

THE ELECTION MACHINE AND HOW IT WORKS.

An Exposure of the Corruption in West Elgin, West Huron and Elsewhere.

"The machine," as it is styled by Mr. W. T. R. Preston, is one of the wrongs the people are invited to declare against in this provincial election.

The first public intimation of the character of the work done by the machine was given in the West Huron by-election, of February 21, 1899.

ORIGIN OF THE CONSPIRACY.

It was now clear that a ballot-box stuffing conspiracy had been deliberately organized. Further examination led to the conclusion that the work was directed from a central source and that the idea of thus conducting it had been borrowed from the United States, and more particularly from Tammany.

The United States "machine" system from which the Ross machine is copied, has been described by Mr. Bryce, in his "American Commonwealth." Mr. Bryce tells us that certain political organizations have their agents, who collect from parties, transacting business, or seeking legislation from the State or city government.

OPPOSED BY HONEST PEOPLE.

There have been strong campaigns against the machine in the United States. The best men in the parties for which the machine works have as a national duty bent their efforts towards its destruction.

Tammany was defeated in New York by Seth Low, and the united Republicans and Democrats. The Republican machine was defeated in Pennsylvania with the help of the entire Republican press of Philadelphia.

The struggle was entirely successful and the people secured a free ballot.

HOW THE MONEY IS RAISED.

It is impossible to tell as yet, but that it has large financial resources all the evidence that has been adduced serves to prove. When it is conducting an election it spends no expense. It has the means with which to corrupt on a large scale. It brings experts in fraud to the scene of action; it pays them for instructing young men in wrong-doing; and it pays the pupils who go out to "switch," "spoil," or "stuff" handsomely for their criminal work.

Stuffing in West Huron.

It has been said that the first revelation with reference to the operations of the machine was made in the West Huron Federal election of Feb. 1899. The discovery resulted from an examination of the election returns. The Goderich Star, an influential paper in the constituency, pointed out that there was universal astonishment at the figures for two of the polling divisions. At division No. 3, Goderich, 60 voters had marked their ballots for Mr. McLean, one of the candidates, and only 40 of such ballots had been found in the ballot box.

The subject was brought up in Parliament by Mr. Borden, the present leader of the Opposition, and an investigation by committee was demanded. Action was opposed at first, but public feeling was so strong that the demand that the frauds be probed had to be conceded.

The subject was referred to a Royal Commission, and the Royal Commission never met. But the testimony of persons who conducted the election is to hand, and it proves that fraud was general. Pritchett was summoned to the spot by the Government experts, and was paid handsomely for his services.

SIR WILFRID'S CONFESSION.

It is much to be regretted that the enquiry which was cut off by prorogation in 1899 was not continued in the succeeding session. The Federal Government, however, determined that it should not go on. With this end in view, it balked the Parliamentary investigation by proposing a Royal Commission. The majority in the House agreed to the proposal, and the commission, though appointed in the spring of 1900, has never yet met.

"Looking at the unfortunate record we have had for some years, especially during the last year or so, in this country, one must come to the conclusion that there has been for years prevalent in this country a system of ballot manipulating and of tampering with the sacred rights of the people. I do not say that it did not exist in West Huron. I do not say that it did exist. I do not say that it did not exist in Brockville. I do not say that it did exist. But it is undeniable to-day that we have it in the press, in the courts, in the very air in this country that there has been prevalent in certain sections of the country a system, deep and well-arranged, carried on for years, of tampering with the ballot, of preventing the will of the people from being expressed at the polls as it exists in their own hearts and in their own minds."

The course is more general and is of earlier origin, according to Sir Wilfrid's statement, than the people has been led to suppose.

HOW THE WORK IS DONE.

John G. Pritchett, of London, has made a confession. In an affidavit, dated December 29, 1899, Pritchett says he was a Liberal and a member of the Liberal Association of London: "In the general election of 1898 I took an active part as a canvasser for votes on behalf of Col. Leys; and was appointed by Sheriff Cameron, his deputy returning officer for the said election of polling division No. 3, in the Sixth Ward of the said City of London."

"From my experience in the various elections I formed the opinion that elections could be more easily and surely won by the manipulation of ballots than by buying votes."

named Farr. The arrangement made by him, on behalf of the machine, with his pupils, was that they should be paid on the piece-work plan—so much for ten ballots substituted or spoiled in the polling division, and so much more for a larger number. He also instructed scrutineers.

"I told each man that by inserting a piece of lead under his thumb-nail and securing it with mullage or bicycle cement he could be able, when assisting the deputy to open and lay out the ballots for counting after five o'clock, to spoil Conservative ballots by making a mark on the paper."

