

U. S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.

REPORT

OF

COMMISSIONER ROOSEVELT

CONCERNING

POLITICAL ASSESSMENTS

AND

THE USE OF OFFICIAL INFLUENCE TO CONTROL ELECTIONS, IN THE
FEDERAL OFFICES AT BALTIMORE, MD.,

WITH

THE ACTION OF THE COMMISSION THEREON, AND A
STENOGRAPHIC REPORT OF THE TESTIMONY
TAKEN IN THE INVESTIGATION.

MAY 1, 1891.

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.
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UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., July 23, 1891.

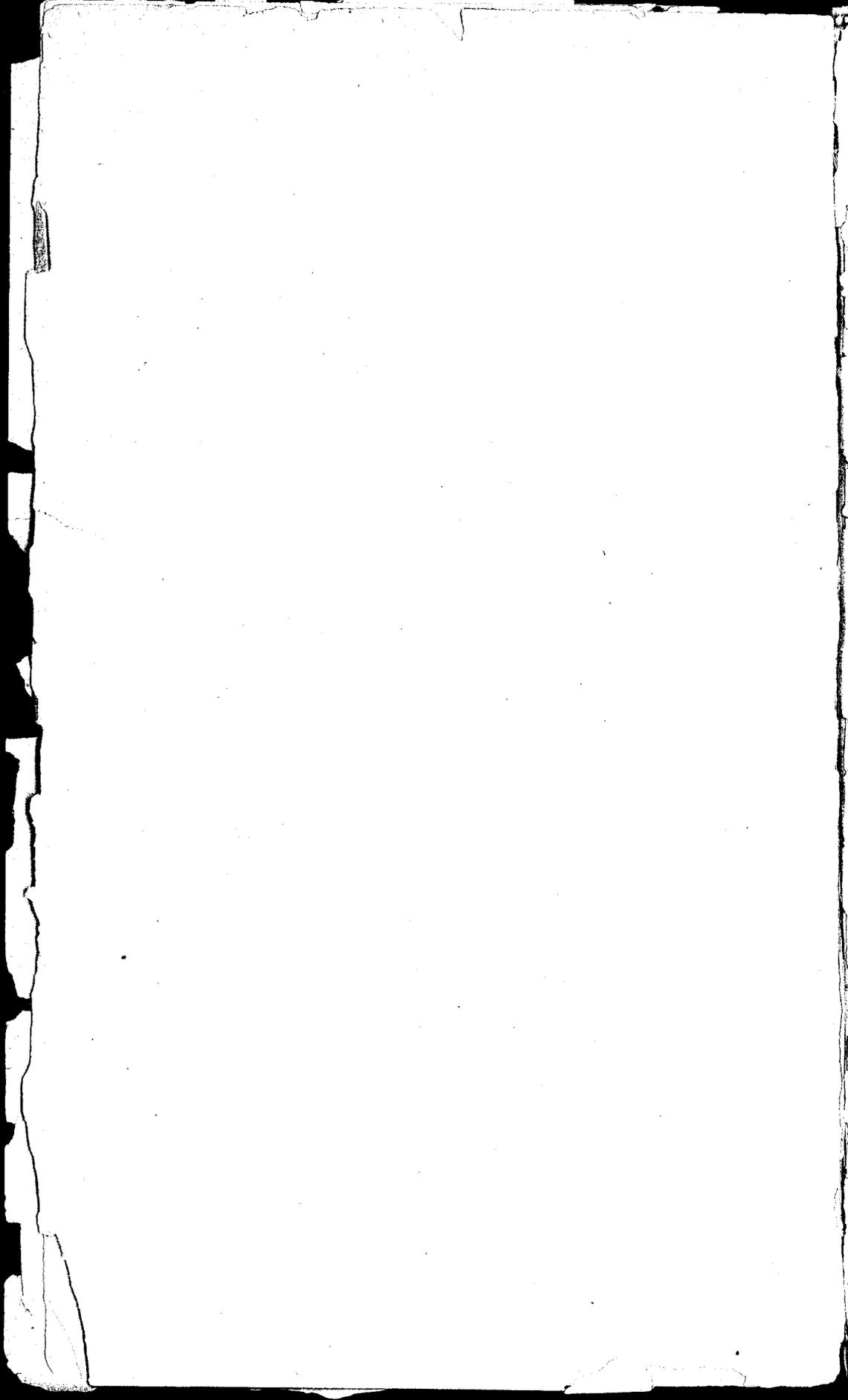
SIR: In the latter part of March information was received at this office that the provisions of the civil service law relating to political assessments were being violated by persons in the official service of the United States in the City of Baltimore, and that the influence of United States officers in that city was also being unlawfully used to control a primary election. An investigation was immediately begun, and continued through a part of the month of April, conducted by Commissioner Roosevelt, and a copy of his report together with the testimony taken, showing that the investigation was amply justified, is herewith submitted for your information. Copies of the report and testimony will also be transmitted to the Postmaster-General, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Attorney-General.

The findings and recommendations of the report, based upon the testimony, are concurred in by the Commission.

We have the honor to be, your obedient servants,

CHAS. LYMAN,
THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
HUGH S. THOMPSON,
Commissioners.

The PRESIDENT.



REPORT OF COMMISSIONER ROOSEVELT.

UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., May 1, 1891.

To the CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION :

SIRS: On March 28, last, I received a communication from John C. Rose, esq., formerly a member of the Civil Service Postal Board at Baltimore, Md., tending to show that the civil-service law was being violated in the Federal offices at Baltimore. Mr. Rose's information was that the law against political assessments was being grossly violated in the post-office and custom-house at Baltimore, and also that the three Federal offices were being used, apparently by the postmaster, marshal, and collector of the port, to influence the primary election to be held in Baltimore on March 30, in seeming violation of General Rule I, which provides the penalty of dismissal for any Federal office-holder who thus uses his official influence to control any election.

In accordance with your direction, I investigated the matter, going down to Baltimore for that purpose on March 28, March 30, and April 6, 13, and 18, and in accordance with my direction the chief examiner at the same time made an exhaustive investigation of the records of the custom-house and post-office. I was assisted throughout my examination by Messrs. Bonaparte and Rose, of the Maryland Civil Service Reform Association. At the request of the internal-revenue collector I also visited his office, most of the information I obtained in regard to this office being that volunteered by the internal-revenue collector himself, who very frankly furnished me with the names of all his men who, so far as he knew, had taken part in the contested primary election on either side. In order to decide whether the offices were used to influence the primaries it was, of course, necessary to know what part the office-holders took in running them, and accordingly, on the day when the primaries were held, I went round in person to several of the wards to observe what was done, preferring to see for myself what the facts really were, rather than to seek to sift them out afterwards from the conflicting testimony of scores of interested and possibly untrustworthy witnesses. I herewith submit all the testimony taken. In my opinion it establishes the following facts.

The primaries held on March 30 were marked by a very bitter contest between two factions of the Republican party. One of these factions was generally known in the newspapers, as well as among its own supporters, and opponents, who took part in the primary election, as the "Johnson crowd," or "Johnson-Airey faction," Mr. Johnson being the postmaster and Mr. Airey the marshal in Baltimore. The other faction was known, similarly, as the "Henderson faction," or "Henderson-Stone faction," Messrs. Henderson and Stone having been, respectively, candidates for appointment to the positions of postmaster and marshal. The "Johnson-Airey" people claimed to represent the Administration. This the "Henderson-Stone" people stoutly denied, asserting that they were as loyal to the Administration as their opponents. It was evident, however, that many of the witnesses on both

sides used the term "Administration" merely as synonymous with "office-holders" (84). There were side issues that complicated the struggle somewhat, but in its essence it was, without doubt, mainly a fight between the office-holders on one side and the disappointed office-seekers on the other; the "Johnson-Airey" men representing the former and the "Henderson-Stone" the latter (126). The custom-house and internal-revenue office, however, were apparently not used to influence the election, and, accordingly, the employés in these two offices took sides as they felt inclined—though, undoubtedly, some even of these office-holders perpetrated illegal acts. As far as I could find out from the witnesses, there seemed to be no question of principle at stake at all, but one of offices merely. This was recognized as much by one faction as by the other. It was felt by both sides, accordingly, that the office-holders and disappointed office-seekers were the persons chiefly interested in the affair—that it was not a primary which particularly affected the interests of private citizens. Several of the newspapers commented on, and one or two of the witnesses complained bitterly of (77), the alleged fact that most of these office-holding or office-seeking ward workers on both sides showed more activity and zeal in this contest, waged within the party, than they had ever shown in the contests for party supremacy at the polls; and my observation leads me to believe that such was the case. Seemingly, many of them regarded victory in the primaries as of more importance than victory at the polls, because the former gave the control of the party machinery, and would, therefore, in their own language, entitle them to "recognition" in the distribution of patronage. Apparently, they cared primarily for the offices, party success being a purely secondary consideration, important only because it facilitated getting them. It seems to me that this fact alone furnishes a tolerably accurate measure of the much-vaunted usefulness to any party of the office-mongering, office-seeking, and office-holding variety of ward worker.

As a whole, the contest was marked by great fraud and no little violence (82, 84, 89, 91, 92, 95, 116). Many of the witnesses of each faction testified that the leaders of the opposite faction in their ward had voted repeaters, Democrats, and men living outside of the ward, in great numbers (91, 101, 118, 122, 133), and I am inclined to believe that in this respect there is much reason to regard the testimony of each side as correct in its outline of the conduct of the other. Accusations of ballot box stuffing were freely made, with much appearance of justification (85, 97, 129, 133). A number of fights took place (82, 94, 109, 128, 123). In many wards there were several arrests (82, 89, 95, 128, 138, 140); in one or two cases so many men were arrested that the police patrol wagons could not accommodate them (134). In several cases the judges of the election were themselves among those arrested (85, 94, 97). The judges, three in number, in each ward, sat within a house at a window opening on the street, and the voters at the primary were marshaled in a line outside, surrounded by a great crowd of onlookers. Each party or faction had its ticket-holders, who presented its ballots to the voters, and its challengers, who challenged those of the opposite party. Much complaint was made in certain wards of one side or the other being "in" with the police, who would accordingly arrest and drag out of the line voters of the opposition faction, and would decline to do so in the case of voters of the protected faction (139, 140).

In many of the wards furniture wagons were hired to bring voters up to the polls. The ward workers stood about shouting, challenging, occasionally fighting, seeing that the ticket-holders peddled their tickets actively, keeping the furniture wagons sharply on the move, taking

doubting or wavering voters into the saloons and treating them to beer; and, in short, the whole aspect of the primaries, save only in those wards where there was no contest, bore no distant resemblance to the parliamentary elections described in Charles Lever's novels.

One of the incidents of the day was an effort on the part of Marshal Airey to drag a judge, whom he accused of misconduct, out of the window, a fierce scuffle being the result (139).

In another ward, a Johnson clerk detected, as he thought, signs of cheating, and broke open the ballot box, taking out two huge handfuls of so-called "pudding" ballots; whereupon the two Henderson judges threw him out of the window, and all three were arrested (85).

In another ward, a Henderson worker, an employé of the custom-house, pulled down the window at which the judges were sitting and tried to stop the election. On account of this excessive zeal he was taken to the watch-house and fined (140).

In a number of wards the election was practically stopped, on account of the disorder, early in the day. There was a general feeling that whichever side had the majority of the judges had the election. In some wards the use of the so-called "pudding" tickets seemed to have been quite common, a "pudding" ticket being composed of six or seven ballots folded together as if only one. There was considerable complaint of bribery; in some cases votes were said to have been bought for money; in others the charge was that outsiders, not Republicans, possibly not residents of the ward, had been offered drinks to participate in the primary. Most of the witnesses spoke of the cheating in a matter-of-course way, as being too universal and too common in primaries generally to be worthy of notice, and a great number of them did not seem to bear any special malice against their opponents for having cheated successfully—if anything, rather admiring them for their shrewdness—and frankly testified that it was only lack of opportunity that had hindered them from doing as much themselves. Two of the witnesses, both Henderson adherents, employés of the custom-house, testified with refreshing and cheerful frankness to this effect. One of them, Mr. Horner, remarked anent fixing up "pudding" tickets, "I would have done the same thing myself; I believe in doing anything to win" (134.) This individual's son was one of the judges of the election. Whether he shared his parent's latitudinarian views of political morality, I do not know. The testimony of the other, Mr. Reed, ran as follows:

I don't say I wouldn't cheat in the primaries. Whoever gets two judges wins.

Q. Each side cheats as much as it can?—A. Certainly; that's the way. I do it just the same as they do. They had two judges. * * *

Q. How do you do your cheating?—A. Well, we do our cheating honorably. If they catch us at it it's all right; it's fair. I even carried the box home with me on one occasion. * * * I have broken up more than one election (142).

Both of these persons testified very frankly and showed that they possessed a fine sense of humor, besides being seemingly innocent of any idea that they had done wrong. Both of them expressed, with somewhat cynical absence of reserve, views which were evidently held by the major portion of the other office-holding or office-seeking ward workers whom I examined, and which are undoubtedly held by the great bulk of spoils politicians everywhere. All of the office-seeking or office-holding ward workers who came before me evidently believed that the business of managing primaries, and in fact the business of conducting politics generally, belonged of right to the office-holding caste. They were as thorough believers in a system of oli-

garchical, government as if they had lived in Venice or in Sparta, only the names enrolled in their "Golden Book" were those of the men who through political influence had been fortunate enough to get government place or who hoped to get it. While all who were questioned evidently held this view, few of them avowed it quite so frankly as Messrs. Horton and Reed, who testified with delicious *naïveté* throughout. Mr. Horton asserted "that it is the office-holders' business to manage the primaries" (134).

Mr. Reed's testimony was as follows:

As a matter of fact, in your ward, it is the office-holders who do and always have taken an active part in the primaries.—A. Exactly; they are the ones that ought to.

Q. It is mainly the office-holders who run the primaries?—A. Most undoubtedly; * * * the great majority are office-holders or people who want office (141).

This testimony has a certain value aside from its relation to the case in question; for, undoubtedly, the individuals above quoted simply expressed in naked form what the average politician of the spoils variety believes. No greater service can be rendered the cause of decent government than to impress on the mind of the average citizen that such views as those expressed above are those which are held by the great bulk of the people actively interested in opposing the cause of civil-service reform. They are the views of the men who dread the overthrow of the patronage system and the introduction of the merit and nonpartisan system of appointment to and retention in public office. Resolved into its ultimate elements, the view of the spoils politician is that politics is a dirty game, which ought to be played solely by those who desire, by hook or by crook, by fair play or by foul play, to win pecuniary reward, and who are quite indifferent as to whether this pecuniary reward takes the form of money or of office. Politics can not possibly be put upon a healthy basis until this idea is absolutely eradicated. At present the ordinary office-seeking ward workers and a very large percentage of office-holders have grown to believe that it is part of the natural order of things that those who hold or seek to hold the offices should exercise the controlling influence in political contests. The civil-service law is doing much to disabuse them of this idea, and the further it can be extended and the more rigidly it can be executed the healthier the result will be. The ward worker, who is simply in politics for the offices, is a curse to the community, and the sooner this is recognized the better. His political activity is purely unhealthy and mischievous. Take it out of the power of any politician to give him any office and he will cease from his noxious labors in a very short space of time. As for the Government office-holder, he must be taught in one way or another that his duty is to do the work of the Government for the whole people, and not to pervert his office for the use of any party or any faction. In some communities this lesson is taught with comparative ease, and has, at any rate in many offices, already been learned. In other communities and other offices the scholars seem to be slower of apprehension, and if they can not be taught by easy means then they must be taught by hard. The office-holders who belong to the dominant party should be allowed precisely the same liberty of political action that is allowed the office-holders who do not belong to the dominant party, and no more. Actions which would cause scandal and be subversive of discipline if indulged in by office-holders who belong to the party which is out of power must be forbidden among office-holders of any party.

The internal-revenue collector's office at Baltimore was not used in the interest of either faction (127, 129). As far as I could find out none of

the employes were assessed for political purposes. Over half of the men took no active part in the primary whatever. Some of the remainder worked for the Johnson side, some for the Henderson side. The two witnesses, Messrs. Brenton and Stewart, both Henderson employes, were accused by the Johnson men, one of having voted repeaters, the other of having stuffed a ballot box. No proof was forthcoming in reference to these accusations, but it must be said that both of the individuals named seemed to view the conduct of the primaries from the standpoint of elastic political morality apparently common among the Baltimore political office-holding class.

The custom-house, likewise, was not used in the interest of either faction, the witnesses testifying that they were not interfered with and were allowed to vote for whichever side they chose. Moreover, in the custom-house the great bulk (about 80 per cent.) of the classified employes, who constitute a majority of the force, are Democrats appointed under the last administration and still holding office. It is evident that there has been no partisan proscription and no approach to a clean sweep in the classified service of this office. The proportion of the appointees of the previous administration who have been left in by the present collector, Mr. Marine, is considerably larger than the proportion of original incumbents who were left in by his predecessor, Mr. Groome. (See the report of the chief examiner.)

It is equally evident, however, that under the last Administration the civil-service law was far better observed in the custom-house than in the post-office, and it appears that this law always has been better observed in the former office than in the latter. From a fourth to a third of the original incumbents in the classified service of the custom-house were retained throughout the four years of the last Administration, whereas less than a twentieth were left in the post-office. There seems to have been but little direct violation of the sections of the law forbidding political assessments in this office, but incidentally the testimony shows that in 1888 the Democratic campaign committee had made a determined effort to collect campaign funds from the Democratic employes of the office, and a great deal of money was undoubtedly raised under the guise of "voluntary contributions." Seemingly, not much of this has been done under the present Administration. Under both Administrations it was apparently mainly members of the party in power that were requested to contribute.

In these remarks I do not wish to include the naval offices. The present naval officer, Mr. Urner, has hardly changed a man in his small classified force; whereas his predecessor, Mr. Freeman Rasin, made a practically clean sweep.

I wish to call the attention of the Commission to the testimony of Mr. Burns, one of the Civil Service Board of Examiners in the custom-house. Mr. Burns was a Democrat appointed under the last administration and still retained in the custom-house. He subscribed \$100 to the Democratic campaign fund in 1888, and stated that this was entirely voluntary on his part; but he also subscribed last year to the Republican campaign fund, expressing the view that he owed this to the party in power (65). We should do everything in our power to make it clear to the office-holders that there is no kind of moral obligation upon them to pay political campaign funds, and that the theory which makes a man feel that "the desk," as it is phrased, owes something to the party in power, is radically wrong and vicious. Most emphatically no member of our own board should set so bad an example as to contribute to the party in power, although he is politically opposed to it, merely because

it is the party in power, and because he feels, therefore, that it is entitled to a contribution.

As already said, the collector, Mr. Marine, has retained the great majority of the Democrats appointed under the preceding administration in the classified service. These men are still in office. No dismissals, excepting for apparently excellent cause, have been made, and the number of changes in the classified service does not seem to have been excessive. Apparently, no appointee, Democrat or Republican, in the classified service, who does his duty under Mr. Marine, need fear being turned out for political reasons. But Mr. Marine needs enlightenment on one point. He practically admitted that in choosing from the certifications made him he would prefer a Republican to a Democrat (66). The examinations for the custom-house have been perfectly straight, no vacancies have been made for the purpose of allowing partisans to be appointed, and no man has received an appointment unless he passed so high that he was one of the first three on the list; but it seems clear that Mr. Marine believes that he has the right to discriminate among these three for political reasons. At least such would seem to be the effect of his testimony. Now, undoubtedly he has no such right. He is especially barred from discriminating among the three for any political or religious reasons. He has a right of choice among them, but he has no right to exercise this choice on political or religious grounds. Any discrimination of the sort calls for severe rebuke and, if persisted in, for prompt punishment.

This is the only criticism, however, that is to be made upon Collector Marine's conduct of the office. Otherwise, both he and the deputy collector, Mr. Lingenfelder, are apparently seeing that the civil service law is obeyed faithfully and in its spirit. Of course the nonclassified force does not come within my ken, in making these remarks.

One of the witnesses at the custom-house, Mr. Charles H. Ray, was caught in the most flagrant falsehood. I recommend that his dismissal be asked for on the ground that he has been guilty of flagrant mendacity with intent to impede an official investigation (67-71).

Another custom-house employé, Captain Fensley, likewise developed a most treacherous memory, but as he was clearly guilty of collecting and contributing money for political purposes in defiance of the law, I deal with his case elsewhere.

At the different polling places visited by me two or three custom-house employés were pointed out to me as working for the Johnson ticket, and two or three for the Henderson ticket, but they were not at the polls in anything like the numbers that the post-office people were. I find that the custom-house as such, was not used to influence the primary election; though this fact of course does not shield in the least those employés who were guilty of individual misconduct.

The case is very different in regard to the post-office and the marshal's office. The evidence seems to be perfectly clear that both of these offices were used with the purpose of interfering with or controlling the result of the primary election, and that there was a systematic, though sometimes indirect, effort made to assess the Government employés in both for political purposes.

Marshal Airey was undoubtedly one of the leaders of one of the factions at the primaries, and took a very active part therein, even to the extent of coming into physical collision with one of the opposition judges, whom he accused, whether rightly or wrongly, of cheating (139). The witnesses, even of the Henderson faction, evidently set a high estimate on his ability, saying that he furnished the brains of his faction.

One of the custom-house employes, Mr. McAllister, a Henderson man, testifies that before the election Marshal Airey sent for him to come up to his office and there endeavored to persuade him to vote the Johnson ticket (129, 130). The only two deputy marshals examined, Messrs. Bidleman and Suftzer, both confessed that they had collected money for political purposes from other office-holders, in defiance of the law, and that they took a very active part at the polls (93, 96). It seems clear from the testimony of these two deputy marshals, and of Mr. McAllister, as well as incidentally from the testimony of some of the other witnesses, that the marshal's office was used, apparently by or with the consent of the marshal himself, to influence the election. General Rule I of the Civil Service Rules reads as follows:

Any officer in the executive civil service who shall use his official authority or influence for the purpose of interfering with an election or controlling the result thereof * * * shall be dismissed from office.

I am not aware that the phrase "official authority or influence" has ever been authoritatively construed; or, indeed, that hitherto this whole section of the rule has ever been construed as in my opinion it should be. Thus, from the testimony taken before the Senate committee in 1888, it appears that under the last administration the naval officer, Mr. Freeman Rasin, and other Government officials, such as Mr. Morris Thomas, took at least as active a part in the primaries, as Mr. Airey did, using their "official influence" to control the primary elections. As far as is known they received no official rebuke of any kind for their actions.

There are but few employes in the marshal's office, so that when scattered through the wards the effect of their activity upon the primaries can not be very great.

It is due to Marshal Airey to say that during the investigation he behaved with much frankness and seemed quite unconscious of there being any possibility of questioning his conduct. His letter, herewith appended, is noteworthy for several reasons. He seems to make out a strong case of attempted improper conduct against what he styles the anti-administration faction, which was led, as he says, by a "disappointed applicant" for office. He says that the opposition did their best to cheat, and that it was necessary to make "strong efforts to obtain fair play," this being the justification of the officeholders for taking so active a part in the primaries. He evidently uses "administration" as a term in part synonymous with "office-holders." He speaks feelingly of "the uphill work the friends of the administration had, precluded as we were by the civil service rules from being active participants, and with all our active Republicans in office." The significance of the statement that all the active Republicans were in office is marked; and if Marshal Airey believes that he himself and his deputies were not "active participants" in the primaries, it would be interesting to find out what he would accept as "activity."

Marshal Airey's letter is additional evidence that the struggle was mainly one between the office holders and the disappointed office-seekers; and that the participants regarded office as the fruit of party or factional success, while outsiders took but a languid interest in the result. Primaries managed on such a basis are of course thoroughly unhealthy for the party, and this Baltimore example shows in the most striking way the inevitable tendency of the spoils system to take away political power from private individuals and lodge it in the hands of the office-holding or office-seeking caste. It is the "plain people" of

Abraham Lincoln who are most vitally interested in the abolition of the spoils system, less for the sake of improving the public service—though this is one of the results—than for the sake of purifying politics and restoring to the private citizen the power that has been usurped by the “boss” and the ward heeler.

There is need of a severe lesson to teach the office-holders that they are not to use their positions to run elections. Once this lesson is taught the pressure of politicians for place will be minimized, for there will be no temptation to reward an active politician by office when the price of his obtaining that office is the cessation of his activity.

The Republican employes from the post-office furnished the organized band around which the Johnson-Airey forces rallied in every ward where there was a contest. There is no testimony showing that Mr. Johnson himself took any direct part in influencing his subordinates as to their action in the primary, and he was absent from the city when the primaries took place. But undoubtedly his office was used to influence the primary election, and the great bulk of his appointees, both in the classified and unclassified services, took a very active part in preparing for and in managing the primaries.

In the post-office I examined a number of employes from the Third, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Sixteenth wards. Judging from the testimony of these witnesses it appears that in each ward the Republican appointees in the post-office, whether in the classified or the unclassified service, either belonged to the ward club of the Johnson-Airey faction or shortly before the primary election effected some sort of organization of their own (23, 31, 46, 60, 72). A few days before the election these office-holders of each ward met together to talk over the plans for the primaries and to raise money therefor (25, 29, 36, 38 etc). Sometimes the meeting was held at a private house of one of the office-holders (38, 42, 74, etc.), sometimes it was held in a regular Republican club room (26, 83, 96, 108), and in one or two instances the meeting took place in the post-office building itself (113). Judging from the testimony it appears that the bulk of the money to defray the expenses of the Johnson faction at the primary was raised among the office-holders themselves (94, 96). Apparently most of the post-office people subscribed from \$3 to \$10 apiece. Sometimes the money was paid undisguisedly for the election expenses; sometimes it was paid under cover of club dues, or nominally for the purchase of a pool table, or for a banquet (44, 56, 123). The Democrats in the post-office took no part in this; but it appears that the great majority of the men appointed since Mr. Johnson was made postmaster are connected with the Republican ward organizations (126), and these did take an active part (103). In one or two instances the local Republican leaders paid most of the money themselves (98, 101), some of these leaders being in the Federal service while others held positions under the State or municipal government. But the great bulk of the money seems to have been raised in the post-office. Sometimes this money was paid, in evasion of the letter of the law, by the office-holders to some non-office-holder, chief of the local ward organization. This was the case, for instance, in the Fifth ward. There are eight or ten office-holders from that ward in the post-office. All of these, so far as I can find out, took a very active part in the primaries and paid \$5 apiece to the chairman of their local ward club. Post-office employes J. Philip Sindall, William Root, James Fosler, and S. M. Armstrong were among those who thus paid \$5 apiece (44, 78, 119). Two of these I myself saw taking an active part in the primary in that ward; Messrs. Sindall and Root were challenging at the

polls and doing all they could to influence the election. In the Fourteenth (37, 38), Sixteenth (101), and Thirteenth (34), wards the arrangement seems to have been substantially similar. In the Third ward there are said to be some fourteen office-holders, most of whom took a more or less active part in preparing for or managing the primary. About half of them met before election in the Fairmount Republican Club. They there raised \$5 apiece to pay the expenses of the Johnson-Airey faction at the primary, and paid the money to one Henry Martin, one of their own number, a letter-carrier. Among those who thus paid, or agreed to pay, were Messrs. J. E. Wilson, Henry Glass, W. A. Mitchell, and Robert Reed, all of the post-office (23, 29, 52). Mr. Martin asserted, seemingly as an afterthought, that this money had been paid to purchase a pool table, but the original testimony was explicit that this was not the case. Undoubtedly the fund was raised for political purposes, to defray the expenses of the primary election.

In the Seventh ward the meeting of the office-holders in the interest of the Johnson-Airey faction took place a few days before the primary, at the house of one John A. Bell, a letter-carrier. A custom-house employé, W. H. Ray, above mentioned, was one of these employés who went to Bell's house and agreed to pay \$5 (70). One of the post-office employés, Charles Oeh, paid \$5, but says he paid it to the president of the local club (49). Another post-office employé, Mr. J. L. Webber, says he took the same course, having been present at the meeting; he seemed in his testimony to be trying to conceal the truth (42). Apparently, almost or quite all the office-holders in this ward from the post-office paid and took an active part in the primaries. A post-office clerk, L. E. Gladfelter, paid \$5 to John Bell for political purposes, for use in the primary, in the post-office building itself (46). Mr. Bell also solicited subscriptions for political purposes from one of the custom-house employés, Mr. T. Sewall Plummer (63). Being warned by Mr. Plummer that he was violating the law he left the custom-house. I was myself present at the primary in the Seventh ward, and saw several of the post-office employés taking an active part in it, Mr. John Bell being there. One or two of the witnesses evidently believed that he was under the influence of liquor at the time.

In the Eighth ward substantially all of the Republican appointees in the post-office and marshal's office took part by raising money for the primaries and afterwards attempting to control them in the interest of the Johnson-Airey faction. The course of action was decided partly at a meeting in the local Republican club rooms and partly at a meeting held in the post-office building itself, the latter meeting seeming to have been of an informal character (86, 114). The Johnson-Airey leader in this ward appears to be Mr. William H. H. Sultzer, a deputy marshal, to whom the post-office employés ultimately turned over their money, through John R. Tweddle, a clerk in the post-office (85, 96); but see also Mr. Sultzer's letter, herewith appended. I can not accept this letter as against Sultzer's and Tweddle's original testimony; Mr. Short's alleged intervention seems to have been merely a blind. Mr. Tweddle received \$5 or \$10 apiece from several post office employés, including William T. Birmingham, Joshua N. Richardson, George G. Holtz, C. W. Hamill, Edward Perine, and Erwin Foutz (87, 98, 108, 113, 114, 123). The latter, however, claims that he contributed merely toward the cost of a banquet. The money for defraying the expenses of the Johnson-Airey faction at the primaries in this, the Eighth, ward was raised almost solely from among the office-holders above mentioned, Mr. Tweddle collecting it from Birmingham, Richardson, Hamill,

Holtz, and Perine, and paying it over to Sultzer, who received it and expended it. Some \$50 was thus raised. Ten ticket holders, or ticket peddlers, were paid \$2 apiece to work up the vote; \$2.50 was paid for one-half the rent of the window; \$7 were paid for tickets; the balance went to give a new suit of clothes to a young man who was a clerk of the Johnson-Airey faction, and who discovered, as he claimed, apparently with much reason, that the Henderson people were cheating. He then burst open the ballot box, and was thrown out of the window by the Henderson judges. All were arrested in consequence (85, 97).

Mr. Holtz, above mentioned, got into a political fight with a negro, and was badly beaten on the day of the primary. There was great disorder in this ward.

In the Sixth ward the officeholders in the post-office, and to a certain extent in the marshal's office and custom-house, were also fully organized in the Johnson-Airey interest. About eighteen of them met a few days prior to the primary in the house of C. G. Smith, a letter-carrier, to perfect their arrangements and raise funds to pay the political expenses of their faction (72, 76). Through some oversight, a Henderson man from the custom-house, one Kimball, was present, but paid nothing. The letter-carrier, C. G. Smith, William Fensley, a custom-house employé, and Edward Biddleman, a deputy marshal, were appointed to receive the funds and to expend them, and actually did so. All of the eighteen employés present, including the thirteen or fourteen from the post-office, paid, or promised to pay, and afterwards did pay from \$3 to \$10 apiece to one of the above-mentioned persons (88, 93, 115). Among the post-office employés who did so were Oscar W. Gibson, H. L. Theiss, John Bond, and Daniel Phelps (115, 116, 117, 120). Over \$100 were raised, all the expenses of this ward being paid by the officeholders. Ten or twelve dollars went in printing and room rent, \$94 were expended in paying forty-seven ticket holders \$2 apiece to work up the vote, (89) an expenditure so excessive for the purpose as to suggest that it was really a form of bribery. Deputy Marshal Biddleman marshaled the vote at the primary, getting two hundred voters together in a body; but the primary was broken up with violence before the vote could be polled.

When the first witnesses who testified as to these facts came before me, I was inclined to draw the distinction we have usually drawn between those who pay the money and those who extort it. But I soon became satisfied that in this case no such distinction could be drawn. Here all were undoubtedly equally guilty, the men who received the money being appointed to do so merely for convenience' sake, it being an arrangement among the employés to assess one another, and to contribute for political purposes. In my opinion, therefore, all the following Governmental employés should be dismissed from office for violating sections 11 to 14 of the civil service law: Edward Biddleman and William H. H. Sultzer, of the marshal's office; John Fensley and W. H. Ray, of the customs service; John A. Bell, James Wilson, William H. Mitchell, James L. Webber, Robert F. Reed, Henry Martin, Henry Glass, Louis E. Gladfelter, John B. Tweddle, Charles G. Smith, Charles W. Hammel, George G. Holtz, William T. Birmingham, Joshua N. Richardson, Edward Perine, Erwin Foutz, Oscar W. Gibson, H. L. Theiss, John Bond, Daniel Phelps, and Noah Pierson (compare his statements (18, 61); he did not seem to be testifying frankly). The testimony of John H. Horner and John Reed, of the custom-house, betrays certain views of political morality, which, in my opinion, entitle us to call the attention of the collector of the port to their cases, to determine whether they ought to be retained in the service.

I am well aware that in recommending so many removals there is a semblance of harshness, and that among these men there may be a few who have some apparent claims to indulgence. While a large proportion are evidently simply local professional politicians, with very low standards of morals, others are apparently reputable men, who acted as they did partly from real ignorance as to the law, but mainly because they did not believe the law would be or was in truth intended to be enforced; and the abuses which appear to have flourished in the Federal offices in Baltimore under the late administration made this belief on their part by no means unreasonable. Nevertheless, I adhere to my recommendation of dismissal in every case above specified, for I am satisfied that only by a severe lesson will this class of offenders be taught to respect the law, and I consider a few instances of hardship to individuals a less evil than it is to have this law generally evaded and often brought into public contempt by the impunity with which it may be even openly violated. The Commission has repeatedly warned Federal officeholders in Baltimore. It investigated the post office while administered by both Mr. Veazey and Mr. Brown, and pointed out grave irregularities in each case, although it is fair to say far graver in the former than in the latter, Mr. Veazey's violations of the law being of the most scandalous kind. There can be no reasonable doubt that everyone guilty of these offenses ought to have known, and was derelict in his duty as an officer for not knowing, what was the law, even if he was in fact ignorant of it. I think that the time has come to show by an example which everybody must understand, that punishment will follow proven guilt.

In connection with the conduct of the post-office employés, J. Philip Sindall, William Root, W. E. Allerdice, James H. Biddle, and Joseph Solomon, Joseph Fosler, Samuel M. Armstrong, Charles Oeh, J. S. Shields, J. W. McCormick, J. W. Boulden, who, together with the gentlemen named above, took part in arranging for and manipulating the primaries, working openly as challengers, etc., at the polls, I desire to direct attention to section 480 of the Postal Regulations, still in force, which reads in part as follows:

The influence of Federal officeholders should not be felt in the manipulation of political primary meetings. * * * The foregoing regulation has peculiar application to postmasters.

Postmaster W. W. Johnson has been in office a little over a year. During that time about 50 per cent. of the classified force has been changed. In the non-classified and excepted places, and the places to which he appoints by virtue of his being custodian of the post-office building, some 60 in all, a nearly clean sweep has been made. Postmaster Johnson's testimony as to the way the appointments to these non-classified and excepted positions were made was so frank that I give it in full. It seems somewhat extraordinary, but it is particularly valuable because it undoubtedly describes truthfully the methods by which all patronage appointments are made in every office throughout the country, where the old system prevails in any degree, and where in consequence outside politicians in reality do the appointing. The testimony is as follows:

Mr. JOHNSON. There are men who have told me right in my own office, "If you don't like what I do I will go out." People have put men in here over whom I have no control about elections; they're independent of me.

Q. You mean that a great many of the men here, although nominally appointed by you, are really put in by somebody else, outside; that is, by the different ward lead-

ers of the party?—A. They are recommended by outsiders, and they work for the men who put them in here, and are under their control.

Q. Is that so generally in the non-classified service?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In the unclassified service the bulk of the men are put in in that way?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They feel responsible to the men who put them in, to the politicians and ward leaders generally, and not responsible to you?—A. Yes, sir; that's it.

Q. The amount of it is that in making the non-classified appointments you have to parcel them out to the different wards—the different ward leaders nominate men for the positions?—A. Yes, sir; there are about 1,800 applicants and about 60 places (126).

This testimony is especially valuable as showing the utter nonsense of the talk that under the old spoils system the appointing officers themselves make the appointments. They do nothing of the kind. The outside politicians make the appointments for them, and the appointing officers have really little or nothing to say in the matter.

Another point of interest is the incidental showing that there is a far greater "eligible list," if one may use the expression, for the non-classified appointments than for the classified. Mr. Johnson had thirty applicants for every single position in his gift that did not come under the civil service rules, whereas there were only about three applicants for every position in the classified service. Mr. Johnson's testimony shows with startling vividness the humiliating position in which the spoils system puts the appointing officer. It practically places him at the mercy of a lot of irresponsible outsiders who force him to take their political henchmen, without regard to his own wishes. These men when they are once appointed feel themselves responsible, not to the appointing officer, but to their backers. They feel that their duties are primarily political, and that their services are only secondarily due to the community and to the Government.

The testimony of some of these employés gives striking incidental glimpses of the way in which the ward leaders use patronage as a bribe for service to be rendered, or as a reward for services that have been rendered. Thus the testimony of Philip Hahn was in part as follows, in speaking of the fight in the Thirteenth ward (138):

Winnie Johnson was the main one (leader of the Johnson-Airey faction of the ward).

Q. Mr. Johnson, up till last spring, was usually supposed to be a Henderson man was he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Just before he was appointed to the post-office he voted with the Johnson party?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. As a matter of fact, what you know is that he voted the other way from the side he had been voting with, and was almost immediately appointed to a position in the stamp department of the post-office?—A. Yes, sir.

The testimony of Mr. John Reed contains the following statement. He had just been testifying that Mr. Brown and Mr. Butnetz were the leaders of the Johnson faction in his ward (140, 141):

Q. Were you not offered a place in the post-office this spring?—A. Yes, sir. I was offered a place at \$840 if I would vote for them, but I wouldn't do it.

Q. You are going to remain your own master?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who offered you that place?—A. Charley Brown offered me that place.

* * * * *

I said I would not accept any job that I would have to be bought to take.

* * * * *

Q. Brown said you were playing politics for a job, and would not take a job when you were offered one?—A. Yes, sir. Henderson is a friend of mine, and whichever way he goes I go.

Q. The job offered you was for \$840?—A. The job doesn't pay \$840; it was on the elevator.

Q. Who did they give it to?—A. Jim Beale.

Q. Did he work for the Johnson ticket?—A. Yes, sir; of course.

* * * * *

Q. You were offered a place in the post-office at \$800, or about that, which was given to Mr. Beale afterwards in your stead, and they would have expected you to work for the Johnson ticket if you had taken that place, and Mr. Beale, who did take it, did work for the Johnson ticket?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And Mr. Butnetz and Mr. Brown distributed the patronage for the post-office?—A. Yes, sir; most undoubtedly.

Q. Mr. Johnson turned the office over to them?—A. They go and see Mr. Johnson, I suppose, and they put in a good word for the men they want appointed, and, in consequence, whoever they want is appointed.

It is evident from the testimony that the non-classified service in the Baltimore post-office, as is the case with the non-classified service in almost every patronage office, was treated as a bribery chest from which to reward influential ward workers, who were useful, or likely to be useful, to the faction in power. The appointments were made primarily in the interests of the local leaders, and of the local organizations, and only very secondarily with a view to the well-being of the public service.

In the classified service Mr. Johnson has changed about 50 per cent. of the force, only half of the Democrats who were in when he took office being left in now. He has, however, filed reasons for the dismissals; and there can be no question that in at least a very large number of cases his reasons were perfectly good. Unquestionably he received the office in a greatly demoralized condition, from the hands of his predecessor, Mr. Brown, who had received it in still worse order from Mr. Veazey. Many of the men whom he (Mr. Johnson) found there he could not allow to stay if he wished to have good work done. It was doubtless to the interest of the public service to make a very considerable number of removals, although it may well be a question if it was to the interest of the service to make them as sweepingly as has been the case. Charges have been made to me that many of the removals, though nominally for cause, have in reality been due to political reasons. Unfortunately, the charges were scarcely of a kind that the Commission has power to investigate. I am, as always, strongly of the opinion that the civil-service law should be amended so as to require written charges to be filed before a man is removed, to require that the accused be given an opportunity to be heard in his own defense, and to authorize the Commission to investigate and report on any removals alleged to have been made, directly or indirectly for partisan reasons.

Under the last administration the Baltimore post-office, both under Mr. Veazey and Mr. Brown, was, without doubt, used as a machine in the interests of the Democratic party. Large campaign funds were raised among the employés of the post-office at every election; a clean sweep was made of the Republican employés, 96 per cent. of them being turned out; their places were supplied exclusively by Democrats, in the classified no less than in the unclassified service, most of the appointees thus obtaining positions being Democratic ward workers. Mr. Veazey, the first Democratic postmaster, did not obey the law at all, and, indeed, made no pretense of so doing; while his successor, Mr. Brown, made a practically "clean sweep" of the Republican employés in his office. It must be borne in mind, as some extenuation of Mr. Johnson's actions, that he inherited, therefore, great difficulties from his predecessor.

Of the men appointed in the classified service since Mr. Johnson took office, apparently the very great majority were active ward workers of Republican organizations.

Many of the ward workers, however, who were thus appointed, entered the examinations before Mr. Johnson became postmaster, which was a year and a quarter after the Presidential election. It appears that at the first examination held after the Presidential election, in February, 1889, few or no Democrats entered the examinations, and a great number of Republicans, almost all of them connected with the ward organizations of the Republican party, did enter and pass or fail, as might be. During the time of Democratic supremacy none but Democrats had been appointed, and all the Republicans in the office had been turned out. The ward leaders apparently took it for granted, as did most of the inhabitants of Baltimore who thought anything about it, that the same course was to be pursued under Republican auspices; that the Democrats would be turned out, and that only Republicans with political influence could take their places, the examinations being accepted merely as disagreeable tests which had to be submitted to before the ward worker could get his appointment. This feeling can only be changed by radical measures.

It is true that Mr. Johnson has appointed the men right along in their order, skipping very few, and these apparently for good reasons. He has taken no steps whatever, however, to disabuse the public mind of the idea that appointments were to be made only of Republicans, and has made no effort to get men to come into the examinations without regard to party. While permitting his name to be used in the newspapers and by his own adherents, without protest on his part, as giving the title to one faction of active ward workers, he has refrained from doing anything to convince private citizens that the classified service was really open to applicants without regard to party. I thus find that in his office he has dismissed about half of the classified force, this half being composed purely of Democrats, and has supplanted them with active Republican ward workers, who could pass the examination fairly well.

It may have been necessary for Mr. Johnson to make many changes in the classified service, but it was incumbent on him, when he was forced to turn out a very large number of Democrats, to see that the public did not believe that this was done with the object of replacing them by the same number of Republican "workers." It was incumbent on him not merely to refrain from turning the post-office into a Republican machine, but within the limits of his authority to see that it was not turned into a Republican machine. The moment that an appointing officer of any kind finds it necessary to make sweeping changes and turn out large numbers of men of the opposite party, it becomes his bounden duty to see that the public mind is entirely disabused of the idea that the places of the expelled men are to be taken purely by adherents of his own party. Only by following this course can he protect himself from the just suspicion that he has been to a greater or less extent influenced in his actions by partisan consideration. This does not require any impossible conduct on the part of the appointing officers; it merely requires that he shall act as Postmaster Field, of Philadelphia, and the late Postmaster Wallace, of Indianapolis, have acted, with such admirable results. Be it remembered, too, that Messrs. Field and Wallace took office under conditions at least as adverse as those that surrounded Mr. Johnson.

It appears that Mr. Johnson was not present at the primaries himself, and that previous to leaving the city, two or three days before they took place, he called his superintendents together and told them in his own words to "keep their hands off; that he did not want them to bring

he office into disrepute." As a matter of fact, however, if by this advice he meant that the post-office should not be used to influence the primaries, his advice was utterly disregarded, and quite publicly, all the newspapers containing accounts of the way the post-office employes took part in the primaries, and their intention to do so having been a matter of common notoriety for days beforehand. It was openly asserted in the newspapers that such would be the case. Mr. Johnson knew that all his appointees, with trivial exceptions, were active ward workers, under the influence of the ward leaders, and feeling responsible to them. If Mr. Johnson meant his protest to be effective he ought to have seen that it was obeyed by his subordinates. He must have known perfectly well that they had every intention of disobeying it, and as a matter of fact they did disobey it, and he has never rebuked them for their disobedience. In fact it seems evident either that Mr. Johnson did not really mean his protest to be heeded, or else that he is powerless to enforce obedience from his subordinates. It is no small point against Mr. Johnson that without public protest of any sort he allowed one of the active factions to be christened with his name in the most public manner by the newspapers, and by his own adherents in the primaries and at the convention, this faction being sometimes even called "the post-office faction." The mere public and unrebuked use of his name in such convention was certain to influence his employes to take active part on behalf of the faction headed by their superior officer, and, incidentally, was undoubtedly one among the causes which have tended to prevent any save ward workers from taking the examinations.

