# MICHIGAN'S GREAT SHAME.

## Elections Twisted This Way and That at Lansing.

## DONE TO RAISE SALARIES.

### High Officials Endorse Returns of Two Juggled Elections.

**The Constitution Made a Plaything, No One Knows How Often—In 1891 the People Voted Not to Raise the Attorney-General's Salary, but Somebody Altered the Returns—In 1893 Nearly All the Officers Tried for a Raise and Were Beaten, but the Figures Were Cooked Again.**

On Saturday a Grand Jury sitting in a little village in Ingham county, Mich., found true bills of indictment against ten men, who, if their trials prove their guilt, will be long remembered and referred to as among the most reckless, daring rascals who ever disgraced American politics.

Worse has been done to destroy the value of the suffrage in virtuous and Republican Michigan than John Y. McKane has been convicted of doing in Gravesend. The whole great State of Michigan has been Gravesended, and not once, but twice; perhaps more times, for no one knows how far back the series of frauds goes. It has been proved that the vote of the State was juggled with in 1893 and 1891, and the shock and confusion was so great that men look far back and doubt every unusual majority that has been given for any officer or proposition within their memory. They wonder whether Russell A. Alger was really elected Governor in 1884, and they question whether Michigan ought not in reality to be a prohibition State, although the effort to make it so was said to have proven a failure in 1887. Doubtless they go too far. They borrow too much trouble, maybe. But when the reader knows what wrongs they are proven to have suffered, he will not wonder that no once accepted political fact now seems at all certain if it is dependent on an official count of the votes of the Michigan people.

McKane is a trifler and an innocent beside the scoundrels who have been manipulating the Michigan vote. Bill Tweed ranks high in the scale of morals beside these Northern wretches. These people did not meddle for the time to steal money or to stuff ballot boxes. They did not merely injure or benefit a politician or two by electing or defeating them. They worked their evil upon the State Constitution—the holy of holies of the temple of Michigan's liberties. It was with constitutional amendments that they tampered each time. Each time they let the people vote as they chose, and then they collected the returns in the State House at Lansing and doctored them and forged false ones and played with the popular suffrage as a skilful artist changes a painting that does not suit him.

Though political, scandal, it is as non-partisan as the sunshine, as non-partisan as W. R. Grace when he wants office. The two great frauds that have been fully exposed took place in 1891 and 1893. Both concerned constitutional amendments affecting salaries of State officials. The beneficiary of the fraud of 1891 was Attorney-General Ellis, who, happily for the Republicans, calls himself a Democrat. The beneficiaries of the fraud of 1893 are Ellis again and nearly all the Republican State officials of the present time, from the Lieutenant-Governor down. Ellis is a very dubious and queer sort of a Democrat, as the reader will discover, but he serves well enough in that capacity to prevent the State Democracy from turning any public handsprings with joy over this scandal, and well enough to keep the Democrats from trying to make any party capital out of the present infamous situation. The Attorney General says he is persecuted because he is a Democrat, but the reporter of THE SUN has failed to find any Democrats in Michigan who rejoice in his Democracy to-day any more than they have in the past, when he has posed as a Labor partyite, a Greenbacker, and a Populist. Also affected by the scandal are the clerks of the State Board of Canvassers, but one of these is a Republican and the other a straight Democrat.

The three State officers who compose the State Board of Canvassers, and proclaimed the false vote that fraudulently gave them increases of salary, are all Republicans: John W. Jochim, otherwise known as the Big Swede, Secretary of State; Joseph F. Hambitzer, State Treasurer, and John G. Berry, Land Commissioner. So is the Lieutenant-Governor, J. White Giddings, a Republican, and so are they all except Ellis and one clerk.

The crime that was committed in 1891 was the alteration of the official election returns to change a defeat into a success in the case of the vote on a constitutional amendment to treble the salary of the Attorney-General. The crime of 1893 was a similar jugglery with the vote of the entire State to credit with victory a defeated amendment which was aimed to raise the incomes of the Lieutenant-Governor, Treasurer, Secretary of State, Land Commissioner, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and indirectly that of Ellis once more. These crimes were committed in the boldest, most brutally simple manner, and the question for the officers of the law to determine is whether some clerk or clerks did it merely in hope of reward, or whether they and some of their superiors banded together in a conspiracy to perform the villainy.

STARVATION SALARIES.

The salaries paid to the members of the Government of Michigan were prescribed by the Constitution, and, therefore, could not be altered except by a constitutional amendment voted on by the people. The Constitution was adopted in 1850, and the salaries were such as one would look for in a purely agricultural commonwealth nearly half a century ago. In other words, they were such salaries, mainly under a thousand dollars a year, as an old-time farmer would be apt to vote for and wish he could get. As time went on and they were not raised they became the smallest salaries paid for managing any State in the Union. That of the Governor was $1,000. The Secretary of State got $800 and the State Treasurer $1,000. The Land Commissioner and the Attorney-General got $900, and the Lieutenant-Governor got $3 a day when the Senate sat for a few weeks in every other year, and the rest of the time, when he did nothing, he got nothing.

