

chandise and sold in "job lots." But every one in his position is naturally disposed to receive with suspicion charges made against men to whom he owes his election. It is but human, and by no means discreditable, that he should give Quay and Wanamaker the benefit of every possible doubt, and be ready to believe, what they are sure to tell him, that if their conduct were judicially investigated, they would be found blameless. Such men are always eager to be examined as long as nobody is waiting to examine them, and their eagerness always produces a considerable impression on their friends. Consequently, an investigation would probably do as much good in informing President Harrison's judgment as in rousing popular indignation. It would bring before him clearly the tremendous fact that this Government has reached the parting of the ways, and that on him the great duty devolves of deciding which it shall take. The election has at last made the country aware, not only that the present close division of parties in doubtful States makes the temptation to bribery almost overwhelming, but that we have among us a very large body of rich men who think it no harm to bribe in defence of what they consider their own interests, and a large body of poor men who have been bribed so often that the association of duty with the ballot has faded from their memories.

With this situation Gen. Harrison will have to deal. His manner of appointing his Cabinet and filling the other leading offices will do a great deal either to encourage or discourage those in both parties who think that the Government must be saved now or never; that after another plunge into the slough, even the most hopeful will give up the struggle. Hitherto, we have only had to contend with the vague expectation of men who subscribe largely to campaign funds, that they will get an equivalent in public honors and salaries in case of victory, and who modestly conceal their pretensions and make no public sign if they are disappointed. But to-day we are confronted with actual purchasers, holding what they believe to be "a call" on the President of the United States for such offices as they may designate, in return for cash. Nothing would strengthen Gen. Harrison so much in dealing with such a pair as proof of their guilt under oath, and we believe that if the House will do its duty such proof can be had.

AN EXTRAORDINARY CONFESSION.

THE *Mail and Express* is the accredited evening organ of the Republican party in this city. If the editor does not contribute wisdom to its councils, he undoubtedly contributes money to its chest. He knows all about its receipts and expenditures, and when he talks about the way its money goes, he undoubtedly speaks by the card. This makes a story to which he gave currency in his columns on Thursday, the most extraordinary, as far as our recollection goes, in the history of politics. It is this: That

the National Committee, on the Saturday before election, paid to "a Republican State leader" the sum of \$150,000, none of which went to the County Committee or to the "necessary and legitimate" expenses of the campaign—all of these having been met by a distinct donation of \$40,000 from the National Committee, and contributions from individuals; that the \$150,000 referred to was to be used in the purchase of three "movements," viz., the "James O'Brien movement," estimated at 10,000 votes; the "Coogan movement," estimated at 30,000; and the "John J. O'Brien movement," an unknown quantity, but commonly called in politics the Eighth or "banner district." Now, these "movements," though bought and paid for, were not delivered. Says the chronicler:

"As to the Coogan movement, it promised 20,000 more votes for Harrison and Miller than it delivered, and collapsed, after polling about 9,000 for Coogan for Mayor, into the arms of Tammany Hall, which presented the only other Romanist for that office.

"The James O'Brien movement promised 10,000 more votes than it delivered.

"The John J. O'Brien movement kept its word pretty well for Harrison, miserably for Miller, and not at all for Erhardt.

"In other words, the Eighth District Republicans were sold for Governor to Hill party, and wholly to Grant for Mayor, and the last for the same reason that the Coogan movement went to him, that he was a Romanist. Of course the H. J. Grant party assumed and paid all the so-called campaign expenses of both the Coogan and J. J. O'Brien movements which came to Grant, and this in utter disregard of the fact that the Republicans had already paid them. It is also probable that the Hewitt people paid dearly for the song of success as sung to them by both of these sirens.

"If Col. Cruger and Capt. Erhardt will move for the trial and expulsion of John J. O'Brien from the Republican Committees, it is more than probable that his ability to abuse the confidence of the Republicans of this city will be terminated by his performance of November 6, 1888.

"The success of the Republican party in this city is to be achieved by educating the masses in Republican doctrine, by the circulation of the Republican newspapers, and the continual holding of mass-meetings; and we hope we have seen the last of attempts to buy votes *en bloc*, in all which attempts for the past twenty-six years we have been buying experience and not votes—been filling and trimming the lamps of our opponents and emptying our own."

It will be observed that the reason here given for abandoning "the attempts to buy votes *en bloc*," which have now been made for twenty-five years, is not that the practice of buying votes "*en bloc*" or otherwise is illegal, or immoral, or disgraceful, or un-American, or sinful, but that the last and most expensive attempt did not succeed. Not one word of condemnation of the practice of buying votes on moral or patriotic grounds does the article contain. Republicans are warned away from it, and urged to try the plan of "circulating Republican newspapers and the continual holding of mass-meetings," but solely because the commission agents who get the money do not keep their bargains. A more extraordinary revelation, we think, has never been made, and the naïveté with which it is made adds to its value. The system of purchase cannot be a thing which the Republican leaders in this city think it worth while to keep secret, or the editor of the *Mail and Express* would hardly be familiar with it; and we may be sure that the arguments he urges against it, in

his simple-minded way, are but repetitions of what he has heard in the more familiar talk of the local managers.

