

# MAINE STATE LEGISLATURE

The following document is provided by the  
**LAW AND LEGISLATIVE DIGITAL LIBRARY**  
at the Maine State Law and Legislative Reference Library  
<http://legislature.maine.gov/lawlib>



Reproduced from scanned originals with text recognition applied  
(searchable text may contain some errors and/or omissions)

# DOCUMENTS

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF

# THE LEGISLATURE

OF THE

STATE OF MAINE.

1865.

---

AUGUSTA:

STEVENS & SAYWARD, PRINTERS TO THE STATE.

1865.

ADDRESS  
OF  
GOVERNOR CONY  
TO  
THE LEGISLATURE  
OF THE  
STATE OF MAINE,  
JANUARY 5, 1865.



AUGUSTA:  
STEVENS & SAYWARD, PRINTERS TO THE STATE.  
1865.

## STATE OF MAINE.

---

IN SENATE, January 5, 1865.

*Ordered*, That one thousand copies of the Governor's Address be printed for the use of the Senate.

THOMAS P. CLEAVES, *Secretary*.

---

IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, January 6, 1865.

*Ordered*, That five thousand copies of the Governor's Address be printed for the use of the House.

HORACE STILSON, *Clerk*.

# ADDRESS.

---

*Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives :*

I congratulate you upon the auspicious circumstances under which you have assembled to inaugurate anew the government of the State. True, indeed, peace long hoped for has not yet returned to rejoice the hearts of all our countrymen, and the carnage of battle still fills the land with anguish ; yet the year which has closed upon us has been marked by signal success and memorable achievement, and the opening year dawns radiant with hopeful promise.

To God, in His infinite mercy, let us render the homage of our thanks for His goodness to this nation.

## FINANCES.

The financial condition of the State, and the provision to be made for meeting future calls upon the treasury, will demand beyond any other subject your most serious consideration.

The expenditures of the last year have been for all

ordinary civil purposes including payment of public debt and interest thereon,	\$515,010 46
For refunding cities and towns money advanced in 1863 for relief of soldier's families,	532,168 14
For bounties,	2,988,183 78
For other war purposes,	73,179 63

The receipts in the same period have been—

From State taxes assessed prior to 1864,	445,197 59
State tax of 1864,	384,221 15
From loans permanent and temporary,	2,965,000 00
From all other sources,	309,513 48

It appears that a debt of \$2,965,000 has been created during the past year which added to that existing January 1864, makes the

whole debt of the State as represented by loans \$5,337,000. In addition to this is the amount to be refunded to cities, towns, &c., for aid furnished families of soldiers in 1864, not payable till 1865, but constituting actually a debt against the State. The amount of this last item, in consequence of the returns not having been made, I am unable to state, but it is supposed that it will reach a higher figure than was required for the same object last year.

The Legislature of 1864 in levying the State tax for that year assessed the sum of six hundred dollars beyond all requirements for the established ordinary civil expenses of the State including the interest on the whole public debt.

The revenue derived from this tax is that on which the treasury relies to defray these charges the present year, and whatever may remain after meeting them will be applied to reduce the debt to the cities and towns for advances to soldiers' families. A portion of this tax has already been paid into the treasury and disbursed, postponing for the time the necessity to that extent of making a loan, but which the exigencies of the treasury the coming year will require to be made. The loans effected by the Treasurer the past year have been made under the authority of Resolves approved March 19, 1864, providing for the borrowing of three millions of dollars by the issue of bonds on a term of twenty-five years to refund advances to soldiers' families and for the payment of bounties. These resolves also authorized a temporary loan of any portion of this amount which the convenience of the treasury might require to be refunded from the sales of the bonds. Under this authority bonds have been disposed of to the amount of \$2,765,000, and there are outstanding notes on short time for \$200,000. The success of the Treasurer in negotiating so large an amount of the permanent loan of the State under the limitation of not selling below par at a time when there existed so much competition in the market of public securities seeking the money of capitalists, many of them at a rate of interest very much above the rate paid by this State, is a substantial compliment to the financial standing of Maine. The difficulties of negotiation for those under the necessity of borrowing are not likely to be diminished in the future.

The constitutional restraint imposed upon the power of the Legislature to increase the debt of the State, was a most wise provision, and though not affecting it upon the occurrence of war-like necessities, still the spirit by which it was dictated demands its chary use.

## ERRATUM.

On page 4, line 9, "six hundred dollars" should read "six hundred *thousand* dollars."





The magnitude of our present debt enforces this consideration, and when it is considered that the municipal corporations of the State have incurred an amount of liability equal if not larger than that of the State, I feel sure that you will not consent to an increase beyond what may be required, if anything, to meet past engagements, or the most unyielding necessity in the future. The progress of events during your present session will doubtless develop these.

The people of this State have most unmistakably announced their purpose to sustain the general government in its efforts to save the life of the nation, and they will expect of you the adoption of such measures as shall enable Maine to fulfill all her duties.

While compelled by circumstances to resort to loans to supply present necessities, a wise administration of affairs points to the propriety of beginning at an early day to provide for their liquidation. It is with States as with individuals in matters of finance. Those who are careful of incurring debt and provident in the arrangement of their affairs, so as to anticipate their obligations, do, and ever will, command the readiest credit and the highest prices for their securities.

The State has thus far reaped the benefit of its high character for scrupulous punctuality in meeting its engagements. I respectfully suggest that the best interests of the State require at an early day the establishment of a sinking fund by setting apart a fixed sum annually to be applied to the purchase of the debt. True it is that the only source of revenue possessed by the State is direct taxation, but unless the State debt should be largely increased beyond its present amount, the time is not distant when the State tax may be considerably reduced and still leave it large enough to provide such a fund as would in a few years sensibly reduce the debt. The inauguration of this policy would greatly strengthen the credit of the State, and facilitate the negotiation of its bonds if the condition of the treasury shall require.

