be bribed. The money thus furnished is procured either by subscriptions from rich outsiders, or by assessments upon the candidates themselves."

Of course, a man who furnishes money for such purposes does not furnish it out of disinterested love for the State. There must be an object, and that object is too often a dangerous one; he expects to get it all back with interest if he gets the office he seeks. Mr. Roosevelt tells of a Register of New York County, who testified under oath before a Legislative Committee that he had forgotten whether his campaign expenses had been over or under $50,000. Another County officer, questioned by the same Committee as to whether he performed his public duties faithfully, testified that he did so perform them "*whenever they did not conflict with his political duties*"—meaning by this, as his explanation showed, what he conceived to be his duties to his political organization and his political friends; in short, sacrificing the public interests to those of his political allies. The emoluments of some of these offices are immense. That for Sheriff is currently estimated at $100,000 a year. The County Clerk testified before this same Legislative Committee, of which Mr. Roosevelt was a member, that his office was worth $80,000 a year—sixty per cent. larger than the President's salary, and sixteen times as large as the salary of a Senator. "But, as a matter of fact," writes Mr. Roosevelt, "two-thirds of the money probably goes to the political organizations with which he is connected. The enormous emoluments of such officers are, of course, most effective in debauching politics."

WHERE ARE WE DRIFTING

New York is but a sample of what every large city of the Union is fast becoming. There is no fact more certain than that a Republican form of government cannot be built upon political corruption. Intelligence and morality at the ballot-box are the one *sine qua non*, without which a free and popular government is a delusive hope. We speak of the American Republic as an assured success; but, as a matter of

fact, has it yet passed the experimental stage? True, it has stood 110 years, and survived the shock of a terrible civil war. But will it survive this deadly corruption that is rotting away its very foundations? Three factors are to be encountered now and in the future that have been comparatively insignificant in the past, the unparalleled growth of large cities, the immense increase of our foreign element, and the frightful preponderance of the grog-shop in politics. Will these factors prove fatal? That depends on the length of time that is allowed to elapse before the remedy is found and applied. WHAT IS THE REMEDY FOR THIS CORRUPTION?

Several remedies will suggest themselves at once. One is the outlawry of the grog-shop, and thus the removal of what Mr. Roosevelt terms a "political headquarters" for the corrupt elements, and of what Mr. Halstead terms "political club-houses." Another remedy is the disfranchisement at once and forever of both the man who sells his vote *and the man who buys it.* A third remedy is the rigid maintenance of civil service reform. And last, though not least, the *purification of politics* by the grand uprising of the better part of society to put down the men who make politics a "trade," and seek their ends by "machine" tactics and corruption. These are specific remedies that can be applied at once and must be. No one of them is sufficient, perhaps not all of them will be; but they are most certainly efficient. They are long steps in the right direction.

One gleam of sunshine appears to cheer us in the hope of reformation for even New York City. The large vote for Henry George—nearly 70,000—fraught as it doubtless is with danger, shows at least that a large proportion of the toiling voters of this city, when there is at stake in election a *principle* in which they believe, will not sell their ballots. Few of the Henry George voters, probably, were bought; it is morally certain that most of them could have sold their votes in another direction. That they did not do so gives