

# MAINE STATE LEGISLATURE

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**Legislative Record**

**OF THE**

**Ninety-second Legislature**



**Special Session**

**July 8, 1946**

## SENATE

Wednesday, July 24, 1946

The Senate was called to order by the President.

Prayer by the Reverend Cymbrid Hughes of Augusta.  
Journal of yesterday read and approved.

## Orders of the Day

On motion by Mr. Leavitt of Cumberland, the Senate voted to take from the table, Bill, An Act Providing for the Payment of a Bonus to, or Insurance Premiums for, Maine Veterans of World War II and for Payment of Other Veterans' Benefits and to Provide for Such Payments by a Sales Tax (H. P. 1528) (L. D. 1245) tabled by that Senator on July 23rd pending passage to be engrossed.

Mr. DENNY of Lincoln: Mr. President and members of the Senate, there appears to be in the Senate enough sentiment, if you want to call it that, to kill the so-called cash bonus provision in this bill and also the sales tax. However, there seems to be the feeling that certain parts of the bill should be retained. We have separate legislation in two bills covering \$400,000 for completion of buildings at the University of Maine, and also another bill which covers vocational training. If those bills should be knocked down, if we should indefinitely postpone this bill we would lose out on those two items which I think most of us feel should go through. Another feeling or thought seems to be that if we kick out, so to speak, this bill, No. 1245, we are apt to go home and find headlines in the paper the next day that the "do-nothing legislature" has met for 14 days or something like that, and accomplished absolutely nothing. However, I don't look at it that way. We still have the opportunity to take care of the University of Maine, vocational training and take care of the need of the Health and Welfare Department, and take care of the increase which is apparently necessary in the salaries of State employees. That is a real need. Regardless of whether we pass the veterans' legislation or not, that need is still there. We will have accomplished a program if we pass

those measures and we will have accomplished something without increasing the State debt.

Now, regardless of newspaper headlines or comments, I certainly for one would rather be criticized for doing nothing or doing just a little than to be criticized for hurriedly doing the wrong thing. I say "hurriedly" advisedly. I think probably most of you in the Senate have witnessed at one time or another a hearing for a sales tax. When the hearing was called, usually in the House chamber, the House chamber would be filled with men and women attending the hearing. There would be arguments pro and con. There would be those who wanted certain types of exemption. We have had absolutely nothing of that kind. We have said, "Let's pass the sales tax along with the bonus bill." We have not had proper hearing. It is rush legislation. There are comparatively few, probably, who know exactly what this sales tax plan means. So it seems as if that should go out of the window and be deferred until some time when it could be given proper consideration. So I hesitate at this time to ask for indefinite postponement of this bill with these other two items hanging in the fire, because I believe it is honestly the feeling that we want to save those. Perhaps if these were held over or an amendment were added to the bill, which could be dropped later, perhaps it would be the safer plan of the two.

Mr. HOWES of Penobscot: Mr. President, we were called down here, as I remember it, for the purpose of passing a soldiers' bonus. Now we throw it out of the window and take all the rest and pass it. I will agree that from anything I have seen the soldier is apt to pay more than he gets. It seems to work out that way. Nevertheless, I should hate to go home after doing a thing like what has been proposed. If we can agree on something I would be more in favor of it than throwing out everything. Throw the soldiers' bonus out and take the rest? Never, with me. I know that a good many of the fellows who are down here fighting the sales tax are more or less of a new crowd here as far as the sales tax goes. They have never had to deal with it. I have been here several years and have considered the sales tax and the income tax. I have seen it go back to the people and I know what they

have done with it. They are new men and think they are smarter than we were and can go back and tell the people it is okay and to put it on. But you are not going to get by with it.

Furthermore, regardless of what you think of me, I am a good Republican. I never drew a Democratic breath in my life. I tell you, when you go back, if you do nothing for the soldiers' bonus you are going to have a lot of criticism, especially if you kick this out and take the rest. I will not go home without doing something for the boys. We cannot do what I'd like to do. I know that. I know that anything we do, they will have to help pay. I know they would be better satisfied if we give them a little something to show that we do appreciate what they have done. We have done it in the past and so it makes it a little worse if we should go home after doing nothing. I hope we can stay here and do business and take care of the whole of them, but if we have to go home let's not do anything.

Mr. CLEAVES of Cumberland: Mr. President and members of the Senate, I'd like to know whether we are men or mice. We can face this proposition, this problem, just as intelligently and just as squarely right this particular moment as we can in the middle of the next legislature.

Mr. SAVAGE of Somerset: Mr. President, we have had a lot of talk that we don't want a sales tax now but do want a sales tax next legislature. I don't know how people who are against the sales tax but for the soldiers' bonus feel we can pass a sales tax at the next legislature and the soldiers not have to pay it, just as they would now. We have heard this cry—and I am not criticizing—by the people opposing the tax who say "Now is not the time to have it. You are hurrying it along. Wait until next legislature. We will be with you."

We have been here three weeks and have devoted our time to this one subject, soldiers' bonus—sales tax. Will your regular legislative session be able to devote that much time to one particular item? If we put this off and don't pass it now, but pass it next legislature, what will happen? We are going to have a hearing and perhaps a bigger one than we had here before, and it

will be referred to a committee and that committee will study and report and they will give it serious thought and will give us a workable sales tax. What will happen to the sales tax? It will go on the table. First one will be against it and then another, and it will go on the table until we have only three or four days left to finish our legislative work and go home. Well, they will take it off the table and those boys who now say they will be with us will say "It is important legislation. You cannot do this hurriedly. Wait until the next legislature and we will be with you." Then we will have a hodge-podge tax bill, cigarettes, liquor, and so on. We won't get anywhere. I say if this War had gone on three more months they would have received the \$15,000,000 they are asking now. I agree the State will have to pay its proportionate part. I agree the State has paid their proportionate part which has been received from the Federal government. I will go along and say we will have to pay more. I say the boys have done a good job and I say we should clasp their hands and say "Thank you," and pass the sales tax and the bonus.

M. BOUCHER of Androscoggin: Mr. President and members of the Senate, I would like once in the history of the legislature in this Senate, to have a game of cards with the cards face up. In other words, really talk the way we mean and really act the way we mean. I have come to the conclusion that none of the Senators are in favor of a sales tax, but they are in favor of a sales tax in order to provide the soldiers with a cash bonus, knowing down deep in their hearts the sales tax will not go through in September but they are using it as a pretext that they want a cash bonus well knowing that the people will turn down the sales tax. I will go along with Senator Denny if the sales tax is taken out. I know the bill has some good features. I think it has some good qualities. I think the vocational training, the section about the University of Maine, all have good points, but I honestly believe, and I think you do down deep in your hearts, that the sales tax end of it and the cash bonus are false because you know, or you should know that a sales tax will not go through by vote of the citizens of Maine in September, and so thereby your bonus through a sales tax

is just a bluff. Let's be honest about it. If we don't want to give a bonus, and I know there are senators who say they don't want to give a bonus, and I admire them for their courage in saying so, but let's be honest. If we don't want to give a bonus let's say so, but not say that we will give a bonus if the sales tax goes through because, Members of the Senate, I assure you that the same thing will happen as happened in 1937. You will not have a sales tax, and therefore, you will not have a bonus.

Mr. SMITH of Knox: Mr. President and members of the Senate, I do not agree that the people will not pass this sales tax when they know what it is for, what it is going to do. I think this Senate has given the veterans a mighty raw deal here and I believe they should have a bonus. I think the whole bill should go through just as it is. I think they are getting a raw deal.