Nothing was done to put Michigan in the list of honorable States, paying a fair price for what was done for her, until 1879, when there was a proposition to raise the salaries of the Governor and a majority of the State officials to $2,000 each. This was submitted to the people, and rejected by them by a vote of 59,000. One hundred thousand persons took the trouble to vote one way or another on that amendment. In 1879 an attempt was made to raise the salaries of the Circuit Judges. The Constitution allowed $1,500 a year to them, and they wanted $2,500. That amendment was rejected by a close vote—57,326 for the raise and 58,987 against it. The same proposition was again submitted in 1880 and again rejected, this time by less than 600 votes. In 1890 there was an effort to increase the Governor's salary from $1,000 to $5,000, but 42,000 voters threw that amendment aside—the action of a peculiar but consistent people.

These experiments seemed to tire neither the politicians who wanted more money nor the people who thought they got enough. Again in 1882 the Circuit Judges turned in, hats in hand, asking for $2,500 a year. The press took their part. They were overworked and underpaid. They did ten times the work that was done when their salaries were determined. The people studied the question and voted for the raise with a majority of more than 30,000 votes. In 1883 another effort on behalf of the State officers was put forth, but the liberality of the populace proved but an episode, for this time one-third of the voters of the State discussed this amendment and killed it by 60,000 adverse majority. Still persistent, in 1887 the same proposition was submitted and rejected by 52,000 votes—half the people voting. In 1889 the Governor succeeded in securing an increase of his salary from $1,000 to $4,000. The politicians then thought that the safest way was to work for one salary at a time, and the Attorney-General led the charge on the Treasury in 1891 and secured a raise of salary from $600 to $2,500 by a narrow majority of 1,287 as the Board of Canvassers declared the vote. That was a fraud, as we have seen, but not a handful of citizens knew it at that time. Then came the last and most notorious effort to secure fair pay from Michigan—that of 1893—which appears to be going to be the means of sending several noted citizens to State prison. There were not ten men in Michigan who did not think this amendment was defeated. Every newspaper declared it defeated, and the correspondents who went to the Capitol day after day were told that it had gone by the board. When, long afterward, it was declared to have been carried, there was a general expression of surprise, though not any of suspicion.

THE PARTIES IN THE CASE.

This 1893 amendment went before the people at the spring election last year. It would look like a concerted and wholesale attempt at a raid on the Treasury, were it not that the salaries that were sought to be raised were pitifully and shamefully small. The proposition was to raise the salary of the Land Commissioner from $800 to $2,000; that of the Secretary of State from $800 to $2,000; to raise the State Treasurer's pay from $1,000 to $2,000; to double the salary of the Superintendent of Public Instruction by giving him $2,000, and to change the method of paying the Lieutenant-Governor, so that instead of getting three dollars a day for a few weeks, when the Legislature sat every other year, he was now to get a fixed sum of $1,200 a year.

The Attorney-General who figures so constantly and conspicuously in this story of the shaming of Michigan was not mentioned in this 1893 amendment. He was dropped out on purpose. Proposals had been put before him without any salary and made it incumbent upon the Legislature to fix a salary for the office, taking it out of the Constitution and leaving it to the skill and popularity of this and all future Attorney-Generals to work the Legislature for all they could get. By the fraud of 1891 his salary appeared to have been raised from $800 to $2,500, and now he meant to ask, and did ask, the Legislature for $500 more. He got it, but the discovery that the Board of Canvassers had juggled with the returns, and that no salaries were raised either last year or in 1891, throws Attorney-General Ellis back to the original provision of the Constitution, and gives him only $800 a year. If the courts order a recanvass of the vote of 1891, he will owe Michigan the difference between the true salary of $800 and the fraudulent one of $2,500, or $4,700 in all. He has already paid back $258, the sum he has received under the last increase by the Legislature, thus admitting the fraud of 1893. He is worth $20,000, so that the restitution has not bothered him.

It is to be remembered that in 1891 the only beneficiary of the fraud was the Attorney-General, then, as now, this man Ellis. But in 1893 all the members of the Board of Canvassers were to gain by the success of the salaries amendment. This Board consists of the Secretary of State, a Swede named John W. Jochim; the State Treasurer, a man named J. F. Hambitzer, and the Land Commissioner, a former New Yorker named John G. Berry. We have seen that Attorney-General Ellis gained considerably by the fraud of 1891, and we must either have been ignorant of it or we must believe that some clerk risked State's prison by altering the returns from pure love of Ellis, increasing his pay threefold, getting nothing himself for the labor of love, and never telling the Attorney-General what he had done for him.

