

words with which he held out his handful of plutocratic corn to the hungry politicians of Illinois.

Some idea of the nature of that mysterious influence which monopoly corporations seem to exert upon business interests that are not monopolistic, was inadvertently given at a public dinner in Newark, N. J., a few evenings ago, by Thomas N. McCarter. This gentleman has been attorney general of the State, an office which he resigned for the purpose of becoming president of the Public Service Corporation, a gigantic body corporate which controls imperial franchise grants,—a profitable species of graft on a Brobdingnagian scale. Said Mr. McCarter, in his speech at the dinner mentioned, as subsequently verified by himself:

If the Public Service Corporation goes down as a result of movements to which I referred a few moments ago, down go the underlying securities, down goes individual after individual. Show me the bank in Hudson county that can stand up under it. That is the serious aspect. The banks have got these securities as collateral, the individuals have got the securities as investments.

Thus is lucidly explained the mystery of this nation-wide collusion between business interests and monopoly interests—two things that are in their nature absolutely hostile.

Monopoly interests rest upon grants of public rights as private privileges. These privileges can be made to hold much "water." Business men, instead of contentedly pursuing their legitimate business callings, invest in this "water," and banks accept it as collateral for business loans otherwise legitimate. Consequently, great volumes of legitimate business come to rest upon monopoly privileges, and monopolists are able to frighten masses of business men and their employes by threatening disaster to all business as a result of attacks upon privilege. Thus do the lion of monopoly and the lamb of business lie down together, with the lamb inside.

Congressman Baker should have the cordial support of every honest citizen, whether in or out of Congress, and of every honest newspaper, in his efforts (pp. 274, 289, 498) to break up that form of bribery which consists in giving railroad passes to public officials. It is useless to say that this is no bribery. Railroad corporations are not likely to load down public officials with passes unless it pays, and it can pay in only one way—by making the favored officials friends of the favoring corporations. Congressman Baker refused the pass that was offered him. He went further, and brought the matter before the Democratic caucus of the House. Most of these members were, like their Republican associates, well supplied with railroad passes, and they served the railroad interests by pigeon-holing Mr. Baker's resolution. Mr. Baker now challenges the House itself to take up the matter.

He has done this by offering a resolution, calling upon the judiciary committee to make an inquiry into the question of the lawfulness of pass-bribery. Mr. Baker's resolution, introduced on the 26th, is as follows:

Whereas, the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad company, through its division counsel, George E. Hamilton, on July 21, 1903, did send and tender to Robert Baker, a member of this House, representing the Sixth New York district, a card of travel good for 1903, the same being a free pass over all the lines of the said company east of Pittsburg; and whereas, the letter accompanying such card of travel declared that "heretofore, under the regulations of the company, annual passes have not been issued to members-elect until the Congress to which they were elected had convened," and that "this regulation has been modified, and from now on annuals will be sent to members residing in company's territory the first day of July following their election," thereby admitting that the sending and tendering of such passes had become an established practice of the company; and whereas, the tendering by and receiving of passes from common carriers appears to constitute a contravention of chapter 382, of the act of March 2, 1889, and of other United States statutes; therefore be it—

Resolved: That the judiciary com-

mittee of the House be and are hereby directed to forthwith investigate, and report at the earliest practicable moment, in what manner and to what extent this act of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad company, through its division counsel, constitutes an infraction of chapter 382, of the act of March 2, 1889, or any other statute of the United States. And that, if it shall find that such tendering of a pass is a violation of law, that the judiciary committee shall advise the House what action, if any, should be taken to instruct the attorney general to criminally prosecute the said Baltimore & Ohio Railroad company and the said George E. Hamilton, or any other officer or officers of said railroad company. And be it further—

Resolved: That in order to enable it to make the fullest investigation and report at an early date, the judiciary committee is hereby empowered to compel the attendance of persons, to send for papers, to take evidence under oath, and to sit as a full committee or by a subcommittee during the sessions of this House.

In the language of the street, it is now "up to" the judiciary committee of the House, some of whose members are doubtless well supplied with railroad passes, to put an end to this scandalous even if petty iniquity.

Senator Tillman is both right and brave in condemning Congressional appropriations for local fairs and shows. He is right in calling this a steal; for Congress does steal when it diverts public funds to private or local use. He is brave, because he does not allow his own vote for such a contribution to the metropolis of his own State to silence him. That is one of the good things about Tillman; no one can frighten him into approving wrong things, by pointing at him an accusing finger.

