THE
"CLEARFIELD REPUBLICAN,"
PUBLISHED EVERY WEDNESDAY, AT
CLEARFIELD, PA.
ESTABLISHED IN 1827.

The largest Circulation of any Newspaper in North Central Pennsylvania.

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G. R. GOODLANDER,
Publisher.

CLEARFIELD REPUBLICAN.

GEO. R. GOODLANDER, Editor & Proprietor. PRINCIPLES, NOT MEN. TERMS—$2 per annum in Advance.

VOL. 54—WHOLE NO. 2,670. CLEARFIELD, PA., WEDNESDAY, MAY 5, 1880. NEW SERIES—VOL. 21, NO. 18

Lawyers' Cards.

H. W. SMITH,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW,
Clearfield, Pa.

J. J. LINGLE,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW,
Philipsburg, Centre Co., Pa.

ROLAND D. SWOOPE,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
Curwensville, Clearfield county, Pa.
oct. 9, '78-tf.

OSCAR MITCHELL,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
CLEARFIELD, PA.
Office in the Opera House. oct9, '78-tf.

G. R. & W. BARRETT,
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELORS AT LAW,
CLEARFIELD, PA.
January 30, 1878.

ISRAEL TEST,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
Clearfield, Pa.
Office in the Court House.

WM. M. McCULLOUGH,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
CLEARFIELD, PA.
Office in Masonic building, Second street, opposite the Court House.

W. C. ARNOLD,
LAW & COLLECTION OFFICE,
CURWENSVILLE,
Clearfield County, Penn'a.

S. T. BROCKBANK,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
CLEARFIELD, PA.
Office in Opera House.

SMITH V. WILSON,
Attorney-at-Law,
CLEARFIELD, PENN'A.
Office in the Masonic Building, over the County National Bank.

WILLIAM A. HAGERTY,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW,
CLEARFIELD, PENN'A
Will attend to all legal business with promptness and fidelity.

WALLACE & KREBS,
(Successors to Wallace & Fielding,)
ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW,
Clearfield, Pa.

J. F. SNYDER,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
CLEARFIELD, PA.
Office in Pie's Opera House.

S. L. McGEE,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW,
DuBois, Clearfield County, Penn'a.
Will attend promptly to all legal business entrusted to his care.

MURRAY & GORDON,
ATTORNEYS AT LAW,
CLEARFIELD, PA.
Office in Pie's Opera House, second floor.

McENALLY & McCURDY
ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW,
Clearfield, Pa.
Legal business attended to promptly with fidelity. Office on Second street, above the First National Bank.

A. G. KRAMER,
ATTORNEY-AT-LAW,
Real Estate and Collection Agent,
CLEARFIELD, PA.,
Will promptly attend to all legal business entrusted to his care.
Office in Pie's Opera House.

J. F. McKENRICK,
DISTRICT ATTORNEY,
CLEARFIELD, PA.
All legal business entrusted to his care will receive prompt attention.
Office in the Court House.

JOHN L. CUTTLE,
ATTORNEY AT LAW.
And Real Estate Agent, Clearfield, Pa.
Office on Third street, bet. Cherry & Walnut.
Respectfully offers his services in selling and buying lands in Clearfield and adjoining counties; and with an experience of over twenty years as a surveyor, flatters himself that he can render satisfaction.

Physicians' Cards.

DR. E. M. SCHEURER,
HOMŒOPATHIC PHYSICIAN,
Office in residence on First st.
April 24, 1872. Clearfield, Pa.

DR. W. A. MEANS,
PHYSICIAN & SURGEON,
DUBOIS CITY, PA.
Will attend professional calls promptly.

DR. T. J. BOYER,
PHYSICIAN AND SURGEON,
Office on Market Street, Clearfield, Pa.
Office hours 8 to 12 a. m., and 1 to 5 p. m.

DR. J. KAY WRIGLEY,
HOMŒOPATHIC PHYSICIAN,
Office adjoining the residence of James Wrigley, Esq., on Second St., Clearfield, Pa.

DR. H. B. VAN VALZAH,
CLEARFIELD, PENN'A.
OFFICE IN RESIDENCE, CORNER OF FIRST AND PINE STREETS.
Office hours—From 12 to 2 P. M.
May 12, 1875.

DR. J. P. BURCHFIELD,
Late Surgeon of the 52d Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, having returned from the Army, offers his professional services to the citizens of Clearfield county.
Professional calls promptly attended to. Office on Second street, formerly occupied by Dr. Woods.

JOB PRINTING OF EVERY DESCRIPTION neatly executed at this office.

Cards.

JUSTICES' & CONSTABLES' FEES—We have printed a large number of the new FEE BILL, and will on the receipt of twenty-five cents, mail a copy to any address.

