

BULLDOZING As Practiced in Massachusetts.

Summary of Facts Proved by Testimony Taken Before the Wallace Investigating Committee.

EVIDENCE OF INTIMIDATION BY REPUBLICAN EMPLOYERS.

The senatorial investigating committee, of which Senator Wallace is chairman, has now been through its work some days. Its departure from the State was the signal for all the Republican papers of the State, without exception so far as we have observed, to begin an attempt to belittle the results of its work. With suspicious unanimity they all, with one accord, assert that the investigation amounted to nothing, that no proof was elicited sufficient to sustain the charge made last year that civilized bulldozing and intimidation were practiced in this State, that those charges were campaign slanders and still unproved. That the people of this State may see how barefaced are these Republican falsehoods, and that they may be able to judge for themselves as to the facts, we present herewith a condensed summary of the evidence taken, showing exactly what was proven and by what evidence. The investigation began on the 14th day of August, United States Commissioner Hallett was the first witness called. The substantial points of his testimony were as follows: Chief supervisor of elections: the list of voters prepared and pasted at the polls was the evidence of a man's right to vote in this city; found that many men whose names appeared on the voting list were foreigners who had no part in having their names so published, and in such cases those persons were not molested; it was only where persons had illegally registered themselves or impersonated others at the polls that they were arrested; twenty warrants were executed on the morning of the State election in 1878. Commissioner Hallett told of the verbal instructions to the deputies in each ward of the city, and of his cautioning those who were not entitled to vote prior to election that they would be arrested in case they attempted to use their ballots. Witness had taken his authority in some cases from the State laws, and in others from the Federal laws. The injunctions against voting because of the reading and writing defect were, of course, based on the former class of laws. Nine hundred names which were on the voting list in 1878

WERE MARKED FOR CHALLENGE.

on the day of election at the polls. The persons who were subject to arrest were not notified of the liability until the voting time, because there was doubt as to their voting; and while no honest voter could be deterred from casting his ballot, the arrest of those who were suspected of wrong prior to election would have caused trouble and served no better end than that attained by the means used. Witness didn't keep complete lists of those whose names were open to question, but when they refused to answer questions put to them by the deputy marshals at their residences or places of business they were arrested. He had issued in all 169 warrants. One of these was for false impersonation, or procuring naturalization under false pretences, eighteen for refusing to answer deputies' questions, five for illegal voting, and fifteen for false registration. The day of election twenty arrests were made, and of the entire 169 warrants procured 130 were issued on election day. These were sworn out by the assistant United States attorney, and the information on which this was done was gathered from the supervisors and deputy marshals. Witness testified to the good character of the majority of the supervisors.

THEY WERE PAID

under order of Judge Lowell by the marshals, and about thirty-four received full compensation for ten days' service, there being fifteen or seventeen places of registry open in Boston ten days before election. Witness then produced his accounts, showing his bill to be \$2,726.49 for services as chief supervisor, including \$500 or \$600 for clerk hire. He expressed a decided opinion that there were from 3500 to 5000 names on the list of Boston city voters which ought not to be there. Witness acknowledged that by his interpretation of the law a man voting for State officers only, and yet not being entitled to vote according to the Federal law in a Presidential election, would be liable to arrest, and partially admitted that Federal interference was not essential to a free and fair election in Massachusetts. Ex-Mayor Wightman testified further as to the charges that names of men not entitled to vote are on the voting list. As chairman of the board of registrars of voters, in the campaign of 1878 the Young Republicans established what they called a bureau of inspection, a volunteer organization, to investigate the voting list, and aid in purging it of names which were not properly recorded. They made twenty-nine complaints during the campaign, but all the apparent discrepancies were explained and shown to be right, save one or two names, which really were not those of legal voters. Witness explained deliberately and lucidly the intricate details of the mode of ascertaining with accuracy the list of qualified voters, and claimed that the Boston system was as efficient as any in the State. Of the 896 names that came from the supervisors to the board of registrars questioned, less than 100 were men upon whom a just suspicion could rest. The board at present consisted of one Democrat and one Republican. Witness was of the opinion that

THE LOCAL LAW WAS ENTIRELY SUFFICIENT

to insure an honest and pure ballot, and reiterated his assertion that by the system inaugurated by the board of registrars a pure and free election could be had by the city without Federal supervision of any kind. There was no necessity, as far as the witness could see, for the present national law.