The imposition of a tax of a single mill upon the valuation of 1860 would be entirely adequate to the purpose. The policy of the last Legislature in levying a State tax sufficient to pay all the ordinary charges upon the treasury, including interest on the State debt, and a large surplus to be applied to the liquidation of the claims of cities and towns for money advanced in aid of the soldiers' families will commend itself to your favorable consideration in making provision to supply the treasury for the year 1866.

## ASSUMPTION OF STATE DEBTS.

The necessities of the nation have compelled Congress to resort to the imposition of taxes hitherto unknown to our people, and that to an extent which nothing but the most unshrinking loyalty makes tolerable, but which, while the necessity continues, will not be called in question.

Added to this, and in order to give the national government almost exclusive possession of the market for the sale of its securities, and induce the purchase thereof by the people, they have been specially exempted from municipal and State taxation. The power to do this has been judicially affirmed by the highest tribunal known to our laws.

The wisdom of this policy I do not propose to discuss. The consequence is to increase the burdens of State taxation upon the visible, fixed property in the States, by inviting very large investments in government securities. Coupled with these considerations, arises another, growing out of the exercise of the power by Congress, granting charters to the National banks, and the imposition of such taxes upon existing State institutions as must compel them to throw aside their State charters and transform themselves into National banks, or to surrender them and quit the field. One or the other of these alternatives awaits the banks of Maine.

The surrender of each State charter involves a loss to the treasury of a tax which from time immemorial has been paid by every bank created by the laws of the State. In the outset, as soon as the system of National banks was inaugurated, the Legislature of this State, in the spirit of fairness and justice, remitted one-half of the bank tax, and authorized the surrender of the charter of any bank by a vote of a majority of its stockholders. The loss to this State of revenue derived from this source by the action of Congress on the basis of the banking capital existing two years since, will not be less than \$80,000 per annum.

The case stands thus: while the States, counties, cities and towns, in their efforts to respond to the demands of the nation, have incurred heavy debts, to meet which increased taxation is demanded, Congress devising means to the same end, has impaired their ability to provide for even their current, usual expenditures, by withdrawal, on the one hand, of a large portion of capital from liability to contribute to it, and on the other, by the absolute annihilation of long-established sources of revenue.

At the late session of Congress, a resolution was presented to the House of Representatives by a gentleman representing this State in part upon the floor of that body, asking for the assumption, by the United States, of the debts of States, counties, cities and towns, incurred in aid of the general government in the prosecution of the war. This was enforced by a speech of eminent ability and research, presenting precedents for the measure in the uniform past action of the government, at the same time demonstrating its justice by a great variety of argument.

These debts have been incurred for the national defence, upon which ground alone justice demands their assumption by the United States, and still more loudly it is called for by the fact that sources of revenue in the States have been dried up by Congressional action. Should you concur in this view of the subject, some appropriate legislative expression is recommended.

#### BANKS.

The condition of affairs, arising from the surrender of the charters of so many of our banks, either retiring altogether from business or changing to national institutions, is anomalous.

That some additional legislation may be needed for further security to the public is probable. It is extremely desirable that this financial transition shall be made without producing a shock disturbing the course of commercial transactions. The subject of banking, so intimately interwoven with all the business of our people, is one requiring to be treated with the most careful consideration. The people of the State, and the public in general, have the strongest guarantee in the character of the managers of these institutions, that all their obligations will be faithfully and promptly discharged.

#### ENLISTMENTS, ETC.

During the year 1864 there have been sent from this State 13,623 men, of whom 3,380 were enlisted under the call of October, 1863. Besides these, 3,525 veteran soldiers, whose term of enlistment in the organizations which entered the service in the beginning of the war, was about expiring, have re-enlisted. Enlistments in the Navy for the same period number 1,846. The aggregate of these is 18,994 men whom Maine has, in the year 1864, contributed to the service of the country—equal to twenty

regiments. All these have received the bounty of the State. The same proportional contribution of soldiers from all the loyal States would constitute a force of nearly three-fourths of a million. Allowances of credits for naval enlistments anterior to the past year have been made to the number of 3,675.

During the same period the 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 12th, 13th and 14th regiments have been mustered out of service, the term of their original enlistments having expired, and the organizations disbanded. The number of men actually retiring from service by these musters-out, is about 2,000. The residue of these organizations who had reënlisted, or whose original terms of enlistment had not expired, have been transferred to other regiments.

At the present time there is probably a small deficiency in the quota of this State upon the call of July 18th, 1864, for 500,000 men; but enlistments are constantly progressing, and I doubt not in sufficient numbers very soon to furnish the complement of the State. The President of the United States has made another demand for 300,000 men, to be enforced by a draft after the fifteenth of February next. The military position of the country is such as to afford encouragement that this requisition will be met with alacrity. The staggering blows recently dealt upon the military power of the rebels in the west and south, furnish a cheerful augury that the end is approaching, and the country will not willingly lose the advantages gained by withholding any needful support.

Until the last calls, Maine has met every demand upon her for troops, not by constructive credits, but by the bone and sinew of her people. She will continue to do so to the end. I am confident that her citizens will have no cause to blush at a comparison of her efforts with those of her sisters to sustain the government of our fathers. Authentic returns establish the fact that more than 61,000 of her sons have been in the military and naval service of the nation since the commencement of the war—a number very nearly equal to one-tenth of the whole population of the State, embracing both sexes and all ages.

The report of the Adjutant General, furnishing the history of our soldiers the past year in full detail will make an honorable record for our State. It would be invidious for your chief magistrate, in a communication to the Legislature, to designate any single instances of heroic sacrifices where there have been so many.

The disastrous campaign upon the Red river, the murderous march from the Rapidan to Petersburg—almost a continuous battle—and the brilliant campaign in the Shenandoah, all attest the bravery and heroism of our soldiers. Maine mourns the loss of thousands of her sons on these various fields of conflict, all of whom have laid down their lives for their country. The families and friends of the fallen receive the sympathy of every patriotic heart. The noblest tribute that can be paid to their memories, is the steadfast maintenance of the cause, in support of which they have perished.

