

who have accumulated it by business methods, very few of which will bear the light of heaven. The refusal of the gift of a Rockefeller, as a protest against the methods of the Standard Oil company, while accepting the small sums of less widely known individuals, acquired by cutting coupons from bonds that represent very much the same business spirit and method, is on a par with a good deal of childish reform that only makes itself conspicuous without changing the drift of things. The proper thing to do with the gift is to make it useful in educating those whom the institution influences, in the laws of use and justice and the demands of the public good, and in changing so far as possible the current notions of business honor and integrity to better ideas of the obligations of service. . . . It is the sycophantic spirit that cringes to the rich donor that is to be despised. . . . Nor is it necessary to assume that Mr. Rockefeller, or other men, who have amassed riches by methods that are unfair to others and subversive of the public good, are in themselves worse than those who have been worsted in the nefarious game that pretty much all are playing. They are part of a system; and if they are moved to endow educational institutions, or churches, their money can be freed from taint by being used in independent investigation and exposition of the laws of social and spiritual well-being, even though these laws condemn the system.

PRIVATE FORTUNES.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Sept. 12.—It is very clear that the just limit to private fortunes is the total that men can justly acquire. It is not the amount of money that a man has that stamps him as a wrongdoer. His misdeeds are measured by the extent to which he has capitalized special privileges. The equal use of equal opportunities cannot become a menace to society. Indeed it is only upon that basis that justice can be established among men. It is not the large fortune that must be railed at. It is the fortune that counts in its holdings the wealth that belongs to other people that measures a great injustice. No one can speak special privileges and justice in the same breath.

TOLSTOY'S LAND REFORM LETTER.

(Glasgow) Land Values (s. t.), September. —In the article "A Great Iniquity" by Leo Tolstoy, he states his regret that, though Henry George is recalled to mind in a few places, including, as he puts it, "here and there in Scotland, the number of his adherents dwindles smaller and smaller." We can only assume that Tolstoy is not supplied with the news of the movement for the taxation of land values, and wonder why! Within recent years in Great Britain no other question has made greater progress than the one set forth by Henry George, on our public platforms 20 years ago. Political Associations, Trades' Unions, and Co-operative Congresses have frequently declared in favor of George's proposal as a just and practical step in legislation based on a sound theory of individual and social life. In these great organizations expressing so fully the active life and struggle of the masses of the people to maintain their present economic and political status and to aim at further advances, Henry George's teaching is well remembered and continues to make progress in the public mind, notwithstanding the obstacle named by Tolstoy, "the noisy teaching of socialism." So well is Henry George's doctrine established, that even the representative Socialists, when the question of taxing land values is brought specifically before our local rating councils, are among its faithful supporters, and without any socialistic, so-called reserva-

tion or amendment. Some 500 of these rating bodies, including the most important of our city councils, are now proclaiming George's teaching, and in a way that commands the cooperation and support of the Leagues specially organized to carry his teaching to a successful issue.

MISCELLANY

SOCIAL SONNETS.

For The Public.

I.

With deep-eyed prophet-vision o'er the sea
The bearded Tolstoy muses on the form,
Gigantic looming, or in calm or storm,
Of the sublime torch-bearing "Liberty—"
Barthold's noble pledge of amity;
The symbol and the promise of the West,
Where men not are, but some day shall be,
blest;

Where freedom is not yet, but yet shall be.
"Aye," cries the Seer of Polyana, "when
America shall know and understand
God's justice, and the equal rights of men
To live, to labor and to use the land;
Then shall she re-name Liberty as Right,
And honor George, who gave the torch its
right."

J. W. BENGOUGH.

"GRAFT" IN JOHN ADAMS'S TIME.

Not an inappropriate comment on conditions in this year of grace is to be found in the following extract from a letter of John Adams (later President Adams) to his wife Abigail, of date of October 8, 1776 (Tuesday). Is not the suggested perdition even now adumbrated in fulfillment?

The spirit of venality you mention is the most dreadful and alarming enemy America has to oppose. It is as rapacious and insatiable as the grave. We are in the "faece Romuli, non republica Platonis." This predominant avarice will ruin America, if she is ever rumed. If God Almighty does not interfere to control this universal idolatry to the mammon of unrighteousness, we shall be given up to the chastisements of His judgments. I am ashamed of the age I live in.