Mr. HOPKINS of Kennebec: Mr. President and members of the Senate, personally I am tremendously interested in the educational features of the bill before us but I am also interested in getting a fair test on whether we do or do not favor such a cash bonus. I have been tremendously interested in the statements made in hearings. We are told that 17,000 signatures are available for inspection from veterans who definitely favor a cash bonus, but we of the Senate are mindful of the use that is made of the signatures secured, and also of the reach for power, as I see it, of certain leadership who have come here and advocated a large cash bonus. We have also been told by the Senator from Aroostook that in his opinion 90 percent of the veterans in his county are not in favor of a cash bonus. I have been told by other senators here that they believe in their counties the sentiment does not favor a cash bonus. I think the fair, analytical statement would be that we just do not know whether the majority of the veterans or the majority of the people favor a cash bonus, and neither do we know how large cash bonus, as an average, those people who do favor it, would wish. We do know there are a large number of veterans who do favor a cash bonus and we also know that many citizens take that same view. If I were to express an opinion on the situation here in my own county, I should say it is a moot question whether

the majority of the veterans favor a cash bonus or not, and I would say it is a moot question whether the majority of the voters favor a cash bonus or not. I frankly admit I don't know. In any event, I want to see a test made on this matter of a cash bonus, and I would very much dislike to see this bill indefinitely postponed because then it might seem the advocates of education, the educational features, were to be blamed to some extent for throwing the whole program out.

I would like to say to you people of the Senate that whether or not you believe in a cash bonus today, it is a fact that the veteran is coming to a period where he will be more in need than he is at the present time. It has been said many times here that many jobs are available in Maine for any man who wants to work, with good pay. I wish I could say I thought that condition would always prevail.

The expert opinions which I read on business conditions in the country today tell us the national administration is building another one of those hand-made depressions which will hit us in about 1948. I will say the study I make in the subjects of economics and business indicate to me it is what will take place. The New Deal philosophy is building one of those hand-made situations which we had before the second World War. I think you know that is true. The orders for munitions prior to the second World War prevented the people of the United States from getting a true picture of what the New Deal philosophy was going to do. We are coming again to that test and I think this time we will get the opportunity to see whether that philosophy is sound or not.

In mentioning a cash bonus I would like to say what has been done by the federal government in the way of assistance to veterans is a big factor in what the State of Maine can do in the way of estimating a cash bonus at this time. The statement was made yesterday that the Internal Revenue took about \$150,000,000 out of the State of Maine in 1945. I have not verified it, but it is probably correct. It is ten times as large as the veterans' program we have before us, and that is real money. I'd like to make a little comparison. I have not gone into it in detail but it is given to give a general picture. I

haven't verified it and will stand corrected on any figures I give, between what was done in the first war and what has been done in the second war in the way of assistance to veterans. I believe at the end of the first war we who were in it received \$60 mustering out pay. I am not sure it is correct, but I am sure we received \$100 bonus and I am sure we received adjusted compensation in the amount of \$1.00 a day for service in this country and \$1.25 a day for service outside the country. Knowing something about the duration of that war, I think the total average benefit for veterans at the end of the first war was between four and six hundred dollars. It doesn't include benefits to injured veterans, of course. Since it was over, benefits have been made which are not included and perhaps could not be included in the comparisons I am trying to make.

Since the termination of this war I'd like to remind you that any veterans who desired, and some did and some were justified in their action, were able to sit down for 52 weeks and draw \$20.00 a week. Some were justified in doing just that. If I had been through the hardship some of them suffered I think I would like to sit down 52 weeks and I would not apologize to anyone for drawing that, because I think I would be entitled to it. That amount is available to those who desire it. I am not defending those who did it who came back in good health in every way nervously and physically. We were told last night that the mustering out pay in this war is \$300 I didn't verify it. There is a terminal leave bill pending, and I think it has passed both branches of Congress, and as I remember it, it amounts to about \$300. There are a number of bills before the Veterans Bureau pertaining to adjusted compensation similar to what we had in the first World War. Assuming the people who are working on terminal leave, adjusted compensation, set that compensation up and adjust the costs of it to the new economy, it would set up \$1.00 to \$2.00 a day and you might expect the average veteran, since he was in the service an average of 21 months, might draw from six to twelve hundred dollars out of that.

Now, the educational benefits that have come and the benefits which are available to veterans of the second war cannot be estimated or

brought down to averages, but you know a veteran can get education for each year in the service and it costs the federal government in the vicinity of a thousand dollars for each year he wants to avail himself of the privilege, so any veteran who wants to can avail himself of from \$1000 to \$5000 on education. You cannot estimate it, but probably the veterans coming out of the second World War will avail themselves of advantages to which they are entitled under the federal law of over \$1,000 and to as much as \$8,000.

I would like to also remind you that there are a lot of young men in the country who never saw any service at all and who have been in the military reserves over a period of years, who have had first class college educations in any field you want to mention, entirely at the expense of the government.

Mustering out pay of \$300 is equal to \$40 per capita and the educational features are equivalent to about \$95 per capita. If we pay for that and the vocational feature \$50 to \$50 per capita and the State bonus is on the basis of something in the neighborhood of \$20 per capita, I say to you what the federal government has done has some bearing on what the State of Maine can do. The debt the government has today is \$2000 for every man, woman and child in the country. It doesn't look like much to increase it by \$20 per capita. It is only \$20 against \$2000. It seems pretty small. But we don't have the money. When we subscribed to the Constitution of the United States we gave up the right to coin money. Only the federal government has the right to coin money and if they didn't do that we would not have run into this indebtedness. We would not owe what we do if the government had to borrow money as the State of Maine would.

So I say to you all these things have a bearing on the bonus and when anybody says to you that Maine is not contributing to the benefits the veteran is getting, they are really not thinking of the various contributions we make to the veteran. If they come through Washington we shall have to pay for them. The federal government creates no wealth. It never created wealth. The only difference between the federal government doing the job and the State doing the job, in

round terms the federal government gleans about 20 percent of the funds that go to Washington, so any job we do we do about 20 percent cheaper than in Washington. That is the figure, so I say to you Maine is contributing to the benefits given to the veterans and that leads us to the question of whether or not we should come again and make a small contribution to the veterans in cash. If we make the contribution we are now making, which we would have to make direct from this legislature — direct to the veteran, he would be pleased with what we are doing. It is not easy for a man to see that what comes out of Washington is really coming from Maine.

I favor and I have always favored a bonus for veterans. My reason is this: I have had a lot of experience dealing with young people. I have four young people in my own family, and I find young people to be very reasonable. Lots of times they ask for things they ought not to have and when you say "No" without any explanation, they are not too happy about it, but you can say to the young people, "Son, you are asking ten times as much as I can afford to give you. Let's cut it down to some basis I can afford to give," and they will take it and take it gracefully. I think that people who are dealing with young people can deal with them that way. Our veterans by and large are young people and they are not well rounded in economics and business. They don't know about the State's financial problems and so they don't worry about them or think about them. I think you can accept that as being a fact.

When they ask for a bonus, even though what we are considering may be less than half of what they wanted — I don't know, but at least some of them are really clamoring for it — I would rather be in the position to say, "We cannot afford to give you all you ask for but we will do everything we can for you and give you every consideration we can."

As a by-thought, I'd like to say to you some of the talk which has been made as to what the veterans will have to pay in the tax program has been absolutely cock-eyed—the idea that you can pass liquor taxes, cigarette taxes and other taxes and the veteran doesn't

pay — it isn't so. The veterans are a class largely by age. They are young people. In other respects they are a cross section of the American people. They smoke cigarettes, chew tobacco, drink liquor and gamble and do everything members of the Senate do. When you tax liquor and tobacco, you tax them, and don't you ever forget it.

Some of the statements made on the sales tax are very wrong. A man who has a \$2000 income doesn't pay two percent of the total net income on the sales tax. He wouldn't even under this broad tax measure we have here. Although it may be more burden on the man with a low income than on the man with a higher income, the spread is nowhere near as great as the man with the high income would have. I suppose a man who had a \$10,000 income might have to pay probably three times as much sales tax as the man with a \$2,000 income. \$10,000 is five times as much as \$2,000, but the sales tax upon a man with a \$10,000 income would be but three times as much as on the man with the \$2,000 income. A man with a \$10,000 income would be called to pay in many ways where the man with a \$2,000 income would not have to pay at all.

We have talked about sales taxes and taxes on income and I suppose when we get down to consideration of the tax structure of the State, and I am sure we will next winter, we will have all those things before us. So I think the constructive way to handle this bill before us is first to get a test on whether we do or don't want a bonus. Let's have that test.

Mr. President, I move we recess for thirty minutes for the purpose of preparing an amendment.