Therefore, while it does not appear that Mr. Johnson himself used the post-office to influence the primary election, it is evident that it was so used with his full knowledge, and that he took no effective steps whatever to prevent such use thereof.

Mr. Johnson's case is thus peculiar. When he took office he inherited many difficulties which have hampered him in the discharge of his duties. His sins have been of omission rather than of commission, and his position was in many ways peculiarly difficult. Yet it seems to me impossible not to hold him responsible, at least in a measure, for what has been done. He must be held accountable not for what he did but for what he failed to do. It is not enough that a postmaster all passively obey the law; he ought to be required actively to enforce it. Mr. Johnson has filled the entire unclassified and half the classified service with Republican ward workers, and has permitted the post-office to be turned into a machine to influence primary elections. Doubtless, unless checked, it will be similarly used as a machine to influence the course of State and national elections.

It seems almost as much of an offense for the head of an office suddenly to allow the civil-service law or rules to be violated by his subordinates, or through their instrumentality, as it is for him to violate the said law and rules himself. General Rule 1, already quoted, provides for the dismissal from office of any officer who uses "his official influence" to interfere with an election. It has not been shown that Mr. Johnson did directly so use his official influence, but it has been shown that, with his knowledge, the entire influence of his office was so used by others. As in the case of Marshal Airey, however, it must be said that this rule has never hitherto been strictly construed, and in fact that it can hardly be said that there has been any effort so to construe or enforce it. As appears in the testimony taken before the Senate committee in 1888, it was then charged that Mr. Johnson's predecessor

in the post-office had used his official position to influence the election of delegates to a nominating convention, but no heed was ever paid to the charge.

I am strongly of the opinion that at least decided steps should be taken to show that this rule is not hereafter to be regarded as a dead letter, and that from henceforth any violation thereof shall be treated as furnishing cause for dismissal.

Yours, truly,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

TRANSCRIPT OF STENOGRAPHIC NOTES OF INVESTIGATION AT BALTIMORE POST-OFFICE HELD ON SATURDAY, MARCH 28, BY HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONER.

Present: Hons. Theodore Roosevelt and Charles J. Bonaparte.

TESTIMONY OF NOAH W. PIERSON.

NOAH W. PIERSON testified as follows:

Q. (MR. ROOSEVELT.) State your full name, Mr. Pierson.—A. Noah W. Pierson.

Q. What is your position in the post-office?—A. I am assistant engineer.

Q. How long have you been in the service?—A. I have been here about a year and two months.

Q. Appointed by Postmaster Johnson?—A. Appointed by the custodian.

Q. By Mr. Johnson as custodian of the office?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Pierson, understand that there is nothing affecting you at all in any question we put to you; it doesn't affect you in the least as far as we now know; it is simply a matter of observation of the law in certain particulars by others, not by you. Do you know anything of the collection or contribution of any funds for political purposes at this time?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know anything about the collection of \$5 apiece, or the attempted collection of \$5 apiece, from a number of employes of the post-office, or of the postmaster as custodian, for primary purposes?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have never known of any that you know anything about?—A. No, sir.

Q. You don't know of anyone having paid any sum or having been asked to pay any sum for political purposes recently?—A. No, sir.

Q. And specifically with reference to the primaries on Monday next?—A. No, sir; I don't know anything about it.

Q. You know nothing about it at all?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you have never been approached by anyone who asked you if such and such a man had paid?—A. No, sir.

Q. (MR. BONAPARTE.) You understand that neither Mr. Roosevelt nor I know anything about this matter, except that certain reports have been brought him, and he asked me, as president of the Local Civil Service Reform Association to come down here and assist him in the investigation of them. Now, has any officer in this building, either under the postmaster as custodian or the postmaster as postmaster, asked you whether anybody else had contributed to the primaries?

WITNESS. These primaries coming?

Mr. BONAPARTE. Yes, sir.

A. No, sir.

Q. Well, having inquired of you, has anybody in the service inquired of you whether some one else had contributed in any way to any fund to be used in this Republican contest?—A. No, sir.

Q. Now supposing some officer here has reported that you had told him that other officers in the building had contributed to this, that officer has not told the truth then?—A. No, sir; the man that reported that didn't tell the truth.

Q. Have you collected any money from anyone else yourself for these primaries?—A. No, sir.

Q. Have you told anyone, any officer in the building here, that you had collected any money?—A. No, sir. This is unexpected to me, you know, gentlemen, and I am answering right off. Of course, I haven't had any time to think, you know.

Q. Of course, we understand that, and we would like you to think pretty carefully, because we don't want to do anybody any injustice.—A. No, sir.

Q. Think carefully if you have been approached by any officer employed in this building with the inquiry as to whether anybody else had contributed to the primaries, or to anything of that sort?—A. Not to my knowledge; I can't call any to mind just now.

Q. Has anybody connected with the building, or having an office in this building, asked you whether you yourself had contributed or whether you had collected contributions?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you are quite positive you have never told anyone anything from which they could understand that you were collecting contributions?—A. Yes, sir; I am positive that I have never told anyone that I was collecting contributions; I don't know anything about it.

Q. And that you never told anyone connected with the service in any way that anybody else connected with it was contributing?—A. No, sir.

Q. So that if any officer in this building has made a report to Mr. Roosevelt to the effect that certain other officers were collecting contributions or promoting their collections, and that you knew something about it, that officer has not told the truth?—A. Well, of course, I don't want to say that he didn't tell the truth; he might be mistaken.

Q. I mean, that it wasn't so?—A. It wasn't so if he made a report of it; yes sir.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Are you a Republican in politics?—A. I am; yes, sir.

Q. And actively identified with the Republican party?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Identified with one of the organizations here in the city, a Republican organization or a Republican club, or whatever you choose to call them?—A. Yes, sir; I belong to one of the Republican clubs.

Q. What Republican club are you a member of?—A. The Active Club, they call it. It is down in the First ward; it is a ward organization.

Q. Are there going to be primary elections next Monday?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there going to be a contest between two Republican factions?—A. Well it looks that way, sir.

Q. It looks that way. Do you take an active part in this contest or not?—A. Well, no; I don't think it is my place to take an active part.

Q. You don't think it is the place of any Governmental employé to

take an active part; is that your idea?—A. No, sir. I think it is his place to go and vote his sentiments and then go away.

Q. But you don't think it is the place of any Government employé to stand around the polls and work for one faction or the other; hold tickets and so forth?—A. No, sir. I don't think there is anything like that going on there.

Q. Precisely. Do you know if the post-office employés, as a whole, sympathize with one or the other of these factions?—A. I don't know.

Q. Or are they divided?—A. Well, from rumors; that is all I can go by.

Q. Certainly. It is simply a matter of common notoriety. What do you hear?—A. There seems to be a little difference of opinion.

Q. Well, are there two factions in the Republican party here in Baltimore that are going to contest in the primaries on Monday?—A. Not that I know of, sir.

Q. What will the fight be on?—A. The fight will be this; these people in our ward—I only take my ward for instance—they want to send one delegate to the convention, and the men that I favor on, they want to send another, that is the sum total.

Q. But what are the differences between the two factions; is one of the factions identified with Postmaster Johnson?—A. Well, not that I know of.

Q. Not that you know of?—A. No, sir; I don't know anything about that.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) These primaries, as I understand it, are to elect delegates to the convention which is to sort of reconcile the party; isn't that it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It is the plan that Mr. Stockbridge and his committee got up; is that the idea?—A. It is on the plan of the State Central Committee organization; that is what I understand it. They get up different rules to submit to the State convention to adopt.

Q. And this State convention isn't going to nominate anybody?—A. No, indeed; not as I understand.

Q. I mean, isn't going to nominate any candidate for office?—A. No, indeed.

Q. It is just to reorganize the party merely?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Do you know, then, there exists two factions in the city at large, in the Republican party, among the Republicans?—A. Well, no. I hear all this talk of factions, but I haven't seen much. Ever since the Postmaster's fight was going on there was considerable fight then, but whether or not it exists now or not I am not able to tell.

Q. You are not able to tell whether or not that feeling has been propitiated?—A. No, sir.

Q. Are the employés of the post-office or the employés of the custodian of the building taking a more or less active interest in the fight?—A. I don't see anyone much taking a very active interest. Of course, they might talk amongst themselves, but I don't hear anything of it at all.

Q. You don't hear of it?—A. No, sir; of course I am down in the cellar, you know, and down there I don't hear much about it.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES WILSON.

JAMES WILSON, colored, testified as follows :

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) What is your position ?—A. I am a laborer.

Q. Under Postmaster Johnson as custodian of the post-office building ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you been so employed ?—A. I have been here about 6 months.

Q. Were you appointed by Postmaster Johnson ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know Mr. C. B. Johnson of South Bethel street ?—A. No, sir ; I don't know him.

Q. Or Mr. R. H. Harris, of 314 South Caroline street ?—A. Yes, sir ; now I know who you mean by C. H. Johnson.

Q. Then you know C. H. Johnson, of South Bethel street, and R. H. Harris, of South Caroline street ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do both of these gentlemen take a more or less active interest in local politics ?—A. Yes, sir ; they have in the last primary.

Q. They live in the Third ward ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. There are going to be primary elections next Monday, are there not ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is there going to be a contest in the primaries ?—A. Yes, sir ; I judge so, from the looks of things. There is one polling place.

Q. There is going to be a contest in the primaries then ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Of course I am speaking of the Republican party ; you are a Republican yourself, are you ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you a member of any Republican organization ?—A. I am of the District Association, yes, sir.

Q. Well, in the Third ward there seems likely to be a contest ?—A. They appear to seem like it ; yes, sir.

Q. Acting under that committee ?—A. Yes, sir. It seems like the colored element goes with Mr. Johnson.

Q. Well, go on.—A. And the principal part of the other element, which is called the Henderson faction, are taking their hands off.

Q. There are two factions here ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. One called the Johnson faction ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the other called the Henderson faction ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the fight on Monday next is going to be between these two factions ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the Johnson faction has for its heads Postmaster Johnson and Marshal Airey ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, does the fight bid fair to be a pretty bitter one next Monday ?—A. It seems so.

Q. At one time in the Third ward it looked as if the colored element was going to be against the Johnson faction ?—A. Not the majority of them, but a portion of them.

Q. A portion of them ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But now that has been gotten right, and it looks as if they would all go for the postmaster ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. At one time were these two men, C. H. Johnson and R. H. Harris, going to go on the ticket opposed to the postmaster ?—A. I don't know whether they were going to go on the ticket or not.

Q. But they were going to oppose him ?—A. Yes, sir ; they were the head parties.

Q. Of the opposition to him ?—A. Yes, sir ; among the colored.

Q. Well, I suppose you are friendly to Postmaster Johnson?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you went to Mr. C. H. Johnson and Mr. R. H. Harris and asked them to come up here and see the postmaster?—A. I asked them to come up and see Dr. Weaver.

Q. Did you take them up here yourself?—A. They didn't come at all.

Q. You simply asked them to come and they didn't come?—A. Yes, sir; that is right.

Q. Did they see Postmaster Johnson at all or anyone connected with the office then?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then they just changed of their own accord?—A. Yes, sir; through me.

Q. You persuaded them to change?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Who is this Dr. Weaver that you asked them to come and see?—A. He is the assistant custodian.

Q. Of this building?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And this Mr. Johnson is a cousin of his, this Mr. C. H. Johnson?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) And Dr. Weaver is a colored man, the assistant custodian?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) And you asked him to come up and have a talk with his cousin, but he didn't come?—A. He didn't come.

Q. Do you feel pretty sure that he didn't see anybody connected with the office?—A. Pretty sure, sir; I can tell you the reason why; these gentlemen are all friends of mine.

Q. That is what we understand.—A. Yes, sir; they are all friends of mine; and, well, a gentleman by the name of Jacob H. Seaton is in our ward, a colored gentleman, a leader, gentlemen, he is down there, and him and I got to talking to these gentlemen, and he showed them where it was to my interest to fight for this faction.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) To your interest?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The leader of the ward showed Messrs. Johnson and Harris where it was for your interest that they should fight for this faction?—A. Yes, sir; that they should fight for this faction.

Q. For fear it would jeopardize your position here?—A. Yes, sir; certainly. He told them it was to my interest to vote this way; and as they were friends of mine they said they were willing to support people that had supported the colored people and that Mr. Johnson done that, but they didn't say they were going to vote that way, but they would take their hands off for my benefit.

Q. For your benefit?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) When you say they took their hands off you mean that they were thinking of running as delegates on the other side?—A. I know they was with the other faction at the last primary election.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) They were the leaders on the Henderson side, and it being shown to them that it would be to your interest to cease their opposition to the Johnson faction they agreed to do so?—A. Yes, sir; they agreed to do so.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Now, they are respectable sort of men, are they not?—A. Very respectable gentlemen; yes, sir. This Harris, he is a barber and keeps a cigar place, and Mr. Johnson is an insurance collector.

Q. And I suppose that pretty much anything they would say would be likely to be true, wouldn't it; you wouldn't suspect them of telling a story?—A. They wouldn't tell a story or wouldn't sell a vote to anybody, I don't believe.

Q. And you think it is pretty certain that the person who persuaded them that it was to your interest for them not to take a hostile part against the Johnson party in this primary, for them, as you say, to take their hands off the primary, was this Jacob Seaton?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) And he is a ward leader?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he in public employ?—A. No, sir. He belongs to right many societies. He is a barber, but he does collection for the Samaritans. His brother is minister at Bethel Church.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) You don't think it is at all likely that either Mr. Johnson or Mr. Harris would have told anybody that there was any man in Government employ who had persuaded them not to go on in this primary?

WITNESS. Any man?

Mr. BONAPARTE. Any man in Government employ?

WITNESS. Do I think that?

Mr. BONAPARTE. You don't think it is probable that they would give any such information as that?—A. I don't think they would: I think they are truthful men.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT. Who asked you to go and see these gentlemen?—A. No one at all; I meet with them every day of my life; I was raised with them.

Q. Nobody spoke to you about seeing them at all?—A. No, sir.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Were you present when Mr. Seaton had this talk with them?—A. We had a ward meeting.

Q. And Mr. Seaton explained the matter?—A. Yes, sir; Mr. Seaton explained the matter in the meeting.

Q. When was that ward meeting?—A. That was last Monday night.

Q. Can you recollect in general terms what Seaton said then?—A. No, I don't recollect everything he said, but he explained the situation, and explained my situation, and how my appointment, was made and all.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT) How is your appointment made?—A. Well, my appointment was made through the people in my ward. I was a favorite with the people, with both sides; both factions favored me.

Q. Both the Henderson and the Johnson people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the Henderson and the Johnson leaders recommended your appointment?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you were appointed on the recommendation of the colored Republican element of your ward?—A. Yes, sir; the colored element in that ward.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Then, Mr. Wilson—of course we want to find out—Mr. Roosevelt has had some information that there may be some truth in, and he has asked me to come down and try and give him any aid that I can to get some light on the matter. He couldn't have gotten hold of a worse man that I am to assist him because of my lack of knowledge of local Republican politics, but we want the truth, so that there will be no injustice done to anybody. You are pretty sure then that this explanation of Mr. Seaton to these friends of yours, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Harris, was the cause of their going out of this contest?—A. Here's what the gentlemen said to me; I have been friendly with all of them ever since I have been there at work, and I was trying to persuade these gentlemen, as they said they were favorite to me and wanted me to have the appointment, both sides of the question, and ever since I have been here I have been urging them to support me, because I didn't want no split in our ward.

Q. You didn't?—A. No, sir. Until last fall it seems as if this Mr. Baumgartner down there, the State central committee man, he has

been kicking down there for quite a while. Well, he goes around and get a lot of the colored young men down there—lots of them had been voting the Democrotatic ticket—and he calls a meeting, and at this meeting he invites these gentleman, this Mr. Harris and Mr. Johnson, they came around there and got into this meeting; they heard it was going to be and they went there and captured the meeting, and they made the leading people in it.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT). Was this a Henderson meeting?—A. Yes, sir; well Henderson started it.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE). You say ever since you have been employed here you have been urging them to support you?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you a candidate for any place, or a delegate or anything of that sort to this convention?—A. No, sir.

Q. Then when you asked them to support you, you meant that they should act with you in your political faction?—A. Yes, sir; certainly.

Q. And finally you succeeded, with the help of Mr. Seaton, in persuading them to do so?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know whether these two friends of yours, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Harris, had refused to contribute to the expense of the primaries?—A. Mr. Johnson and Mr. Harris? I don't know anything at all about it.

Q. Do you know whether they did contribute finally?—A. No, sir; I don't.

Q. Do you know anything about who did contribute to the primaries in your ward?—A. No, sir.

Q. Well, there was, I suppose, some money collected for the primaries?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Had this Mr. Seaton anything to do with the collecting it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Had either of these other two anything to do with it?—A. Harris and Johnson? No, sir; they hadn't anything to do with it.

Q. Nothing at all?—A. No, sir.

Q. Now have you any idea who did contribute to the expenses down there?—A. Well there is some gentlemen who was office-holders.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT). Certainly; the office-holders?—A. Yes, sir; we had a meeting to ourselves, you understand.

Q. The office-holders had a meeting themselves to contribute?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE). Now, were Mr. Harris or Mr. Johnson present at that meeting?—A. No, sir.

Q. Was this confined to the office-holders; was anybody else there except people who were in office?—A. That was all.

Q. About how many of you were there?—A. There was about 7 of us.

Q. About 7 office-holders; there are that many in this ward?—A. Oh, my; there is 14.

Q. The other 7 didn't come?—A. No, sir; they wasn't there; I think they sent the money.

Q. Do you know who they sent it to?—A. Well, we made a treasurer, you know, amongst ourselves; in fact, gave it to one gentleman to keep the money.

Q. All of these people who attended the meeting gave it to one of themselves, one of their own number?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You are pretty sure they didn't give it to either Mr. Harris or Mr. Johnson?—A. No, sir.

Q. Who was it they gave it to?—A. A gentleman by the name of Mr. Martin.

Q. Is he a colored man?—A. No, sir; he is a white man.

Q. Is he employed in this building?—A. A. I think he is; yes, sir.

Q. In what capacity?—A. I think he is a letter carrier; I think he is.

Q. From what ward; the third ward?—A. Yes, sir; the third ward.

Q. Now, you are pretty certain that neither Mr. Harris nor Mr. Johnson or this old gentleman, Mr. Seaton, had nothing to do with collecting any money?—A. Nothing at all; no, sir.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) What is the first name of Mr. Martin?—A. Henry Martin, I think.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) He is a letter carrier from the third ward?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you recollect when this meeting was held?—A. I think it was last Saturday a week.

Q. Well, was it only the people who belonged to the Johnson faction that came to it, or did they all come?—A. Well, I don't know what faction they are in; I don't know anything about their faction. I know we all met there and had a meeting.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) But they would not have been Henderson men, would they?—A. I don't think they were Henderson men, no, sir; I don't think there were any Henderson men there.

Q. Because they were post-office employés?—A. Well, there are Henderson men in here.

Q. But these were all employés of the office here?—A. Yes, sir, and what part they take in politics I don't know.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Now, you are quite satisfied that you are telling the truth, and while I ask you these questions I merely want to make quite sure that we are not doing anybody any injustice. You are pretty sure that neither of these two gentlemen, neither Mr. Harris nor Mr. Johnson, was present at that meeting?—A. No, sir.

Q. Can you tell us some of the people who were present?—A. There was a gentleman there by the name of Mr. Mitchell; I don't know his first name; he runs the elevator over here; and another gentleman by the name of Mr. Glass.

Q. Is he in the building too?—A. No, sir; he is at Johnson station.

Q. Well, is he in the Government employ?—A. Yes, sir; he is a letter-carrier.

Q. Was this Mr. Martin present?—A. Yes, sir; he was present.

Q. The man who took the money?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, at that meeting was there anybody present who was not a Government office-holder that you can remember?—A. No; there was a gentleman in the room.

Q. There was another gentleman in the room?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who was he?—A. I think his name was Pether, or some name like that. I think he was sitting at the table.

Q. Had he anything to do with running the meeting or collecting the money?—A. No, sir; not a thing in the world.

Q. The office-holders, as I understand you, agreed among themselves how much money they ought to give towards this primary?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they made Mr. Martin the treasurer?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it was confined to the office-holders from the Third ward?—A. Yes, sir; from the Third ward.

Q. And all that you know of came from this post-office?—A. And one gentleman; they were not present at the meeting; there was a gentleman from the custom-house.

Q. Neither Mr. Johnson nor Mr. Harris is in the custom-house at all?—A. No, sir; they don't hold any place. One is a barber.

Q. Who were these two men from the custom-house; do you remember their names?—A. A gentleman by the name of Charles E. Griffith, he is a watchman there, and another by the name of Jacob Button.

Q. You say they were not at the meeting?—A. No, sir; they were not at the meeting.

Q. Were they expected to come there and didn't come?—A. Well, it seemed like they couldn't get off. One was at work; one was a night watchman, and the other was a barber; this Griffith was a barber, and he was at work on Saturday night.

Q. And when you had agreed among yourselves what you ought to give on that occasion, you gave it to one of your own number, and not to an outsider?—A. Yes, sir; one of our own number.

Q. You are pretty sure of that?—A. Yes, sir; pretty sure.

Q. Now you are pretty certain that none of the office-holders from the Third ward, so far as you know of, gave \$5 apiece to any outsider?—A. No, sir; I am pretty sure of that.

Q. Was \$5 the amount they were each to give?—A. That was it; yes, sir.

Q. You have already answered it two or three times, but I will ask you the question again; you are quite sure that neither Mr. Harris nor Mr. Johnson had anything to do with getting \$5 for anybody?—A. No, sir; I don't believe they would accept \$100 if it were offered to them by anyone.

Q. This money that you raised in that way, it wasn't intended to buy votes with, was it?—A. No, sir; it was just spread in the ward to pay ticket-holders.

Q. And to have tickets printed and so forth, I judge?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And for what other expenses was it?—A. That is the only expenses; printing tickets and ticket-holders.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) What are the ticket-holders?—A. They get \$2 a piece.

Q. You pay the ticket-holders?—A. Yes, sir; for working, helping to poll the vote.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Was either of these men, Johnson or Harris, employed as a ticket-holder, do you remember; are they going to be employed as ticket-holders?—A. No, sir, they are not.

Q. The ticket-holders you have, I suppose, will belong to your faction?—A. Some of them have voted with the others in the last primary.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) But they will vote with you now?—A. Yes, sir; they come of their own consent.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) And this money which you raised was raised from among the office-holders?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And it was given to one of your own number, and it was intended to be used in the regular expenses of the primary?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now we want to get this pretty straight, so that we can bring it back on the person who is guilty. You didn't give your \$5 to Mr. Johnson or Mr. Harris, that you say positively?—A. No, sir.

Q. You did give it to Mr. Henry Martin?—A. Yes, sir, one of our number.

Q. Now you say there was a man connected with the elevator; what is his name?—A. His name is Mr. Mitchell.

Q. You don't know his first name?—A. No, sir.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Is he a white man or a colored man?—A. He is a white man.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Did you see him pay his money?—A. No, sir; I didn't see him pay his; he told me he gave it to this Mr. Martin.

Q. You have no doubt about him telling you the truth about that?—A. Well, he showed me \$5 one night, and the next morning he told me he gave it to Mr. Martin. You see we didn't give the money the first time we had a meeting.

Q. You didn't?—A. No, sir; that was afterwards. Some of them were willing to give it then and didn't give it. Of course, I didn't have mine at that time.

Q. Do you recollect who were willing to give it at that time?—A. I don't think anyone gave it, but we all agreed upon it.

Q. And now you have given us your name and Mr. Mitchell's, the elevator man, and you have mentioned one or two others. You mentioned the name of Mr. Glass?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What was his first name?—A. I think his name was Mr. Harry Glass.

Q. He is a letter carrier?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you any reason to know he gave his money to Mr. Martin, or gave it to somebody else?—A. He told me he gave it to Mr. Martin.

Q. And now you have said there were seven present, Mr. Martin himself, Mr. Mitchell, Mr. Glass, and yourself; that makes 4. Do you remember who the other three were?—A. Well, I know their faces, but don't know their names.

Q. You know them by sight? You are pretty sure they were all people employed about the office, and not outsiders?—A. No, sir; not outsiders.

Q. This man Mr. Pether; who is he?

WITNESS. Mr. Buttons, you mean?

Mr. BONAPARTE. You told me that there was a man by the name of Pether, or Pfeffer, present at the time?

A. Mr. Pfeffer; yes, sir.

Q. Who is he?—A. It was in the club room, a club called the Fairmount Club.

Q. Was it a club meeting?—A. No, sir; it was in the club room; it wasn't any meeting. He was sitting at the table in the room.

Q. That is the Republican club of the Third ward?—A. Yes, sir; the Fairmount Republican Club.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) That is where you held your meeting?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) And Mr. Pfeffer happened to be there, because he was a member of the club?—A. It just happened that way; yes, sir.

Q. Do you know what he does?—A. He is a can-maker by trade; he used to be an insurance collector.

Q. He is not in any Government place now?—A. No, sir.

Q. You tell us that these two gentlemen, these two friends of yours, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Harris, were made to see by this Jacob Seaton that it was to your interest that they should come over to the other side and work with your party?—A. My interest and the interest of the colored people; that is the remark he made in his speech.

Q. Now, by your interest, of course, he meant that you would be more certain of retaining your present place? I suppose that was what he meant?—A. I judge so.

Q. Did you tell them anything about its being possible that you would lose your place if they did?—A. No, sir.

Q. You didn't tell them that?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you don't know any one that did?—A. No, sir.

Mr. BONAPARTE, I think that will do.

TESTIMONY OF W. A. MITCHELL.

W. A. MITCHELL testified as follows:

Q. What is your name?—A. William A. Mitchell.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) What position do you occupy in this building?—A. I am the elevator man, sir.

Q. And you run that regularly?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you hold that under the postmaster or under Mr. Johnson as custodian of the building?—A. Indeed I couldn't tell you. Mr. Johnson appointed me, you know. I sign under the superintendent of mails division.

Q. Then it is under the postmaster?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you a member of an organization called the Fairmount Club, a Republican organization?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know Mr. Pfeiffer or Pether or Pfeffer, or some such name as that, connected with it?—A. Yes, sir; I think I do. This gentleman you refer to is a can-maker, I think. He is a short, stout man. Yes, sir; I haven't been acquainted with him very long.

Q. But you know that there is such a man and that he is a member of your club?—A. Yes, sir; to the best of my knowledge.

Q. Now, do you remember attending a meeting, at least I don't know whether it was a formal meeting, but being present at that club about a week ago, perhaps it may have been as long as 2 weeks ago, and whether Mr. Pfeffer was present? Perhaps I may recall to your mind that there was also present a man named Martin, a Mr. Henry Martin, and a Mr. Harry Glass. I believe they are both letter carriers.—A. Yes, sir; and Mr. Reed was there to.

Q. What is his first name?—A. Robert Reed; he is foreign clerk; assistant foreign clerk.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Employed here in the post-office?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) This man Robert Reed; he was also present you say, your fellow clerk?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, at the meeting, first of all, did you meet together by appointment, or did you happen there together accidentally?—A. We all came there by appointment.

Q. I am asking you rather catching sort of questions, but I don't want to do anybody injustice by introducing anybody's name.—A. Just speak out; speak it out; I assure you I want to give you as plain answers as far as I can remember.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) But what we want to get at is this: Mr. Roosevelt has received some information which may perhaps not be true; you know we very often hear of such things which are not true?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And he has asked me to come down here to help him try to ferret it out. Now, at this meeting was this Mr. Pfeiffer present? You recollect his being there, I suppose?—A. Now, let me tell you something. I don't know whether his name is Pfeiffer or not, but the gentleman I refer to is a short, stout man; he is a can-maker, but whether his name is Pfeiffer or not, I couldn't say.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. That's the man.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Well, he was there. Now, will you tell us, as near as you can remember, what happened at that meeting, at that gathering?—A. Well [pause].

Q. Was anything done about the primaries, in the first place, so as to attract your attention?—A. Well, we met there in regards to little financial affairs.

Q. Well, was that connected with the primaries?—A. Well, not at that time it wasn't.

Q. Well, had this man Pfeffer anything to do with it?—A. No, sir.

Q. He had not?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did Pfeffer take up any collection there?—A. No, sir; no, sir.

Q. Well, was there any collection taken up there?—A. There was a gentleman there by the name of—I can't think of his name now—I paid in my club dues, which is 50 cents a month; I think, by the way, I handed him a dollar for my club dues. We have a club there which is 50 cents a month, and I gave him my 50 cents; but as regards Mr. Pfeffer, I didn't see him take up any collection that I saw; I didn't see him take up any collection at all. That is the only money I saw change hands there. I paid my dues and I think there was a couple of others paid their monthly dues in the club.

Q. A couple of members?—A. Yes, sir; regular members. That is the only money I saw change hands there. If you want to see my receipt, here it is. [Exhibiting receipt.] I owed him a dollar and I paid him 50 cents.

Q. This is the 31st of March; this is up to date?—A. Yes, sir; that is up to date.

Q. Was this one of the regular nights of the club, do you remember; we would like to get that out?—A. I think it was Saturday a week; I think it was.

Q. Saturday?—A. I think so, if I am not mistaken.

Q. Now you think it was Saturday?—A. Yes, sir; I think it was Saturday a week.

Q. That would be the 14th of March?—A. I think it would, yes, sir.

Q. Now you say you met there on a little financial business. Was that business confined to you gentlemen who were connected with the office here, or had the others, such as Pfeffer, anything to do with it?—A. If he had, I didn't see him have anything to do with it. I don't know him very well; I don't go there but very seldom; I go there maybe once in two weeks, you know, and that is all.

Q. Now did you agree at that time, or did anyone there that you saw there, you or any of the others, agree to pay Pfeffer any money?

WITNESS. Did we agree to pay him money?

Mr. BONAPARTE: Yes, for any purpose?

Q. Did you agree to pay anybody any money?—A. No, sir; we didn't agree to pay anybody any money at all.

Q. There was nothing said, I suppose there, about buying any votes for the primaries, was there?—A. Not that I know of. I will tell you my opinion; when you can buy a man's vote, he ain't worth having a vote.

Q. Of course we all know that there has to be some money raised for primaries for legitimate expenses—A. I will tell you, gentlemen, this is the first political job I ever held, and I am green about it; I am as green as that door. I was in the candy business about 20 years before I got this job—in the confectionery business.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) How did you come to get your present position? Who was it recommended you, backed you?—A. James W. Bates, the elevator man on President street.

Q. Is he a Republican?—A. Yes, sir; old Mr. James Bates. His son married my sister, and I have a brother a conductor on the Pennsyl-

vania Railroad, and these two spoke for me, and that is how I got the place.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Now, we have already told you that you are in no danger; there is nothing reflecting on you so far as we have been informed; at least, so far as Mr. Roosevelt has been informed; and we are asking you these questions because we don't want to do any injustice to any one else.—A. No, sir.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) You say you paid \$5 to Mr. Martin, a letter carrier?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What time was it that you paid that?—A. I think it was the 20th or 21st of the month.

Q. Was that when you drew your money you mean?—A. No, sir.

Q. Well, all of the gentlemen there that night who were office-holders agreed to pay \$5; is that the idea?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did you come to that agreement, or those that agreed to pay that much, how did they come to that understanding, do you recollect; it was to be for perfectly legitimate purposes, of course?—A. Well, I don't know. When we met there, one of the gentlemen—of course, we all knew what we went there for—

Q. You knew what you went there for?—A. Yes, sir; we had seen one another on the street and had been talking.

Q. What was it you met there for?—A. To have a little money; to give a little money free gratis.

Q. For the primaries that are to take place next Monday?—A. I don't know what they are going to do with the money, but I have an idea that they were going to use it for the primaries; I don't know; I have only an idea, but it was given free gratis; it wasn't an assessment or anything like that.

Q. It was given perfectly free?—A. Yes, sir; yes, sir.

Q. You gentlemen who are connected with the post-office here, who are office-holders, freely gave this money to Mr. Martin?—A. Yes, sir; just like we would give it to anybody else.

Q. Precisely, and you agreed on \$5 as the right sum, or how was that fixed?—A. Yes, sir; we agreed on \$5.

Q. Was there any discussion about that there?

WITNESS. About the \$5?

Mr. ROOSEVELT. No, about settling it; whether the sum should be \$5 or was that the sum all the employés were paying?—A. That I couldn't say; we didn't have any discussion about it that I remember of.

Q. How did you happen to come to the conclusion that \$5 would be the right sum to give?—A. Well, I don't know how that was.

Q. Was Mr. Martin the treasurer, or how did he happen to receive the money?—A. No, sir; we just—we didn't exactly appoint him, but some one said, I don't know who it was, but somebody says, "Well, who shall it be?" and somebody says, "Mr. Martin; he will take it," and he said, "Yes, sir; I will take it."

Q. Do you recollect how that started; who it was that started the talk about giving the money?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. Did you meet there for the purpose of settling about contributing for the legitimate campaign expenses; wasn't that what you said?—A. Let's see—we met there for the purpose of donating some money.

Q. Donating some money with the view to the — A. (Interposing.) To the primaries; yes, sir.

Q. And had there been a formal call for that meeting?—A. No more than we would meet one another and say: "You know there's going to

be a meeting; you are coming down to the meeting to-morrow night," or something like that.

Q. Did you meet there every Saturday, or was this a specially called meeting?—A. I couldn't say whether it was a specially called meeting or not.

Q. Was it a specially called meeting of the whole club, or only just of the officers?—A. Just of the officers.

Q. Just a special meeting of you gentlemen who are in office here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Only how many men did you say; 7 or 8 men were there present; 7 or 8 office-holders?—A. I don't know whether there were 7 or 8; I don't know whether there were 7 or 8 of them there that Saturday night.

Q. Do you know Mr. Noah R. Pierson, who is the engineer?—A. Noah R. Pierson, the assistant engineer? yes, sir.

Q. Do you know if he subscribed his \$5, too?—A. Indeed, I couldn't say, sir.

Q. You can not tell that?—A. No, sir.

Q. But all of the employés generally, as far as you know, have subscribed \$5?—A. I couldn't say to that, whether they have or not. I know of my own club that some have, but as far as the others are concerned I couldn't tell you, sir.

Q. I see; you know the employés of your own club; they have each paid \$5?—A. I don't say they have; I don't know whether they have paid it or not.

Q. You mean it has mutually been the agreement that they were to pay?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who is it they were to pay it to?—A. I don't know whether they were to pay it to Mr. Martin or not; that is who I paid mine to.

Q. Did you get a receipt for it?—A. No, sir; because I gave it free gratis. I think when my money is mine own I can give it where I want to.

Q. Who of the letter carriers from the Third ward are members of that Fairmount club, do you know?—A. That I couldn't tell you.

Q. Are there a good many post-office employés who are members of that club?—A. I don't know, sir, because I have only been in there about 5 months myself, and, just as I tell you, it is very seldom I go there.

Q. But you know that there are a considerable number of the employés of the post-office members of that club?—A. There are some few of them; yes, sir.

Q. Are they the leading active members of the club?—A. No, sir.

Q. You did not receive, of course, a hint from any member to contribute?—A. No, sir.

Q. But simply of your own free will?—A. I gave it just the same as I would give it to a beggar that would come along, and I wanted to give it to them. I felt so disposed to put my money out that way, and I done it.

Q. And Martin—what is his first name?—A. I don't know his first name; I think it is Henry; I think so, I am not positive.

Q. I think so too. You don't know of anyone else giving his money to Martin?—A. I didn't see anyone else give him money.

Q. As I understand, nobody gave him money that night?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nobody gave any money to Pfeffer at all, as I understand it?—A. I have been trying to think of that gentleman's name. Of course,

paying the club dues, you know. No, sir; I don't think any person gave him any.

Q. The gentleman to whom you paid your club dues, is he a post-office employé?—A. No, sir; he is one of the best workers in the club. He is collector for the Broadway street cars; a young fellow about 21 years old.

Q. He hasn't got any political position then?—A. No, sir. We have 45 or 55 or 65 members, I think, down in that club.

Q. You wouldn't have any idea of how many of these were Government employés?—A. Let's see—you mean here in the post-office?

Q. And in the custom-house and in the internal revenue; anywhere?—A. I think there is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, about 12; there may be 14. You might put it 10, but I think there is more than 10; I think so.

Q. Well, then, only about one-quarter or one-fifth or somewhere about that are Government employés?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And the others don't have any connection with the Government at all?—A. No, sir. Some are can-makers and some are in the coal business, and so forth.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) But that little meeting held in the room was a meeting, merely, of office-holders called there to contribute and settle about contributions for the primaries?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is that club, the Fairmount club, especially in the interest of Mr. Johnson; does it especially belong to the Johnson faction, or are there some of that faction and some of the others in there?—A. Now, that I can not tell you, because I don't know every member in there; I only know some few. I vouch to say of the 65 members there, I don't know many, I know most of their faces; but I don't know more than 18 or 20 of them out of the whole club, because I don't visit there much.

Q. Do you know whether this man Pfeffer, or whatever his name is, is a supporter of Mr. Johnson, or belongs to the Johnson faction?—A. That I couldn't tell you, sir. I can not tell you, because on that subject I never had any talk with him about it.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) What is the name of the assistant foreign clerk?—A. Mr. Robert Reed.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Is that man Pfeffer a man you think whose word you could rely on at all?—A. Well, I am going to tell you one thing. I think I have met Mr. Pfeffer only about three times in my life, to my knowledge. When I first joined the club, he came down to my house and introduced himself, and I met him twice after that, but I I don't know anything about him.

Q. You don't know how far he is a truthful man?—A. All I can tell you is he seems to be a gentleman, and these two or three times I have met him he has always treated me like a gentleman.

Q. You are not to understand what we are saying against him. I am only asking these questions about him. Then your subscription of \$5 was given, you are pretty sure, to this man Martin, and was not given them at all?—A. No, sir; it was not given up to the club; no, sir.

Q. And you are pretty sure that it was Martin you gave it to, and not Pfeffer or any outsider?—A. No, sir; it was Martin, sir.

Q. And there wasn't any idea of using that money for buying up votes, was there; that was never talked over in the club, was it?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. I mean when you were present, of course.—A. No, sir

Q. It was to be used in the legitimate expenses at the primaries?—
A. That is what I thought; yes, sir.

Q. And by legitimate expenses you mean printing tickets and for ticket holders?—A. Yes, sir; and room, men, and such as that; of course these things have got to be paid.

Q. And there wasn't any idea, so far as you know, on anybody's part of buying anybody's vote at all?—A. No, sir; I don't remember of anything having been said in my presence. They had another meeting after that that I wasn't present at; I didn't go at all.

Q. Who do you mean by they?—A. The club had another meeting.

Q. Now, when was that?—A. Let's see—I think it was the following Wednesday after the Saturday I was there; the following Wednesday or Saturday; I couldn't say.

Q. I want to ask you one thing more. You know two colored men in that ward called C. H. Johnson and R. H. Harris? One of them is a barber and the other is an insurance solicitor, I think.—A. Well, I will tell you, gentlemen; I might know them and talk to them, but I don't know their names at all.

Q. Were there any colored men present at that time when you and Martin and Pfeffer and the others were there?—A. Yes, sir; there was one there—one colored man.

Q. Do you remember his name?—A. He works here in the building; he is a tall, smooth-faced man, I think. I don't know whether he is janitor or custodian.

Q. It wasn't either of these two men; you are pretty certain it was neither Johnson nor Harris?—A. No, sir.

Q. These two men are not in Government employ at all?—A. No, sir; they were not there. There was only one I saw there, and that was the only colored man that was there.

Q. There are some colored men belong to that club who are not in Government employ, are there not?—A. That I couldn't answer.

Q. Do you know an old man named Jacob Seaton, an old colored man?—A. No, sir.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE W. SEARS.

GEORGE W. SEARS testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) How long have you been letter-carrier?—A. I was appointed on the 18th of August.

Q. Of last August?—A. No, sir; August, 1889.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Through our civil service examination?—A. Yes, sir. Postmaster Brown appointed me; that is he reappointed me; he turned me out and reappointed me.

Q. When were you originally appointed?—A. I was appointed under Colonel Adreon; I think it was in August; then I was appointed and stayed in under Postmaster Veazy and Postmaster Brown, and he—I really actually forget the date—but I worked on that district for 16 years, and then it was found out that I was inefficient, and I was dismissed to improve the efficiency of the service.

Q. And you were reinstated?—A. Yes, sir; so I took an examination last February a year and passed, I believe 87, and they appointed four or five of us old carriers that he dismissed; he appointed us from the examination, and I had to take a substitute again and start at the bottom of the list.

Q. Although you were dismissed to improve the efficiency of the force?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But that was not a bar to your appointment by the same postmaster?—A. No, sir; I don't think so. I had a letter here. After my dismissal I got a letter from the Postmaster General when I asked for the charges made against me, and he told me I was discharged to improve the efficiency of the service, although at the same time the carrier that was put there that succeeded me—there was two of them that worked it for a while—and there was a letter addressed to Mrs. H. G. Stewart, southwest corner of Hoffman and McCulloh streets and this carrier left the letter at Mrs. Stewart's, southeast corner of McCulloh and Preston streets.

Q. And it was to improve the efficiency of the service that the substitution of him, after your dismissal, was made?—A. Yes, sir. So the party who got the letters gave them to me and wanted me to send them to Washington. I told him it wouldn't do me much good, and the postmaster went to work and put these in an official envelope and put an immediate stamp on it and sent it up by another carrier, and wrote a note to the party explaining it, and signed it "Frank Brown, Postmaster."

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Do you know a man by the name of Frederick Hammond?—A. Yes, sir; I know Mr. Hammond.

Q. What is his business?—A. I don't know what he does.

Q. Is he in the Government employ any way?—A. Not to my knowledge; I don't think he is.

Q. He is interested in Republican politics, isn't he, actively?—A. He is a Republican.

Q. Doesn't he profess to be very much interested in the inside Republican politics?—A. Well, I couldn't answer that particularly; I know he is a Republican, and I believe he was in this place at one time; I think; I am not positive about it.

Q. You mean that he was at one time in the post-office?—A. I think he was watchman here or something.

Q. How long ago was that?—A. I think he was here until they made the reduction.

Q. Then he lost his place?—A. Yes, sir; I think he was here up until that time; I don't know how long he was in, though.

Q. Do you know whether he is a man who would for any reason have any sort of grudge or ill feeling against Postmaster Johnson?—A. No, sir; I don't know as he is.

Q. Do you know whether he is a man of good character?—A. I believe so, as far as I know.

Q. Do you know whether he is a truthful sort of man?—A. Yes, sir; I think so.

Q. You think he is a person on whose information one could rely?—A. I think so; yes, sir. I have known him a good while; some 7 or 8 or 9 years.

Q. Do you know whether, in the approaching primaries that are going to be held next Monday, this man Hammond is professing to take a great deal of interest as a friend of Mr. Johnson's?—A. Well, I have seen him at meetings they held in the ward.

Q. Do you think that he has really been working on the side he pretends to be, or says he is, or that there is any possibility of his not telling the truth?—A. Indeed, I could not tell you that.

Q. Now, do you know of this Mr. Hammond collecting any money among Government employes?—A. No, sir; not to my knowledge.

Q. Did he ever get any from you?—A. No, sir.

Q. Not for any purpose at all?—A. No, sir; none whatever.

Q. And you say that he was in the employ of the Government until

the last reduction took place?—A. Yes, sir; I think he was. I never saw him here; I heard somebody say some time ago that he was in here, and had got out again; that, I believe, was in the postmaster's room; I am not positive about it.

Q. Got out after what?—A. After this reduction was made.

Q. There isn't any other Sears who is a letter-carrier here, is there?—A. No, sir.

Q. Now, you don't know, you say, of Hammond collecting any money for any purpose at all from anybody lately?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know a Mr. John E. Buckingham?—A. There is a Buckingham, a filing clerk; I don't know what his name is, but I think his name is Alfred or Albert.

Q. You don't know any man by the name of John E. Buckingham; perhaps that may be a mistake.—A. There is one here, a filing clerk; some calls him Al. Buckingham.

Q. Mr. Sears, isn't it a fact that there has been a collection made very recently?

Mr. BONAPARTE. Perfectly voluntary.

A. Not as I know of.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Haven't a large number of the employés given \$5 apiece?—A. Indeed I can not answer that question.

Q. Haven't you given any?—A. No, sir; I haven't; you have my word of honor, I have not contributed one cent.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Haven't you been asked?—A. No, sir.