READER.

THE "ANTI-PASS" ATTITUDE BECOMES RESPECTABLE.

Editorial in the New York Evening Post of Sept. 7.

About two years ago, a Congressman-elect from Brooklyn, received in the ordinary routine of public business a railroad pass. Regarding its proffer as insulting, he sent it back and made public a rousing statement of his views on the pass question. At once and very naturally, he was given the nickname of "Anti-Pass Baker"—but instead of a help, his sudden fame was a handicap to him, his perhaps over-vehement statements of excessively radical views were not taken seriously in Congress, and he finished his term with the pass evil as firmly entrenched as ever. These events are recalled by the fact that Gov. Folk

of Missouri has just now done what the Brooklyn Congressman did in 1903—refused passes for himself and his staff, but his action is received not with ridicule, but with serious and approving comment. If the public refusal of passes was right in one case, it was certainly right in the other, and the personality of the officials who chose this course ought not to have anything to do with the case. The different attitude is traceable to our peculiar and often irrational insistence on practicality. By putting boodlers in jail, Mr. Folk earns the right to say that public officials ought not to accept passes. We are curiously afraid of listening to any one who may be thought a doctrinaire or a "crank."

THE RUSSIAN MOUJIKS' CONCEPTION OF LAND TENURE.

An extract from Stepniak's "Russian Peasantry."

The Russian popular conceptions of ladd tenure, though they may seem somewhat heterodox to a western lawyer or modern economist, are exactly the same as those which in past times prevailed among all European nations before they happened to fall victims to somebody's conquest. Russian peasants hold that land, being an article of universal need, made by nobody, ought not to become property in the usual sense of the word. It naturally belongs to, or, more exactly, it should remain in the undisturbed possession of, those by whom, for the time being, it is cultivated. If the husbandman discontinues the cultivation of his holding he has no more right over it than the fisher over the sea where he has fished, or the shepherd over the meadow where he has once pastured his flock.

"GEORGE'S DAY IS IN THE FUTURE."

The Public's reprint of the great letter of Tolstoy* is a notable pronouncement—a sign of the times which cannot fail to have a weighty influence.

Personally, I grow more and more convinced of the basic principle of Henry George's epoch-making work, and more and more convinced that the recognition of this principle is slowly but surely spreading among thoughtful men. George's day is in the future. When the next realignment of political parties really takes place in this country, I trust to see a plank in the platform of the reform party in some way recognizing this principle, if only in a most moderate form. The times are fast ripening for such a recognition of the principle, and the

* The Public of Aug. 10.

logic of events will fast enough push the thin edge of the wedge home.

Curiously enough, I find a striking confirmation of Tolstoy's view of the role which Russia is to play in the restoration of the land to the people. In a noble volume of lecture-sermons by Dr. Crapsey, of Rochester, which is just out:

The inert mass of the Russian people is moving with the slowness, it may be, of a glacier, but, like the glacier, it is moving and grinding under its dead weight ancient tyrannies and worn-out customs. There is more to hope from Russia than from any other Christian country to-day. Its reformation in the church and revolution in the state are yet to come, and when they do come they will be far more radical than the reformation and revolution in the west. In the next generation we may look to Russia for a new birth of religion and a new birth of liberty. ["Religion and Politics," pp. 129 and 140.]

R. HEBER NEWTON.

East Hampton, N. Y., Sept. 3, 1905.

WHEN LOVE IS GONE.

Here are an old man and woman who boarded the train some stations back. The man sits by himself and the woman occupies a seat in front of him. Once in awhile on the journey the woman turns and says something. The man grunts a reply. There is no sign of companionship. There are no thoughtful attentions, no tokens of affection. The romance of their life is played out. They remain together by force of law, or of habit, or of necessity; but the old love is speechless and the marriage is void.

The night has a thousand eyes,
The day but one;
Yet the light of a whole world dies
When day is done.

The mind has a thousand eyes,
The heart but one;
Yet the light of a whole life dies
When love is gone.