Pritchett was one of many persons employed in this business. His confession is corroborated by evidence taken at Ottawa with respect to Farr. Farr, who had been imported from Toronto to act as an official, was mentioned by the witnesses as one of the wrong-doers. When he was called to testify he left the country and was supplied by the machine with \$500 and a ticket for North Dakota. The machine took instructors in fraud to West Huron. It paid them; it also paid the men whom they taught; it also paid Farr handsomely to leave the country, and thus to block the enquiry in so far as his evidence could do it.

Stuffing Discovered in Brockville.

The conditions in Brockville were precisely similar to those discovered in West Huron. Brockville was a Conservative constituency. Owing to the death of Hon. J. F. Wood it became vacant. Hon. Peter White was invited to become the Liberal-Conservative candidate, and Mr. Comstock was put up by the Liberals.

The "machine" was brought in to carry the constituency for the Liberal nominee, and it succeeded. The processes were adopted by that instrument, namely, the buying of votes and the stuffing of ballot boxes. An effort was made to have the proceedings investigated by Parliament; but it failed.

The charges of fraud were referred to a Royal Commission, and the Royal Commission never met. But the testimony of persons who conducted the election is to hand, and it proves that fraud was general. Pritchett was summoned to the spot by the Government experts, and was paid handsomely for his services.

It was safer to pay a deputy \$5 for every substituted ballot than to pay money to a voter on whom we could not rely, and who might be suspected of taking money."

False ballots were printed and were duly marked for the candidate the machine was required to elect. These were distributed among deputies and scrutineers, and were dropped in the box in place of genuine ballots, or were substituted for such ballots when the count was being made at the close of the polls. The price paid for each fraud was \$5. A close tally was kept upon the workers. Pritchett tells how it was done in one specific case. He says:—

"I gave him"—the deputy returning officer—"25 ballots, and he initiated them. I tore off the counter-foils, marked the ballots for Comstock, folded them up, put an elastic band around them and handed them to him. I told him he would get \$5 for every one of them he worked in."

On the close of the polls the deputy had 13 bogus ballots left. He had "worked in" 12, and \$60 was paid to him for his day's operations. This sort of thing was general. The frauds were not enquired into, investigation having been blocked. There was, however, another influence employed to prevent enquiry. This was the coercive announcement by the Brockville Recorder, Mr. Geo. P. Graham's paper, that if the law proceedings against men charged with fraud were not stopped, "the axe would swing," and all Conservative officials would be dismissed by the Government. This did not prevent arrests. Nor did the arrests lead to punishments. The offenders slipped across the line and were paid to remain out of reach of the arm of the law. Having carried the election the machine moved to other quarters.

In Provincial Politics.

In the provincial elections the machine was employed first at the general election, and afterwards at the bye-elections.

It worked in Lennox at the general election and returned Bowen Ebenezer Aylsworth. There were 188 charges in the petition against Aylsworth and officials were implicated. In order to prevent exposure, Mr. Aylsworth capitulated without trial.

In East Northumberland there were 400 charges. Mr. Douglas, the machine candidate, threw up the sponge after two of these had been enquired into. One of the Liberal papers, the Mitchell Recorder, says: "From the opening of the court to the compromise ending on the sixth day, it had been one continuous revelation of treating, drinking, and wholesale whiskey lushing. The first day's proceedings revealed quite enough to satisfy any right thinking person that the respondent deserved unscathing whether the law would reach him or not. Such a candidate in the County of Perth would be driven into disgrace. The candidate

Weak, Nervous, Discased Men. Thousands of Young and Middle Aged Men are annually swept to a premature grave through early indiscretions and later excesses. Self Abuse and Constitutional Blood Diseases have ruined and wrecked the life of many a promising young man.

who inclination is to indulge in this sort of electioneering, or even personal practices should be sent to the wall by the people at the ballot box, no matter what side of politics he represents."

In Nipissing the machine used whiskey on behalf of Mr. Loughrin, a Government officer, being the distributor. This official was H. J. Gilligan, Crown Lands Agent, at Mattawa. He confessed at the trial that he laid in a large stock for distribution, and that he otherwise spent money for illegal purposes.

In Halton the price paid for votes by the agents of the machine was from \$2 to \$10 per head. Mr. Baiber dropped out in consequence.

In these cases the ballot-box stuffing was not enquired into because the court proceedings came to an end when the illegally-elected members surrendered.

Machine Work in South Ontario. To South Ontario the machine was sent in the fall of 1898 to make good the election of Mr. John Dryden, Minister of Agriculture. Mr. Dryden reached the riding in advance of the operators, and delivered a moral speech. He said:—

"I would rather have the discredit which attaches to failure to secure election than the dishonor which comes of corruption."

Then the machine began work, and the sum of \$20,000 is understood to have been expended by it in the constituency.

