

ary, one was his republican predecessor in office, and only one was a democratic voter; while in 1901 none of his appointments was confirmed. This condition of the law makes the senate more than ever the seat of power, and renders the governor a mere figurehead, subject to the whim, so far as his appointments are concerned, of the twenty senators elected by one-twelfth of the population.

While the governor is theoretically supposed to enforce the laws, he is by this vicious supremacy of the senate deprived of any power to do so. During Governor Garvin's first year this was illustrated by the action of the commissioner of industrial statistics, who defied the governor's authority and was sustained by the legislature, which changed the law for this purpose; by the case of the factory inspectors, who, when complaints were made of the non-enforcement of factory laws, were out of reach of discipline by the governor, as he could not remove them and by the existence of notorious gambling places in several of the towns, which, as the governor had no control over the sheriffs, he was powerless to suppress.

By means of the conditions thus briefly outlined the republican machine in Rhode Island has been able to control the state thoroughly for many years. The boss has always been able to dominate the twenty small towns, either by money, "influence," the giving of office or the conferring of favors. Intrenched as he is, the task of dislodging him and his machine is almost hopeless. He has, meanwhile, proceeded to still further strengthen his position in the past few years by practically abolishing local self-government in the principal cities. This has been accomplished by the creation of police commissions, independent of local authority, and owing their appointment nominally to the governor, but actually to the senate. Such commissions are now in existence in the cities of Providence and Newport and the town of Tiverton, and probably more will be created at the next session of the legislature.

Another usurpation of local self-government in the interest of the dominant machine was the creation of a board of canvassers and registration in the city of Providence by an act of the state legislature some years ago. This board is now to all intents and purposes a part of the republican machine, and was openly used during the campaign as an agency to control the voters, and at the last election to help carry the day for the republican candidates. In the city of Providence the police commission was likewise used to aid the republican machine by forcing into office at democratic caucuses, through its patrolmen, wardens and clerks who were not the choice of that party, but the choice of the board of canvassers.

In 1901 the general assembly created a state returning board to count "officially the ballots cast for state officers, members of Congress and presidential electors. This board as now constituted is composed of four republicans and one so-called democrat, who was elected by the senate to the position in opposition to the protests of leading democrats, Governor Garvin having named another man. The chairman of the board is the chairman of the republican state central committee and was the active manager of the recent campaign. From its finding there is no appeal, and consequently the board has the power to count out any candidate without being called in question officially. With all power in its hands the republican machine can by means of this board insure a victory for itself in case of emergency should other devices earlier in the game fail to produce the desired result.

The count by the returning board of the vote for congressman in the First Rhode Island district began Novem-

ber 9 and ended November 29. The total vote cast, as shown by this count, was 39,255, of which Daniel L. D. Granger, the democratic nominee, had 15,583; Judge John H. Stiness, the republican nominee, had 15,450; Rev. George A. Conibear, the prohibition nominee, had 469, while there were 4,158 blank ballots and 3,595 defective ballots. It is the settled belief of many people in the state that the board started in on a deliberate attempt to count out Mr. Granger, whose plurality by the warden's count was said by the newspapers on the morning after election to be 183, but was later found by corrected returns to be 270, and that this count-out was only prevented by an aroused public opinion, many citizens of all parties expressing themselves vigorously against such tactics. The method pursued by the board was to throw out "defective" ballots, and through means of tallies kept by watchers of the count in the interest of Mr. Granger it was ascertained that doubtful votes were being accepted for the republican candidate while exactly similar, or not so doubtful, ones were being rejected for the democratic candidate. The scandal growing out of such a barefaced attempt to count out Mr. Granger was evidently feared for its future political effect, and a halt was called as it is evident from the fact that the last part of the count was a hurried one, with no attempt to find "defectives."

This condition of affairs here depicted as existing in Rhode Island has been used to further certain well understood ends. First, according to Boss Brayton, to keep the republican officeholders in the enjoyment of their jobs. That is the acknowledged reason given by him to explain why he had the law passed taking away the governor's power of appointment. He did not propose to have a democratic governor drop a single republican out of his position.

The second and main object which these conditions have been used to accomplish has been the securing of franchises for the public service corporations. While General Brayton has been the resident boss of the republican machine, Senator Aldrich has been the real power—the source of supplies—and to him consequently has the benefit accrued in the shape of the United States senatorship and the street railway franchises. He organized in 1893 the street railway syndicate, which acquired possession of all the local street railway lines, equipped them with electricity and increased their capitalization from two and a half millions to forty millions, while only increasing their length three-fold. At the behest of the senator, without doubt, but through the boss and the machine, the rotten borough legislature passed exclusive franchises and special laws of the nature of contracts which, according to their terms, can not be repealed, except by consent of the street railroad company. Intrenched by special privilege in this manner the railroad syndicate has made millions of dollars in profits and by stock issues after the methods of "high finance," out of which the promoters, Senator Aldrich among the number, have become millionaires.

Rhode Island voted for Senator Aldrich and the republican machine at the late election, but only because many of the people were deceived, some scared and not a few bought. At the same time Governor Garvin polled a great vote, probably enough to elect him if they had been fairly counted at the polling places, and certainly enough to have elected him in any other than a presidential year. These facts give assurance that despite the un-American conditions existing in the state the people are at last awake and are prepared to give battle for decent government and against present political debasement.

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