Q. And nobody has hinted to you?—A. No, sir.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) You are quite clear that this man Hammond didn't ask you for any money?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you don't know of his asking or getting any money from anybody else?—A. No, sir. I saw Mr. Hammond several nights that they had meetings of the ward, and that is about all.

Q. What ward is that?—A. The Thirteenth ward.

Q. Now, at these meetings did you see him solicit any money or collect any money; at any of these meetings?—A. No, sir.

Q. I understand you to say that so far as you know Hammond is a respectable man and a truthful man?—A. I think he is; to my knowledge I think he is.

Q. And that, although he has lost his place, you don't think he has any cause to have a grudge against the postmaster?—A. I do not think so, sir.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) This club in the ward that you speak of, what is its name?—A. The Thirteenth Ward Republican Club; the Harrison and Morton Club.

Q. It is composed mainly of office-holders?—A. No, sir; no, indeed.

Q. There are only a few office-holders in it?—A. I don't know how many office-holders are in it.

Q. And at the approaching primaries there is a fight on, on Monday?—A. There is a division.

Q. Between the Henderson and Johnson factions?—A. Yes, sir; that is about it.

Q. Of course the post-office employés are all interested in the success of the Johnson element?—A. Yes, sir; certainly.

Q. Have they been banding together to make their friendship for him of service in any way?—A. I can not say; in fact, I haven't been around there scarcely any; only I know at one time I belonged to the club; I was a member of the club before I was in here, and they got to wrangling down there once and I got disgusted and came out, and I haven't been in the club since.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN L. SHIELDS.

JOHN L. SHIELDS testified as follows :

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) What is your position ?—A. I am a letter-carrier.

Q. When were you appointed ?—A. I was appointed last March a year ago.

Q. From our civil-service examination ?—A. I was appointed as an ex-soldier.

Q. A reinstatement ?—A. A reinstatement ; yes, sir.

Q. What ward do you hail from ?—A. The Fourteenth ward.

Q. What is the Republican association in that ward ?—A. There are two associations ; two clubs.

Q. One Johnson and one Henderson ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Which club do you belong to ?—A. I don't belong to either of them.

Q. You occupy a nonpartisan position ?—A. I am put in here as an old soldier ; I came in here appointed first by Andrew Dennison when he was postmaster ; I served in his regiment and was wounded at the same time he lost his arm, and so, of course, I was known to him.

Q. You are not a member of either association ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Are you a member of the Republican party ?—A. Yes, sir ; I am, in all that its name implies.

Q. Will you put your vote in next Monday ?—A. That I don't know, whether I will be allowed to vote or not ; I don't suppose there will be any objections to a man voting ; I don't know as I can take a part in it.

Q. I mean you are well known enough as a Republican to go there and vote ?—A. Oh, yes, sir ; I am well known in the ward.

Q. There wouldn't be any trouble on the part of the Henderson faction to bar you out ?—A. I don't know as there would.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Do you know a Mr. Frederick Hammond ?—A. Yes, sir ; I think I do.

Q. What sort of business is he in now ?—A. I can not tell you now. I know him solely, and that is all. I know him the same as I know you, Mr. Bonaparte ; I know you when I see you, and that is about all.

Q. He was at one time employed in this building ?—A. I think he was at one time in the custom-house ; I don't know whether he is in there now or not. I don't know what ward he belongs in ; he used to belong in the Thirteenth ward, but I don't know now where he belongs.

Q. Is there a Mr. John E. Buckingham employed here ?—A. I think there is.

Q. In what capacity ?—A. I really couldn't tell you. I am not in this office. I belong to the station at Baltimore and Gilmore streets, and of course I don't know much about what is going on here.

Q. Now, we will not detain you much longer. Do you know of any contributions of money towards the expenses of the approaching primaries being made among the officials here ?—A. No, sir ; I do not.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Perfectly voluntary, of course ?—A. Well, I don't know of any in the department at all.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Have you yourself contributed anything ?—A. I have, sir.

Q. Who was it that asked you for your contribution ?—A. The executive of the ward, Mr. Jas. H. Marriott ; he is not in the department at all.

Q. Does this Mr. J. E. Buck come from your ward?—A. Yes, sir; the Fourteenth ward.

Q. Have you had any conversation with him on the subject of contributions?—A. Nothing at all in the world.

Q. Have you seen anything of this Mr. Hammond in connection with them?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where was it that you paid your contribution to Mr. Marriott?—A. I left it at his house.

Q. You left it at his house?—A. Yes, sir; part of it I gave to him at one time and part I left at his house.

Q. It was \$5, I suppose?—A. Yes, sir; that is what I gave.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Was \$5 the amount that every one paid?—A. That I couldn't tell you.

Q. Was there any agreement about it?—A. No, sir; I don't know as there was any agreement.

Q. When did he make the request of you; did he write it or did he make it of you in person?—A. I got a little note from him.

Q. You got a little note from him, probably such as he wrote to all?—A. I don't know; I suppose he wrote it to others; I haven't any idea, of course.

Q. You got a little note from him asking you for a subscription?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did he specify the amount in it?—A. No, sir.

Q. As the customary subscription?—A. No, sir; there was no specified amount in it.

Q. Where did you receive that note?—A. At my house, my residence.

Q. He just wrote you a note at your house, asking you for some money, and you gave him \$5?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. As far as you know have the employés generally paid or not?—A. That I couldn't tell you; I don't know.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Has there been any meeting or gathering of the employés of your ward to consider the question of how much they should give or whether they should give anything?—A. I believe there was.

Q. Where did that take place?—A. It took place on Carrolton avenue.

Q. At either of these clubs that you have mentioned?—A. No, sir.

Q. At a private house?—A. Yes, sir; at a private house.

Q. At a private house of one of the employés?—A. Indeed, I couldn't tell you whether he is or not.

Q. Were you present at the meeting?—A. I was; yes, sir.

Q. Can you remember about who was there; I don't mean everybody, but as near as you can recollect?—A. Well, this Mr. Buckingham was there; I remember him being there, and Mr. Marriott.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) What is Mr. Buckingham's position?—A. I don't know what position he holds. He used to be here—one of the night superintendents here—but what position he holds now I don't know.

Q. He is in the office?—A. Yes, sir; on night duty, I think.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Was a Mr. Boulden present?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And was there a Mr. McCormick there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did Mr. Buckingham preside at that meeting?—A. No, sir; I think not. Mr. Marriott presided. He was the executive of the ward, and he presided then. There was no regular organization of the meeting; they just met there and had a little talk, I believe.

Q. And was there any discussion then as to how much that each should give, or how much they should give, or anything of that sort?—

A. I believe there was something said in regards to what they would give, and it seems to run in my mind that there was some talk about it.

Q. It was made up of these employés of this office who came from the Fourteenth ward, wasn't it?—A. There were a number of them, I believe, who were employés, that is, of this office, and some of them that were not.

Q. Were there some there from any other public office; some from the custom-house?—A. Well, yes, sir; I believe there was.

Q. I believe I understood you to say that this Mr. Hammond hadn't anything to do with it?—A. He wasn't there; he wasn't there, that is, if I know the man at all, which I think I do. He wasn't there that afternoon; at least I didn't see him. If he was there, he was there before I got there.

Q. What sort of a man is Hammond as to character; is he a man of a good reputation?—A. Well, to tell you the truth, I don't know but very little about the man.

Q. I am only asking in the interest of justice. I want to try to find out something about him.—A. Well, I have always taken him to be a very nice sort of man, the little that I have come in contact with him.

Q. Do you know of any reason to suppose that he was not a truthful man?—A. No, sir; I never heard anything against his truthfulness.

Q. He is connected with the Johnson faction, as they generally call it in the party?—A. Now, you are too hard for me; I don't really know.

Q. He is not the sort of man, I suppose, who would profess to be connected with one faction when he was really friendly to the other; do you think he is?—A. Well, sir, as I said before, I know very little about the man. I just managed to speak as I passed him on the street, and I never had any conversation with the man in my life. That is about all I know of him. I don't think Mr. Hammond lives in the ward.

Q. In the Fourteenth ward?—A. I don't think he does. I know he used to live in the Thirteenth ward when he lived on German street; that was near Fremont. Then he lived in the Thirteenth ward; but where he lives now I couldn't tell you.

Q. You say at this meeting it was agreed or talked over as to how much money should be given. Now, was there anything said about who it should be paid to?—A. It was paid to Mr. Marriott.

Q. And that was the understanding?—A. Yes, sir; that was the understanding.

Q. And that was what you did?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT) You say that they were mainly office-holders at that meeting?—A. I believe a great number of them were.

Q. Were there any outsiders, nonoffice-holders, except Mr. Marriott?—A. Yes, sir; Mr. Marriott wasn't an office-holder.

Q. But were they all office-holders or active Republican workers in that district?—A. Yes, sir, I think they were.

Q. Did you meet there by invitation?—A. Yes, sir; we had notes to meet there.

Q. Who sent these notes?—A. Mr. Marriott; they were signed by Mr. Marriott, and I supposed he sent them.

Q. He sent to all the employés from that ward where to meet him?—A. I don't know who he sent to; but I do know that I got one; but who else, I really don't know. I know some of the employés of the office were not there that I am personally acquainted with, that live in the Fourteenth ward.

Q. Are they Democrats?—A. No, sir; not Mr. McCormick.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) He wasn't there?—A. No, sir; he wasn't there?

Q. What is his first name?—A. His name is John McCormick.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) What day did this meeting take place?—A. Last Monday night or Tuesday night, it seems to me; I think it was either Monday night or Tuesday night, Monday night, I think.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Are you pretty sure that Mr. McCormick was not there?—A. If he was I did not see him; I am very well acquainted with him.

Q. Mr. McCormick has contributed, hasn't he?—A. Not as I know of; I think not.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN W. BOULDEN.

JOHN W. BOULDEN testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Were you present at a meeting held somewhere on Carrolton avenue, some time about Monday or Tuesday last, at which there was a discussion regarding the amount of contributions that different persons were to make towards the expenses of the primaries?—A. I was at a meeting; I was notified to come to a meeting, but it was merely they wanted a little money, I believe, towards ticket-holders, or something of that kind, but I don't know that there was anybody in particular asked to contribute at all, any office-holder or anything of that kind.

Q. Well, these ticket-holders were at the approaching primaries?—A. I presume that is what it is.

Q. Who presided at that meeting?—A. The executive of the ward was there.

Q. Was he a gentleman named Marriott?—A. That's his name; yes, sir; I presume it was Marriott; he was the one, I think, that is executive.

Q. Now, did he receive any money on that occasion, do you know?—A. There was some money paid there, and I think it went to him; I am not sure; I came there a little late for the meeting.

Q. To whom did you pay your subscription?—A. I just laid it down on a stand that was there; the parties were in there, and I laid it down on the stand there.

Q. It disappeared, I suppose?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Who was at the stand beside Mr. Marriott; was Mr. Buckingham at the stand?—A. No, sir, he wasn't; if he was sitting near the stand I don't know now.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) He was at the meeting, wasn't he?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And was Mr. Shields there, who has just testified?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were there any employes of the custom-house there that you know of?—A. There may have been; there were several in the room that I didn't know, sir; if there were, I didn't know them.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) The meeting was composed of office-holders and Republican workers?—A. There were some few office holders there and some private citizens there; the meeting was not composed exclusively of office holders.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Was there a man there named Hammond?—A. There may have been; I don't know him by that name.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Hammond?—A. I know one man by the name of Hammond, but he is in the Thirteenth ward; he hasn't anything to do with it there.

Q. But he wasn't there?—A. No, sir; I will guaranty that; the man that you have reference to.

Q. Is his name Frederick Hammond, the man that you know?—A. I disremember what his first name is, but he was in the Thirteenth ward. He used to be in the Fourteenth ward before the redistricting, but he wasn't in the room, the man I have reference to, because I know him too well.

Q. Was he at one time in Government employ and afterwards lost his place?—A. Yes, sir; the one I have reference to.

Q. Now, what sort of a man is this Mr. Hammond; I mean is he a respectable and truthful sort of man?—A. I have always looked upon him as a very truthful man as far as I know.

Q. Do you know which side he takes in this contest; which side he is on?—A. I do not, sir.

Q. He is not a sort of man, you don't think, that would really be on one side and profess to be on the other, is he, from the little that you know of him?—A. Well, politics is pretty tricky and I couldn't say. I have played politics in the ward long before the civil service, and I know things are pretty tricky; they were pretty tricky then, but they have got to be a little better; they are not quite so much so now.

Q. Is he a man on whose opinion you would rely as trustworthy?—A. I can trust him, sir, the gentleman I know, if he is the same gentleman I know. I think he is a very truthful man, as far as I know, in business transactions; but of course when it comes to politics it may be something else, but he has been a very square man as far as I know.

Q. But this man, he was not present at the Fourteenth ward meeting?—A. I didn't see him there, sir.

Q. And as far as you were concerned you put your contribution on the desk, and where it went, you are not able to say from your present knowledge?—A. No, sir.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Why did you happen to put down \$5 exactly?—A. I didn't suppose we had to put down that exactly, because there was no assessment at all.

Q. Why did everyone put down that sum?—A. That I don't know; I seen that was what they were giving, and I gave \$5 too.

Q. Who wrote to you to come to that meeting?—A. It was my ward executive.

Q. This man Marriott?—A. Mr. Marriott, yes, sir.

Q. Did he write to your house or here?—A. I don't come to this office; it was a suboffice where he wrote to me; I got it at the office.

Q. Was it addressed to you at the office?—A. No, sir; it was addressed to my house number, and I think it was thrown in my box.

Q. Addressed to you at your house?—A. Addressed to my house and thrown in my box at the office where I get my letters.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN W. McCORMICK.

JOHN W. McCORMICK testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) You are a letter-carrier?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When were you appointed?—A. Well, I will have to explain that. I entered the railway mail service in April, and came to this office by way of transfer.

Q. April of what year?—A. Immediately after President Harrison's inauguration.

Q. Prior to the civil examination?—A. No, sir.

Q. During the examinations?—A. No, sir; I went in the day before the service went under the civil service.

Q. You were one of the fortunate ones?—A. I was unfortunate going in that service; I injured myself, and perhaps would be better off if I hadn't gone in there.

Q. You belong in the Fourteenth ward?—A. Yes, the fifth precinct.

Q. Do you belong to either of these Republican clubs; and if so, to which of them?—A. At present I belong to neither one.

Q. One, I understand is a Henderson club, and one a Johnson club?—A. Well, you may say so.

Q. That is what your predecessors have testified; that they represent the two factions which will contend at the primaries on Monday?—A. Yes, sir; but I am between two millstones up there; neither one of them trusts me.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) I need not keep you very long; but I only have a question or two to ask you. Were you present at a meeting in the Fourteenth ward about a week ago?—A. No, sir; I received a notice of one signed James H. Marriott, but I didn't have any business with Mr. Marriott and I didn't go.

Q. Have you contributed any money towards the expenses of the primary election?—A. Of the primary, no, sir.

Q. Or any expenses of any kind?—A. No, sir. Nobody has asked me and I haven't contributed a cent.

Q. Nobody has asked you?—A. Neither one of them; they will not ask me up there.

Q. Do you know a man named Hammond?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is his name Frederick Hammond?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What sort of a man is he?—A. Now, Mr. Bonaparte, some years ago, away back before I began to be active in politics, Mr. Hammond—now this is not my own knowledge, but I have heard it said that Mr. Hammond was a Know-nothing, and was a pretty tough man, but this last 6 or 8 years he has joined the church and, as far as I know, was a very clever man. I never heard anything against him since. When he was a Know-nothing, I have heard that he was a pretty tough man, and that kind of talk, but I don't know anything about it of my own knowledge.

Q. And you say he has joined the church?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What church is he a member of?—A. The Union Square Methodist Church, I suppose; I see him going there Sundays and nights.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) He was at one time in the Government employ, wasn't he?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And lost his place afterwards, recently. I don't mean through any fault of his, but he did, as a matter of fact, lose his place?—A. I heard that, yes, sir; but I don't know it of my own knowledge.

Q. Do you think he is a truthful sort of man?—A. I never heard his veracity questioned. I should say since Mr. Hammond has joined church, as far as my observation has been, he lives a very consistent life. He had the reputation of being right tough when he was a Know-nothing, but that has been a long time ago, you know, and you have to give a man a chance for repentance.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES L. WEBBER.

JAMES L. WEBBER testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) You are a letter carrier?—A. Yes, sir; I was appointed 1st of May, 1890.

Q. Through our civil service examination?—A. Yes, sir; Mr. Brown appointed me, and I was promoted when Mr. Johnson came in; that is, May 1st.

Q. You mean 1889?—A. Last year, 1890.

Q. Mr. Johnson has been in more than a year?—A. He came in in March, or the latter part of February, about a year he has been in.

Q. And you were appointed by Mr. Brown?—A. Yes, sir; in July, about 6 months previous to that, or 9 months previous to that.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) What ward do you come from?—A. The Seventh ward.

Q. How much, if anything, have you contributed to the expenses of this primary election, this approaching primary?—A. Nothing; I am going to contribute.

Q. You have not as yet?—A. I am going to contribute.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) You have not contributed?—A. I have contributed partly, and I am going to contribute some more.

Q. Five dollars is the total amount you were to contribute, isn't it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much have you contributed?—A. I have contributed the whole amount.

Q. And are you going to contribute more than that?—A. Yes, sir; some more. I am going to use my own discretion about that.

Q. Did everyone contribute \$5?—A. I don't know anything about that.

Q. Do you know whether anybody else has contributed at all?—A. No, sir; I gave my to Charles A. Allard.

Q. Is he over in your ward?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is his business?—A. He is a carpenter by occupation; he was our candidate for the council.

Q. He is not in Government employ?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is he a Republican?—A. Yes, sir; certainly.

Q. How did you happen to be appointed under Mr. Brown if you were a Republican?—A. When I took the examination there was nobody taking examinations but Republicans.

Q. Then that was after the Presidential election?—A. Yes, sir; February after the election, of course. I stood 91 on the list and Mr. Brown felt it compulsory to take me.

Q. Did you tell anybody that you understood that every carrier was to give \$5 towards the primaries, do you remember?—A. No, sir; I did not. I recollect saying to Mr. Dick Loane, of the Stone Club in my ward, that I was going to give \$5 and probably more; he and I have been friends, and I said that to him, but nobody has approached me in the office or out of the office. Amongst my fellow carriers I told, probably, that I was going to give.

Q. What was the purpose for which this was to be used?—A. I suppose to give the boys a good time for this work they do, so they might enjoy themselves. On Thursday night we had beer and a supper over there to treat the workers.

Q. And you did tell this Mr. Loane?—A. I think that is the only one; of course he is a fellow employé, at least he was. He resigned the other day; he got a better position

Q. Does he belong to your faction or to the other side?—A. I am a Republican. I don't believe in either faction. I contribute to both clubs, Mr. Stone's club and to Mr. Johnson's club. I don't believe in faction fights at all.

Q. Now, what is the gentleman's name who you say you told this to?—A. Mr. Loane.

Q. And is he identified with the Stone club?—A. Yes, sir; I believe he is.

Q. And that is of the Henderson faction?—A. Well, now, I believe the leading members are, but as far as the membership is concerned it is a very strong club, a club of 400 or 500 members, and I suppose they are divided; I don't know.

Q. And you are pretty sure you haven't told anyone else?—A. No, sir; only Mr. Loane. I know I talked to him because he was a fellow employé in the office.

Q. Do you know anyone else having paid money besides yourself?—A. No, sir; no one else said a thing. This man, Mr. Allard, I went to him because I knew him; and I wanted to contribute to the party's success.

Q. But this hasn't anything to do with the party's success; this is only a fight at the primaries.—A. I suppose it is a fight at the primaries, but I would contribute to anybody else; I would contribute to Mr. Stone's club. I have contributed to both clubs, I have helped to furnish the room, and so on. I think that's my own business, too.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Was this contribution of \$5 given to Mr. Allard; I mean did he receive the money?—A. I gave it to him in person.

Q. And he is the ward executive?—A. No, sir; he holds no position in the ward whatever; he is just a private individual; just a man well known in the ward.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Where did you give him that?—A. I don't think that's a fair question to ask me. I gave it to him at a residence.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) At his residence?—A. No, sir; not his residence.

Q. At yours?—A. No, sir; I decline to answer that question.

Q. Why is it that you don't want to answer it?—A. Well, I think it is a private affair. Mr. Bonaparte, can't I go to a place and give a man my own money? I have a right to give my money to anybody I please. I don't think it is a pertinent question.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) It is a question that we think is perfectly fair and you must answer it or give some reason. You don't seem to understand that you are before an official inquiry.

WITNESS. I am not under oath.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Of course you are not under oath, but we are holding this investigation in accordance with the orders of the President, and you must answer this question or give some reasonable excuse for not answering it.—A. Oh, if you want me to answer it, the gentleman's residence is No. 1408 North Broadway. I went to the Eighth Ward Republican Club meeting and met this gentleman there.

Q. Were there many of you present at this residence?—A. There was only two.

Q. It was not a meeting?—No, sir; there was no meeting at all. I went there; I was on my way to the Eighth Ward Club and I met Mr. Allard there and gave it to him.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH FOSLER.

JOSEPH FOSLER testified as follows :

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) What is your occupation?—A. I am a letter-carrier, sir.

Q. When were you appointed?—A. I was appointed the first of the year.

Q. Through our civil-service examinations?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. There is going to be a fight, we understand from the testimony here, between the so-called Henderson and Johnson factions; is that correct?—A. That's what I understand.

Q. So it is going to be a contested primary, with the activity that usually attends a contested primary?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) What ward do you belong in?—A. The Fifth ward.

Q. Now, who has charge of the Republicans; who is the most active person in the Republican party in the Fifth ward?

WITNESS. The most active person?

Mr. BONAPARTE. Yes, sir. Who would be called the leader there?

A. That is hard for me to tell.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Of the Johnson faction who is the leader?

A. Well, I suppose Mr. West.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) What is Mr. West's occupation?—A. He is a detective.

Q. Of the firm of Smith, West & Lyons, across the street here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, has any person asked you to contribute to the expenses of the primaries in that ward?—A. No, sir.

Q. No one has asked you at all?—A. No, sir; no one has asked me at all.

Q. And you have not, as a matter of fact, contributed?—A. No, sir; I have not.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Haven't you contributed \$5?—A. No, sir.

Q. Haven't you agreed to contribute \$5 then?—No, sir; I haven't agreed to contribute \$5.

Q. Are you going to?—Well, that's an after consideration; that is not now.

Q. Do you know a Mr. Philip Sindall?—Yes, sir.

Q. He is an employé of the office?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He is also very much interested in this primary, isn't he, or actively interested in local politics?—A. I don't know; he is not in my ward as I know of; he is in the Eighth ward.

Q. Have you had any conversation with Mr. Sindall on the subject of contributing to this primary election?—A. No, sir.

Q. Not at all?—A. No, sir; not at all.

Q. Do you know of any other Government employés who have been asked to contribute?—A. No, sir.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Do you know anything about their having contributed any money at all?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know that \$5 is the sum they have been expected to contribute?—A. No, sir; I don't know anything about it.

Q. Do you know that something has been expected of you?—A. No, sir; I don't know that.

Q. You haven't had a kind of hint to that effect?—A. No, sir.

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL M. ARMSTRONG.

SAMUEL M. ARMSTRONG testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) What is your position?—A. I am a clerk in the post-office.

Q. When were you appointed?—A. I was appointed on the 16th of last June. I was a substitute for 3 months, and appointed the middle of September regularly.

Q. You were appointed through a civil-service examination?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. The Fifth ward.

Q. Is there more than one Republican club in that ward?—A. There were two there some time ago.

Q. One was a Johnson club and one a Henderson club?—A. Yes, sir; they were supposed to be that way.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Are they both in existence now or has one disbanded?—A. No, sir; one has disbanded.

Q. Which one has gone out of existence?—A. The Henderson club.

Q. Is there going to be a fight between Johnson and Henderson factions next Monday at the primaries?—A. Indeed I couldn't tell you; I am not a member of the club—I am not a member of the club. I have made a contribution to the club, but I am not a member.

Q. Are you a Republican?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you ever take an active part in politics?—A. Well, yes, sir; I have on general elections.

Q. How much have you contributed for the expense attending this primary?—A. Well, Mr. Bonaparte, I always give something. I always give on general elections.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) There is no criminal charge against you at all as far as we know; it is perfectly proper that the legitimate expenses should be paid. Five dollars was the amount you gave, wasn't it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you give that all at once or how?—A. I gave it all at one time.

Q. To whom did you give it?—A. I gave it to the club down there; that is all I know about it.

Q. What particular individual took it from you?—A. Well, the gentleman that took it from me was Mr. Stewart.

Q. What Stewart?—A. Well, he is a member of the club; that is, he is a sort of supposed to run the club.

Q. What is his first name?—A. William; I think it is William; I am not certain.

Q. Where is he employed?—A. I think he is employed—he is a printer by occupation, and I think he is employed by the Baltimore Episcopal Methodist, a religious paper that is published here in the city.

Q. Who asked you to give?—A. There wasn't anybody asked me; I gave it of my own free accord.

Q. How did you happen to contribute just \$5?—A. Well, I could afford that; I could spare that much.

Q. But every one seems to have contributed just \$5; how did that happen?—A. I couldn't tell you that; I know nothing about what the others did; I never asked the question.

Q. Was there just a general agreement that you should contribute \$5?—A. No, sir; there was no agreement with me; I gave him \$5, that's all; I never agreed with anybody to give any money at all.

Q. And no one ever spoke to you about the amount?—A. No, sir; I was going to give \$10, but I was afraid I was short of money at that time.

Q. Five dollars was simply to run the next primaries?—A. I didn't know what it was for.

Q. Why did you give it then?—A. As a contribution.

Q. In view of the primaries that were coming on next Monday?—A. I suppose it was for that; I don't know.

Q. Well, people who are in the Johnson crowd, do they belong in that club?—A. Well, they are, I suppose. It is only about 8 members to the club. I never attended the club at all, and I don't know much about their business. It is just a social club, and I believe some of the opposite party are in it.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) You say there are only 8 members?—A. I couldn't say exactly; 8 or 10 members. It is a small club and they just come there for social enjoyment in the evening; they have a table there to play a game of cards.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Who in this office belong to that club?—A. Nobody in this office that I know of belongs to it.

Q. Are you the only Government employé in the club?—A. I don't belong to the club; I have only been there twice since it has been a club.

Q. How did you happen to take this time to pay?—A. Well, I paid it; I don't know what it was for; I gave them \$5 to do what they pleased with, to put it in the club or use it for the election, or any other purpose. I promised to give a contribution to the club, and I don't know what use they made of it.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) You promised to give a contribution to the club?—A. I did some time ago.

Q. How long ago was that?—A. I couldn't state exactly the time it was, Mr. Bonaparte.

Q. Who was the person to whom you made the promise?—A. Well, I promised Mr. Stewart that I was going to give him a contribution.

Q. And as a matter of fact you gave the \$5 to him about a week ago, wasn't it?—A. I suppose about a week ago or four or five days ago; I couldn't exactly say; five days, I suppose, or four days; that was the last I thought of it.

Q. Where did you give it; at the club room?—A. No, sir; I didn't give it at any club room; I think I met the party out in the street and I gave it to him.

Q. And so it was on the street that you gave it to Mr. Stewart?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) You are quite sure that nobody asked you?—A. Nobody asked me for any contribution.

Q. Do you know of anyone else that has been asked for a contribution?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. Do you know of anyone else that has given a contribution?—A. I do not.

TESTIMONY OF LOUIS E. GLADFELTER.

LOUIS E. GLADFELTER testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Are you a clerk in the office here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When did you enter the service?—A. On the 7th day of August, 1889, I think.

Q. Through our examinations?—A. Yes, sir.

Q And from what ward do you come?—A. The Seventh ward.

Q. Are you a member of the Republican organization in that ward?—

A. No, sir.

Q. Are there two Republican organizations in that ward?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. That is not a ward that has a Johnson and a Henderson club, as they call it?—A. Not as I know of, sir.

Q. You know there is going to be a contested primary next Monday in the ward?—A. Yes, sir; I know there is a primary to be held in the ward.

Q. But you don't know that there is going to be a contest in it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Haven't you heard that there are two factions among the Republicans in this city?—A. No, sir; I have not.

Q. Are you a Democrat?—A. No, sir.

Q. Are you a Republican?—A. Yes, sir; I am.

Q. Have you ever been connected with a Republican organization?—A. Yes, sir; I have been; I am a member of a Republican organization; I am a member of the Central Club.

Q. How much have you paid to the Central Club, before this election, just recently?—A. Well, to the Central Club I haven't paid anything.

Q. Didn't you pay \$5; wasn't that the sum you paid?—A. No, sir; not to the Central Club.

Q. To whom was it that you paid \$5?—A. I paid \$5 very willingly, voluntarily, to a gentleman in the Seventh ward.

Q. And to be used for legitimate expenses?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Not to be used for bribery, or anything like that?—A. No, sir; not at all.

Q. But for perfectly legitimate expenses?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. This gentleman; what was his name?—A. Mr. Bell.

Q. What was his first name?—A. That I couldn't tell you; he is an office-holder here. He is a dispatcher in the mailing division here, formerly night superintendent. John Bell, I think it was, I am not sure. I will not be positive about the name.

Q. How did you happen to bring it to him; was he the man that was receiving contributions?—A. Not to my knowledge; no, sir. In fact I know of no one who was receiving them.

Q. Was this just simply voluntarily paid?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who else do you know that paid to Bell?—A. Not a soul, to my knowledge.

Q. When did you pay it to Bell?—A. I paid it to Bell about two weeks ago, to the best of my knowledge.

Q. Did you pay him on the streets?—A. No, sir; I paid him down stairs.

Q. What time was it that you handed it to him?—A. Well, it was in the area way; not in the area way, one of the aisles of the building, going towards the clerk's room; right before going on my time of duty.

Q. Did he speak to you about it?—A. No, sir; nobody in the office or any other outsider did. I mentioned the fact to him and I just voluntarily contributed \$5 towards defraying the expenses, such as paying for tickets.

Q. Is Mr. Bell a leader in the ward, that you happened to give it to him?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Why did you select him?—A. Because I have often heard of Mr. Bell, and he is a pretty prominent man in the ward, and I thought it would be just as well to give it to him as anyone else.

Q. Did he give you any receipt for it?—A. No, sir; in fact I didn't ask him for any. I just handed it to him; I didn't expect any receipt.

Q. You didn't expect a receipt for it at all?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have no reason to think that Mr. Bell is a Henderson man?—A. No, sir.

Q. You don't think Mr. Bell is the kind of man who would be ostensibly for Mr. Johnson and really for Mr. Henderson?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you don't think your contribution would be used against the Johnson faction in the fight?—A. No, sir; I really don't think it would; in fact I didn't give it for that purpose.

Q. You didn't give it for the purpose of being used against Mr. Johnson?—A. No, sir; or against Mr. Henderson either; I gave it to him for legitimate business, as you mention it to me.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Are you pretty sure that it was Mr. Bell you gave this money to?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Wasn't there anyone else in the ward who was collecting money?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Do you know anyone else who paid money?—A. In fact it wasn't to my knowledge that Mr. Bell was collecting. I simply volunteered to contribute that towards defraying expenses and things like that.

Q. By defraying expenses, you mean towards paying for ticket-holders and printing tickets and anything like that?—A. Yes, sir; but only to be used in a legitimate way.

Q. Yes, sir; I understand that; and you gave that money about two days ago, you say?—A. To the best of my knowledge, yes, sir; I think it was about Thursday night; I am pretty positive it was about Thursday night; in fact Friday morning, as it was after midnight.

Q. There wasn't anybody present, was there, when you paid the money over?—A. No, sir; there was not. I was on the way to my dressing room and Mr. Bell happened to pass.

Q. You haven't told anybody that you had given any money to anyone else except Mr. Bell?—A. No, sir.

Q. I have already asked you whether you were quite sure that you did give this money through Mr. Bell. Now, are you also pretty sure that you gave no money to any outsider, any person not in the Government employ?—A. Well, in this way I have: I have contributed towards paying for the rent of our hall, and things like that, at the club.

Q. That is not directly for the purpose of this primary?—A. Certainly not.

Q. But this is what we are referring to, and you only gave it to Mr. Bell?—A. Yes, sir; and to no outsider whatever.

Q. You say that you are in the Seventh ward?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know a gentleman there by the name of Stewart?—A. I know a gentleman by the name of Stewart in the Fifth ward; I don't think the gentleman that I refer to is interested in politics whatever.

Q. Do you know Mr. Armstrong, that testified just before you came in?—A. Yes, sir; he is a clerk in the office.

Q. What ward is he in?—A. I think in the same ward I am, if I am not mistaken. No, he is in the Fifth; I think Mr. Armstrong is in the Fifth ward.

Q. Why did you happen to take \$5 as the sum to give? Is that the general sum that they are all giving?—A. Not to my knowledge. Why I gave the \$5, because I could spare five very well; in fact, if I had more money I might give more; I am only what you call a salaried clerk.

Q. What is your salary?—A. I get \$700 a year.

Q. Don't you know as a matter of fact pretty much everybody connected with the club has been lately giving some money for the primary, for use in the primary; I don't mean to bribe people; I mean for paying ticket-holders and expenses of that kind?—A. I don't know anything about the other contribution; I never asked them anything about that.

TESTIMONY OF ROBERT F. REED.

ROBERT F. REED testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) You are the assistant foreign clerk, I understand?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When were you appointed?—A. I was appointed in the office in September.

Q. Of what year?—A. Last year, 1890. I was appointed in the registry office, and then I went in the money-order department, and then I was transferred to the foreign.

Q. You are, if I am not mistaken, a member of the Fairmount Republican Club?—A. Yes, sir; I joined that some time ago.

Q. Now, do you know a gentleman by the name of Pfeiffer, or Pfeiffer, perhaps?—A. No, sir.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) A can-maker; a short, stoutish man with red cheeks?—A. No, sir.

Q. You don't know him?—A. No, sir.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Do you remember attending a meeting at that club about a week from last Saturday at which there was a discussion about the amount of money to be raised for the primaries and the way it should be used?—A. Yes, sir; it was not on Saturday.

Q. Was it a week from Monday, then?—A. That I couldn't tell you. It appears to me to have been about 10 days or 2 weeks ago, probably. There was some talk about money by some of the members, but there was not but two members in the club that I am acquainted with. I never attend the club. Simply they come to my house and collect my dues, and I had never been to the club but once previous to that time.

Q. But you were informed, as I understand it, or requested to attend a meeting of the club on that occasion?—A. No, sir.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) It wasn't a regular meeting of the club; just a few of the men here met?—A. Yes, sir; it was a regular meeting of the club; it was a collection night. I will tell you; it was about the 14th or 15th of the month, because a young man came to my house to collect 50 cents dues to the club, and he says to me, "There's a meeting at the club to-night and you ought to go down." He says, "It is a right important meeting, and you ought to go down and attend it," and I said that I would see about it. So, in a half hour or so, I guess about half past 9 o'clock, or it was after 9 o'clock, I went down there, and it was the second meeting I ever attended.

Q. Just give us the names of any that you knew that were there. Was there a Mr. Harry Glass, a letter-carrier, there; was he there?—A. I don't know him.

Q. Was there a Mr. Henry Martin there?—A. There was a letter-carrier by the name of Martin, I think; I think that was the man; I don't know what is his first name.

Q. Then there was a young man there by the name of Mitchell; wasn't he there? He is an employé here.

WITNESS. This Mitchell here in the post-office, on the elevator?

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Was he there at that time, at that meeting?

A. I don't think he was there while I was there. His name was mentioned there that night, and I think some of them said he had been there, but I don't think he was there while I was there. There was not more than four or five there while I was there.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Was Mr. Wilson, a colored man, there?—A. I don't know a colored man named Wilson.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) While you were all there, there was a discussion, wasn't there, as to the amount of money that would be needed at the primaries and how it would be used?—A. No, sir; not to my knowledge. There was a discussion in regard to the primaries and some money would have to be raised for them.

Q. Five dollars was the sum, wasn't it?—A. No, sir; it wasn't decided.

Q. Wasn't \$5 what you paid?—A. I didn't pay anything.

Q. Didn't somebody ask you for \$5?—A. No, sir; there was nothing decided. They talked as if they expected other members there, and there was only about 4 or 5 while I was there, and they agreed that they couldn't do anything, and some of them proposed about \$5 apiece ought to be raised; so they adjourned the meeting.

Q. Now, when did the adjourned meeting meet?—A. That I don't know; I never was there afterwards. They adjourned; they said they would have to get more people to coincide with their arrangements in regard to raising the money. There was a little discussion in regard to the amount that would have to be raised, and what it would be used for, and how it would be spent; that was all talked over, but there was nothing decided.

Q. Did this man Pfeffer or any one of that name collect any money from you afterwards?—A. I don't know anybody by that name.

Q. Who did you pay your \$5 to?—A. I paid no money to nobody.

Q. Nobody at all?—A. No, sir; I told you that at first.

Q. I understood you to say that you didn't pay any money at that time?—A. Not for that purpose. I have paid money out many times for political purposes.

Q. Do I understand you to say that you haven't contributed anything at all towards that collection that they were taking up?—A. No, sir; I have contributed nothing towards the primary so far.

Q. Well, has Pfeffer asked you to contribute anything?—A. I don't know him, sir. I wouldn't know him if I was to see him to-day.

Q. Now, at the time when they had this discussion there was it agreed who should collect the money?—A. There was nothing decided at all, as I told you.

Q. It wasn't decided who should receive the money?—A. No, sir; not in my presence, it wasn't decided, even the amount or anything of the kind.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Five dollars was suggested, wasn't it?—A. Yes, sir; something mentioned about \$5.

Q. Haven't you paid your \$5 since?—A. No, sir.

Q. To any one?—A. No, sir.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Now, you are pretty sure that this man Henry Martin was there and this man Mitchell was there?—A. Mr. Mitchell was there, I think, but I don't think I saw him there. Now, as to Henry Martin, there was a letter-carrier there by the name of Martin; it was the first time I had seen him to know him in my life, and the last time.

Q. And you haven't seen him since?—A. No, sir; not that I know of. I don't think I would hardly know him with his uniform on now.

Q. And you don't remember there was a young man there named Glass; a letter-carrier?—A. No, sir; I don't remember the name.

Q. Do you know two colored men in that ward called C. H. Johnson or R. H. Harris, or either of them?—A. No, sir; neither of them.

Q. Then you don't know whether they were present at that time?—A. There was but one colored man there at the time I was there.

Q. Only one?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know who he was?—A. Indeed I don't; I don't know his name. I never saw him before, and I don't know that I have ever seen him since. I am rather a stranger of nights around there. The only men that I knew there that I had been acquainted with before was a young man, under 21 years of age, who is secretary of the club, and—

Q. (Interposing.) He is not a Government employé at all?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you don't know anything about this man Pfeffer, you say?—A. Nothing at all; no, sir. I don't know him at all.

Q. Then, of course, you wouldn't know whether he was a trustworthy sort of man, whose information could be relied on?—A. I don't know anything about that.

Q. Have you ever heard of these two colored men, Johnson and Harris?—A. No, sir; never in my life.

Q. So you can not give us any information about them?—A. No, sir; none whatever.

Q. While you were there, was anything said which either really meant, or could be misunderstood as meaning, that this money was to be used in buying up votes at the election?—A. Nothing; no. There was no inquiry made in regard to how the money would be used, or for what purposes, or anything. I don't know anything about such things myself. I never had any connection with that kind of things, so, of course, I made no inquiry about it, and the thing dropped apparently. I would say apparently from lack of numbers being there.

Q. You mean by the thing this collection of money?—A. Or even to decide on the collection.

Q. Or even to decide on the amounts or anything else?—A. Nothing else.

Q. You didn't attend this adjourned meeting that they held afterwards?—A. I attended nothing after that.

Q. Have you been informed of what was decided at that meeting?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know whether it was held at all?—A. I don't know anything at all about it; I never heard of it being held.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) You havn't been approached and have not promised to pay anything?—A. No, sir; I havn't promised to pay anything, any amount, or anything of that kind.

Q. You have not promised to pay?—A. No, sir; I can not say that I have made any direct promises.

Q. Did you give them to understand that you would pay?—A. I didn't to anybody in particular; I havn't seen anybody personally since; I just gave them to understand that night that if there was anything to be contributed of course I was willing to—

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Chip in?—A. To contribute.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) You would be there at the proper time?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Who was to receive the money?—A. That wasn't decided, as I tell you.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Do you know whether you came in before the rest of them or not?—A. Oh, nobody came in after I did; it was half-past 9 o'clock, I guess, when I went in there, and I didn't stay more than 15 or 20 minutes, and it seemed like they were waiting for more to come, and after I came in they seemed then to wind the thing up and end the matter; in about 10 or 15 minutes, I suppose, I withdrew.

Q. How many office-holders, how many employés of the post-office are there from that ward?—A. Indeed I couldn't tell you; I couldn't begin to tell you. This Mr. Martin was new to me; I never seen him before in my life.

Q. We have been told that there were 14 in that ward, and that 7 of them were at this meeting. Do you know whether that is so?—A. No, sir; I don't think that there was; it seemed to me that there were about 7 or 8 present. I didn't know how many people were there who were in Government employ, and I think it was about 4 or 5, but I didn't know any of them in the room at that time.

Q. This discussion that you had was between those who were in Government employ?—A. Yes, sir; generally.

Q. And the others being there like it was a regular club night, but there was no actual meeting of the club going on at that time?—A. Yes, sir; it was a regular called meeting of the club going on, so I understood it; but I don't attend the club meetings as regular as I should do, because I am here very often at night, and that night that young man said it was an important meeting, and I ought to go around and attend it. In about half an hour or so afterwards I went down.

Q. By the young man do you mean the secretary of the club?—A. I mean the collector; the young man who came to the door to collect the bills.

Q. He came that same night and told you that an important meeting was being held and you ought to attend it?—A. It happened to be collection night, the 14th or the 15th of the month, and I gave him 50 cents, and he received my bill.

Q. It is a sort of blue paper he gave you, such as we have seen from a previous witness?—A. Yes, sir; he comes around regular every month for his 50 cents.

Q. At that time he told you that there was an important meeting of the club?—A. Yes, sir; and he said, "You ought to go down."

Q. And you don't know anything about Mr. Pfeiffer or Pfeffer, or whatever his name is?—A. Nothing whatever.

Q. And you are not able to say, then, whether they were or were not there, where they came from, or whether or not they were at this discussion down at the club?—A. I am positive they were not; that is, one of them; there was only one colored man in the room.

Q. He was an office-holder, as I understand you?—A. I don't know that; I don't know who he was at all. That was the first time I ever saw him. I am positive there was nobody else came there after I did; unless they were in the room when I went there.

Q. Perhaps you don't understand me. I want to know whether you are able to say as to this man Pfeffer, or these two colored men, Johnson and Harris, being so placed in the room that they could hear what was said.—A. No, sir; they were not there unless I could see them. The room is a small room, not larger than this, very little longer.

Q. And you only saw one colored man in the room?—A. Yes, sir; and he left before I did. How long he had been there before I got there I couldn't say, but he left there shortly after I got there. I wasn't there over 20 minutes, and I suppose 10 minutes after I went in he came out. He was there when I went in.

Q. You don't know whether he was a man in Government employ or not?—A. I couldn't say; I don't know indeed; I never saw him before.

Q. About how many people were present?—A. There were not over about six or seven there, as I say, altogether, and I think of these that four or five were in Government employ.

Q. Then there were, as I understand you—I am asking you these questions now to see whether what we have heard from other witnesses is to be relied on—A. Or whether I am to be relied on.

Q. There is no doubt about that; but we want to get at what the facts are. Then there was, as I understand you, besides the people in the Government employ in the room, two or three people whom you didn't know; is that so?—A. Well, I didn't know but the—. After the party who I went in and spoke went out there wasn't anybody in the room that I was formally acquainted with.

Q. Then there might have been a man there by the name of Pfeffer, such as I have described, and he may have heard what you said?—A. Yes, sir; after I went in the room that night, this young man, the secretary of the club, I spoke to him, and he immediately went out; he seemed to be ready to go when I went in. He said, "Mr. Reed, gentlemen," and that's all I know, and I don't think there was anybody in the room that I knew at all by sight even, unless it be Mr. Mitchell, and I don't remember whether he went out at the time I came in or not; probably he did; but with the exception of him there was not a soul in the room that I was formally acquainted with; not one.

Q. You are acquainted with this man Martin?—A. Never before that night.

Q. You have met him since?—A. I have seen him here in the office occasionally; I saw him just now, going out with his letters, as I came in.

Q. When does he come in off his trip?—A. He didn't know me passing out; that I couldn't tell you.

Q. When does his run cease?—A. I don't know anything about the city division. I am in the foreign division, and I don't know anything about the city division regulations. Three o'clock he goes out. I think there is one more delivery this afternoon; I think it is about half past 4. I don't know anything about the city division.

TESTIMONY OF HENRY MARTIN.