Following the completion of the tax assessment of New York city under the new system, which distinguishes land values from improvement values and is based upon full value (pp. 659, 676), the New York Tax Reform Association, 52 William street, has published a significant compilation relative to each borough, of the statistics revealed by this new

and enlightening assessment system. We tabulate the totals:

Valuation of real estate.....	\$1,798,344,789
Valuation of land.....	\$3,697,686,935
Valuation of improvements.....	\$1,100,657,854
Percentage of land valuation to valuation of real estate.....	77 per cent.
Area in acres.....	209,218
Population, census of 1900.....	3,437,202
Population per acre.....	16.4
Acreage value of land per acre.....	\$17,673
Average value of improvements per acre.....	\$5,213
Average value of land per capita.....	\$1,075
Average value of improvements per capita.....	\$320

It is difficult to realize the magnitude of values when they run into billions, without some concrete example. To say, therefore, that the bare land of greater New York is worth \$3,697,686,935, makes no great impression. Let us translate it, then, into farm values. Almost anyone can recall some well improved farm of say 100 acres and worth about \$50 an acre. Suppose we translate into such farm values that \$3,697,686,935 of New York land values, and see how much of the earth's surface those farms would cover. This would give us 738,537 \$5,000 farms of 100 acres each. As the area of about 6½ of these farms would make a square mile, we should have a path of those farms one mile wide and 113,621 miles long. Thus the naked land values of New York city represent a path of \$5,000 farms of 100 acres each, one mile wide and extending more than four times around the globe. When it is considered that other cities, towns and villages yield similar results in kind, and that hardly a foot of the habitable globe is left which does not command its price for the privilege of mere occupancy, there is something queer about the familiar contention, especially common in universities, that land is a factor of but little importance in modern industrial life.

The value of this new mode of assessment, simply as an improvement in fiscal methods is well expressed by the New York Commercial Advertiser of January 12, which says editorially:

The assessment figures made public yesterday show no startling general increase in realty valuations, and, but for

the novelty of the new plan of stating separately the value of the land and the total value of the real estate, would have aroused little interest. Even the new feature seems already accepted as a matter of course. The quietude of this reception is in remarkable contrast to the storm of opposition which was evoked by the mere suggestion of doing exactly what has been done. All sorts of objections were raised to the plan of making separate valuations and publishing the details of the work of the assessors. And yet, like that other remarkable reform of the Low administration—the assessing of real estate at its full value—it was the only intelligent thing to do. Quietly as the reform has been ushered in, however, its importance will be increasingly appreciated as time goes on. It is obvious, for instance, that the deputy tax commissioners cannot very well discriminate in assessing land values, when they are obliged to state these values, regardless of the improvements. Mere slavish copying of previous assessment rolls will no longer be sufficient. Taxpayers can readily make comparisons between the assessments on their own and their neighbors' property. Furthermore, in the event of legal proceedings being instituted by a taxpayer, better evidence will be available for substantiating such claims, and conversely, for upholding the valuation if it be right. The reform is another notable legacy from Mayor Low's administration to the cause of good government. Nor should the New York Tax Reform Association, which for years had been recommending it to previous administrations, be forgotten in the general congratulations.

This system has been adopted also by Detroit; and the results there show that there is nothing peculiar to New York in the vast difference between land values and improvement values. In New York, as shown above, the land values are 77 per cent., while the improvement values are only 23 per cent., of the total real estate value. In Detroit the proportion of land values is 59 per cent. and of building values only 41 per cent. The Detroit figures for 1903 are as follows:

Land.....	\$112,677,700
Buildings.....	77,519,360
Total real estate.....	\$190,197,060

These figures from Detroit and New York should be extremely interesting to those farmers who have been buncoed into believing that the exemption from taxation

of all property but land values would burden them with more taxes and let off the cities with less. The very reverse is the fact.

THE IMPRESSMENT OF ENEMIES INTO THE SERVICE OF TRUTH.

The Truth is ingenious in its manner of working. In presenting a new phase of itself to mankind it begins by choosing a few earnest workers who are ready to see it. But it does not trust the whole propaganda with them. It presses its enemies into its service by methods which lead them on to work even more vigorously for its cause than do many of its followers. One of these ways is the supplying of its advocates with a new set of telling phrases; these soon become current and reach the ears of the conservatives; the shrewd ones among them who fear loss to themselves from the triumph of the new truth immediately recognize danger; they see that the people will be won over if they are not blinded to the real meaning of these truth-carrying mottoes; so, with an air of great candor, they adopt the phrases themselves, giving them a meaning of their own. They thus lead their forces directly up to the stronghold of their enemy; and the fair-minded of their followers, at this close view, recognize the firmness of the ground on which their opponents are established, and, one by one, drop over to the other side.

Among those phrases is "equal opportunities." The conservative means, by this, equal opportunity, to each, to strive to monopolize everything himself. Under our government every person may be said to have equal opportunity to try the fight for the gain of those special privileges which will land him at the top of the pile of his prostrate companions, fallen in the struggle. This is what the advocate of special privileges means by the adopted phrase; but the progressive man means by it that special privilege shall be banished from the economic system.

Every time the conservative utters these words, or any others with which Truth is revealing a greater depth of its own nature than men have known before, that conservative is loosening a stone in the old landmark. It is