

bank accounts and franchises. Franchises and bonds are mere powers—whether good or bad is foreign to the point—whereby the owners are able to command the labor of others. They do not add to wealth in general, but merely transfer ownership. So of book accounts and money, convenient as they are they could be destroyed without diminishing the aggregate of wealth. Being mere evidences of title, what the owners lost others would retain. Slaves, of course, are not wealth in this sense. And as to land, its value is no addition to the sum total of wealth, for that value stands for nothing but the power of the owner under the law to take wealth from others. What he gains they lose, and when they are considered together as a whole, there is neither gain nor loss. Wealth, considered as a social quantity, can be produced only by labor, and its sole source is land. Anything not so produced from that source is not social wealth. It may enrich individuals, and so be individual wealth; but inasmuch as the impoverishment of other individuals is to the same extent involved, it cannot be considered as wealth in general.

A St. Louis woman told the Household Economic association, at its Omaha meeting, that more can be done toward solving labor problems, "by woman making the home attractive and elevating its morals than by all the labor organizations, and anarchist and socialist societies put together." This St. Louis woman must be a reincarnation of the French princess who, when the populace cried for bread, asked why they didn't eat cake.

Four years ago the Pullman Palace Car company crowded down the wages of its men until they were driven to strike, efforts to bring about an arbitration being foiled by the company, whose officers insisted that they were compelled to reduce wages by the bad conditions of their business. Yet this same company report-

ed last week that in addition to the dividends which it has paid on its capital of \$36,000,000, mostly water, it finds in its assets a surplus of \$18,000,000, which it has now added to its capital stock, as a basis for future exorbitant dividends. If this were really a private business, the increase of capital stock would be nobody's affair but that of the stockholders. But the Pullman Palace Car company could make no such profit out of a competitive enterprise. It makes its enormous profits out of hidden "pulls" and secret contracts with railroad corporations, which are not private concerns at all, but public servants. The matter is therefore a public affair. But what is the public going to do about it?

In connection with the increase of capital stock of the Pullman Palace Car company, it will be interesting to note how the employes have been paid during the past year. According to the company's report, the average number of persons on the pay rolls at Pullman for the year was 5,012, and the wages paid was \$2,702,591—an average of less than \$540 for each person employed. These persons, according to the same report, turned over to the company during the year a manufactured product worth \$10,368,256. In the latter sum there enter, of course, not only the labor of the men but also items for materials and wear and tear of machinery; but these items do not account for the difference between something less than three millions in wages and something more than ten millions in product. If they did there would not be an \$18,000,000 surplus after paying dividends. It appears, then, that for less than three millions in wages the Pullman employes have turned over to the company not far from ten millions in product. Yet the company and its apologists would have the public understand that the wages of its men are paid by it. To a man up a tree, it would look as if the men paid their own wages, and a good deal besides.

The annual report of the secretary of the American Proportional Representation league is just out. This league has for its president William Dudley Foulke, of Richmond, Ind., and for its secretary Stoughton Cooley, of Maywood, Ill. Its vice presidents are William Lloyd Garrison and Charles Francis Adams, of Boston, and Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland. The object of the league is to promote the adoption of a simple election system, whereby voters may choose the candidate whom of all others they prefer, without risking the success of their party organization. Mr. Cooley's report shows that in Switzerland, where proportional representation is already in use in some cantons and cities, it is being extended to others, and that a recent attempt to abolish it in one of the cantons was overwhelmingly defeated. Spirited agitations also are in progress in France, Belgium and Germany, while Norway, Argentina and Brazil are in some form using the system for local elections. In Japan, the liberal party, the strongest single party there, is behind the proportional representation bill, which is soon to be reported. And in Tasmania the system was used in 1897 in two towns, under a temporary law, which is likely to be made permanent owing to the satisfactory result of the experiment.

An essential principle of proportional representation is that it gives the reformer in politics freedom to act within party lines. The voter, by making his party candidate his second choice, can vote for an independent whom he prefers, with full assurance that if the independent fails of election, the full force of his vote will go to the party candidate. On this point Mr. Cooley says in his report :

It is useless to rail at the voter for sticking to his party; but an appeal to support the best men in the party will seldom be made in vain, if a way is provided by means of which he can discriminate between the candidates of his own party without jeopardizing the principles for which it stands.

