

# MAINE STATE LEGISLATURE

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# DOCUMENTS

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# THE LEGISLATURE

OF THE

# STATE OF MAINE,

A. D. 1859.



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1859.

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# THIRTY-EIGHTH LEGISLATURE.

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SENATE ]

[No. 8.

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## REPORT.

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The Joint Select Committee to whom was referred so much of the Governor's message as relates to "the frauds in the late elections among the French population in the County of Aroostook," having had the same under careful examination, ask leave to submit the following

### REPORT:

In view of these matters, the Committee would present a brief statement of the rights of electors and a history of the enactments in relation to the exercise of the elective franchise in plantations and unorganized places.

It is provided in the Constitution that electors may vote in the cities, towns and plantations where their residence has been established three months prior to the election. No provision whatever is made for electors residing in unorganized places.

At the time of the formation of the Constitution, it was provided by law, that when any State or County tax was laid on any plantation not organized, the plantation might be organized under a precept granted by the State or County Treasurer for the purpose of assessing and collecting said State or County tax, and in this way it became a plantation for all lawful purposes.

In 1833 a law was passed authorizing persons resident in unincorporated places to present, yearly, in the month of May, lists of their rateable polls and estate, to the assessors of an adjacent town, and making it the duty of said town officers to assess such persons and collect the tax. Such persons so assessed and taxed, and quali-

fied to be electors in other respects, were authorized to vote in such town, although their residence was in another place.

This law overrides the constitutional provision in relation to residence by allowing a person having his residence in an unorganized place to vote in a town where he is merely a tax payer; but has no legal residence.

In 1840 a new order of affairs was inaugurated in relation to the exercise of the elective franchise in plantations and in unorganized places. A law was passed, this year, authorizing any elector resident in any unincorporated place adjacent to a town or organized plantation to vote in such town or plantation, provided, he sends in his name to such town or plantation on or before the first day of June.

Under this law, it soon became a practice in many places to receive the votes of all outsiders, whether they sent their names in or not, and whether they came from places adjacent or remote.

Under this law, the greatest abuses were practised in many plantations in the County of Aroostook, at the last election.

At the extra session of the Legislature in October, 1840, a law known as the "wildcat law" in relation to elections, was passed. This law provides, that any three or more inhabitants in any unincorporated place, by application to the County Commissioners, may be organized into a plantation of any dimensions for the purpose of voting and for nothing else.

On the 23d day of October, 1840, the Hancock plantation, embodying a portion of the French settlements on the river Saint John, was organized, being one of the first acts under the new law. The limits of this plantation were about sixty miles by twenty-two, thus embracing an area of more than thirteen hundred square miles, being larger than many counties. Soon after the treaty of 1842, the remainder of the French settlements on the river Saint John were organized into the plantations known as Van Buren and Madawaska, each extending upon the river about twenty-five miles.

In 1844, all these plantations voted in the election for member of Congress in the Eastern District; but the votes were all rejected by the Governor and Council for alleged informalities and illegalities, the principal informality being, most probably, that the votes were given for the wrong candidate.

Ever since the organization of these plantations, they have been in all contested elections, a battle ground, where, in most cases, the victorious party has been the one whose resources in rum and money held out the longest. There is some excuse in this, from the lawless and irregular manner of conducting the local elections among the French settlements by the New Brunswick people before the treaty of 1842.

It was the custom for the candidates for office in New Brunswick, or their friends, to provide gratuitous entertainment on the day of election to their supporters, and in this way, frequently large sums of money were expended. And when by the treaty of 1842, the French settlements on the South and West side of the Saint John river fell within the jurisdiction of Maine, the same course of treatment was expected from the candidates for office in Maine as had been practiced in New Brunswick. Unscrupulous and scheming politicians were not slow in finding this out and profiting by the occasion.

These plantation votes have become a sort of shuttle-cock in the game of politics, now appearing on one side, then on the other, and then nowhere, until, at last, it has become a mere question of dollars and cents, as to whom the votes shall be given.

This state of affairs is bad enough; but the last election has developed another fact, that in addition to buying up the legal voters, the attempt was made, and so far carried out as to receive and make return of more than two hundred illegal votes, the principal part of which were in the Hancock plantation.

The following table will show the entire vote in the French plantations for the last four years, also in the Hancock plantation, being one of them :

*Vote of the French Plantations in Aroostook County.*

	Total.
1855, . . . . .	463
1856, . . . . .	590
1857, . . . . .	569
1858, . . . . .	888 — 298 increase.

*Hancock Plantation.*

	Dem.	Rep.	Whig.	Total.
1855,	143	28	6	177

## ELECTION FRAUDS.

*Hancock Plantation, (Continued.)*

	Dem.	Rep.	Whig.	Total.
1856,	113	37	—	150
1857,	134	42	—	176
1858,*	348	12	—	360—Increase, 183.

\* Including Wallgrass.

It will be seen that here was an extraordinary increase of about three hundred votes for the year 1858, about two-thirds of which appear in the return from Hancock plantation. From the fraudulent appearance of these votes, and from the illegal manner in which the elections were conducted in some of the plantations, as will more fully appear from the affidavits of several persons which are hereto annexed, it was deemed advisable by the Governor and Council to have an examination made in relation to these matters.

James S. Pike, Esq., of Calais, a person eminently well qualified to discharge the duties of this investigation, was appointed to proceed to the French plantations, and there to institute a personal examination.

This was attended to in a most satisfactory manner, and his able report is hereto annexed, with the accompanying documents.

The principal fraud appears to have been perpetrated in Hancock plantation. After taking the census of this plantation and comparing the names of the voters with the list of those who voted, returned to the Secretary of State's office, it appears that there were one hundred and sixty-six illegal votes given, and that the residence of one hundred and fifteen persons whose names are returned as having voted, cannot be found.

Taking these facts in connection with the drunken conduct of the voters, the violence used in driving the Republican voters from the polls, the manner in which Mr. Dickey held the ballot box, he being himself a candidate for office, the whole transaction may well challenge a comparison with the worst election frauds ever perpetrated in any part of the country. It is to be hoped that this is the last expiring act of border ruffianism in Maine.

The Committee have examined several witnesses from the County of Aroostook, two of them from the French plantations, and their evidence fully corroborates the statements made by Mr. Pike in his report, and your Committee therefore can have no doubt, that these

elections under the control of persons living outside of the plantations were conducted in an outrageous and scandalous manner. Money and rum were both used without stint, accompanied by violence and the grossest frauds, as will fully appear from an examination of the statements accompanying Mr. Pike's report.

The principal facts established in this investigation in relation to these elections may be summed up as follows:

1. Large sums of money were expended in all these plantations, and paid directly to the voters at so much a head, principally in bills of the Frontier Bank, Eastport, and Eastern Bank, Bangor.

2. Large sums of money were expended in other ways for influencing the election; a good deal for furnishing intoxicating drinks, particularly in Hancock plantation, where great numbers of the voters were drunk, and some of them stripped themselves stark naked and capered about in the presence of women and children.

3. Great violence and intimidation at several of the voting places. In Hancock plantation all the Republican voters were driven from the polls, and life threatened.

4. Espionage, and unwarrantable supervision at the polls and in counting the votes. In Hancock, Mr. Dickey, a Custom House officer, examines the votes and fixes them to his liking. In Madawaska, Mr. Madigan, a Custom House officer from Houlton, stands all day over the ballot box, and counts and declares the votes. In Van Buren, the voters were expelled from the voting room while the votes were being counted, and Mr. Hammond, an alien, aids in counting and declaring the votes.

5. In clear violation of law, all the democratic votes bore a distinguishing mark, being printed on blue paper, for the purpose, it is believed, of carrying out the fraudulent contracts for the purchase of the votes.

