

**NO. 127. HARPER'S HANDY  
SERIES, ISSUED WEEKLY:  
MACHINE POLITICS AND MONEY  
IN ELECTIONS IN NEW YORK  
CITY. APRIL 15, 1887**

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**WILLIAM M. IVINS**

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AND  
**MONEY IN ELECTIONS IN NEW YORK CITY**

BY  
**WILLIAM M. IVINS**

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**PUBLISHERS' ADVERTISEMENT.**

No recent presentation of the abuses which have become part of the working of the political machinery of our great cities has attracted so much public attention as that made by Mr. Wm. M. Ivins, the City Chamberlain of New York. His address before the Commonwealth Club, with its supplementary papers, has formed the subject of newspaper discussion throughout the country, and has awakened an amount of interest in the reform of party methods of nomination and election which is well calculated to encourage those who have long regarded this reform as one of the most pressing necessities of our time. We have asked Mr. Ivins to place these papers at our disposal, with the view of satisfying a general desire to obtain them in a compact and collected form. With the addition of two of Mr. Ivins's articles, originally published in **HARPER'S WEEKLY**, the series will be found to constitute a work of exceptional value, possessing, as it does, the character of a treatise, at once exhaustive and thoroughly readable, on a subject of vital importance to the people of this city, and bearing with manifest directness on the conditions of pure politics in every part of the country. As an aid to the political education of young men, the book is no less valuable than as a guide to the promoters of reform legislation, and a contribution to the knowledge possessed by the great body of voters in regard to abuses which have done so much to obstruct the exercise of popular sovereignty. We have pleasure in accompanying this little volume with the assurance that its author possesses, in a very uncommon degree, the ability to discuss his subject with authority, clearness, and force, and we commend it very cordially to the attention of all patriotic citizens.

**HARPER & BROTHERS.**

**FRANKLIN SQUARE, NEW YORK, April 4, 1887.**

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### AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

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THE papers here published were entirely occasional in their character. The first chapter was originally printed in the form of two articles in *Harper's Weekly* in the fall of 1884; the second and third chapters were part of a speech delivered at the February, 1887, dinner of the Commonwealth Club of New York. When asked to estimate the cost of an election in New York City, I found it necessary, in order to make the matter clear, to discuss not only our existing election law, but the relation of our party machinery to that law; and inasmuch as a knowledge of the constitution of the "Machine" is absolutely essential to an intelligent understand-

ing of the motives and methods of the use of money in our elections, I have now thought it advisable to introduce the entire subject by the description of the "Machine" contained in the first chapter. The fourth and fifth chapters were called out by the general interest shown by the press and the public after the publication of the speech at the Commonwealth Club. They were contributed to the *New York Evening Post*, with the view of somewhat elaborating the points already touched upon, as well as of suggesting a remedy for the evils which I had already tried to describe. It has been suggested that in reprinting these papers I should also present a draft of a bill embodying the general suggestions contained in the English law, and adapting them to our own system of election machinery. After mature consideration, I have thought it better to leave such a draft-bill as I had prepared unpublished for the present. Furthermore, this

course will have the effect of attracting all adverse criticism to the general plan, and not to any special details of a remedial measure. It is much better, at the present time, that the general outlines of the English system should be discussed than that criticism should be diverted to the consideration of minor details, such as the number of new officers to be appointed to distribute the ballots at each polling-place, the number of agents to be allowed to each candidate, the limit of permissible expenditure, etc. I am convinced that the fastening of attention on these subordinate and *variable* features would now be a mistake, for we are not yet near enough the time when it shall be necessary to determine upon them irrevocably. The bill when prepared should be the result of the most mature thought of the most experienced men, and one which will meet all possible objection other than such as may be fundamental and general. I therefore think it wiser not to