Early in the spring of 1893, a month before the election, Attorney-General Ellis (himself not a member of the Canvassing Board, but a prime beneficiary of the proposed amendment) sent out a letter to the County Clerks of Michigan asking them to put the salaries amendment first on the official ballots. He was a great way out of his way to do this, for it was none of his business. He showed, however, how keen an interest he felt in the fate of the amendment, even at that early day. Precisely the same letter to the County Clerks was also sent out by a Swede named Marcus Peterson, a clerk of the Board of State Auditors by appointment of the Board of Canvassers. Thus the Democrat-Populist Attorney-General and a Republican clerk joined to give the lie to the old fashioned non-partisan cant, but one was a beneficiary of the amendment and the other was the dependent and creature of the Board of Canvassers, all of whom had much at stake in the fate of the amendment.

DISCOVERY OF THE LAST CRIME.

The election was held and it was given out, unofficially, that the consistent courts of the people had again resulted in a failure to grant increased salaries to their State officers. But when the Board of Canvassers made its official report, the amendment was declared carried by a very small margin of votes. Time went on, the summer came and passed, and the winter set in without any disclosures of wrongdoing. And yet there was a kettleful of trouble boiling and bubbling and threatening to generate enough steam in the form of gossip and suspicion to bring about all that has since happened. The State House clerks knew something of the fearfully bold fraud that had been practised. Some seem to have known much; others guessed more or less. All talked and whispered about their knowledge and suspicions. Michigan had done as evil a thing as was ever charged against any Southern State. She had out-McNaned McKane, and turned her whole domain into a gigantic Gravesend. But she had not a callous criminal, she was not hardened. Her conscience troubled her, and those of her sons who had the guilty knowledge without the guilt were scandalized.

Ellis, under official cover, had upon Gov. Rich one day in the present winter and asked if he might look at the election returns on the amendments. The Governor referred him to the Executive clerk, who said that some one in the office of the Secretary of State had borrowed those returns.

"Send for 'em," said the Governor.

"I have sent and sent again and again," said the clerk, "and I don't get them back."

"Well, said the practical farmer-Governor, "now you'd better send again, and this time you'd better get 'em."

But they were not to be had. The Governor himself—suspecting nothing except that he was not being treated with common courtesy—went to the office of the Secretary of State and demanded his set of the returns. He got a cock-and-bull story, but no returns. There had been a housecleaning in the Secretary's office. Everything had been moved and changed and cleaned, and the minutes of the returns had not been seen. The Governor said they must be found, and in a short time he got a set of the returns. He does not think it is his set, but it is an official set, and that is all he wanted. Moreover, it is now the only set in existence.

Whenever there is an election in the Wolverine State the County Clerks make three copies each of their returns. These are sent (1) to the Secretary of State for the official State Canvassers, (2) to the Governor, and (3) to the State Treasurer—the last two copies being made and distributed solely to insure the preservation of at least one copy should one set more be lost or destroyed. It is a singular thing that, though the only returns that are ordered kept by law are those of the Secretary of State, and though there never has been any loss or trouble with any returns, nevertheless the Governors and State Treasurers have always kept and guarded their copies fully as carefully as has the Secretary of State, who is the responsible custodian of the strictly official set. It was this inattentive regard for his duplicate set that stirred the Governor to insist on their return. And yet in this off year of 1893 not only were the Governor's returns lost, but the set belonging to the Treasurer also went astray. The Michigan exhibit had come back from the World's Fair at Chicago, and everybody in the Capitol who had an old desk had helped himself to a new desk from the Chicago spoils. It was in one of these "shuffles" as they say in Michigan, that the Treasurer's set got lost. So it was said, and the reader, having paid his money for all these queer stories that are told to account for this gigantic political scandal, may take his choice about believing or disbelieving them.

By the time that plain and sturdy old Gov. Rich had at last got back a copy of the returns of the eighty-four counties of the State his suspicions were fully aroused, and he sat down to make a careful examination of them. Something—probably the gossip that was thick in the air—led him to take up the vote on the salaries amendment. The section had taken place early in April, 1893, but the Secretary of State had not announced the canvass until May 1st, twice as long afterward as was necessary according to a citizen who once assisted at the work. But it was a work of art when it did reach the public, for the Big Swede, Jochim, who is Secretary of State, with his confreres, solemnly announced that the whole vote cast on the salaries amendment was 127,023, of which 64,422 were cast for yes, and 62,601 were cast for no—a majority of 1,821 votes being given for the amendment.

The Governor's personal examination showed that the figures footed up so differently as to prove that the salaries amendment had been beaten by no less than 11,555 votes, and that therefore the returns must have been violated and forged so as to make a change of 12,376 votes to produce the official count and certificate of success at the polls.

HOW THE THEFT WAS WORKED.