6. The return of between two and three hundred illegal votes, principally from Hancock plantation.

7. The disobedience of all legal requirements in the manner of conducting the elections in relation to the lists of voters, receiving votes, and checking the same, &c. In Hancock plantation, the list of persons voting was not made out until the day after election, when the "little list," brought in by the Frenchman, was added, so as to make the number of names correspond to the number of

votes counted. This list of the names of the voters, is on file in the office of the Secretary of State, and presents a singular appearance. Thirty-one names are scratched out, fourteen names are interlined, and the Frenchman's "little list" is added in a different hand-writing at the end, and contains fifty-six names. This list also contains the names of one hundred and fifteen persons whose whereabouts could not be ascertained after diligent search and inquiry from the oldest inhabitants.

The gross interference in these elections by the federal office-holders, would seem to call for their removal from office; but when it is borne in mind, that the Collector of Passamaquoddy was himself in the field, and personally making use of all such appliances as are familiar to most modern democrats, it may well be assumed that he would have no disposition to remove a subordinate for too strictly carrying out the views of his party. Still more discouraging would it be to apply to the President or the Secretary of War, on account of the misconduct of these federal officials. These very things are expected from all democratic office-holders by the government at Washington. The office-holders are all assessed to furnish the means, their personal services are put under contribution, and if the administration fail in an election, it is not for the want of fraud, corruption and violence at the polls; but from the fact, that a majority of voters are not Frenchmen, dead rabbits and plug uglies. Hope for redress at Washington! Look at the enormous election frauds in Kansas, Philadelphia, New York and St. Louis, at the late elections, aided and abetted by government officers and government funds. The conduct of the administration in upholding these villainies, is a sure guaranty that it will approve the action of its officials in Maine, however outrageous their conduct may have been in their interference with the voters, at the late elections.

Something, however, must be done by the State, as precautionary measures, for the future. These demoralizing practices must be broken up, at all hazards, and such legislation provided as will tend to bring about a more wholesome state of affairs.

In the opinion of the Committee, the large size of these French plantations has a great tendency to aid in these election frauds, as it brings together on election days, large numbers of electors, where they become easily excited. Besides, the assessors say, themselves,



they do not know all the voters, owing to the great extent of their plantations.

The Committee would therefore propose to repeal the organization of the Hancock, Van Buren, Madawaska and Wallagrass plantations, and change the existing law, so that no plantation, in future, shall be organized, except within the limits of a single township; that all organizations be made three months, at least, prior to the September election, and that the assessors return to the office of the Secretary of State the whole proceedings of the organization; and also, to repeal section forty-seven of chapter four of the Revised Statutes, in relation to persons voting in towns and plantations having no residence therein.

To accomplish these purposes, the Committee will submit a bill.

ELIJAH L. HAMLIN, *Chairman.*

STATE OF MAINE.

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IN SENATE, Feb. 24, 1859.

This Report and accompanying Documents laid on the table, on motion of Mr. HAMLIN, and 3,000 copies ordered to be printed for the use of the Legislature.

ATTEST:

JOSEPH B. HALL, *Secretary.*

## REPORT OF JAMES S. PIKE, Esq.,

In relation to the Election Frauds in the French Settlements in  
the County of Aroostook.

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LOT M. MORRILL,

GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MAINE.

*To all to whom these Presents shall come,*

GREETING.

[L. s.] KNOW YE, That we, reposing special trust in the ability, integrity, and discretion of JAMES S. PIKE  
LOT M. MORRILL. of Calais, in the County of Washington,  
Esquire, by and with the advice and consent  
of the Council, have appointed, and do by these Presents, constitute  
and appoint him, the said JAMES S. PIKE, to inquire whether the  
returns at the recent election in the plantations in the County of  
Aroostook, organized for election purposes, agree with the records  
of the votes of such plantations, and the names of the persons voted  
for ; and generally in regard to irregularities therein ; and he, the  
said JAMES S. PIKE, is hereby authorized to employ such assistance  
as he may find necessary in the discharge of this trust, and make  
report of his doings as soon as practicable.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have caused the Seal of this State to  
be hereunto affixed at Augusta, this eleventh of October, in  
the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-  
eight, and in the eighty-third year of the Independence of  
the United States of America.

BY THE GOVERNOR :

NOAH SMITH, JR., *Secretary of State.*

To HON. LOT M. MORRILL, *Governor of Maine* :

In pursuance of the commission I had the honor to receive from you under date of October 11th, last, I have visited the County of Aroostook, and have, so far as I have been able, discharged the duties indicated therein. Having no power to enforce the attendance of witnesses or compel statements from reluctant parties, the proceedings connected with my investigation were necessarily of an informal character. Though I believe they were as well adapted to the end proposed, which was to obtain authentic statements of the actual facts of the case, as if they had been of a more formal nature. I have no doubt that the facts here communicated may be amply authenticated by legal sanction, if occasion shall demand such corroboration.

I confined myself to an examination of the records, and the general proceedings connected with the recent election at the three plantations of Van Buren, Madawaska and Hancock, known as the French District. The leading facts established by the investigation are as follows :

In some important particulars little or no regard is paid to the requirements of law in the mode of receiving votes and transmitting an account of them to the proper authorities. This arises, in part, from the fact that in two of the plantations, namely: Van Buren and Madawaska, the assessors, with the exception of one in Van Buren, do not read or write the English language. The discharge of their duties as guardians of elections is thus merely nominal. In Madawaska plantation the duty of the Board of Assessors is performed by the Clerk. He calls the meetings, prepares and posts the list of voters, receives the votes, checks the names and makes and signs the returns. In Van Buren their duty is performed by the Clerk and one assessor. In both of these plantations all the officers are of French extraction. In both, the Clerks are competent to the performance of their duties and seem disposed to discharge them faithfully. In both cases the records of the plantation were promptly offered for my inspection.

One of the consequences of this inability of the assessors is, that persons not invested with any official responsibility whatever, and

generally those deeply interested in the complexion of the returns, officiate at the polls on election day in ascertaining and establishing the results of the ballot. Thus at the late election in MADAWASKA, Mr. J. C. Madigan of the town of Houlton, (a place over 100 miles distant,) an active politician and an officer in the revenue service of the United States, officiated in counting the votes of that plantation. And Mr. Cook Hammond, another volunteer in the same service, did the same thing at Van Buren. At both these places *colored* ballots were systematically received in direct violation of the law. It could only have been in deference to the supposed superior knowledge, and the countenance of such volunteers, that the regular authorities would have permitted such an abuse, and rendered themselves liable to the serious penalty attached thereto. All the votes of one party given throughout the French District, at the last election, were on unmistakably *blue paper*. And it is only a continuance of a plan hitherto resorted to in that quarter under like inspiration.

Aside from the extra-official service of Mr. Madigan, the voting in Madawaska was done under the immediate surveillance of four or five other distinguished politicians from distant parts of the State, sent thither especially for this service. Each of these performed his allotted task, while the revenue officer from Houlton, Mr. Madigan, taking his stand at the polling place, by the side of the window through which the votes were deposited, inflexibly maintained his position throughout the entire time of balloting. Here he could deliberately inspect every voters ticket, and from this inspection no man did or could escape. The pencil tallies, upon the sill of that window do, to this day, to the number of 45 attest the industry and thrift with which Mr. Madigan drove his business transactions on the Madawaska Exchange that day. There is reason to believe that each of those tallies represents the federal sum of one dollar and fifty cents. This conjecture is elucidated by the statement of that substantial citizen of Madawaska, Mr. Francis Thibodeau, to be found among the papers accompanying this report. Mr. Madigan's watchful guardianship, and the blue ticket, rendered the espionage of the ballot box at that poll perfect and complete.