There was a time when we should have said that "these abominable principles and this more abominable avowal of them" would rouse in this city, from respectable men of all parties, a storm of indignation, when the very stones of Broadway and Fifth Avenue, at least, would rise and mutiny. If any one had predicted in 1872, that by 1888 a Republican organ would declare against wholesale bribery by Republicans in the city simply as a poor business venture, and confess that it had for years been carried on with the connivance or acquiescence of men like Messrs. Walter Howe, Theron G. Strong, C. N. Bliss, Elihu Root, Edward Mitchell, and Van Rensselaer Cruger, we venture to say that he would, in almost any respectable company, have been denounced as a slanderer. And we confess that, had he predicted that this miserable story could be told by a Republican newspaper in this city, without drawing forth from these gentlemen immediate and indignant denials, either of complicity or knowledge, we too should have said he was a malignant pessimist. We should have told him scornfully that on the morning after this fatuous revelation of iniquity appeared, all the gentlemen we have mentioned, and a score of others, would either publicly have given the lie to every word of it, or have declared that if such practices were carried on they were carried on without their cognizance, and that, in testimony of their shame and confusion, they would leave no stone unturned to bring the perpetrators of them to justice. But thus far the matter, we grieve to say, appears to excite no sensation whatever. The *Better Element* is silent. The *Tribune* is silent. The Union League Club, and especially "the Committee on Political Reform" (Heaven save the mark!), is silent. The Boys are silent. But unless this Government is doomed to shameful ruin, this silence will not last long. The grief with which the daily revelations of the way in which the late election was conducted, both by victors and vanquished, is filling tens of thousands of American hearts will, before all is over, become flaming wrath. The rascals who buy and sell the Government will have to run or hide, and so will the wretched hypocrites who roll their eyes and propose to quit the business because their coparceners steal the money.

THE SUGAR TRUST AND THE SUGAR TAX.

WHEN Senator Allison made his speech introducing the Finance Committee's substitute for the Mills bill, on the 8th of October last, he laid much stress on the fact that the Senate bill was more in the interest of the consumers of sugar than the House bill was. He charged that the House bill was drawn in the interest of the Sugar Trust, and that the Senate bill would make a difference of \$6,000,000 in favor of the public as compared with the Mills bill, and a still greater difference as compared with the present law. Upon this showing the Senator justly felicitated

tated himself and his associates and the country; for what he said was true, as we shall now show. The subject is a complicated one, but we will endeavor to make it plain.

Imported sugars may be roughly classified as raw and refined, the raw being either wholly unfit for human consumption, or so repulsive to sight and taste that it will not be consumed in that state by civilized people. The tax on raws is imposed according to the polariscope test, beginning at 75 degrees for the lowest grade, at which the present duty is 1 4-10 cent per pound. For each degree higher than 75 there is an additional duty of 4-100 of a cent per pound up to 100 degrees, where the duty is 2 4-10 cents per pound. From this point onward the classification is by the Dutch standard of color; No. 13 to No. 16 being $2\frac{3}{4}$ cents per pound duty, No. 20 being 3 cents, and all above 16 to No. 20 being $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents. The protection accorded to the Trust is the margin between the duty on raw and refined. It is fair to take the duty on sugar of 96 degrees polariscope test as the standard for raw. The following table will show the margin of protection allowed per hundred pounds under the present law, under the Mills bill, and under the Senate bill:

	Raw. (96 deg.)	Refined.	Protec- tion.
Present duty	\$2 24	\$3 50	\$1 26
Mills bill.....	1 82.2	2 80	0 97.8
Senate bill	1 12	2 00	0 88

The Mills bill reduces the bonus which the present law gives to the Trust 28 2-10 cents per hundred pounds. The Senate bill reduces it 88 cents per hundred pounds. Mr. Allison's contention is accordingly justified: the Senate bill reduces the protection to the Sugar Trust nearly 10 cents per hundred pounds more than the Mills bill does. We will now quote exactly what Mr. Allison said on this subject, viz.:

"The difference between the substitute which we propose and the House bill as respects sugar is a difference of \$6,000,000 in the aggregate per annum to the consumer. By the House bill the tax upon the people of the United States is \$6,000,000 per annum more than the Senate substitute, as the duty is paid by the people who consume the sugar, and, in my judgment, it is practically the only case in all these dutiable lists where the consumer pays the duty; and, as the Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Hoar] very justly and very properly observes, it bears heavily upon the poor and upon those who have large families. Six million dollars to whom? Where will it go? It is between 13 and 16. Why is it that the refining interest insists all the time upon that relation of 13 and 16? It is that the centrifugal sugars can come in between 13 and 18, and thus go into consumption without the intervention of the refiner. Therefore it is that they want to make the line of demarcation strongest between 13 and 16, in order that all sugars that come in here may be raw sugars, and thus pass through the processes of refining in our country; and I repeat that the Senate substitute makes a difference of one-fifth of a cent, or \$6,000,000 per annum, in favor of the consumers of sugar.