The PRESIDENT: The Chair would like to state that it wishes to inform the Senators and call to the attention of the Senators that a motion to adjourn or recess is not debatable. It seems a little unfair for a Senator to make an argument and then move to recess without giving the opponents of that an opportunity to speak. The Chair doesn't say it to censure the Senator who makes the motion. The Chair would suggest if anyone intends to make a motion for adjournment it should be done before debating the issue.

Mr. HOPKINS: Mr. President, it was not my intention to shut off debate at this time, and I will withdraw my motion.

Mr. CURRIER of Androscoggin: Mr. President, I move we recess for thirty minutes.

The PRESIDENT: The question before the Senate is on the motion of the Senator from Androscoggin, Senator Currier, that the Senate recess for thirty minutes.

A viva voce vote being had, the motion did not prevail.

Mr. CLEAVES of Cumberland: Mr. President, it seems to me that this issue is resting squarely in our lap for decision, and the issue is this: What are we going to do for our veterans?

Mr. LEAVITT of Cumberland: Mr. President, my worthy colleague from Cumberland, Senator Cleaves, has asked two questions. He has asked whether we are men or mice, and what we are going to do for the veterans.

In the first place, it is only the mouse who says "Yes" every time a person asks him to do so. Very often a man says "No".

We have been asked to come here to do something for the veteran and I say we should do something for the veteran. But when we come here and propose to give a veteran \$150 when he has asked for \$500, and when we come here and pass a sales tax which does not only pay the bill for that \$150 but pays for several items in State financing which we were not called here purposely to do, estimated here on this sheet in front of me \$1,407,000 the first year and \$2,479,000 the next year, and progressing would come to \$4,000,000 the next year. In passing this bill which is before us, we are not giving the veterans something. We are putting the State in debt for \$16,000,000 or thereabouts, and putting on a sales tax not only to pay for that \$16,000,000, but those millions and millions of dollars which are extra financing for the State of Maine. They are matters that should properly come up in the next legislature. Not only has the veteran got to pay in the sales tax for his bonus but we also are going to ask him to pay for the State financing under the guise that he is still paying for the bonus. They are two separate problems and I believe the people here who are

saying we should not pass a sales tax now but pass it in the regular session mean that at that time we will fairly face the problem of State financing and that the sales tax will stand on its own feet and not hide behind the bonus. These veterans have fought a good war and they won and they deserve from us fairness, and they should not be tricked. I hope that we will turn down this bill in its entirety at this time.

Mr. HOWES of Penobscot: Mr. President, I spoke on this once this morning. The Senator from Kennebec, Senator Hopkins and I seem to be a good ways apart on this thing. He tells us of the wonderful job we have done for veterans, giving them a chance to go to college. That is all true, if we pass this bill. As near as I can find out only five percent are thinking of going to college. I am thinking of the fellows out in the country I know. Out in Penobscot County I know hundreds of them. They have been gone to war four years. Now they are back and many are without homes and many have a wife and child. I say to you, if you pass a sales tax those people are going to contribute thousands and thousands of dollars to the University of Maine in this program. They are not going to get an education. They are not going to school. I am thinking of that man out there. That is what the sales tax is going to do to him. They are trying to get a home. As I said last night, they have everything to buy. We are not doing for the veterans, as a whole, as much as we are given to believe we are. I don't believe veterans in the State of Maine who don't go to college ought to contribute a thousand dollars to the set-up here for the deficit in the State of Maine, to finance colleges, and this, that and the other. I honestly believe he has got to buy everything he needs.

Mr. CLEMENTS of Waldo: Mr. President and members of the Senate, when it became known that we were to have this session called for the benefit of the veterans, the Legislative Committee of the Maine State Grange asked me to bring in a bill, a combined bill of income tax and sales tax to be presented to this session. I went to a member of the Recess Committee for information in regard to what they were doing and they told me they had an in-



come tax and sales tax ready to present to this session. They have brought this bill along with the sales tax. They have left out the income tax.

Now, to me, to tax the common every-day laboring man and let the profit that those laboring men make go scot free, is all wrong and I am not in favor of it. I have always been in favor of a sales tax. I was in 1937. I have always been in favor of a sales tax but to let the capital go scot free, I am not in favor of it.

They said there was not time in this session to go over the whole tax situation. We have been here three weeks and we have worked on one thing. In a regular session would you have more time to spend on the tax situation than we have spent at this session?

Now, if you impose an income tax and a sales tax and do away with our mill tax and put a certain amount of surplus into the State Treasury, which any good business man or business firm would do, and turn the rest back to the municipalities in proportion to the valuation of the municipalities, and go out with it this fall, you will carry it by, but whether a sales tax will get by I don't know. I am afraid it won't. There are a great many not in favor of a bonus and those not in favor of a bonus will certainly vote against a sales tax.

If you go back to the time when we seceded from Massachusetts and formed a State of our own, you will find that 90 percent of the people were on the land and getting a living out of the land and from the land. If they wanted roads or wanted schools they had to tax the property that the men held in the State, but we have outlived that situation. A very few of us now are getting our living from the land. 25 percent perhaps are on the land but the rest are in business of some kind.

An income tax should be levied and nothing should be made to pay which does not produce an income. Whether it be land, real estate, manufacturing or personal income, it should pay its proportionate part with the sales tax.

Mr. SPEAR of Cumberland: Mr. President, I would like to get a motion before the Senate at this time. I do not want to shut off debate but

I move this bill be indefinitely postponed.

The PRESIDENT: The Senator from Cumberland, Senator Spear, moves the bill be indefinitely postponed. The Chair will state that the motion is, of course, debatable.

Mr. BISHOP of Sagadahoc: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent or personal privilege to address the Senate.

The PRESIDENT: The Chair will state if the Senator intends to debate this bill he doesn't need unanimous consent.

Mr. BISHOP: Mr. President, I propose to debate this bill and I may drift off in one or two places.

The PRESIDENT: The Chair will state that most of the Senators sometimes do.

Mr. BISHOP: Mr. President and fellow Senators, I have a few detailed remarks that I wish to make. I hope that words will come to me to express clearly, unmistakably, and without any misunderstanding, a few thoughts and feelings that I harbor. I would suggest, therefore, Mr. President, that you be seated, and that my fellow Senators likewise, find the soft parts of their seats, relax and be at ease.

After due and careful consideration, our Governor settled upon July 8th as the best and proper time to call the legislature into special session to consider the problems of, and benefits for the returned and returning veterans of World War II. Although I believe the Governor's motives and conclusions were honest and sincere, I also believe that there are no problems existing today pertaining to the veterans of World War II that did not exist a year ago today. Every problem that we have pending before us today could just as well, or better, have been studied and handled last fall or last January at the latest. If not, then every problem that we have pending before us today could just as well, or better, have waited until the next regular session of the legislature. But, of all times, this is the least desirable. Every issue having to do with veterans, veterans' benefits, new tax measures and State bonds is too complicated and too important to be rushed through this special session with hurriedly drawn bills. The future welfare of the veterans and of our State hang in the balance. This is the least desirable time because this

is the busiest time of year for a vast majority of the legislators.

We call our State, "Vacationland". For a few months out of the twelve it may be so, but for twelve months out of the year Maine is an industrial and an agricultural State. Since a very great majority of the legislators are very busy people, it is not easy to drop all private work, and to do justice to the weighty problems that lay before us. Let's face the facts. It is impossible to give to them the study and thought and consideration that they need, deserve, and warrant. If there is any dull or slack season in Maine it comes in late fall or early winter. Aside from the fact that busy people from all walks of life have gone out of private production; and aside from the fact that those same people, even after two weeks' effort, are still unable to grasp all the details, there is one fact that still remains. This legislative session costs the citizens of the State of Maine—Vet's included—around \$3,000 a day—about \$35,000 up to the present time.

I regret to say it; but to me the whole affair takes on the appearance of a political squeeze play. In other words, and for the most part unfortunately, the bonus issue has been tossed around for some six to eight months—a political football, if you please.