WILLIAM M. HENRY, JUSTICE OF THE PEACE AND SCRIVENER, LUMBER CITY. Collections made and money promptly paid over. Articles of agreement and deeds of conveyance neatly executed and warranted correct or no charge.

JOHN D. THOMPSON,
Justice of the Peace and Scrivener,
Curwensville, Pa.
Collections made and money promptly paid over.

HENRY BRETH,
(OFFICE P. O.)
JUSTICE OF THE PEACE
FOR BELL TOWNSHIP.
May 6, 1878-1y*

JAMES MITCHELL,
DEALER IN
Square Timber & Timber Lands,
CLEARFIELD, PA.

REUBEN HACKMAN,
House and Sign Painter and Paper Hanger,
Clearfield, Penn'a.
Will execute jobs in his line promptly and in a workmanlike manner.

JOHN A. STADLER,
BAKER, Market St., Clearfield, Pa.
Fresh Bread, Rusk, Rolls, Pies and Cakes on hand or made to order. A general assortment of Confectionaries, Fruits and Nuts in stock.—Ice Cream and Oysters in season. Saloon nearly opposite the Postoffice. Prices moderate.

WEAVER & BETTS,
DEALERS IN
Real Estate, Square Timber, Saw Logs,
AND LUMBER OF ALL KINDS.
Office on Second street, in rear of store room of George Weaver & Co.

RICHARD HUGHES,
JUSTICE OF THE PEACE
—FOR—
Decatur Township.
Osceola Mills P. O.
All official business entrusted to him will be promptly attended to.

HARRY SNYDER,
BARBER AND HAIRDRESSER.
Shop on Market St., opposite Court House.
A clean towel for every customer.
Also dealer in
Best Brands of Tobacco and Cigars.
Clearfield Pa.

JAMES H. TURNER,
JUSTICE OF THE PEACE.
Wallaceton, Pa.
He has prepared himself with all the necessary blank forms under the Pension and Bounty laws, as well as blank Deeds, etc. All legal matters entrusted to his care will receive prompt attention.

ANDREW HARWICK,
Market Street, Clearfield, Pa.,
MANUFACTURER AND DEALER IN
Harness, Bridles, Saddles, Collars, and Horse-Furnishing Goods.
All kinds of repairing promptly attended to. Saddlers' Hardware, Horse Brushes, Curry Combs, &c., always on hand and for sale at the lowest cash price.

G. H. HALL,
PRACTICAL PUMP MAKER,
NEAR CLEARFIELD, PENN'A.
Pumps always on hand and made to order on short notice. Pipes bored on reasonable terms. All work warranted to render satisfaction, and delivered if desired.

Livery Stable.

THE undersigned begs leave to inform the public that he is now fully prepared to accommodate all in the way of furnishing Horses, Buggies, Saddles and Harness, on the shortest notice and on reasonable terms. Residence on Locust street, between Third and Fourth.
GEO. W. GEARHART
Clearfield, Feb. 4, 1874.

WASHINGTON HOUSE,
GLEN HOPE, PENN'A.
THE undersigned, having leased this commodious Hotel, in the village of Glen Hope, is now prepared to accommodate all who may call. My table and bar shall be supplied with the best the market affords.
GEORGE W. DOTTS, Jr.
Glen Hope, Pa., March 26, 1879-tf.

THOMAS H. FORCEE,
DEALER IN
GENERAL MERCHANDISE.
GRAHAMTON, Pa.
Also, extensive manufacturer and dealer in Square Timber and Sawed Lumber of all kinds.
Orders collected and all bills promptly filled.

E. A. BIGLER & CO.,
DEALERS IN
SQUARE TIMBER,
and manufacturers of
ALL KINDS OF SAWED LUMBER,
CLEARFIELD, PENN'A.

S. I. SNYDER,
PRACTICAL WATCHMAKER
AND DEALER IN
Watches, Clocks and Jewelry,
Graham's Row, Market Street,
CLEARFIELD, PA.
All kinds of repairing in my line promptly attended to. April 23, 1874.

Clearfield Nursery.
ENCOURAGE HOME INDUSTRY.
THE undersigned, having established a Nursery on the 'Pike, about half way between Clearfield and Curwensville, is prepared to furnish all kinds of FRUIT TREES, (standard and dwarf,) Evergreens, Shrubbery, Grape Vines, Gooseberry, Lawton Blackberry, Strawberry, and Raspberry Vines. Also, Siberian Crab Trees, Quince, and early market Rhubarb, &c. Orders promptly attended to. Address,
J. D. WRIGHT,
Curwensville, Pa.

MEAT MARKET.
F. M. CARDON & BRO.,
On Market St., one door west of Mansion House,
CLEARFIELD, PA.
Our arrangements are of the most complete character for furnishing the public with Fresh Meats of all kind, and of the very best quality. We also deal in all kinds of Agricultural Implements, which we keep on exhibition for the benefit of the public. Call around when in town, and take a look at things, or address as
F. M. CARDON & BRO.
Clearfield, Pa., July 14, 1875-tf.