HENRY MARTIN testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) You are a letter-carrier?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When were you appointed?—A. I think I was appointed—I don't know whether it was the 3d or 4th of May.

Q. When; what year?—A. Last year; 1890; about that time.

Q. From the register of eligibles?—A. Yes, sir; I passed the civil-service examinations.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) You are, I believe, a member of the Fairmount Republican Club, are you not?—A. I am, sir.

Q. Do you know any man by the name of Pfeffer or Pfeiffer?—A. I do.

Q. Is he a member of your club?—A. He is; yes, sir.

Q. Is he a man of good character and reputation?—A. First class.

Q. A man who could be trusted to be truthful in anything he would say?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you known him?—A. I have known him 7 or 8 years; I knew him long before he was a voter.

Q. Are you also acquainted with two colored men by the name of C. H. Johnson and R. H. Harris?—A. I don't know any colored man by the name of Johnson; I know a colored man by the name of Harris.

Q. Where does this man live, on South Caroline street?—A. I don't know that man at all. I have known an old man named Harris ever since I was a boy. He lives on South Dallas street; an old man named Harris.

Q. This man that you know—we may possibly be mistaken as to his residence—is he a member of this Fairmount club?—A. No, sir; he is not; he is a colored man.

Q. Are there any colored men in that club?—A. No, sir.

Q. Are there not some colored men who sometimes attend its meetings?—A. No, sir.

Q. Well, do you remember attending a meeting of this club on the 14th of this month, this last Saturday two weeks ago, at which there was a discussion as to the amount of money that would be needed for the primaries and the uses it was to be put to?—A. There was nothing like that that I know of.

Q. Well, do you remember the occasion; do you remember the meeting?—A. Yes, sir; we had a meeting, and it was for a different purpose altogether.

Q. Do you remember who was present on that occasion?—A. I don't remember now all that were present.

Q. Do you remember whether this man Pfeffer was present?—A. I don't know whether he was or not; no, I don't think he was; I am not sure.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Are you sure he was not?—A. No, sir; I am not sure.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Do you remember whether Mr. Robert Reed, the assistant foreign clerk here, was present?—A. I don't know; I couldn't say; I don't remember.

Q. Do you remember whether a man named Harry Glass, a letter-carrier; do you remember whether he was present?—A. I think he was there.

Q. Do you remember having a conversation about the amount of money that would be needed at the primaries on that occasion?—A. No, sir.

Q. You were not present—if anything of that kind did occur you were not present when there was any such conversation?—A. No, sir.

Q. Now, as a matter of fact do you know whether on that day or some other day soon after that there was a meeting of six or seven employes of the post-office, among them being yourself and Glass and Reed, at the rooms of the Fairmount Club, where there was a discussion as to the amount of money that would be needed for the primaries?—A. No, sir.

Q. You don't remember anything of any such discussion?—A. Nothing about anything like that; no, sir.

Q. Well, what do you recollect about it, about that or any other discussion taking place at that time?—A. Well, we were going to buy a pool table; we wanted to get a pool table in the room for the enjoyment of the members, and that is what we were talking about.

Q. At that time?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. On that occasion?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Well, as a matter of fact, did any of these persons whose names I have mentioned subscribe anything towards the expenses of the primaries?—A. No, sir; not as I know of.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Mitchell? I don't know what his first name is; he is employed in some capacity on the elevator.—A. Yes, sir; I know him. I am not personally acquainted with him; that is, I don't know him well.

Q. Do you know whether he was present on that occasion, at that meeting?—A. Well, I don't know whether he was or not.

Q. Do you know whether he has contributed any money towards the primaries?—A. I think not.

Q. Whether he has contributed anything to the primaries?—A. No, sir; none of us contributed any money for the primaries.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Well, for the purchase of this pool table?—A. Not yet, no, sir; we are going to get a pool table for the enjoyment of the members of the club. I suppose there ain't anything wrong about that?

Mr. BONAPARTE. I suppose not.

A. We want some kind of enjoyment.

Q. Now, you say for the primaries there has not been any discussion about taking up a contribution at all?—A. No, sir.

Q. You have given something toward the expenses of the primaries yourself, haven't you?—A. No, sir.

Q. Nothing at all?—A. No, sir.

Q. And you haven't received anything from anyone else for them?—A. No, sir.

Q. I understand you to say that this man Pfeffer is a man of good character, and that it would be reasonable to rely on what he says?—

A. I have never known anything to the contrary.

Q. He is the sort of a man that you would believe if he said a thing?—A. I would depend on him, of course.

Q. And these two colored men?—A. I don't know either of them at all.

Q. At this meeting where you had the discussion about the pool table, was there any colored man present?—A. I believe Wilson was present, but I am not positive.

Q. Who is Wilson?—A. He works about the building; I think he is the janitor; I am not sure.

Q. Now, do you know whether Wilson has given anything towards the primaries?—A. Not that I know of.

Q. If he has given anything, it has not been through you, at all events?—A. No, sir.

Q. Haven't any of these persons given \$5 to you at all?—A. No, sir.

Q. Any information that we have had to the effect that any of them, either this particular man or any other employes, have contributed \$5 through you to the expense of the primaries is entirely erroneous?—A. Is entirely erroneous, yes, sir.

Q. You say quite positively that there was no discussion at that time about the expenses of the primaries, and no understanding or arrangement made as to collecting any money?—A. None that I know of.

Q. And that you haven't received any money at all from anyone yourself and haven't given any?—A. Not for that purpose.

Q. Nor for any purpose of the same sort?—A. No, sir.

Q. You understand when I am talking about this I mean the necessary money that was put up; I don't mean used for bribery or any improper purposes, but I mean for use for any purposes connected with the—A. (Interposing). For political purposes?

Q. For political purposes.—A. No, sir.

NOTE.—At this point W. A. MITCHELL was recalled, and the following questions put to him in the presence of the witness :

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Do you know Mr. Martin?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Now, was he the person whom you testified had acted as treasurer for that fund that was subscribed?—A. Somebody said that he was willing to give it to him.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) He was the man to whom you gave your \$5?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Was there anyone else who acted as treasurer on that occasion?—A. That, gentlemen, I couldn't say.

Q. You don't think there is any mistake, is there, in your mind as to its being this Martin and not somebody else?—A. That is the gentleman I gave it to.

Mr. BONAPARTE. That will do.

(Whereupon the witness Mitchell retired.)

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Have you anything to say in answer to that? WITNESS. In answer to what?

Mr. ROOSEVELT. To his statement?

A. I have nothing to say about that; that's all right.

Q. Do you deny it?—A. I don't deny that he gave me \$5.

Q. You don't deny that?—A. No, sir; he gave me \$5.

Q. What was that for?—A. To buy a pool table; we were going to buy a pool table.

NOTE.—The witness W. A. MITCHELL was again recalled.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) What did you give that for; what was the object of the gift of that \$5 to Mr. Martin? Didn't you testify that it was for legitimate expenses of the primaries?—A. Yes, sir; that's what I said.

Q. Was there any talk about its being for any other purpose but that?—A. They were talking about buying a pool table.

Q. Did you subscribe the \$5 for the purpose you testified; you testified that you subscribed for the primaries?—A. Yes, sir; I did; but I was willing to give it though for the pool table; we have got to have a meeting about that yet; which way it will go.

(Whereupon the witness Mitchell retired.)

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) I think that is all, unless you want to make some further explanation.—A. I have no further explanation to make.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) But you didn't have any talk that night about the primaries at all?—A. No, sir.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN H. ASHTON.

JOHN H. ASHTON testified as follows :

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) What is your position?—A. I am fireman in the post office.

Q. Appointed by Mr. Johnson as custodian of the public buildings?—Appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury.

Q. How long ago since you were appointed?—A. This November past a year ago; what date I disremember.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Do you know a man by the name of Frederick Hammond?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. He was at one time employed in the Government service, wasn't he?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long ago did he lose his place?—A. About 2 months now, I believe.

Q. We are rightly informed that he didn't lose his place on account of any fault of his own, are we not?—A. No, sir; his office was abolished; so I understood.

Q. Then he is a man of good character?—A. As far as I know of.

Q. A man whom you would believe any report he would make, or any statement he would make, as far as you knew nothing to the contrary?—A. I got no right to doubt it, so far as I know to the contrary, from what I know of the gentleman.

Q. Did Mr. Hammond show you a subscription paper for the expenses of the primaries next Monday?—A. Yes, sir; he didn't show it to me; he didn't tell me what it was for; he had it in his hand.

Q. He was holding it in his hand?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say he didn't tell you what it was for? Just tell us how you knew it was for that purpose.

WITNESS. How I knew it, or him?

Mr. BONAPARTE. Well, how did you know it in the first place, and then how did he know you knew it?

A. I didn't know for what purpose he had it.

Q. What did he say to you about this paper?—A. He came to me and if I remember now he asked me if I contributed anything, and I told him no; I told him that the engineers or some of them in the building generally came down stairs and had a talk when anything like that was going on; so nothing more was said and he went away. That is all that was said.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Was that in the building here that he asked you that?—A. Oh no, sir, outside on the street.

Q. You didn't pay him anything, did you?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you afterwards pay him something?—A. No, sir.

Q. You did not pay him anything?—A. No, sir.

Q. To whom did you pay, if to anybody?—A. I didn't pay anything.

Q. You haven't made any contribution whatever?—A. No, sir.

Q. Now, did this man Hammond tell you at the same time that he showed you the paper that he had collected a certain number of subscriptions?—A. They were marked, you know, on there, "five."

Q. You mean that there were five subscribers or \$5?—A. No, sir; \$5.

Q. Opposite the various names was that?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you remember whether these names were among those that were down there, John F. Thomas, superintendent of the registry division?—A. I seen his name there.

Q. George Sears, was that down?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. George W. Johnson?—A. W. W. Johnson; I seen his name.

Q. That would be the postmaster?—A. Yes, sir; and George W. Johnson.

Q. Were there any others?—A. Yes, sir, there were others; but I don't remember the others. In fact, I didn't know the others.

Q. Now, you are pretty clear in your mind that you didn't pay anything yourself?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do I understand you to say that you didn't pay to anybody?—A. I paid the sum; that is, I intend to pay the sum.

Q. You have promised to pay it to somebody?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But it was not to Hammond?—A. No, sir. I didn't make any promises to him at all. I told him in this way, I says, "I guess I will see them people about that."

Q. What did you mean by that?—A. I told him that generally the engineer, he generally said something if there was anything like that on hand, and I was in closer contact with him than anybody else. I told him it was a wonder that he hadn't said something if there was anything like that on hand.

Q. Who was the engineer?—A. Mr. Pierson.

Q. Noah R. Pierson?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What you told Hammond was that you wondered that Mr. Pierson hadn't said something to you about it?—A. I said, "It is a wonder that he hasn't."

Q. Now, at that time Pierson hadn't said anything to you on the subject, as I understand?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you tell Hammond that you expected to pay your money through Pierson?—A. No, sir; I didn't tell him that I intended to pay any money at all.

Q. To whom had you promised to pay this?—A. Nobody.

Q. Then we misunderstood you in saying that you had promised to pay it to somebody just now.—A. No, sir; I said, "It is a wonder that some of them hadn't been there if there was anything to be paid; it is a wonder that somebody hadn't said something about it." And me being in closer contact with the engineer I thought if anybody there was contributing anything they would certainly let me know; if there was a contribution to be made I would know it.

Q. In other words—let me understand you—you mean that you were surprised that these other officers who were so much more with you hadn't mentioned this contribution to you rather than Hammond?—A. That an outsider altogether, if there was to be any; but there wasn't anything said to me about any.

Q. When did you next hear anything about this contribution?—A. I didn't hear anything at all about the contribution, only Mr. Pierson came to me and says to me, "Did you tell John F. Thomas you had given me any money?" I told him, "No;" I says, "I didn't see Thomas." That's all that was said.

Q. When did this conversation take place, Mr. Ashton?—A. On Thursday, I believe.

Q. Mr. Pierson then asked you whether you had told John F. Thomas, superintendent of the registry division, that you had given him any money?—A. Yes, sir; he told me that Thomas had told him, if I understood him correctly, that I had given him \$5, and I said it was no such thing.

Q. And you had never told Thomas anything of the sort?—A. No, sir; I hadn't spoke to Thomas.

Q. And you had not, as a matter of fact, at that time given anybody anything?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you give Pierson the \$5 afterwards?—A. I didn't give him any \$5 at all.

Q. Or to anybody?—A. No, sir; because nobody said anything more to me.

Q. You are quite clear that what Mr. Pierson told you was simply that he had been asked by Mr. Thomas whether you had paid him \$5; isn't that the substance of it?—A. Yes, sir; Mr. Pierson came to me and he says, "What did you tell Thomas that you gave me \$5 for?"—A. I said, "I didn't tell Thomas any such a thing." I couldn't help from laughing, because I hadn't seen Thomas to speak to, and I haven't spoke to him but once since I have been in the building.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN A. BELL.

JOHN A. BELL testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) What is your position in the office?—A. I am dispatcher here.

Q. How long have you been in the service?—A. I came in the office, I think, this month a year ago.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. I live in the Seventh ward.

Q. Are you a member of the Republican club in that ward?—A. Yes, sir; I am a member of the Seventh Ward Club.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Mr. Bell, what is the name of that club?—A. Well, I very seldom go to it; I think it is called the Young Men's Republican Club of the Seventh Ward.

Q. Let us see if I have got this right; do you know a Mr. Armstrong, a Mr. Samuel Armstrong, who is a clerk in the post-office?—A. Yes, sir; I know him.

Q. Is he in your ward?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is Mr. Charles J. Oeh in your ward?—A. Yes, sir; he lives in the Seventh ward.

Q. And is Mr. Louis E. Gladfelter in the Seventh ward?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Bell, do you know of any collection of money for use in the primaries on next Monday?—A. Well, I don't know particularly about what the money is to be used for. I know that Mr. Gladfelter handed me some money to hand to the treasurer of the organization the other day.

Q. He gave you \$5, wasn't it?—A. Yes, sir; he handed me a \$5 note.

Q. Do you remember when that was?—A. Well, I couldn't say positively the night, but it was one night this present week; two or three nights ago.

Q. Was it downstairs in the basement?—A. Well, I couldn't positively tell you where it was he handed it to me. I am generally very busy you know.

Q. But it was in this building somewhere?—A. It was around the building somewhere; yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) What is the name of this treasurer?—A. His name is Charles A. Allard.

Q. Is he the Republican executive of the ward?—A. Well, I really couldn't tell you; I hardly think he is though. He is a builder over there; his firm is Harker & Allard; I think they are builders.

Q. And you paid him over this \$5 of Mr. Gladfelter's?—A. Yes, sir; that Mr. Gladfelter handed me, and I handed it to Mr. Allard.

Q. Did you at the same time give him some money of your own for the same purpose?—A. No, sir; I did not.

Q. You have not, then, contributed?—A. I haven't given him a cent.

Q. Have you contributed through anyone?—A. No, sir; not a cent.

Q. Did anyone else besides Mr. Gladfelter give you any money?—A. Well, I think there has been several of them that paid to Mr. Allard; I know that some of the office-holders met and paid him some money over in the ward; I was not at the meeting of the office-holders.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Did any of them pay him through you?—A. Mr. Gladfelter did.

Q. That is the only one?—A. Yes, sir. Well, I say Mr. Gladfelter; I don't think he is the only one; I think there is another one; no, I don't know.

Q. What was the name of the other that you think may have paid you?—A. I don't remember anybody else that gave me the money after Mr. Gladfelter handed it to me and I handed it to Mr. Allard. That was one night this week; I can't remember the exact night.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) You don't remember anyone else having done so?—A. No, sir.

Q. Now what was the date of this meeting of the office-holders to which you referred?—A. That I couldn't tell you.

Q. Do you remember where it took place; was it at the club rooms?—A. No, sir; it was at a private house in the ward; a private residence of the ward.

Q. Was it at 914 North Broadway, do you remember?—A. No, sir; it was held—I will tell you very plainly—on one occasion they were at my home on Bond street, but I was not present there at all. One of the gentlemen was very intimate with me that was present; he asked me if he could notify them to come there, it being the most convenient place.

Q. Was that Mr. Webber?—A. No, sir. I don't think he lives in the Seventh ward.

Q. Mr. Bell, you say that this gentleman who asked you to allow them to use your house told you he wanted to have the meeting there because it was the most convenient place?—A. He said it was the most convenient place, if I had no objection, and asked me if I could be home on that evening, and I told him "No, sir, I couldn't; that my duties called me here from 4 o'clock until 1."

Q. Mr. Bell, the object of this meeting at your house was simply to consider the facts to determine as to what steps should be taken towards receiving the money, how much would be needed, etc.?—A. I don't understand you.

Q. In this meeting to which you refer the object of it was to determine how much money would be needed and how it could be best raised?—A. Well, I should suppose it was something similar to that kind of a thing; what it would take to defray the legitimate expenses.

TESTIMONY OF NOAH W. PIERSON—Recalled.

NOAH W. PIERSON, recalled.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) We want to be clear in order that we don't do anybody any injustice in this matter. Do I recollect you to have testified this morning that you didn't have any conversation with anybody on the subject of the payments of assessments of employes here? I don't mean to use that term; I should say contributions towards the expenses of the primaries.

WITNESS. How is that?

Q. Didn't you tell us this morning that you hadn't had any conversation with anybody on the subject of the payment of contributions by any employe of the post-office?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That you didn't have any conversation with John F. Thomas? I think we asked you that particularly?—A. No, sir; you didn't ask me that.

Q. Well, I will ask you now. Did you have any conversation with Mr. John F. Thomas, the superintendent of the registry division about that?

WITNESS. What do you mean?

Mr. BONAPARTE. About certain employés of the post-office giving money for the expenses of the primaries?

A. Well, I was talking to Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Thomas told me that Mr. Hammond had told him that Ashton had given me \$5 for the primaries.

Q. That Ashton gave you \$5 for the primaries? Well, now, what more passed between Mr. Thomas and yourself?—A. Mr. Thomas told me to go down and see Mr. Ashton and ask him for that money he promised to pay.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Mr. Thomas told you to go down and see Mr. Ashton and ask him for the money?—A. That was after we had the conversation.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Did you go?—A. I went down and asked Mr. Ashton if he had ever given me any money for the primaries, and he said, no.

Q. And then, what did you tell Mr. Thomas about that?—A. I told Mr. Thomas that Mr. Ashton said he hadn't given me any money at all.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Did Mr. Thomas ask you in reference to anyone else?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you give any money to Mr. Thomas yourself?—A. No, sir.

Q. He simply asked you to go down and see if Mr. Ashton hadn't paid you the money?—A. No, sir; he didn't ask me to ask if Ashton had paid the money.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) What I understand Mr. Pierson to say was that Mr. Thomas told him to go to Ashton and ask him for the \$5 which he had promised?—A. No, sir; he never said that. He told me Ashton was to pay \$5, you understand; and then Mr. Ashton must have told somebody that he gave me the \$5, and I wanted to make myself clear with Thomas; it kind of looked as if I had the \$5 and hadn't turned it over, so I went to Ashton and cleared it up, and asked him if he had given me \$5.

Q. And he said he hadn't?—A. Yes, sir; and then I told Mr. Thomas what transpired afterwards; I don't know anything more.

At this point the taking of the testimony was adjourned.

TESTIMONY TAKEN AT THE CUSTOM-HOUSE.

BALTIMORE, MD., *March 30, 1891.*

Mr. Roosevelt, accompanied by Mr. Bonaparte, conducted the examination.

TESTIMONY OF T. SEWELL PLUMMER.

T. SEWELL PLUMMER testified as follows:

Examined by Mr. ROOSEVELT.

Q. Your name?—A. T. Sewell Plummer.

Q. Your position?—A. Warehouse clerk and member of the local civil service board.

Q. For how long?—A. Ever since the board was organized.

Q. How long have you been in the office?—A. I have been in the office about 21 years.

Q. You have been approached, I understand, by a gentleman who asked you to contribute to the political campaign expenses?—A. There was a man came to my desk. As soon as ever he approached I saw that he was a very ignorant man. I said to him, said I, "Do you know that you are violating the civil service act?" He said he did not know that; that he was not or had not passed the examination. I said, "That's a mistake. Any man, whether he passes the examination or not, if he approaches a party in the custom-house to solicit money for political purposes is liable to the penalty of the law."

Q. Had he asked you to contribute?—A. Yes, but he immediately left the building.

Q. Was he a post-office employé?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. His name?—A. Bell; John Bell.

Q. John Bell?—A. Yes, sir. I think it was a piece of total ignorance on his part, for he immediately left.

Q. Who had he approached before?—A. He had approached no one inside the custom-house. There were other names on his paper. I didn't particularly notice.

Q. He had some names?—A. He had a few names.

Q. Had he obtained the names outside?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is that the only man who has solicited in any way?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was there any soliciting last fall before the election in any way?—A. No, sir. There has been no soliciting since I have been a member of the board. Colonel Webster, Colonel Groome, and Mr. Marine have been very particular in this regard.

Q. Do you know if contributions for political purposes were general among the employés last fall?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know of any contributions being made for political purposes?—A. There might have been a number of them; I didn't know of them.

Q. As far as you know, no pressure was brought to bear?—A. No, sir. Colonel Groome was very careful—

Q. Who was Colonel Groome?—A. He was the Democratic collector. Colonel Webster was also. When he appointed me on the board I was very careful to say to him that I could not go on the board unless I was perfectly free and unrestrained. I heard great numbers complain. He told one gentleman that he didn't require any man to do this and that. A man could do just as he pleased with his money after he left the building. Under Colonel Groome I never had any pressure brought to bear on me.

Q. Do you know if there was widespread contributions for political purposes either last fall or two years ago?—A. No, sir. Well, now, I am not trying to deceive you—

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Plummer, the reason I am asking these questions is because I know I am going to get exact truthful answers. This will not implicate anyone. I want to know, if so far as you know, if there was any general contributions to the campaign funds?—A. No, sir.

Q. You do not think there was much talk about it in the office?—A. I heard no talk about it in the office. I will say, for the last 8 years, that this is a thing that has been foreign from the office. The force has been more or less mixed. If the Democrats have been contributing they have been very careful not to let the Republicans know anything about it; and if the Republicans have been contributing, they have been equally careful not to let the Democrats know. I have heard of no one being assessed.

Q. Did Bell specify the sum?—A. No, sir; he just simply asked if I could not give him some contributions.

By Mr. BONAPARTE:

Q. Was there any doubt as to the purposes for this money?—A. Just simply said for political purposes. He might have said for political purposes and the support of the Administration. I don't remember just his words, because just as he saw his mistake he left. I saw he had a list for contributions.

Q. About how long ago did that happen?—A. About 3 or 5 days ago, perhaps it was about a week.

Q. And there was no doubt at all that it was in connection with the coming primaries?—A. I presume that that was what it was intended for.

Mr. MARINE. When I heard of that, I issued orders that if anything of that kind should occur again to send the man into this office immediately; that if there was the slightest suspicion of that fact, to report it at once to me, when I would punish the man who should be guilty of such a thing. I gave these instructions to Special Deputy Lingenfelder, Surveyor Burchinal and Deputy McComas. None of these gentlemen knew anything about any assessments being attempted. I went over to Mr. Burchinal's office myself and told him. He did not believe that it was so. He would not believe the statement about Mr. Plummer was correct, and then I sent for Mr. Plummer, when he repeated the story in the presence of Mr. Burchinal, and he was amazed. Mr. Plummer was dismissed.

TESTIMONY OF C. S. BURNS.

C. S. BURNS testified as follows:

Questioned by Mr. ROOSEVELT:

Q. Your name?—A. C. S. Burns.

Q. Your position?—A. Entry clerk in the naval office.

Q. You are secretary of the local board of civil service examiners, are you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you been in office?—A. Nearly 5 years.

Q. Appointed under the last Administration?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you been on the board?—A. I came on the board in May of that year—5 years ago last May.

Q. Do you know anything about collection of names for political purposes?—A. No, sir.

Q. So far as you know?—A. No, sir.

Q. The bulk of employes now left in the office were appointed under the last Administration?—A. Yes, sir. There have been no changes in our office since the advent of the present Administration. Mostly all the clerks are Democrats.

Q. So far as you know, there has been no collection of political assessments among them?—A. No, sir.

Q. Was there no collection in the fall of 1888, so far as you know?—A. No, sir.

Q. Any voluntary contributions on their part this year?—A. I know of none, sir.

Q. Any such voluntary contributions in the fall of 1888?—A. I think there was.

Q. Perfectly voluntary?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they all took part?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Pretty general?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. All give about the same amount?—A. No, sir; according to the amount of salary.

Q. Was it about \$50 or \$60?—A. It was a little more than that in 1888.

Q. How much larger?—A. About from 6 to 8 per cent.

Q. Well, why did they happen to choose that amount?—A. Well, I don't know that.

Q. What was the amount of your contribution?—A. I made a contribution of $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

Q. Made entirely unsolicited?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did you happen to select $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.?—A. Well, that would make \$100; that was the understanding among the \$1,600 clerks.

Q. Did the employes of the custom-house generally contribute that proportion?—A. Well, some gave less than that.

Q. The contributions, then, were general in 1888.—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know if they were very general last year?—A. I do not think so. I contributed.

Q. You're a Democrat?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You contributed to the Democratic fund?—A. No, sir; to the Republican fund.

Q. Why did you do that?—A. Well, I thought it was my part to do so. I thought it was my part to support the Administration. It was voluntary on my part.

Q. As a matter of fact, were there any contributions to the opposition, do you know?—A. I do not know, sir.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I have heard just that view before, that the desk owes so much to the party.

Mr. BURNS. Well, there was no solicitation at all, no one to make any claim.

Q. Do you know if any but Republicans have been appointed from the lists since the advent of the present Administration?—A. I think not.

Q. Have there been Democrats on the lists?—A. Yes, sir; I know of one at least.

Q. He was not appointed?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know of any reason why he was not appointed?—A. No, sir; I do not.

Q. Do you state that this man S. Meyerly was the man who was not appointed? He was the man at the head of the register?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The two, three, four, and five men on the register were appointed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. This man was skipped?—A. Yes, sir.

Mr. MARINE. He was a Republican, too. The reason why I skipped him was that he had an office in Washington.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. And so the eight, nine, and ten men were appointed. Now [turning a page] these are the day inspectors?

Mr. BURNS. Yes, sir.

Q. And these [turning another] are the assistant weighers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. There has been no selection from that?—A. No, sir; yes, yes.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Oh, yes; I see. The one, two, three, four, and six were appointed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And these [turning another page] are the clerks?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The highest man on the list was appointed?—A. Yes, sir. There has been a second certification. You see here are two lists, one in May, 1890, the other in October, 1890. I certify the highest man on one list with the two highest on the other.

Q. You certify from the two lists together?—A. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROOSEVELT [turning another page]. Here is the night inspector list.

Mr. BURNS. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. There has been no certification from that.

Mr. ROOSEVELT then asked Collector Marine the following question:

You have not appointed or refrained from appointing by reason of politics?—A. I have always understood that out of a certification of three you were at liberty to select.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. But not with regard to politics?

Mr. MARINE. I have brought the men here and had a look at them. I have been careful to exercise a proper supervision, and if the candidate did not suit me I would not put him in. Of course you will understand that my preference is to appoint Republicans to office.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Not in the classified service. There must be no discrimination.

Mr. MARINE. Here is the way I have done it; I don't want to mislead you: I have never, when I have had this list before me, for instance, if I did not know a man on the list, which very frequently is the case, and did know the others, I would take the man I did know in preference to the one I did not.

Mr. Burns was dismissed. Mr. Marine was asked to withdraw.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES H. RAY.

Mr. CHARLES H. RAY, being called, testified as follows:

Examined by Mr. ROOSEVELT:

Q. Your name, Mr. Ray?—A. Charles H. Ray.

Q. Position?—A. United States assistant weigher.

Q. How long have you been in that position?—A. Since the 22d day of last September. Can I ask you a question? I passed an examination when Collector Groome was here, and he jumped me.

Q. You say you passed an examination while Mr. Groome was in?—A. Yes, sir; and I stood second on the list.

Q. You were second on the list?—A. I was the second appointment, so I was told, whatever that meant.

Q. You were appointed last year?—A. I took the examination last April and passed, and came in here on the 22d day of September. I stood at the head of the list.

Q. Mr. Ray, have you contributed to any person within the last week or so for political purposes?—A. No, sir.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Understand, you have a perfect right if you wish.

Mr. RAY. That's all right; I tell you, sir, I did not contribute.

Q. Have you been asked?—A. No, sir; not directly.

Q. Have you been indirectly?—A. The treasurer of our association in the Seventh ward—it is not a political association in any way, shape, or form—he said that we would have to have some money, and I said I was willing to give anything. We have a costly—

Q. Who is the treasurer?—A. Charles A. Allard.

Q. And in office?—A. No, sir; I know what the law is, and did not intend to put myself in the law.

Q. You then, as a matter of fact, contributed?—A. I contributed one dollar.

Q. Have you not been spoken to before, so that anyone who said his name was on a certain list was a contributor?—A. I told you, y' understand—Mr. Allard y' understand—that I was invited to his house. I thought I had a perfect right to go to a neighbor's house. I am a Republican; I know I was straight. I belong to a club. I thought I had a right to—outside of my business hours; I thought I had a right to give my money as I pleased. I am an old-stock Republican, and I have loved the party all my life. The Democrats would turn me down every time and would not put me in, and I could not stand back. I would give freely if I was not prohibited by law.

By Mr. BONAPARTE:

Q. Mr. Ray, what is the name of this club?—A. We call ourselves "The Young Men's Republican Club of the Seventh ward," in opposition to the Stone Club.

By Mr. ROOSEVELT:

Q. The Stone Club is the same as the Henderson Club?—A. Our club is the administration club.

Q. The administration club—that's what the fight will be to-day?—A. A great many people are in the post-office and the custom-house, and I think it would be ungrateful if we went back on Mr. Johnson or Mr. Marine, and he never hinted at such a thing, and if he would say it to anybody he would say it to me. They have tried to crush me and keep me out of here, and I was a voter when he was in his breeches—

By Mr. BONAPARTE:

Q. Mr. Ray, let us see if we have you down straight. Your name came to be on this list by your saying that you were willing to give him some money?—A. Certainly; he did not call on me.

Q. Has anyone brought the list around here?—A. I have not seen it. I was out on duty, as the books will show, from last Wednesday week to last Tuesday. If the list was brought to this custom-house I didn't see it.

Q. When did this meeting at Allard's house take place, do you remember?—A. Tuesday evening, 17th of March, I went up there.

Q. On the 17th of March?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is that correct?—A. I think it is.

Q. Now, was there a Mr. Bell, an employé of the post office, a member of that club?—A. I don't know that he is a member of the club at all now. He was down there when we first started. It's a social organization, you understand. We have people in it as are against us and some are with us—its a social organization. And Mr. Bell has not attended that club since before last September.

By Mr. ROOSEVELT:

Q. Mr. John Bell, do you mean?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Didn't you attend a meeting at Mr. Bell's house when he was absent?—A. No, sir. (Witness here objected to being cross-examined by Mr. Bonaparte. Mr. Roosevelt said it was perfectly proper for Mr. Bonaparte to cross question.)

Mr. RAY. That's all right. I am willing to do it. I will answer you truthfully I was not there. No, sir.

By Mr. BONAPARTE:

Q. You know the meeting to which we refer?—A. No, sir, I do not. I have not been in Mr. Bell's house at any meeting when he was absent.

Q. No meeting when he was present?—A. I stopped in one night. I stop in there often. He lives right above me—right in the neighborhood.

Q. Wasn't there a meeting there, Mr. Ray, about—somewhere—about this same time you mentioned—within a week or ten days ago, which was attended by different persons, some of them in the Government employ, to consider ways and means for this coming campaign?—A. We often talk—we have been talking some time together among ourselves, and spend the evening in this way—talk over the administration. We took an interest in Mr. Marine. We were going to hold up the administration. And I think it is right, you understand. I never did anything during business hours, and had no hand in it, nor made any arrangements.

By Mr. BONAPARTE:

Q. Why we are asking this is because we heard of this meeting up at the post-office, and I want to see if the information that we got up there is correct. Now, you were not present at any meeting at Mr. Bell's house?—A. I stopped at Mr. Bell's house a couple of weeks ago. He was on duty. I went up there one night and stopped in and met several of our friends there.

Q. Mr. Bell was on duty that night?—A. No, sir.

Q. He was there?—A. For a short time. I was in there for an hour. I went in there with a friend I knew. We walked down the street together but I haven't done nothing to collect money.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. There is no charge against you.

Mr. RAY. If there is a charge I will face the music, sir.

Mr. BONAPARTE:

Q. Is there not a Mr. Hammond connected with your club?—A. I don't know him, sir.

Q. Do you know a Mr. Lingenfelter?—A. No, sir; I don't know him.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Oeh?—A. Well, I have met that young fellow. He has grown up later. I know more of the old stock.

Q. Do you know a Mr. Armstrong?—A. No, sir.

Q. Is this Mr. Oeh a member of your club?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was he present at this meeting at Mr. Bell's house?—A. I didn't see him. I usually go about and stop in and see my friends sometimes.

Mr. Ray was dismissed.

Special Deputy Collector Henry Lingenfelter afterward stated that Ray had told him that he (Ray) had made a contribution. By order of Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Ray was recalled.

Examined by Mr. BONAPARTE:

Q. Mr. Ray, we want to see if we have got you quite straight about this matter. Have you given anything yourself for this political business?—A. I tell you no, sir.

Q. You haven't given anything at all?—A. No, sir.

Q. Well, you know what I am driving at is whether you have made any contributions yourself for political purposes in connection with this approaching primary election.—A. I understand what you are driving at, and precisely what you mean.

Q. And you say you haven't given anything?—A. Well—that is—you understand—I again tell you no, sir.

Q. You told us you had a conversation with Mr. Allard, who is the treasurer of your club.

Mr. RAY. I didn't say club; I said association.

Mr. BONAPARTE. Well, call it association; to whom you said that you would put your name down on his list, but that nobody came around to collect from that list, so far as you know.

A. I could not look after anybody else. I told you nobody came after me.

Q. And you have not, either at Mr. Allard's house, or at your own house, or at Mr. Bell's house, or here, given anything yourself?—A. No, sir; I have not. If you want an affidavit, I will make it.

Q. And you have not seen anyone give?—A. No, sir; not a Government employé. No one ever approached me in any way, shape, or form, neither about here, nor anywhere else, at all, sir.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Lingenfelder, you told us that Mr. Ray told you, I understand, that he had given.

Mr. LINGENFELDER. He either said that, or that he had intended to give. As I recollect, he signed his name. He said he had not given, but he had intended to give. He had put his name down on a piece of paper in his own house.

Mr. RAY. I told Mr. Lingenfelder I was asked—I said I would contribute—by a friend outside of the Government employ, Mr. Allard—I say this much, I did not give my money. I was on duty outside of this building for a week nearly. When I come in I had not given, and I did not give.

Q. You put your name down?—A. Yes, sir; on Mr. Allard's paper.

Q. You did?—A. Yes, sir; for the expenses of the club, or organization—I do not term it "political purposes."

By Mr. BONAPARTE:

Q. When was that you put your name down on the paper, Ray?—A. About a week or so before I seen Mr. Lingenfelder. He went to one of our houses.

Q. Where was it that you put your name down—in your own house?

A. No, sir; we were trying to raise contributions to defray the expenses of our club—

Q. Was it in your club room?—A. No, indeed. We were trying to raise money towards defraying expenses.

Q. Where was it that you put your name down?—A. It was in Mr. Bell's house.

By Mr. ROOSEVELT:

Q. It was in Mr. Bell's house?—A. Yes, sir; at night.

Q. Who else was there?—A. I don't know.

Q. Was Mr. Bell there?—A. I did not see him.

By Mr. BONAPARTE:

Q. Where is Mr. Bell's house?—A. About three squares above me.

By Mr. ROOSEVELT:

Q. Who else besides Mr. Bell and Mr. Allard were there? Was Mr. Oeh there?—A. I can't say positively. He is one of the latter-day boys.

Q. There were no other employés of the custom-house?—A. Oh, yes; there were several of us there that night.

Q. Was Mr. Kimball there?—A. No, sir; he belongs to the Sixth ward.

Q. Did all people present put their names down on that list?—A. I could not say.

Q. Who started the list?—A. I don't know.

Q. Who asked you to put your name down?—A. No one. We were anxious to get our club out of debt, and the money was put in a fund.

Q. Who started it?—A. I can't tell.

Q. Were there any names down when you signed?—A. Yes, sir; there were several names down, but I could not tell you who were ahead of me.

Q. Could you not see who was ahead of you?—A. No, sir; I signed with my glasses off. I could not.

By Mr. BONAPARTE:

Q. You went to Mr. Bell's house to a meeting there with a number of persons. Who they were you don't remember. And there was a paper that, somehow or other, was there for the people to sign, but you don't know how it got there; and you signed it, but you don't feel quite clear how you came to sign it.

Mr. RAY. I signed it because I thought it was my duty to give my aid. I said I would be one of ten men to clean the debt up.

By Mr. ROOSEVELT:

Q. You said you would be one of ten men to clean the debt up?—A. Our club is a social organization and has nothing to do with anything bearing on this election. We have people of both factions in it, and we come together at night, or Sunday or Monday, or whenever we please.

By Mr. BONAPARTE:

Q. Did Mr. Allard preside over that meeting?—A. Which?

Q. That which met at Mr. Bell's house; who presided over that meeting?—A. Now, there was no organized meeting. Some young man just took a paper; who it was I don't know.

Q. Took it around?—A. No, he did not take it around at all. Nobody was asked straight out to contribute.

Q. Nobody was asked to contribute?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did the young man put it down on the table?—A. No, sir, it was on the table, and nobody put it there as I know of.

Q. Did everyone put down his name?—A. I can't tell that. There is always some people who won't pay nothing.

Mr. MARINE. Was this money that you subscribed for there at that meeting, was it to be used in the campaign in the Seventh ward?—A. I could not tell you that to save my life. I told you I did not pay any money.

By Mr. ROOSEVELT:

Q. When are you going to pay the money?—A. I ain't going to pay it at all, now.

Q. What did you put your name down for? Tell us frankly about this.

Mr. MARINE. You had better just answer the question. You have said that when you subscribed you subscribed to the club and that it was for club purposes. What these gentlemen want to get at is this: they want to ascertain whether you are sincere in telling them that

you really gave money for club purposes, that you did not really give for some other purpose.

Mr. RAY. No, sir; I am telling the truth. I gave \$5, you understand.

By Mr. ROOSEVELT:

Q. Just answer me this question: Was the money you gave there for the purpose of that club or was it for other purposes?—A. I could not tell you to save my life. I stated that we wanted to raise money for the club. Some said they were going into this fight and that it would take some money to pay the legitimate expenses, and after they asked Mr. Allard and another office-holder, I told them I was willing to pay \$5.

Q. Who?—A. Mr. Allard and some other gentleman.

Q. Was Mr. Bell present?—A. I don't know.

Q. Was Mr. Bell present when you told Mr. Allard that you would pay some money?—A. Nor, sir. When Mr. Lingenfelder sent for me that day I refused; I did not give a cent.

Q. Do you recollect who it was that said that we were going into this fight and needed money for legitimate expenses?—A. No, sir; I got a little mixed on that. Of course, we have two primaries in our ward, and some of them said we had some expenses to meet.

Q. For the friends of the Administration?—A. I did not say for the friends of the Administration, exactly. I have given no money after Mr. Lingenfelder called me up. I thought there was people trying to put a job up on me and trying to get me into a snap.

Q. Had you been asked to call at Mr. Bell's?—A. I was told that some one would be there.

Q. Who told you?—A. Word was left at my house. My wife told me some one wanted to see me at Mr. Bell's house.

Q. Do you remember how many people were at Mr. Bell's house?—A. About eight or ten, or a dozen.

Q. You say some of them are employés of the post-office and the custom-house?—A. No, sir; none from the custom-house but myself.

Q. Did you see Mr. Bell or any other employés of the post-office?—A. Yes, sir; I seen Mr. Bell there, and Mr. Bell stayed there during the time we were there.

Q. Was he there all that time?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What did you mean by saying he was not there?—A. I did not say it.

Q. Yes, you did. Was he there when you put your name down on that paper?—A. Yes, sir; he was.

Q. Did he put his name down?—A. I did not notice.

Q. To whom were you to pay the money?—A. To Mr. Allard.

Mr. Ray was dismissed.

At 5.30 p. m. the examination was resumed, conducted by Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Rose.

TESTIMONY OF CAPT. WILLIAM FENSLEY.

Capt. WILLIAM FENSLEY, being called, said:

Examined by Mr. ROOSEVELT:

Q. Your name?—A. Capt. William Fensley.

Q. What is your position at present?—A. I am a night inspector.

Q. When appointed?—A. I was appointed under Colonel Webster.

Q. So you have been here a dozen years. An honorable record.—A. Oh, I am in my twelfth year now. This is the third Administration I

have served under, and the illustrious predecessor of the collector has done more for me, I suppose, than any of the others. But perhaps the present collector may do something yet.

Q. Do you recollect being present within the last week or two at a meeting where a number of office-holders were present—I think Mr. Kimball presided—where some money was raised, or they started to collect some money in reference to these primaries that are just taking place to-day?—A. I was at that meeting; do you want me to be truthful?

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I would very much prefer it. About what date was that meeting?

A. Well, I think it was on last Tuesday, 2 or 3 weeks ago.

Q. Then it was before the 17th?—A. About that time.

Q. Where did it take place?—A. It took place on Chester street.

Q. Chester street?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In whose house?—A. Now, I could not tell you that, for I haven't been living in that ward more than 2 years, and have not been associated in politics, although I have always voted my principles.

By Mr. ROSE:

Q. What ward is this?—A. I live in the Sixth ward. I moved in this two years ago this May.

Q. Was it not in a Republican association rooms?—A. It was a Republican association.

Q. Held in a private house?—A. Yes, sir; but it was only a private meeting, not a political gathering.

Q. You do not know the name of the man who owned the house?—A. No, sir, I do not. I'll tell you why I happened to be in that meeting. I was walking leisurely up the street after tea, when I was accosted by a friend, who asked me if I was going to the meeting. I knew there was going to be a meeting of a few gentlemen, a private meeting, and I thought I would go up to that.

Q. Were the other gentlemen employés of the custom-house and post-office?—A. Now, I could not say. I suppose there were some. There was two or three there and more, and there was outsiders—to be frank with you, I only knew a few.

Q. What were the names of the post-office men who were there?—A. Well, now, before I proceed any further, I see that you are going to interview me closely. Now, sir, in point of law, a witness is not bound to incriminate himself.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. In point of law, yes. This is not a legal examination, and nothing you will say here could be used against you. You are not speaking under oath; we may make you swear to what you say.

Mr. ROSE. Nothing will be used against you in any criminal proceeding.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. So far as I know, there has been no charge against you at all, not a thing.

WITNESS. If I am guilty, let me suffer.

By Mr. ROOSEVELT:

Q. Well, who are the employés of the post-office building who were there?—A. There was a gentleman there named Biddleman—

Mr. LINGENFELDER. He is not in the post-office; he is in United States Marshal Airey's office.

By Mr. ROOSEVELT:

Q. Well, at that meeting, did you decide to raise funds in view of the coming primaries or for legitimate expenses?—A. Yes, sir; there was some funds for to pay the necessary expenses of the house that we were to occupy for that day, and I was there this afternoon and saw where they had a private house for holding the primaries, which is legitimate.

Q. I understand entirely. Now, who produced the paper?—A. There was no paper.

Q. Did you just put in your funds without paper?—A. Oh, no, sir; I was only invited there; this was asked as voluntary contribution.

Q. Did you pay in the voluntary contribution that evening?—A. I did.

Q. To whom did you pay it?—A. Well, now, there was about a dozen persons there, and I don't know who I did hand it to; but I was appointed one of the officers to disburse the money and yet it was handed to another, for I had not been to the meeting; never had been to those meetings in that ward, not for a number of years, from the time I ran for council a number of years ago.

Q. Don't you recollect who you handed it to?—A. I don't; I handed it to a gentleman who was sitting like Mr. Smith and he handed it to some one else.

Q. Who handed their money to you?—A. No one; not anybody.

Q. Didn't any one hand you any money?—A. No, sir.

Q. Who did the others hand their money to, then?—A. Well I believe they appointed—I don't know the gentleman. I never seen him before, but know, I believe, he was the custodian of the funds.

By Mr. ROSE:

Q. Didn't you hear his name?—A. Well, perhaps I did.

Q. Don't you remember it?—A. Well, let me see, I would not remember it now. I never seen the man before to know him.

Q. Besides Captain Biddleman who else was there that you knew?—A. Mr. Kimball—

Q. Anybody else from the custom-house?—A. No, sir; him and I were representing the custom-house.

Q. Who else was there from the post-office—Captain Biddleman of the United States marshal's office—who represented the post-office?—A. Well, there were several gentlemen there that I did not know, sir.