Now the cash bonus issue from the very beginning was fermented and agitated, not by the veterans, but by a few self seeking, unscrupulous, crafty and indiscreet individuals. Sad, but true. Since our convening here two weeks ago some very strange and most unusual things have taken place. Not since the days of 1943 when the Senator from Aroostook, Senator Brown, introduced a measure to have labor union financial accounts subject to the same regulations as are imposed on every other organized corporation or industry, have we seen such characters parading our corridors or infesting our legislative halls as we have seen this session. Not since the days of 1943 when we were considering legislation to legalize "Beano" have we seen such thugs, racketeers and gangsters sauntering about this state house. But, never before have we experienced such boisterous, disorderly and shameful tactics as were demonstrated here last week; tactics comparable with, bordering on and similar to those employed by selfish,

greedy, power-thirsty agitators, to intimidate members of Congress, to stir up unrest and discontent among innocent, honest, hardworking people; or to generate mob violence among idle crowds.

They have grown so bold that they dare to come into this Senate Chamber and make personal threats against members, me in particular. Because, the only tactics they know how to use, and demonstrated here last week, have defeated whatever they sought to gain. Because, with their hopes shattered, like a drowning man in desperation they clutch at a floating twig. Their only hope left is to befog the issue.

They grasped onto one word from a statement made by me at a public hearing last week, a statement that was slightly misquoted, misused, and featured by the press, featured because in the face of possible rebuke from an organized group of proponents, I happened to be one of the first to analyze some of the unwise and unsound features of a cash bonus.

Please bear with me while I review the remarks made by me last Wednesday before the joint committees of Appropriations and Financial Affairs and Military Affairs, at a public hearing on veterans' benefits.

I have even heard stated here in the past when a bill has been on the floor, "No one appeared against it at the hearing." Or, "If you didn't appear then, you should keep still now." Or, "If you appeared then and made some sort of an argument and later the bill is reported out unannounced or almost unannounced, then it is proper to go along with the committee." But still we live in a democracy, and still we have freedom of thought and freedom of speech. So, in spite of the fact that I appeared before the committee, and in spite of the fact that we have an almost unanimous report in favor of this measure I would like to refer to my remarks made at that hearing.

At the very outset I said, "The committee is weary." After what it had been through for two days it had a right to be weary. For two whole days I listened, sometimes bewildered, sometimes disappointed, sometimes pleased. At the very outset I paid my highest respects to the patriotism and the loyalty of the veterans. I stated that there was no sacrifice on our part too great

to make. Although I stated that the whole veterans' problem was one of federal responsibility, and I referred to the mustering out pay which was up to \$300, five hundred percent greater than was granted after the first world war, I did favor wholeheartedly many other veterans' benefits except for the cash bonus. I was in favor of bigger and better schools, of better homes, of the insurance plan, of an expanded public roads program.

As to my suggestion that we set up a ten to fifteen million dollar roads expansion program, giving veterans first and full preference, I was accused with the desire to create a Georgia Road chain gang and impose it upon our veterans. How absurd! Just think of it, fellow Senators! After I had finished my humble remarks—and I will say that they are honest, sincere remarks—one of the proponents of a \$500 cash bonus or nothing, arose and made the request that his argument against the expansion of the University of Maine be retracted. He argued, after listening to the last speaker, which was me, that this state needed considerable more education! The only suggestion I would make to that is that we follow the Governor's suggestion and expand the educational program from sub-primary clear up through so everyone could profit by it!!

I discussed this thing known as patriotism. I stated that it was something that could not be measured in dollars and cents. I favored everything that would help the returned "vets" to become readjusted and prepared to become better citizens—to help them to help themselves.

The speakers for the bonus demanded \$500 or nothing. Inasmuch as several of the proponents of the cash bonus argued, and a very fine appearing young attorney from Waterville, who is a veteran, by the name of Muskie, argued, that if they had to be taxed, if a tax had to be imposed upon them, he, for one—and he represented many others—did not favor a cash bonus.

After the first World War we did grant a hundred dollar cash bonus to some 30,000, more or less, returned veterans. This time we have over three times as many, and the bill proposes to pay \$150 instead of \$100. Where we paid something in the neighborhood of \$3,300,000 last time, it would be somewhere in the

neighborhood of \$15,000,000 this time. Last time no benefits of any kind were offered, but this time—and we hope we have learned by experience—that sometimes there are things more valuable than a little cash in the pocket.

Since the evils of the cash bonus seemed by far to outweigh the benefits, and since the majority of the people, veterans included, whom I represent, do not favor a cash bonus, I spoke in opposition to it. I was honest. I was sincere. I hold every veteran in the highest regard. I have no less than 12 "vets" in my immediate family, three who are permanently disabled I will go to any length to help any one or all of them or any other veteran. I have done it time and time again and will continue to do so. Already I have paid out several hundreds of dollars and I am glad to do it, and I will share what I have with any vet who needs it, but I just can't impose upon him and his children and his grandchildren and yours, an everlasting tax burden that will go down through the ages.

We might as well face the facts. We have had a lot of drum-beating and flag waving. We are all keenly interested in the veterans' problems because there is no family that was not touched by this terrible thing known as War. Most every one of us have sons or brothers or relatives who are close and who were taken away and some who never came back. I am in favor of everything that will help the dependents of those who didn't come back. I am in favor of anything that will help the fellows who came back—and thousands of them did come back—anything to help them to adjust themselves to become better citizens.

I made another statement at the hearing, that I had literally talked with hundreds of people. That is a fact. Last Thursday I spoke before fifty or sixty gentlemen down at the Rotary Club. They are good, substantial citizens. I told my story just as I see it. They were in hearty accord with me. That night I spoke at a grange meeting where there were many returned vets in the audience. There were 125 who were present, including the veterans. We discussed this thing. I expressed myself as clearly and frankly as I know how. We had a fine discussion and finally just one disagreed with my stand. Last Monday I went to Bath and spoke to 125. And there were

seven or eight returned veterans present. We discussed this thing for an hour. I had every single person in that group in accord with me.

I have a letter here from outside my county, and I have permission to read it.

"Honorable Neil S. Bishop, Senator from Sagadahoc, State House, Augusta, Maine. Dear Senator: Congratulations on your stand on the veterans' bonus. You are just right and represent the attitude of the majority of returned veterans. It is the opinion of all intelligent returned service men with whom I have talked in Maine, that any cash bonus will do more harm to Maine and its citizens than good. I spent four years in the service and am now Vice Commander of our Legion Post. Our York County veterans with the exception of Biddeford are all on record as against a cash bonus. I would be glad to come to Augusta and go on officially as against it if necessary. Yours truly, Henry M. Fuller."

I have another letter here from the President of the Maine Potato Growers Association, a fellow who is very intelligent, who is very capable, who travels a good deal, and who has his finger on the pulse of the people of Aroostook County.

"Dear Neil: I didn't see you after your testimony yesterday at the hearing to say that I heartily approved of your comments on the general tax problem and your suggestions for meeting current needs. You handled your subject very well, spoke clearly and effectively, and I was delighted at the intelligent approach you made. It was good to see you again. Yours sincerely, Frank W. Hussey."

I have a whole stack of letters here, some for and some against, but mostly against every gambling device that has been presented to this legislature.

Up to this point, through the past six years, I have attempted to get as well as possible the cross-section of the people I represent, but many times—and it happens with you also—after it boils down, all we have left to do is to express what we think. In this case I have gone out of my way to find out what other people think, and I believe I represent a vast majority of the people when I stand in opposition to a cash bonus.

I have proposed publicly time and again that we who were too

old or too young to be drawn into the armed services, and who stayed behind to help produce food and other materials of war, should pay cash out of pocket.

Two years ago when we were discussing and opposing legislation to increase the salaries of our departmental heads and our justices, I made the statement at the time—and the record will bear me out, if we ever get them to read—that it was unfair to boost those salaries when we were not going to do it for the little fellow down the line who did the spade work. It was unfair to do anything about it when our boys were serving overseas at a low rate of pay, putting in 24 hours a day. I argued that we, who were here, fairly secure making a few sacrifices, to be sure—but we who profited by increased incomes and most of us who stayed at home did get better incomes—it should be our responsibility to pay any debt of gratitude.

I, at this time, offer this suggestion. The pay check that was passed to me last week is free to be endorsed and turned over to the bonus fund if the other members of the legislature will do likewise. That would be my token of gratitude.