#### BOUNTIES.

Intimately connected with and affecting the financial condition of the State, the subject of paying bounties is deserving attention. This system, inaugurated at the outset of the war, providing at first for the payment of two months' wages to privates and non-commissioned officers as an inducement to volunteering, has overleaped the prudent limits then established, and caused the creation of a very large State and municipal debt. The magnitude of the present bounty has been reached in consequence of the competition of the various cities and towns, which in their anxiety to fill their quotas and escape a draft, stimulated overbidding upon each other. In addition to the evil of an accumulating municipal debt, there arose another growing out of the permission at one time to enlist men without regard to their residence, and crediting them to the quota of the place paying the bounty.

The direct effect of this was entirely to deprive the poorer towns and plantations, particularly in the northern border counties, of the benefit of the enlistment of their own citizens, from their utter inability to enter the lists against larger and more wealthy towns in the offer of pecuniary inducements.

To prevent these mischievous results, and hoping to check the tendency to a ruinous expenditure, the Legislature, at its last session, enacted a law for the payment of a uniform bounty by the State. The liberality of this provision was such as to command the belief that the men needed could be obtained by it, and that all portions of the State would be enabled, the poor as well as the wealthy, to fill their quotas. Until the last call for five hundred thousand men, the law operated as intended. When this call was made for men to serve a single year, the bounty of one hundred dollars paid by the State was thought to be insufficient, and the

old mode of paying bounties by cities, towns or associations of individuals was again resorted to.

The system originated at a time when there was no military organization, State or national, by which service could be made compulsory, to invite volunteers to meet the pressing necessities of the hour. The United States have since established a system for enrolling and calling out the national forces, which is adequate to the object for which it was created. Every able-bodied citizen, between the ages of twenty and forty-five, is held subject to its provisions without distinction. The necessity originally existing for the payment of bounties has ceased, for the government can reach the men it needs. The large bounties paid the past year in other States, as well as this, have given rise to great abuses. Men have been found base enough, and in large numbers too, to enlist, get their bounty and desert, go to another place, re-enlist, receive another bounty and desert again. There is reason to believe that this has been practised to a great extent. Others, unfit by reason of years or some covert disability, have been mustered into service, paid their bounty and gone directly to the hospital, and ere long discharged, pocketing the fruits of their fraud. The consequence is that quotas are filled but soldiers not obtained, and it is soon found that another call must be made to supply the lack of numbers created by these delinquent proceedings, and the same system of fraud repeated. Another evil has likewise arisen, and that is the creation of a class of *chevaliers d'industrie*, called substitute brokers, who are believed to have been largely instrumental in the perpetration of these frauds, and by whom many a soldier has been swindled out of the greater part of the bounty to which he is entitled. I recommend in regard to this employment that a heavy duty for a license should be imposed upon those practising it, and that their qualifications be defined by law. Among other abuses is that of enticing boys under age to enlist, destitute of mental or bodily stamina to fit them for soldiers, without the consent of their parents. Severe penalties should be prescribed for such practices, as well as for all the various fraudulent artifices by which soldiers are defrauded of the bounty of the government. It is within the province of the Legislature to protect our citizens against these frauds.

If the government of the United States would adopt a regulation that every broker who put into the service a recruit that sub-

sequently deserted, should be summarily seized and put into the army to make good the place of the deserter, a considerable portion of the evils inflicted by this class upon the community and government would be cured.

I respectfully submit, whether from economic considerations and the good of the cause, it is not time that this whole matter should be revised. Embarrassment of the finances of our State will inevitably ensue from the continuance of the system as at present existing. That a liberal, even generous provision should be made for those who may be obliged to enter the army, I unhesitatingly admit and cheerfully concur in, but it should be in some mode better adapted to keeping up the numbers of the army than that now practised. In lieu of the bounty now paid, let the State establish an addition to the monthly wages of the soldier, to be paid while he remains in the service. This will most effectually put a stop to the swindling operations which have absorbed thousands of dollars.

If it is objected that unless the present policy is persevered in, men from this State will be tempted to go to other States which pay large bounties, and that Maine will thus lose her own citizens, by whom her quotas ought to be filled, the answer is at hand. The number of men called for from a State is based upon the enrolments of persons of military age, resident therein. A State, in equity, is entitled to the credit of every person so enrolled who may enlist in the service of the United States, while his name is borne on the rolls of such State, without regard to the place of his enlistment. Congress can, by amending the law regulating enrolments, provide that each person duly enrolled shall be held to military service in the State in which he is so enrolled for the period of one year from the date thereof. These lists are public records, easy of access, and there would be no difficulty in tracing any case that might arise of an individual improperly attempting to transfer his services. This would effectually cut off competition between States and leave to each all its own citizens of military age to meet the calls upon it for soldiers. The extension of this rule to sub-districts in the same State would save a vast amount of trouble and expense to them, as well as vexation to all concerned in an official capacity, in settling questions of quotas and allowances. This proposition, so fair in itself and so just to the States, must commend itself to the favorable consideration of Congress.

With these brief suggestions, I commend this whole matter to your serious consideration, trusting you may be able to devise some measure by which the treasury may be protected from plunder, and, it is hardly necessary to add, the only treasury we have is the pockets of the people.

#### HOSPITALS, ETC.

In compliance with a resolve of the Legislature, early in April last I made personal application to the authorities at Washington for the establishment in this State of a General Hospital, for the accommodation of our sick and wounded soldiers. While met by a very friendly disposition, the pressure of business growing out of the preparations for the then ensuing campaign, was such as to preclude that consideration which the subject required. Subsequently, in the month of May, I renewed the application with success. An order was issued turning over Camp Fry and Camp Keyes, at this place, to the medical department, for hospital purposes. The accommodations furnished by these buildings, not having been originally designed for the purpose, were not very convenient, but such as they were, they gladdened the heart of many a soldier who pined to breathe the air of his native State.