Clearfield Insurance Agency.
JAMES KERR. CARROLL S. BIDDLE.
KERR & BIDDLE, Agents,
Represent the following and other first class Co's

Companies.	Assets.
Liverpool London & Globe—U. S. Br.	$1,361,89
Lycoming—on mutual & cash plan	5,000,000
Phœnix, of Hartford, Conn	2,624,582
Insurance Co. of North America	6,425,674
North British & Mercantile—U. S. Br.	1,742,863
Scottish Commercial—U. S. Branch	679,145
Waterloo	784,815
Travelers (Life & Accident)	4,595,434

Office in Market St., opp. Court House, Clearfield, Pa. June 4, '73-tf.

CIVILIZED BULLDOZING

IN MASSACHUSETTS AND RHODE ISLAND

—REPORT OF—

SENATOR W. A. WALLACE,

OF PENNSYLVANIA,

From the Select Committee to Inquire Into Frauds in the Recent Elections.

IN SENATE UNITED STATES, APRIL, 1880.

Your Select Committee to inquire into alleged frauds in the recent elections was directed by the authority given it "to inquire whether any citizen of any State has been dismissed or threatened with dismissal from employment or deprivation of any right or privilege by reason of his vote or intention to vote at the recent elections, or has been otherwise interfered with, and whether citizens of the United States were prevented from exercising the elective franchise, or forced to use it against their wishes, by * * * any unlawful means or practices."

The attention of the Committee was directed, by a number of affidavits upon this subject, to the State of Massachusetts, and the inquiry was prosecuted there and in the State of Rhode Island, where your Committee was also pursuing another branch of the duty assigned to it by the Senate. The specific allegation was made that employers of labor in those States coerced their employes to vote as the employers wished, and that deprivation of employment was the penalty for refusal to do so. Among the data submitted to your Committee in proof of this allegation was a circular, which was in these words:

DEAR SIR:—Your co-operation with the Massachusetts Republican State Central Committee is most earnestly requested. It is in your power, by the authority you can exercise over those employed by you, to maintain the honor of Massachusetts, and keep it out of the hands of spoilers and political knaves who have selected General Butler as their candidate. His election would disgrace our State, and ruin our standing at home and abroad. A thorough canvass of those you employ, and an early report to the Secretary of the Republican State Central Committee, will be thankfully received.

That this was issued in the canvass of 1878, by authority of the Republican organization, was shown to be untrue. Its origin could not be traced. It seemed to your Committee to be a trick of partisan politics originating with some irresponsible person and productive of no evil results to any workman.

A meeting of some twenty leading manufacturers and employers of labor was held at the Parker House, in Boston, during the canvass of 1878. Its purpose, as stated by the Chairman of the Republican State Committee, was not to raise money, but to arouse the interest of those in the meeting to the importance of the issues of the canvass; but there was no proof that any arrangement was there made to coerce employes or exercise any influence upon them. Indeed, it was expressly denied by the testimony.

Another meeting of manufacturers was shown to have been held at Worcester, Mass., in the office of Mr. Washburne, who was Chairman of the Republican City Committee. The purpose of this meeting was to urge the employers of labor there present to exercise their influence. It was to arouse them to action. They were asked to call their employes together and address them on the issues. This was done in at least one case. The action taken at this meeting was spoken of by the employes affected as being prejudicial to their freedom of action. Fear of loss of work if they voted or acted against their employers' wishes was frequently expressed. The result of the meeting, and its action, was a degree of intimidation to the employe. One witness described its effect upon the operatives thus: It caused them to be no longer active, to grow cold; it dampened their ardor and changed their conduct. Another witness said the meeting was held for the purpose of "forcing their help, through dread of non-employment to vote contrary to their wishes and according to the wishes of their employers." And still another, who was in charge of the Democratic headquarters, described it thus:

"A. The effect of the meeting, as it was detailed to me—of course I do not know that it is accurate, but it came to me from quite a number of sources—was this, that there had been a meeting of manufacturers called; that the policy as laid down at that meeting by some of the speakers, and by one speaker particularly, was to this effect: 'We must keep inside the law; we must not say that our men will be discharged, nor anything of that kind, but we must hold up before them that, if Butler is elected or the policy he advocates prevails, it will be necessary to close our workshops, and stop our business.'

Men came to me and said that that was the drift of it, and asked me if I thought it was probable that they would lose their work.

Q. Employes came to you and asked you this? A. Yes, sir; that was the current understanding there, and what I have stated was the tenor of the meeting.