The Governor saw that the salary grabbers had obtained their moneys fraudulently, but by whose fraud or in what manner he could not tell, for there was nothing to show that the official returns from the various counties had been tampered with. The official figures of the County Clerks were unaltered, and showed that the amendment had been defeated. The Governor was obliged to demand the data upon which the Board of Canvassers had figured out its basis of their report. The Board of Canvassers or its clerks transcribes the votes of each county on separate sheets, adds up the columns of figures, arrives at the results, and submits them to the Board to be attested as correct "after careful examination." As we have seen, there was no trouble about the returns of the votes for officials. The four amendments were the field of this outrageous villainy. These were the salary amendment, two amendments for internal improvements, and an amendment relative to the jurisdiction of the Circuit Courts in certain cases. The Governor got from the Secretary of State the details of the vote on the amendments—those details which were omitted, though made public in all other subjects of the election. He discovered that in five instances the vote of as many counties on the good roads amendment (which was carried by heavy majorities) was credited to the affirmative side of the salaries amendment. The small votes for the salaries amendment were given to the good roads amendment, and a proposition was supported that it could stand being robbed in this way. But in twenty other counties the returns were absolutely falsified—manufactured out of whole cloth. No duplicates of these figures were found on any other returns.

These were needlessly queer devilTries that the Governor's investigation disclosed. The forgers had changed the votes on all the amendments. That one relative to good roads they declared carried by 8,000 votes, whereas it got more than 9,000 majority. The amendment relating to Circuit Court jurisdiction was declared carried by 9,000 votes, whereas it secured nearly 15,000 majority. The amendment relative to internal improvement was declared carried by 15,000, but it really got 20,000 majority. In other words, they utterly destroyed the value of the election. They wantonly wrested the balloting power from the people. But they had method in their madness, for they made it a display of disparity in the differing returns, and thus avoided the attraction of public attention to the work they were most anxious about. It is argued that they set out to steal from the heavy amendments enough votes to carry the salary theft, but, as this was found to require 15,000 votes, it was not feasible, and so they abandoned that plan and resorted to the simpler practice of manufacturing returns.

The first thing that Gov. Rich did was to telegraph to each member of the Board of State Canvassers to come to Lansing on imperative business. All three officials, Jochim, Hambitzer, and Berry, arrived at the State House on Jan. 17. The Governor invited them into his office and told them what he had discovered. He asked them what they had to say. They pleaded entire ignorance. They knew nothing of the details by which the returns upon which they signed certificates had been made up. They had simply approved the findings of their clerks, without examining the papers or questioning the clerks. The Governor sent for the clerks. They declared themselves just as ignorant as their masters. They had simply canvassed the returns as they received them from the various county clerks, and so far as the work of the scribes was concerned these returns were correctly transcribed.

MICHIGAN'S HONEST GOVERNOR.

No sooner had the Governor satisfied himself that the officials could not or would not help him, and that the guilty person or persons were not inclined to confess, then he decided to let the public into his confidence. He sent for Editor Harry, an able newspaper correspondent, and, giving him all the facts, bade him telegraph it to the *Detroit Tribune*. The Governor's bold, prompt, and honest course has made him a very great man in Michigan. Republican and Democratic journals alike have proclaimed that they could have ignored this outrage upon the people in the interests of Republican good fame. Or, they say, he could have called the canvassers together and bade them announce that they had blundered in their figures and then quietly and together make public the corrected and genuine results of the balloting. However, what he did was in keeping with his character, that of a frank, honest, and courageous man.

On the morning following the strange conference with the canvassers and clerks the Governor applied in person to the Supreme Court for a mandamus to compel the Board of Canvassers to reconvene and recanvass the votes on the four amendments. The court granted the mandamus. The recanvass was performed in Gov. Rich's office by the Board and clerks. The day of the mandamus was Thursday, and the new canvass was begun on that day and finished on Friday. The results of the new canvass were publicly declared. They materially changed the votes on each amendment. In the cases of three amendments the vote was changed from about 1,000 to 6,000 votes, and in the case of the salaries amendment the vote was changed from a small affirmative majority to one of rejection by 11,555 votes. Progress was stopped for several hours while the Board was early in the succeeding week that the Governor got Jochim, Hambitzer, and Berry together in his office again and intimated that he would accept their resignations. As they did not accept the hint he terminated the interview by demanding their resignations. They asked for time to consult lawyers and make up their minds what to do. He gave them a respite of a few days. Land Commissioner Berry and Treasurer Hambitzer went to Detroit and secured counsel for the Board. Jochim, the giant Swede, went to the northern Peninsula, where he lives. All returned on the specified day, but though they busied themselves about the Capitol it remained a question whether they meant to resign or not. All day they were unnecided, and at 9 o'clock at night the Governor commanded his private secretary to serve upon each one of the three formal charges of gross neglect of duty—the mildest charge he could formulate, yet one upon which the Constitution explicitly declares it to be his imperative duty to remove officials who are found guilty. The charges were filed on Feb. 6, and the defendants were cited to appear and answer on Feb. 14.