Dr. Brickett was placed in charge of the hospital, and immediately engaged in improving and enlarging the arrangements, for the comfortable accommodation of the patients. Upon his application, approved by the Medical Inspector of this department, orders were issued for the construction of additional wards, buildings for laundry, mess room and officers' quarters, and the introduction of an adequate supply of water, all of which has been accomplished, so that it is now a convenient and well appointed hospital, with beds for the accommodation of eight hundred patients. During the summer the buildings at Camp Keyes have furnished quarters for quite a large number, but being rough structures, intended only for the temporary occupation of recruits, they are unfit for habitation in the severer months, with the exception of two or three which have been repaired and made comfortable for convalescents.

Since the establishment of this hospital, twenty-five hundred soldiers have been admitted for treatment. Five hundred have passed through it. Eight hundred and seventy-one have returned to duty with their regiments. Fifty-five have been discharged for



permanent disability, one hundred and twenty-three transferred to other hospitals, twenty-five have died, and thirteen deserted.

The sanitary results here presented are of a most satisfactory character, and I do not doubt that very many lives have thus been saved, which must have been lost, had the patients remained in hospitals no farther south than New York.

It affords me pleasure to state that in all my intercourse with General Barnes, Surgeon General of the United States Army, and with Medical Director McDougall and Medical Inspector Lyman, of the Department of the East, touching the matter of the hospital, and the welfare of our soldiers generally, my wishes have been met with the greatest cheerfulness and courtesy, and the State is under great obligation to these gentlemen. The efforts which have been made by the authorities of the nation to provide adequately for its sick and wounded soldiers, have been upon the largest and most liberal scale ever attempted by any people, and as a general remark the hospitals are worthy of the government. The gratitude manifested by our unfortunate soldiers, who have been transferred home, is ample demonstration of the value, not to say the necessity, of the establishment of a hospital here. Many applications for transfer have been unavoidably postponed, in consequence of the hospital being filled to its utmost capacity. I hope to be able to obtain an enlargement of its accommodations, and, if successful in this effort, the wishes of many more to be removed near their homes, will be gratified. As it is at present, new transfers cannot be obtained until room is made by the discharge of present occupants.

At the city of Portland the needs of soldiers, sick and wounded, in transitu to their homes and hospital, have been most generously attended to, by the kind and ever-ready liberality of its citizens, aided by the treasury of the State. This being the first prominent point of arrival in the State, the demands upon the charities of her people have been very great, and have been met in a manner highly honorable to the citizens of our commercial metropolis.

The great number of soldiers, returning enfeebled by sickness and casualties, residing in the eastern and north-eastern portion of the State, passing through Bangor, the terminus of railroad transportation in that direction, rendered necessary the adoption of measures to take care of those arriving at that point of distribution. The Mayor and citizens of that city, with the energy and liberality

so peculiarly and honorably its characteristic, immediately, by private contribution, undertook to supply the need. After a time it became evident that it was too heavy a tax upon their charities ; and by order of the Executive Council, the same was assumed by the State. I at once entered into correspondence with the Medical Department of the United States upon the subject of this Soldiers' Rest, to procure its adoption by the general government, in which I was successful, except that the rent of the necessary buildings is paid by the State.

Immediately after the inauguration of active hostilities, gentlemen resident in the city of Washington, formerly citizens of Maine, and the members of Congress from this State, established the Maine Soldiers' Relief Association, supporting it by their own contributions. My immediate predecessor arranged with this Association to provide for the necessities of our soldiers in that quarter, paying a monthly stipend of two hundred dollars, and discontinued other existing agencies. This was found to be economical and effective. The advance in the cost of every article of consumption, together with the largely increased number of soldiers requiring its care and attention, rendered it both just and necessary to enlarge the compensation allowed, and it has been raised to three hundred dollars per month.

The rooms occupied as the headquarters of this society are immediately sought out by our soldiers arriving at Washington, needing aid of whatever kind, and they are at once attended to. Its employees also are in active personal communication with the army, forwarding packages to soldiers, and furnishing from its own sources such aid as it may be able to afford.

I do not hesitate to commend this association to the charities of our people, with the assurance that whatever may be given to it, will be distributed with fidelity, and whatever is sent to its care for any particular organization or individual, will be forwarded with punctuality and despatch. From its constant contact with our soldiers, their particular necessities are better understood at this agency than elsewhere. The support heretofore extended to it from the treasury should, in my judgment, be continued, and I trust it may be fostered by the contributions of the people, as one of the most direct channels through which they will reach their objects.

The agencies which have existed since the first year of the war,

at the cities of New York and Philadelphia, rendered necessary by the large number of sick and disabled soldiers passing through those great thoroughfares and arriving at the extensive hospitals in the vicinity of those cities, have been continued at a moderate expense. I take pleasure in bearing witness to the fidelity with which Col. F. E. Howe, at the former, and Col. Robert R. Corson, at the latter place, have executed their responsible trusts.

In this connection, it would be improper to pass in silence the Sanitary and Christian Commissions. The former has been the recipient of the most stupendous charities the world ever witnessed, and right nobly has it executed its trust, as is known to every soldier in the army, and I cheerfully bear my own testimony to its readiness to meet any demand made upon it. The Christian Commission has performed the labor its name implies, dispensing bodily comforts and spiritual ministrations. Its uncompensated agents have faithfully discharged their self-imposed duties, many of them at the expense of ruined constitutions, and the grave folds in its embrace others who have sacrificed their lives in its service. I trust that the people will not shorten their charities or withhold their support to these most meritorious instrumentalities.

And, in conclusion, it is with pride and pleasure that I acknowledge the whole-souled and christian generosity with which the people of Maine, in every locality, have responded to the numerous and urgent appeals in behalf of the soldier.