Q. Did you know anybody that was there besides Mr. Kimball, Mr. Biddleman, and yourself?—A. I knew a gentleman named Mr. Bond.

Q. Where is he?—A. I don't know whether he is in the post-office or in the custom-house.

Q. Do you know if he is in office?—A. I don't know.

Q. Is it your impression that he is?—A. No, sir; I didn't say that. I don't know.

Q. Mr. Bond was there. Who else? Who is Mr. Bond? is the first question.—A. He keeps a coal yard.

Q. Who else?—A. That is all that I knew.

Q. Was this gentleman, the custodian of the fund, was he an employé of the post-office?—A. I don't know, sir; I could not say.

Q. Well, do you mean to say that you do not know the name of the man to whom you gave your money?—A. I did not. He was sitting in the parlor of this house, and I was invited there.

Q. How did you happen to be in the house?—A. I met a gentleman on the street who knew me. Said he, "Good evening; I think I know

your business up this way." "Perhaps you do," said I, and he told me of this meeting.

Q. What was your business?—A. To go to this little meeting.

Q. How did you know of it?—A. I was invited.

Q. By whom, sir?—A. I don't know, sir. I got a note without any name.

Q. You got a note without a name signed to it?—A. It was signed "Committee."

Q. Committee of what?—A. I don't know. Just simply committee.

Q. Have you that note?—A. No, sir.

Q. Where did they tell you to go?—A. If you will remember I said Chester street.

Q. What number?—A. I don't remember.

Q. Between what streets?—A. It was at night and I had to look where Jefferson street was. I did not know when I got to it until I looked up at the lamp post. I have not been up in that section of the town for years. I do not know between what streets.

Q. Then you received a note signed by no name?

WITNESS. I said committee.

Q. Did they name the committee?—A. No, sir.

Q. You received a note signed "Committee;" the note named asked you to call upon a house on Chester street, of which you have forgotten the number.—A. The number was on my paper.

Q. The name of the owner of the house you never knew, or have forgotten.—A. I never seen the gentleman before. I have never been in the house before.

Q. What did this note ask you to do?—A. Simply said that they were going to have a meeting and invited me to be there.

Q. A meeting of what?—A. Some Republican members of that ward.

Q. For what purpose?—A. This the note did not state.

Q. Just a meeting of some Republican members?—A. I would like to produce that note so that you can see what I am saying is correct.

By Mr. ROSE:

Q. You said you were one of a committee. Who were your colleagues on that committee?—A. Mr. Biddleman was one, and the other gentleman that was the custodian of the funds, I don't know his name.

Q. The committee appointed received and disbursed the funds. It consisted of Mr. Biddleman, yourself, and this other gentleman?—A. Yes, sir. But before we had left the money was handed over to this gentleman to disburse the funds. I have never seen any of it since.

Q. If you were one of a committee to disburse the funds you should not have forgotten the name of the gentleman who was to disburse them.—A. If you will remember I said to you I never seen the gentleman before or since; and it was all done by acclamation. It was of such small merit I did not bother my head about it.

Q. How much money did you give?—A. Is that a proper question? Mr. ROOSEVELT. That is perfectly proper.

A. I gave \$10.

Q. Did those present contribute \$10 each?—A. Some of them did.

By Mr. ROOSEVELT:

Q. How much did it take to pay the rent of that house?—A. I don't know. Now, let me make another remark. The reason I contributed that amount was that there was another man present who was too poor to bear his share. I said he was not able to contribute, and I gave \$5 first, and then said I would give \$5 for that other gentleman.

Q. The understanding was, then, that each person should give \$5?—
A. No, sir.

Q. But everybody did give \$5 apiece?—A. No, sir; there were some who did not give a cent. Mr. Kimball was one of them. Some gave \$10.

Q. Mr. Kimball didn't give a cent?—A. No, sir.

Q. What was the name of the gentleman for whom you gave the \$5?—A. I never seen him before or since. He made some such remark, "I really am too poor to give," and, of course, I said, "Here take this \$5." If there is any blame attached to that I am the guilty party. Now, I know Mr. Kimball didn't give one cent, because he was not able.

Q. You do not know who this gentleman was?—A. No, sir.

By Mr. ROSE:

Q. Was he in the Government service?—A. I don't know. As I remarked a while ago there were only two or three there I did know, Mr. Kimball and Mr. Biddleman.

By Mr. ROOSEVELT:

Q. About how many in all were present?—A. I could not tell you.

Q. Did Mr. Kimball preside over that meeting?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were there as many as a dozen persons there?—A. Perhaps there were. It was a private meeting.

Q. You say you, Captain Biddleman, and the unknown gentleman were appointed a committee to receive the funds and then you handed them over to the unknown gentleman?—A. That was it, sir.

Q. Whom did the persons present hand their money to?—A. I could not say, sir. I am now speaking for myself. That I could not say. In a half a dozen or so of gentlemen in a small room, not half as large as this, and they were sitting there using a lamp on a mantelpiece—there was no gas in the room. I was sitting away back in a corner. I could not see all present. I went there more for to see what was going on than anything else. I never gave a dollar in my life in the custom-house for political purposes.

Q. How much did you give to political purposes last fall?—A. Well, I would have given a great deal more than I did, because the gentleman I brought out and ran for Congress, I corresponded with at Thousand Isles, Rev. Royal H. Pullman, and he is an honor to any political party. I never gave a cent to any politician outside, sir.

Captain Fensley was dismissed.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM P. KIMBALL.

WILLIAM P. KIMBALL, being called, said:

Questioned by Mr. ROOSEVELT:

Q. Your name?—A. William P. Kimball.

Q. Position?—A. Laborer on the custodian's force.

Q. When were you appointed, roughly?—A. About 10 months ago,

Q. Mr. Kimball, do you recollect a meeting that took place in a house on Chester street?—A. Yes, sir; I presided at that meeting.

Q. It was a meeting called, was it not, to provide funds for the primaries?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You made no subscriptions?—A. No, sir.

Q. What was the number of the house?—A. Well, now, I can't tell you that.

Q. Whose house was it?—A. Mr. Smith's—Charles Smith's, one of the letter carriers in the Baltimore post office. I'll tell you the whole story. One evening, here, some one handed me a little bit of a notice requesting me to attend a meeting of office-holders. It gave the number of the house. I haven't got it now, else I would show it to you. It was signed by "Committee," that is all. I don't know, perhaps some one appointed himself committee and sent these notes around.

Q. Was the notice in ordinary handwriting?—A. It was just mere writing.

Q. Do you know, was the writing by Mr. Smith himself?—A. I don't think it was. I know who the instigator of the writing—well, I don't know; I think I know. I'll tell you the circumstances. Well, at first, I thought I would not go up to the meeting. I don't take no great amount of interest in factional squabbles, and I tell you I don't take no great amount of pride in any fight among the members of my own party. I generally do everything I can for the Republican party. I knew that this was somewhat of a factional—

Q. Do you mean that it was for the Johnson faction against the so-called Henderson faction?—A. I suppose so.

Q. There are two factions in this city, and one of these is called the Johnson faction.—A. Well, in common parlance they are all Republicans, and I guess as good Republicans as I am. After I had received that notice I went up there; at first I had rather determined not to go. But I said I guess this looks like they were going to raise some money for the primary election purposes. I always take an interest in my party. I am going up to the primaries now to vote, as soon as you get through with me. I don't take no interest in anything where you have to buy and muzzle people. I think everybody ought to go to the primaries and vote for himself. I have known Mr. Marine a long time. He has never intimated to me anything about primaries, because he knows I would do just exactly what I thought best.

Q. You haven't known of Marshal Airey coming down here and influencing men?—A. No, sir. He comes down here very frequently. They don't come to me, for I will do just as I please. I vote for the best man in the party. I went up there and sat there. I suppose I am pretty well recognized in that ward, having been a candidate for city council, and I suppose, generally, on account of my age and my long services in the Republican party, I suppose that they respected me enough to say, as Mr. Biddleman proposed, "I move that Mr. Kimball take the chair." I had no particular objections, so I took the chair. "What is the object of this meeting, gentlemen," said I. "The object of this meeting is to raise money for the primaries." Mr. Biddleman, one of Mr. Airey's deputies, got up and moved that a committee of three be appointed to raise money. Well, I put the motion, and it was declared that a committee of three be appointed; unanimous of course. Well, the next question was how shall it be appointed? It was declared that the Chair appoint the committee. Well, I appointed Mr. Biddleman, as the maker of the motion, and, looking around, I saw Mr. Smith quite prominent and appointed him. I looked around again and took our friend here, Captain Fensley.

Q. Mr. Smith was the letter carrier at whose house this was?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And Mr. Smith was the third man?—A. Yes, sir. I thought that if they were going to raise money it would be best to distribute it around. They commenced contributing and I believe \$60 was raised.

Q. About how many persons were present?—A. Well, I don't know. I suppose about 18. There were 1 or 2 men from the custom-house, myself and Mr. Fensley, and some were there from the post-office. I know them all, but could not call them by name. I know almost everybody I see on the street, but, owing to my age, my recollection of names is very bad.

Q. Was Mr. Bond there?—A. Yes.

Q. What office has he?—A. I don't know; no office in this building. Well, they all contributed, I believe. There was some poor man there who didn't get more than \$6 a week. I said, "Don't you give any money; no man who don't get any more salary than you or I are not entitled to give."

Q. When they got through, to whom did they give the money?—A. To Biddleman.

Q. Biddleman was the man, then?—A. Yes; they reported the amount, I believe, some \$60 or \$70. I understand since that they raised some \$100. Now, gentlemen, I have given you a sort of a history—a feeble history. "Now," says I, "Gentlemen, I have about 37 cents in my pocket and I will spend that for beer." They got a talking about the administration, and I said, "Gentlemen, I am always willing to contribute anything within my means for the Republican party. I have always done it all my life, and I never have tried to get a man to vote illegally."

Q. To whom was the money paid?—A. To Biddleman. Some of them made contributions without paying. Mr. Phillips was there.

Q. In the post-office?—A. Yes, sir, a clerk, I believe. He didn't contribute money at that time.

Q. Who did he give his money to, Biddleman?—A. Smith.

Q. How much?—A. He said he would give \$5.

Q. Five dollars. That was the usual sum.—A. About that. Some gave \$10. Captain Fensley gave \$5, and some went up to \$10, and he said he would give as much as anybody and gave 5 more.

Q. Whom did Captain Fensley give his money to?—A. I guess to Biddleman.

Q. Did Biddleman take charge?—A. He took charge of the money that was raised there.

Q. Biddleman has been a long while an office holder in the ward.—A. Yes, sir. He is one of Mr. Airey's friends and chosen leader.

Q. He has been an Airey representative for a number of years?—A. Yes, he stands around the polls at election, and if there is any fighting to be done or ballot-box stuffing, I suppose he does his share of it. Those men were very liberal with their money that night in order to fight the men in their own party, but when we had an election 2 years ago the very men who put up their money that night we could not get a dollar out of them.

Q. This was given to help the Johnson, Airey crowd at the primaries?—A. Of course it was.

Q. It was to help the Johnson, Airey crowd?—A. I think so.

Q. Do you recollect any other names besides Phillips, Smith, Bond, Fensley, yourself and Biddlemen?—A. Well, there were 3 or 4 men there.

Q. Mostly people in the post-office?—A. All in the post-office except Biddleman, Fensley, and myself—all were office-holders.

Q. It was a meeting of office holders?—A. Yes, sir; I know the men well enough, but can not recollect their names.

Mr. Kimball was dismissed, and the examination was ended.

INVESTIGATION AT BALTIMORE POST-OFFICE.

Present: Hon. Theodore Roosevelt and Charles J. Bonaparte.

TESTIMONY OF J. PHILLIP SINDALL.

J. PHILLIP SINDALL testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) What is your position?—A. I am the custodian of box rents; I rent the boxes and collect the rents.

Q. You are a member of the custodian's force?—A. No, sir; I am in the city division.

Q. Are you a letter-carrier?—A. No, sir; I rent the boxes and collect the rents.

Q. Are you in the postmaster's employ or in the custodian's employ?—A. I am under the postmaster direct.

Q. In the classified service?—A. I am not under the civil service.

Q. When were you appointed?—A. On the 18th of August, I think, last; I think my commission dates from that time.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. Fifth.

Q. Were you at the primaries there last Monday?—A. Yes, sir.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. I think I saw you there myself.

Mr. SINDALL. I was standing on the steps and Mr. McCafferty showed you to me. I understood Mr. McCafferty to say, "There is Mr. Sindall, one of the post-office employés;" and I said, "Yes, here I am."

Q. About how long had you been there when I was there?—A. I could not say; I remember seeing you there.

Q. You were working at the primaries?—A. Not particularly. I was not ticket-holder or challenger. I was elevated above the rest, standing on the steps, so I could look over the crowd.

Q. Were you a Henderson man?—A. I am a Republican.

Q. The word "Republican" seems to have an elastic meaning in Baltimore.—A. Well, the postmaster and I have always been personal friends and on the same side of the house.

Q. So you were on the postmaster's side?—A. Well, I do not know as it was especially on his side; I supported the ticket headed by Mr. William M. Stewart.

Q. The side you supported was the Johnson side?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What side is that?—A. Some call it the administration side.

Q. How much, if anything, did you pay towards the expenses of the primaries?—A. I always contributed to the expenses before I was in office. I paid to Mr. William Stewart, the gentleman who headed our ticket—I made him a contribution of \$5.

Q. Mr. Stewart, he is the head—A. He is the gentleman that was a candidate for the State convention.

Q. Was he the leader of the Johnson side?—A. I do not know as he was a special leader.

Q. How did you happen to pay him?—A. Well, he was the gentleman that was managing the affairs, and so I paid him.

Q. Was \$5 the amount usually paid?—A. I do not know; I only know about myself.

Q. You do not know of any one else paying?—A. No; but I suppose they did around here.

Q. You say you suppose money was paid around here?—A. Well, I suppose it was.

Q. Do you not know, as a matter of fact, that there was?—A. Well,

that is the custom. There are expenses to be paid and I paid some towards them. I had been on committees before, and I knew there were expenses to be paid.

Q. Now, your belief is that at this time, as at ordinary times, the bulk of the people that were interested in that work had to pay a certain amount, voluntarily, of their own accord?—A. Well, I do not suppose anything about it.

Q. Of the other office-holders here in the post-office do you know who live in your ward?—A. I think there are probably eight or ten.

Q. Did all of those pay?—A. I could not tell you.

Q. Do you know if any of them paid?—A. Well, they will have to answer that for themselves.

Q. As a matter of fact haven't you heard that they did pay?—A. Well, yes; generally I think they did.

Q. It is your belief that generally they did pay?—A. I think so; yes, sir.

Q. There was an office-holder by you at the time you saw me, was there not? What was his name?—A. There were two standing on the pavement; there were two stoops and I stood on the top stoop. I had a light overcoat on, and McCafferty said, "There is Sindall, a post-office man;" and I said, "Yes, here I am."

Q. Who were the two men that were there?—A. I think one of them was William Root, and Clapp, the custom-house man.

Q. Was William Root a letter-carrier?—A. No, sir; he is a night watchman.

Q. Custodian's force?—A. I could not tell you.

Q. But he is here in the post-office?—A. Yes; he is on at night—night watchman.

Q. Who else from the post-office were there at the time?—A. I do not know. There might have been several others there but I did not see them at the time.

Q. Did you meet with any of these gentlemen, Mr. Root, or any of the others before the primaries took place?—A. Yes, sir; I was not at any of the meetings or at the caucus.

Q. Were you there throughout the time the polls were open?—A. No, not all the time. I should judge the majority of the time I was there.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Was the election that was held there an orderly one?—A. I think there was as good a crowd as there usually is, some of the best citizens we have were there, and the police acted very fairly. I think there were some seven or eight taken to the station.

Q. Were any of those seven or eight in Government employ?—A. No, sir; I do not think any of them were in Government positions of any kind.

Q. As far as you could see, was it a fair election?—A. I do not think you would want any better class of persons than there was there that day. I did not see anything improper. I do not remember exactly, but I have seen in the press a great many complaints on both sides about cheating on that occasion.

Q. Was there anything of that kind at your ward?—A. Not to my knowledge. There were two well-known Democrats there that I know of; one was Gracey and the other was Kaiser, though I believe they voted both ways. They take a very active interest during the Republican primaries and I think cause a great deal of trouble here. I said, "Erwin, I think those men are Democrats;" and the judges refused to take their votes; one by the name of Gracey and the other by the name of Kaiser.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN F. THOMAS.

JOHN F. THOMAS testified as follows :

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) What is your position?—A. Superintendent of registry division.

Q. Appointed when?—A. Seventeenth of last March a year ago.

Q. Do you recollect a conversation you had a couple of weeks ago, or thereabouts, with Mr. Noah Pierson in reference to an alleged contribution by a man named Ashton?—A. I know Mr. Ashton very well, and I know Mr. Pierson.

Q. Both post-office employés?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you recollect the conversation referred to?—A. I could not, unless something would call it to my mind.

Q. It was about whether Mr. Ashton had subscribed \$5 for use in the primaries.—A. I can not bring it to my mind. Of course a number spoke to me about it.

Q. Spoke to you about what?—A. Well, about the primary elections being held here in the city.

Q. Do you recollect the substance of what Mr. Pierson had been saying to you about the primaries?—A. No, sir; no more than speaking about how the primaries were in my end of town.

Q. Do you mean asking what the outlook was?—A. Well, yes; I believe it was.

Q. The fight being between, as I understand, the Johnson and Henderson factions, so called?—A. Not in my section; no, sir.

Q. What was the fight in your ward?—A. Well the fight was a kind of personal matter between the United States paymaster in my ward, who has been attempting to run the people of my ward—

Q. United States paymaster?—A. Yes, sir; United States naval paymaster, Mr. Arthur J. Pritchard.

Q. In the naval service?—A. Yes, sir; United States Navy.

Q. He is an ally of Mr. Henderson's?—A. I do not know as he is an ally of anyone, but I judge his feelings would be that way.

Q. He is opposed to the faction or division to which Mr. Johnson and Mr. Airey belong?—A. Well, I rather judge he would be that way, but that was the principal fight. I took no very active part in it myself because I felt I had no right to.

Q. You did not think you had a right to take a very active part?—A. No, sir; being an office-holder.

Q. Were you at the primaries last Monday?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you stay there any length of time?—A. I do not think I was there over 15 minutes.

Q. What is your ward?—A. Thirteenth ward.

Q. You do recollect Mr. Pierson speaking to you about the \$5 that Mr. Ashton was to have given?—A. Some one came to me, I could not tell you who it was, but some one came to me and said, "Thomas are you not making a fight in your ward;" and I said I did not feel a great deal of interest in it and did not know as I would go to the polls, and he asked me whether Mr. Ashton was not in my ward. To the best of my recollection it was something of that kind. And I said, "Yes, Mr. Ashton is in my ward," and he said, "Mr. Ashton is going to give Mr. Pierson something towards the primaries." Well, I said that was all right; "Mr. Ashton can do as he pleases, I have not seen him." He is an engineer in this building.

Q. Is that all you know about that instance?—A. Yes, sir; that is all I know about that instance.

Q. When this man spoke to you about the fact that Mr. Ashton was going to give this money, did he mention any other people who were going to give money?—A. No, sir; not to my knowledge. I don't think he mentioned any other person.

Q. Did you subscribe yourself?—A. I gave something.

Q. Ten dollars?—A. I did, sir, without being solicited by any person.

Q. To whom did you give it?—A. I am under the apprehension that I gave it to Mr. Hammond; I am not positive about that. Mr. Hammond is an honorable and upright man.

Q. Where did you give it to Mr. Hammond?—A. I am not able to say, but I know it was not in this building; that I am positive about.

Q. Did Mr. Hammond have a list of the people who gave him money?—A. I am not able to tell you that; I never inquired of him.

Q. Was he the treasurer of your ward association?—A. Yes, sir; he has been, I guess, for the last fifteen or twenty years.

Q. How many post-office employés are there from that ward?—A. I think there are about ten—about eight or ten.

Q. Did each of them pay?—A. I could not say.

Q. Did each of them vote?—A. I could not say about that.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Mr. Thomas, as I understand it, you do not remember telling anyone anything about this matter of Pierson and Ashton?—A. I might have spoken about it, but I am positive that I did not give any information to lead them to solicit any subscriptions or anything of that kind. I might have possibly spoken to some one about it.

Q. Did you tell Mr. Pierson that you had heard that he had received \$5 from Ashton for these primaries and failed to turn it over?—A. I am not positive about that; I might possibly have said it. I hardly knew Mr. Ashton, because I never came in contact with him and never thought anything about him.

Q. I understood you to say to Mr. Roosevelt a moment ago that this Mr. Hammond of whom you speak is an honorable and respectable gentleman?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You would regard any information derived from him as being perfectly trustworthy?—A. I think it would be perfectly trustworthy.

Q. I believe it is a fact that Mr. Hammond was in Government employ and lost his position some months ago?—A. He was in, I believe, about six weeks. He was holding a position as watchman or something of the kind.

Q. How long ago was it that he lost that place, do you recollect?—A. To the best of my recollection it was about five or six weeks ago, or possibly two months ago.

Q. Had Mr. Johnson anything to do with Mr. Hammond's losing his place?—A. Well, that is something I can not answer.

Q. Have you any reason to believe that Mr. Hammond would have any grudge against Mr. Johnson on that account?—A. That is a matter that I never looked into.

Q. You do not think Mr. Hammond is a man who would work ostensibly for one wing of the party and at the same time endeavor to assist the other side?—A. I do not think so. I would certainly rely on anything he would tell me. He is a perfectly honorable gentleman.

Q. Now, in regard to this matter which you say that Mr. Pritchard is connected with, what did Mr. Pritchard do in regard to this primary?—A. Well, it would be hard for me to tell what he did not do. He did everything that a man could possibly do, I believe from all accounts.

Q. Do you know whether he collected any money?—A. I do not know whether he collected any or not, but he furnished a good deal.

Q. You know the fact that he did furnish money?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know to whom he paid it?—A. I know a great many persons who said they received a good deal from him. I have heard it quite frequently.

Q. Were any of those persons in Government employ?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Do you know where this money was paid to Mr. Pritchard?—A. No, sir; I could not tell you, but likely at his residence; I have heard some of them say at his residence.

Q. Was he at the primary?—A. I could not tell you. I did not see him there. He was not there while I was there. I left the office here about half past 4, went to the polls and voted, and went to the cigar store, staid, I think, about 15 minutes, and went to supper and did not come back any more.

Q. Was the election in your ward an orderly one?—A. I would not take it that way.

Q. You would not?—A. No, sir.

Q. Was there a good deal of disorder?—A. What little I saw of it there was about as much disorder as there could possibly be.

Q. Do you know whether anybody was arrested for breaches of the peace?—A. I have heard of a good many being arrested.

Q. About how many?—A. I could not tell you that, but I saw quite a crowd of them being taken to the patrol box while I was there, and I saw a young man running with a policeman's club in his hand. The police had undertaken to arrest him and he took his club away from him and ran.

Q. Were any Government employes in that ward arrested for breaches of the peace?—A. I do not think so.

Q. Do you think that it was a fair election?—A. I do not know what you would term a fair election.

Q. Well, was there more than a reasonable amount of cheating?—A. It is no use for me to try to answer that.

Q. In other words, it is your opinion, Mr. Thomas, that the election was throughout the city marked by fraud and disorder generally?—A. A great deal of disorder, I should judge, yes, sir, from what I saw and heard. I did not see any election except in my own ward.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN B. TWEDDEL.

JOHN B. TWEDDEL testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) What is your position?—A. Clerk.

Q. When were you appointed?—A. I was appointed regular before Christmas.

Q. You live in the Eighth ward?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were at the primaries there last Monday?—A. Yes, sir; I was there a short while.

Q. Only a short while?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. About how long?—A. I guess I was there in the neighborhood of an hour, not longer than that.

Q. Who is the leader of the Johnson faction, so called, in your ward?—A. Well, we have no real leader; more of mutual friends than anything else. Most everybody is a Johnson man there.

Q. Who takes the lead; have you got a club?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is your club called?—A. Eighth Ward Republican Club.

Q. Are there two Republican clubs in the ward?—A. No, sir.

Q. That is the only club?—A. Yes, sir; the only one I know of.

Q. Mr. George H. Holtz belongs to that club, does he not?—A. Yes, sir; he is a member.

Q. Mr. Hammel?—A. One of them does.

Q. C. W. Hammel?—A. I am not certain about his initials.

Q. Mr. Perine?—A. I believe he is a letter-carrier; I think he is a member; I will not say for certain.

Q. Is there a man by the name of Sultzzer that belongs to your club?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Your club took an active part in arranging for the primaries, I presume?—A. No, sir; it was an open meeting; it was not a club affair at all; it was a ward meeting called, and the ticket was nominated according to the precincts.

Q. Was there a contest in the wards?—A. There was at the polls? In the ward meeting there was no contest whatever.

Q. The contest at the polls was between what is commonly called the Henderson and Johnson divisions or factions, was it or was it not?—

A. That was the ticket that was nominated at our meeting, but there was another ticket in the field led by two or three men who called themselves Republicans, and the rest were all Democrats.

Q. Were the other men running in the interest of the so-called Henderson faction?—A. Yes, sir; I believe they were.

Q. Your side was recognized then as the so-called administration faction?—A. No, sir; it was an open ticket.

Q. I mean in common parlance?—A. Well, you might class it that way, because it was held in our club room as a Johnson ticket, but I did not class it as a Johnson ticket.

Q. Was it not generally so classed?—A. I suppose it was, but in our ward meeting Johnson was not mentioned in it.

Q. Who was mentioned in it?—A. Nobody at all. The president called the club to order, and I believe he was a Henderson man and he was the other side of the house.

Q. What is the other side of the house?—A. Mr. Mason.

Q. What I am driving at is, what do you mean by the two sides of the house? One is the Henderson, what do you call the other?—A. Well, there are two sides of the house.

Q. What do you call those two sides?—A. Well, I would call the administration one side and the Henderson side the other.

Q. Is not, as a matter of fact, the administration side often called the Johnson side?—A. It is in the papers, yes, sir; but it ought not to be.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) This open ticket that you say was nominated at the ward meeting, how long ago was that nomination made before the primaries?—A. I think it was about a week before. I think there was notice sent around the ward that there was to be a ward meeting, but that I do not know for certain. I was on duty the time it was talked of in the club, you understand, and was not there. I do not know anything about it only what I have been told. The only thing I do know is that the night I was there after the club meeting was over this ward meeting was called.

Q. It was called at your club rooms?—A. Yes, sir; at our club rooms.

Q. Was it attended by anybody besides the members of the club?—A. I could not say whether they were all members or not; there were some strange faces there. I know there were some who did not contribute to the club.

Q. Who was this person whom you call the president of the ward?—
A. Henry Brigell, of the ward meeting, not of the ward club.

Q. You said that the meeting was called by the president of the club?—A. The ward organization, not the ward club.

Q. Henry Brigell is the president of what is called the ward organization?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What does it consist of?—A. It is a regular ward organization. Of course I do not know exactly what the duties are; but you know in every ward there is an organization outside of the club altogether.

Q. You mean that there is a sort of society?—A. No, sir; as near as I can get at it, it is this: The president of the ward is executive of the ward, and there is a State central committeeman from the ward, and such as that, and each one of them names a judge. That is the way it used to be; I do not know how it is now, but that is what I have reference to.

Q. Now, the president of the ward, as you describe, is a Henderson man?—A. To the best of my knowledge and belief. I tell you the reason why I say that, he supported Mr. Black in the last council election. The Henderson people had indorsed Mr. Black, and that is the reason I say what I do.

Q. I understood you to say that the two factions were sometimes known as the Johnson and Henderson factions, but that you did not think that was the right way they ought to be called; that the first one ought to be called the administration-faction or administration wing of the party?—A. I think there ought not to be any factions. So far as I am concerned I think there ought not to be any split in the party.

Q. You say that you do not think it is right to call one faction the Johnson and the other the Henderson, but that the one ought to be called the administration and the other the Henderson or opposition, or something of that sort? Now, why would you call one faction the administration faction?—A. Because Mr. Johnson is postmaster and the others are men in official position, besides Mr. Johnson—

Q. And they are all on the same side?—A. So far as I know; I could not say, but should judge they were.

Q. Then by the administration party you mean the party that comprises the prominent Federal officeholders here, and by the Henderson or opposition wing you mean the party opposed?—A. Yes.

Q. Would you say the election in your ward was an orderly and fair one or the reverse?—A. I should say just the reverse.

Q. It was a decidedly disorderly and decidedly unfair one, was it?—
A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did it result in the election of the ticket nominated at the open meeting or the other ticket or neither?—A. That is a conundrum; I do not know who is elected. I know who ought to have been elected.

Q. As a matter of fact things were so disorderly and fraudulent and generally confused that there was really no election at all?—A. I should judge there was no election at all.

Q. As far as you know the other wards of the city—of course you would not know this of personal knowledge, but you have probably heard a good deal about it—do you think that the election generally and its results were orderly and fair or the reverse throughout the city?—
A. That is speaking of something that I do not know anything about for my own part. Hearsay is not evidence, and I take it from hearsay.

Q. Is it not, however, the general impression that the Republican primaries of last Monday were marked by a discreditable amount of disorder and fraud, false returns, and cheating generally?—A. Yes, sir;

by the newspapers; but I think that is all on one side of the house. I do not think it refers much to the administration side.

Q. You do not think it refers to the Administration side?—A. No, sir; not according to what I have read in the newspapers.

Q. Were there any Government office-holders in your ward who were arrested for any breaches of the peace?—A. No, sir; not that I know of.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Are you sure?—A. Not to my knowledge and belief.

Q. Was Mr. Holtz arrested?—A. Not at the polls.

Q. Where was he arrested?—A. He was arrested in regard to some controversy up town.

Q. A Henderson man?—A. I could not say; I am talking only from hearsay and it was a couple of days before the primaries; it was not at the polls at all—that is, while I was there, and I was there, I think, about a half hour or an hour and I did not see him arrested.

Q. The polls remained open about 4 hours?—A. No, sir; they ought to have remained open that long but they didn't. They only remained open about 3 minutes.

Q. And what was the reason that they were then so suddenly closed?—A. Because the Henderson people had more votes in the box than there were votes in the ward.

Q. Then what happened when that fact was discovered?—A. One of the clerks which was appointed by our side saw that the box was being stuffed and he refused any more votes. He then tried to open the box, and there was a scuffle. Three of them got on him and tried to pitch him out of the window. He got away from them, broke the box open, and came out with a handful of tickets.

Q. Who was that man, a clerk?—A. Yes, sir; a clerk in the primary. They threw him out of the window.

Q. Was he a private citizen?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you peddling tickets?—A. No, sir.

Q. And after this gentleman was thrown out of the window, with his hands full of tickets, the election was interrupted?—A. Yes, sir; it was.

Q. After that, what happened?—A. They went down to the station house. Our judge did not have much nerve; he wanted to carry on the election after that and they refused to carry it on, and that, of course, ended it, and I left.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) How were the expenses of the election defrayed?—A. That I haven't anything to do with.

Q. Well, you gave \$5?—A. I was to give \$5, but I didn't give it.

Q. How much did you give?—A. I said I would give \$5. The money was to pay for the ordinary expenses of a primary election. By this election being broken up we did not have those expenses, and we clubbed in, or are to club in, and buy this clerk of ours that had the scuffle and had his clothes torn and was thrown out of the window by these men, we are going to buy him a suit of clothes.

Q. Well, how much have you paid already?—A. It has only cost me a dollar.

Q. To whom did you pay that?—A. I paid that money to Mr. Sultzer.

Q. Was he the regular treasurer?—A. No, sir.

Q. Was he the one to whom the others paid their money?—A. Some of them gave the money to me to hold and to meet these expenses with.

Q. Did Mr. Hammel give you any money?—A. He gave some money; yes, sir.

Q. How much money did Mr. Hammel pay?—A. Well, he gave me \$5, and I turned it over to Mr. Sultzer.

Q. You are sure you turned it over to Mr. Sultzer?—A. Yes, sir; I could not hold it myself.

Q. That was for the legitimate expenses of the primaries?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did Mr. Holtz pay you or pay Mr. Sultzer?—A. I think he paid me.

Q. Did he pay you \$5?—A. No, sir; \$10. I spent money out of my own pocket which had nothing to do with one party or the other. I may have spent \$15 or \$20, but it had nothing to do with asking for it. Nobody asked me to give a cent.

Q. Mr. Holtz gave you \$10; he did it perfectly voluntarily?—A. Certainly he did.

Q. And it seemed to be used for the legitimate expenses of the primary?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did the other office-holders here in the post-office of your ward give you the money or give it to Mr. Sultzer?—A. Some of them gave it to me, and some of them did not give anything.

Q. Some of them did not give anything?—A. No, sir; where they did not think they were able to give they did not want them to give.

Q. Who besides Mr. Sultzer and Mr. Hammel gave you money?—A. Mr. Foutz; he gave it for our club banquet which we held about two weeks ago.

Q. He did not give it for the primary?—A. No, sir; I don't think he did. I know he gave me some money, but I think it was for the club banquet.

Q. Do you know of any one else who gave money to Mr. Sultzer, or did it all come through your hands?—A. It all came through my hands.

Q. Was your club mainly composed of office-holders?—A. No, sir; we have very few office-holders in our ward; we have not over six or eight.

Q. Well, those six or eight all took part in the primary, did they not?—A. No, sir; they were there like any ordinary men.

Q. Were there only six or eight office-holders that subscribed money? They were the only ones who gave money to you?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did they give any to Mr. Sultzer?—A. I do not know how much he got outside.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Mr. Tweddel, how many persons are going to contribute to this suit of clothes for the clerk who was thrown out of the window?—A. All that we had left over is to be contributed; I do not know how much it is, and if there is not enough I think some outside individuals are going to make it up. None of us have been asked to give a cent.

Q. By outside individuals, you mean those not in Government employ?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They are going to contribute if necessary, if you have not enough out of the funds you raised to meet the expenses left; you used the expression "We decided to give this clerk a suit of clothes," or something like that; who was it that decided to use the money in that way, was it at a meeting of the club?—A. No, sir; it was right after the primaries when we all got together, you might call it a club if you wish, and they said there was so much money left, I do not remember how much it was, and they thought that would be a good way to use it, or give it back to each one that contributed to the funds.

- Q. How many were there at the time that resolution was come to?—
A. I guess there might have been four or five, or might have been eight or ten.
- Q. Were you there and was Mr. Hammel there?—A. I don't think he was.
- Q. Mr. Sultzter?—A. I think he was.
- Q. Mr. Holtz there?—A. No, sir; he was not there?
- Q. Was Mr. Foutz there?—A. No, sir; he was there a short while and left because he had to go to work.
- Q. Was Mr. Perine there?—A. No, sir; I don't think he was.
- Q. Did Mr. Perine give you any money?—A. There was one Perine in the post-office who did and one who didn't.
- Q. Did Mr. W. H. Perine give you any money?—A. No, sir; he did not.
- Q. What is the name of the man who did give you money?—A. Ed.
- Q. He gave you \$5?—A. I believe he did give me \$5.
- Q. Did you turn that over to Mr. Sultzter too?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Did the other one give?—A. No, sir; he did not refuse to give. There was no compulsion about it. I have always been in politics and have given my share, and I think I have a right to.
- Q. Was not this other Mr. Perine asked who had refused to give?—
A. No, sir; we just among ourselves said that we were of course holding office, that we thought we ought to give so much money.
- Q. How much?—A. Well just what everyone felt able to give.
- Q. Well, now, did you come to that agreement at a meeting?—A. Yes, sir—well, just talking together; we would not call it a meeting.
- Q. You were just all together?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. The office-holders from your ward met together and decided on that?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Where was that?—A. It was in our club room.
- Q. Those office-holders include yourself, Mr. Perine, Mr. Hammel, Mr. Sultzter, Mr. Foutz, and the others?—A. Mr. Sultzter was not there at the time I was.
- Q. Does that include all others?—A. Except one or two letter-carriers. Their names were Richardson and Birmingham.
- Q. Those were all the employés of the Eighth ward in the post-office?—
A. Yes, sir.
- Q. So they were all there—all Republicans?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Are there not any hold-over carriers, appointed by the Democrats?—A. I believe there were; yes, sir.
- Q. All the new appointments, appointed by Mr. Johnson, were there? As a matter of fact, was not the money raised from most of them?—
A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Did Mr. Sultzter receive the money from you?—A. Yes, sir. In that, what you might call a meeting, it was stated then and there that there was no compulsion in this matter whatever; it was voluntary on our part, and if I was to be struck dead this minute Mr. Johnson does not know a word of it. He does not know of it from anybody's mouth.
- Q. You state that it was not compulsory at this meeting?—A. I do.
- Q. You told those persons that there was nothing compulsory about the payment; that they could pay or not just as they pleased?—A. Yes, sir; just as they pleased; and I stated, and I believe several others did not want it to get to Mr. Johnson's ears that anything of that kind was going on because they thought he would not uphold it.

Q. Why did you not want it to get to his ears?—A. Just for this reason: There might be, which he has, personal enemies in this city that would try to make mountains out of mole hills and would claim that he was trying to force his employés to give money.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES G. SMITH.

CHARLES G. SMITH testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) What is your position?—A. Carrier.

Q. How long have you been in the service?—A. I have been a regular carrier one year the 15th of this month; a substitute eight months previous to that.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. Sixth.

Q. Do you recollect a couple of weeks ago or thereabouts a meeting held at your house at which Mr. Kimball presided?—A. I do.

Q. It was held for the purpose of raising money for the legitimate expenses of the primaries, was it not?—A. Well, no, not particularly that; it was held to see what action we would take.

Q. You raised money at it?—A. We did; yes, sir.

Q. In pursuance of a motion made and carried Mr. Kimball appointed a committee of three to receive the funds?—A. He did.

Q. Those three men include yourself, Mr. Biddleman, and Mr. Fensley, representing respectively the post-office, marshal's office, and custom-house?—A. Correct.

Q. Most of those present paid \$5 apiece, did they not?—A. Some paid five, some ten, according to what they saw fit.

Q. Did Mr. Fensley receive the money, or Mr. Biddleman, or yourself?—A. I received it.

Q. Did not Mr. Biddleman receive some of it, and then pay it over to you?—A. Well, yes, I think he did, if my memory serves me right; although I had charge of the funds afterwards.

Q. You raised about \$60 that night?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you received some more during the next few days from men who could not at that time pay?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They were all Government employés?—A. No one else was there but Government employés.

Q. Did Mr. Fensley give you the money himself?—A. No, he gave it to Mr. Biddleman.

Q. Mr. Phelps was present, a letter-carrier named Phelps?—A. There is no letter-carrier in our ward by that name, if I remember right, no.

Q. Who else were present at that meeting from this office? There were two men from the custom-house.—A. All the regular carriers in the Baltimore post-office from our ward were there.

Q. Were all the clerks from your ward there?—A. No, sir.

Q. There are about fourteen or fifteen carriers from your ward in the post-office—Republican carriers?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Merely the Republican carriers that have been appointed since the Presidential election?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And all of those holding over from your ward?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they all paid?—A. They all paid some money.

Q. What were their names?—A. I can not give you their first names: Theiss, McMann, Gibson.

Q. You are confident that every regular carrier from your ward was there?—A. I believe they were; yes, sir.

Q. Were any of the substitutes from your ward there?—A. I think there was one or two.

Q. Did they have to pay \$5?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did they pay \$3?—A. In fact, nobody had to pay at all; there was no assessment.

Q. It was perfectly voluntary and to be expended in the legitimate expenses of the primary?—A. Yes, sir; simply for the legitimate expenses of the primary.

Q. Did you expend that money yourself?—A. I did, every dollar of it.

Q. You had about a hundred dollars in all?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did you expend it, on what things?—A. Rent of house—

Q. How much was that?—A. Four dollars, I think.

Q. How did you expend the remaining ninety-six, or thereabouts? How much for ticket-holders?—A. Two dollars apiece.

Q. How many ticket-holders did you have?—A. Forty-seven.

Q. You had forty-seven ticket-holders; you paid them \$2 apiece, did you not?—A. I did.

Q. Then you paid \$94 for ticket-holders?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were any of those forty-seven ticket-holders office-holders?—A. No, sir.

Q. They were all nonoffice-holders?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They were men who always acted with your faction?—A. Men who always acted with our faction, and we paid them for their lost time.

Q. Your faction is the so-called Johnson faction?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Outside of that what did you pay?—A. That is about the size of it.

Q. Did you have any printing bills to pay?—A. I paid them.

Q. Did you carry the ward?—A. We certainly did, as we always do.

Q. Were you counted out?—A. We were counted out in the convention afterwards.

Q. Was it a disorderly election?—A. I could not say that; we had a little trouble at the start.

Q. Any people arrested?—A. Yes, sir; about three or four.

Q. Any Government employes arrested?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Did you send out the notices of this meeting at your house?—A. No.

Q. Do you know who sent them out?—A. I did not know that there was any sent.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) You did not know that there were notices sent out signed "Committee"?—A. Never saw or heard of it.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) You do not know of any committee that did call this meeting?—A. No, sir.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) How did they know when to come around?—A. I could hardly say that myself. We were to meet at another place and it was not convenient at that time and I spoke up and said we would go around to my house, which we did.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) You mean when you were gathered together to meet at another place you said, "If we can not meet here come around to my house"?—A. We had intended to go to another place but found out we could not meet there. We did not want to go to our club room as we did not want everybody to know what we were doing, being office-holders.

Q. Who was present when you said that, do you remember—was Mr. Biddleman there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was Mr. Fensley there?—A. No, sir; I did not see him. On our corner where we have our club room were some few of the employés of the Government and a number of others, and we were talking about this matter, but this conversation was private among ourselves.

Q. It was at your club rooms that you had this conversation among a few of the Government employés who were there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. This meeting at your house was a private meeting, confined exclusively to Government employés, and you are quite sure that nobody except Government employés was there?—A. No, sir; no person outside of Government employés present, except my wife, and she was in another part of the house.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) What is your ward?—A. Sixth ward.

Q. All of the appointees in the post-office for the last year that you have known to be in the classified service have been working Republicans?—A. No.

Q. Any Democrats?—A. Some two or three that have been appointed by Mr. Johnson I think are Democrats. Substitutes.

Q. Were they at your meeting?—A. No, sir.

Q. They did not come?—A. No, sir.

Q. There were two or three substitute letter-carriers who have been recently appointed by Mr. Johnson?—A. No, sir; not recently.

Q. You say that you think there were two or three substitute letter-carriers who were Democrats?—A. I could not say so, I do not know their politics, but have thought so.

Q. All the letter-carriers that have been appointed are working Republicans?—A. To my knowledge I think so.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM McCURDY.

WILLIAM McCURDY testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) What is your position?—A. Substitute letter-carrier.

Q. When were you appointed?—A. About September 1st.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. Sixteenth.

Q. Were you present at the primary there on Monday last?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were there all the time?—A. No, sir; not all the time.

Q. About how much of the time?—A. About an hour or so.

Q. Do you belong to the Republican club or organization in your ward?—A. I belong to a club; yes, sir.

Q. What is the name of the club?—A. Tapsico Republican Club.

Q. Was there a factional fight in your ward in the Republican party?—A. I believe the newspapers considered it so.

Q. Was it a contested primary election?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Between the two factions which are commonly called the Johnson-Airey faction and the Henderson faction?—A. The papers so stated; yes, sir.

Q. What did you call it?—A. I did not call it anything. I voted the Republican ticket. I went to the Sixteenth ward and they would not let me vote. I voted in the Eighteenth.

Q. Had you paid any money for the expenses of the primaries at either place?—A. No, sir.

Q. The substitute letter-carriers then were not expected to pay?—A. I do not know as any of them were.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) You say you went to the Sixteenth ward and they would not let you vote there?—A. No, sir.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. I have been in the Sixteenth for about 10 months the first of this month.

Q. Which ward are you registered in?—A. I am registered in the Eighteenth; I used to live in that ward.

Q. You went first to the Sixteenth ward, where you now reside, there your vote was refused; then you went to the ward of your former residence and there it was received. In both of these wards was the election an orderly and quiet one or was it disorderly and disturbed?—A. Well, I did not see any disorder, so far as I saw of it. There was a little hollong.

Q. Was it a fair election?—A. I could not say that.

Q. Do you think it was decidedly unfair?—A. Well, I know in the Eighteenth, I was there about half an hour, there were about as many Democrats voted as Republicans, as far as I could see.

Q. From general repute is it not considered that there was a great deal of fraud, counting out, and other discreditable practices at that primary?—A. Well, it was a foregone conclusion that it would be a farce; generally all Republican primaries are farces there.

Q. Are you a Republican?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know whether all the appointments from your ward have been of Republicans during the last year?—A. So far as I know they have been all Republicans.