Among the corps of electioneers, to which allusion has been made, was a gentleman sought out and obtained from the city of Bangor,

for his superior suavity and skill, Mr. John A. Peters. This gentleman, and Mr. Madigan, addressed the assembled voters of this plantation, on Sunday preceding the election, from the steps of the Catholic Chapel, in Madawaska. Mr. Peters, being a gentleman of Whig antecedents, was able to expound views of political economy to his audience, which the early democratic training of Mr. Madigan forbade him to express on his own account, but which he kindly volunteered to interpret to the eager crowd, who did not understand the vernacular of the orator from Bangor. The visits of all of these, and other gentlemen who went upon similar errands to Madawaska, were marked by a striking inflation of the currency in that region. Thus one of the gentlemen, whose statements accompany this report, whose circumstances gave him peculiarly favorable opportunities for judging, naively remarked that, after the advent of the Custom House candidate for Congress into the County, the bills of the Frontier Bank of Eastport were most numerous, but that after Mr. Peters arrived the notes of the Eastern Bank of Bangor, of which Mr. Peters' father-in-law is President, were the most abundant. He adds that since the election it is very rarely that a bill of either of these two institutions is to be seen.

Such appliances as these, and the undisguised use of money in the election, constituted the machinery under the operation of which the vote of Madawaska was cast.

There was no check list present at the election. The names of the voters were taken down by the Clerk as they voted, to whose vigilance, I believe I may say, much is owing for the comparatively few spurious votes there thrown.

Probably not more than a dozen votes were given by Canadians and minors, the two classes who largely swell the list of illegal votes given in that quarter.

At VAN BUREN the number of these two classes of voters were greater than in Madawaska, it probably not falling below five and twenty or thirty. A close examination, by a thoroughly competent person, places the number higher than this. In other respects, including the blue vote and the corresponding inevitable espionage, and the free use of money, the poll at Van Buren was marked by the same general characteristics that distinguished Madawaska. In addition to the fact that the sorting and counting of votes was com-

mitted to unauthorized hands, the proceedings of the authorities at the close were unusual and reprehensible. The place where the election was held was cleared of voters by the constable and so kept while the counting of the votes was going on, until the authority of that officer was successfully resisted, and the crowd burst into the polling room. The records of this plantation were found to be defective. No record had been made of the vote for member of Congress, and no vote was recorded as given for Mr. Dickey for Senator, as was returned to the Secretary of State.

At HANCOCK PLANTATION all the proceedings relating to the election were lawless in the extreme, culminating in a wholesale fraud on the ballot box. Mr. Cunliffe, the Clerk of the plantation, a frank and ingenuous man, of great respectability, gives a graphic account of the proceedings there on election day, as well as his views of the subject generally, in a statement appended to this report. He states that the voting commenced before he arrived, and before the time of the meeting had come. That the voters were intoxicated, and that they rushed upon the ballot box in such a disorderly and tumultuous manner that it was impossible to check their names as they voted. He and others concur in testifying that the election proceedings and the scenes enacted at and about the polls were an outrage upon decency and a burlesque on a fair popular election. Mr. Hunnewell, an old resident, and one of the assessors, who has held the place many years, was present at the opening and at the close of the election, but declined acting in his official position during the day, (he himself alleges from ill health,) and he does not sign the returns transmitted to the Secretary of State which purports to give the names of the voters. Although Mr. Hunnewell aided in counting the votes at the close of the polls, it appears he was too "unwell" to sign the returns covering the names of the voters. He states he was informed on election day that a forty gallon cask of gin had been gratuitously furnished and was emptied by the voters before the voting commenced, but added that he does not know the fact to be true. He is only willing to certify that he saw a good many drunken voters. With the election, generally or specially, he protests he had nothing to do beyond aiding to count the votes. In doing this he states that he found in the ballot box, while he was counting, what appeared to be eight or ten votes cast

in a single pile or package together. He called attention to the suspicious appearance of the votes, but they were counted.

Another assessor, Mr. Martin Savage, thinks the general proceedings were regular, yet testifies to the riotous character of the crowd. He states that nothing could exceed the extravagance of the scene. Both he and the clerk unite in stating that the only Republican present at the polls, Mr. David Page, was driven from the ground. He says that the voters stripped themselves and behaved like savages. In one case that came under his personal observation, one man stripped himself to entire nudity and in this state pranced before both male and female spectators. The only constable on the spot, Mr. McPherson, stated that he was called on to preserve order, but found himself powerless to do so. I applied to the clerk of the plantation, Mr. Cunliffe, for the privilege of examining the records for the purpose of verifying the returns, and exhibited to him my authority for doing so. He manifested an entire willingness to produce them, but stated that they were not in his possession. That Mr. Dickey, one of the assessors, was chief manager of political affairs in the plantation, and that he, Mr. Dickey, had come to his, Mr. Cunliffe's, house during his absence, some time before election, and obtained and carried the records away, and he had never seen them since. At my instance he tried to obtain them, but he subsequently informed me that Mr. Dickey peremptorily refused to give them up. This refusal on Mr. Dickey's part to exhibit the plantation records, coupled with Mr. Cunliffe's statement, that he had not seen them since they were taken from his house, at some period antecedent to the election, justifies the supposition that no record of the election proceedings existed at the time of my visit, on the 22d of October.

Besides holding the office of assessor, Mr. Dickey is a salaried officer of the Federal Government, holding the place of Inspector of the Customs. The post office is likewise kept at his place of business. Mr. Dickey was a candidate for the State Senate at the late canvass, and held the ballot box on election day. According to the statement of Mr. Joseph Nadeau, one of his prominent supporters, it was Mr. Dickey who completed the list of names that was sent to the Secretary of State, as the voters of Hancock plantation. This, Mr. Nadeau states to have been done the day succeeding the elec-



tion, he, Mr. Dickey, enlarging the main list then in his possession by copious drafts from one carried to him by Mr. Nadeau on that day. The manner of conducting the election gave ample opportunity for repeated voting and double voting, and the statement of Mr. Hunnewell shows the probability of the vote of the the plantation being swollen from this cause. What others may have operated we can only conjecture from the unscrupulous manner in which all the proceedings seem to have been conducted.

The main fact, however, disclosed by this investigation, is the fraud in the Hancock vote. This plantation was much the smallest of the three at the last census, in 1850, and its vote has always been the smallest of the three until this year, when it is the largest.

The fraud in the vote was apparent on the face of the proceedings, but there was no method of demonstrating it but by an enumeration of the adult male population, which I accordingly had made. That enumeration, the details of which accompany this report, shows that the entire number of voters in Hancock plantation, (excluding that plantation which voted as "Wallowgrass,") is but 199. Of these but 153 voted, according to the return transmitted to the Secretary of State. The plantation is returned as casting 319 votes. The remaining 166, the difference between the number returned and the number cast, is made up as follows: 25 of them are voters who live beyond the limits of the plantation; 26 are aliens who reside on American territory, part within and part without the limits of Hancock, and 115 are the names of persons which do not appear any where in the census list. They are, therefore, the names of minors, or the names of persons who live elsewhere, or imaginary names of persons who live nowhere. Whatever may be the truth in that respect, the fact remains that the names of 115 persons are returned on the Hancock list of voters as having voted at the last election, who are nowhere found among the names of the adult males resident in Hancock plantation, or residing in any part of the American territory lying on the upper waters of the St. John and its tributaries above the plantation limits of Madawaska.

The grossest irregularities can be very readily detected in the official list of voters, which does not appear to be reliable in any particular. It seems to have been constructed mainly to show a correspondence between the number of names and the number of

ballots found in the box, without any special reference to any other fact in the case.

Such is a brief outline of the facts developed by the investigation made in the French District, in which proceedings it will be observed that two federal office-holders are the chief actors.

For further details I beg to refer you to the statement of various persons of credibility which accompany this report, several of which touch upon points I have not here introduced.