In the past two weeks, and this may be personal, I have lost by being here, perhaps two thousand dollars worth of valuable hay. That is the product I produce because in my work as a farmer, it is our main crop. My hay equipment and my outfit has stayed idle. Hay has gone by; but, that is of minor importance if we can accomplish something for the veterans. I am willing to make any sacrifice out of my own pocket but never can I see fit to sell my State down the river.

The majority of the vets do not want a cash bonus. They want a chance to make a decent living, to have a decent home. They want to be left alone. It is utterly ridiculous absolutely absurd, for anyone to insinuate even, that I ever referred to the veterans as rat holes.

Last week I used a very common New England colloquialism, referring to waste with no reference to any individual or any group of veterans. No one can ever accuse me of having anything but highest regard for every veteran—I do not care what his status.

After all that I have done, and all I am willing to continue to do, I

feel as deeply insulted as they do. The whole thing, misquoting and misinterpreting my statement, was to befog the issue.

Let's not be fooled. Let's not be intimidated. Let's be honest. Let's be fair. Here we have a bill with a bad feature and a good feature, and then a bad feature and a good feature. Take it or leave it. Take it and like it. On the veterans' issue, on the popular or unpopular cash bonus issue, we are attempting to slide through some other undesirable features. I have always been in favor of a general sales tax that eliminated or exempted the food-stuffs and the clothing of the every-day man or everyone for that matter, because food and clothing is absolutely essential. I believe there would be plenty of revenue from a general sales tax with those things exempted, but when you impose a sales tax with all those features in it you are taxing the little man into eternity.

I have been in favor of an income tax properly graduated coupled with a tax on intangibles, and those in proper combination would return plenty of revenue, but this sales tax which includes foodstuffs—I just cannot take it. I don't like bond issues because it is a cowardly way to duck the issue and pass the debt onto someone else.

So, not liking the cash bonus idea, but in favor of the insurance idea, in favor of a sales tax that does not include food-stuffs, in favor of the expanded educational program,—fine. But as it is now, I hope the motion of the senator from Cumberland, Senator Spear, does prevail.

The PRESIDENT: The question before the Senate is on the motion of the Senator from Cumberland, Senator Spear that this bill be indefinitely postponed.

Mr. MORRILL of Cumberland: Mr. President, I ask that when the vote is taken, it be taken by the Yeas and Nays

The PRESIDENT: The Senator from Cumberland, Senator Morrill has asked for the Yeas and Nays. To order the Yeas and Nays requires the approval of one-fifth of the members present. Those in favor of the Yeas and Nays will rise and stand until counted.

A division of the Senate was had.

Obviously more than one-fifth of the members present having risen, the Yeas and Nays were ordered.

The Secretary called the roll.

YEA: Senators Bishop, Boucher, Brown, Clough, Cross, Currier, Denny, Good, Gould, Leavitt, Morrill, Noyes, Spear, Willey—14.

NAY: Senators Batchelder, Cleaves, Clements, Dorr, Dow, Dunbar, Hall, Hopkins, Howes, McKusick, Owen, Savage, Sayward, Smith, Sterling, Washburn, Welch—17.

ABSENT: Townsend—1.

Fourteen having in the affirmative and seventeen opposed, the motion to indefinitely postpone did not prevail.

The PRESIDENT: The question before the Senate is now on the passage of this bill to be engrossed.

Mr. CROSS of Kennebec: Mr. President and members of the Senate, we have heard a great deal of oratory this morning and I am inclined to agree that a great deal of it was with the intention of perhaps clouding the issue. I believe, however, that the Senate has thought clearly through this thing. I believe that they have one object in mind, from this vote here, and that is to bring something out of this bill. However, I don't feel that every one of those who voted against the indefinite postponement of this bill wanted the bill to pass as it is. I feel that there are some honest amendment here which may be made and with that thought in mind I move that this bill lie on the table until the afternoon session.

A viva voce vote being had

The motion prevailed and the bill was laid upon the table pending passage to be engrossed in concurrence and this afternoon especially assigned.

On motion by Mr. Savage of Somerset, the Senate voted to take from the table Resolve in Favor of the Town of Greenville (H. P. 1526) tabled by that Senator on July 23rd pending motion by the Senator from Piscataquis, Senator McKusick, that the Resolve be indefinitely postponed; and the same Senator yielded to the Senator from Piscataquis, Senator McKusick.

Mr. McKUSICK of Piscataquis: Mr. President, as I stated last night it has developed that this matter is controversial, that there are objections by the municipal officers in the town of Greenville, to the pas-

sage of this Resolve as the money was allocated by the 91st legislature to the town of Greenville and should be at the disposal of the town. I hope that my motion to indefinitely postpone will be sustained by the Senate.

The PRESIDENT: The question before the Senate is on the motion of the Senator from Piscataquis, Senator McKusick, that the Resolve be indefinitely postponed. Is the Senate ready for the question?

The motion prevailed and the Resolve was indefinitely postponed. Sent down for concurrence.

### Emergency Measure

On motion by Mr. Good of Aroostook, the Senate voted to take from the table, Resolve in Favor of Ricker Classical Institute and Junior College (S. P. 467) (L. D. 1212) tabled on July 23 by that Senator pending final passage.

A division of the Senate was had.

This Resolve being an emergency measure and having received the affirmative vote of 23 members of the Senate, and two opposed, was finally passed.

On motion by Mr. Leavitt of Cumberland, the Senate voted to take from the table Senate Report "Ought Not to Pass" from the Committees on Military Affairs and Appropriations and Financial Affairs on bill An Act Authorizing the Maine Development Commission to Promote New Industries (S. P. 457) (L. D. 1192) tabled by that Senator on July 19 pending acceptance of the report.

Mr. LEAVITT of Cumberland: Mr. President, yesterday when I took this resolve off the table and asked to have it recommitted, I did not realize that it might delay the adjournment of the legislature procedure follow through. Having had it explained to me I put it back on the table until I could re-gather my forces.

What I would like to do today is to substitute another bill for the one which is now before the Senate and under the same title and with the same purpose, modified, however, from the munificent sum of one million dollars down to twenty-five thousand. I talked with many members of the Maine De-

velopment Commission, I talked with many Senators and other people and they agreed, most of them, that the purpose behind this bill is correct, that the state of Maine should start advertising and promoting industries in the state of Maine beyond what they are doing at the present time. Therefore we worked out this amendment which I would like to submit to the legislature if they will allow me now to make a motion that we substitute the bill for the report. I hope that the Senate will allow me to substitute the bill for the report and immediately after that I will present this amendment.

The PRESIDENT: The Senator from Cumberland, Senator Leavitt, moves that the Senate substitute the bill for the "Ought Not to Pass" report of the committee. Is the Senate ready for the question?

A viva voce vote being had

The Chair was in doubt.

A division of the Senate was had.

Twenty-three having voted in the affirmative and five opposed, the motion to substitute the bill for the report prevailed and the bill was given its first reading.

Thereupon, the same Senator presented Senate Amendment A and moved its adoption.

Mr. LEAVITT: Mr. President, I think that my remarks on asking the substitution of the bill for the report explain most of the things about this bill. I believe that the destiny of the state of Maine lies in the promotion of its industries. We are up here in the northeast corner of the United States. We have been a little bit forgotten by the industrialists of the country. The eastern seaboard is the great industrial area of the country and I believe that with a very little encouragement, this industry can be brought into the state of Maine to use what people who have come here already claim to be the best labor there is.

People said that we could not build ships, steel ships in Maine, because it is too cold here. But we had less absenteeism, less delays on account of weather here in Maine building ships in Bath and Portland than they did in the south or on the west coast. Our climate is ideal, invigorating. We don't lose the time that people lose from the tremendous heat they get in other parts of the country and our men

here are used to cold and there are very few days in the year they cannot do the work, even the rigorous work of buildings ships and welding out of doors.

Maine is an ideal place to develop the industry. We are here on veterans legislation. There is no one gift we could give the veterans that would equal the gift of allowing them to have a good job.

This bill carries in it the expenses necessary to hire promotional engineers in the Maine Development Commission. It takes out the big bulk of the money which I hoped might be used as they use it in some other states to offer inducements such as to build small plants, perhaps to make over some of the plants of the state because people think that some of the opponents of the bill felt that it might be misused and they don't believe in bribing people to come here.

