

leaders last year about \$330,000, or an average of \$4,750 for each of the 72 leaders. The amount received at present is \$242,000, of which Tammany gets about \$119,000, the County Democracy \$90,000, and the Republicans \$32,000. This is the permanent investment in the leadership of the machines, while not less than \$750,000 more is invested in "political captains, leeches, and hangers-on." When the County Clerk and the Register were both feed offices, \$15,000 to \$40,000 was not regarded as too high a price to pay for them, and there were three or four persons who received from \$3,000 to \$5,000 each from these offices, who do no service whatever. According to Mr. Ivins' statement, the late John Kelly made each of these offices pay him \$10,000 a year for State election purposes.

Assessments are distinct from the moneys paid voluntarily by candidates, or that furnished through the machine. The Aldermanic office of late has been much sought after. The candidates in good years are assessed from \$15 to \$25 per election district. Assembly candidates, are assessed from \$5 to \$15. State Senators, from \$20 to \$30. Some years the cost of a Senatorial election is enormous. Thus, when Bradley and O'Brien ran, it is believed that each spent \$50,000.

"When Morrissey and Shell were running, Morrissey paid an assessment of \$10 per election district, while Shell paid one of \$50 per election district, and on the night before election paid \$2,500 to each of the Assembly district leaders in his Senatorial district, to guarantee the result. We all know how well he succeeded in guaranteeing it. In the last election at which Senators were elected, the Democratic candidates paid \$15 for each election district to Tammany Hall, and \$15 for each election to the County Democracy, and \$10 for each election district to Irving Hall. Their average assessment was \$500 apiece per Assembly district for the County Democracy and Tammany Hall, and \$10 per election district for Irving Hall. The Democratic candidates for the Senate alone thus paid over \$30,000 in assessments."

"Candidates for Congress are called upon to pay from \$15 to \$20 per election district, and when they are nominated by two or all of the organizations, to make the same contribution to each organization. When there is no union of the Democratic factions for election of members of Congress, each faction taxes its candidate from \$25 to \$30 in an election district. Can-

didates for judicial offices have paid as high as \$20,000. From \$10,000 to \$15,000 is the average assessment for the Superior and Common Pleas bench, while the assessment for the Supreme Court bench has frequently been higher than this. The assessment paid by the Comptroller at his election was \$10,000. Mayor Hewitt paid \$12,000 apiece to the County Democracy and to Tammany Hall, or \$24,000. Mr. Edison paid, or there was paid for his account, \$10,000 apiece to the County Democracy and Tammany Hall, and \$5,000 to Irving Hall, or \$25,000. Mayor Grace paid \$10,000 to the County Democracy when he last ran, and the Citizens' Committee of that year expended about \$10,000 of voluntary contributions. In 1880 Mayor Grace paid \$12,500 to Irving Hall and \$7,500 to Tammany Hall. In 1878 Mayor Cooper practically created a party, at what cost to himself he only knows. In 1876 Mayor Ely is reported not to have paid over \$5,000. John Reilly is said to have paid Tammany an assessment of \$40,000 for the nomination of Register in 1883.

"An average year would show the following assessments on the basis of two candidates only running in each district, and on the basis of the minimum assessment:

Two Aldermanic candidates at \$15 per district for 812 districts.....	\$24,360
Two Assembly candidates at \$10 per district for 812 districts.....	16,240
Two candidates for Senate or Congress at \$25 per election districts.....	40,600
Four candidates for Judgeship at \$10,000 each.....	40,000
Two candidates for Mayor at \$20,000 each	40,000
Two candidates for a county office such as Sheriff, County Clerk, or Register at \$10,000.....	20,000
Two candidates for Comptroller at \$10,000.....	20,000
Two candidates for District Attorney at \$5,000.....	10,000

Or, say a total of..... \$211,200

At the last election 219,992 votes were polled, and more than 20 per cent. of the voters received money for their election day services.

The moral of all this is evident. State and municipal authorities should provide for the necessary expenses of elections. But candidates should be prohibited from giving money for election purposes. It is a source of corruption. It fills our offices with bad men, men without conscience or character, simply because they have plenty of money to spend. The English law, limiting the amount to be spent and requiring a rigid accounting as to how it was spent, is one that we ought to strive to have enacted here.