To continue to give both sides of the story, which is the motive of this reporter, it is said that the clerks offered to the Governor the only theory by which they could account for the difference between the returns and the tabulated sheets that they made up from them. This theory was that somebody abstracted the original returns from twenty-five counties and in their place substituted bogus returns made up of manufactured figures. There were plenty of blank return sheets in the Secretary of State's office, and these were easy to get had any one the desire to misuse them in this manner. Then, according to this theory, after the clerks had tabulated the figures from the bogus returns, along came this unknown person, abstracted the bogus sheets and replaced the originals. Those who refuse to accept this as a reasonable theory discredit it because they say that if twenty-five persons each stole a sheet and then copied from it bogus returns which showed twenty-five different styles of handwriting, the clerks of the canvassers would still be liable to notice the absence of the various county seals. But, they say, no twenty-five persons, no conceivable number, and the assumption is that the twenty-five bogus sheets must have all been in one handwriting. And since the State House clerks had to copy every word, figure, and signature on the sheets, it is hard to believe that they would fail to note such a clumsy fraud as the insertion of two dozen returns in one handwriting and without the official seals.

THE OTHER SIDE.

It is now said that when the officials were summoned before Gov. Rich and told of his discovery of the fraud, that State Treasurer Hambitzer at once exclaimed:

"If the returns that we certified to be correct differ from the original returns, why not let us recanvass the original votes, correct the mistake, and send out the correction over the signatures of the Secretary of State?"

This suggestion the Governor declined to accept. He said he was going to make the facts public.

In a two-column carefully arranged statement on the first page of the unfortunate Board of Canvassers, published in the Detroit Tribune on last Thursday, there is this further contribution to the history of the Governor's relations to the case. It is given as from a member of the Board: "Some days after the Governor had demanded our resignations he again summoned us to his room and said that if we would resign he would give us a letter, or certificate, stating that upon investigation he found we were only guilty of negligence and carelessness, with nothing willful or malicious in our acts. He added that he had arranged with all the newspapers to commend us for our action.

"Realizing from this the pull he had on the party organs to damn us if we did not resign, it was a hard matter for us to decide. But we considered the situation again counselled with our friends; again came to the conclusion that to resign under charges would be construed as an admission of guilt, and especially by the newspapers the Governor had 'arranged' with, and, again, and finally, decided to retain our offices until the Supreme Court says we must give them up.

"There is one thing more. I did not lobby for the passage of the joint resolution relative to the submission of an amendment relative to salaries, and did not ask a member of the Legislature to vote for it.

"There is one thing more. When the Governor demanded our resignations, we remarked to him that it was a hard thing he asked of us; that it would be a hard thing for our families to hear, and would be injurious to our business. He replied:

"'Well, somebody has got to suffer—either you or the Governor.'"

On the 15th inst. the three officials had a hearing before the Governor with their counsel. They had retained Mr. Frederick A. Baker, the greatest legal authority on the State Constitution, and, by way of ornament, flourish and magnetism, they brought Col. John Atkinson, a distinguished pleader. The Governor was represented by Mr. Harrison Greer of Lapeer and by ex-Judge Edward Cahill. Mr. Baker's main argument was that the Legislature in giving the Governor the power to remove for gross neglect did not intend to invest him with any greater power than it possessed itself, and that under the Constitution the Legislature could only order impeachment for corrupt conduct in office, for crimes or misdemeanors. Moreover, it was his opinion that the phrase gross neglect" must be interpreted to mean habitual or wilful neglect. Another point that was made by the counsel for the defence was that inasmuch as the alleged gross neglect concerned the officials in their capacities as members of a Board, the Governor could not remove them from the other more important State offices which they held, the neglect having occurred in their other relation. The reply by the Governor's lawyers was simply that the Constitution means what it says. There is no ambiguity about its language. It gives the Governor no choice of actions. It is section 3 of article 12, and it says: "It shall be his (the Governor's) duty, except at such times as the Legislature is in session, to remove from office for gross neglect of duty, for corrupt conduct in office, or for other malfeasance or malfeasance therein." This section was an amendment made in 1882, subsequent to the defalcation of State Treasurer John McElmer. He seemed safe from punishment, and actually repeated at his office after the exposure. The Legislature was not in session and yet the only way provided by the Constitution for getting him out of office was impeachment. To impeach him the enormous expense of an extra session of the Legislature would have had to be incurred. When the Legislature did meet, it framed and submitted to the people the amendment now the subject of dispute. The lawyers for the defence argued that this is the result of excitement, deep feeling, framed to meet a special case. The Governor's lawyers replied that it was the outcome of a necessity, and represents the deliberate judgment of the Legislature and the people.

TURNED OUT OF OFFICE.

The Governor overruled a motion to dismiss the charges against the defendants and ordered the taking of testimony in the case. The defendants asked for more time and were to reappear and argue further on the 18th inst., but when the day came they changed their plans. They said it was useless to oppose the Governor with argument, since he had made the charge and had decided the case in his mind. In this they were unquestionably right and wise. Gov. Rich has no stronger feature in his physiognomy than his big strong lower jaw, and it showed nothing of his hands out more clearly than his persistence and his will. He had convinced himself of the negligence of the defendants before he ever spoke to them at all, and after that, his only aim had been to secure some explanation, clue, confession, or help toward discovering the malefactors whose crime had escaped the notice of these negligent officials. When they agreed that it was useless to oppose him the Governor at once declared them guilty, and on that afternoon served notice of removal from office upon each of them. As his authority was questioned, the Governor agreed with the defence to lay the question before the Supreme Court at the earliest moment. The first day of the next session of the court is March 6, and it was agreed that issue should be joined on that day. The argument made before the Governor will then be repeated.