The following is a list of the papers hereto appended :

- 1st. Census of adult male population with names and residence.
- 2nd. Summary of Census Returns.
- 3d. Statements referring to Van Buren Plantation by Firmin Cyr, (de Paul) clerk of the Plantation—by G. W. Smith No. 1, and 2—by James Kegan, Almon S. Richards, Michael Farrell, Hubert Langlois.
- 4th. Papers referring to Madawaska, statement of Louis Cormeir, clerk of the plantation—of Francis Thibodeau.
- 5th. Papers referring to Hancock, statement of Mr. H. Cunliffe, plantation clerk—of Martin Savage, assessor, of B. Hunnuell, assessor, of Charles McPherson, of George Seely, of David Page, of Samuel Stevens, of Joseph Nadeau, of Wm. Johnson, of Jesse Wheelock.

Having thus disposed of the subject matter with which I was charged, I beg to add a few remarks upon subjects incidentally connected therewith, which were forced upon my attention in the course of my investigation, and which perhaps will not be considered wholly irrelevant to it.

My first desire is to correct any impression which may be derived from the foregoing recital, prejudicial to the general character of the French population of the Madawaska District. I appreciate the expression of one of their spiritual guides in reference to this aspect of their character. "They are a good people" said he, "but the politicians are spoiling them and giving them a bad name over the country." One of their own number, who is himself educated and intelligent, remarks, "many think that because our people have no political principles, that they therefore have no principles of any kind, which is doing them great injustice." The ancestors of the present occupants of the Madawaska district were a handful of peas-

ants, who flocked to that remote region eighty years ago under peculiar circumstances of oppression and destitution. They were the immediate descendants of those unhappy fugitives who fled from Acadia years before, and whose trials and sufferings have become classic in our annals. Dislodged from their old homes they plunged 200 miles deep into an unbroken wilderness where they have dwelt to this day. They chose at once the most fertile and most picturesque spot on the banks of the magnificent St. John, at the point where it reaches its most northerly latitude and from which it bends with a broad sweep to the West and South. From the luxuriant bottoms here found, the population has spread on either hand up and down the river for a space of fifty miles. Without schools, without roads, almost without communication with the rest of the world until within a very few years, their lack of education and almost total ignorance of our political and civil institutions is in no respect to be wondered at. Under such circumstances, it should be a matter of no surprise to know that the adult population, with very few exceptions, can neither read or write, and that a large majority cannot speak our language. The extent of their lack of that every day information which is common to every other class of our population may be judged of by the fact, that the people generally have not the slightest idea of who is President of the United States or Governor of Maine. On entering the French district at the point where it is in most immediate contact with a different population having connections with the other portions of our State; I endeavored to ascertain by habitual inquiry of every man I met who could speak English, who could tell me who was President or Governor, and after prosecuting my inquiries till I became fully convinced of their uselessness, I gave up the attempt, for I found not one. No man of whom I asked the question knew who was President or Governor. Yet it is of course the most intelligent who speak English. I inquired at Van Buren how many of the whole eight hundred French voters probably knew this fact, and was answered, "not ten." I inquired again at Madawaska, and the reply was, "there may be some know—but may be not." And again I received for an answer "I do not know who in this plantation, knows who is either President or Governor, and I know all the voters." In the upper plantation of Hancock, the reply was similar. In the first named plantations of

Madawaska and Van Buren, where there are over 500 voters, there is but a single weekly copy of one political newspaper which comes to the Post Office, and that is addressed to a man who can neither read nor write. Yet this is a contented and happy people, of pleasant magnetisms and polite manners. They are a devout and church going people with ample accommodations for religious worship, their natural parts are quick and lively, and they number men among them who are thrifty and energetic. Starting as they did from the same level, three quarters of a century ago, a pauper peasantry, they now exhibit themselves a wholly self-sustained community with no infusions from without, in which society has already begun to shape itself, property to accumulate and natural distinctions to arise. In view of all the circumstances of the case I think we may rather wonder at their advance than marvel at their deficiencies.

The rapid growth of this peculiar people, which the numerous well filled households and the parish records of births amply attest, render their condition a matter of more than local interest. They are ours by the accident of jurisdiction only. They have, by treaty stipulation, come into the sudden inheritance of citizenship in a country to which they are aliens by birth, language, and association. and of whose institutions, history, customs and manners they are totally ignorant. They already number 800 voters who are made the prey of designing and reckless men, mainly agents of the federal government, and who in the shape of unscrupulous politicians, as I have shown, debauch and corrupt them by the twin agencies of rum and money, thus rendering them a controlling element, in an important aspect, of our elections, a mere dead weight of suffrage, wielded by the most sinister and degrading influences.

Their condition seems to call for something more than the ordinary care of the State. Their most palpable want is education in their own language, the efforts already made in the way of instruction have been, to a very great extent, abortive, from the fact that it has been attempted in a language not understood by those who are nominally instructed. If this population is to be taught our language and be familiar with our institutions, it must be first taught in its native tongue. The transition from the knowledge of the one to that of the other is comparatively easy when contrasted with the clumsy efforts to give instruction by teaching what is not understood

after it is learned. In justice to this people it should be borne in mind that the plantation in which the frauds were committed at the last election, is the one which is not officered by the French. In Hancock the three assessors and the clerk are native born or regularly naturalized citizens. The French voters were not parties to it farther than to have allowed themselves to be made, in part, blind instruments in its perpetration, and in this, only to a limited extent. In any future proceedings having in view the bringing of the offenders to justice this discrimination should not fail to command attention.

A portion of the frauds practiced at Hancock was greatly facilitated by the extent of territory covered by the plantation limits. These extend a distance of five and twenty miles on the river. The presiding officers cannot, therefore, be judges, from personal knowledge, of the qualifications of voters, which they might be, if the limits were restricted to single townships. Such a modification would tend also to prevent the repetition of the gross offences of substituting a fictitious list of voters for the real one, owing to the comparative care with which the fraud could be detected. This abridgment of plantation limits, accompanied by a repeal of what is known as the "Wild Cat" law, it is believed would be attended with most favorable results.

So far as the French district is concerned, however, no reform is adequate to the demand of the occasion, that does not contemplate a comprehensive and efficient plan of general education under the immediate and earnest superintendence of the State. The dark mass of unenlightened voting there annually exhibited, and rapidly augmenting, ought to be illuminated by the light of education; and the future voters at least, be afforded the means of elevating themselves to the same level of political intelligence that distinguishes the population of the State, of English extraction. Every consideration of interest and sympathy for this interesting class of our population prompts to this effort. As a people they are not deteriorated either in body or mind as has sometimes been ignorantly alledged. Amid all the circumstances of their anomalous career and position, they number men among them whose native powers would be remarked in any population. A people capable of successfully withstanding the depressing influences of over three quarters of a century such as they

have encountered and while enjoying no privileges of education within, or association without, yet clearly manifesting improving tendencies, well deserve the generous sympathies of the more favored portions of the State.

All which is respectfully submitted.

JAMES S. PIKE.

## VAN BUREN PLANTATION, October 29, 1858.

Firmin Cyr, (de Paul.)—I am clerk of the plantation of Van Buren. Was first elected last March. The assessors of this plantation are Paul Cyr, Jr., Germain Cyr and Julien Thibodeau. Germain Cyr and Julien Thibodeau cannot read or write French or English. Julien can talk a little English; Germain cannot. I prepare the voting list and give notice of public meetings at the request of the assessors. Germain Cyr appointed Cook Hammond to count the votes in his stead, at the last election. Paul Cyr, Jr., and myself, counted them. A list of voters was duly posted previous to the election, and we had it before us election day. We had a great many names to add to it at that time. There was no old list and I made up the one which was posted, by request of the assessors, from my own knowledge. I could find no old list but the one of 1850. I know most of the voters in this plantation. We counted the checks on our list, and compared them with the ballots, and found them to agree. I made up the list sent to the Secretary of State from my checks. We admit all to vote who swear they were *born* on the disputed territory. Those who come from Canada and were on the other side of the line at the time of the Treaty we do not admit. I did all the checking of the names. Did not permit any one to vote till we were ready to check.