Ex-Registrar Howard testified that only a small portion of the list of voters actually voted, and explained the plans of the registrars before elections and the details of their work; said attempts at fraud were not infrequent, but not by holders of naturalization papers alone. The question of domicile was one which made a great deal of confusion to the registrars, for men moved from ward to ward with entire freedom, and simply from this cause 100 to 200 hearings were annually necessitated. The registry lists now were as accurate as they could be made under the present law. The lists were as nearly as possible correspondent with the spirit of the statute. In answer to a query as to the necessity of a Federal supervisory ordinance, witness thought that the State might find an intelligent body of men who would make a list complete and effective to meet all the demands of a fair, pure and free election, and thus be wholly independent of the general government. He did not believe that the State was made any better by the too common practice of paying the poll tax of large numbers of poor voters to secure their suffrages, as no doubt was done by candidates for various political positions in every city of the State. Witness had no impression and could give no estimate of the number of names on the registry list which should not be there. Fewer, however, than what Judge Hallett said he thought. There was probably less than 1000.

CAMPAIGN EXTRAORDINARY. MINISTERS AND MANUFACTURERS TRANSFORMED INTO POLITICAL STRIKERS.

George C. Crocker, secretary of the Republican State committee of 1878, testified that the following official circular was sent to the ministers of Massachusetts:

REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE OF MASSACHUSETTS: HEADQUARTERS, 376 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON, September 29, 1878.

[SEAL.] Adin Thayer, chairman. O. B. Stebbins, treasurer. George C. Crocker, secretary.

DEAR SIR: In order to enable us to distribute documents effectively, will you 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. Witness, in explanation, testified: We got their names from the lists of each denomination; we got replies from the clergymen with lists of their congregations and supplied them with documents; 10,000 men were influenced in their votes in Boston by liquor and other influences brought to bear.

Adin Thayer, chairman of the Republican committee of Massachusetts of 1878: No contributions from Federal officials to funds of committee in 1878; had all the money we needed; think our funds were about \$25,000 last year; called together a number of gentlemen late in October, at the Parker House, Boston, to consult; made them a speech; they were all Republicans; wanted to arouse them up; all would vote the Republican ticket any way; most of these gentlemen being interested in manufacturing establishments my effort was to get their influence exercised in any way I could and I urged them to do so; another meeting was called at Mr. Washburn's office in Worcester soon after this; it was a meeting of the manufacturers of Worcester county; they were urged to exert all the influence they could to defeat Butler; think election in Massachusetts honest and am indignant that a committee is here to examine into any such question.

John D. Washburn, Republican. Live in Worcester; called a meeting of manufacturers at my office in October, 1878; the purpose was to get them to influence their employes; Mr. Thayer, the Republican chairman, was there; he urged the gentlemen who were there to get their people to vote the Republican ticket; I thought this right, and saw several of the employers of labor afterwards, and urged this upon them; the men who were at this meeting were all Republicans, and all would have voted without this meeting, but we wanted their influence exerted.

INTIMIDATION. MANUFACTURERS' "INFLUENCE"—WHAT IT MEANT IN MANCHAUG.

The Hon. Eli Thayer, Democratic candidate for Congress, in 1878, against Rice: He (Rice) had spoken in hall owned by Manchaug corporation, in that town, and I went there to speak; they refused to allow me to speak there, and I spoke in a barn; the hall had been used for minstrel troupes and for other public uses.

Sason Waters testified: At the election of 1878 Mr. McArthur, superintendent of the Manchaug corporation, was selectman and saw the ballots of the employes as they voted; Chase and Knox, other employes of the corporation, stood by the polls and saw the votes and controlled the employes as they voted; voters had to pass up between rows of corporation men to vote.

Terrence Kennedy: Was active as a Butler man in 1878; occupied a tenement house owned by the Manchaug corporation; son and niece worked in the mill on the day of meeting held by Eli Thayer; I got notice to vacate my house within two weeks; I saw Chase, the agent; he said he did it by order of Mr. McArthur; I said I would stay and vote; he said I should go out; I said I would not, and I fought for my possession, and did stay there and voted for Butler; the fact of my notice to leave became public, and bulldozed and intimidated every Butler man there; the houses are owned by the Manchaug corporation; Chase votes men there who have no votes; the men are hauled to the polls by the teams of the corporation, and Chase received them there and saw that they had Republican tickets and voted them. McArthur would look at the tickets as they were put in the box; I objected to this and he stopped it. My son was discharged from the mill four days after I got my notice to go out of the house; he and my nieces all left. They lived with me; I

left the town and live in Connecticut now.