Q. What was the effect, as you gathered it from the employes themselves, upon their minds? A. Its effect was this: that while up to that date the operatives and employes, as a general rule in Worcester county, had been enthusiastic, and thronged our rooms day and evening almost, a great many of them then came and expressed doubts as to whether they would be able to vote or act openly for the reason that they understood that this meeting had been held, and that that was the policy that would be adopted. In consequence of that, there was a decided coolness at that time on the part of this class of men. I do not know that there was any direct act of intimidation upon them further than that the report of this meeting had that effect upon them, but I do know that a great many upon whom we had counted with absolute certainty up to that time were missing, or else voted against us.

Q. What was the number, if you can give it, of employes in the city of Worcester who were Democratic in their proclivities? A. The laboring population is almost wholly Democratic—that is, the Democratic vote in the city is almost wholly composed of laboring men. But a small proportion of those whom we rank as the property holders there are comprised in our party. I should say that our vote there, in the Tilden election, was forty-two hundred and something, and I should say that easily 3,000 and something of these men were men who worked by the day for their livelihood."

The purpose here expressed of keeping "inside the law," was fully carried out, for there was no case brought to the notice of your Committee, in which a conspiracy or unlawful combination to coerce voters was disclosed. We are of the opinion, however, that the purpose intended was as fully accomplished as if unlawful means had been used.

Your committee are of opinion that in very many instances during that election the ballot was cast by operatives against their own deliberate convictions, and in favor of the candidates of their employers, and that this was the result of a fear of loss of work at the beginning of Winter.

This policy of keeping "inside the law" was publicly proclaimed in the *Herald*, a leading and influential newspaper in Boston, which earnestly and effectively aided the cause of those who called and held those meetings of employers, in these words:

"There will probably be a good deal of 'bulldozing' done in Massachusetts this year of a civilized type. The laborers employed by General Butler in his various enterprises—mills, quarries, &c.—will be expected to vote for him or give up their situations. The same rule will hold good on the other side. There will be no shot-guns or threats. Everything will be managed with decorum, adorned by noble sentiments. But the men who oppose Butler employ three-fourths, if not seven-eighths, of the labor of the State. They honestly believe that Butler's election would injure their property. They know that idle hands are waiting to do their work. It is not to be expected that they will look on indifferently and see their employes vote for a destructive man like Butler. Human nature is much the same in Massachusetts and Mississippi. Only methods are different. Brains, capital, and enterprise will tell in any community. It is very improper, of course, to intimidate voters, but there is a way of giving advice that is quite convincing."

This action was described before your Committee as "civilized bulldozing," and its occurrence was said to be much more frequent and effective in the manufacturing villages than in the cities:

"It is impossible that there should be so much in the cities as in towns. It is easier to bring to light the wrongdoings of an employer there; it is harder to cover them up, because of the public press and because of the number of the people who would become cognizant of them. In a factory town it is different. There is no newspaper there; the operative lives in a tenement belonging to the manufacturer; his wages are small; his wife probably works in the mill; his children probably work in the mill; and, if he is in any way fractious, or opposed to voting in a way that these people dictate, his wife, children, and himself are turned out of the mill, out of the tenement, and out of the means of earning a livelihood."

The case of the Manchaug Manufacturing Corporation, in the County of Worcester, was cited as one of those in which this policy of "civilized bulldozing" was pursued. The testimony disclosed the following facts: Manchaug is a manufacturing village, wherein the real estate, mills, houses, churches, halls and public buildings were owned by the stock company which there manufactured muslin fabrics. They employed a large number of persons as workmen, many of whom were French Canadians. The number of voters at the mills were upwards of 100 in 1878, of whom three-fourths were Democrats. All of the managing force, superintendents and book-keepers were Republicans. Many young people of both sexes were employed at the mills, and their homes were with their parents in the tenement houses of the corporation. One case was shown in which a man who had served during the war occupied one of the company's houses, whilst his son and three nieces worked in the factory, and lived with him. He was quite active as a canvasser on the Democratic side in 1878. He describes what occurred as follows:

"I was not working for the corporation, but I was active in the campaign. I distributed the campaign documents to everybody. I was one of the signers of the Butler call and one of the Vice Presidents of the Butler club. I contributed two or three dollars to the Butler flag-raising, when we were going to have a good time. Mr. Waters, who had asked for the hall, came to my house when I was not at home; my wife told me of his being there. Immediately after this, a notice came from the mill that I must vacate my tenement within two weeks. It was signed by Robert McArthur and by Charles A Chase, clerk. For two or three days nothing was said, and they sent for me to come to the shop.