On the plantation records there is an omission of any record of vote for member of Congress. The record of vote for *Senator* is for *Bradbury* and *McClusky*, instead of *Dickey* and *McClusky*.

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*George W. Smith's Statement*—VAN BUREN.

George W. Smith, of Van Buren plantation, in the county of Aroostock and State of Maine, says: I have resided in said plantation five years past, and now reside there. I attended the plantation meeting held in said plantation September 13, 1858, and was at or near the polls during the whole time they were kept open on

that day, and was present when the polls were closed, and was in the house and heard the assessors give orders that the house be cleared, which order was complied with by the constable, Michael Ferrol. I, and others of the voters present, objected, in a peaceable manner, to being excluded from the house, but were forced out by said Ferrol and kept out of the house while the assessors sorted and counted the votes. No person was admitted within the room where the votes were counted, except the assessors and the clerk and one William C. Hammond, an alien, who was present and participated with the officers in sorting and counting them. After Mr. Hammond had been there a considerable time, other persons, myself among them, forced themselves into the room against the directions of the assessors and against the efforts of said Ferrol, who held the door and resisted their entrance. During the progress of the voting, while I was standing in full view of all the election officers at the polls, I saw several persons, whose names I do not know, come to the polls and vote, and whose names were not written down upon the check list, or checked by the clerk or by any one else at the time of their voting.

The democratic votes used at Van Buren, on that day, were printed on blue letter paper. They could be seen at a distance of several rods or across the house.

I, and others, challenged voters at different times during the day, and while the discussion arising upon such challenges proceeded, and before any decision was made by the Board of Assessors, one of their number opened the ballot box and received the votes of the challenged parties; and in this way, I have reason to believe, a large number of illegal votes were received. Votes were openly purchased at the polls, and I saw money paid for them in repeated instances.

I also state that at that election a Frenchman, worth ten thousand dollars, offered me his vote for two dollars, which I did not buy. He told me afterwards that he had sold it to the Democrats, who paid him that price for it.

GEORGE W. SMITH.

Van Buren, Oct. 22, 1858.



*G. W. Smith, Van Buren, Merchant and Lumber Operator.*

*Question.*—How long have you resided in Van Buren plantation?

*Answer.*—Five years.

*Question.*—What proportion of the voting population of Van Buren, in your judgment, is French?

*Answer.*—About seven-eighths.

*Question.*—Do you know how many newspapers are taken by the French voters in Van Buren?

*Answer.*—The post office is kept in my store. There are three copies of the Aroostook Pioneer taken by Frenchmen, that come to this office, and this is all the newspaper or periodicals of any description taken by them, so far as I know.

*Question.*—What proportion of the French voters can read and write English?

*Answer.*—I do not think there is one in twenty. I am informed and believe that our Representative elect to the Legislature cannot read or write a word of English.

*Question.*—How many of the French voters in this plantation do you think know who is President of the United States, or Governor of Maine?

*Answer.*—Not ten.

*Question.*—How many votes were cast in Van Buren plantation at the last general election?

*Answer.*—Two hundred and thirty-six.

GEORGE W. SMITH.

Van Buren, Oct. 22, 1858.

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James Keegan says, I reside in Van Buren plantation, Aroostook county, State of Maine. I have lived in the same place thirty-two years. I was the first clerk of Van Buren plantation after its organization for election purposes and continued to be plantation clerk for twelve years after the organization. I am well acquainted with the people throughout the plantation, and I have examined a copy of the list of voters returned as having voted at the election there held Sept. 13th, 1858. (exhibited to me by James S. Pike, Esq.)

and find upon that list the names of twenty-five persons known to me, and who, in my judgment, are not legal voters but as I am informed and believe, were of foreign birth, born out of the United States and out of the limits of the disputed territory, and not being citizens by virtue of any provision of the treaty of Washington. These twenty-five persons having come to Van Buren from places without the disputed territory since the date of said treaty. I also find upon said list the names of nine persons of my acquaintance beside the twenty-five above mentioned, who were known to me to be residents upon territory on the East side of the St. John river at the date of the treaty of Washington, August 1842, and some years after that date but who have removed into Van Buren since then, some of them quite recently, all of whom as I am informed and believe were born on the East side of the St. John river and there resided till after the date of said treaty. I also find upon said list the names of eight persons with whom I am acquainted all of whom I believe, from having known them from their childhood, to be minors, and one of whom I know to be so. I also find upon said list the names of two persons well known to me who were not at the place of voting in Van Buren on the 13th September last, as I believe upon information which I consider reliable.

Of the ballots that were used at Van Buren at the election spoken of the Democratic votes were printed on blue letter paper, and the Republican votes were on white paper and the difference in the color was so great that they could be clearly distinguished across the house or at a distance of several rods.

JAMES KEEGAN.

Van Buren, October 21st, 1858.

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I, Almon S. Richards, of Van Buren plantation, in the county of Aroostook and State of Maine, of lawful age, depose and say, that at the time the receiving of votes was concluded at the place of the annual State election, I was in the room where said votes had been received, in company with quite a large number of others, that the assessors, as soon as they ceased receiving votes, requested all parties to leave the room, that while others left said room I remained until

I heard one of the assessors call Michael Farrell, a constable of said plantation, and heard him, in the French language, make some remarks to him, whereupon the said Farrell directed all persons present to leave the room. I being astonished at such a course objected to leaving the room; but he said he was ordered by the assessors to direct all persons present to leave the room, while they proceeded to sort and count the votes which had that day been cast. Whereupon I, obeying lawful authority, did leave the said room.

Quite a length of time afterwards, I should think an hour or more, I came back to the place of election and found that the house had been opened, and quite a number of people were present, and I observed one W. C. Hammond very prominently assisting the assessors in sorting and counting the votes. I have good reason to believe the said Hammond to be an alien, but had noticed him during the day prominently assisting at the election. I saw him at various times with a large number of votes in his hand, and I have no doubt, if he wished, that he had the best opportunity to change very essentially the number of ballots that I saw in his possession while assisting said assessors.

ALMON S. RICHARDS.

September 13th, 1858.

*Aroostook*, ss.—Personally appeared Almon S. Richards and made oath to the truth of the foregoing statement by him signed, before me,

JAMES KEEGAN, *Justice of the Peace*.

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I, Michael Farrell, constable of Van Buren plantation, in Aroostook county, and State of Maine, depose and say, that on the thirteenth day of September, A. D. 1858, I was in attendance at the polling place or place of voting in said plantation at the annual State election of said year. That at the closing of the poll in said plantation, I was called upon in my official capacity as constable, by the assessors of said plantation, to direct all persons to leave the room in which the election had been held while they counted the votes and sorted the same, being the votes cast for the several candidates for Governor, Representative to Congress, Senator of Maine, Sheriff of Aroostook, Clerk of Courts for said county, County Treasurer,

County Attorney, Commissioners and Representative to the Legislature of Maine, that I did so direct all persons to leave the room and though some reluctance was exhibited by certain persons, I did by my authority as constable direct them to leave the said room, which they did leave, and I then for some time guarded the door against the admission of any one. After I had directed and all persons had left the room, one W. C. Hammond came to the door and insisted upon coming into the room occupied by said assessors and myself. He came in against my consent and was allowed to remain by the assessors and allowed by them while alone with them to assist in sorting and counting said votes. Said Hammond is an alien who lived in the province of New Brunswick at the time the Ashburton treaty was executed, and has never become a citizen of the United States by being naturalized. Four persons present, viz: Michael Carroll, John McClusky, Almon S. Richards and George W. Smith objected to leaving the room when directed but, my orders being imperative from the assessors, they were obliged to leave the premises. Michael Carroll I recollect said to me, that the assessors were acting contrary to law and that he would not leave the room, to which I replied, that I was ordered to direct all persons to leave the room and that he must go and he then did leave the room.

I was astonished after the said W. C. Hammond came in to assist the assessors, at seeing him sort, count and declare the votes after holding them in his possession, thereby giving him an opportunity to add or diminish the ballots if he should wish to do so, more particularly as he appeared to take a warm interest in the said election.