Frank Kennedy: Lived at Manchaug from September 15, 1878, till after the election; before the notice to father to leave his house the men who were working in the mill there subscribed toward raising a flag for Butler; after that they were very shy, and would do nothing; I got a French speaker to speak the Saturday night before election; there were a number of Frenchmen employed there; the speaker told them in French I would furnish them with tickets; they already had been furnished with Republican tickets by Chase, in sealed envelopes; I watched on election day, and as the men would come up in the company's wagons to vote I would slip them Butler tickets in envelopes, and get from them the tickets they had. I exchanged twenty-seven tickets in this way, and found the Republican ticket in those they gave me. We were careful not to let Chase see us making this exchange of tickets. They showed me three tickets the night before election, given them that morning by Chase. Each of the Frenchmen sought me to make the change of ballots.

Ulmer W. Putnam, Prohibitory Republican: Live in Sutton; was at election November 1878; heard Chase, employe of Manchaug corporation, say he had carried his point; a settler was filled with men by whom the voters were watched as they went up to vote; McArthur employe of corporation, was chief selectman in charge of ballot-box; men were brought from the mills and voted, and taken back in same wagons.

John O. Parker: Saw voters of the Manchaug corporation hauled to polls in their wagons and taken back in the same after they voted; saw Chase take tickets out of the hands of mill hands and give them another, and said: "CARRY THAT IN."

Henry J. Whiten: At election of 1877 saw Knox take tickets out of the hands of several of the employes of the corporations and give them others; tore those up he took from them. Chase told me he could control the men and would, but he would not lose six of the men employed by the corporation. Know a good deal of the State and its elections.

R. H. Hutchinson: The Manchaug corporation controls the affairs of the town of Sutton; Chase controls its votes and assesses the property of the town.

Mr. J. McCafferty: Live in Dorchester; had a talk with Adin Thayer about manufacturers' meeting in October; said there was a meeting of manufacturers, but nothing done wrong; would agree there was if Crompton would say so; talked with John D. Washburn about the same meeting; he said there was such a meeting, but it was not wrong; said it was right to try to influence and control the men; know Terrence Kennedy; was his counsel in Manchaug case; he would have been turned out of his house before election had they been right; they had to take two processes to get him out; I regarded it as a case of bulldozing for voting for Butler.

Frank Kennedy (re-examined): Was at Manchaug and heard a conversation between Chase, mill agent, and Stevens, barber; Stevens said he was going to vote for Butler; Chase said he thought it was not to his interest to do so; afterwards heard Stevens say he was all right, he was for Talbot, and

WOULD GET \$10 FOR HIS VOTE

after the election; the money had come to town the night Long, Republican candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, had come there; he said the ballots would be marked and they could tell how each man voted.

"INFLUENCE."

ITS APPLICATION IN WEBSTER AND DOUGLAS, WORCESTER COUNTY.

Andrew J. Waters lives in Webster, Worcester county. The Slater company own cotton and woollen mills in the town; have a large number of employes; most of the voters there are Irish and French. Asher T. Moore is the agent of the corporation in control of the woollen factory. He is selectman of the town. He had charge of the ballot-box between 12 and 2 o'clock at the November election, 1878. He was not there before or after these hours. The mill hands were brought to vote between 12 and 2, in teams, and taken back the same way; after voting, Lavery and Fletcher, two other officers of the corporation, were there and furnished tickets to the men to vote as they got out of the wagons; they were Republican tickets; the men who voted were nearly all Democrats; Moore could see how each man voted; the ballots were open; we had thirty of these men on the rolls of the Butler club who were voted against us; the men said they could not vote as they wished, as they would lose their job; they had to be very secretive about who they were for Governor; was a Republican myself until last fall.

John I. Love: Live at Webster; a Butler man; know of the conduct of the election in November, 1878; Bartlett is the agent and in control of the three State corporations in the town of Webster; Hilton is superintendent of one, Moore of another and Fletcher of the third; Sabrey is superintendent of the store; all these men are Republicans, and all of them, except Bartlett, were present and active on election day controlling votes; the men came up together generally and voted between 12 and 2, while Moore had charge of the ballot-box; if they voted open ballot he could tell what it was; one of the operatives, Lynch, subscribed money to and joined the Butler club, but voted the Republican ticket; from twenty to thirty of our men voted Republican or absented themselves; one of the operatives, Sherlock, came to me with a sealed envelope and said his overseer gave it to him; he did not know whether it was Democratic or Republican, but did not want to vote it as he was told to do; I gave him a Butler ticket in a sealed envelope; don't know if he voted it; he was afraid of being discharged if he did not vote the ticket they gave him.