"Mr. Chase was in general charge of all the tenements and machines and so on. I went to him; found him at his house, when he wanted to know whether I was going out of the tenement. It was then about the 10th of October. I said I would like to stop until after town meeting; that I had taken an active part and would like to vote for General Butler. He said, 'You cannot.' I replied, 'I think I can.' He said, 'I will have you out in about a week.' I asked him, 'Have I no rights?' He answered, 'Not a Goddamned right.' I told him, 'There is one right I have got.' He asked, 'What is that?' I said, 'I have got possession, and I shall hold it until after the town meeting, if I can.' Finally, I had three notices and three writs to go to Worcester, but went and voted after all.

"If I had been turned out I could not have got any place in town, and I could not have gone back to the tenement. Not only that, but the fact was that previous to getting my notice I had the village in a blaze; nine-tenths were Democratic, or for Butler, but after they gave me the notice no man would say 'Butler' in the village."

The son was notified to quit work, and did quit. The effect of this notice to leave, upon men who had families dependent upon them, was to take away their freedom of action, and they were obliged to vote as their employers required, for they had no place to go with their families.

Its effect appears to have been decided upon the voters. Their timidity was described as follows:

"They spoke to me about making arrangements about raising a flag, as I did not work for the company and cared nothing for the company. They were afraid to take an active part in it, but agreed to contribute toward defraying the expense. I had a list of some twenty-four names of those who contributed—some a dollar and some two dollars—toward hiring the band and paying the expense of a French speaker. After Mr. Waters came with a notice of Mr. Thayer's and Mr. Mellen's meeting, this notice which followed, from Mr. McArthur to my father, made a change. Those men did not seem to dare to speak to me on the front street there; they would come around after dark and call me out to speak to me; they would pass me on the street without speaking and they told me, two or three different ones, that it was coming near Winter, and they did not wish to lose their jobs; still they wished to vote for Butler."

The corporation owned the only hall in town in which public meetings were held. It was used for minstrel shows and dances frequently. Mr. Thayer, the Democratic candidate for Congress, and Mr. Mellen, desired to speak in it, but its use was refused by Mr. McArthur, the agent. The witness describes the refusal thus:

"I then went to Mr. McArthur and applied for the hall, and told Mr. McArthur that as Mr. Rice, the Republican candidate, had complimented our town by making his opening speech of the canvass there, I thought it would be a very good send-off and a compliment to the place if Mr. Thayer would make the second speech of his canvass in our town, and that all parties would then have an opportunity to hear their candidates in the opening of the canvass. Mr. McArthur replied that he could not let the hall, and remarked to me, 'You know how our people are.' I supposed that by 'our people' he meant the owners. He went on to say, 'You know how our people are, and they are not of that way of political thought, and do not belong to that political party; if you owned a hall, you would not let in the opposition to speak, either.' I replied, 'Mr. McArthur, on the contrary, I should certainly do that very thing; and if you people are intending to suppress freedom of discussion of political questions, our community want to know it.' He said, 'Well, I think I cannot let you have the hall.'"

That Democratic meeting was held in a barn.

The selectmen of the town have charge of the ballot-box on election day. McArthur, an employe of the company, was in charge as such in 1878. Chase and Knox, two other employes of the company, were in attendance. The workmen were provided with Republican tickets at the works—hauled in wagons to the polling-place, and voted under the direct supervision of McArthur, Chase and Knox. A witness describes the process thus:

"My attention was called to the peculiar way they had of managing the voters there. I stepped up to the little railing that they had there to go around and up to the polls, and I saw two men stationed at the entrance where the voters went in. One was a Mr. Chase, the other was a Mr. Knox. I saw that the help of the village (I was acquainted with a great portion of them) came along in a sort of rotation. Mr. Chase was on one side and this Mr. Knox was on the other, and as each man came up they would take hold of the ticket that the man had, and say, 'That is right, pass on.' Another would come up, and they would say 'That is right, pass on.' Another would come up, and they would say, 'Hold on, that is not the vote you want to cast.' 'Why, yes, it is the vote I want to cast.' 'No, it is not.' 'Why, certainly, that is my vote.' 'Oh, no,' and he got it out of the man's hand, tore it up and threw it on the floor. He said, 'You do not want to vote such a damned vote as that.' He then handed the voter another one. The man then remarked, 'I don't want to cast this vote.' The reply was, 'Go right along; that is the vote you want. The man went right along and put it in the box. Mr. Hastings, the constable, stood right opposite, and I stood, perhaps, four feet from this Mr. Knox."

Another instance is given thus:

Q. Who was at the polls to receive the employes in November last? A. Mr. Chase.

Q. Is he connected with the corporation? A. He is the book-keeper there.

Q. Who takes them from the mills to the polls? A. The teams of the corporation take them.

Q. What have you seen in regard to tickets when they have got to the polls? A. I have seen Mr. Chase change their tickets. He generally stands at one side where there is a small place to go through, and, as they come along, he always has the ballots there, and I have seen him change them, and have seen them get tickets from him and carry them in.