#### FUGITIVES FROM THE DRAFT.

To fill the armies of the Union as rapidly as the exigences demanded, it became necessary for the government to enforce the law providing for a draft. To the credit of our people as a body, it is but just to say that a ready obedience was rendered, and in most localities every effort was made by municipal authorities and citizens to comply with the requisitions of the government, and the quotas were largely filled by volunteers. Exceptions, however, I am mortified to say, in some quarters arose. In one instance, a person in the employ of the Provost Marshal of the Fifth District, in the discharge of a public duty, was brutally murdered.

In numerous instances, individuals drafted have expatriated themselves to avoid rendering service to their country. It is an oft-repeated truism that every able-bodied citizen of the legal age owes military service to his country. Inasmuch as no general

military organization exists in the country from which the men needed to reinforce armies in the field can be detailed, it is impossible to provide any system which shall levy its burdens more fairly than that created by the laws of the United States, "for enrolling and calling out the national forces." These laws were enacted to provide for the contingency of the failure of volunteers to supply the required recruits, upon whom the country, in the commencement of the war, relied. Under them, who shall be called upon to fill the ranks is determined by lot.

Every able-bodied citizen owing service, upon whom the lot falls, is bound by every principle of patriotism, every incentive of honor, every obligation of the law, to come forward and go into the ranks or furnish a substitute. Disregarding all these considerations, men have been found so unpatriotic, base and cowardly, as to seek in flight to a foreign country, an escape from the performance of the duty they owed their own, the benefit and blessings of whose institutions they have enjoyed, worthless poltroons and traitors as they have proved themselves to be. If the exhibition of personal unworthiness was the end of such conduct, I would pass it over in silence for the credit of the State, which is disgraced by such citizens. But it rests not here. The quota of each town must be filled, and the desertion of any of the number drawn compels the renewal of the draft until it is. The consequence is that the burden is cast upon the loyal and Union-loving men, and they are required to stand not only in their own, but in the lot of these base fugitives.

It is true that they are liable under the laws of the United States for desertion ; it is true that they bring upon themselves the scorn and detestation of every patriotic citizen, which would be punishment enough for any soul sensitive to the promptings of an honorable emotion, but men who are guilty of such gross dereliction of duty as is implied in the failure to respond to the call of their country, purposely expatriating themselves at a time when their services were urgently needed, compelling their manly and loyal neighbors to meet their obligations, morally forfeit the right to American citizenship.

A man who thus wantonly repudiates the claims of his government at such a crisis, deserves the withdrawal of its blessings and protection forever ; and I submit whether it is not a duty devolving upon you in behalf of the loyal citizens of Maine, to devise some

mode by which this class of persons shall be perpetually disfranchised and cease to be citizens of this State.

#### COAST AND HARBOR DEFENCES.

At an early day after my accession to the Chief Magistracy, my attention was attracted to the condition of the coast defences of the State. The government of the United States, the previous year, had constructed earthworks for batteries, and mounted cannon at various points, but there were neither soldiers in charge nor barracks for their accommodation.

In this condition of affairs, the batteries were worse than useless, as a small force could have captured them and turned the guns upon the towns they were designed to defend. In view of this state of facts, I addressed the War Department upon the subject. Authority was granted for raising several companies of coast guards to be mustered into the service of the United States and subject to be ordered wherever the exigencies of the country might require. Three companies were accordingly recruited, two of which, soon after entering the service, were ordered on duty in the defences near Washington, the third being distributed to the several batteries constituting the nucleus of a garrison which could readily be reinforced in time of need. Barracks, convenient and of adequate capacity, have also been erected, rendering these defences all that could be desired. What mischief may have been averted by these preparations, it is impossible to say, but without them almost our entire coast was an inviting field for plunder and destruction, which a single cruiser could have visited, laid under contribution and escaped before capture was possible.

Incidents which have occurred indicate very clearly what might have happened but for timely precaution. As early as July, intimations were received that an attempt was to be made by confederates coming from the Province of New Brunswick, to commit depredations upon the city of Calais. Having timely notice, due preparation was made for their reception and capture. Three only of the miscreants made their appearance, at mid-day, for the purpose of robbing the bank at that place. There is evidence that the original party was much larger. Those who made the demonstration were disappointed in not being joined by their comrades, and were instantly arrested by the authorities, have been tried, convicted and sentenced, and are now suffering the penalty awarded

their crime, with the exception of one, who escaped from the State Prison. The leader of this band avowed himself an officer in the confederate service, and that his associates were also confederates. There was nothing in their conduct incompatible with the character which they claimed.

An attempt was subsequently made to surprise the battery at Castine, the facts in relation to which are well known. It has been suggested that this was simply a feint, designed to alarm the garrison and create a momentary sensation. That it was such can hardly be credited. The love of mischief, simply, would be an insufficient motive to lead men into actual danger, and it must have been known that the garrison would employ deadly weapons against any body attempting a surprise; at least, the probability of its doing so was so great that it is not rational to believe it could have been approached as it was except for a serious purpose.

These incidents, apparently insignificant, read by the light of what has occurred elsewhere on the border, afford color to the presumption that they were a portion of a series of attempts plotted and organized upon the soil of our neutral neighbors. I did not feel at liberty to neglect these monitions, and took such steps as appeared necessary to guard against the occurrence of actual mischief, receiving the coöperation of the War Department. Over-caution is better than neglect.

While the defenceless condition of our shores excited apprehension, similar fears were entertained for the safety of our coasting commerce. In the month of May last, having been placed in possession of evidence tending strongly to show that the rebels designed to visit the coast with destructive purpose, I forwarded it to the authorities at Washington, coupled with a request that a patrol of gunboats should be established and maintained for the protection of our property by sea and land. That there was good reason for asking the adoption of this precautionary measure, the early subsequent destruction of numbers of vessels just outside Penobscot Bay, and in sight of land, clearly demonstrated. The routes of our coasters upon the ocean are as well-defined as highways or railroads upon the land. These traversed by gunboats, with suitable coaling stations in our harbors, so as to avoid the necessity of temporary withdrawal, would effectually protect that interest and secure the exposed and otherwise defenceless towns situate in close proximity to the sea, from hostile attack. The ex-

tensive demands upon the Navy Department for blockading purposes have hitherto perhaps prevented due attention to this matter, but it is certainly to be desired that in future something more than an occasional visit by a gunboat may be ordered along the coast.