I personally believe that there are certain means of getting people here which are sound and economical. We have had experience in Portland. We brought in a small firm down there called Saco-Moc. Every argument that has been used against this method was used against that transaction. We spent six thousand dollars to get them to come to Portland and they have left many hundreds of thousands of dollars in payroll with us and have been one of our outstanding firms since they have been there. I do feel that we should be with this piece of legislation, and start promotion which will make Maine a twelve month of the year business resort instead of going out and advertising that we are a summer resort. I do hope that this Body will pass this amendment.

Mr. DOW of Oxford: Mr. President, I do not find on my desk that this amendment has been reproduced. I do not find any copy of it and I am not familiar with it from the way it was explained as to what it does to the original bill. My position is exactly this. At the present time I don't intend to vote with my good friend and colleague from Cumberland. If I knew what the bill is about I might be with him. I would like to know what the amendment does to the original bill, and I would like to have it tabled and especially assigned for this afternoon so that I may know more about it.

Thereupon, the bill and amendment were laid upon the table pending motion to accept Senate Amendment A and this afternoon especially assigned.

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On motion by Mr. Brown of Aroostook  
 Recessed until this afternoon at one o'clock Eastern Standard Time.

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#### After Recess

The PRESIDENT: The Senate is proceeding under Orders of the Day.

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On motion by Mr. Cross of Kennebec, the Senate voted to take from the table bill An Act Providing for the Payment of a Bonus To or Insurance Premiums for Maine Veterans of World War II and for the Payment of other Veterans Benefits and to Provide for Such Payment by a Sales Tax (H. P. 1528) (L. D. 1245) tabled by that Senator earlier in today's session pending passage to be engrossed.

Mr. CROSS of Kennebec: Mr. President and members of the Senate, I don't like this bill. I think there are a number in the Senate who agree with me and I would like to find out just how many there are. We have had several votes on this measure and I believe a number of the members of the Senate felt as I do when they voted, that this is not a fair proposition to hand out to either the voters and citizens of Maine or to the veterans. For that reason this morning I tabled the measure to see if we could prepare a suitable amendment. Such an amendment has been prepared. I think from various angles it is much more palatable to the people of Maine and to this legislature than the present bill.

However, this amendment is quite lengthy, and in order for us to consider it, it should be printed and that will hold up the legislature for some time. This has been discussed in the corridors. I think most of you are familiar with the provisions of it and if you feel that it has sufficient merit so that you wish to amend this bill, we might be able to go along on a procedure that would allow us to do so. If, however, you believe this is the only answer and that this is what the

majority of the Senate wants, I think it would save a lot of time if you voted on this measure here and got an honest expression of opinion as to what you want.

First I would like to tell you what we do not like about the bill, and I think many of you will agree with me. In the first place, as a matter of principle, I don't think we should pay any bonus. I don't feel that it is a state matter and I think the thing has been well covered by the federal government.

Secondly, if we do pay a bonus I have no desire whatever to face the veteran and try to explain to him and justify my action of handing him \$150 in cash and taxing him for the rest of his life to pay for it. I have five veterans from Maine working for me. I have had different people bring that up. I have talked with those five veterans. I know how much money they get. Everyone of them is spending every cent he gets. They all have families and under these conditions they cannot save a cent. I am paying them a reasonable wage and they would pay, under what they get from me and with their overtime about \$50 a year in sales taxes, and you can very readily see it would take them only three years before they would have paid back their bonus and from then on the state would benefit.

Now I am not opposed to a sales tax as a means of revenue. In fact I am in favor of a sales tax as a competent revenue for the state, but only when we can take it and apply it to the whole tax structure of the state of Maine to relieve real estate, to set up proper revenue for general funds and properly take care of highway deficits. Until that time comes I am definitely opposed to wrapping it up in a package, tying it up with a silver ribbon and handing the bonus to the veterans as a present.

I don't believe in being obstructive as a legislator but I don't like this bill. I would not object to it purely on those grounds unless something better were offered. There is an amendment prepared that could be applied to this or any other bill now on the table relating to a soldiers' bonus that would be an entirely new approach to the matter. It has been drawn up by my colleague, Senator Sterling. He has put a lot of time into it and

has checked his figures very carefully and he feels that the thing is practical from every viewpoint. I would like to explain this to you Senators in a few words.

This amendment would pay the veterans a bonus certificate based on seven dollars per month for each month of the duration of his service, starting at three months. There is no distinction between state wide or overseas service in the amendment. It is a straight \$7.00 per month over three months. These certificates would be cashable at any bank at a regular bank discount but not cashable in any other place. There would be no question of exploiting the veterans by individuals. Their certificates would begin to become due in 1949 and as I have said many times on this floor, at the present moment the veteran does not need a bonus. He may need one in two or three or five years from now but he definitely is not in a position now where it makes or breaks him.

The procedure then would be to finance this over-all amount which would be in the neighborhood of fifteen million dollars. The average length of service in the State of Maine according to the Adjutant General is twenty-one months, so that would make an average bonus of approximately one hundred and fifty dollars.

There would be no necessity for a bond issue as this program would be self supporting to a major degree. The amount would accumulate until 1949 when the first payments would be made and the funds would be raised by a two cent tax on cigarettes, by a five percent tax on amusements and a luxury tax such as we have seen considered here before but without the sporting goods or musical instruments, and by a five dollar head tax on all adults over twenty-one, exempting the veteran, his wife and old age recipients.

There would also be a provision that any hardship cases could be abated by the local assessors. They would collect the tax in the same manner they now collect the poll tax and would be given three per cent of the proceeds for the cost of collecting.

This entire program would bring in approximately four million dollars a year and thus in four years should finance the entire set-up but to be safe, Senator Sterling has set



it at five years which should take care of the program.

At the end of five years these taxes would be written off. They would no longer be payable for that purpose and would be available to some future legislature for other legitimate purposes.

I believe this is the answer to what we have been groping for through the fog that has surrounded us. I believe it is sound and if we must have a bonus, if we feel we are justified in doing it, I am for this amendment. If we are not justified, if you do not feel that there is any other way in the judgment of this Senate than this bill 1245, I am absolutely opposed to its passage and will vote against it each time. If, however, you feel there is merit in this amendment, if you feel it is a better approach to the problem, then you will vote to kill the bill here and we will take this amendment and attach it to some other bill.

There is one other feature I might mention and that is, incorporated in his amendment are all the desirable features which we seem to feel should go through at the present time.

In other words, there is in the amendment the vocational training as it is in this bill. There is the University of Maine program as it is in this bill. And I see nothing that is not in this amendment except the straight cash bonus and the sales tax. Personally I believe it is a much better and sounder approach to this problem. Therefore Mr. President, in the endeavor to get an honest expression of opinion as to how this Senate does feel, I will ask for the indefinite postponement of Legislative Document 1245.

Mr. BATCHEDER of York: Mr. President, I would like to ask if we are discussing this particular amendment which is being offered at this particular time, or the motion to indefinitely postpone.

The PRESIDENT: The Chair will state that no amendment has been offered as yet and the question before the Senate is to indefinitely postpone the original bill.

Mr. CROSS. Mr. President, I would like to explain to the Senate my method in doing this. I thought I had made it clear. If the Senate feels that this amendment as I have explained it has merit I would assume that it could be placed on

any of the bills now on the table in regard to bonus. The bill before us is so controversial an attempt to amend it at this time might not pass and, as I said before, I want a clear expression of how this Senate feels. If the majority of this Senate wants this bill there is no use in offering an amendment and holding up the Senate for two or three hours to have it printed. But if they feel there is merit in this amendment we should kill the bill and attach the amendment to any of the other bonus bills as it is a bill complete in itself.

I am perfectly willing to offer the amendment at this time but it would have to be printed. It is entirely up to the judgment of the Senate as to which way they wish to vote on this measure. I feel we should have a clear vote as to whether they want this bill in its entirety or whether they do not. Therefore I make this motion to indefinitely postpone and I ask for a roll call vote.