In the mean time the Ingham county Grand Jury has begun an investigation of the great scandal. Grand Juries are not every-day institutions in Michigan as they are with us. There they sit only when called, and then only for a specific purpose, to which is added a routine requirement that they look into the depredations upon the public lands. Ingham county does not embrace an inch or a cent's worth of public lands, but, nevertheless, the Judge who charged the Grand Jury to gather and weigh the evidence in the case of the salaries scandal was obliged to remark, "in passing," as he said, that the jurors must also look into the depredations on the public lands. This is the first Grand Jury that has sat in Ingham county since 1887, when one was called to inquire into the cause of death of a negro who was lynched there. There are a great many courts in Michigan where no Grand Jury has ever been convened. In all routine and ordinary cases the Justices of the Peace perform the work that is done by Grand Juries elsewhere. They summon witnesses, hear evidence, and issue warrants.

In the case of this unprecedented fraud Judge Person of the Thirtieth Judicial Circuit called the session of the Grand Jury. Under the Michigan law the Supervisors of townships and wards each year send into the county seat a list of persons who may be required to serve on grand or petty juries. For the Grand Jury the law requires that not less than sixteen persons or as many more as there may be townships in the county shall be nominated in readiness to be called. In this case twenty-two jurors were drawn and one was excused. The sittings are held at Mason, the county seat.

A GRAND JURY AT WORK.

There has been a cloud of rumors about what has taken place before this extraordinary body, but it has been easy to di-tinguish fact from nonsense, because the witnesses are all nearly well known to the newspaper men, who have talked them inside out over and over again since the conception of the idea the case have been established. There is understood to have been an effort to show that the canvass of the vote on the salaries amendment excited great interest in the State House, and to a minor extent it did, among the officials of the interested officials, by their clerks, their friends, and their henchmen. All are said to have "kept tab" on the returns as they came in. It is impossible to say whether this has been established as a fact, but such is the popular belief.

The two clerks, drawn from the Secretary of State's office, who did the actual work of making the canvass, have both testified. These two clerks are Frank Potter and George B. Warren. The latter is a nephew of Hambitzer. He is a hold-over Democrat, a relic of that glorious victory by which the sturdy Democrats elected Gov. Winans at the end of a campaign in which Don Dickinson refused to take any part. He therefore had no chance to bungle or divide the party. As a consequence of this behavior on the part of that unfortunate marplot the Democrats achieved a complete State triumph for the first time in forty years. Frank Potter has unfortunately descended from a Democratic father, whose over he was Chief Clerk in the Secretary's office in 1891 and worked on the canvass of that year, when the voters and the Constitution were previously outraged.

The other clerk, George B. Warren, is a new Republican appointee. Both have steadily adhered to the statement that they are ignorant of the means by which the returns were tampered with, and had no hand in them. As has been related, the work of the complicated theory of forgery by means of bogus returns smuggled in to be counted and then smuggled out again—a hocus-pocus sort of explanation which Herrmann, the magician, would probably decline with quite reasonable. The two clerks were among the first witnesses to be examined and dismissed, and yet now, at the end of the fourth week of the jury session, both have asked to be recalled. This has given rise to a rumor that one or both may have something new to be recalled, and it is safe to say that they have merely corrected and extended their original testimony. For instance, one is said to have suddenly remembered that during the canvass a woman clerk in the State House told him that the Wayne county returns had been tampered with—a trifle so insignificant that he forgot it when asked if he had had any suspicion of fraud while making the canvass. Other witnesses, presumably more interesting, appears in no degree disturbed by what is taking place. He is apparently straightforward in speech, calm, and eternally smiling like a man whose digestion and conscience are better than great riches. He calls attention to the fact that he is so little of a beneficiary that he is out of a job and has not a dollar.

In this lightness of heart Potter differs markedly from another person who is connected with the case. That man, one of the best known men in the State, has fallen on his own ghost—a wreck and an object of pity. The novelist or the actor who could have known him a month ago and could see him now would be able to startle the world by describing the change that has come over the poor devil. He was so jolly before, so cheery voiced, so loud of speech, and hearty. He had a good word for every one and yelled his salutations across the great rotunda of the Michigan capitol, where he was often seen. He was neat, even dressy, and he was erect and proud and full of energy. To-day he weighs fifteen pounds less than then. The loss shows most heavily in his face. It is drawn and strained and hollow eyed and haggard. The head that then held so high is now held down, and his shoulders are bent. His eyes have a hunted look, and instead of having a word for everybody, he seems not to know when he is spoken to. His friends button-hole him and talk earnestly to him, and suddenly find that he is not listening and has not heard what was said to him. He likes to be alone to-day even better than he once liked to shine in a crowd.