At the election trial, in May, 1899, the veil was lifted just sufficiently to show how the thing had been done, and to unseat the corruptly-elected Minister. It seems that the riding was invaded by an army of hundreds of workers, who were stationed at various points. Mr. W. V. Richardson, the chairman of the Pickering Liberal Association, tells of the arrival of one "Sim Hewitt" in his district. "Sim" came "Mr. Richardson and discussed "who was bought at the last election!" "I suppose," continued Mr. Richardson, "he was trying to find out who was to be bought this time. He was trying to find the doubtful voter."

Another witness relates that Hewitt did find doubtful voters, and that he sent some to "Cap" Sullivan, a Government timber agent, who was sent into the riding to work. This man swears that he received \$15 from "Cap" Sullivan for the votes of himself and two sons.

Other electors testified that the market price for votes for Mr. Dryden was \$3. All the operators were well provided with money. The chief Liberal organizer, Mr. Smith, made the mistake of sending a \$100 bill instead of a \$1 to Mr. Richardson for the postage on the certificates to be sent to the scrutineers. Mr. Smith was so flush that his \$1 bills and his \$100 bills got mixed.

A TRIBUTE TO INTEGRITY. After the machine had carried the election the Toronto Globe announced that its victory was "the solemn, sober judgment of a representative constituency, and a tribute to Ministerial integrity and ability."

The evidence at the trial, however, scarcely touched the fringe of the case. When Mr. Dryden admitted that he had been corruptly returned, the investigation was stopped. In delivering judgment, the judges expressed their horror at the revelation with which they had been faced. Mr. Justice Osler said:—

"It simply revolts me to see a case in which there does appear to have been a very considerable expenditure of money, if this little opening that we have had this morning indicates at all what has been going on in the riding. It revolts me to be obliged practically to stop where the investigators choose to stop with the reporting of a few trifling creatures who would take \$5. But the court is helpless."

Mr. Justice Rose added:— "In the present case it seems to me manifest that there has been a general scheme, and much money spent, and that the sea can no longer be held by the respondent."

Nine of the operators were reported by the judges as guilty, among them "Cap" Sullivan and "Sim" Hewitt. They were not punished. "Cap" Sullivan is to-day in the employ of the Government.

West Elgin Corruption. The West Elgin revelations, which came like a bolt from the blue on June 26, 1899, startled the people beyond measure. Little had been known of the proceedings of the machine in the constituency until that fateful day when Mr. Macnish, the Government candidate, made his public confession which was clear from the acknowledgment that there had been stuffing, switching, spoiling, personation and corruption, and that the frauds had been carefully planned and very extensive.

OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN. The fraudulent campaign was opened with a great flourish of trumpets. At which Mr. G. W. Ross appeared with his "policy" of "Build up Ontario." One of the statements made by Mr. Ross in his speech was the following:—

For Sale.

50 ACRES, LOT EIGHT, N. D. R., Glenelg. Well fenced and watered and in good state of cultivation. Easy terms. Apply to DONALD MCCOSKERY, 11 Peter St., Toronto.

For Sale.

A HOUSE AND LOT ON QUEEN Street, the property of Mrs. J. L. Browne. The house contains 12 rooms, conveniently situated, and quite new. Will make an excellent boarding house. For particulars apply to J. L. BROWNE, July 10th, 1901. Photographer.

For Sale.

14 CHOICE AND VALUABLE building lots, in one of the most desirable parts of the town. Plans of the survey may be seen at Mr. Telford's office, or lots may be examined by applying to him. Prices right. Terms to suit the purchaser. Excellent opportunity for cash buyers. For further particulars apply to MRS. THOMAS JACKSON, formerly Mrs. Middaugh, Clinton, Ont.

House & Lots For Sale.

IN THE TOWN OF DURHAM, situated on Lot 24, west side of Garafraxa street, Upper Town. The building is a double dwelling, suitable for two families. Good cellar. Good spring well on lot. Also seven building lots on the west side of Albert street, being part of Lots 10 & 11. Also building lots on the east side of Garafraxa street, being part of Lots 10 & 11. Now is your time to get building lots and dwelling houses. For further particulars apply to J. M. HUNTER, Durham.

For Sale.

AN ELIGIBLE CORNER LOT with good brick building on it that may be converted into a dwelling. The building is now occupied by the owner as a Blacksmith Shop. Also a number of building lots may be located. Will be sold cheap if sold at once. ROBT. ALJOE, JR., Proprietor, Durham.

Building Lots For Sale.

ANY PERSON WISHING TO PURCHASE desirable building lots would do well to take a look at John A. Warren's plan of sub-division of Park Lot number Four, north of Chester street, in the Government Survey, of the Town of Durham. Plan can be seen at the office of J. P. Telford, Durham, or at the office of the undersigned. For further particulars apply to ARCHIBALD DAVIDSON, Clerk Division Court, Durham.