#### SOLDIERS' VOTE.

The "Resolves providing for an amendment of the Constitution to allow soldiers absent from the State to vote for Governor, Senators, Representatives and County officers," passed by the last Legislature, having been submitted to the people for approval, were sanctioned by a larger vote and more emphatic majority than ever attended any other proposition changing the organic law of the State.

On the sixth day of October I issued a proclamation as required, announcing their adoption. That so simple an act of justice should be accorded to our fellow citizens, who have, in the spirit of the loftiest patriotism, encountered voluntarily the deadliest perils in behalf of our common country, was to have been expected, and it is only matter of surprise that it should not have been done by an entirely unanimous popular expression. The amendment could hardly be said to confer any new right, but simply afforded the soldier, unable by reason of his duty and position to return to his home, an opportunity to exercise the most precious privilege attaching to the American freeman. The spirit which would deny this opportunity is not far removed from that which would disfranchise a people. The law in regard to voting for the Electors of President and Vice-President of the United States, and for Members of Congress and various State officers created by law, were modified to meet the new condition of affairs, and allow the absent soldier to participate with the citizen at home in the selection of those who should be called to hold the helm of State in these troublous times.

To carry out these new provisions, I appointed Commissioners to repair to the various military Departments in which Maine soldiers were serving, taking with them all necessary blanks and ballots for the candidates for Presidential electors and State officers nominated by each political party, with instructions to them to furnish the same to every military organization, detachment or squad belonging to the State, that the soldiers might have entire freedom in the selection of such as they might choose to cast. I

have every reason to believe that these instructions were faithfully observed.

The whole number of votes thrown by the soldiers was four thousand nine hundred and fifteen, of which due return was made, accompanied by certified poll lists showing the name of each person voting.

To meet the allegation that fraud might be practised, by the same persons voting at home in September and at camp in November, as well as to detect any false return, I caused a circular to be addressed to the various cities, towns and plantations, requesting them to forward to the Secretary of State a certified copy of the check-list used in the two elections, noting thereon every person who voted at either. From the comparison of these with the poll-lists of the soldiers, it is very clear that the returns of the soldiers' votes were free from any suspicion of wrong.

#### THE NATIONAL CEMETERY.

The Legislature of 1864 appropriated the sum of \$2,500 as the supposed proportion of this State for improving the grounds and erecting a monument in the National Cemetery, dedicated as the last resting-place of the soldiers who were slain at the battle of Gettysburg.

Circumstances well understood, have caused the cost to be very much increased beyond the estimates, chiefly growing out of the large advance in prices, or more properly speaking, the depreciation of our currency. The Association having this patriotic labor in charge, have voted to apply to Congress for an appropriation to complete it. Should this prove successful, no further call will be made upon the States; failing this, quite a number of the States have already indicated a willingness to contribute their proportion to finish it. I submit that you take such action as the dignity and honor of this State require in the premises. The report of the Commissioner will be submitted to you.

I venture to renew the recommendation, submitted last year, that some provision be made, by which the names and memories of our fallen soldiers shall be preserved. Monuments have, in some few instances, been erected by private contribution. If a law should be enacted, authorizing all our municipalities to erect these monuments to their own soldiers, to be paid for from their respective treasuries, the object would be effectually accomplished, as it would not then be left to the accident of individual liberality.



## MILITIA.

In the address I had the honor to submit to the Legislature of 1864, at the commencement of the session, the necessity of an organized Militia, and the adoption of a system to secure it, was presented at length. The conviction of the justice of those views has derived strength from the occurrences of the past year. A State which does not possess a military force within the reach of the Chief Magistrate, for the enforcement of the laws, the preservation of order, resistance to attack and to guard against violence, is deficient in one of the vital elements constituting a State.

Without physical power to enforce them, the laws are but empty threats, furnishing no safety against the violence of the lawless, who, in small numbers, may combine to resist them.

It is unnecessary for me to reiterate what was said on the former occasion. The Constitution of the State requires it, internal security demands it, and without it we are helpless against external attack.

The incidents of the past year have demonstrated the necessity of this proposition; and I trust you will not separate without making adequate and ample provision in this regard.

## EDUCATION.

The Normal School, at Farmington, commenced operations the past season, although the sale of land designed for its support had not been made. The arrangements for opening having all been entered into, it was deemed advisable to advance the requisite funds for the payment of teachers from the contingent fund of the Governor and Council, to be reimbursed from the proceeds of the lands to be sold for its maintenance. The school is but an experiment in this State, and was established upon the earnest and persistent solicitation of those who believed great advantages would result to the cause of education in Maine therefrom. The Council visited the school at the close of the fall term; but I was prevented from doing so by causes beyond my control. A single term is by no means sufficient to settle the question of the value of this school, or the propriety of inaugurating another. The friends of the Normal School profess to be satisfied with the beginning. That it may be a perfect success is certainly to be desired.

A disposition for some years past has been manifested to abolish the office of Superintendent of Common Schools, and it is believed that an unwillingness to displace a most worthy and competent official alone has prevented it. At the present time there is no such embarrassment, the late Superintendent having resigned his position to participate with you as a lawgiver.

Whether the salary of this office, and the other expenses arising therefrom, can be saved to the treasury without injury to the educational interests of the State is for you to determine. The suspension of this office for a time will prove or disprove its value. If on trial it is found expedient, it will be easy to restore it.

Commending the whole subject to your consideration, I shall defer most cheerfully to your decision, whatever it may be.

#### AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES.

Under the "Resolve relating to the establishment of a College for the benefit of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts," approved March 24, 1864, Honorable Messrs. Wm. G. Crosby, Joseph Eaton and Samuel F. Perley, were appointed by the Governor and Council Commissioners to perform the duties thereby created and defined.

These gentlemen have proceeded to the discharge of the trust confided to them with that intelligence and fidelity demanded by the public expectation, and of which their character was so adequate a guarantee. A full report of all the propositions submitted to them for consideration, accompanied by their own reasonings and conclusions upon the subject, will be submitted to the Legislature at an early day. This report will, I doubt not, receive at your hands the consideration to which it will be entitled, and, I trust, may aid you materially in the settlement of the subject to which it relates.

In other States the subject of the most appropriate disposition of the endowment granted by the United States for Agricultural Colleges, has not been unattended with difficulties, arising in part from the lack of that experience which practically and wisely settles such questions. That diversities of opinion will arise with you is to be expected, but the people will look with confidence to the Legislature for the adoption of a policy which shall secure the greatest possible amount of benefit attainable with the means at your control.

My own opinions upon this subject have undergone no change

within the year, and I again take the liberty to reiterate the sentiments heretofore expressed, that the objects of the grant and the interests of the State will be best promoted by a connection of the proposed college with some one of the established literary institutions of the State, unless the national grant is largely increased by private contributions. The funds to be derived from the sale of the scrip will be utterly inadequate to the maintenance of an independent institution, and the financial condition of the State forbids that one shall be established upon the foundation of taxing the people for its support. I invoke for the settlement of this question your most impartial and dispassionate consideration.

The resolve contingently authorizing the Governor to dispose of the scrip issued to the State, has not been executed. It will be proper that some new provision upon this subject should be made by you during the session. I would respectfully ask that the responsibility of disposing of this scrip may not be devolved solely upon the Executive, but that others, to be designated by the Legislature, shall be associated with him in the discharge of this delicate duty.

#### PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

The public institutions for the relief of the unfortunate or the punishment and reform of the criminal, patronized or maintained by the State, have been visited the past season by the Governor and Council.

The Perkins Institute for the Blind at South Boston and the American Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb at Hartford are too well known to require any special notice. The benefits rendered by each to the class of unfortunates coming under their special care would be utterly astonishing if they had not become so familiar.

The past year the number of beneficiaries supported by the State has been seven at the Institute for the Blind and thirty-three at the Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, and I unhesitatingly say, that in my judgment, no public expenditure has been made for more worthy objects, or attended with any better results. I cheerfully commend to the Legislature a continuance of its patronage to these institutions.

The Asylum for the Insane has been filled to its utmost capacity with patients and unable to receive all the applicants for its treatment. The report of the Superintendent will acquaint you with the details of its operations, and being under your own eye during

the session of the Legislature, you will have ample opportunity to judge of its management, its usefulness, and its ability to meet the necessities of the State. The expense of supporting the inmates chargeable to the State has increased with the advance in prices ; this is unavoidable and without a remedy. In looking at the vast usefulness of this institution, the wonder is how the State ever got on without it.

The visit to the Reform School was both instructive and gratifying, and served to disabuse a portion of the visiting board of erroneous opinions. It is to be looked upon rather as a refuge for misfortune than a receptacle for criminals. Judging from the appearance and size of the children there it would seem that a majority quite large are hardly to be regarded as either legally or morally accountable. They are indeed the children of misfortune, orphans by the loss of parents, or made worse than orphans by parental criminality, cast upon society with none to care for or be interested in them, to live in the purlieus of our cities, coming in contact with vice in every form and exposed to its pernicious example until for some petty offence they find themselves perhaps for the first time in their lives brought within the sphere of virtuous and christian influence.

The appearance of the children was creditable and their proficiency in the rudiments of education most satisfactory.

The sentence to the Reform School of a young child during its minority at first sight seems harsh, but is it not rather a deed of kindness to children without parents or with parents unfit to take charge of them, that society gathers them up as waifs upon its bosom, and undertakes to provide for their wants during their tender years and fit them for usefulness in life ?

They are not committed to this institution for punishment, but for reform and education under the guardianship of the State. As they arrive at a suitable age, many are apprenticed by the trustees to employments adapted to their capacities. I think it desirable so far as possible to dissociate from this institution the idea that it is penal in its character, and rather connect with it the sentiment that it is a refuge for misfortune. The expense of sustaining this school will be no exception to the general laws of economy to which we are subject. I commend it to the favorable consideration of the Legislature, and trust that it may be visited by a committee which shall take time sufficient to examine all its workings

and enable it to make suggestion of any improvement in the regulations by which it is governed, if any is required. The report of the officers of this institution, which will be laid before you at an early day, will be read by you with interest.

In June last, a thorough examination was made into the condition of the State Prison. The edifices constituting it, with the exception of the Warden's house and cells recently erected, are by no means creditable to the architectural skill which constructed them, and the whole arrangement is unsightly and by no means convenient. It is very evident that the structures have not been erected upon any well matured plan, but have been built by piecemeal from time to time under the pressure of some necessity which could not longer be evaded. The defects of the original construction can hardly be cured except by razing to the ground; this, however, must be postponed to more auspicious days. I am happy to be able to state that for the year past, under the management of Warden Rice, a most marked improvement has taken place in the financial condition of the Prison. The reports of the Warden and Inspectors exhibit the anomalous fact that it has been for 1864 a self-sustaining institution, a most gratifying surprise to those conversant with its past history.

#### LAND OFFICE.

The operations of the Land Office have have been circumscribed the past year in consequence of the contingent grants to the European and North American Railway Company, to literary institutions, and for educational purposes.

Bates College and Maine Wesleyan Seminary, have complied with the conditions of the grants to those institutions, and the lands have been selected.

Until it is settled whether the European and North American Railway Company shall so far comply with the conditions of the resolves in favor of that corporation, sales of land or timber will be necessarily held in abeyance.