Principles are above men, and party politics will always stand before individual candidates. The free silver and the gold standard advocates will each support an inferior candidate on his own side rather than a superior one on the opposing; but neither of them would hesitate to support the better candidates on his own ticket if given the opportunity. This opportunity is denied so long as representatives are chosen from single districts or wards. No choice of candidates within the party is possible when but one is to be elected; it is then merely a choice of parties. But if the districts be made large enough to elect ten or more representatives, and these be taken from the several political parties, or bodies of voters, in proportion to the votes they poll, the successful men within the party being those standing highest on the party ticket, then it will be possible for the voter to discriminate among men as well as among parties.

We commented last spring upon the pamphlet which Jay D. Miller, of Oak Park, Ill., had then just issued, entitled "Finance and Transportation," referring to it as an intellectual mine which all parties to the controversy might profitably explore. This book has met with a most satisfactory sale, the first edition of 11,000 copies having been exhausted. Mr. Miller has just issued a second and revised edition. The price of the second edition is the same as that of the first—ten cents a copy, and one dollar for twenty—but several valuable additions have been made to the text. One of the most important of these relates to the Prussian railroads, which are under public ownership, showing that for the fiscal year 1896-97 they not only paid expenses and yielded to the disposition fund \$4,760,000, but that they also paid a full half of all other government expenses. To people who are beginning to feel that something is wrong in our transportation and money systems, Mr. Miller has supplied a book of inestimable value. It is so commended by such public men as Gov. Pingree, ex-Gov. Altgeld and Mayor Jones, of Toledo.

Kipling's poem on Adam-zad, "the bear that walked like a man,"

is an epoch-making poem if there ever was one. With a single powerful stroke he unmasks the false pretense of the Russian oligarchy in allowing the czar to put forth his proposals for disarmament. Since Peter the Great, it has been the undoubted ambition of Russia, as represented by her despotic government, to become the Rome of modern times—to rule the world. Patiently, year by year and century by century this ambition is being worked out; and neither violence nor fraud is put aside when a point is to be made. The recent plea for disarmament is plainly only a play in the game. It is as Kipling says: "There is no truce with Adam-zad, the bear that looks like a man." The reason there is and can be no truce, is because Adam-zad typifies the despotic nation of modern history, and between despotism and freedom there can never be any truce.

In Chicago the populist party is devoting itself pretty thoroughly to the single tax idea. We have already spoken of Clarence Moeller, the candidate for county assessor, who is making his campaign along single tax lines. Another populist candidate is doing the same thing. This is Johan Waage, who is running for representative in the legislature from the 11th senatorial district. Mr. Waage tells the people that "when much wealth is produced wages will be high, unless part of the product is taken from the laborer without recompense." This is a bottom truth, admirably stated. Let workingmen think it over and grasp its significance, and outbreaks like the Virden riot will become things of the past. There will be no occasion for riots when workingmen really get an increasing share of an increasing product.

The Post-Intelligencer of Seattle has discovered a brand new panacea for poverty. It proposes that every man who earns \$500 a year shall take care of one poor child, and of another for every additional \$500, men with

incomes of \$2,000 to add a widow or helpless aged woman to their list of dependents. This would be a magnificent poor house system; but if we understand the people of Washington they are not so ambitious to improve poor house systems as to get rid altogether of the necessity for poor houses. Stop legalized stealing, make the eighth commandment a living principal of social life, and no child, nor widow, nor aged helpless woman would welcome the patronizing charity of strangers.

These charity pleaders are fitly rebuked by ex-Congressman Tom L. Johnson, the millionaire monopolist, who says—

I don't believe in charity. It is merely another drink to a shaky man. What the world needs is justice, and not benevolence. I shall continue to decline to give checks to the eleemosynary institutions, and I leave no money to build churches and found libraries. My family will be well provided for, but the rest of my fortune, after my death as well as before, will be spent in trying to teach people how to stop me, and men like me, from robbing them. So long as it is permitted to any man to take what doesn't belong to him through monopolizing nature's resources, and the private ownership of public utilities, plenty of men of my kind will always be ready to jump in and do the stealing. My mission is to show the people how it is done, and to show them how they can put an end to the system which enriches me and impoverishes them

Commenting upon this sensible declaration of Johnson's, the Eclipse, of Campbell Hill, Ill., thoughtfully remarks:

The superficial thinker will say right off that Tom Johnson and men like Tom Johnson are to be held responsible for the possession of inordinate wealth; but this is not true when considered in the last analysis. They simply make use of conditions and opportunities (of monopoly) that society has supplied and encouraged. As long as the laws and customs of society are all shaped in the interests of special privilege, there will be no scarcity of men with scheming minds ready to take advantage of special privilege. Destroy the opportunity for monopoly, and you extirpate the power for robbery.

While the republican papers of Washington are fighting the amend-