MICHAEL FARRELL, *Constable of said plantation.*

September 13th, 1858.

Aroostook, ss.—Personally appeared the above named Michael Farrell and made oath to the truth of the foregoing statement before me.

JAMES KEEGAN, *Justice of the Peace.*

I, Hubert Langlois of Van Buren plantation, in the county of Aroostook and State of Maine, on oath make affidavit, depose, and say, that I did not go to the plantation meeting held in Van Buren plantation, at the election on the thirteenth day of September, eighteen hundred and fifty eight, and did not vote any where on that day. I was born in Lower Canada, near Quebec, and came to Van Buren in 1844. There is no other man of the same name as my own, in Van Buren, to my knowledge. I was twice, during that day, urged to go to the polls and vote the democratic ticket, and was offered one dollar if I would do so, and refused to go.

HUBERT X<sup>his</sup> LANGLOIS.\*  
mark.

*Witness:* THOMAS KEEGAN.

October 21st, 1858.

*Aroostook s. s.*—The above named Hubert Langlois, made oath to the truth of the above affidavit by him signed before me, and I certify that I am well acquainted in Van Buren plantation, and believe there is no other Hubert Langlois in said plantation.

JAMES KEEGAN, *Justice of the Peace.*

MADAWASKA PLANTATION, October 22, 1858.

Louis Cormier.—Am clerk of this plantation, register of deeds for the northern district of Aroostook county, and acting postmaster. The names of the assessors of this plantation are Firmin Cyr, Gilbert Picard, and Jules Ouellet. Neither of them can either read or write English. Two of them can neither read or write French. One of them can write French, and write his name, and a little more. They do not make any list of voters, or give any notice for plantation meetings. I do this business for them. I have been clerk of this plantation seven years. I do not know all the voters in this plantation. We let all vote who swear they were born on the disputed territory. Some have sworn themselves in this and the preceding two years who would never swear before. We do not let Canadian born vote unless they were on this side of the line at the time of the treaty. I make all the signatures of the assessors

\* The name of Hubert Langlois appears upon the list of voters returned.

to the official returns of votes for them. We had no list of voters election day, but took down the names of the voters as they came up. I counted the ballots in the box, and they agreed with the number of names recorded. The list was taken down in pencil. I can find only a portion of that record now, (containing 44 names.) I had no other list of voters.

I heard Mr. Wm. Dickey make a speech in August last at a convention to nominate a candidate for the Legislature, held at Paul Cyr's. He was speaking of the proceedings in relation to an act of the plantation of Hancock to obtain an organization. He said he had burned the records of the plantation. He boasted of the act, and said let the county commissioners prosecute him for it if they could. He said he told the people of Hancock if they would make him assessor he would find a way to prevent the proposed act. I know only two men in this plantation who can read and write English. There are only five newspapers come to the Madawaska post office, four of them are Aroostook Pioneer, and one Bangor Democrat. The last named paper and one Pioneer come to a man who cannot read. I do not know who there is in this plantation who knows who is President, or Governor of Maine. They were told about election time, but I think they have forgotten. The people here are not without principles, though they have no political principles. They don't know about politics. They are spoiled by money used at elections. People abroad only consider them cattle to be bought. Colored paper was used here for the votes. The democratic were blue. The same kind of paper was used by Cook Hammond two years ago, and we used to laugh at him about it.

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MADAWASKA, October 23, 1858.

Francis Thibodeau.

*Question.*—Has your population increased by emigration?

*Answer.*—It has increased some; all from Canada.

*Question.*—When did your father come to Madawaska?

*Answer.*—He came from Kenebekasis on the St. John river above Fredericton, in the year 1780. David Cyr was the first French child born in Madawaska. He was born in 1780, and died in 1837

at the age of 56. My father was one of the first settlers here. He came at the age of 18 in company with several families, among them were nine brothers Cyr.

*Question.*—How many of the voters in Madawaska plantation can read or write English?

*Answer.*—I do not know of but two.

*Question.*—How many voters are there in the plantation of Madawaska who are not French?

*Answer.*—They are all French; I know no others.

*Question.*—Where were you born?

*Answer.*—I was born and have always resided here.

*Question.*—How many voters do you think there are in Madawaska who know who is President of the United States or Governor of Maine?

*Answer.*—There may be somebody know; may be not. I don't know how many. I know good many who go to election but don't know what for.

*Question.*—Who was here on the last election day acting at the election who did not belong here?

*Answer.*—Mr. Madigan, Mr. Carpenter and his son from Houlton, Lawyer Peters of Bangor, and others I do not remember. Mr. Hackett and Mr. Pattee, also. Mr. Madigan paid my friends to keep still and not work for me. He gave money to the women. Mr. Madigan stood at the voting place all day, at the window, very near too. He paid Michael Martin and Solomon D'Aigle a dollar and a half apiece for their day. He paid them all; could not get one without pay. Some told me he got half dollar, and some dollar and a half. Mr. Madigan had a bad effect on people here; learn them all to take money for their votes. Some would vote the other way but for the money. Mr. Dickey paid Marcel Thibodeau four dollars in one bill. Marcel showed it to me and told me so. Mr. Madigan called on Marcel Thibodeau's wife and asked if her husband was a republican. She said he was a republican democrat. He asked her how much would buy him over, if five dollars would. She said sometimes it did not take so much. He gave her five dollars and asked if that was enough? She said it was. This is what she told me. Madigan paid a great deal of money. I think he paid one thousand dollars in Madawaska. I changed some votes for

Madigan. He only cared about Bradbury. I got for Bradbury's name on the republican ticket one dollar and a half a vote. I think I changed ten tickets. I could tell the democratic vote by the looks of it; it was on blue paper; could not tell the mixed vote. Bradbury's name was put on white paper ticket when the vote was mixed. Mr. Madigan counted the votes in this plantation on election day. He told me at the time how many there were for me. I told him there must be more. They were counted over again, and 36 more than he represented were found for me. Mr. Madigan excused himself saying it was not his fault, *but* a mistake.

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HANCOCK PLANTATION, October 25, 1858.

Wm. H. Cunliffe.—I am clerk of Hancock plantation. I do not know who are voters in this plantation and who are not. I do not know anything about the rules for receiving votes. There is no regularity about them. I do not know whether any names are ever handed in to our assessors or not, to be put on our voting list. At the last election here, everything was in a hubbub. I could not check the names on our list nor anything else. The Frenchmen were all drunk election day. The election was called at one o'clock. I got to the polls soon after 12—at any rate, before the time—but the polls had been opened some time. The damned critters were all drunk. I tried to keep a check-list, but it might as well have been thrown to the devil. There might have been as many votes cast before I got there as after, but may be not, I don't know. Dickey came and got the plantation books from my wife while I was gone away, some time before the election, and I have never seen them since. They had a check-list when I got to the polls; it was kept by a Frenchman, I forget his name, and Eaton, Dickey's clerk. There was a great many persons present whose names were not on the list of voters. There were a great many more voters here this year than last—whether they were all legal or not, I don't know. The list of voters was posted before the election. The people voted so fast it was impossible to check them. They piled over one another like a flock of sheep. The new names were kept on a separate paper, in a book, by the Frenchman. It was all hubbub, and



the devil to pay. Some names were added to the regular voting list—a few. I do not know where the bounds of this plantation are. All the inhabitants above come down to vote here. We had some voters down from Little Black river. There would be no difficulty with the check-list if the voters would let rum alone. I should like to see an election without rum, once. Mr. Hunnewell and Mr. Dickey sorted the votes and counted them, and I counted them after them. I have been here only a year and a half or two years. I don't know half the voters. I don't think there is a tenth of them can read or write. I don't think half the men of 25 years old, have ever been below the Grand Falls. I don't think any list of the voters can be kept where every man's name is not checked as he votes. They must guess at it. The leading men here have the reins in their own hands, and want to make things look as well as they can for their own side. Mr. Page was the only republican about the polls election day, and they drove him off. The way they abused the old gentleman was ridiculous; it was too bad. He is a very nice man and a good citizen. I did not see the names in the Frenchman's book added to the list. I don't know what was done with the list of voters; I do not know whether it was sent to the Secretary of State or not; I did not see it after the election. The account of the vote was sealed up in meeting after we had done voting and the votes were counted. I sealed up some of them myself. Dickey did most of the work. He is lawyer, doctor, and most anything. He knows more law and gospel than most anybody here. He told me at the close: "My God, we have voted like hell. I have not worked so long for nothing." I voted for Dickey.