J. M. Draper: Live in Douglas, Worcester county; work at Douglas axe factory; Moore, the agent, and Albert Butler, foreman of the shop there, were distributing tickets on election day in 1878; Butler told the men they

it was the interest of the company they should do so; Democrats among them voted the Republican ticket; Butler stood at the ballot-box and watched how the men voted; he could tell, for the ballots were open ones; Moore stood at the front of the room where the men came in; Butler in the rear of the room and at the ballot-box.

Warren Casey: Discharged from Douglas' works for voting for Butler; was warned when he voted for Gaston.

Charles A. Stearns: More constraint in elections in Douglas in 1878 than for thirty years; never saw the agent of the company peddling tickets until then.

BULLDOZING AND BRIBERY.

AS IT WAS PRACTICED IN CHELSEA AND GARDNER.

W. J. Dowd, Chelsea: Heard Curry, oil manufacturer, tell a colored employe on election day, 1878, that he must not vote for Butler or he could not work for him.

James J. Creed, Chelsea, aged twenty-five, employe of the Elastic Fabric Company in Chelsea, said they could not vote for Butler or they would lose their places; Bell, the foreman, stood at the polls all day to see how the men voted; Sullivan, the official of the company, told the employes they must not vote for Butler.

Frank McGovern, Chelsea: Heard Barry, oil manufacturer, say to his colored man (Gray) on election day, if he voted for Butler he did not want him any longer.

Robert N. Gray: Lived with Curry thirteen years; on election day he told me if I voted for Butler he did not want me any longer; he said I might vote for Morse, but he wanted me to vote for Talbot; Mr. Curry discharged me this morning; was in his employe since until to day; last November as he was going down to City Hall to vote, Curry asked him whom he was to vote for, and, not answering, Curry said: "Look here: I have done a good deal for you, and if you vote for Butler I will discharge you. You can vote for Morse if you want to, but I want you to vote for Talbot." Q. (By Senator Wallace.) What did you say when you came back? A. Nothing.

Q. Did you go on with your work? A. I went on with it.

Q. When did you get your summons to appear here? A. Last night at 10 o'clock.

Q. When were you discharged? A. This morning at 7.30.

Q. Did Curry give any reason for discharging you? A. No; he said I needn't take the team any more.

Q. Did he seem to be angry? A. Yes, he seemed to be.

Q. (By Senator Platt.) How long have you worked for Mr. Curry? A. Thirteen years.

Q. Ever been discharged by him for anything? A. No, sir.

I. A. Perham, Gardner, Worcester county: A man named Newell, from Boston, boarded with me from July until after election; three or four days before election, in November, '78, he came in with

A ROLL OF BANK BILLS.

took them out and said he had got them down at the national bank; he offered me \$10 of it if I would vote for Talbot; or \$5 if I would not vote; I am a Democrat and so was he; I refused to take the money and voted for Butler.

Kemp V. Lynde proved dismissal of a man from employment by an overseer of poor in Gardner, for voting for Butler.

THE PLYMOUTH CASE.

NATIVE-BORN CITIZENS FORCED TO BECOME NATURALIZED.

Thomas D. Shunway: Live in Plymouth; a decision of the selectmen was made that young men born of foreign parents within the State could be registered; this made difficulty, and prevented many registering; this decision was made ten days before election, and was reversed on Monday evening, about 10 o'clock, before election, but too late to register and vote; know of two who got registered, but heard of a dozen excluded; one of them got naturalized; his name is Morrison. This is the naturalization paper. It reads that he was born in Massachusetts. One of these men born within two rods of Plymouth rock. Four selectmen Republicans and one an Abbott Democrat. John O'Connell went to pay his poll tax. Nelson, chairman of the board, told me he had the opinions of two lawyers on this point. I told him I was not satisfied with this opinion. Got opinion from clerk of court in Boston reversing this. No action taken until Monday night, before election. Polled 1100 votes in the town.

W. H. Nelson: Davis L. Lord gave an opinion that persons born within the State of alien parents were not entitled to registration until naturalized; in 1878 Mr. Healy of Boston, city solicitor and clerk of our county, coincided with the other opinion; General Butler gave his opinion against this; the attorney-general did not give his opinion, although asked; we decided that they were entitled to register, and made it public either on Saturday or Monday afternoon before election; we held they must be naturalized before they registered; I am chairman of selectmen.

WITHIN THREE MILES OF PLYMOUTH ROCK.