Q. All actively identified with the Republican organization?—A. Well, there have been some appointed that I doubted their Republicanism.

Q. Do you know whether or not they took part in the primaries?—A. I do not.

TESTIMONY OF OSCAR LEIPMAN.

OSCAR LEIPMAN testified as follows:

Q. What is your position?—A. Letter-carrier.

Q. When were you appointed?—A. I was appointed 5 years ago this month. I came in under Mr. Veazy, 6 days of Mr. Veazy's term.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. Fifth ward; have been living there for about 4 years.

Q. Did you offer to vote at the primaries last Monday?—A. No, sir.

Q. Are you sure?—A. They would not allow anyone to vote who is not of that party.

Q. You were there to vote?—A. I came by there about 10 minutes of 8 to go up town. I never did take any interest in primaries or general elections, never did even under the Democratic party, and surely I would not do so now.

Q. Well, did you stop to look at what was going on?—A. I stopped there about 1 minute, seeing there was a large crowd.

Q. About 1 minute?—A. About 1 minute; I am satisfied it was not 2 minutes; I went right up town.

Q. And you did not try to vote?—A. I did not.

Q. Are you a Democrat?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Voted last year the Democratic ticket?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Have you been asked to subscribe any money?—A. No, sir; never have under this Administration.

Q. You were asked under the last Administration?—A. Was not directly, but we were given to understand that we would have to give something.

Q. In the Presidential election you were given to understand that all of you had to pay?—A. Well, I do not know about all, but I know I paid.

Q. Didn't everyone that you knew pay?—A. Well, I know a good many of them that had under the last Administration.

Q. As far as you know the Democratic carriers have not had to pay anything under this Administration?—A. No, sir. Mr. Stockbridge asked me whether there was any truth in the statement that we had to pay anything, and I said I was not aware of such a fact; and there were two men, sitting on each side of me, and they told me positively that no such thing was asked.

Q. Were both of them Democrats?—A. Yes, sir; one of them was an old soldier and was a former letter-carrier also.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Mr. Leipman, you say there was a very large crowd at the polls in your ward when you were going by?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was it disorderly?—A. Well, it was not disorderly at that time, but I heard some one holloooing that this man and that man voted five or six times.

Q. From all you have been able to learn of that primary was it an orderly, quiet, and fair one, or was it pretty much the reverse?—A. Well, I could not express an opinion as to the fairness.

Q. It is generally reported, is it not, that there was a good deal of disorder and cheating?—A. Both sides claim that there was cheating.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) How much did you have to pay, or did you pay, prior to the election of 1888, the Presidential election?—A. Two per cent. or 3 per cent. of salary; at one time we paid 1 per cent., at another time we paid more; I do not know exactly.

Q. You paid a fixed amount; it was the same for all?—A. I suppose so; it was a certain percentage.

Q. Who gave you to understand that you were to pay?—A. It came from some men in the office and as they claimed, not under the civil-service office; one of them was Hedges Evans.

Q. As a matter of fact, it was then a matter of common notoriety that every one in the office was expected to pay?—A. More or less I suppose; with very few exceptions they did pay.

Q. Since Mr. Johnson came in the Democratic letter-carriers have not had to pay.—A. I never heard of anyone being asked.

Q. And you have not in fact given anything?—A. I have never given a cent since the Administration of Mr. Harrison.

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL T. WOODAL.

SAMUEL T. WOODAL testifies as follows:

Q. What is your position?—A. Letter-carrier.

Q. When were you appointed regular?—A. In November last.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. Sixteenth.

Q. You were at the primaries last Monday?—A. Only to vote.

Q. How long did you stay there?—A. I stayed there about fifteen minutes to see the circus and left.

Q. There was a good deal of disorder, was there not?—A. At the time I was there there seemed to be.

Q. Do you know of any arrests made at the primary?—A. Not while I was there.

Q. Do you belong to the Republican club in the district?—A. I am an honorary member.

Q. What is the name of that club?—A. The Paschall Club.

Q. Does Mr. Charles Smith live in your district?—A. I do not know. I only know him here in the office.

Q. Did you subscribe money for the legitimate expenses of this election?—A. No sir; none at all, only my dues in the lodge.

Q. You mean in the club?—A. Yes, sir; that was all.

Q. How much was that?—A. Fifty cents a month.

Q. Fifty cents a month, that was all?—A. Yes, sir; that was all.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Was there any meeting at your club to make arrangements for holding the primary?—A. I do not attend the club. I am only an honorary member; I do not attend the meetings.

Q. You did not attend any meeting for the members to make arrangements for the primary election?—A. No, sir; I was there 2 weeks before the election and that was all.

Q. How did you happen to go there then?—A. I went there to pay my dues; they fell due that night.

Q. Was there any gathering of office-holders there that night?—A. None that I recollect of; none but the officials of the club.

Q. Was there any discussion at that time as to arrangements for the primary?—A. None whatever.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD BIDDLEMAN.

EDWARD BIDDLEMAN testified as follows:

Q. What is your position?—A. United States deputy marshal.

Q. What ward to you belong to?—A. Sixth.

Q. Do you recollect a meeting held about 2 or 3 weeks ago of the office-holders in your ward at the house of Mr. Smith, a letter-carrier?—A. I do, sir.

Q. At which Mr. Kimball presided?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. About eighteen men present?—A. About; yes, sir.

Q. It was a meeting purely of office-holders to raise money for the legitimate expenses of the primaries?—A. Yes, sir. We contributed freely; we were not asked for it; it was a voluntary contribution.

Q. You and Mr. Smith, and Mr. Fensley, of the custom-house, were the three men who were deputized to receive the money?—A. I was named as one of the committee, and I did not decline. I did not receive the money.

Q. Didn't you receive any of the money?—A. I received \$8 or \$10 afterwards to pay for some ticket-holders.

Q. Did you pay that to Mr. Smith?—A. I paid \$10 to Mr. Smith. I contributed \$10 and handed it over to Mr. Smith.

Q. And Mr. Fensley paid \$10?—A. I believe so; yes, sir.

Q. One or two others paid \$10, did they not?—A. I can't say who paid the ten. Some of them said they could not pay then, but would pay later on. I do not know whether they did or not.

Q. Who was it that paid you the \$8 or \$10?—A. Now, there was a \$10 note handed to me and I handed it to Mr. Smith.

Q. Who was that?—A. Mr. Bond.

Q. What is his first name?—A. Eugene Bond.

Q. Are you sure that he was the only man that paid you money?—A. He is the only one to my recollection.

Q. Was there not later than that some one that paid you money?—A. No, sir.

Q. That was paid for the legitimate expenses of the primaries?—A. Yes, sir; for printing tickets, room rent, and the like.

Q. Did you hand the \$10 Mr. Bond gave you right over to Mr. Smith?—A. Yes, sir; I did.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Mr. Biddleman, do you know who called this meeting?—A. I do not. It was a promiscuous gathering, I think, among the men just to have a little meeting to contribute toward the expenses of the primary.

Q. How did this meeting happen to be called at Mr. Smith's?—A. I could not say who was the instigator of calling it there. We have a Republican club that a great many of us belong to, and I think it was talked up among ourselves to meet together and contribute something toward the election.

Q. You did not circulate notes around saying you would meet at such a place by order of the committee?—A. Yes, sir; I sent a note to Mr. Fensley.

Q. How did you sign it?—A. Signed it "Committee."

Q. Was there really any committee at that time in charge of the matter?—A. Well, there were several of us in the club that belonged to the committee, Mr. Fields, myself, and Mr. Stoner.

Q. Who are Fields and Stoner?—A. Mr. Fields works at Register foundry and Mr. Stoner works on the Point.

Q. You were the only office-holder?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. When was this committee appointed?—A. It was not an appointed committee. It was only just three or four of us got together.

Q. You appointed yourselves?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It was intended to confine the meeting to those holding office?—A. Yes, sir; only those holding positions.

Q. You raised about \$100 altogether?—A. I think it was about that.

Q. Was it all expended at the primary?—A. I think it was; yes, sir. I am satisfied it was all expended, because we had some forty or forty-five ticket-holders.

Q. Did you get any other money for the primary from anybody else?—A. Yes, sir; some outsiders contributed something. Mr. Smith, who carries on a store on Gay street, contributed a little toward it.

Q. But most of the money was contributed by the office-holders?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Much the greatest amount of it?—Yes, sir. There were some outsiders contributed something toward it.

Q. What sort of an election did you have?—A. The polls opened, I suppose, about 4 o'clock. When they started in there was an objection by the minority judge on account of the ballot-box having a hole in it. The majority judges had a ballot-box with a hole in it about 1 inch wide and 3 inches long, large enough to throw in a handful of tickets, and the minority judge objected to it on that account. They had a wrangle over that, and when the wrangle stopped—of course they bulldozed all they could—the minority judge finally allowed the vote to go on. I suppose there were about 10 or 12 votes cast, and a colored man went to vote and the majority rejected his vote. The man had been a Republican to my knowledge in the ward for 25 years, an active working Republican. The next man rejected was a man by the name of Keller, rejected by the minority judge, and the next was a man by the name of Robinson, and another by the name of Collins, and there was a general scuffle by the judges and they were all taken to the watch-house. Then the vote proceeded.

Q. In their absence?—A. Yes, sir; with the two clerks; and proceeded until—I think the judges were immediately released.

Q. Who was your minority judge?—A. A man by the name of George W. Stoner. He is a blacksmith in the ship channel. I believe the judges were immediately released and came back. The minority judge went in and the majority judges did not go in. I suppose the reason was that they saw there was a line of voters, I suppose 200, in position, and I suppose they came to the conclusion that it was a regular defeat for them, and they left.

Q. Well, then, after that the minority judge and the two clerks held the rest of the election?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. But the majority judges returned their candidates as elected?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And they managed to capture the convention?—A. Well, the majority judges did not come back in at all; they did not see whether there was any election at all. They were all released and the minority judge came back but the majority judges did not. It was the same way in the other wards, from what I could learn.

Q. Why did you have so many ticket-holders?—A. Well, the more ticket-holders you have the more interest they take in getting voters out. They go and interest themselves in getting the voters out. It increases the vote.

Q. You said that from what you could learn it was pretty much the same way in most of the other wards as it was in yours.—A. Well, yes; I know only from what I have read in the papers.

Q. From general repute and from the best information you can get you think that the election throughout the city was marked by a great deal of fraud and disorder, counting out and other discreditable practices?—A. Well, I think the most of the fraud was perpetrated in the conventions by ignoring the voice of the people. There is where we think the fraud was perpetrated, by not recognizing the men elected. From my ward I know that there was at least 200 men marched up in line from our headquarters, colored and white.

Q. Where are your headquarters?—A. On the corner of Washington and Jefferson streets.

Q. Mr. Biddleman, you say that 200 voters, to your certain knowledge, marched up from your headquarters to the polls?—A. Well, from our headquarters, and then from a place on Durham street—the colored voters were all on Durham street.

Q. You knew a great majority of them were going to vote your ticket?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They had open tickets, the Johnson or Administration tickets?—A. Yes, sir. That was what caused the trouble in our ward, on account of this big throng marching up there, and of course the opposition saw it was certain defeat for them and they stopped all voting.

Q. Had your ticket-holders collected these voters?—A. The ticket-holders and other friends of our side. I interested myself and I suppose all our friends did.

Q. All of your eighteen men, or thereabouts, who were present at Mr. Smith's house, were they all on hand?—A. There were a great many, I did not see all. They may have been, as there was a very large crowd, but a great many of them I did not see.

Q. You were there all the time the polls were open?—A. Yes, sir, all the time, from the time they opened till they closed.

TESTIMONY OF H. H. SULTZER.

H. H. SULTZER testified as follows:

Q. What is your position?—A. I am deputy marshal.

Q. What ward do you belong to?—A. The Eighth.

Q. Do you recollect a meeting held a little while ago in that ward in which Mr. Tweddel and a number of other gentlemen were present, all of them office-holders, at which money was raised to pay the legitimate expenses of the primaries?—A. I was not present at that meeting. I understood that they had a meeting, but I was not present.

Q. Where were you when Mr. Tweddel paid you the money?—A. It was in the Eighth Ward Republican Club room.

Q. It was not in this building?—A. No, sir.

Q. How much did Mr. Tweddel pay you?—A. Thirty-five dollars.

Q. It was raised by the office-holders of the Eighth ward in the post-office here to be expended for the legitimate expenses of the primaries?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did you expend that?—A. The first I paid was \$2.50 for room rent; each side paid half.

Q. You mean that the Henderson side paid half and your side paid half?—A. Yes, sir. I went on Saturday afternoon and engaged the room. I had 5,000 tickets printed of a large, ordinary size, which cost \$5. I then afterwards discovered that they had nothing but a small ticket, and I understood that nobody was going to be allowed to vote that did not have a small ticket.

Q. That was the Henderson Club?—A. Yes, sir. Then I went and got 2,000 of this size (marked A) printed; that was \$7 paid for tickets.

Q. How many ticket-holders did you pay?—A. Nine or ten.

Q. Two dollars apiece?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were those men men who always voted your way?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were those all the ticket-holders your side employed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Only ten?—A. That is all, not over ten—probably not ten. We haven't got many Republicans in our ward. We are the strongest Democratic ward in Baltimore. The Democrats have 1,800 or 2,000 majority in our ward. After he handed me this \$35 I concluded to make it fifty. After I calculated all spent I had \$16 left, and I turned it over to Mr. Mason to get a suit of clothes for a young man who was our clerk, who got his clothes torn.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) You haven't a specimen of the Henderson tickets of that ward, have you?—A. I don't think I have. They were just the same size of that. I can get you some; they were scattered around and everybody got a few of them.

Q. Was this the so-called Johnson-Airey ticket?—A. Well, that is what it might have been called; it was in opposition to the other ticket.

Q. The other ticket was the Henderson ticket?—A. Yes, sir. That is the opposition to the Henderson ticket. It was gotten up at a meeting, but so far as I can say it was a public meeting. It was announced that we would hold a meeting for the purpose of getting up a ticket and that anyone could come and bring their friends. Anyone was allowed to come in. The doors were not closed. I did not look upon it as a Johnson or Airey ticket.

Q. Is not Mr. Airey more the head than Mr. Johnson?—A. Well, Mr. Johnson gets more the honor of it.

Q. What was the legend of the Henderson ticket?—A. Just the same as that, except they had over that the name of the delegate to the State convention. We had not selected any one at our meeting to go to the State convention. A friend of mine brought me one of their tickets and said that they had made up their minds, and that they were going to challenge everybody's vote except those who had these tickets.

Q. How were the judges appointed?—A. By a commission.

Q. What commission?—A. A commission appointed by Mr. Hudson, I think, chairman of the State central committee.

Q. There was a good deal of fraud at the primary in your ward?—A. We had no election. As soon as the polls were opened the claim was made that the ballot box was being stuffed.

Q. One of your men, one of the Johnson men made that claim?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Your clerk?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And your clerk then grabbed and broke open the ballot box and was thrown violently out of the window, and that ended the election?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Has anything been done to the judges who threw him out?—A. No. They were only fined for disorderly conduct.

Q. Did not Mr. Airey have a row that day too?—A. I do not know anything more than what was in the paper.

Q. Was it not in the paper that he tried to throw Bumgartner out of the window?—A. That was in the paper; yes, sir.

Q. Has the Henderson ticket the words "Regular Republican Ticket"?—A. Yes, sir. After this friend of mine came to me and told me this, I went to the printer and said, print me an exact copy of this ticket but leaving that name off. It has the words "Regular Republican Ticket," and I just gave the printer that copy and told him to follow it.

Q. Had the Henderson ticket the same names?—A. No; only the heading was the same.

Q. Have you one of the tickets you first had printed, one of the big ones?—A. I do not think I have. I have some at home.

Q. Did any office-holder except Mr. Tweddel give you any money?—A. No, sir.

Q. Mr. Tweddel was the only man?—A. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES H. BIDDLE.

JAMES H. BIDDLE (colored) testified as follows:

Q. What position do you hold in the post-office?—A. Elevator conductor.

Q. How long have you held it?—A. I have been over here since the 3d of September.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. Sixteenth.

Q. What is your Republican club in that ward?—A. There isn't any colored one as I know of. We had one, but there is no one now.

Q. Do you belong to the regular Republican association—is there a Republican association that you belong to in the ward?—A. No, sir.

Q. You were present at the primaries last Monday?—A. Yes, sir; I was down there.

Q. You stayed there most of the time, did you not?—A. No, sir.

Q. About how long did you stay?—A. Well, I was there off and on; I can not exactly say, but I was there a portion of the time.

Q. Did you act as challenger there at one time?—A. No, sir.

Q. I thought I saw you acting as challenger?—A. No, sir.

Q. There was a hot contest in that ward?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Between the so-called Henderson and Johnson factions?—A. I believe that was the substance of it.

Q. You were, of course, taking a part either in the Henderson faction or the administration faction?—A. No, sir; I was not taking particular part with either. I voted for that faction.

Q. Had you paid any money for the legitimate expenses of the primaries?—A. No, sir; nobody ever asked me for any.

Q. You had not paid any money for any political purposes whatsoever?—A. No, sir.

Q. You say you have not paid any money at all?—A. No, sir; no one ever asked me.

Q. Well, do you know who did pay the expenses of the primary?—A. I believe Mr. Butnets and Mr. Brown.

Q. Who are they?—A. One of them is a member of the city council and the other is an ex-member.

Q. You mean that Mr. Butnets and Mr. Brown paid the money out of their own pockets, or that they were the collectors?—A. I do not know whether they collected it or not; I know they did not collect any from me, and they never asked me for any.

Q. Was the election in your ward a quiet and orderly one, or was there a good deal of disorder and confusion?—A. Well, what I saw of it there was no fighting, but it was very lively around there.

Q. Was it a fair election, or was there a good deal of cheating?—A. So far as I could learn it was fair, I believe.

Q. You do not know of any one's going around to collect money from anybody in the Government employ?—A. No, sir; I can not say I do; I never heard of it.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES W. HAMMEL.

CHARLES W. HAMMEL testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) What is your position?—A. Clerk, post-office.

Q. When were you appointed?—A. I was appointed some time in the latter part of May, somewhere along there, 1890.

Q. What ward do you belong to?—A. Eighth ward.

Q. What is the name of your Republican club in that ward?—A. There is no name attached to it; it is under the Eighth Ward Republican League Club.

Q. Do you recollect a meeting, I think in that club, of the office-holders from that ward here in the office?—A. No, sir; I do not; I was not there at the time.

Q. Do you recollect giving your money to Mr. Tweddel?—A. Not in a club room; I gave it to him on the street.

Q. Was it \$3 or \$5?—A. I gave him \$5. There was no compulsion; he just asked me to give him something and I gave it to him.

Q. For the legitimate expenses of the primary?—A. He did not tell me what it was for, or anything about it.

Q. What did you think it was for?—A. I did not know exactly. I had no intention of giving it at first, because I am a married man and my salary is very small.

Q. What is your salary?—A. It is only \$600.

Q. Why did you give it all, then?—A. Well, I do not know; they

said to me that it was to help the club along, and I was back in my dues, and I thought it was something like that, and that is the reason I gave it to him.

Q. To help the club along?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It being a political club?—A. It is a political club; yes, sir.

Q. You did not give it in view to the primary, are you sure about that?—A. No, sir.

Q. As a matter of fact did you not know at the time that it was for the primaries?—A. No, sir. It might have been used for that, but I did not know and did not care.

Q. Is Mr. Tweddel the treasurer of the club?—A. No, sir; he is not the treasurer.

Q. Has he anything to do with the collecting of the club dues?—A. Not as far as I know of. I hardly ever get up there of nights.

Q. Well, then, if Mr. Tweddel was not the treasurer he might have been authorized to collect it at that time.—A. I know I gave him the money.

Q. Did he tell you the club had authorized him to collect it?—A. No; he did not.

Q. What did he tell you as near as you can remember?—A. He came and asked me if I was going to give something towards the club, and I said "Yes, I suppose I will have to; they always look to men in Government positions to give money." I said, "Yes I will give something," and he said, "You can give it to me when you get ready," and I gave him \$5 when I got ready.

Q. Did you hear of this meeting?—A. No, sir; I did not hear of it.

Q. Did not know there was going to be such a meeting?—A. I might have known it, but I did not go.

Q. Did Mr. Tweddel tell you that the meeting had been held?—A. No, sir.

Q. You say you were back in dues to the club at the time?—A. I was at the time; yes, sir. I am back now.

Q. Well, then you gave a donation to the club before you paid up your back dues?—A. Yes, sir; I gave them a donation. I did not regard that as paying any back dues; that was gratis, that was free.

Q. Was there any reason why the club should take up a collection just now rather than at any other time?—A. Not as I know of.

Q. It did not occur to you that the reason why the club wanted one of these gratis contributions was because there was a primary coming off soon?—A. Well, I did not pay any attention to it.

Q. What are your dues at the club?—A. Well, there was no compulsion about dues at all; you could pay a quarter a month or 50 cents a month, or whatever you choose to put your name down for.

Q. What did you put your name down for?—A. A quarter a month.

Q. Then you have been behindhand in paying your 25 cents a month to the club?—A. Yes, sir; I was out of work at the time and could not pay.

Q. How much were you behindhand?—A. At one time I was \$4 behind.

Q. How much are you behind now?—A. About \$1.50 or \$1.25, somewhere along there.

Q. Does it not seem that you are asking us to believe a good deal when you tell us that you did not know this money was for the primaries?—A. Well, I did not know whether it was going to be used for primaries or anything else.

Q. As a matter of fact you knew that the primaries were coming off?—A. I knew they were coming off, of course.

Q. Well, you knew that the money was being collected to pay the expenses of it?—A. No, sir; I did not know that. I might have surmised that much, but I was not positive of it until afterwards.

Q. Did you surmise at the time that Mr. Tweddel asked you for this money that some part of it was going to be used for the expenses of the primary?—A. Might have gone so far as having tickets printed and having ticket-holders; of course that is done.

Q. That is what you thought it would be for?—A. Yes, sir; that is what I thought.

Q. That is what you expected?—A. I expected it to be paid for tickets and the like.

Q. Were you at the polls?—A. I only went up there merely to vote.

Q. How long did you stay?—A. I was not there—well, to tell you the truth the polls were not open more than 20 minutes.

Q. Then the election ended up in a row?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You saw the clerk thrown out of the window?—A. Yes, sir. He was thrown out of the window and he brought the box out with him, and the tickets were all up in the top of it, so he said, and they got scattered around; I saw the tickets all over the pavement. The people up there knew we had them beaten, so that is the reason they had the box fixed up, I guess.

TESTIMONY OF W. E. ALLDERDICE.

W. E. ALLDERDICE testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) What position do you hold?—A. I am time-keeper, carriers' department.

Q. How long have you been in the post-office here?—A. Since March 9, 1890.

Q. What ward do you belong to?—A. Sixteenth ward.

Q. Were you at the primaries last Monday?—A. I was, sir.

Q. For about how long?—A. From about 5 minutes before 4 till about 5 minutes after 8.

Q. Was there much disorder at the primaries when you were there?—A. Well, there was considerable noise and confusion.

Q. Any fighting?—A. No, I can not say as I saw any fighting; there was no fighting to my knowledge.

Q. Anyone arrested?—A. Yes, sir; there was one, two, three—four parties arrested.

Q. Do you think that there was much fraud at the primary?—A. Well, that is according to the sympathies of a person.

Q. How many ticket-holders did your side have?—A. Well, I think we had between thirty and forty.

Q. And the other side?—A. From the noise they made they might have had a hundred.

Q. The other side was the Henderson crowd, so called, and your side was the Johnson, or administration crowd?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You had thirty-five or forty ticket-holders?—A. Well, not over forty—between thirty-five and forty.

Q. You paid them \$2?—A. Two dollars apiece; yes, sir.

Q. How did you raise the money to pay them?—A. That I could not tell you anything about.

Q. Did you pay any yourself?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know of anyone giving any?—A. No, sir, but for services rendered. Nobody called on me for anything, and I do not know as there was anything paid, because I did not see anything paid?

Q. What is your Republican association?—A. The organization that I belong to is the Tapsico Republican Club.

Q. Have the Henderson crowd a club in the ward?—A. They had a club in the ward called the Conway Republican Club, that is the title. Of course some people question its Republicanism.

Q. They said it was practically a Democratic organization?—A. Well, as far as practice goes in voting at a general election it is.

Q. The Tapsico Club is considered to be purely of Republicans?—A. That is what we consider ourselves.

Q. Did the Tapsico Club pay expenses of the primary as an organization?—A. Not as an organization; no, sir.

Q. Did they pay their share of the room rent? For the ticket-holders, and for the printing of the ballots, etc., there must have been expenses of about a hundred dollars.—A. Well, yes, sir, I suppose about that for judges, clerks, tickets, etc.

Q. Who paid those expenses?—A. Well, the gentlemen who have been running the ward; it is a supposition that they have paid it. The week previous to the primary I went on duty at 3 o'clock in the evening, the same as this week, and I worked 9 hours right here, and of course in the morning I laid very late, and you know there is not much done in politics in the morning; and of the week previous to the election I know nothing because I was here every night in the week. I am on duty one week from 3 o'clock in the afternoon until the last cart man comes in. Sometimes he gets here at 12:20, sometimes later than that. I have to stay here until he reports.

Q. You testified that you were at the polls from 5 minutes before they opened until 5 minutes after they closed.—A. Yes, sir; I am positive about the 5 minutes after. At 5 minutes after 8 I went home.

Q. What duties were you discharging there?—A. The duties I was discharging were duties I thought that I owed to my friends. I perceived people in the line that I knew were about to vote that were not residents of the Sixteenth ward. I have been a registrar or a supervisor since the new registration, and I don't think any single man has more knowledge of the people than I have.

Q. You were then the challenger?—A. No, sir; the challenger was at the window.

Q. Who was the challenger?—A. There was a man by the name of Yates. The position in which I was it was impossible to tell who was at the window.

Q. It was the window that opened on the street; was that the place?—A. Next to a colored school; next to a small coal office.

Q. There is a large colored vote?—A. Yes, sir; we have generally the largest colored vote.

Q. The voters came up in line—they came up from the right of the office?—A. They came up from Eutaw street; they came up from the west.

Q. Your functions then were substantially that of spotter?—A. No, sir; I can't say that, sir. A spotter is generally employed by somebody and paid for his services; I received none; but I think that at a Republican primary nobody but Republicans should vote.

Q. The services that you rendered were substantially to detect fraudulent voting on the part of the other wing of the party?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That was the principal part of your duties?—A. Yes, sir; that is the substance of my self-imposed duties.

Q. And you discharged that duty throughout the whole of the 4 hours that the polls remained open?—A. I was there continually except when I went home to get a cup of tea.

Q. Did you contribute at all to the expenses of the primaries?—A. I contributed my services; not officially at all.

Q. You considered your services a sufficient return?—A. I am very much interested and I gave my services, but did not do that for a return; I did it because I wanted to do it; I did it because I thought I ought to do it. I know the politics of the Sixteenth ward, and I know the persons who were opposed to us and who did not have a vote. I know nearly all of the Democratic repeaters.

Q. You say that your services were a return, but you did not render them as such; that is what I understood you to say. You mean by that that even if you had had no cause of personal gratitude you would still have felt it your duty to do what you did?—A. I have done it for 10 years.

Q. Well, there have not been during that time the same factions?—A. No, sir.

Q. This contest has arisen then substantially since the last Presidential election?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How many other office-holders from your ward were present at the primaries?—A. The gentleman that I saw there most of the time was a gentleman by the name of Biddle.

Q. A colored man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was he there all the afternoon?—A. That I do not know, sir; I saw him several times.

Q. Was he in the interest of your side or in the interest of the other side?—A. He was with us.

Q. What duties did he seem to be discharging?—A. That I could not tell you.

Q. You saw a Mr. McCurdy there, a letter-carrier?—A. A substitute letter-carrier; I saw him there, yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Woodall, a letter-carrier?—A. I recollect distinctly now I saw Mr. Woodall delivering letters in his uniform about—I do not know whether it was after 4 or before 4, I can not say; he was not near the polls; his duty carried him on the other side of the street.

Q. Did you see Mr. Bowers?—A. I saw Mr. Bowers several times.

Q. What is his position?—A. He is a dispatcher.

Q. Did you see Mr. Jubb?—A. Mr. Jubb came there, and I was going to say I sent Mr. Jubb home, but I did not send him home. He came there to the polls and I told him that his mother was at the point of death and told him to go home, and he went home. I do not know whether he stayed long enough to vote or not.

Q. Did he know that his mother was at the point of death?—A. I suppose so. I suppose he knew that his father was at the head of the ticket and he thought it was his duty to vote for his father.

Q. Was a Mr. Charles E. Emerson there?—A. I saw Mr. Emerson there.

Q. What is his office?—A. He is down stairs; I do not know exactly.

Q. Did you see him there much of the time?—A. No; the most of the time I saw Mr. Emerson was just before I was leaving for home.

Q. Did you see Mr. John W. Reed there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. So far all were working on your side that I have mentioned?—A. Yes, sir.

- Q. Mr. Reed was working in the interest of the Henderson ticket?—
A. Yes, sir.
- Q. What is his office?—A. He is working on the scales at the custom-house.
- Q. And he stayed there all the time?—A. Except a short interval that he was in the station-house.
- Q. He was arrested then?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. For what?—A. That I do not know, and I have been unable to find out, although I have inquired from twenty different people; I have been unable to find out why.
- Q. Was a Mr. Colein there?—A. I saw Mr. Colein there.
- Q. He was working on your side?—A. No, sir; I don't think he turned a hand, sir.
- Q. But he voted for your side?—A. He is supposed to, if he told the truth. I will tell you that you can't tell how a man votes on a primary election. Mr. Colein didn't do anything to my knowledge.
- Q. He appeared there?—A. He appeared there, yes, sir. I believe he voted with us.
- Q. Then apparently all the post-office people worked or voted for your side, and of the two custom-house employés one was for your side and the other for the Henderson side, and the Henderson man was the more active?—A. Yes, sir. I don't think any one was more active than he was.
- Q. Do you know Mr. Joseph Solomon?—A. Yes, sir; I know Mr. Joseph Solomon.
- Q. Do you know anything of his career on Monday?—A. No, sir.
- Q. He was represented as having voted at more than one ward.—
A. I can assure you he did not vote at our ward.
- Q. Well, all of the office-holders from your ward who have been appointed in the post-office since Harrison's election appeared at the primary; you say you are pretty familiar with the ward?—A. With the exception of Mr. Jubb I can say yes, sir.
- Q. You know most of the men who have been appointed from your ward into the post-office during the past year and a half?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. They were all Republicans?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Active Republicans, identified with your organization in every case?—A. Yes, sir; in the classified service and unclassified service.
- Q. And all took a part in the primary except Mr. Jubb?—A. Well, they were there and no doubt voted, but as to the activity I can not say that they did.
- Q. Do you know if any of them paid money?—A. No, sir.

TESTIMONY OF W. W. JOHNSON.

W. W. JOHNSON testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Your position is that of postmaster, appointed a year ago?—A. About January 25. I went in office on February 17.

Q. (Mr. BONAPARTE.) Mr. Johnson, I will state to you in general terms and briefly what have been the developments of this investigation so far, then ask you to make such comment on it as you think you ought in justice to yourself. It appears by the testimony taken here and also at the custom-house that in most—we are not able to say all—of the wards, but apparently in most of the wards meetings of those in Government employ were held, sometimes at club houses or Republican clubs, more usually, however, at private houses, at which an agree-

ment was entered into by most of those present to contribute various sums, according to what they deemed they could, towards the expenses of the approaching primaries in the city of what some of the witnesses called the Johnson wing of the party, some the Johnson-Airey wing of the party, some the administration wing of the party; that at some of these meetings they took the precaution to have a person not in the Government service selected to make the collections of the funds to be subscribed; that at others, and probably at most, they neglected this precaution and appointed one of their own members to make the collections; that in one or two instances funds were given to the appointed collectors by Government employes in this building; that the money so subscribed was usually given without disguise, but that in some instances an agreement was entered into, which has always in the instances which we have come across it in this investigation been shown to be merely a subterfuge, to call it a subscription towards purchasing a pool table or a billiard table or some other purpose of what one of the witnesses called social enjoyment at the Republican clubs; that the money thus collected was employed in paying room rent and for paying the expenses of the primaries, getting tickets, paying ticket-holders, etc., in the interest of that wing of the party; that at the primaries a very large number of Government employes were present and participated actively in electioneering and bringing out the voters and preventing fraudulent voting, or what they alleged to be fraudulent voting; that the great majority of these office-holders, though not all, worked and voted with the wing of the party which I have mentioned, which I may call your wing—

Mr. JOHNSON. So called, unfortunately.

Mr. BONAPARTE. And that all, so far as we have been able to find out, of the employes of this office who participated in the primary, either by giving money or by taking part at the primaries themselves, did so on that side. That I think is about the substance of our investigation. Now I ask you to make any statement in regard to that which you think proper, having given you, I am sure, a full and fair statement of the facts.

Mr. JOHNSON. I will say that whatever they did they did of their own volition. I have never called on a man in my employ and never told a man in my employ that I wanted anything done; and further than that I sent for every superintendent in my employ and in the presence of my assistant postmaster I said, "Gentlemen, if you take part in these primaries I have nothing to do with it. What you do you must do of your own volition." I said, "Keep your hands off. I know I will be blamed for these troubles. While my name is at the head of it you must not bring me into disrepute." I said, "I will get the credit of this. I admit much of it is done through personalities. You will find that I have not turned down in all my appointments of the carriers that I have made in this service any man on account of his factions or anything political. For instance, in the First ward of Baltimore City I had the appointment of a man by the name of Woods, a clerk that came on the list. Mr. Woods was a sworn political enemy; so I am told by my friends who belong to the Henderson faction. A certain gentleman came to me in the First ward and said, "Are you going to appoint this man?" I said, "I will have to do it," and he said, "You will then make an enemy of me." I appointed this man, and I propose to do my duty with all factions. When I first came into this office I had people to cry against me because of the Democrats that I was appointing in the office. I said, "No matter who they are or what they are, I am going to appoint

them;" and I can show my books to the world, and I am willing to do so. While I get the credit of being at the head of this faction, I am no more at the head of it than any of the rest of them. I am singled out as Mr. Henderson's opponent, but there is no young man in Baltimore City that has any better reputation or can bring any better references than I can; and I defy any one to bring in any employé in my employ who can say that I said anything about primaries to them at all. I said I would not talk to them about primaries or anything of the kind, not even to my own relatives here in the office. I said, "I have no time to talk politics and will not talk politics."

Q. Have you any reason to think that there are any persons either now in the Government employ, or lately in it but now removed, who would be capable while professing to be friendly to you and to belong to this same wing of the party to which you belong to be really working in the interest of the other side and capable of making untruthful reports about you?—A. I don't think there is any doubt but that some people are lying about me in this town.

Q. Do you know a man by the name of Frederick Hammond?—A. I do.

Q. Was he at one time in the Government employ?—A. Put in here as a watchman; yes, sir.

Q. And he was discharged, was he not?—A. At the reduction of the force.

Q. It was not through any fault?—A. Not a particle. I never talked to him three minutes while he was in the Government employ.

Q. Is he, as far as you know, a man of good character?—A. I never heard aught against him in my life. I do not know anything detrimental to his character.

Q. He is a person whom you would regard as trustworthy or at least creditable?—A. I put him here as watchman in the building; I think he would do his service, as far as that is concerned.

Q. Do you know anything of the incidents of the primaries; that is to say, have you heard anything of misconduct on the part of Government employés in the form of getting involved in breaches of the peace?—A. I was not present on the day of the primaries at all, and do not know anything more than what I have heard on the outside. I have never heard anything particular about it. It never has been reported to me as postmaster.

Q. You were absent from the city on the day of the primary?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Most of the men who came up before you for appointment from our eligible lists were men tolerably well known, were they not?—A. Tolerably well known, I judge; yes, sir. They came and brought people with them who recommended them, not for political purposes. I refused positively to take any man's recommendation politically.

Q. Were any of those appointed in the classified service Democrats?—A. Yes, sir; I think five or six. For instance, they claim on the outside that I have appointed a good many Democrats. I never asked who were Democrats. I got the credit of removing 130 carriers. I will state to you that 45 of 103 that have been removed here resigned; I could not keep them. I removed Woods for being drunk. He was carried down in the janitor's room of the building and laid there drunk for 5 or 6 hours. I could not conscientiously keep any man in my employ who got drunk.

Q. Were not most of the men who were appointed, as a matter of fact, men who were active supporters of the Republican party?—A. I have never heard that question brought up.

Q. It has been testified here that in the two or three wards where special inquiry was made on the subject, practically all, nearly all, of the men appointed from those wards during your term of service were active Republican workers and took an active part in the primaries; the Sixteenth ward, for instance?—A. I have but few men from the Sixteenth ward in this office.

Q. Who is Frank Bowers?—A. He is a dispatcher.

Q. Biddle?—A. Biddle is an elevator man.

Q. McCurdy?—A. McCurdy; I would not know him at all.

Q. Mosher?—A. Do not know him.

Q. Allderdice?—A. Allderdice is a timekeeper.

Q. Woodall?—A. Woodall; I do not know him.

Q. Mr. Jubb?—A. There was a great fight made to keep Jubb out of this office. A gentleman came to me and said, "If you appoint that man you make an enemy of me." I refused positively to keep him out, and told this gentleman I was going to appoint him, and I did appoint him; and this man has not spoken to me since.

Q. He worked for your side?—A. If he did I did not know it.

Q. His father was at the head of the ticket?—A. That is news to me; I did not know it.

Q. Is Mr. Emerson in the office here?—A. Mr. Emerson is either in the janitor's force or in the custodian's force.

Q. Are those the only men you know of appointed from that ward?—A. They are about the only men I know of.

Q. The men in the unclassified service, civil service reform does not apply to them, and those you would expect naturally to take an active part in ward politics?—A. Well, I never talked to them at all.

Q. In the Eighth ward there is a letter-carrier by the name of Holtz?—A. Mr. Holtz was a reinstated soldier here; I would hardly know him if I were to see him.

Q. Mr. Tweddel?—A. Mr. Tweddel is a clerk who has been pushed up lately, a \$500-man.

Q. Mr. Hammel is a clerk?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Perine is a clerk?—A. Mr. Perine, I think, is a janitor.

Q. Those are the main appointees from the Eighth ward, are they not?—A. Yes, sir; I think they are.

Q. All of those took an active part on your side?—A. If they did I did not know it, sir.

Q. Is Mr. Armstrong in the Seventh ward?—A. I do not know where Mr. Armstrong comes from. The Seventh ward had a good many people in when I came in; and one-third of the men here I do not know only by seeing them in uniform.

Q. Do you know Mr. Charles Smith?—A. Yes, sir; I went to school with him.

Q. What is his ward?—A. Sixth ward.

Q. In the classified service the bulk of the appointments have been of those who were active Republican workers, have they not?—A. They have been taken right from the list. If they were active Republicans, I did not have anybody to come and mention their names to me.

Q. Did you know that they were?—A. I only know from what you say.

Q. You do not know of your own knowledge?—A. I do not know from my own knowledge.

Q. From what ward does Mr. Darius Philips come?—A. I do not know him at all.

Q. Did you take pains to inform your subordinates here of what the civil-service law is in reference to political assessments, etc.?—A. I never knew that any man had been assessed in the office; if I had I would have taken great pains.

Q. Well, did you take any pains to let them know that they need not pay anything, or to call their attention to the civil-service law?—A. My attention was never called to the subject only by your letter last fall, in which you said that any man had a right to contribute, and I have never said anything to any man in my office except the superintendents; I gave them the orders, that they must not take a hand in anything of the kind, and that they must keep their hands off; and they told me that they positively did not take any part.

Q. Well, now, the men that did contribute or get contributions from other office-holders in violation of the law, do you think they ought to stay on the force?—A. I am here to do whatever you say.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Well, that is a very complimentary way of putting it.

Mr. BONAPARTE. You have mentioned that there was something said about your having removed 130 carriers, and that 45 of that number were resignations.

A. I think, sir, between 35 and 45 were from resignations in this office.

Q. Were any of those resignations made to avoid dismissals?—A. Not a one, sir. If a man in my employ would say aught to a man about getting his resignation, he could not stay here himself. A good many men would get drunk and would ask to resign, and the superintendent would take their resignations before he would report them to me. I have been maligned a good deal by the civil-service people here.

Mr. BONAPARTE. I guess that is all.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Yes, that is all for to-day.

APRIL 13, 1891.

Present: Hon. Theo. Roosevelt, Charles J. Bonaparte, John C. Rose.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE G. HOLTZ.

GEORGE G. HOLTZ testified as follows:

Q. Your name?—A. George G. Holtz.

Q. Letter-carrier?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Appointed when?—A. Let me see—I was appointed on St. Patrick's Day.

Q. About a year ago?—A. A little over a year ago.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. I live in the Eighth ward at present.

Q. Mr. Deputy Marshal Sultzter lives in that ward?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Tweddel?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you one who gave money to Mr. Tweddel or Mr. Sultzter?—

A. I did not give it to either one of them; I paid it at the ward meeting.

Q. You paid it to Mr. Tweddel?—A. I paid my money the same as I always pay it every month.

Q. You paid \$5, did you not?—A. I paid \$10.

Q. Who did you give it to?—A. Mr. Shuart was president, and I paid it in the same way as I often paid before; I simply went up and laid it on the table; but everything is accounted for, and I won't be positive, but I supposed Mr. Shuart would take the money. In fact, until that day I did not intend to turn in any money at all. I reported myself sick a week before the primaries.

Q. You did not give your money to Mr. Tweddel?—A. I do not think I did. Mr. Tweddel was present. Some of the men said in the post-office that if anyone was going up to the meeting they could take the money up. I was going to keep the money and spend it myself. I said I would give \$10. I went to the room that night. I said, "Mr. Tweddel, I have been called down on this business, and I am glad of it."

Q. You were called down. What do you mean by that?—A. I was going to take a part in the primary election.

Q. Who called you down?—A. Mr. Sultzer told me I was not to have anything to do with it. I was going to make some arrangements, and Mr. Sultzer sent for me, and I went down and saw Mr. Sultzer, and he asked me if I had done anything for the primaries. I said, "Bill (I always call him Bill), you know I generally do something, but I can say that I have done nothing;" and he says, "Don't you do anything; you had better not have anything to do with it." I told him that I stepped down with the greatest of grace, and I felt a little bad about the matter, because I thought my services were not required, for I have always taken an active part in politics.

Q. What did you then say to Mr. Sultzer?—A. Well, I said I would step down with the greatest of grace, and he said there were other men to see to this matter. I was going to hire a couple of wagons, furniture wagons, to take the men down to the polls. While I was out of the post-office I done such things, and I intended to do it again, but Mr. Sultzer said there were other parties appointed for that.

Q. At this meeting at which you paid your \$10, who else were present?—A. Mr. Sultzer was there—

Q. Are you sure about Mr. Sultzer being present?—A. I think Mr. Sultzer was in the room.

Q. Was Mr. Tweddel present?—A. Mr. Tweddel was present.

Q. Was Mr. Hammel there?—A. I don't think either one of the Hammels was there.

Q. Was Mr. Foutz there?—A. I don't think so.

Q. Who else was there?—A. We were just sitting in the club talking. Mr. Mason was the man who did most of the talking.

Q. Who is Mr. Mason?—A. He is a business man here in the city.

Q. Is Mr. Mason in any Federal office?—A. No, sir.

Q. Are you sure that was the meeting at which you gave money, at which Mr. Mason was present—are you not thinking of another meeting?—A. No; I went over there partly because I felt a little bad about this matter, and as soon as Mr. Mason began to talk it threw me back altogether; I could not do a thing.

Q. Who were in your corner of the room where you were paying this money?—A. We were all sitting right around a table.

Q. How many were there, about how many?—A. There might have been ten or might have been twelve.

Q. Probably ten or twelve?—A. I could not say exactly—may not be more than eight.

Q. You were around the table when you paid your money—how did you do it? A. I think I done it just the same as I did for years. Mr. Shuart was at the table and I had the money in my pocket, and I

did not intend to pay it; I always give, but I wanted to put it myself where I thought it would do the most good, and I was called down. I says, "Gentlemen, here is my money."

Q. How much did you pay every month?—A. Fifty cents.

Q. You mean to say that Mr. Shuart and not Mr. Tweddel would take this money?—A. If I am not mistaken I paid \$10.50. Mr. Mason was there; Mr. Mason is a social friend of the postmaster, and whatever Mr. Mason said, coming direct from the postmaster, we all took particular notice of.

Q. Whatever Mr. Mason said you took as coming direct from the postmaster?—A. Direct from the postmaster. He says "The postmaster wants you to keep your hands off, and by all means don't get into any trouble."

Q. But you did get into some trouble?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were arrested?—A. Yes, sir, arrested.