What the cheery fellow means by his being out of a job is that both he and Warren have been discharged from their places since the discovery of the frauds. The critics of the State officials assert that this is absolutely all that they have done toward expiating their righteous indignation that they should feel in view of their relation to the frauds. These critics assert that these officials have offered no suggestion or done a single thing toward exposing or apprehending the criminals.

One of the rumors which the Grand Jury is said to be investigating is to the effect that a deputy of one of the State officers found out that there was to be an attempt to falsify the 1893 returns, and that he warned some whom he suspected of connection with the scheme that it was bad and dangerous business. This is but one of the many stories that create the belief that a number of persons in the State employ knew that the fraud was being undertaken, and that it was a daily subject of conversation among some of them. It is because of these rumors that many persons expect the courts to find that the fraud was the result of a conspiracy, and not the mere work of underlings expecting to be rewarded afterward by those whom they had benefitted.

ELLIS THE CENTRAL FIGURE.

Attorney-General Ellis is in the most unfortunate position of any man in Michigan. He is the central figure in the scandal, and the finger of suspicion is constantly pointed toward him in the newspapers, in the operations of the Grand Jury that have leaked into the public knowledge, and also in the talk of the politicians. This is largely because such frauds as these of 1893 are now proven to have been committed in 1891, and at that time he was the sole beneficiary of the crime. Then again his relation to the matter is magnified, as he says himself, because he is regarded as a Democrat—the only one in high office in the State Government. His activity, also, though it has always been his distinguishing characteristic, now tells against him because it shows him forward and active in every twist of the case. He certainly is everywhere, from every point of view, the central figure in the case.

Adolphus A. Ellis is of the Yankee type, a keen, open-eyed, sharp-faced fellow, as bright as a new dollar, as energetic as a colt, and as wide awake as a sunbeam. An indefatigable worker, he has made perhaps the best Attorney-General Michigan ever had. He is 46 years old, is thrifty and always awake to the main chance. His political history is remarkable, and yet it illustrates the main motive of his life—the hustling, "git thar" spirit. Up to 1877 he was a Republican. Then he joined the National Labor party, and was a delegate to the great Chicago Labor Convention. He next appeared as a candidate for the Attorney-General's place on the Democrat and Greenback ticket. He was defeated. He then ran for the same place on the Industrial-Democratic ticket and was elected. He was renominated in 1890 on the Populist ticket, getting the endorsement by the Democrats. He is devoid of party fealty, and has made it his habit to unite in his own person all the opposition to the strongest ticket in the field. Always, it is said, in county and city as well as State politics, he has run on all the tickets that did not bear his opponent's name. He has been a good friend to the newspaper men and they have repaid him with the constant attention in print which he has loved as a war horse loves the bugle call. The *Detroit Evening News* once published a picture of him, with his face upside down, so that his mustaches became the long ears of what looked like a jackass. He went to the newspaper office on the next day, carrying two boxes of cigars, inquiring for the "fellow who drew the pictures," and saying that he knew a good picture as well as any man in the State.

THE CRIME OF 1891.

As has been said, suspicion has been continually directed to Ellis, because the constitutional amendment of 1891 (which raised his salary only and more than trebled it) has been found fraudulent. When the canvass declared the amendment carried by 1,287 votes, but after the exposure of the desperate crime of 1893, Gov. Rich examined the returns of 1891 and found that the vote of Gratiot county, which were 630 against the amendment, was thrown out on the cause of some irregularity in the form of the official return. The law distinctly provides that in such cases the Board of Canvassers shall send a special messenger after the corrected returns. The clerk of Gratiot swears not only that he never received a blank on which to prepare his returns, but that after sending in his returns on an improvised blank he never heard of any fault found with the return.

In looking over the returns of 1891, when the Governor came to those from the county of Gogebic, up by Lake Superior, he discovered that the vote had been deliberately forged so as to raise it by the sum of 1,000 in favor of an increase of Attorney-General Ellis's salary. The actual vote was 319 for the amendment and 38 against it, but the villains who tampered with the returns made the vote 1,319 for and 38 against the proposition. Those faults in Gratiot's and Gogebic's returns were the only two frauds in the State canvass of 1891. As Mercutio remarked of his fatal wound, it was neither as deep as a well nor as wide as a church door, but it would serve. It was all that was necessary to change a defeat by 403 votes into a majority of 1,287, and it sent Ellis's salary up from $800 to $2,500.

The Gogebic forgeries were not discovered in Lansing until a Saturday afternoon, and yet on the Monday following that date Mr. Ellis left from Lansing to go to the county seat of Gogebic to look up matters there. Before going on that Friday afternoon he went to the office of the Secretary of State and asked to see the State returns for 1891. He looked over them, asked for nothing else, and went away. What he did in Bessemer, the county town of Gogebic, is said to have been brought out before the Grand Jury, where it produced a sensation. He went to Bessemer again, later, and secured an affidavit to the effect that the returns for Gogebic were returned to that county for correction. And he got from P. M. Healey of Ironwood, near by, an affidavit that he, Healey, made the changes in the figures. There also was a rumor that Healey had been Chairman of the Gogebic county canvassers in 1891, and signed the returns which he thus said he forged. Healey's affidavit is to the effect that he noticed a disparity between the figures and the written amount of the vote. The numerals were 1,319, but the written statement was "three hundred and five votes." He said he conceived that he would have it appear, let the numerals alone and altered the writing to thirteen hundred and nineteen. The County Clerk, on the other hand, distinctly remembers that there were no complaints, no changes, and no return of the blanks to the county seat.