Andrew Carr: Born within two miles of Plymouth rock; my father was an alien, born in Ireland; they refused to register me because I was not naturalized and my father was not; I went several times and finally found they had registered me on Monday before election.

Alexander Morrison: Born in Sandwich, Barnstable county, Mass.; my father born in Ireland; wanted to be registered; the selectmen refused to register me because I was not naturalized; I did so in the court; and this is my paper.

U. S. OF AMERICA, 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 in October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sev-

enty 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 said 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, this first day of November, in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and seventy-eight. (Signed) WILLIAM H. WHITMAN, Clerk.

I was sworn and so were my witnesses; after that I went to the selectmen and they registered me, and I voted for Butler.

F. W. Robbins; Selectmen at Plymouth refused to register the young men, and I think near a dozen of them lost their votes who were born in the State because of this refusal to register them.

Lemuel Bradford: Selectman at Plymouth; Hodge removed to Boston with his family in October last; came back when his name was off and was allowed to vote; he was and is in the Boston custom-house; men born in the State of foreign parentage were refused registration because not naturalized.

IN GENERAL.

McCarty; Supervisor in Ward 12, Boston, carefully examined the lists given him by chief supervisor, and found but three names to check as doubtful. These names did not present themselves on election day; 400 in the precinct.

Kilduff and Daily: In employ of government on new post-office building in Boston last October; we are known as Butler men; were discharged before election day; think of voting for Butler; both soldiers.

O'Conner: Discharged in Cambridgeport on evening of election day for voting for Butler.

Plympton, Worcester: All the board of registration in Worcester last year were Republicans; rejected Democrats from registering because presented by the Democratic committee; they registered themselves through the Republican committee and were registered; the effect of the rumors about the manufacturers' meeting, held in Worcester in October, was to cause the employes to be silent and decline to act with the Republican party.

The Federal Union.

The following disquisition on our system of government, which we clip from the Philadelphia Record, should be read by all men, and by them repeated to the children. The enemies of the Republic are busy in poisoning the minds of the young, with a design, at no distant day, to break up our free Federal system and transform us into despotism:

"Sovereignty is one of the many words of our great composite language which come to us from the Norman French. Lexicographers define it as signifying the supreme power or rule. Authority is one of its synonyms. Bouvier, in his law dictionary, quotes Judge Story as declaring that in the United States the absolute sovereignty of the nation is in the people, while the residuary sovereignty of each State, not granted to any of its public functionaries, is in the people of the State. This idea of a divided sovereignty was quite familiar to our forefathers, and none of the authorized spokesmen of either of the two great parties which existed in their day denied it. Federalists and Republicans alike admitted it. This they could not well help doing with the recently adopted Federal Constitution before them. That instrument, it is to be feared, was more thoroughly and oftener studied than now. There is reason to believe that many of our politicians, including some who have reached high station, have never read it more than once or twice.

A few of our present public speakers, writers are indulging in denunciations of State sovereignty, as if the very idea of such a thing were a visionary notion and a wild and perilous heresy. They see, or pretend to see, the possibility of but one sovereignty in a single governmental system. They forget the fact, or knowingly ignore it, that, in the complex scheme constructed by the ingenious wisdom of the founders of this government, the various powers of sovereignty—which are not a unit, but distinct and several—were deliberately distributed between the nation and the States, and that each in its separate sphere, and as regards the subjects allotted it, is supreme. An intense and eager devotion to consolidation runs into absolutism. A single sovereignty is the equivalent of pure autocracy. It is nothing less than despotism. This was the especial evil which the framers of the Union sought to avoid by a discreet partition of the supreme authority. The Federal Constitution realized the dream of Cicero, whose ideal *optima constituta republica* was a government organized with a proper balance of the element of regal, aristocratic and popular power, as expressed in executive, judicial and legislative departments. The people being the primary source of authority in the new republic, the laws are made by their immediate representatives. The aristocratic principle becomes concrete in the judiciary which expounds them. The regal integer appears in the executive which enforces them. The same three-fold system was adopted by the States, and is the archetype or standard of that "Republican form of government" which the United States guarantees to every State. Not only are the attributes or functions of sovereignty in this country separated into these three distinct independent classes, but there is a further division as to its subjects between the States respectively on the one hand and the nation on the other. Within its prescribed sphere, and in all things which relate to its own jurisdiction, each is sovereign. The national jurisdiction is more august and imposing, embracing, as it does, those larger and more general functions which are the marks of peership in the family of nations, and armed with which it confronts the world. These are the powers