*Wednesday, Oct. 27, 1858.* Cunliff, continued.—Mr. Dickey obtained the plantation records of my wife during my absence, some time before the election, and I have never seen them since. The list of voters was checked election day. I guess it was all checked. I did not go over the check-list to see if the number of ballots given agreed with the number of names checked, and I did not see any one else do it. I added names to the voting list election day; how many I don't know. I added some; Eaton, Dickey's clerk, added some, and the Frenchman added some. I suppose the Frenchman was elected a sort of temporary clerk, but I don't know anything about it. I have been up to Mr. Dickey's to-day; I saw him

and tried to get from him the plantation records, but he refused to give them up. I can't help it, and I can't do anything. I told him I did not think it would look very well outside to refuse to let the books be seen. I take very little interest in the election and don't care much about it. I have said nothing but what is true, and I am ready to swear to it. I had as lief it would be made public as not. I don't care who knows it.

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HANCOCK PLANTATION, October 26, 1858.

Martin Savage, Assessor.—Lives at the mouth of the St. Francis; has resided in Hancock plantation 30 years; came here when he was 6 years old. There are about 25 voters above the Hancock plantation line on the St. John river. There is a settlement at the mouth of the Allagash and Little Black rivers and along on the river. We receive all the voters from that quarter who come. The townships above us never send in any list of names to be put on our voting list. There is no established rule about voting that I can find or get hold of. The people who come from Canada, I think, have to be here 10 or 12 years to entitle them to vote; American born have to be here three months; but there is no fixed rule. The practice is to check voters. I think those who complained had a good right to find fault, though I think they did more than they ought at the last election. Dickey was a candidate, and I did not think he did the right fair thing to hold the box. There was a great rush at one time, and the crowd came pretty near staving in. Several votes were found together in the box; I think four or five, but I think they might have been thrown by different individuals, one having dropped on another. I don't think a man could throw more than one vote without my knowing it. One o'clock was the hour appointed for voting, and the clerk wasn't there. He came about fifteen minutes afterwards. There was a temporary clerk appointed—a Frenchman—I can't think of his name, to act till the clerk came; he remained awhile after the clerk came, and then he left. The voting list was made and posted before election, in good shape. A few names were added election day in pencil; they were all put on the regular list; the clerk added them. The clerk went

over the list to see if his checks compared with the number of ballots, and found it agreed within one vote either one way or the other, I forget which. He fixed up all the names on the list and sealed up every thing that night after they had done voting. The clerk checked all the names on the list as they voted. Dickey's clerk helped him find the names; I didn't see him do any of the checking. Every thing was all done and the list completed that night. I don't know what the clerk did with the list afterward; it might have been sealed up or not that night, I don't know. We sealed up every thing it was necessary to seal up. I did not see the voting list again. I put my name to every package that was sealed that night, and that was all. I don't know more than half the voters below Fish river. There were no people voted except those on the list and those added in pencil, and all who did vote were checked, unless it was one. I think there were some voted who were not of age. I saw one I thought not over 16; but his father swore he was 21, and we let him vote. Pretty much our whole vote in this plantation is French. They act more like wild beasts election day than like men. There could be no more pulling and hauling among a parcel of wolves just out of the woods, than there is among them the day of election. The men I didn't know Dickey did. There ought to be some way for the assessors to know all the voters. They have allowed everybody to vote when they come from Canada if they have been here 10 or 12 years. The Frenchmen have somebody to furnish liquor for them election day. At the last election, a few of them stripped themselves naked and jumped right up and down. I saw one fellow stark-naked, with no shirt on, and his drawers down round his feet, jumping right up and down. Several French women were looking at him. I never saw people act so bad as they do; they don't act like human beings at all. They don't know anything about our politics, good, bad or indifferent. I don't think there is one in fifty of them that can read or write. Not but little emigration coming in here or above; hardly hear of such a thing. I saw Joe Dominic jump upon the counter where we stood, to assail Mr. Page; I resisted him, and Mr. Page went up stairs; Joe wanted to follow, but I told him if he did he should take me with him.

HANCOCK PLANTATION October 28.

Charles McPherson.—Have resided in this plantation 30 years. I was called on by Mr. David Page and Mr. Joseph Nadeau on election day, to keep the peace, the people being very riotous. I tried to preserve order but could do nothing; the people at the polls acted as bad as they knew how. They were drunk, and came up to me and asked me what business I had to interfere. I was damned and threatened, and found I could do nothing with them, and had to back out. I was again called for, being the only constable present, to come and stand by the polls. I remained a while, but I could not stand the noise. I cannot compare it to anything but Indian whoops. I left the place and took my wagon and went home at the close. Mr. Hunnewell, one of the assessors, rode up with me. He told me he could not stand there and receive those votes, according to his oath, and backed out and went off and left the polls. There were blue votes and white votes cast; the democratic votes were blue. I could distinguish the blue from the white at the distance of a couple of rods.

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HANCOCK, October 26.

Mr. George Seely, merchant.—Going down to my store on the morning of the election, about 7 o'clock, I found a French woman there who could speak English, with four Frenchmen who could not. She asked me how much I would give apiece for votes. I told her I did not know what the rate was; if she would hold on till 10 or 11 o'clock, perhaps I could tell her the current prices. She said "Jo" would be along by and by, (her husband.) Some hours afterward "Jo" made his appearance, and wanted to trade. I told him I was busy, and he went off. He wanted about a dollar. In the afternoon he came back with his dollar, and laid it out in shingle nails. I found the one and two-dollar bills of the Eastern Bank, Bangor, of which Amos M. Roberts, the father-in-law of John A. Peters, is President, were quite thick the next day or two after Peters came up to Madawaska. I took about forty dollars of it the week of the election, but it has got quite scarce now.

After Bradbury came up into this county, I found it was the bills of the Frontier Bank, Eastport, that were thickest.

There were not 75 votes thrown here that were not paid for. I saw the list of voters posted before election, and counted the names on it. There were 275, as near as I could count. This list included the Wallagrass voters. Joseph Micheaud officiated at the election, and took down the names of all the Frenchmen who were not on the list and not known to the officers of the meeting. These names were taken off his book and put on the voters' list next day. I found plenty of fellows with money election day, who had none before. About all the transient men we have here, or have had, are Canadians, and men from New Brunswick, and not voters. I do not think the voting population has varied five votes a year, by transient voters, for five years.

Dickey held the ballot-box, and superintended the voting. Blue votes were used on the democratic side and white on the republican; they could be distinguished with perfect ease a long distance. Mr. Wheelock had a republican vote which Dickey altered, putting in his own name in place of McClusky's, when Wheelock came up to vote. Dickey proposed at the same time to substitute Bradbury's name for Foster's. A Frenchman, by the name of Souce, offered a white or republican vote. Dickey, before letting him vote, asked him if he knew he was carrying a republican vote.

I have resided here five years; been about on the river since 1846. Business has decreased in the last five years. Not more than one in fifty of the French voters can read and write; I do not know of but one who can. Very few know who is President or Governor.

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#### HANCOCK PLANTATION, October 26.