"What is the effect of that? According to the census of 1880, there was twenty-seven and a half millions of capital invested in sugar refining in the United States. I have not been able to get the accurate statistics between then and now, but I assume that there is certainly not more than \$50,000,000 of capital engaged in that industry now. So this concession made to sugar-refiners in the House bill, as compared with the Senate bill, is 12 per cent.

upon all the capital of all the sugar refineries in the United States; and yet the Senators who have made the minority report upon this bill, including the separate and distinct report of the Senator from Kentucky, endorse these House provisions as respects the question of sugar, and then they denounce all Trusts. Why, they legislate by the provisions of this House bill \$6,000,000 into the pockets of the Sugar Trust, 12 per cent. per annum upon their capital, and take it out of the pockets of the people of the United States, and denounce the Republican party and this substitute for administering to and fostering Trusts! Consistency is a jewel that is not found in this minority report any more than it is in the report of the Senator from Kentucky."

We trust that the public, without regard to sex, color, or previous condition of servitude, will take notice of this aspect of the sugar tax and of the proposed changes in the same. The Sugar Trust is, in our judgment, the most pernicious and extortionate of all the protected Trusts; it has greater powers of mischief than any other, and it is doing more mischief than any other. The American people have a gloomy prospect ahead, in any case, in dealing with these daring and unscrupulous combinations, but the prospect will be gloomier still if there is any backing down on the part of the Senate from the position here taken. If it is the intention of the Senate to keep its promise to turn several millions per annum out of the pockets of this protected monopoly into the pockets of the people, they will receive due and proper thanks; but if they depart from their declared purpose of giving relief to the people, the reason will be only too plain, viz., that, in order to attract votes, they held out a promise before the election which they did not intend to fulfil. We believe that a proper investigation would show that American refineries can turn out refined sugar as cheaply, if not more so, than any others in the world, and that therefore any protection granted to the Trust is a sheer gratuity taken from the poor to be added to the superfluities of the rich. We consider, also, that the lawsuits set on foot under State authority to dissolve corporations that have entered into the Trust are worse than useless, because they turn attention away from the real evil, and hold out the expectation of relief in a quarter from which it can never come. The source of the gains of the Sugar Trust is the tariff. Let the public fix their eyes on Washington City, and not on Albany, if they would see where their money goes, and who gets away with it.

THE SILVER COINAGE.

It is a long time since the silver coinage has engaged any considerable share of public attention. The last discussion of the subject that could be considered really important took place four years ago, when Mr. Cleveland, then President elect, addressed his letter to Congressman Warner advising a discontinuance of the coinage. This led to an attempt on the part of Mr. Randall, Mr. Carlisle, and other leading Democrats to procure legislation in the short session of 1884-5 for a temporary cessation of the coinage, but it failed on a test vote. In the following session Mr. Bland of Missouri made an effort to get a "free coinage" bill passed in place of the present law, which provides

for the coinage of not less than two nor more than four millions per month; but this failed also by a pretty decisive vote in the House.

So things have gone on under the act of 1878 until the coinage amounts to about \$300,000,000. One circumstance, not anticipated by either the silver or the anti-silver men, has created a vacuum in the circulation, to fill which the newly coined silver has served a useful purpose. The gradual shrinkage of the national-bank circulation, due to the calling in of the bond security upon which it rests, must needs be supplemented with something, and the only things available were certificates based upon gold or silver or both. Both have been employed, but mostly silver, because gold certificates cannot be issued of smaller denominations than \$20. The field of ordinary hand-to-hand circulation was left to the silver certificates. In addition to this vacuum, created artificially although not designedly, there was a natural vacuum produced by the growth of the country, especially its growth westward and southward, where banking facilities are relatively small. This accounts, we think, for the major part of the demand for certificates for circulation during the past four years. Still another and not insignificant vacuum has been created by the suppression of small bank-note and green-back circulation, and the issue of silver certificates of the denominations of one and two dollars in place thereof.

It is useless to inquire whether these voids in the circulation might not have been filled more advantageously in other ways. We think that the filling of them with silver was slovenly, expensive, and unscientific; but we acknowledge at the same time that it provides a guarantee fund of 75 per cent. to secure the circulation; that is, that the bullion value of the silver held by the Treasury against the certificates is within 25 per cent. of their nominal value. As the Government has received from the purchasers and present holders of the silver certificates 100 cents for each dollar, it is bound to make good the difference at all times and under all circumstances. It has been provided with funds for this purpose, and is under the highest moral obligation to the people to see that nobody is a loser by the decline in silver. If a liquidation were called for now, there would be a loss to the Government, because some of the purchases of bullion were made at higher prices than those now prevailing; but this fact does not impair the moral obligation to the holders of the certificates.

The Treasurer of the United States tells us in his annual report that the coinage during the past fiscal year was \$32,434,673, and that the "net distribution" increased only \$39,156. This means that gaps in the circulation already mentioned have been practically filled. The report says further, that the Treasurer is of the opinion that the people have all of these coins they want or are willing to take, and recommends that if the purchases of silver are to continue, the bullion be put into the form of heavy bars or ingots, arguing that the present supply of the dollars will be sufficient for any demand there is likely to be for