House & Lot For Sale.

ON SADDLER ST., 3 DOORS south of Lambton St., 1/2 acre, at present occupied by Wm. Irwin. The house is 1 1/2 stories high, built of brick, 3 large rooms with hall down stairs, with 15 foot kitchen, good stone cellar, and woodshed with cistern inside. Upstairs in house are 4 bedrooms with hall. Hardwater well at door. On the premises is a good underground stable and barn. Good iron fence in front of lot. For further particulars apply to ROBERT MACFARLANE, Durham.

Bull for Service.

A THOROUGHbred AYRSHIRE will be kept for service in Durham, near corner of George and Queen street. Terms \$1 payable on or before the first of February, 1903. Cows disposed of before that time will be charged for whether in calf or not. ROBT. SMITH, Proprietor, Durham.

Short Horn Bulls For Sale.

FOUR YOUNG BULLS FROM 12 to 20 months old. Two reds and two roans choice bred. H. PARKER, Durham.

For

Machine Oil, Harness Oil, Axle Grease and Hoof Ointment, go to S. P. SAUNDERS, Next Door to Chronicle Office.

Furniture...

That is sure to please can always be purchased here. UNDERTAKING PRICES CUT. Also a First Class Hearse always in connection. Embalming a specialty. JACOB KRESS.

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THE ELECTION MACHINE AND HOW IT WORKS.

Continued from Page 2. "Political parties were... from the weaknesses of their nature and irregularities were sometimes."

"He believes in keeping... the political consciences of the... "A people could not make... of their opportunities as a... until they instilled into the... mind the principles of right... and insisted upon the... conduct that would stand... scrutiny."

"He hoped the day... come when the Liberal... depart from those principles... moral morality which had... down by Mackenzie, Blake... at."

"These high standards... maintained intact if the... force of the community... preserved. (Cheers.)... "The Liberal party had... to its present high position... it had attracted to itself... moral elements in the coun... the moment it ceases to poss... moral force disintegration... in."

"God only knew what... the organizers... Then the organizers were... deed and the "best mora... got to work. It is difficul... how many took part, but... prominent were the followi... Alex. Smith, then and now... ganizer; Mr James Vance... now assistant organizer; M... R. Preston, Government... special organizer; "Cap"... D. F. MacDonald, and Dun... Government officers; Tom... H. Hoppins, J. G. Pritche... Croden, Martin J. Cahill... seems to have a retinue... work."

Mr. Preston was particula... of his entourage. He made... at St. Thomas in which he... "Not a man among them... come here openly and at his... sense, and out of the lov... cause of good Government... this election is over our... will not be able to put a... any act of wrong-doing."

Mr. Preston also attende... School at St. Thomas, and... the scholars. He asked the... his favorite hymn: "The... shine in My Soul To night... Maenish won the election... Mr. McDiarmid, and Mr. P... egrahed Mr. Maenish his... lations thus: Toronto, Jan. 1... Donald Maenish, St. Thoma... Heartiest congratulations... to the bottom of my heart... be with you to-night."

To be supported by suc... army of workers, should... the proudest man in Ontari... hands with the boys for me... the members of the mud... threshing machine for A... Syne. PR... On the following day Mr... received his appointment... gration Commissioner, which... ready been arranged for... of the Federal Government... HOW THE FACTS LEAKED... The facts leaked out ow... extraordinary figures that... duced at the election. It... that at one polling place... Southwell, 164 votes... McDiarmid, but that ou... counted. At No. 4, 50... swore they had voted for... but only 42 had been counte... St. Thomas, 91 had vote... 80 had been counted, w... were 35 more than usual... Maenish. In all 230... switched or spoiled. In... the bribery has been g... bogus deputy enlisting... been employed under assu... One officer was Duncan... operated as R. B. Stafford... a Government fishery... immigration agent in... machine from the South... ing place 84 electors vote... M. Darnid, and only 42... for that candidate. Pra... entered against him, but... ment refused to prosecu... ed the incriminating... eventually got him off."

Another was Martin... operated at No. 11, St. T... Albert, E. Montgomery... mitted frauds and evad... the burning of the ball... refusal of the Governme... cuse. Still another stranger... 4. St. Thomas, under the... Stratford. He committed... was not pursued. Thom... introduced the alleged... to the sheriff for appointm... man has since been appoin... inspector by the Governme... John G. Pritchett acted... name of Marshall B. Joh... 6, Southwell. He has tak... said, declaring that he... to go in and enqui... that he "sipped" m... thus producing a majori... nish when that candidate... a minority. Pritchett

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