Q. On the day of the primaries?—A. On the day of the primaries.

Q. For whipping a Henderson man?—A. No, sir; for getting licked by a Henderson man.

Q. How did it happen?—A. They were hanging around Birch's cigar store, and I had reported myself sick sometime before this; my boy came up to me and says, "There is a gang coming for you," and I went down and said, "Albert," to my oldest boy, "What is the trouble?" and he said, "They said you had been going back on the soldiers, and everything of the kind." I got up and ate a small lunch, and I wanted to see a young man by the name of Wilber F. George to take part in the primaries. I thought if I could not take an active part I was determined to send a man in my place; this was 12 o'clock, on the day of the election, I mile from the place where the election was held. I went down and saw Mr. George and a man by the name of Lee.

Q. Lee was a colored man?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Tickel is a colored man?—A. Yes, sir. I stood up and took it like a man; I was knocked all to pieces.

Q. I believe you were fined too?—A. Of course.

Q. How much were you fined?—A. I was fined \$5 and costs; we here in Baltimore have to submit to everything if we are Republicans.

Q. You were down about the primaries?—A. I was down to vote but they would not let anybody vote.

Q. I think we noticed you ourselves; we saw you there; you had your pockets full of tickets.—A. Yes, sir; I was going to give some tickets to a colored man, and I got into the crowd and could not get in or out.

Q. You were treating some of the voters?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Didn't I see you go into the saloon with two or three men on the corner?—A. Yes, sir; I went into the pool room and I drank a couple glasses of beer; I believe I spent 15 cents.

Q. About this \$10; are you sure that Mr. Tweddel did not take that \$10?—A. I don't think he did; he might have picked it up after I laid it down, but Mr. Shuart was supposed to receive the money.

Q. Don't you as a matter of fact know that that money was turned over to Mr. Tweddel or to Mr. Sultzer?—A. I do not know a thing about Mr. Sultzer, but Mr. Tweddel was in and—

Q. He was to give it all to Mr. Sultzer?—A. That I do not know anything about, sir; my understanding was that it was to be given to Mr. Shuart; that was the arrangement.

Q. When did you make the arrangements to give the money?—A. I do not know how long ago that has been.

Q. Who made the arrangements to give the money?—A. We all got together in a little knot and talked the matter over.

Q. Who was in that little knot—Mr. Foutz?—A. I think there was a gentleman by that name, if he is in the railroad office.

Q. Mr. Perine, was he in the little knot?—A. Indeed I do not recollect.

Q. Tweddel in it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Sultzer?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Anybody but post-office people there?—A. Only post-office people there.

Q. Just you post-office people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you were only going to give for the legitimate expenses of the primaries?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Simply for room rent and ticket-holders and all that?—A. Yes, sir. I suggested getting a furniture wagon to bring in the voters; it was to be paid for two furniture wagons. I was going to do it and they called me down.

Q. The little knot you say were post-office men—you were all post-office men?—A. Post office men, yes, sir.

Q. Who were they?—A. Mr. Tweddel was one, Mr. Richardson was another [pause]—

Q. Mr. Birmingham another?—A. I think Mr. Birmingham was there.

Q. Mr. Perine?—A. I don't recollect him.

Q. Well, Richardson and Birmingham and Tweddel were the only ones you recollect?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was Hammel there?—A. I don't think he was.

Q. You agreed to pay according to whatever each one could?—A. Yes, sir. It was simply this: We were talking about the matter, and we understood there was a great fight against the administration, and I said, "These people are fighting the administration," and I said, "I guess we will have to pay the expenses;" and they said that they were satisfied and I said I was satisfied, and they asked me how much I proposed to give, and I said it would be very heavy, but it would have to be paid, and I said I would give \$10 towards it myself, and some said they would give \$5, and others that they would give what they could.

Q. How much did Birmingham say he would give?—A. I do not know, sir. Somebody made a proposition after I said I would give \$10. I said I was getting a little more salary than some of them and could give more; and I said, "If you can not give it don't give anything."

Q. Where were you talking this?—A. We were down in the cellar of the post-office, where nobody could hear us, and somebody came past and we stopped, and I said "We had better stop this, because if the post-master comes down and finds us talking politics he will come down and hustle us." That is the word I used, and Richardson says, "Yes, we had better be quiet."

Q. Well, they were simply the post-office employes of the Eighth ward?—A. Eighth ward; yes, sir.

Q. Were all of the post-office employes of the Eighth ward at that meeting?—A. I hardly think so.

Q. Had you had any talk about this meeting beforehand?—A. We were having a little talk at dinner time.

Q. You had notified the men by word of mouth to come down?—A. Well, we were just talking about it to one another, and it did not take long to go around and say, "Come around; we want to have a little talk with you."

Q. Did you go around and tell them that?—A. No, sir; we had all been together every day and talked of it.

Q. Most of the office-holders from the Eighth ward met down in the basement of this building and talked over what money should be raised for the legitimate expenses of the primaries?—A. Yes, sir

Q. And you said that you would give \$10, but you said to the others you did not expect that they would give as much because they were not receiving as much salary?—A. Yes, sir. Some of them spoke up and said they did not think they could give anything at all.

Q. You gave about 1 per cent?—A. I did. I think the grand total was about \$43, \$43 all told.

Q. All told where?—A. That Mr. Shuart had in hand afterwards—he was treasurer.

Q. Are you sure that Mr. Shuart had this money?—A. I suppose so; he was treasurer.

Q. Don't you know that Mr. Sultzer had that money?—A. I don't. I don't know whether he had the money or not; if he had I do not know anything about it myself.

Q. This was not for your club at all; this was the money for your primary expenses; this \$10 you say you contributed towards the legitimate expenses of the primary?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That was to be used for ticketholders, for printing, or for whatever it might be needed?—A. Yes, sir.

STATEMENT OF WILLIAM T. HUTCHINS.

[From notes of Mr. Rose.]

My name is William T. Hutchins. I reside at 719 North Caroline street; my business is that of a japanner; I hold no Government office and never was an applicant for one. I was challenger from the opening to the close of the recent primary election in the Fifth ward for the anti-Johnson side. I know Oscar Leipman, a letter-carrier. At the registration of 1884 I was a United States supervisor and had my attention particularly attracted by some controversy over Mr. Leipman's naturalization papers. I frequently have seen him since. I saw him on the day of the primary election; he offered to vote. I challenged his vote and stated the facts as I here state them. Mr. Ermer, the Johnson judge, said: "Mr. Leipman, Mr. Hutchins has you down too fine; he won't let you vote." He offered to swear that he was a Republican and would support the nominee, when I said we could get lots of them for one-thousand-dollar places. His vote was rejected. I will swear to this statement. He came up to the window with his ticket in his hand. George T. Leech told me that on one occasion, on the Saturday evening on which his daughter took the post-office examination, Mr. Sidney Adams came to his house and asked for her examination number. A man named William McAllister is a night inspector in the custom-house; says that Airey sent for him and told him that there was an administration fight and all the people employed by the administration were to be on its side.

WILLIAM T. HUTCHINS AND OSCAR LEIPMAN CALLED.

Q. Mr. Hutchins, do you recognize Mr. Leipman?—A. I do, sir.

Q. Is he the gentleman whom you say you saw try to vote at the primary? In what ward was it?

Mr. HUTCHINS. In the Fifth ward.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. A week ago Monday, whose vote you challenged and whose vote was thrown out?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Leipman, what have you to say to that?—A. I think it was a mistake, because I can prove exactly where I was from the time I left the office here until long after the polls were closed.

Q. Well, do you think that the judge of elections would make a mistake about you?—A. I was going to say I don't know who was the judge of elections.

Q. Do you know Mr. Hutchins?—A. I could not say that I know Mr. Hutchins. I went home with a man by the name of Zink from the office here, and it was a quarter of 7 o'clock when we got to my house, and I left my house again after supper, dressed myself, and went up town—what time do you say I was about to vote [addressing Mr. Hutchins]?

Mr. HUTCHINS. About 7 or half past 7; it might have been nearly 8 o'clock. You came up to vote and I challenged your vote.

Mr. LEIPMAN (addressing Mr. Roosevelt). Would it be satisfactory if I bring a gentleman who will swear where I was at 7 or half past 7? It was 20 minutes past 7 when I went up town.

Mr. ROOSEVELT (to Mr. Hutchins). Did he give his name as Oscar Leipman?

A. Yes, sir.

Mr. LEIPMAN. No, sir; I did not do anything of the kind; I did not try to vote.

Mr. HUTCHINS (directing his remarks to Mr. Leipman). I know you. I was a supervisor before the Democratic Presidential election, and you had some difficulty about your papers; you did not have them on the first appearance in the office.

Mr. ROOSEVELT (to Mr. Hutchins). You have known Mr. Leipman since '84?

A. Yes, sir; he used to live on Thompson street.

Mr. LEIPMAN. I lived on Thompson street.

Q. Do you still insist, Mr. Leipman, that you did not appear at that primary?—A. No, sir; I did not; I passed by there.

Q. But you did not try to vote?—A. No, sir; I did not. Ask Mr. Sindall to come up here, if he is about the building.

Mr. HUTCHINS (to Mr. Leipman). I challenged your vote, and when it was rejected Mr. Ermer says, "Mr. Hutchins has you down fine," and you said you offered to vote and I said I would not let you.

Mr. LEIPMAN. You are certainly mistaken.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM BIRMINGHAM.

WILLIAM BIRMINGHAM testified as follows:

Q. What is your position?—A. Carrier.

Q. When were you appointed?—A. The 1st of last September.

Q. What is your residence?—A. 1429 Nassau.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. Eighth.

Q. Do you recollect a meeting in the cellar of this building just before the last primaries? Were you present with Mr. Holtz and Mr. Tweddel and others?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That was a meeting of the Eighth ward employés of the post-office?—A. Well, I do not know what they called it.

Q. That was what it was. You were only the employés from the Eighth ward that met there?—A. That is all.

Q. Who told you to come there?—A. I could not tell you; I do not remember.

Q. You were told to come there, were you?—A. Yes, sir; I believe so.

Q. The purpose of that meeting was to subscribe money for the legitimate expenses of the primary?—A. I could not tell you that, because I got down there too late.

Q. How much money did you pay?—A. Five dollars.

Q. To whom did you give that; Mr. Tweddel?—A. To Mr. Tweddel.

Q. Where did you give it to him, at the club room?—A. No, sir; over here on the city-hall pavement.

Q. That was to be used for the legitimate campaign expenses?—A. I do not know about that; they asked me if I would not give something for the club.

Q. Who was they; was it Mr. Holtz?—A. No; I don't think it was Mr. Holtz. It was 2 or 3 weeks before we had that meeting; some one approached me at the club.

Q. Was it Mr. Sultzer?—A. It was some one. I don't attend the meetings very often. I have not been up there to the club since I could not tell when.

Q. As a matter of fact you did pay \$5, and you paid it to Mr. Tweddel. How did you happen to pay it to Mr. Tweddel?—A. I said, "John, take this up to the club; I can't get it up," and he said, "All right," and that is all I said.

Q. Five dollars was the amount given by most people, was it not?—A. I could not tell you that.

Q. You don't know of any one else paying but yourself?—A. No, sir.

Q. How did you happen to select \$5 as the amount you would pay?—A. As I said, I did not know whether it was for the club or not; they asked me if I would not give something for the club.

Q. Why did they happen to make this request just before the primary?—A. I do not know.

Q. What is the name of the club?—A. Eighth Ward Republican League Club.

Q. Do you recollect who else was present at this meeting down stairs?—A. No, sir.

Q. Mr. Richardson was there, was he not?—A. I believe he was.

Q. Mr. Foutz?—A. I did not know; I am not personally acquainted with him.

Q. Mr. Holtz was there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Tweddel?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are most of the employés from the Eighth ward appointed under this administration Republicans, members of your club?—A. I think they are.

Q. Are all that you know of?—A. I could not say that.

Q. Were you present at any meeting of the club at which money was paid?—A. No, sir.

Q. Were you present at a meeting at which Mr. Stephen Mason was present?—A. No, sir.

Q. Can you tell me a little more of what occurred at this meeting in the cellar?—A. No, sir; I got down there too late.

Q. Had the meeting adjourned?—A. No, sir; there were a few words spoken after I got there.

Q. It was a meeting for raising money, was it not?—A. I could not tell you that; they asked me to come down there and meet down stairs.

Q. To meet with whom?—A. Well, they did not say whom.

Q. Who was it that asked you?—A. I could not tell you. I could not get there in time because I did not get through the district in time.

Q. How long have you been a member of your Republican club there?—A. Ever since it started.

Q. Two or three years?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Last September you came into the service?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How much money did you pay to the club at the time of the elections last November, if any amount?—A. I did not pay anything.

Q. This is the first time you have contributed money for political purposes at all?—A. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF JOSHUA N. RICHARDSON.

JOSHUA N. RICHARDSON testified as follows:

Q. Letter-carrier?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Appointed when?—A. I have been a letter-carrier for 20 years altogether.

Q. Removed under Mr. Brown?—A. I was.

Q. Or Veazy?—A. Brown.

Q. Reappointed under Mr. Johnson?—A. Yes, sir; under Civil Service Rule 10.

Q. You live in the Eighth ward, do you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you recollect a meeting down in the cellar of this building a week or so before the primary at which Mr. Tweddel, Mr. Heltz, Mr. Birmingham, yourself, and one or two others were present?—A. I did not know it was a meeting. I went down to take a smoke and saw them sitting there, and I walked in and said, "Are you enjoying yourselves?" I did not consider it a meeting whatever.

Q. What were you talking about?—A. Just talking about things 20 years back.

Q. Then there was something said about the primaries?—A. No subject entirely connected with the primaries at all.

Q. Didn't they agree as to how much money was to be paid at the primaries?—A. Not at all.

Q. How much money did you yourself pay?—A. I paid a ten-dollar bill.

Q. Did you pay it to Mr. Tweddel or to Mr. Sultzer?—A. I did not pay it to either one of them. I said I was going up to the Grand Army, and I asked Tweddel if he would take this \$10 for me, and he said he would.

Q. That \$10 was to be expended only for legitimate purposes?—A. That is all I gave it for.

Q. That is, for such things as paying ticket-holders, room rent, furniture vans to get the voters up to the polls?—A. I left that to the committee, for the men to spend it legitimately.

Q. You are a thousand-dollar man, are you not?—A. Yes, sir; I am.

Q. The thousand-dollar men then gave \$10?—A. I could not say positively what any man gave only my individual self.

Q. You simply handed it to Mr. Tweddel; was that in the building here?—A. No, sir; it was on the corner of the street.

Q. You were at the primary?—A. I was not. I was nowhere near the polls at all.

TESTIMONY OF OSCAR W. GIBSON.

OSCAR W. GIBSON testified as follows:

Q. You are a letter carrier?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. Sixth ward.

Q. Do you know Mr. Charles G. Smith?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Letter-carrier?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you recollect a meeting held at his house a few days before the primary?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were present at that meeting?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You then paid \$5?—A. No, sir; I did not pay any money there.

Q. You agreed to pay some money?—A. I agreed to pay some money, but it was not \$5.

Q. Was it \$3, \$5 or \$10?—A. Three dollars.

Q. How much is your salary?—A. Six hundred dollars. It was voluntary.

Q. It was entirely voluntary?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you pay to Smith or to Biddleman?—A. I paid to neither one of them.

Q. Who did you pay to?—A. Rob Fields.

Q. Who is he?—A. He is the executive of our ward.

Q. When did you pay that money to Mr. Fields?—A. It was about a week or so after the meeting.

Q. About a week after the meeting?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is Mr. Fields's business?—A. I do not know.

Q. Was he present at Mr. Smith's house that evening?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Nobody but office-holders were present at that meeting at Mr. Smith's house?—A. I could not tell you; I did not get there until late.

Q. Who notified you to go there?—A. I do not know; I think it was Smith; I will not say positively about that.

Q. And you at that time said that you would give \$3, entirely voluntary on your part?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you are quite confident that was not paid over to Mr. Biddleman?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You paid it to Mr. Fields yourself?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you put your name down or just agree verbally?—A. I agreed verbally.

Q. Who did you tell you would pay it?—A. I told Smith.

Q. Where did you make the payment to Mr. Fields?—A. At the club room.

Q. Were you present at the primary afterwards?—A. I was only present there long enough to vote.

Q. Well, the primary was broken up afterwards, was it not?—A. Indeed I could not tell you.

Q. Was it disorderly when you were there, or was it quiet?—A. It was quiet.

Q. How long have you been a member of the Republican club?—A. I have not been a member for more than 5 or 6 weeks.

TESTIMONY OF HENRY L. THEISS.

HENRY L. THEISS testified as follows:

Q. Letter-carrier?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How long have you been in the service?—A. Altogether—about 18 months.

Q. You reside in the Sixth ward?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What is your salary?—A. Six hundred dollars.

Q. Were you present at a meeting a week or so before the primary at Mr. Smith's house in your ward?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Nobody but office-holders were present at that meeting?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did it include all the office-holders from the Sixth ward who were Republicans?—A. They were not all there.

Q. Were they all asked, do you know?—A. That I could not tell you.

Q. It was \$3 you agreed to pay?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you pay it to Mr. Smith?—A. No, sir; I paid it to Mr. Fields.

Q. Did you only agree to pay that night?—A. Yes, sir; I did not have the money with me.

Q. The \$600 men paid only \$3 then?—A. Some more than others.

Q. Some paid \$5, some \$10, and some \$3?—A. Yes, sir; and one man did not pay anything.

Q. It was Mr. Smith, Mr. Biddleman, and Mr. Foutz who were appointed a committee to receive the money, was it not?—A. No, sir; they were appointed a committee to see that the money was properly expended, not to receive the money.

Q. That was for legitimate purposes?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Room rent, ticket-holders, printing of tickets—that was all?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who notified you to come around to that meeting?—A. I had two parties notify me; Mr. Fields and Mr. Fostler.

Q. What is his position?—A. He does not hold a position.

Q. As a matter of fact, most of the money was raised, as testified, by office-holders?—A. By office-holders; yes, sir.

Q. Did any of the outsiders pay anything in your ward, do you know?—A. Not that I know of.

Q. But you know how that money was expended?—A. I did not see it expended; I understood it was to be expended for legitimate expenses.

Q. You do not know the proportion for room rent, ticket-holders, and so on?—A. I believe we paid ticket-holders \$2 apiece.

Q. Room rent was \$3?—A. I believe the room rent was \$4.

Q. How much for the printing expenses?—A. That I could not say.

Q. Five or ten dollars, would that cover it?—A. I haven't the least idea.

Q. You were at the primary?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. There was a row there, was there not; the polls were closed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you there during the time the row took place?—A. Not during the time the row took place.

Q. Mr. Fields was going to expend the money that he received; the committee were in charge of it, and expected Mr. Fields to expend it under their orders, was that it?—A. He was to furnish the items of the expenses to the committee.

Q. He was to report to them?—A. He was to report to them that the money was properly expended.

Q. There was a good deal of money paid that night to Mr. Biddleman and to Mr. Smith; did you not see it paid?—A. Yes, sir; I saw it paid.

Q. Mr. McMann, Mr. Bond, Mr. Smith—who else were there besides those?—A. Mr. Kimball.

Q. Mr. Kimball was rather a Henderson man, was he not?—A. It appears that way. I rather think there were two others that leaned that way, one other any way.

Q. Who was the other man?—A. Mr. Chapman.

Q. Where is Mr. Chapman?—A. He holds a position in the custom-house; he is porter or janitor, or something of that kind.

Q. I thought there were only two people from the custom-house there?—No, sir; there were three.

Q. Was Mr. MaGon present?—A. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN BOND.

JOHN BOND testified as follows:

Q. What is your position?—A. Stamp clerk.

Q. How long have you been in the service?—A. One year.

Q. You are a member of the Sixth Ward Club?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you recollect being present at a meeting at Mr. Smith's house a week or so before the primary?—A. I do, sir.

Q. It was a meeting purely of office-holders, was it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Purely of office-holders residing in the Sixth ward?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The purpose being to raise money for the legitimate expenses of the primaries?—A. Yes, sir. I did not know what it was for until I was invited there, and Mr. Kimball acted as chairman of the meeting and got up and said he supposed the gentlemen knew what this meeting was called for, that it was to take up a little collection.

Q. Who told you to come to that meeting?—A. Mr. Fields.

Q. You paid \$5?—A. No, sir; I gave \$10.

Q. How did you happen to give \$10?—A. I had always been in the habit of giving to the party; I belong to the party and I never refused to give.

Q. Did you give it to Mr. Biddleman or to Mr. Smith?—A. I loaned Mr. Biddleman some money; I handed \$10 to Biddleman.

Q. The committee to receive the money was Fensley, Biddleman, and Smith, was it not—they were to spend the money?—A. It was the understanding that this man Fields was to spend the money.

Q. The \$600 men only gave \$3 apiece?—A. I do not know; they were not asked to give any special amount, just voluntary contributions.

Q. You were present at the primary?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you present when it was broken up?—A. I was.

Q. A good deal of disorder at that time, was there not?—A. There was, sir.

Q. The Henderson people saw that you were going to outvote them and they broke it up?—A. I guess that was it.

Q. As far as you know, all of the office-holders from the Sixth ward were present at that meeting at Mr. Smith's house?—A. Well, I could not tell you; I am only acquainted with five or six of them, but I should judge there were fifteen, eighteen, or twenty men there.

Q. Mr. Theiss, Mr. MaGon, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Biddleman were all there?—A. Theiss was there, Biddleman, Fensley, Kimball—

Q. MaGon?—A. I am not acquainted with MaGon.

Q. Anyone else there from this post-office, do you recollect?—A. A man by the name of Phelps.

Q. Darius Phillips?—A. Daniel Phelps I think is his name.

Q. Is he a letter-carrier?—A. No, sir; he is in the registry division.

Q. About how long were you at that election; an hour or two?—A. No, sir; I can not say that I was there an hour or two; I was home pretty much all the time.

Q. Were you in charge there at all?—A. No, sir.

Q. Was Kimball there at all at the primaries?—A. No, sir; I can not say that he was; I do not know, sir.

Q. Was Dr. Watts not at Smith's house?—A. No, sir; the only ones outside was Fields and a man by the name of Fostler.

Q. Well, there was very little money subscribed by outsiders in your ward, so far as you know?—A. I could not answer that question.

Q. Dr. Watts has charge of one of the substations, has he not; he keeps a drug store, and is a stamp agent, is he not?—A. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM ROOT.

WILLIAM ROOT testified as follows:

Q. Your position?—A. Watchman here in the post-office.

Q. How long have you been in that position?—A. About 12 months.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. The Fifth.

Q. You were at the Fifth ward primaries?—A. I was.

Q. I think I saw you there standing beside Mr. Sindall?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Taking quite an active part in the primaries?—A. Well, I do not know as I was.

Q. Looking on rather actively?—A. Yes, sir; and keeping out fraudulent votes.

Q. Challenging voters?—A. No, sir; I was not challenger; I was behind the challenger.

Q. Who was the challenger?—A. Mr. Stewart. Whenever I would see a voter coming up that was not entitled to vote I would give him a point that that man was a fraud.

Q. There was a good deal of fraudulent voting, was there not?—A. Yes, sir; a good deal.

Q. All on the part of the Henderson people?—A. No, sir; I can not say that.

Q. Well, by whom?—A. Just the same as at all the primaries.

Q. Was it a rather disorderly primary?—A. It was one of the fairest I have seen in the ward for years, and I have been taking part for 40 years in elections.

Q. And this was one of the fairest?—A. The fairest I have seen; every ticket was twisted.

Q. Were the duties of those challenging voters onerous?—A. Certainly, sir.

Q. There was a good deal of effort to vote fraudulently?—A. Yes, sir; there always is.

Q. You were working for the so-called Johnson-Airey crowd, I presume?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. That represents the administration or Johnson ticket, does it not?—
A. Yes, sir.

Q. The other crowd was the Henderson-Stone crowd?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Philip Sindall was by you; what other office-holders were there at the time I saw you?—A. Mr. Wendell, of the custom-house, was there at the time.

Q. Was he there in the interest of the Henderson crowd?—A. I could not say that he was.

Q. Who else were there from this office; was James Cooper there?—
A. I saw him about there.

Q. He was working there more or less?—A. Well, I saw him around there.

Q. He is a colored man?—A. Yes, sir; William G. McAllister—I saw him there.

Q. Working, not merely voting?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was Mr. Cole in there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What time?—A. I think I saw him there about 5 or 6 o'clock.

Q. Does Mr. Joseph Solomon vote in your ward?—A. I do not know.

Q. Is he not an employé of the post-office?—A. He is.

Q. Did you notice him there?—A. Yes, sir; I saw him there.

Q. A good part of the time?—A. Well, no; not a great part of the time, only a short while.

Q. Were you there when a man came up to vote and gave the name of Oscar Leipman?—A. I was not. I know who you speak of; I saw him there, but I did not see him attempt to vote.

Q. How long was he there?—A. I did not see him over 15 minutes; I recollect speaking to him outside the crowd.

Q. Was he there to vote?—A. That I could not say.

Q. Did you not hear of him attempting to vote?—A. Yes; I heard about it.

Q. You heard about Leipman's attempting to vote; who told you about it?—A. Well, Mr. Hutchins was saying something about it.

Q. There, that afternoon?—A. No; since.

Q. Well, you heard about it that afternoon?—A. No, I did not hear about it that afternoon.

Q. Is there a club in your ward—a Republican club?—A. Yes, sir; I belong to a Republican club.

Q. What is its name?—A. That is all the name attached to it.

Q. It is simply called the Republican Club, is it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you pay anything in reference to the legitimate expenses of this primary?—A. I did; I paid to the secretary of the club.

Q. How much did you pay?—A. Well, I paid \$5; and something more, may be.

Q. Do all the Republican office-holders from your ward belong to that club; do you know?—A. No, sir.

Q. They do not?—A. No, sir.

Q. Of the Republican office-holders in the post-office, do they all belong?—A. No, sir; I only know of three or four that belong to it.

Q. Who are those three or four?—A. I do not know whether Mr. Sindall belongs to it or not; but I know I belong to it, and have belonged about 4 months; was asked to join it and help them out.

Q. Who was secretary of that club?—A. Mr. Stewart.

Q. Who paid the most of the expenses of the primary?—A. I could not say.

Q. The expenses were simply for room rent, printing, and ticket-holders?—A. I do not know how it was spent; I could not tell you

that—don't know; your informant was a very bad informant; McCafferty had a lot of frauds there, and the only way to get us away from the window was to intimidate us in that way.

Q. In what way?—A. Pointing us out as post-office men; he wanted to get us away from the window.

Q. Do you mean a man who said he was from New York; you mean the man that pointed you and Sindall out?—A. That very same man was going around this town with a gang of Democratic repeaters.

Q. All that man told me was that you and Sindall were both post-office employés and were doing good work for the Johnson ticket.

TESTIMONY OF DANIEL W. PHELPS.

DANIEL W. PHELPS testified as follows:

Q. Your position?—A. Clerk in the registry.

Q. How long have you been in it?—A. Since last June.

Q. You live in the Sixth ward?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you remember the meeting at Mr. Smith's house a week or so before the primary in the Sixth ward?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were present?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Most of the people there were office-holders?—A. Some of them were; but there were others that I did not know.

Q. All those you did know that were there were office-holders?—A. There were some that I knew; but I could not say positively whether they were all office-holders.

Q. But you do know some were office-holders?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who told you to go around there?—A. I did not get any notice from anyone particularly; I knew it was to be held.

Q. How did you know it?—A. Hearing it from others.

Q. It was a meeting held to raise funds to pay the legitimate expenses of the primaries?—A. I did not know what the motive of the meeting was until I got there; but the meeting was for the purpose of realizing money to defray the general expenses of an election; the money had to be forthcoming from some place.

Q. As a matter of fact, the outsiders and nonoffice-holders pay very little money for primary elections?—A. Yes, sir. The office-holders ought to pay it.

Q. You think that the office-holders are the ones that ought to pay?—A. I do.

Q. What is your salary?—A. Nine hundred dollars.

Q. You paid \$5, did you not?—A. I agreed to give \$5.

Q. The committee appointed to receive the money were Messrs. Bidleman, Fensley, and Smith, were they not?—A. I could not say.

Q. Who did you give your \$5 to?—A. Mr. Charles Smith—not the Smith in the post-office; not Mr. Charles Smith, the letter carrier.

Q. What Mr. Charles Smith?—A. He is in the jug business on Gay street.

Q. You did not pay that night at all?—A. No, sir.

Q. You paid 2 or 3 days afterwards?—A. I paid some days afterwards.

Q. How did you happen to give it to Mr. Charles Smith? I thought Mr. Fields was the man.—A. I do not know anything about Mr. Fields.

Q. It was the most convenient way of getting it to the others?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. It was the most convenient way of getting it to Mr. Biddleman and Mr. Smith?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The money was to be spent for room rent, ticket-holders, and printing?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You did not have to have furniture vans to bring the voters to the polls?—A. No, sir.

Q. Were you at the primaries yourself?—A. I was there and voted.

Q. Were you there at the time it broke up?—A. I came afterwards; there was no election in the Sixth ward, although I voted, and did not know, in fact, who the judges were, to show you how much I was interested.

Q. Was there much fighting at the primaries?—A. I did not see but one fight, and I think that occurred over some beer; it was over no ill feeling for either side, it was simply over some beer that two fellows got into a fight.

Q. Was either of them Government employes?—A. No, sir.

Q. How many arrests were made in your ward?—A. I do not know of any only from hearsay.

Q. Well, you gave no money at all at the time of this meeting?—A. No, sir; I did not.

Q. You agreed to give \$5, did you not?—A. I agreed; yes, sir.

Q. To whom did you say you would give \$5?—A. To all in the room; I did not apply myself to anyone in particular.

Q. Did you see any money paid that night?—A. No, sir; I did not see it.

Q. You knew that there was money paid that night?—A. Yes, sir; but I did not see it paid.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH SOLOMON.

JOSEPH SOLOMON testified as follows:

Q. Position?—A. Custodian and watchman.

Q. How long have you been here?—A. A year; since last April under Mr. Johnson.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. Seventh.

Q. Did you not vote in the Fifth?—A. I voted in the Seventh ward; I have been living there for 25 years.

Q. Didn't you vote in the Fifth ward?—A. No, sir, I did not.

Q. Were you there much of the time in the Seventh ward?—A. I was there all day excepting five minutes.

Q. You are quite sure you were there all day?—A. All day except about five minutes.

Q. You were there all the time the polls were open?—A. Yes sir; I was out for a few minutes.

Q. What were you doing those few minutes?—A. I was down in the Fifth ward.

Q. But you are quite confident that most of the time you spent in the Seventh ward around the polls, only for a few minutes were away from it?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you did not vote or offer to vote in the Fifth ward?—A. No, sir.

Q. You were working in the Seventh ward for the so-called Johnson ticket?—A. I was, sir.

Q. What is the Republican club called in your ward?—A. Johnson and Airey Club of the Seventh ward.

Q. You belong to that?—A. I do, sir.

Q. That is its name, the Johnson and Airey club?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you pay any money, and if so, how much, towards the primary?—A. I paid \$5 to a man by the name of Allen, who was a contractor up on Gay street.

Q. You paid \$5; what is your salary?—A. Seven hundred and twenty dollars a year. I gave donations to the club right along for papers, etc., and to keep up the club.

Q. Do most of the office-holders who are Republicans in the post-office from your ward belong to that Johnson-Airey club?—A. No, sir; they are divided.

Q. What club do the others belong to?—A. The Seventh Ward Association.

Q. Is that the Henderson Association?—A. Yes, sir; I presume so.

Q. The Henderson-Stone Association?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are there any post office employes who belong to that Henderson-Stone club?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What ones?—A. I can't name them; there are several of them that belong.

Q. Did they vote against you at the last primary?—A. That I could not say; I noticed there was one gentleman who they refused to let vote, and he had been living in the ward for four years to my knowledge.

Q. Who else were there from the post office around the poll besides yourself?—A. Mr. Summers; I noticed a gentleman there by the name of Biggs, in the internal revenue.

Q. How long was Mr. Biggs there?—A. He was there all day.

Q. Mr. Biggs was there on the Henderson side?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Shaney was there as a Henderson man too, was he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who were there as Johnson men besides yourself?—A. I noticed Mr. Summers and Mr. Bell, John Bell.

Q. Was not Mr. Buckter there?—A. Yes, I think I saw him there.

Q. You did not notice his conduct that afternoon?—A. No, sir.

Q. Was there any cheating in the Seventh ward?—A. I noticed a gentleman from the Twelfth ward that came down and voted; I think he was registered in the Twelfth, and I questioned his vote.

Q. The judges I understand turned down the votes favorable to your side when there were any doubtful points?—A. Yes, sir; they had two judges to our one, of course. In some of the wards the tickets were twisted and they put two tickets into one.

Q. Are you able to say whether Mr. Bell was or was not tipsy?—A. No, sir.

Q. You saw him around there all the time?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Are you able to say whether Buckter was or was not tipsy?—A. Mr. Buckter was as sober as you are.

Q. Are you willing to say that Mr. Summers was not tipsy?—A. I am, sir.

Q. Then you are able to say that Summers and Buckter were not tipsy but you could not say whether Bell was or not?—A. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF ERWIN FOUTZ.

ERWIN FOUTZ testified as follows:

Q. What is your position?—A. Train service, between Baltimore and Philadelphia.

Q. How long have you been in the post-office?—A. Since last May.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. Eighth ward.

Q. Do you know Mr. Tweddel?—A. Yes, sir; I know him.

Q. Mr. Sultzer?—A. I am not personally acquainted with Mr. Sultzer.

Q. Mr. Holtz?—A. Letter carrier? I have been introduced to him; yes, sir.

Q. Were you present at a meeting of the employes of the post-office from that ward in the cellar of this building a week or so before the primaries, about dinner hour?—A. I never knew they had a meeting in the office before. I was here one afternoon, when I came down to get some slips I use on the train, and I went down in the cellar; while I was down there I met several men I knew sitting in the lunch room and one of them got to asking about the train service; and while I was there two or three more gentlemen came in, but politics was not a subject of conversation at all.

Q. You are quite sure you did not talk of the primaries at all?—A. Quite sure of it.

Q. What did you pay, if anything, just before the primaries, toward the legitimate expenses of the primaries—how much is your salary?—A. Eight hundred dollars.

Q. Did you pay \$5?—A. No, sir. I attended a banquet of our club of the Eighth ward and I paid our secretary some money towards the expenses of the banquet and also for some dues; I had not paid my dues for 6 months.

Q. How much did you pay him?—A. I gave him \$9.

Q. How long before the primaries?—A. Probably 10 days, I suppose. I have never attended the club since last October except that time; I leave Baltimore at a quarter of seven every evening.

Q. Who did you pay that money to?—A. The secretary, Shuart.

Q. Were you present at the primaries?—A. I was not. I live about four squares from the voting place, and I heard in the afternoon that there was a row, and I walked down with a friend of mine, and was there about 15 minutes, and went back home and got ready and went to Philadelphia.

Q. You did not try to vote?—A. No, sir; took no part whatever in the primaries.

Q. You did not understand that that money was for the expenses of the primaries?—A. I did not, sir. I had not paid my dues for 6 months, and that was for running expenses; I happened to be there, and I had the money, and I thought I would pay.

Q. You did not give any money to Mr. Tweddel?—A. No, sir; I never had much to say to Mr. Tweddel, because I haven't been acquainted with him very long.

Q. Was this banquet confined to the members of the club, or were outsiders admitted?—A. So far as I know they were.

Q. About how many people were there at this banquet?—A. Well, I should judge there were one hundred, perhaps.

Q. Were there many office-holders present?—A. I noticed several there.

Q. Do you know how much everybody was expected to pay a plate?—
A. I do not; nobody ever asked me for a cent at all.

Q. Not even for this banquet?—A. Oh, yes; they said they would like a few dollars or so for this banquet, and I expected to pay something for it.

Q. How much did you pay—how much a plate was the banquet?—
A. There was no set figure at all; I expected to give \$3 towards the banquet and \$6 for dues; I paid up six months' dues; I never understood anyone to say that they had been assessed at all.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM H. PERINE.

WILLIAM H. PERINE testified as follows:

Q. What is your name?—A. Perine.

Q. Edward?—A. No, sir; William H.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. I live in the Eighth; I am janitor here.

Q. That is the same ward Mr. Tweddel is in?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Do you know Mr. Tweddel, a clerk here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you present at a meeting downstairs in the cellar of this building, at which Mr. Tweddel, Mr. Holtz, and one or two others of the Eighth ward employés were present, a week or two before the primaries?—A. There was no meeting as I know of.

Q. Did you pay anything for the primaries?—A. No, sir.

Q. Not a cent?—A. No, sir, not a cent; I could not if they had asked me, for I have a large family to take care of.

Q. Is there a letter carrier by the name of Perine?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is he around here anywhere?—A. I guess he is down on the letter-carriers' floor.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN B. MAHON.

JOHN B. MAHON testified as follows:

Q. Are you a letter carrier?—A. No, sir; I am a clerk.

Q. How long have you been in the office?—A. About 4 years.

Q. You live in the Eighth ward?—A. No, sir; I live in the Third ward.

Q. You are a Democrat, are you not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You took no part in the primaries at all?—A. No, sir.

Q. Were you bothered for assessments last fall?—A. No, sir.

Q. How much did you have to pay in 1888, the Presidential year?—
A. I did not have to pay anything.

Q. How much did you pay?—A. I belong to the Greystone Club of the third ward—Democratic club—and whenever there is any campaign takes place I always contribute whatever I feel disposed; whatever funds we wanted to contribute we gave it to this campaign committee.

Q. Everyone in this office did feel disposed?—A. No doubt; it was perfectly natural.

Q. What did you feel disposed to give?—A. I ascertained that some gave \$10, \$15, \$20, some gave \$25; I gave \$18.75, I think it was; that was 2½ per cent. of my salary.

Q. Was that the average?—A. I only know what I paid myself. I know some that gave only \$10 that got a good deal more salary than I did.

Q. As far as you know, everybody in the office felt disposed to give something?—A. I do not know, probably they did; I could not say positively about that.

Q. Did you feel very much disposed to give last fall?—A. No, sir; I did not.

Q. Enough to make you do so?—A. No; I did not contribute last fall.

Q. Either way?—A. No, sir.

Q. You haven't given anything for any Republican campaign expenses?—A. No, sir.

TESTIMONY OF W. W. JOHNSON.

W. W. JOHNSON testified as follows:

Q. (Mr. ROOSEVELT.) Mr. Johnson, from the testimony taken in this investigation, which you will of course have an opportunity of examining, there seems to be a legitimate ground for belief that you ought to have taken a more active part in stopping the activity of many of your subordinates here in the matter of collecting assessments and in the matter of using the force of your office to influence the late primary election?—A. I did not know that was going on; I did not know a word about it; I did not know that a man was assessed.

Q. You did not know that a man was assessed?—A. No; I did not.

Q. Did you take an active part yourself in trying to see that the men were not assessed?—A. I took no active part only in this way: I called my superintendents before me and told them to keep their hands off, that I did not want them to bring this office into disrepute. I told them that in the presence of my assistant postmaster. If those men were assessed they were assessed on the outside. There are men that have told me right in my own office, "If you don't like what I do I will go out." People have put men in here over whom I have no control about elections; they are independent of me.

Q. You mean that a great many of the men here, although nominally appointed by you, are really put in by somebody else outside; that is, by the different ward leaders of the party?—A. They are recommended by outsiders, and they work for the men who put them in here and are under their control.

Q. Is that so generally in the nonclassified service?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In the unclassified service the bulk of the men are put in in that way?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. They feel responsible to the men who put them in, to the politicians and ward leaders generally, and not responsible to you?—A. Yes, sir; that is it.

Q. Well, now, would that obtain at all in the classified service?—A. How could it obtain in the classified service? They come before me on the list.

Q. Do you not know that the great majority of those men appointed in the classified service were Republicans in the different clubs?—A. No, sir; I do not. There was a man by the name of Malone, who lied bitterly against me, and I asked that man if he knew Dr. Hartman, and if he knew one or two other men over there, and he went up and told Mr. Rose that I was trying to find out about the factions; and that man came into my office and staid here.

Q. I am trying to get at why it should be that the people in the classified service seem so largely to have paid contributions.—A. I

can't understand it. It seems that there was a class of men on the list that must have been workers for these people; they were on the list under Mr. Brown; they were not put there by me. The bulk of my men were appointed from men that were examined under Brown.

Q. So it seems that the bulk of the people examined under Brown were backed by people on the outside, by local Republican leaders?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Then there is no doubt those were all on the list before you came in?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And those that thus came on the list the bulk of them were, as you believe, ward workers?—A. Yes, sir; I believe they were.

Q. And you of course made the bulk of your appointments from this list, as you had no option in the matter?—A. Yes, sir; they were there and I could not turn them down, and did not do it.

Q. The bulk of these people speak of the faction; they call it sometimes the administration faction, sometimes the Johnson faction, sometimes the Johnson Airey club, and that is apparently what it is called in the newspapers; and the other side is sometimes called the anti-administration, which they stoutly deny; sometimes called the Henderson, and sometimes called the Henderson-Stone faction. Henderson was your rival for the postmastership?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And Stone was the rival of Airey for the marshalship?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. I noticed that in all the accounts in the papers it is spoken of as the Johnson and Henderson factions. The supporters of your own side indulged in some such expression as "the friends of the postmaster will stay here until breakfast," or something of that kind.—A. I did not talk to them; there are men in this office that I would not think of talking to about elections.

Q. The amount of it is that in the nonclassified appointments you have to parcel them out to the different wards, and the different ward leaders nominate the men for the positions?—A. Yes, sir. There are about 1,800 applicants and about 60 places.

Q. About 60 places in the nonclassified service?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did Mr. Stockbridge get any of those places?—A. Mr. Stockbridge has one or two in the custodian's force. By the way, the chief engineer of the building was one of Henderson's warmest supporters.

Q. Mr. Airey got into a fight at the primaries, did he not?—A. He did. I did not know anything that transpired only what was in the newspapers; I went away on Wednesday before.

Q. You left to go over to Atlantic City so that you would not be here during the primaries?—A. It was an engagement that I had every year to fix up my cottage to spend the season there. I went without any thought of the primaries; I went on the Wednesday before the primaries were fixed, before any judges were appointed.

Q. You knew there would be a fight?—A. I knew there would be, yes, sir; this is nothing new; it is a general occurrence; it occurs every year in primary elections.

Q. Whichever side is in power and has the offices is sure to have the disappointed crowd fight them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In other words, your idea was that this was a fight made by the soreheads against those who had the offices?—A. Yes, sir; that is it exactly.

Q. You knew that there would be this fight between the two factions?—A. That is the reason I called my superintendents before me and told them to keep this office out of disrepute. I told them I did

not want the office brought into disrepute; that they must keep their hands off and not let the men be placed in position that would bring the office into disrepute, because we had had enough of it and I was tired of it.

Q. You did not specify what kind of things to avoid?—A. I did not, because I did not know that any man was being assessed; if I had I would have stopped it, because I don't believe in assessing men; I know how it is myself.

AT THE OFFICE OF COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

STATEMENT OF F. SNOWDEN HILL, COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE.

F. SNOWDEN HILL testified as follows:

In the matter of the Baltimore primaries I did not participate.

Q. You let your men follow their own election?—A. My men were free to do exactly as they pleased; some did not participate, and some fought on each side. E. C. Dubois took no part; George B. Jane was in ward where no contest took place; William E. Wallace took no part; Edward Stewart took an active part for Daniel L. Brenton, who is a warm friend of Stewart; Brenton was on the Henderson side; Edward Dyer went to the polls and voted for the Henderson ticket and went away; A. N. Holmes took no part, did not vote; D. W. Myer was in ward where there was no contest; Ed Davis, no contest in his ward; Thomas H. Chester, Eighth ward, took a part for Brenton, who was supporting Henderson; John E. Curly, Fifteenth ward, active for the Johnson faction; M. T. Deveer took part on the Henderson side; George T. Hall, Eleventh ward, took no interest; John Webber, Nineteenth ward, took an interest in the Henderson side. Gaugers: C. K. Brewer, Tenth ward, J. T. Dicks, Henderson side; J. S. Brenton, Thirteenth ward, Henderson side; Bowman, Seventeenth ward, took no part; J. T. Cooper, Seventeenth ward, H. A. Cole, took no part; George E. Parker, Seventh ward, Johnson side; J. Sinclair, took no part; C. W. Stockett took no part; William J. Applegate, no contest in his ward.

Q. Your people paid no money for these primaries?—A. I am sure not a cent.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN S. BRENTON.

JOHN S. BRENTON testified as follows:

Q. What is your position?—A. Gauger, in the Internal Revenue.

Q. How long have you been appointed?—A. Since August 1, 1889.

Q. What is your ward?—A. Thirteenth.

Q. Did you pay any money prior to the last primary election?—A. No, sir; spent no money.

Q. What chances were there for paying money at the primaries?—

A. Well, to hire wagons, for instance, to bring the voters out; to hire ticket-holders, to pay for cigars, and so on, and incidental expenses the same as at any primary election.