The PRESIDENT: The Chair wishes to explain in the interests of the Senators understanding, that the amendment could be offered at this time if the Senator would withdraw his motion to indefinitely postpone and the amendment would not have to be printed before it is considered by the Senate. There is no rule in the Senate that requires the printing of amendments before they are considered by the Senate and the Chair thinks that possibly the Senator could arrive at the vote on the amendment after debate without waiting for the printing of the amendment which might take a matter of some hours.

Mr. CROSS: Mr. President, I would like to follow your suggestion and I withdraw my motion and yield the floor to the Senator from Somerset, Senator Sterling.

Mr. STERLING of Somerset: Mr. President, I wish to introduce Senate Amendment A to House Paper 1528, Legislative Document 1245 and move its adoption.

Mr. BATCHELDER of York: Mr. President, I think I have seen this particular amendment that is now presented to us. I believe we had several bills in here along that particular line on a sliding scale payment to the veterans on the basis of ten dollars a week. I think after that bill was discussed we came to the conclusion that the payment of \$150 was approximately all the state

could pay and I don't want to make any particular exception as to paying boys that might be in for a long while any different from whether they might be in for a short while. Another particular feature of the bill which I think is left out in this particular amendment is the item of insurance. If this bill is accepted in its present form, that particular feature which is a very important part of the bill would have to go by the board for the reason that under this particular set up of the veterans' certificate there would be no provision made for taking care of that particular part of the program.

Now as I understand this particular tax it would provide an item of one million six hundred thousand dollars from a cigarette tax. On the question of theatres and luxury taxes it is very uncertain as to the amount of revenue that might be derived from those particular sources. On the proposition of a five dollar head tax as I understand it, if that was accepted that means that every man and woman over twenty-one years of age would contribute to that head tax.

I think that the poll tax which we have in the various towns have been a headache to practically all of our assessors in attempting to collect a three dollar poll tax. Now we are attempting to place an eight dollar poll tax upon the men and a five dollar poll tax on the women. I think it would be quite a hard tax to collect. At the present time we are using the office of the Secretary of State for the collection of poll taxes and also the Fish and Game Department. I don't know just what method we would find to attempt to collect a poll tax as far as the women are concerned although possibly they might be more willing to pay than the men.

I might say that I think without doubt we would have to go to considerable expense in the collection of that particular tax.

As to the question of giving certificates to the boys, I believe that was along in here in line with the federal government shortly after the close of the last war, an adjustment pay by a veterans certificate was furnished to the boys over a period of twenty years. We found that after a few years it was possible for them to draw a certain amount of money on those certificates. I be-

lieve the veterans borrowed on those certificates, chargeable with interest but later the government would forgive that and later on the whole amount was payable. We are simply saying to the boys, "We are going to give you possibly a \$150 bonus which you can have in about five years from this particular date." It might be true that some of the boys could go to the bank and discount those certificates and receive the money. Now it is only an item of a small loan and I think a great many of our banks would probably charge the maximum rate on the loan. That is if a boy wanted his money at the present time that would be a thirty percent discount from the amount we are paying the boys. I don't believe this bill would be workable and therefore I move the indefinite postponement of this amendment.

The PRESIDENT: The Chair will state that the amendment has not been adopted as yet. The question before the Senate is on the adoption of the amendment. Will the Senator withdraw his motion to indefinitely postpone?

Mr. BATCHELDER: Mr. President, I will withdraw the motion to indefinitely postpone.

Mr. CURRIER of Androscoggin: Mr. President, it is a lovely day. It is warm out. It is nice. Now, why are you Senators going to discuss this vicious bill, and I refer to Legislative Document 1245. There may be a few good points in it. Let's not be at the command of anyone. Let's throw 1245 out of the window. Let the joint committee on Military Affairs and Appropriations approve a bill. Let's not get into wrangling here two weeks on amendments. We will be fighting two weeks and we will be fighting in September on amendments. Throw it out of the window and let the committee draw a bill. I know there men on the committee with ability to draw a bill that would be acceptable to this legislature.

Mr. President, I move L. D. 1245 be indefinitely postponed.

The PRESIDENT: The Chair will state a motion to amend is before the Senate, which takes precedence over a motion to indefinitely postpone.

Mr. CURRIER: Mr. President, I rise to a point of order.

The PRESIDENT: The Senator may state his point.

Mr. CURRIER: Mr. President, I would like to know the Chair's opinion on the matter of whether the motion to amend, or the motion to indefinitely postpone has precedence.

The PRESIDENT: The Chair will state that under the rules, a motion to amend has precedence over a motion to indefinitely postpone. The question before the Senate is on the motion of the Senator from Somerset, Senator Sterling, that the Senate adopt Senate Amendment "A."

Mr. CROSS of Kennebec: Mr. President, my only reason for rising again on this amendment is to perhaps straighten out the thinking Senator Batchelder who estimates the veteran would lose thirty percent of his bonus in the discount. I don't know just how he arrives at that figure because the bank discount cannot be more than six percent a year, and I don't think they would be allowed to pyramid it over a five year period. But that is rather beside the point. I believe the thing is fair. I believe it has sound merits and I don't agree with Senator Currier that the committee should have another whack at the bill. They considered it over a period of time. If they feel it has merits let's vote it. If not let us let it lie. I ask for a roll call vote.

The PRESIDENT: The question before the Senate is on the motion of the Senator from Somerset, Senator Sterling, that the Senate adopt Senate Amendment A. The Yeas and Nays have been requested. To order the Yeas and Nays, the affirmative vote of one-fifth of the members present is necessary. Is the Senate ready for the question?

A division of the Senate was had.

Obviously more than one-fifth having risen, the Yeas and Nays were ordered.

The Secretary called the roll.

YEA: Senators Bishop, Clements, Cross, Dorr, Hopkins, Howes, Leavitt, Noyes, Owen, Smith, Sterling—11.

NAY: Senators Batchelder, Boucher, Brown, Cleaves, Clough, Currier, Denny, Dow, Dunbar, Good, Gould, Hall, McKusick, Morrill, Savage, Sayward, Spear, Washburn, Welch, Willey—20.

ABSENT: Townsend—1.

Eleven having voted in the affirmative and twenty opposed, the motion to adopt Senate Amendment A did not prevail.

Mr. DENNY of Lincoln: Mr. President and members of the Senate, I move that we indefinitely postpone L. D. 1245.

Mr. SMITH of Knox: Mr. President, I ask for a roll call vote.

The PRESIDENT: A Yeas and Nays vote has been requested. In order the Yeas and Nays, the affirmative vote of one-fifth of the members present is necessary. Is the Senate ready for the question?

A division of the Senate was had. Obviously more than one-fifth having risen, the Yeas and Nays were ordered.

Mr. LEAVITT of Cumberland: Mr. President, this morning when the vote was taken for indefinite postponement there were some people who had some doubt in their minds as to what was going on about the University of Maine. Last night I wrote an amendment to protect those titles 3 and 4 of the bill. I have put no amendment in today because I have talked with certain people connected with the University and they do not want to interfere with the bill at all and they believe they have other ways of protecting those titles, so what we do here today on this bill in no way affects the University of Maine.

The PRESIDENT: The question is on the motion of the Senator from Lincoln, Senator Denny, that this bill be indefinitely postponed. The Yeas and Nays have been ordered. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll.

YEA: Senators Bishop, Boucher, Clough, Cross, Currier, Denny, Dorr, Dow, Good, Gould, Leavitt, Morrill, Noyes, Spear, Sterling, Willey—16.

NAY: Senators Batchelder, Brown, Cleaves, Clement, Dunbar, Hall, Hopkins, Howes, McKusick, Owen, Savage, Sayward, Smith, Washburn, Welch—15.

ABSENT: Townsend—1.

Sixteen having voted in the affirmative and fifteen opposed, the bill was indefinitely postponed.

On motion by Mr. Dow of Oxford, the Senate voted to take from the table, Bill, An Act Authorizing the

Maine Development Commission to Promote New Industries (S. P. 457) (L. D. 1192) tabled by that Senator earlier in today's session pending adoption of Senate Amendment "A", and that Senator yielded to the Senator from Cumberland, Senator Leavitt.

Mr. LEAVITT: Mr. President, I think the Senate is tired of oratory at this time and I hope the motion will pass that I made earlier in the day.