Last summer I lay in a boat, while the sun was going down, on a lake in the Dakotas. The west was crimson. The green bluffs arose on either side, and there was not a breath on the water. I heard the sound of oars, and, looking, saw that old, old picture, the man and the maid. The boat was run ashore beneath a leafy louver, and there in the shadow of a great tree, the hush of evening upon them, and the gold fading in the west, sat the man and the maid. And I in my boat thought of those divine stanzas of Burns to Mary in Heaven, and I uttered a silent benediction upon those young lives, and I followed them in fancy from that dream-place to the village church, and I heard the minister speak those fateful words—"husband and wife," and,

I saw the man take the ring with trembling fingers, and I saw a tear on the cheek of the maid, and I said: "This is beautiful, this is holy."

But I know a more heavenly vision than that. It is when a couple with the weight of years upon them, sit in the twilight of life, as chivalrous and tender as in the days of their youth.

I honor the chivalry of gray hairs. I stand in awe of that love which grows deeper and gentler with the ripening years.

That wealth of sympathy which throws the sheen of romance about the end of life, and holds in sweet companionship hearts that have loved and labored together—that is the divinest thing on earth, that is the promise of Heaven.

May such marriages in increasing number be the blessing of the race, that love, having no need of human law, will reign supreme at last—king, by divine right, of the hearts of men.

HERBERT S. BIGELOW.

THE CANADIAN HIGH SCHOOLS ARE NOT UNLIKE OUR OWN.

A private letter from J. F. Thompson, Classical Master of the High School at Bowmanville, Ont., published by the writer's permission.

Advocacy of the principles of a pure and sturdy democracy is as much needed in Canada as in the United States; for here, as elsewhere, the birthright of the people—control of natural monopolies, and free access to nature's storehouse, the land—has been handed over by so-called popular representatives to be exploited by private greed and corporate cupidity.

Would you permit me in this connection to call your attention to a phase in the great struggle against plutocracy which is not, as a rule, emphasized.

I allude to the general tendency of public and high school teaching in attempting to inculcate the principles of loyalty and patriotism. However it may be in the United States, the schools in this country, especially since the late South African war, are being used as active instruments in an imperialistic propaganda. No effort is being spared to impress the minds of pupils with the belief that whatever is right; that present conditions and tendencies in this grand country of ours cannot be improved; that war is a glorious thing; that the chief duty of a citizen is to support his country's quarrel, no matter what its origin; and that a nation's greatness is measured by its ability to enslave others and appropriate their posses-

sions. Any attempt to call attention to social inequalities and economic abuses would be here regarded as rank treason, and the teacher who might venture on such a forbidden field would be taking his professional life in his hands.

Public opinion, I believe, can be more efficiently molded by work done in the public schools than by all the efforts put forth in editorial sanctums. Our first impressions are our abiding ones, and if plutocratic influences surround our children, it matters comparatively little what democratic influences may be brought to bear in later life. And right here we may see an explanation of the fact that writers with plutocratic and oligarchic tendencies are more easily able to influence popular thought than are the advocates of democracy; for the former are working along established lines of thought, while the mental attitude of the latter is strange, and consequently repellent.

Is it for advertising purposes merely that our captains of industry are endowing institutions of learning, and, consequently, cementing their control over them? No; consciously or unconsciously they are being led by the surest of class instincts along the readiest road to lasting power and dominion. The millions which plutocracy is lavishing upon education are not gifts, but investments, than which no other will bring in surer dividends.

In my opinion the most promising field for democratic work is in the direction of the public schools. Let us work for the coming of the time when democratic influences shall prevail there; when blood guiltiness will no longer be glorified under the name of patriotism, and when the youth of the land shall be taught that the true greatness of a nation is measured by the general happiness of its citizens, and the true patriot is he who works with might and main to bring about those social and economic conditions which may render that general happiness more easy of attainment.

"TAINTED MONEY."

The ballad of "Gentle Alice Brown," from "The Bab Ballads," by W. S. Gilbert, published in book form in 1876.

It was a robber's daughter, and her name was Alice Brown,
Her father was the terror of a small Italian town;
Her mother was a foolish, weak, but amiable old thing;
But it isn't of her parents that I'm going for to sing.