Q. The ticket-holders are \$2 apiece?—A. It depends altogether on the amount of influence a man has and the number of voters he can bring up.

Q. Do you usually choose your ticket-holders from your own faction or from the opposite faction?—A. From our own faction, of course.

Q. You took part in the primaries in the last election?—A. No more so than usual.

Q. You were active, then?—A. Moderately so.

Q. Were you continually at the polls?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In the interest of the so-called Henderson faction?—A. Well, I am not a Henderson man, but an anti-Johnson man.

Q. You were against the Johnson-Airey crowd?—A. I certainly was.

Q. Was it a quiet election in the Thirteenth ward?—A. Well, yes.

Q. Many men arrested?—A. No, only two or three.

Q. Much fighting that you saw?—A. Two fights; two colored fellows got together but they were let off with a dollar and costs; and then there was another party who got arrested.

Q. A white man?—A. He was a white man.

Q. Was there much cheating at the election?—A. I do not know.

Q. Was there much accusation?—A. No, no more than usual; we beat the other fellows so bad that there was no use of squealing.

Q. There was a contest finally?—A. No; the vote stood 415 to 158, so that there was not much to be a contest over.

Q. Where did you rent the wagons from?—A. Down on King street. The ordinary Democratic majority of that precinct is about 75.

Q. How many wagons did you have running?—A. We only had four on our side.

Q. How many wagons on the other side?—A. I believe they had two; one of them stood there the greater part of the time; they didn't have any hustlers on their side of the house.

Q. What proportion was the vote?—A. I believe we polled three Republican votes to their one.

Q. Did you not get your Republican votes from any part of town that came handy?—A. I do not know.

Q. How many ticket-holders did you have?—A. I believe we had 8 or 10. We paid \$2 to some few who were in command of a furniture wagon; to some who had an extra amount of influence we paid more than that.

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD STEWART.

EDWARD STEWART testified as follows:

Q. What is your position?—A. Clerk.

Q. How long have you been in that position?—A. Two years the 16th of August.

Q. What is your ward?—A. Eighth.

Q. You took an active part in the last primaries, did you not?—A. Not very active; no, sir.

Q. You were at the primaries?—A. Yes, sir; I was there a few minutes.

Q. For the Henderson faction, or rather you were against the Johnson crowd?—A. Well, I do not call it a faction; I was there in the interest of Mr. Brenton.

Q. Mr. Brenton was running against the Johnson-Airey crowd?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And you were there for him?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was that the ward where there was a disagreement among the judges and the Johnson judge was thrown out of the window?—A. No, sir; this is the ward where the box was smashed. Our clerks say they

burst the box open and run their hands into it; they didn't want any election; I don't think there were more than 2 votes cast.

Q. As soon as the 2 votes were cast the box was burst open?—
A. Yes, sir.

Q. Any arrests?—A. They arrested the minority judge.

Q. The majority judges, were they arrested?—A. Yes, sir; they were arrested on the ground that they had stuffed the ballot box.

Q. Were you in charge of the ballot box yourself?—A. No, sir.

Q. Who furnished the ballot box?—A. The judges had the ballot box.

Q. Do you know where it came from?—A. I bought it early in the morning and turned it over to the judges.

Q. There is a rumor that you fixed the tickets up around the edge of the top of the box so that when the box was closed they would drop into the box.—A. I do not know anything about that; they spoke of the ballot box, and I told them I would get one, and I went to the store and bought one; I just got an empty box.

Q. You did not get the box without any top?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What contribution did you make to the expenses of your side?—
A. None at all.

Q. Did you spend any money?—A. No, sir, only what I ordinarily spend; probably I might have spent 50 or 60 cents.

AT THE CUSTOM-HOUSE.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM D. McALLISTER.

WILLIAM D. McALLISTER testified as follows:

Q. What is your position?—A. Night inspector.

Q. How long have you been in that position?—A. Since the first day of September last.

Q. It has been stated by some persons that you have taken an active part in the Henderson faction at the Fifth ward polls.—A. I took no active part but this: I did not know that the ticket was made up in behalf of Mr. Henderson or Mr. Johnson. The collector did not issue any instructions to the subordinates under him what to do; I received no word from him at all, and on the day of the primary election I went to the polls when the polls were opened, at 4 o'clock, and I suppose I was about the tenth one that cast a ballot; I immediately left there, went home and ate my supper, came down here and reported for duty.

Q. The polls did not open until 4 o'clock?—A. Not until 4 o'clock.

Q. You took no active part except to vote?—A. Did not do a thing but to vote.

Q. You voted the Henderson ticket?—A. I voted the Henderson ticket.

Q. You say the collector issued no instructions to you; did you get any instructions or advice from the United States marshal?—A. Mr. Airey sent for me and I went up to see him.

Q. You went up to see Mr. Airey himself?—A. Yes, sir; in his private office. He said: Mr. Mac, you hold a position under the Government. I said yes, of course. He says, of course you are aware this primary fight is coming off, and I said yes; as far as I am concerned I have had nothing to do with politics for some time. Mr. Airey seen, I suppose,

from my conversation that I was not on his side of the house; he knows, of course, very well that I am a Republican, and have been for 27 years; and he says, this is a fight against the administration, and I told him I did not see how it was that a good many men connected with the Government in different positions were on both sides. I said there are men right in the post-office that are opposed to Mr. Johnson, and I said as far as I was concerned I had not made up my mind. I told him I was not a friend of Mr. Johnson. He said, well, of course use your own judgment; he saw he could not move me.

Q. Do you know if Mr. Airey sent for many others?—A. Really I could not say; there was nobody in his office except one of his deputies, and he was in the large office and Mr. Airey was in his own private office.

Q. You do not know, then, of any other custom-house man who has been sent for?—A. I could not say so; I am on the night force and do not come around the custom-house unless I come to go on duty.

Q. Well, did many of the employés in this office take active part in the primaries, do you know?—A. That is more than I could tell you; I did not ask.

Q. You were appointed through civil service examination?—A. I was; yes, sir.

Q. Most of the old force is left here still?—A. I believe there are about twelve of the Democrats here yet.

Q. And how many Republicans?—A. Twenty-four on the force altogether, including the captain; there may be about thirteen Republicans and eleven Democrats.

Q. Did you make any contributions to the expenses of either side?—A. I did not, sir; not a cent. If I had made a contribution I would have made it to Henderson and Stone, but I did not give 1 cent to either side.

COLLECTOR'S OFFICE, CUSTOM-HOUSE,
April 18, 1891.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN M. CARTER.

JOHN M. CARTER testified as follows:

Q. What is your position?—A. I am a laborer.

Q. When were you appointed?—A. I think about a year ago the 1st of May.

Q. Appointed by Mr. Marine?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. Eleventh.

Q. Did you take much part in the primaries?—A. I have all my life, but I did not in the last one.

Q. Why was that?—A. You people won't allow it; I would like to have done so.

Q. It was a case of restraint?—A. Yes, sir. I always have been used to it. I have been a Republican for 30 odd years, and I like to take part.

Q. You did not take any part in the primaries at all?—A. I went up and voted, and I stood on the opposite corner of the street with a half dozen men awhile.

Q. You were a supporter of the Henderson ticket?—A. Well, yes, sir; that is what they called it.

Q. You were against the so-called Johnson-Airey ticket?—A. I have nothing in the world against Mr. Johnson.

Q. But you voted against that ticket?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you contribute?—A. I can not afford to give anything out of the wages I get; no, sir; I did not give a cent.

Q. Were you asked to contribute?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know of any meeting of the office-holders in your ward?—

A. No, sir; I do not recollect of any meeting in the ward, not one.

Q. What office-holders were working around your primaries; did you see any of them?—A. I do not care to give anybody away. Of course I could if I chose, but I am not going to be as mean as they were.

Q. Was not one of the doorkeepers of the House of Representatives pretty active on your side?—A. Yes, sir; he was. He is a brother-in-law of mine. I don't think you can get at him; if I thought you could I would not say anything. He did not take much of an active part. He was standing on the corner with me, but his heart and soul was with that side; I can't say that Chambers did take an active part.

Q. Was not Mr. Hiram Waddy there and took an active part?

(Witness refused to answer.)

Q. How long were you there, Mr. Carter?—A. I was there from, I think, a few minutes after 4 o'clock until the polls closed; I went over and got the amount of votes.

Q. Was there much fraud at your primary?—A. I don't think there was.

Q. You don't think there was?—A. No, sir.

Q. In that case it occupies a rather unique position in the primaries. Was there any fraud on the part of the Johnson party?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. Who is Mr. Hiram Waddy?—A. He is a colored man.

Q. What is his position?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. Is he not in the Government service?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. In what branch?—A. That I could not tell you, for I do not know.

Mr. ROSE. He is an inspector under the Treasury Department.

Q. It was a common rumor that Mr. Hiram Waddy, an employé of the Treasury, was trying to bribe one of the judges of the elections?—A. I heard so.

Q. For the Johnson wing?—A. I think he was working for them.

Q. Did Hall, of the internal revenue, take any active part on your side?—A. I do not know him at all; and I have said too much about Chambers. I said he took an active part; I spoke before I thought, for I do not wish to tell a story on him. He did not take an active part.

Q. Who were the chief people who were working for the Johnson-Airey ticket in your ward; did you recognize any Government officials there?—A. I did, I think.

Q. Was Mr. Weaver very active?—A. I saw him there.

Q. Who else from the post-office did you see there that you knew?—A. Well, I saw any amount of them.

Q. Was young Joe Gurley there?—A. No, sir; I did not see him at all.

Q. You say any amount of them?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You saw a great many of the post-office employés there?—A. I thought they had a right to be there and to vote the same as anybody else.

Q. Did they work?—A. No, sir; I did not see them working.

Q. Who did you see voting there?—A. I can not say positively; I saw any amount of them voting; I suppose they were there for that purpose.

Q. Who were they that you saw there whom you think were there presumably for that purpose?—A. I do not know, sir; I might name twenty or twenty-five if I could think of them.

Q. Post-office employés?—A. Well, a great many of them.

Q. Mr. Chambers was there and you were there?—A. I was, sir.

Q. What letter-carriers were there?—A. Well, there was a man by the name of McConnell.

Q. A letter-carrier who used to be in the Twelfth ward?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was Barnes there from the post-office?—A. I would hardly know him if I should see him, but they say he was there.

Q. Were there any arrests made at your primary?—A. I don't believe there were any arrests made; everything was very quiet.

Q. There were a good many pudding tickets found in the box?—A. They say there was not more than half a dozen.

Q. Did your crowd carry the ward?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How big a majority?—A. Two hundred and twenty-one. Our crowd has been carrying that ward for 20 years; that is, the side of the house that I profess to belong to.

Q. Well, Mr. Chambers was not particularly active about the polls? I suppose you know, as I know, that he is really the brains and leader of one of the sides in the Eleventh ward.—A. No, sir; I can not say that; I will not give Mr. Chambers that much credit.

Q. Is not Mr. Chambers usually set down as the leader?—A. Yes, sir; he is supposed to be.

Q. He is the particular leader?—A. He is supposed to be the leader; yes, sir.

Q. Of the Henderson faction in that ward?—A. Yes, sir; he is.

Q. The faction that has been victorious against the Johnson-Airey ticket the last time?—A. Yes, sir.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN H. HORNER.

JOHN H. HORNER testified as follows:

Q. What is your position?—A. I am fireman.

Q. In the custom-house here?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. About how long ago were you appointed?—A. I was appointed here in the fall.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. Fourth.

Q. You were present at the primaries in that ward?—A. After I was done work here; yes, sir.

Q. About how long did you stay there?—A. I got there about 15 minutes after they opened.

Q. And stayed there until about 8?—A. I stayed there until they closed.

Q. You were working for the so-called Henderson ticket, were you not?—A. I was supposed to be on that side.

Q. The Henderson-Stone ticket?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Against the so-called Johnson-Airey crowd?—A. Yes, sir; that is right.

Q. Did you pay any money towards the expenses of the primary?—A. No, sir; I did not pay any.

Q. Were you asked to pay any by anybody?—A. No, sir.

Q. Was there a meeting of the Henderson people in your ward?—A. Not that I know of.

Q. How did they pay the expenses for ticket-holders, etc.? How did they get the money?—A. That I do not know; I know that they had some money.

Q. How many ticket-holders did your side have in the ward?—A. I guess they had seven or eight.

Q. Was that all there was any need of in the ward?—A. Well, that was as many as they needed. They had some runners—they were mostly runners.

Q. The ticket-holders were mostly runners?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Men to get out the voters?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you have any wagons?—A. We had two.

Q. How many ticket-holders did the Johnson crowd have?—A. Quite a number.

Q. You are sure nobody asked you for any money?—A. No, sir; nobody asked me for any.

Q. Did they speak to you as to what part you should take in the election?—A. No, sir.

Q. No Government official spoke to you about it?—A. No, sir.

Q. Who else from the custom-house were there at the polls at that primary?—A. Well, there wasn't anyone.

Q. Who was there from the post-office?—A. William Coath and Charles Webber.

Q. A letter-carrier?—A. No.

Mr. ROSE. Mr. Coath is assistant to the chief of city division.

Q. Were they running the Johnson side?—A. Of course they were.

Q. They were the chiefs?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Of the Johnson-Airey crowd?—A. Well, they did not make their appearance there until about 6 o'clock. They came there about 6 and then the repeaters began to come.

Q. Well, you mean to say that Coath and Webber, in your belief, brought up the repeaters?—A. They were around the corner; I saw them there, but I did not go around the corner; they were fixing the pudding tickets for them.

Q. They were fixing the pudding tickets?—A. Yes, sir; they sent men up there to try to vote seven or eight times.

Q. Did you have a majority of the judges?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The Johnson people then were trying to vote these repeaters or pudding tickets?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. A pudding ticket is a ticket folded or twisted with several tickets inside?—A. Yes, sir; with a fan fold.

Q. Did you win in your ward?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was there much disorder at the polls?—A. Yes, sir; a great deal.

Q. Did you notice any Government employes from the post-office taking part in that disorder?—A. Well, I was right at the window pretty much all the time; at the side of the window, challenging their votes and keeping them out; I stood right at the window.

Q. Did you see very much disorder on their side?—A. Well, all the disorder came from that side, because they had the money and had the beer.

Q. They were treating men a great deal to beer?—A. Well, they had open house the next door to the polls.

Q. What street were you on, High street?—A. No, Fayette, near Central avenue.

Q. Who was doing the treating there?—A. I do not know.

Q. Besides Mr. Coath and Mr. Webber, who were the Johnson leaders in that ward; were they mainly post-office people?—A. Of course they were post-office people.

Q. Were there any of them in the marshal's office from that ward?—A. No, sir.

Q. They were post-office people?—A. They were post-office people.

Q. I suppose it was the office-holders who were taking the leading part in the fight?—A. Of course they were.

Q. That is the case usually here, is it not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You say it was, of course, office-holders who took the leading part in the primaries; well, now, is it always here at the primaries a fact that the office-holders and the gentlemen who expect to be office-holders take a leading part in the primaries?—A. Well, the small fry of the post-office always have.

Q. So, as a matter of fact, it is a pretty well recognized state of affairs that it is the office-holders' business to manage the primaries?—A. Of course; why not?

Q. The leaders of the other faction in that ward were the post-office people, and the leaders of your faction were what?—A. Well, they were considered to be Stone men.

Q. That is, they were adherents of Mr. Stone, William M. Stone, the gentleman who didn't get the marshal's office?—A. Well, yes; but they were all on our side and generally Henderson men.

Q. Generally Henderson men?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were not anti-Administration in the sense of being against the President?—A. No, not at all. The Stone element was the Harrison men straight out; they were anti-Blaine, to give you a fair understanding about it. The collector said nothing to me about the primaries at all.

Q. Who are the leaders in that ward—you are one of them?—A. Well, my son, Ackret, and several more.

Q. Besides Webber and Coath, what other people from the post-office were there?—A. Well, I do not know who the others were that were there.

Q. Who challenged for the other side?—A. They had a man by the name of Cleghorn. My son was judge.

Q. Were any arrests made at your ward?—A. O, yes, sir.

Q. How many, about?—A. Well, I guess when the wagon came there it was about half full, and went away full; if it would have held any more they would have taken more, but it would not hold any more.

Q. Were any of the Government employes arrested?—A. No, sir; I didn't see any of the Government employes arrested.

Q. It is your belief that Coath and Webber fixed up the ticket?—A. I heard so, but would not say for sure that they did. I would have done the same thing myself.

Q. Do you mean to say you would fix up the pudding tickets yourself?—A. I believe in doing anything to win.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH A. GALAMISON.

JOSEPH A. GALAMISON testified as follows:

Q. Your position?—A. Messenger to the appraiser.

Q. What ward do you come from?—A. Seventh.

Q. Were you present at the last primaries?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. All the time?—A. No, sir; I did not go there until a quarter of five.

Q. From a quarter of five until eight were you there until the polls closed?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. The appraiser was there, was he not?—A. No, sir.

Q. You were working for the so-called Henderson-Stone ticket?—A. Yes, sir; what little I did.

Q. Did you challenge?—A. No, sir.

Q. Was there much cheating in your ward; did the other side try to cheat at all?—A. Yes, sir; I know they did try to put in pudding tickets or to work repeaters, and voted quite a number of Democrats.

Q. That was the Johnson-Airey crowd that voted the Democrats?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who were managing the polls on the Johnson-Airey side; who were there from the post-office; who were running the polls; who was the challenger?—A. Well, now, there was a man there once by the name of White.

Q. Does he hold a Government office?—A. He is on the scales; he was there a part of the time.

Q. He was there for the Johnson-Airey crowd?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you see Joseph Parker, of the Internal Revenue?—A. He was there awhile.

Q. John Bell was there and pretty active, was he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was John Bell drunk?—A. Well, not to my knowledge.

Q. He was pretty active there, was he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was Summers?—A. I do not know him.

Q. Was Joe Solomon active?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was John T. Biggs active on your side?—A. Well, not to any extent; he was there.

Q. The other men were active on the Johnson-Airey side?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did you pay any money toward the legitimate expenses of the primaries?—A. Not a cent, sir.

Q. Were you asked to pay any?—A. No, sir; not a cent.

Q. Did anyone speak to you about what part you should play at the primaries—Government people?—A. No, sir.

Q. Didn't the appraiser speak to you?—A. No, sir; not a word; never approached me on the subject of the primaries at all until after it was over, and then it was about the convention and not about the primaries.

Q. How many ticket-holders did your side have?—A. That I do not know, exactly.

Q. You had both white and colored; paid men?—A. That I do not know.

Q. About how many, 20?—A. My judgment is that there possibly may have been 12; I don't think there was more than that.

Q. Did you have any furniture vans to bring the voters up?—A. No, sir.

Q. Well, is there need then of much money to run the primary?—A. No, not in our ward, so far as our side is concerned.

Q. That is, so far as the Henderson side is concerned?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were there many ticket holders on the other side?—A. There were a good many; yes, sir.

Q. Did you have the judges?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You had two judges and they had one?—A. They had one.

Q. You won by about 25 majority, did you not?—A. Yes, sir; somewhere about that.

Q. Was there much disorder at your primary?—A. No, sir.

Q. Many arrests?—A. Only two, I believe; they were youths who were cutting up a little.

Q. What other people who were office-holders were there besides those mentioned in the Seventh ward?—A. I don't recollect them; let me see—Biggs.

Q. Where is Biggs?—A. internal-revenue office.

Q. Biggs and Parker of the internal revenue?—A. Yes, sir; and Mr. Wagner and Mr. Ray, White, and Alexander.

Q. Where is Alexander?—A. In the public stores.

Q. Was he there for the Johnson people?—A. He was not there at all, I don't think.

Q. Is this the list of the office-holders in the Seventh ward?—A. Well, partly, yes, sir; I think it is about all of them.

Q. From the custom-house, do you mean?—A. From the custom-house and post-office, and some in the internal-revenue office.

Q. Read the list?—A. Wagner and Plummer.

Q. Where were Wagner and Plummer?—A. In this department, in the custom-house.

Q. Were they both Henderson people?—A. That I do not know.

Q. Did they work at the primaries at all?—A. They did not.

Q. Plummer is a man that has been here a long time?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who next were there?—A. I guess White, Alexander—

Q. Was Alexander at the polls?—A. No, sir; Walters—

Q. Was he there?—A. He was there, but did not take any part.

Q. For what side?—A. I don't think he took part with either side.

Q. Where is he?—A. He is on the scales.

Q. Well, you have a lot of other people there in office from your ward; are there not others—John Bell?—A. There is John Bell, in the post-office department, and a man by the name of Lone.

Q. And Mr. Summers is in the post-office?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Mr. Solomon?—A. Yes.

Q. Those were all Johnson people?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is Mr. Pierson, in your ward, in office?—A. I don't know him.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH SHANEY.

JOSEPH SHANEY testified as follows:

Q. What is your position?—A. Laborer in the appraiser's department.

Q. How long have you been in that position?—A. I went in on the 2d of February.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. Seventh.

Q. What part did you take in the last primary elections?—A. Went to the polls and voted.

Q. And stayed there?—A. Stayed there about all the afternoon.

Q. From the time they opened, all the afternoon?—A. I was not there when they opened; I judge I was there about half past four; I left here at 4 o'clock and went over.

Q. Were you working for the Henderson-Stone ticket?—A. Well, yes, sir; I was.

Q. You were challenger?—A. No, sir. When I got there I went up to the window and voted, and some of them wanted to drive and bulldoze me away, but I stayed there until I voted and went out into the street and stayed around.

Q. Why did they want to drive you away?—A. Well, I have always took an active part, and this time I didn't.

Q. What do you mean by an active part; by knocking down the opposition?—A. No, sir; I try to get all the voters to vote my way that I can when I take an active part; sometimes I have been challenger and judge of election; that is what I do when I take an active part.

Q. What majority did you carry your ward by?—A. I think it was about 20 or 30.

Q. Was there much disorder in the ward?—A. No, sir.

Q. Only a couple of arrests, were there not?—A. I think there was only one; it is the only one I saw.

Q. What did they challenge you for; why did they object?—A. Well, they wanted to get me away from there.

Q. Who were they?—A. I did not take particular notice of any in particular.

Q. Why do you say they wanted you to leave the polls?—A. Well, they always know that I take an active part, and they halloosed out "civil service," and they knew that if they could get me away from there it would be a benefit to them; they know I stick to a friend through thick and thin.

Q. Who was the particular friend you were sticking to this time?—A. Billy Stone.

Q. Was there much cheating by the other side there?—A. Well, I saw a great many Democrats voting.

Q. For the Johnson-Airey ticket?—A. I could not say; I should judge they were working for them.

Q. Do you think that the Johnson-Airey crowd bought up pretty much all they could?—A. From what I can learn I do.

Q. Did anyone ask you for any money for the primaries?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you give any?—A. No, sir, only what I spent myself; I spent some money, but nobody asked me for it.

Q. What did you spend it on?—A. Buying a few cigars or something of that kind; I don't drink anything.

Q. Did you subscribe for the ticket holders?—A. No, sir.

Q. Your side had two furniture vans for bringing up the voters?—A. No, sir.

Q. Now, on your side the office-holders that were working were Mr. Biggs and Mr. Galamison, were they not?—A. I didn't see any office-holders.

Q. Did you see John Biggs there?—A. I saw John Biggs on the street and was talking to him.

Q. Was he pretty active there?—A. Well, I saw him on the street and was talking to him awhile; in these last primaries I considered the Democratic party did the principal work.

Q. You think there was exceptional disorder?—A. Yes, sir, I do; and I think the Democratic party had the whole thing in their hands, and the police officers were all for the post office element.

Q. You think the post-office element then was in with the Gorman crowd?—A. I am satisfied that Airey was at the bottom of it. Airey fought this fight over Johnson's head.

Q. You think Johnson was a figurehead?—A. That is what I think.

Q. Did Airey come down here to the custom-house much?—A. I do not know, sir.

Q. You think Airey had the Democratic street cleaners and all that in?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was he in with the Gorman crowd?—A. Well, he was in with the Democrats, from what I understand; I could not say whether there is any truth in it.

TESTIMONY OF PHILIP HAHN.

PHILIP HAHN testified as follows:

Q. What is your position?—A. Laborer over in the public stores.

Q. How long have you been there, about?—A. Since July 1st.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. I live in the Thirteenth.

Q. You were present at the last primaries were you not?—A. I was at the polls a part of the time.

Q. Most of the time?—A. Well, yes; about most of the time.

Q. For the so-called Henderson ticket?—A. No, I could not say that.

Q. Opposition to the Johnson ticket?—A. Well, I went in merely for getting people to be with honest people.

Q. Well, you supported the same ticket that was supported by Pay-Inspector Pritchard, U. S. Navy?—A. Yes, sir; the same.

Q. Your opponents were John F. Thomas and Winnie Johnson?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Those were the men you were fighting?—A. Winnie Johnson was the main one.

Q. Mr. Johnson, up till last spring, was usually classed and supposed to be a Henderson man, was he not?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Just shortly before he was appointed to the post-office he voted with the Johnson party?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. As a matter of fact what you do know is that he voted the other way from the side he had been voting with and was almost immediately appointed to a position in the stamp department of the post-office?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. How did your side raise the money for the primaries; did you pay any money yourself?—A. No, sir.

Q. Were you asked to pay any money?—A. No, sir.

Q. Was there much disorder at the primary elections where you were?—A. Well, I saw a couple of arrests; that was of colored people; I do not know whether they were any more or not.

Q. Was there much cheating?—A. None that I know of.

Q. The other side voted square, then; the Johnson-Airey side, the Thomas side?—A. Well, as far as I could see, it was about as fair as usual at a primary.

Q. You mean that they don't generally vote squarely at a primary?—A. Well, that is the general opinion.

Q. Well, now, of the office holders on your side, Brenton was at work, was he not?—A. He was there; yes, sir.

Q. On the other side was Winnie Johnson?—A. Winnie Johnson was there.

Q. And John Thomas?—A. Yes, sir. There were several carriers there.

Q. You were there when the carriers from the Eighteenth ward tried to vote?—A. Brown or Adams; Brown was there, but I think he is from the Tenth ward.

TESTIMONY OF ALEXANDER LYNCH.

ALEXANDER LYNCH testified as follows:

Q. Your position?—A. I am on the scales.

Q. What ward do you come from?—A. Thirteenth.

Q. Were you present at the last primaries?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. On behalf of the Henderson crowd, so called?—A. Yes, sir; I am a Republican.

Q. But you were against the so-called Johnson-Airey crowd?—A. Yes, sir; I was.

Q. And working there pretty actively during the day?—A. Well, no, sir; I did not, to say, take any active part; I voted.

Q. Did any one ask you for any money?—A. No, sir.

Q. Do you know whether or not Marshal Airey came down here to the custom-house much and tried to get the custom-house people to go for the Johnson ticket?—A. He did his best all over town; and not only that, but he had a fight with one of the judges at the window.

Q. Do you know of his being down here at the custom-house at all?—A. No, sir; I could not say that I do.

TESTIMONY OF CHARLES FRED KENNETS.

CHARLES FRED KENNETS testified as follows:

Q. What is your position?—A. I am one of the scale hands.

Q. Been there about a year?—A. Yes, sir; about ten months.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. Sixteenth.

Q. You were present at the primaries, the last ones?—A. I was.

Q. For which side?—A. Henderson side.

Q. Were most of the custom-house employes Henderson men?—A. I do not know anything about that at all.

Q. They were both Johnson and Henderson men among the custom-house employes?—A. I do not know.

Q. What other office-holders were there at that ward?—A. I do not know at all, except John Reed.

Q. He was there?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. For the Henderson side?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Jim Biddle was there for the Johnson side?—A. Yes, sir; and dozens more.

Q. From the post-office?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Was there much cheating?—A. Well, they didn't allow the Republicans to vote, and they voted the Democrats; that is the way they licked us.

Q. Who was running the ward for the Johnson-Airey crowd?—A. All the post-office fellows.

Q. Do you recollect the names of any of them?—A. Frank Bowers, Alderdice, Charley Anderson, and lots of them.

Q. Were there many arrests?—A. Yes, sir; they arrested our people.

Q. Were the police in with the Johnson crowd, then?—A. It seemed that way.

Q. Well, Airey was supposed to be the leader of the Johnson crowd?—A. I did not see him there.

Q. Who led your side there?—A. Our side, nobody; they didn't give us any chance at all.

Q. Were you arrested?—A. I staid outside because I didn't want to go to the watch house and pay a fine; I didn't care about it.

Q. Was the money chiefly raised by the office-holders?—A. That I could not tell you; I do not know. We were not making anything and therefore could not give any.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN REED.

JOHN REED testified as follows:

Q. What is your position; on the scales?—A. That is where I am making \$4 and \$5 a week at.

Q. Not a very large sum?—A. No, not very; I would like to have a better one. I am going to quit to-day, so they had better give me a good one if I am deserving.

Q. You have been on about ten months?—A. No, sir; about eight.

Q. What ward do you live in?—A. Sixteenth.

Q. Were you present at the primaries?—A. O, yes; you can always find me there.

Q. You were working for the Henderson-Stone ticket?—A. That was my ticket; yes, sir.

Q. Did the other side do much cheating?—A. Well, they voted a good many Democrats.

Q. The Johnson-Airey crowd voted a good many Democrats?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Did they seem to be in with the police?—A. Yes, sir. They took me to the watchhouse before I had been there ten minutes; and they took me to the watchhouse because I objected to their voting Democrats. I pulled the window down where the judges were at, and told them they could not have any primaries if they could not carry it on right.

Q. Whereupon they arrested you and put you in the watchhouse?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you fined?—A. Two dollars and forty-five cents.

Q. Were there many other arrests there?—A. Five arrests, I think.

Q. The other side were doing an awful amount of cheating, were they?—A. They were doing this: they were bringing Democrats from wherever they could get them, and not only that, but I know of one crowd that they sent away out on the base-ball grounds to bring in and give them a keg of beer.

Q. Who were engineering that?—A. Mr. Butnets and Mr. Brown. I don't consider Butnets a Republican.

Q. They are neither one of them in Government service?—A. No, sir.

Q. You and John Adams were challenging for the Henderson side, and Frank Bowers was challenging for the Johnson side?—A. Frank Bowers and a man by the name of Frank Yates. I have been a life-long Republican and been a good worker, and never asked for a political job until I got on the scales. I am a bricklayer by trade, and this winter I had nothing else to do, so I took this job; and on Monday I am going to leave the job, but I want to get back here next winter, and I am going to see if they will keep this job open for me.

Q. Can you keep your influence?—A. They may down me.

Q. Were you not offered a place in the post-office this spring?—A. Yes, sir; I was offered a place at \$840 if I would vote for them, but I wouldn't do it.

Q. You were going to remain your own master?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. Who offered you that place?—A. Charley Brown offered me that place, and I have four different other people who were witnesses; I brought the subject up in the presence of these people and Mr. Brown, saying that they offered me a job, and he said why not take it. I said I have principles, and I would not accept any job that I would have to be bought to take, and I said I would trust to Providence; so I got a job on the scales.

Q. Brown said you were playing politics for a job, and would not take the job when you got the offer of one?—A. Yes, sir. Henderson is a friend of mine, and whichever way he goes I go.

Q. Was the job offered you at \$840?—A. The job does not pay \$840 now; it was on the elevator.

Q. Who did they give it to?—A. Jim Beall.

Q. Did he work for the Johnson ticket?—A. Yes, sir; of course.

Q. As a matter of fact in your ward it is the office-holders who do and always have taken an active part in the primaries?—A. Exactly; they are the ones that ought to.

Q. It is mainly the office-holders who run the primaries?—A. Most undoubtedly.

Q. It is the office-holders or people who want office that run them all the time?—A. If a man does not want office he is not going to bother about it. I will not say that of all cases. I bothered with it twelve or fourteen years, and never asked for a job and had no desire for one.

Q. But the great majority of them do want office?—A. Yes, sir; the great majority are office-holders or people who want office.

Q. Was it not at these last primaries pretty much a fight between the post-office people and Henderson-Stone people who hadn't got office?—A. That was the amount of it.

Q. But the custom-house divided up half and half?—A. The people in the custom-house here had their orders to go and vote to suit themselves; that is all the orders they had here. They didn't say you should vote for this one or for that one or for anybody; they said go and vote to suit yourselves; and that is the way Johnson ought to have done.

Q. But the Johnson people did not do that, as a matter of fact?—A. They all had to go solid, and we tried to lick them. If I had been judge we would not have got left, either.

Q. But you did try to put down the window?—A. Oh, yes; I have broken up more than one election; that is not the first one I have broken up; as long as they do right I will let them vote.

Q. How many ticket-holders did you have on your side?—A. We had \$18 to run our primary.

Q. Only \$18?—A. That is all; we don't need much money.

Q. You paid \$3 for the use of the window, did you not?—A. I do not know as we paid anything.

Q. What was your printing bill?—A. I think it was \$7.

Q. Well, then, did you only have \$11 for ticket-holders?—A. We had \$18 outside of the printing—\$18 left; we had \$25 all told.

Q. You had about nine ticket-holders?—A. About six.

Q. Was the money raised by the office-holders?—A. No, sir; just among ourselves; all the money we got was from individual people here.

Q. Well, you don't need much money to manage the primary elections?—A. No, we don't; but they need a h— of a sight.

Q. Was there not a little bit of repeating done on your side?—A. No, sir; not on our side.

Q. No pudding tickets used?—A. No, indeed; we don't allow any pudding tickets on our side.

Q. There were some boxes where they put in pudding tickets?—A. No pudding tickets got in on our side. If they would give me a chance I would lick them all the time; I don't say I wouldn't cheat in the primaries; whoever gets two judges wins.

Q. Each side cheats as much as it can?—A. Certainly; that is the way; I would do it just the same as they do; they had two judges.

Q. Don't you think it a little mean for you to have tried to shut down the window on them and block their game just because they had two judges, when you would have done the same thing if you had had the chance?—A. Well, this was a Democrat that they wanted to vote, and I wouldn't allow it.

Q. Your side don't vote Democrats?—A. No, sir; we don't.

Q. How do you do your cheating?—A. Well, we do our cheating honorably, and if they catch us it is all right, it is fair. I have even carried the box home with me on one occasion.

Q. You were offered a place in the post-office at \$800, or about that, which was given to Mr. Beall, and they would have expected you to work for the Johnson ticket if you had taken that place, and Mr. Beall, who did take it, worked for the Johnson ticket?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. And Mr. Bulnets and Mr. Brown distributed the patronage for the post-office?—A. Yes, sir; most undoubtedly.

Q. Mr. Johnson turns the office over to them?—A. They go and see Mr. Johnson, I suppose, and they put in a good word for the men they want appointed, and in consequence whoever they want is appointed.

TESTIMONY OF GEORGE W. COWAN.

GEORGE W. COWAN testified as follows:

Q. Your position?—A. Porter in United States public store No. 1.

Q. How long have you been in that position?—A. Since about the 1st of May.

Q. What ward do you come from?—A. Fifth.

Q. You were more or less active on the Hutchins side of the ward?—A. No, sir; I was not active; I was there.

Q. How much time were you there?—A. I was there about an hour.

Q. Between what hours?—A. When I got done work I went over there; it was about half past 4 when I got there, and I voted and went away; I was there about 15 minutes; I came back about 6 o'clock and was there then about 10 or 15 minutes; went home to supper, and got back about 20 minutes after 7, and staid until about half past 8.

Q. Did you see Joe Solomon there?—A. No, sir.

Q. Did you have any conversation, or rather some office-holders had a conversation with you about what part you should take in it?—A. No, sir.

Q. You got no instructions?—A. No, sir.

TESTIMONY OF A. C. GRAY.

A. C. GRAY testified as follows:

Q. What is your position?—A. Messenger.

Q. How long have you been in that position? You were appointed 5 or 6 years ago, were you not?—A. Yes, sir; under Mr. Grouer.

- Q. Are you a Democrat in politics?—A. No, sir; I am a Republican.
- Q. How did you happen to be appointed under Mr. Gromer?—A. Through influence.
- Q. You had Republican or Democrat influence?—A. I had both.
- Q. What do you know about the assessments in 1888?—A. That is under Mr. Gromer; I was assessed.
- Q. How much money did they assess you for?—A. Ten dollars.
- Q. Who sent you that assessment?—A. It was sent to me from the Democratic State campaign committee; it was sent me from headquarters.
- Q. Did they send it to your address here?—A. Sent it to the appraiser's office.
- Q. You were in the appraiser's office?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Was every one, so far as you know, assessed?—A. Pretty much all of them in the service received notice; some of the Republicans didn't.
- Q. Were there many Republicans left in the office then?—A. Two or three.
- Q. But all the Democrats in the appraiser's office, as far as you know, received these communications?—A. I think so; yes.
- Q. And what percentage of their salaries were they assessed?—A. That I can not tell. I know upon one occasion a man was assessed and he paid his assessment, and he was assessed again and he didn't pay it.
- Q. Who was this man?—A. Lential.
- Q. He paid his assessment and was assessed again and didn't pay it?—A. That is it.
- Q. Where did they pay?—A. I suppose they paid at the State central committee, at the hotel. Mr. Archer sent me word that I hadn't paid my assessment, but I sent him word back that I had a very limited salary and could not pay.
- Q. Was that State Treasurer Archer, who was afterwards sent to the penitentiary?—A. Yes, sir.
- Q. Were you assessed last year?—A. No, sir. There has not been a word said to me on the subject since I have been here under this administration. I haven't heard a word about assessments at all; heard no one say they were going to pay any assessments or anything about it at all.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM S. POTTER.

WILLIAM S. POTTER testified as follows:

- Q. What is your position here?—A. I am chief liquidating clerk.
- Q. How long have you been in the service?—A. Since 1886.
- Q. Do you recollect in the Presidential election of 1888 whether you received notice to pay to the campaign fund, Democratic campaign fund of 1888, the Presidential election?—A. I think I did, sir.
- Q. How much did you pay?—A. I don't think I paid anything.
- Q. Are you sure you did not?—A. I don't think I did; can not recollect.
- Q. Did you pay in 1887, the State campaign?—A. I don't think I did.
- Q. You are not positive?—A. No, sir, I am not.
- Q. Do you recollect asking any fellow clerk if he had paid?—A. I don't think I did.

Q. Did you not bring a message from Mr. Archer to a man named Fielding, telling him that he hadn't paid his assessment?—A. No, sir; I never delivered any message from Archer.

Q. Were you approached at all about paying any money last fall?—A. No, sir.

Q. Well, there was an attempt to collect subscriptions in the Presidential elections of 1888 through the office, was there not?—A. Not to my knowledge.

Q. Did you not receive a notice?—A. I think I did.

Mr. GRAY recalled.

Q. Mr. Gray, is this the gentleman who asked you about your assessment; who told you that Mr. Archer wanted to know if you had paid your subscriptions in 1888?—A. He asked me out on the Boundary; asked me if I had paid.

Q. Mr. Potter, what do you say?—A. I think there is not a word of truth in it.

Mr. GRAY. I will swear to it, sir; up on the Boundary he said to me, Mr. Archer said you had not paid your assessment.

Mr. POTTER. I deny that positively, from beginning to end.

Q. As far as you know, these notices were sent to all the people in the office here in 1888?—A. That I can not say.

Q. They were sent to a number of other people—you heard of it?—A. I presume they were.

Q. You did not pay?—A. That I can not say.

Q. You can not recollect whether you made any contribution in 1888?—A. I can not recollect.

Q. What year did you make contributions?—A. I can't recollect that.

Q. You know you have made some contributions?—A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have not contributed since the change of administration?—A. No, sir.

Q. Isn't it a matter of common rumor that papers soliciting contributions for Democratic campaign funds were sent around through the office?—A. Yes, sir, I think it was a common report. This man Gray has a personal grudge against me, and he is a man that I do not talk to. I think what I say I can substantiate. I don't think the majority of the gentlemen in this house would believe him on his oath.

Mr. ROOSEVELT. That is all.

This completes the taking of testimony.

OFFICE U. S. MARSHAL, DISTRICT OF MARYLAND.

Baltimore, May 6, 1891.

HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT,

U. S. Civil Service Commissioner, Washington, D. C.:

SIR: My attention has been called by Marshal Airey to certain testimony taken before you, in which John B. Tweddle stated he gave me \$35 and I stated I received it.

This money was not given to or handed to me by Mr. Tweddle, but to Mr. Short, treasurer of our club, and after consultation it was agreed to spend it in a certain way, and I was requested and delegated to pay the same out (which I did as testified to by me).

The way your question was put to me, in the excitement of the moment, my answer would imply that I received the money directly from Mr. Tweddle. This was not the case, as can be testified by Mr. Short, our treasurer, and Mr. S. R. Mason, both respectable merchants of this city. Mr. Tweddle also informs me that his recollection of the matter, after mature consideration, is the same. You can readily see that as I ultimately got the money Mr. T. supposed that was the purport of your question and not to whom he directly gave it.

You will observe that though unusual efforts appear to have been made, by questions to the other Eighth ward witnesses, to implicate me in receiving money from them, there is nothing except Tweddle and my own testimony leading to that point and that was given under a misapprehension of the scope of the questions.

I think, in justice to all concerned, this letter should accompany the testimony, as one was given in a hurry and excitement, and this is the result of cool deliberation and can be sworn to by all parties present.

Respectfully yours,

W. H. SULTZER.

OFFICE U. S. MARSHAL, DISTRICT OF MARYLAND,
Baltimore, May 7, 1891.

Hon. THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
Civil Service Commissioner, Washington, D. C. :

DEAR SIR: I am in receipt of copy of evidence taken in regard to our late primaries, for which I am very grateful.

I am happy to say that I do not see anything very damaging as far as the marshal's office is concerned, though one or two of my deputies may have been a little indiscreet; still it is hardly human nature for a man to stand idly by and see such glaring frauds attempted, as was done, without asserting his manhood, especially when he knows he is right and that his side has a large majority.

As I have no doubt, you have been fully though inaccurately informed by our opponents as to their side of the question, I now propose to inflict you with a bird's-eye view of the case through administration glasses.

First. Col. Thomas S. Hodson, chairman of the Republican State central committee and a disappointed applicant for the position of United States district attorney, caused a committee of seven gentlemen to be appointed to devise rules and regulations and adopt a constitution for the government of the party throughout the State. He then had appointed by the commission of seven a subcommittee of three, to appoint judges and clerks and name the polling places for the late primary election, and this commission of three, by a very strange coincidence, gave the antiadministration party two judges and a clerk in seventeen wards out of nineteen, the poor old administration people two judges and a clerk in the other two wards; there being no contest in the other three wards of this city, it was of no consequence who got the majority of judges in those three.

This will show you the uphill work the friends of the administration had. Precluded as we were by the civil service rules from being active participants, and with all our active Republicans in office, it is astonishing that we carried anything, and yet under all these adverse circumstances we carried fairly a majority of the wards in the city and elected a State convention overwhelmingly in favor of the administration.

Yours truly,

WILLIAM F. AIREY.

OFFICE U. S. MARSHAL, DISTRICT OF MARYLAND,
Baltimore, May 8, 1891.

SIR: I have this day turned over to Postmaster Johnson the testimony in the recent investigation. He will return it to you.

I inclose herewith sample of two tickets used in my ward, inadvertently omitted from mine of yesterday, "A" being the one used by our side and "B" by the opposition.

Ticket "A" is about the usual size used at all our primaries as far back as I can recollect. You can readily see that two unscrupulous majority judges (which the opposition had in seventeen wards of this city) could, by refusing the votes of those presenting the large tickets and accepting all the small ones, overturn the voice of the majority of voters unless strong efforts were made to obtain fair play.

Yours, truly,

WILLIAM F. AIREY.

Hon. THEODORE ROOSEVELT,
Civil Service Commissioner, Washington, D. C.

1156—10

A.

B.

3d WARD
REPUBLICAN TICKET.

Cut of Lincoln.

*Delegates to the 1st Legislative District
 Convention.*

HARRY N. DAVIS.
 W. H. D. BENNETT.
 MARION A. FRAZIER.
 ROBERT BARKER.
 W. R. BAKER.
 HENRY SEWELL.
 LAWRENCE LEE.
 WILSON CHAPMAN.
 GEORGE SANDERS.

Election Monday, March 30th, from 4 to 8
 P. M.
 Polls, 1713 East Lombard street.

3rd Ward
 REGULAR
 Republican Ticket.

Cut of Grant.

*Delegates to First
 Legislative District Con-
 vention.*

JOHN A. DORGAN.
 JOHN DEACON.
 EUGENE M. BONNER.
 JOSEPH MACLEOD.
 CASPAR MILLER.
 WALTER QUEEN.
 JOSEPH WHITE.
 ALFRED THOMAS.
 W. HARRIS.

Election Monday, March
 30, 1891, 4 to 8 o'clock P.
 M., at 1713 E. Lombard
 street.