Mr. Healey, after making his first affidavit, retained a lawyer, and then brought out the further statement that he made the changes in Mr. Ellis's office in Lansing. Mr. Ellis met him at the Capitol, and, in the presence between the written figures and the numerals, and got him to change the writing, saying that he (Healey) was Chairman of the Board of County Canvassers and could save the State Board the trouble of sending up to Gogebic. The reader, of course, remembers that although Ellis was Attorney-General, he was not a member of the State Board of Canvassers, and had no legal right to be attending to their business or to know about these returns.

Winans was elected in 1891, and a copy of the Gogebic returns was altered like the others. His executive clerk is of the opinion that the only time that copy left the Governor's office was when Mr. Ellis borrowed it one day and returned it the next. The period not more than half long enough for a trip to Gogebic and back.

DETROIT HAS A SCANDAL.

The *Detroit Evening News* carried on an independent investigation, and proved that the Wayne county returns of 1893, on the salaries amendment, were raised 4,750 before being sent to Lansing. It was found that the precinct votes were raised 100 votes, as a rule, by simply prefixing the numeral "one" to the figures for twenty-seven precincts. The vote of the Twenty-eighth precinct was raised fifty votes, and at the end of the table the footings were raised or increased by 2,000. These Wayne county footings (the county in which is Detroit) were made by three members of the County Board of Canvassers. The Chairman was George B. Bussey, now a clerk in the Auditor-General's office, who was then sergeant-at-arms of the last Senate; by James G. Clark, bill clerk of the Senate, and William H. Green, a Detroit barber. The changes are said to have been made in the city precincts, which footed up the figures and Bussey, Green footed the township figures, and they are all right. Both Clark and Bussey are under arrest in Detroit, and it has transpired that Bussey was put on that committee at his request. The *News* pushed its investigation further and took up the 1891 vote. It found that in 1891, when only the salary of Mr. Ellis was sought to be raised by constitutional amendment, precisely the same methods had been employed. The returns of a large number of precincts are missing, but those that remain showed forgeries that raised the vote 800 units. Bussey was not engaged in the work in 1891.

When Billy May, the County Clerk of Wayne county, brought the falsified records of his office to Lansing the other day on his way to produce them before the Grand Jury at Mason, he chanced to meet Attorney-General Ellis, and they talked together, not on the platform in the crowded hall of the representative's chantry. May went to Mason, but not being called that day he returned to Lansing. He put up at the Hudson House and took his records up to his bedroom, notwithstanding the fact that the prosecutor had suggested that it would be safer to put them in the clerk's vault at Mason. The records made a bulky package, but Mr. May made himself a martyr to his stern sense of duty and took them and carried them to his bedroom. He left them there and went down to the office, floor of the hotel. He met Bussey, among others, and talked to him. Attorney-General Ellis came in and went up stairs, and a young lady vows and has made oath that she saw the Attorney-General come out of Mr. May's bedroom. Mr. May suddenly changed his plans that evening and went across the street and put up at the Downey House, taking his precious burden of records with him. He left them safe in his room at half past 7 o'clock, and when he went there again at half past 11 o'clock, lo! his precious bundle had been violated! The tally sheet showing the raised figures was gone, and the leaves in his record book, two containing the forged figures of 1891, and three bearing the forged figures of 1893, had been cut out and missing. Mr. May is reported to have been thunderstruck. He gave as his opinion that the mutilation and theft occurred in the Downey House. Attorney-General Ellis had gone to his home at Ionia when Mr. May went over to the Downey House. The Grand Jury has been looking into this crime also, and it is observed that the witnesses were called before that body were from the Hudson House, where May first put up, and where Mr. Ellis was seen.

THE STATE OFFICERS.

Many and many a New Yorker will remember Secretary of State John W. Jochim, for he is the gigantic Swede, six feet and a half tall, who marched at the head of the Michigan delegation to the Chicago Convention in 1892. He is very tall, weighs about 300 pounds, and is good natured and reticent. He was put on the State ticket solely because he is a Swede, and comes from the northern peninsula, where Swedes are thicker than anything except the trees in the woods. He is a hardware man at home, and in this scandal he is one of the men benefited by the fraud of 1893, and the one in whose office the falsified canvass was made. Everybody who knows him, and even the reporter has talked with, says he has ever been regarded as an honest, straightforward, plain citizen. They say the same thing of Hambitzer, the State Treasurer; indeed, his praises are stronger because he is a much more intelligent man than the big Swede. Hambitzer is from the upper peninsula also, where he is cashier of a savings bank. His friends say that he signed the fraudulent canvass just as