest. Where the accountability in government is to the composite citizen—that is to say, the electorate, or, in corporate business, to all the stockholders—the inevitable result is necessitated service for the general welfare of all, or the earliest possible elimination of the servant, whether public or corporate.

Accountability Secured Through Direct Primary.

I repeat that the securing of proper accountability of government and corporate officials is one of our greatest national problems. The solution is simple. In government, direct accountability of all public servants to party and general electorates. This can only be secured by the people selecting all their public servants through direct primaries and minimizing the misuse of money through comprehensive corrupt practices acts, with the ultimate absolute elimination of all

political machines, conventions and caucuses. In business, rigid responsibility of the commercial force to the police force of society. In corporation management, primary responsibility to government, equal obedience to laws and equal accountability to stockholders, giving the Government and the stockholders the fullest publicity of its operations, including absolute honesty and simplicity of its accounts, thus protecting the rights of the people and insuring to all the stockholders proportional enjoyment in the fruits of successful management, resulting in far greater stability for values and an infinitely greater market for its securities.

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TOM L. JOHNSON.

J. W. Bengough in *Toronto Globe* of April 17.

Another Captain of the Host
Has fallen, broken sword in hand,
'The Champion of the Right and Just,
A warrior grand;
Full victor-crowned in hearts of all who prize the
brave in every land.

Not what he did, but what he dreamt,
And what attempted, made him great;
His smiling, genial contempt
Of rich estate;
His wit, his wholesome mirth, his pluck, his fine
devotion to the state.

No pallid martyr-face he wore,
This homespun hero, blithe and gay,
Though pains and penalties he bore
For many a day,
And dead at last, a martyr true to freedom's holy
cause he lay.

The age he served was not unstirred
By his great life; that poet cry,*
"A man is passing!" was a word
That found reply;
A man, indeed, who loved his kind and blessed
the world in passing by.

*Vide Edmund Vance Cooke's poem so entitled. See *The Public*, April 7, page 325.

BOOKS

PEACE SOCIETIES AND THE TARIFF.

The Folly of Building Temples of Peace with Untempered Mortar. By John Bigelow. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York. 1910.

The Peace Societies, writes Mr. Bigelow, are building with "intempered mortar." Let them read Ezekiel, chapter xiii, and learn their own vanity. For vain is "the concoction of peace organizations with the left hand while deliberately and persistently waging a flagrant tariff war against every commercial nation, not excepting

our own, by striving simultaneously to support our government by duties levied upon foreign merchandise which we are persistently striving to exclude from our markets."

Morally, the tariff is an abomination. It stirs up constant discord among nations. It dulls the moral sensibilities of our people. "The tariff puts a high price upon the foreign article here. It is one of the plainest principles of economics that there is no room in any market for two prices for the same commodity. Therefore the Yankee manufacturer has but to produce a commodity having an external resemblance to the European article and offer it on the market as genuine, but at a price just enough lower to attract the poor and the ignorant consumer and the knavish shopkeeper. . . . We have established an international reputation for the manufacture of rubbish."

Commercially, the tariff is "a more gigantic delusion than the Ptolemaic theory of astronomy." It has swept our great commercial navy from the seas. "In 1861, when we began to protect the country by a war tariff . . . we actually owned one third of the entire maritime tonnage of the world." To-day of the twelve great maritime countries only Russia is poorer in ships than we,—and strange coincidence—only Russia has higher import duties.

Fatal delusion! Within our nation, Labor wars with Capital, her natural ally; because Protection is for the strong and, therefore, Famine for the weak.

In Part II Mr. Bigelow offers his substitute for the revenue tariff. Single Tax? No. Partnership of the government, general or local, in all industrial enterprises which involve the partial or whole monopoly of any "land or water or sun or atmosphere." For "these are the capital of the whole nation." The remaining chapters discuss the application of this method to industry.

Delight in the author's classic style, scholarly wit and impatient wisdom tempt to impertinent praise.

ANGELINE LOESCH GRAVES.

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INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

International Arbitral Law and Procedure. Being a Resume of the Procedure and Practice of International Commissions, and Including the Views of Arbitrators upon Questions arising under the Law of Nations. By Jackson H. Ralston, Late American Agent Pious Fund Case, Umpire of the Italian-Venezuelan Claims Commission, Editor of "Venezuelan Arbitrations of 1903," "French-Venezuelan Arbitration under Protocol of 1902," etc. Published by Ginn & Co., Boston and London. 1910.

Mr. Ralston's book is a pioneer in its field, but the field seems destined to become the widest and most important within the whole scope of international law. To review such a work critically is hardly within our province as a non-professional

periodical; but its interesting qualities for the general student are evident from a glance over the table of contents, and its trustworthiness is amply attested by the standing of the author.

The author's purpose is to make a concise statement and explanation of all the points decided in international arbitrations which in any important degree offer a basis for international law. It is not to maintain any theory. As he declares, it is "to place before the reader all of the findings of arbitrators upon propositions presented to them, to the end that the student or practitioner may be informed relative to all points so far developed in discussions before international commissions."

Over and above the value of the book to lawyers and professional diplomats, and its interest to students, it has special claims upon the attention of advocates of international peace.

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"BEFORE BOOKS AND AFTER BOOKS IS THE HUMAN SOUL."

Optimos. By Horace Traubel, New York. B. W. Huebsch, Publisher. Price, \$1.50; postage, 10c.

Walt Whitman's mantle seems to have fallen on his faithful friend who in those last months of sacred service entered into soul confidences with "the good gray poet" of whose wise sayings he has elsewhere made a happy record. Yet, it may be said that in his joyous philosophy of life, no less than in his fluent and poetical expression Horace Traubel out-Whitmans Whitman. Freedom from the shackles of measure and rhyme permits the fuller outflow of individual thought and fancy on the familiar subjects quite exhaustively treated. Perhaps here is the danger of rhymeless liberty—the temptation to garrulity which, without striking originality, may run into the sandy desert of Tupper's "Proverbial Philosophy."

But through these rhymeless yet rhythmical poems whose very titles touch the quick and vital issues of human experience there sounds the under tone of an exulting joy and gladness in life which rises often to a rolling organ peal of praise and triumph. The common every day things, so seldom caught up into the poet's heaven, are wrapped in clouds of glory, though the words of the psalmist to be sure, are plain, simple and matter-of-fact enough. It is the spirit within that gives the vision of glory. Whoever is able to come into the atmosphere of soul which pervades the poet's world of "Optimos" will find comfort and cheer and strength and inspiration enough to return again and again for the blessing of human faith and love that are hidden there.

Space does not permit even the naming of titles, and the transcription of striking passages that re-