The PRESIDENT: The question before the Senate is on the adoption of Senate Amendment "A."

A viva voce vote being doubted,

A division of the Senate was had.

Twenty-one having voted in the affirmative and five opposed, the motion to adopt Senate Amendment "A" prevailed.

Thereupon, under suspension of the rules, the bill was given its second reading and passed to be engrossed as amended by Senate Amendment "A".

Sent down for concurrence.

On motion by Mr. Brown of Aroostook.

Recessed until this afternoon at five o'clock Daylight Saving Time.

#### After Recess

The Senate was called to order by the President.

Mr. NOYES of Hancock: Mr. President, I move the Senate reconsider its action taken earlier in today's session whereby Legislative Document 1245 was indefinitely postponed. I will go back into a little ancient history and perhaps first of all, I will say I have not talked with and have been consulted by the high command. My thoughts go back to the legislature of 1937. That month of April we had before us tax measures, sales tax, income tax, sales and income tax, luxury tax which I sponsored, and this legislature stayed here practically the entire month of April, and when the legislature adjourned we came out with a sales tax to be referred to the people. I am convinced by the votes that have already been taken that we are now in the same position, that no matter how long we stay here the result will be the same, and I believe if

we pass this sales tax here in this body it will go back to the place from whence it came and we may close this legislature and go home with a bill the people will vote on. I don't like the measure. I shall not vote for it in September. However, the mechanics of this legislature would seem to indicate for the best interests of the people of Maine we may go home and save \$3500 a day, and it is for our best interests to reconsider and pass this measure.

The PRESIDENT: The question before the Senate is on the motion of the Senator from Hancock, Senator Noyes, that the Senate reconsider its action whereby Legislative Document 1245 was indefinitely postponed.

Mr. CURRIER of Androscoggin: Mr. President and Members of the Senate, I don't know why this body should reconsider. Is it because you are not independent representatives of your constituents? Is it because there has been a recess called? You cannot put a needle into a dead horse and bring it back to life. Are not you independent? Are not you going to be true to the people who sent you here? Do we have to have a recess to get instructions from the Man? Is that what you are going to do? That is what you got. Are you going to sell the people who elected you here, down the river, and reconsider a measure? Do you mean to say when you voted to throw that vicious steam-roller bill out the window you didn't know what you did? Can you reverse yourselves in the same afternoon and now change your vote because you had an opportunity to move around the corridors? Are you going to do that? Are you going to do that and go back and face the little people who sent you here? They are the little people who sent every single one of you here. It was not the monied people and the big shots who sent you here, but it was the little voters who sent you here on election day. Are you going to reverse yourselves because you had an hour and thirty minutes recess? I certainly hope you are not and I hope the motion of the Senator from Hancock, Senator Noyes, will not prevail.

The PRESIDENT: The question is on the motion of the Senator from Hancock, Senator Noyes, that the Senate reconsider its action whereby the bill was indefinitely postponed.

Mr. CLEAVES of Cumberland: Mr. President, I request a roll call vote.

Mr. CROSS of Kennebec: Mr. President and Members of the Senate, I assure you I will be very brief. I asked the Senate in the previous session if we didn't feel we had come along the road of legislation sufficiently far as to make an honest, free decision on this bill.

I told you I, personally, didn't like it and would not vote for it, and I hope you would all vote in the same trend of thought, that this was the last vote and to vote accordingly. I have not seen sufficient reason by the Senator who moves reconsideration to change my mind in the slightest. That is the last reason I would ever consider for passing or not passing legislation. We were elected here by the people. We are here to represent them and if we represent them wrongfully they have the usual procedure, to vote us down in the coming election, and I do not believe that in any honest referendum that can be conducted in the State that the people can have the information we have had presented to us here, laid before them. I never believed much in any referendum and I believe less in this one. The whole picture, the whole question is too complex. It has too many angles for the average voter to consider all the angles and vote his honest decision. I feel we should settle this matter here one way or another, which is what we are elected for. I hope the motion to reconsider will not prevail.

The PRESIDENT: The question before the Senate is on the motion of the Senator from Hancock, Senator Noyes, that the Senate reconsider its action whereby this bill was indefinitely postponed. The Senator from Cumberland, Senator Cleaves, requests the vote be taken by the yeas and nays, which requires the approval of one-fifth of the members present. Those in favor of the vote being taken by the yeas and nays will rise and stand until counted.

Obviously more than one-fifth of the members having risen, the yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDENT: The question before the Senate is on the motion of the Senator from Hancock, Senator Noyes, that the Senate reconsider its action whereby this bill was indefinitely postponed. A vote

of Yes is a vote in favor of reconsideration of indefinite postponement. A vote of No is against reconsideration. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll.

YEA: Senators Batchelder, Brown, Cleaves, Clements, Dow, Dunbar, Hall, Hopkins, McKusick, Noyes, Owen, Savage, Sayward, Smith, Townsend, Washburn, Welch—17.

NAY: Senators Bishop, Boucher, Clough, Cross, Currier, Denny, Dorr, Good, Gould, Howes, Leavitt, Morrill, Spear, Sterling, Willey—15.

The PRESIDENT: Seventeen having voted in the affirmative and fifteen opposed, the motion is carried.

Mr. NOYES:—Mr. President, I now move the bill be passed to be engrossed.

Mr. HOPKINS of Kennebec: Mr. President and Members of the Senate, I think I spoke quite extensively on the bill this morning and made my position quite clear. I do not favor the sales tax provisions of this bill. I am always willing to admit that no man knows what he should pay for a bonus or how it should be paid, and with those who advocate the bonus, I will adjust my belief to theirs and go along with any decision they may arrive at.

I said this morning I was in favor of a small bonus and I stated by reasons therefor. I tried this morning to separate this bill so we would have a chance to find out who did and who didn't want a bonus, and then to save from it what I considered the constructive phases of the bill, which apply primarily to education. I voted for this bill with the hope it could be done.

I am not too experienced in legislative matters. Most of my experience has been dealing with engineering work that deals primarily with physical things and many of you people have had much more experience in legislative affairs than have I. I find to accomplish things I want to accomplish I am often obliged to vote the way I don't want to in one way or another. From here on I am voting against this bill with the hope that those who really believe as I do, that we should go out of here with a constructive veterans' program, will see their way clear to amend some of the legislation before us and do it. Frankly, I am fearful the defeat of the bill will

result in our going home and telling our people all we were able to do was pass bills to create school districts and water districts and give Ricker Classical Institute \$50,000. I should be disappointed to have to tell the people in my county that was all we were able to do, as result of three weeks labor. I stated my position this morning and now show you that I am consistent in it this afternoon.

Mr. MORRILL of Cumberland: Mr. President, when the vote is taken, I ask for a roll call vote.

The PRESIDENT: The question before the Senate is on the motion of the Senator from Hancock, Senator Noyes, that the bill be passed to be engrossed. The Senator from Cumberland, Senator Morrill, has asked that the vote be taken by the yeas and nays. To order the yeas and nays, the approval of one fifth of the members present is required. Those in favor of the vote being taken by the yeas and nays will rise and stand until counted.

Obviously more than one-fifty of the members having risen the yeas and nays were ordered.

The PRESIDENT: The question before the Senate is on the motion

of the Senator from Hancock, Senator Noyes, that this bill be passed to be engrossed. A Yea vote is in favor of passage of the bill to be engrossed and a vote of No is against passage of the bill to be engrossed. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary called the roll:

YEA: Senators Batchelder, Brown, Cleaves, Clements, Dow, Dunbar, Hall, McKusick, Noyes, Owen, Savage, Sayward, Smith, Townserd, Washburn, Welch - 16

NAY: Senators Bishop, Boucher, Clough, Cross, Currier, Denny, Dorr, Good, Gould, Hopkins, Howes, Leavitt, Morrill, Spear, Sterling, Willey 16.

The PRESIDENT: The Secretary will call the name of the President.

The President voted Yea.

Seventeen having voted in the affirmative and sixteen opposed, the bill was passed to be engrossed.

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On motion by Mr. Brown of Aroostook

Adjourned until tomorrow morning at nine o'clock Standard Time.