vested in the Federal Government relative to security from foreign danger, for regulating intercourse with foreign nations and for maintaining harmony and proper intercourse among the States. To these are added powers concerning certain miscellaneous objects of general utility, such as the grant of patents and copyrights to inventors and authors; exclusive legislation over the District of Columbia and the forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards and public buildings of the United States; the power to declare the punishment of treason; the admission of new States; the control of the Territories, and the protection of the States against invasion and domestic violence. Another class of provisions in favor of the Federal authority consists of restrictions, some absolute and others qualified, upon the powers of the several States. The States are prohibited from making treaties, from granting letters of marque and reprisals, from coining money, emitting bills of credit or making anything except gold or silver coin a legal tender, from passing bills of attainder, ex post facto laws or laws impairing the obligation of contracts, and from granting titles of nobility. Without the consent of Congress, no State can levy imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; nor can it lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in times of peace, enter into any compact with another State or with a foreign Power, or engage in war unless to repel invasion. This specific enumeration is thus minutely given here because all other government powers of every kind whatever belong under our American polity to the several States. The tenth amendment to the Federal Constitution declares that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

This great mass of reserved powers constitutes what is meant by the residuary sovereignty of the States. The phrase is a favorite one with the best constitutional jurists. State sovereignty includes the right of eminent domain and the power of life and death, both of which are acknowledged attributes of supreme authority. While the functions of the general Government are few and definite, the powers of the State Government are vast in extent and multitudinous in their objects. They have, in fact, no limit—subject to the restrictions above noted—save in that unreserved realm of individual liberty the protection of which is the one purpose of free government. It is the States that administer, through the machinery of their municipal codes—that grand common law of England which investigates and punishes offences against public justice, which maintains and regulates civil privileges, and which secures the absolute and inalienable rights of the people. It is the States which redress our grievances; which guarantee the rights of person and property; which make operative the franchises of habeas corpus and trial by jury, and which everywhere surround us in our daily avocations with an overreaching and all-pervading atmosphere of protection.

True Heroism.

As we go to press the yellow fever is ravaging Memphis, with no hope of the dread scourge abating until frost shall have come to blight its virulence. The mortality in the hapless city of Memphis is less formidable than it was during the yellow fever visitation of last Summer, simply because there is less material for it to feed upon. Warned by the awful malignity of the contagion last summer, a majority of the citizens abandoned home, business and property, to seek safety in flight. Prominent among those that have voluntarily remained is Fred. Nicholls, one of the staff of the Memphis *Avalanche*. All of his colleagues—editorial writers, reporters, composers, pressmen—have fled from the stricken city to preserve their lives. Mr. Nicholls remains alone, and unaided gets out a weekly edition of the *Avalanche*. It is a small sheet, yet its preparation must keep the brave man busy all day of every working day of the week. He is in himself all the editors, reporters, composers, and pressmen. There is no tone of despondency in the greatly reduced *Avalanche*; in every number the heroic journalistic factotum cracks jokes at the expense of grim Yellow Jack himself. He gives all the local news, and a strange picture it is—shot-torn canons commanding deserted warehouses and mansions to keep off thieves; uniformed negro militiamen, armed to the teeth, patrolling the streets, guarding the property of the absent citizens; a ghastly record of the fever's deadly work.

Mr. Fred. Nicholls wears no glittering uniform; no journals record his heroism; for all that, he is far braver than the soldiers who are foremost in mounting an enemy's work, and flaunting their own flag amid a rain of fiery death on the ramparts of their foemen. There is no excitement to sustain the courage of Fred. Nicholls, as alone he plods in the solitary rooms of the *Avalanche* office. The utter loneliness of the place would alone be sufficient to strike terror to less heroic souls. That he went through the same perilous duty during the visitation of the epidemic last year, does not detract one whit from the credit due him as a man of extraordinary courage, capable of the greatest sacrifice; for nearly all the rest of the Memphians who remained at the post of duty last year fled this season, even the citizen soldiery joining in the stampede with the excuse that they had stayed once and braved death to protect the possessions of others, and that it was some one else's turn now. Mr. Nicholls did not make any boasting. He does his heroic journalistic work without any self-laudation. If he lives through the present term of the pestilence—and we sincerely hope that he may—the journalists of the United States should, in some way, unite and pay a tribute to the bravery of a man who is a rare honor to his profession.

A FORT SAYS: "How sweet the music of the Sabbath bell," and yet there are men who prefer to listen to it a mile or so away in the vicinity of a berry patch,