Q. The specific tickets you speak of, did they examine those? A. I do not know whether they could or not. Pretty nearly all of those who work there are French, and I do not know whether they could examine them.

Q. Do you know whether those tickets were in envelopes or open? A. I have seen Mr. Chase give to them that were open.

Q. Did you see this occur in November, 1878? A. Yes, sir.

Q. Specify an instance and describe how this occurred, if you can. A. As they pass along he was standing there on this side, and as they would come up to the polls to would stop them, hand them one of the tickets, and say, 'Here, carry it in.' They might have had an envelope or something of that kind. I have seen them have envelopes. I have seen that occur.

The ballot-boxes were open boxes and those in charge could see the form and appearance of the ballot voted, and they were easily distinguishable apart.

The result of this close supervision of the votes of the operatives by their employers and the fears which prevailed among themlest they should be discharged, very naturally affected the result in the district in which they voted, and gave to the candidate favored by the employer a large number of votes they would not have received if perfect freedom of action had been allowed to the workmen.

Your Committee examined a number of witnesses in regard to the management and manner of voting at Webster, in Worcester county, by the employes of the Slater Manufacturing Company, where several hundred men are employed; a majority of whom were Irishmen, and the proof showed about the same state of facts as existed in Manchaug.

The same was the case at the Douglass Axe Factory, where the agents of the company stood at the door of the election-house, watched every one of the employes who came in, passed him the Republican ticket and told him it would be to his interest to vote that ticket.

The Boston Elastic Fabric Company employs a large number of hands, most of whom were Democrats, but under the orders of their employer, Mr. McBirney. The foreman of the factory stood at the polls in Chelsea all day on election day between the door and the ballot-box, and required the men employed under him to vote the Republican ticket. Another of the employes was directed to tell them that this was their employers' wish, and they must govern themselves accordingly. This was done and the men very generally obeyed the orders given. One testified that he did not and was soon driven out of that employment.

Several cases of individual interference by employers with the freedom of choice by their workmen came to the notice of your Committee, none of which were so flagrant in their details as those already given; but there was enough to show that the determination existed to coerce choice by pressing upon the necessities of workmen and operatives.

The State of Massachusetts has a stringent registry law for the registration of voters. All naturalized citizens must produce their certificates of naturalization before the board of registration, and the name of the citizen can only go upon the list of voters after careful scrutiny. The law is a most wise and salutary one, but your Committee are compelled to report that its provisions, in one case, were made the means of depriving several citizens born within the State of their right to vote, and one of them actually took out his naturalization papers. This difficulty occurred at Plymouth, and is thus described by Dr. Shumway, a witness:

"In the first place, we had a decision from the board of selectmen that those persons who were born of persons unnaturalized, could not be citizens of the United States, and therefore, could not register as voters. This was made to operate very injuriously, because most of those who had come of age were young men who were going to vote for General Butler. It so completely demoralized them that some of them said they would not have anything more to do with it. I endeavored to persuade them to hold on. The first intimation I had of it was this: A young man came to me and asked me if I did not suppose that a man born within two rods of Plymouth Rock was a citizen of the United States. I said I had no doubt of it. He said they had refused to register him, although he was born there, because his father had not been naturalized. I told him I supposed somebody was playing a joke upon him, and he replied that it was a serious matter. I went before the board of selectmen, and found that they had made that decision. I endeavored to argue the case with them, but they said the decision was final; that no one who was born of unnaturalized citizens could be a citizen unless himself naturalized, and that they would not allow any such to register. Some of the men who had been refused on this ground, went once or twice to the town-house, and then said they would give it up, and wouldn't have any more to do with it. One or two persisted in maintaining what they supposed to be their rights, and finally succeeded. I will state that this decision was made about ten days before the election. I think, (the first knowledge I had of it at that time,) and that on the night before the election, (Monday evening,) at ten o'clock, (the polls being opened on Tuesday,) the decision was reversed, I understood. The polls opened on Tuesday at a quarter of nine o'clock, and the law is, I think, that after the polls have opened, no man shall be allowed to register. As it was my first experience in political affairs, I failed to take the names of those persons. I know of only two who were registered, and do not know of those who were not. I understood that there were some ten or dozen who were refused registration, but that I do not know anything positively about; that is merely heresay with me. Another case that I do know of, was that of a man who, notwithstanding that he had been born in the neighboring town, went and got naturalized. His name is Alexander Morrison. [Producing the naturalization paper of Morrison, which is appended to this testimony.] This is his naturalization paper. He was born in the neighboring town of Sandwich.

One of the men was born within two rods of Plymouth Rock.

"Q. State the politics of the selectmen at Plymouth. A. Four of them were Republicans and one was a Democrat—that is an Abbott Democrat. The board was practically a unit in the last campaign. It was composed of five members."

The young man, Morrison, who was naturalized, was called and testified in substance as follows:

Question. Where do you live?