David Page.—Have resided here eleven years, and attended every election. I know the voters, generally. I distributed the donation given by the State a few years ago, in 1855. Everybody made themselves poor at that time. About all the increase of legal voters here, since I came here, has been the natural increase of the population. Our transient population, of which we have but little, are generally not voters. I don't think the voting population varies

ten votes a year by reason of transient voters. The population is only increased a very little by immigration and principally from Canada. There was an army of strangers here to vote at this election; men I did not know. I asked Martin Savage, one of the assessors, who the devil are those fellows? He replied, I don't know half of them. The assessor did not know them. The clerk did not know them. The officers got their names from the Frenchman's list. Joseph Mecheau's boys were brought in half drunk and swore they were of age, and allowed to vote. The clerk told me there were fifty or sixty names added to the list of voters which were taken from the Frenchman's list. On some of these names the French name is first used and the English equivalent added to make out a surname, seemingly from a misunderstanding of the real name. I do not think there is a Frenchman in this plantation who knows the name of the President of the United States, or who is Governor. Joseph Nadeau may be an exception, but I don't believe he knows it. Not less than seven-eighths of our people are French. There may be ten or fifteen of them who can read and write—not over. There are just about as many men employed about the water power at Fish River as there was five years ago, or any time since. There are no more mills, or machinery, or business of any kind here than there was five years ago. I should say not so much. There was plenty of money going, and the voters here were bought up like sheep. Plenty of offers were made to me to sell votes. I had no money and did not buy any. Voters were round Dickey's store like bees two months before election. About all the votes were paid for. There must have been \$1000 spent in this plantation.

There was no chance to dispute votes at the election. It was like throwing feathers against the wind, to object to votes.

I was at the polls and saw John Monroe, John Carl, Josiah Wiggins, and Joseph Dimmock vote. Neither name is on the list of voters, purporting to be a copy of our return to the Secretary of State, shown to me by J. S. Pike. I have no doubt that Charles Brian\* voted also, as I saw him at the polls. His name is not on the list referred to. The list of voters was not finished up till the next day. So I am informed, and believe. The Frenchmen were

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\* NOTE.—Charles McPherson states that he saw Brian vote. [J. S. P.]

told that Bradbury would get the government to buy a tier of townships for them. I understand that Bradbury proposed to get the government to buy a tier of townships for the settlers under the treaty of 1842. There are as many newspapers taken by the twelve Republican voters in this plantation as by all the rest of the voters. I was in danger of having my clothes torn off me at the election. I should have been stripped if I had not gone up stairs. The Democratic votes were printed on blue paper. I could tell them from the Republican votes, which were white, as far as I could see them.

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HANCOCK PLANTATION, October 26.

Samuel Stevens.—(Keeps the Fort Kent Hotel.) I did not go to the election except to deposit my vote. After the election the plantation clerk, Cunliffe, and Martin Savage, assessor, came into the tavern and talked the matter of the election over. Savage said he found several votes in the box together, and they were counted. They professed disgust with the whole proceedings. I saw Joseph Nadeau, the leading Frenchman of this plantation, the day after the election, and he said we have fixed up the list, this morning, all right. I told him I thought that should be done in town meeting. He replied, we could not do it: we had to take the names off Mischeau's memorandum book to finish up. There were as many as fifteen Frenchmen came to me the day before and the morning of the election and asked me if I would buy their votes. I refused, telling them I had no money for that purpose, and besides that I would not treat them, for they would take my money and then go and vote the other way for fifty cents more apiece. Have been here since the fall of 1845. There is less business here now than five years ago. Not one out of twenty-five of the French voters can read or write.

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HANCOCK PLANTATION, October 27.

Joseph Nadeau, French, Hotel keeper.—Lived here 25 years. We throw great many votes here. Voters get paid for their day's

work, and that encourages them to come. Most all are paid to come. Some come that were not on the list of voters. We had the names of twenty or more that we had not time to put on the list of voters election day. We were good deal hurried election day, and had not time. We make another "*leettle*" list and give it to Mr. Dickey, and he put it on next day. We have more Frenchmen votes than any other. The majority is French. We checked all on the list, then we had another man to put the voters on "*leettle*" list, and then we added them next day. I had the "*leettle*" list, and I carried it down to Mr. Dickey, next morning, and he put them on. I carried it to him to explain the names to him, and he put them on. Romain Michcaud made the list. He was there all the time of voting. I got the list of him. Some of them we thought not quite old enough, but then they give a vote, you know. Good many boys had their fathers with them to satisfy they were old enough. Money will do most anything. It wake up the people. Good many feel no interest in election. Give him little money and it make him turn out. We do the best we can but got disappointed. I never tried so hard before. For 17 year we have voted for Senator, outside. We wanted one inside this time. Mr. Cary make so much division that what killed us.

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HANCOCK MINUTES — October 23.

Mr. Johnson of Hancock plantation.—Had a row with Mr. Dickey on election day, who struck me several times. Dickey is Custom House officer, assessor, and was candidate for Senator. Dickey held the ballot box. Made every body show their vote. If it was Democratic, it was admitted at once. Votes were received as fast as offered, without waiting to check them. A large number of votes would be admitted while one was being found and checked. Six votes were found in one bunch which must have been thrown together. They were all counted. After I was struck I was hustled off and carried away from the polls some distance by the crowd. No list of voters was made up at the election. It was done next day by Dickey; so I was told. D. Page was driven off up stairs and told he had no business there. Nobody was paid any attention to



who objected to or challenged votes for their illegality, The occasion of my row with Dickey arose from my objecting to a vote. A boy apparently about fifteen, very small, was trying to get up to the ballot box, but could not. He was at length passed along by the men, and when he was about to vote I put my hand on his arm and said to Dickey, don't let boys vote. On this, Dickey struck at me three or four times, when I was hustled off by the crowd. As to Page, they then made a great noise over him, and threatened to kill him, and he was driven off. Live in Hancock plantation, ten miles above Fish river. I was present at the election and saw Josiah Wiggin vote. His name does not appear on the list of our voters, I understood.

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HANCOCK PLANTATION, October 25, 1858.

Jesse Wheelock.—Am 74 years of age. Have lived here 30 years. The people in the upper settlements go down to vote, and no questions are asked. Every body is allowed to vote that wants to. Our town meetings have been very irregular. I take but little interest in elections. I am sick of watching the polls. Hunnewell, one of the assessors, left his seat, and would not act, there was such a rabble about, and voting, at the last election.

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HANCOCK PLANTATION, October 25.

Mr. B. Hunnewell.—One of the assessors. Lives on the St. John river, 10 miles above Fort Kent. Was present at the opening of the polls, but staid only a short time. Was too unwell. The Clerk was not present. I was told the hour had come, and a Frenchman, named Michaud, was chosen temporary Clerk. Mr. Cunliffe, the Clerk, came just as I was going away. I don't know anything about a check list. Don't know whether the voters were checked as they came up or not. Don't know anything about it. Had nothing to do with the election. Was at the polls at the close, and helped count the votes. Found several which lay close together, a little curled. Called attention to the fact. Could not say they

were all thrown together. Thought it looked suspicious. They were all counted. Don't know how many there were, it might be eight or ten. Kept the check list and checked the voters in 1854 and 1856. Know the votes received those years were good votes according to our rules about voters. We received all as voters who were living on the disputed territory at the time of the treaty of 1842, and reside here now. We first did this under Mr. Elijah Hamlins' advice. I told him at the time I thought it was a loose way of doing, and that we would one day use it as a club to knock out the brains of his party. Was told election day that the voters had drank a forty gallon cask of gin, before noon. Don't know anything about it myself. I saw a good many drunken voters. Those who have the most money get the French voters. They know nothing about our politics. Have lived in this plantation 18 years. Have always considered that this plantation took in all the territory to the west of us. Never saw the description of the limits. Have always been told so. Never receive any votes from other plantations. No names are ever handed in from other plantations to be put on the voting list. Am assessor, and have been many years.