Answer. At Plymouth.

Q. Where were you born? A. Close by Sandwich.

Q. Are Plymouth and Sandwich in the same county? A. No, sir; Plymouth is in Plymouth county, and Sandwich is in Barnstable county.

Q. State the circumstances under which you made application for registration, why you got naturalized, and whether that which is now shown you is your naturalization paper? A. I went to the selectmen on the same night that Mr. Carr went to them. That was Saturday night. Mr. Bradford, one of the selectmen, asked me why my name was not on the list, and if I had paid my taxes. I told him that I had paid them. He asked me if I was naturalized. I told him I was not; that I was born in this country. He then asked me if my father was naturalized, and I replied that my father was not. He said he didn't see how I could vote, for the reason that my father was not naturalized, but that he would carry the matter before the selectmen at the meeting on Saturday of the next week. I went there shortly afterwards, when he told me that I should not vote because my father was not naturalized.

Q. Did you not get naturalized subsequently? A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did that happen? A. Shortly after that, Mr. Hedge, the constable, came to me—it was before the election, though I don't know how long before—and told me I had better go in that morning and get my naturalization papers; that it would probably be my last chance before the election. I then went in and got my papers out.

Q. Before whom did you go? A. Before Mr. Lord.

Q. Was there a judge on the bench? A. There was a judge on the bench. I dont know who he was.

P. Was it Mr. Lord who was clerk of the court? A. I don't know.

Q. Was it in Plymouth? A. It was in Plymouth.

Q. Did you have to produce witnesses there? A. Yes, sir; Mr. Hedge and a young gentleman.

Q. You were sworn, were you? A. They were sworn that they had known me ten years.

Q. Did you take an oath that you would bear true allegiance to the country? A. Yes, sir.

Q. And that you had renounced your allegiance to the Queen of Great Britain? A. Yes, sir.

Q. That was regularly administered to you before you got your paper. A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then the clerk made out the paper which is here? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did you do afterwards with the paper? A. I took it home.

Q. Did you go afterwards to the registrars with it? A. I went with it to the registrars on the next morning. Mr. Hedge went with me.

Q. Mr. Hedge was the constable, and went before the registrars? A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did they do then? A. They put my name on the registry.

Q. Did Mr. Hedge tell them you had been naturalized? A. I believe he did.

Q. Was that the reason you went back there that morning to get upon the list, after having been naturalized? A. Yes, sir.

The naturalization paper given to this young man, born in the country, was produced, and is in these words:

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.
(Coat of Eagle.)
COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
Plymouth County, ss:

To all people to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Know ye that a superior court, begun and holden at Plymouth, on the fourth Monday of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight, Alexander Morrison, of Plymouth, in the county of Plymouth, and State of Massachusetts, born in the town of Sandwich, in the county of Barnstable, Massachusetts, having produced the evidence, and taken and subscribed the oath required by law, was admitted to become a citizen of the United States, according to the acts of Congress in such cases made and provided.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said court at Plymouth, in said county, the first day of November, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and seventy-eight.

(SEAL OF COURT.) WM. H. WHITMAN, *Clerk.*

Your Committee think that this action of the Registry Board of Plymouth was either a gross outrage upon the sons of foreigners, born within the country, or (taking the most charitable view of the case) the Board showed lamentable ignorance of the law, of common sense, and of their plain duty.

The campaign of 1878, in Massachusetts, seems to have been anomalous. For the first time, so far as your committee could learn, ministers of the Christian religion were openly invited to aid in the campaign by furnishing the names and postoffice address of their church members, to the end that documents containing the dogmas of a political party might be sent to them through the mails.

A circular in the following form was sent to every clergyman in the State, whose name and address could be found from the religious monthlies:

REPUBLICAN STATE COM. OF MASSACHUSETTS,
HEADQUARTERS, 378 WASHINGTON STREET,
BOSTON, *September 26, 1878.*

ADIN THAYER, Chairman.
S. B. STEBBINS, Treasurer.
GEORGE C. CROCKER, Secretary.

DEAR SIR: In order to enable us to distribute documents effectively, you will kindly furnish us immediately with a list of the male members of your church and parish, and with such other names as you may deem expedient. By so doing, you will aid us in saving the honor of our Commonwealth. With esteem, yours,

ADIN THAYER, *Chairman.*
GEORGE C. CROCKER, *Secretary.*

There was a large number of responses, and documents were sent to the names and addresses furnished. Of the character of the documents sent to the members of the churches, your Committee did not learn, but it is fair to suppose that, as the following circular seeks to arouse the alarm and indignation of "Christian citizens," it was forwarded to church members:

REPUBLICAN STATE COM. OF MASSACHUSETTS,
HEADQUARTERS, 378 WASHINGTON STREET,
BOSTON, *September 19, 1878.*

ADIN THAYER, Chairman.
S. B. STEBBINS, Treasurer.
GEORGE C. CROCKER, Secretary.

DEAR SIR: A desperate attempt is being made, under the hypocritical pretense of State reform, to deliver Massachusetts to the Repudiationists, Greenbackers and Communists.

This attempt should excite the alarm and indignation of every Christian citizen, and call forth the active, earnest and persistent opposition of every lover of the fair fame of Massachusetts.

The State ticket nominated by the Republican party stands for public and private honesty and national good faith.

We earnestly invoke your active aid in securing its election, and thus saving the "Old Commonwealth" from the control of unscrupulous and self-seeking demagogues.

For order of the Republican State Committee,
ADIN THAYER, *Chairman.*
GEORGE C. CROCKER, *Secretary.*

Your Committee deems this system of electioneering dangerous and vicious, calculated as well to bring the Christian religion into the mire of politics as to arouse sectarian animosity among the people.

In pursuing another duty enjoined by the Senate in Rhode Island, this subject of controlling the votes of employees by the employers, through fear of loss of work, was incidentally examined.

At Westerly, in the south-western part of the State, there are two corporations known as the New England Granite Company, and the Smith Granite Company. They employed in 1876 about 100 men in getting out and preparing granite. Direct influence was brought to bear upon these employes about a week before the Presidential election of 1876, by these corporations issuing a hand-bill and circulating it where the men worked, which stated that the election of Mr. Tilden would be a great injury to their business, and by the concluding paragraph, which declared they would secure their own interest by voting against Mr. Tilden. The circular was in these words:

TO ALL VOTERS
Employed by the
N. E. GRANITE WORKS, AND THE SMITH GRANITE CO.

Having become fully convinced that the election of Samuel J. Tilden and a Democratic Congress, on the 7th of November, will do a great injury to our business, and will also be a National Calamity, we do most earnestly advise all VOTERS IN OUR EMPLOY to vote the Republican ticket, more especially for a Republican Member of Congress. You will by so doing, secure your own interest, our interest, and the interest of your country.

The N. E. GRANITE WORKS.
The SMITH GRANITE CO.

The plain implication from the language here used is, that the injury to the business of the corporation would result in loss of employment to the workmen, and it undoubtedly had the effect to intimidate voters.

It was shown that at Hope Village, in the Congressional election, the Republicans used a colored ballot of a very distinctly marked color, and that the Democratic ballot was plain white. At that time, there was a number of Democrats employed in the works who attended Democratic meetings, and desired to vote that ticket, but when these men came to vote on election day, men in the employ of the Hope Manufacturing Company stood at the ballot-box and watched the ballots all day. Some of these Democrats went home without voting, and others declared that they did not dare to vote.

At Woonsocket, there are seven or eight large manufacturing establishments usually operating as corporations. They employ many workmen, a majority of whom are of foreign birth, and among the employes are many whose political opinions are Democratic. It was shown that at almost every election for years, these men voted under the eye of their employers' agents who were Republicans, and in very many cases, under circumstances showing intimidation and fear of loss of work.

The representatives of the manufacturers of Woonsocket are chiefly Republicans. The owners are not residents of Woonsocket, but of Providence and other places, but their agents in Woonsocket are, as a general thing, and with but one exception, are Republicans. On the day of election they are very active, exceedingly active, in getting in the voters who work at their establishments. They are sometimes carried to the polls in their own private carriages, and sometimes in carriages hired by the party. They are usually met at the entrance to the hall by men in the employ of those corporations, who will present the voters, as they are marched in, with ballots. They are followed, in many cases, from the entrance to the hall to the ballot-box, and watched until the ballot is seen to be deposited in the ballot-box, so that there may be no opportunity for them to change their ballots, and take others."

One witness described the acts which he thought amounted to intimidation, in this language:

"On the night before the last Congressional election, parties who we know are Democrats, came to me and told me they were afraid to vote the Democratic ticket openly, that they wanted me to get them some ballots so they could vote if they got down, that their overseers were watching them; that the Republican candidate, Mr. Ballou, was a heavy stockholder in the corporation, and that they expected to be bulldozed, as they stated it. I had letters from two parties requesting me to leave the ballots so that they could distribute them among the help the next morning before seven o'clock. We thought it would make a difference to us of thirty or forty votes if those men voted our ticket. I do not think that this intimidation is carried on in all the mills there; there is some difference between them in that respect: I think that in the Social Company's mill, we get as many Democratic as Republican votes. As has been stated by others, there is a man there named Sampson who makes himself very officious on election day, who takes care of the voters as they come up. From the Woonsocket Machine Company, at the last Congressional election, they had their overseer posted about two feet from the ballot-box, and he was handing ballots to the operatives as they came up to vote. His name is