In compliance with certain resolves invoking the aid of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in behalf of this important enterprise, Honorable Messrs. Kent, Hubbard and Washburn were appointed Commissioners to present the subject to the government of our parent Commonwealth. They will make a report of their doings which will be laid before you in due season.

The application was not successful, and one very strong ground of objection was the alleged unfriendly action of the Legislature of this State some years since and still unrepealed in regard to connections with railroads west of Portland having their termini at Boston. I would respectfully call your attention to this subject for the purpose of ascertaining whether the supposed exigency which called for this legislation exists at this time. In the early history of railroads in this State, certain policies were regarded as indispensable, the wisdom of which has hardly been justified by experience. That the legislation referred to belongs to that class is more than probable.

A neighboring State can hardly be expected to contribute in aid of an enterprise in the benefits of which it is not to be allowed a participation. It is only upon the ground of a common interest to be promoted by the freest inter-communication that any such claim for coöperation can be asked with prospect of success. In addition to a common interest believed to exist, there are some considerations connected with the past history of the public lands of Maine, formerly the joint property of Massachusetts and our own State, which may be fairly urged as a reason for seeking assistance from that Commonwealth in aid of the European and North American Railway Company.

Many years since arrangements were entered into between the two States for the management of their common domain, and among other stipulations was one for the expenditure of the proceeds of the sales of the land and timber to the extent of not more than ten per cent., in making improvements through these lands by the construction of roads and rendering the watercourses navigable. But a very small part of this sum was expended, as is well known to every person at all conversant with the history of our public lands.

Again, the State of Maine extinguished the title of Massachusetts in these lands by purchase in 1853. A bargain fairly made is binding upon both parties and not to be complained of, but if the State of Maine ever receives from the land thus purchased a sum equal to the interest of the principal paid for them, it is as much as those well informed upon the subject ever expected. These considerations may be fairly addressed to Massachusetts in seeking her aid for this enterprise, and it is for her authorities to determine their weight.

But little progress has been made the past year in the construc-

tion of this railroad. The European and North American depends in a considerable degree for its immediate success upon the connection it may be enabled to make with the lines of railway in the Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The discussions which have recently arisen, having for their object the confederation of the British North American Colonies, have revived the slumbering project of an inter-colonial railroad connecting these provinces, which if constructed would postpone the early completion of the European and North American. The great cost of labor and material for railroad construction, as measured by the currency of the United States, has been such as to discourage the immediate commencement of this enterprise.

A committee of Congress informally visited this State the last summer, for the purpose of acquainting themselves with the condition of our frontier and coast defences, and it is believed by gentlemen having the interests of this proposed road in charge that the visit will be productive of beneficial results.

The very lively interest felt in the valley of the Penobscot in the early completion of this line of traffic and travel has led the city of Bangor to vote a loan of its credit in its aid and an individual subscription is being solicited with promising results.

Large expectations are entertained by its projectors and the public, resulting from the developments of the northern portion of our State now so largely a wilderness, as well as for the increase of trade and business, which its connection with the neighboring provinces will bring to our cities.

Last year I took occasion to commend to the favorable consideration of the Legislature the propriety of extending aid to an enterprise designed to secure a more direct and shorter communication between the Penobscot and St. Croix rivers. I have seen no reason to change my opinion as to the desirableness of the measure. In all matters relating to public expenditures you are the guardians of the interests of the people, you will be held responsible for them, and you must be the judges.

#### THE RECIPROCITY TREATY.

The President of the United States, in his recent annual message to Congress, recommended that notice of the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty with Great Britain be authorized upon the ground of the financial necessities of the nation. The popular branch has already acted affirmatively upon the suggestion and the

subject is now before the Senate, with the prospect of a speedy concurrence.

My own views upon this subject have been publicly expressed heretofore. However favorable the operations of this treaty may have been upon certain minor interests, I cannot refrain from the expression that it has been detrimental to two of the leading interests of the State—her lumber and her agriculture—in which so large a portion of our population is engaged.

#### UNITED STATES SENATOR.

A vacancy of a Senator in Congress from this State occurred during the recess of the Legislature, occasioned by the resignation of the Hon. William P. Fessenden, for the purpose of accepting a position in the cabinet of the President of the United States.

Under the provisions of the Constitution I appointed Hon. Nathan A. Farwell Senator *ad interim*.

Upon you devolves the duty of permanently filling the office.

#### NEW HAMPSHIRE RESOLVES.

A copy of certain resolves passed by the Legislature of New Hampshire in regard to the construction of fish ways over the dams across the Connecticut, Merrimac and Saco rivers, has been transmitted to me with a request that the same be laid before the Legislature of Maine. With this request I most cheerfully comply, and invoke that consideration of the subject which the comity between States demands.

This is no new topic with the people of this State, legislation having often been sought for this same object, upon rivers lying wholly within the limits of Maine. The experiments have not been satisfactory. Our rivers, the haunts of fish in former times, ere yet the wheel of the steamboat disturbed their waters, or they had been turned to the uses or necessities of the white man, are so no longer. Civilization, which has banished the red man from its presence, has also destroyed the means on which he subsisted, and the effort to preserve his fish and game have been as futile as would be the attempt to recall these perished tribes. The buffalo of the west has been as constantly receding from the presence of the white population, abandoning prairies now within the borders of thickly settled States, until it is being crowded to the very verge of the Rocky Mountains, preliminary to its final disappearance.

For the uses of commerce, of subsistence or of sport, it would



be but a poor exchange to withdraw the teeming and industrious millions who have taken possession of the ancient home of these dumb herds, that they might be invited to return. The mills and manufactories upon our rivers and streams, though they have banished the former denizens of their waters, furnish a compensation immeasurable as compared with all the fish that ever have floated in their bosom. Partial attempts to invite them again to these waters have had no beneficial results. Anything more, which should compromise the security of the vast improvements upon which the prosperity of our State so much depends, will hardly be demanded by the comity of States.

#### CONCLUSION.

After three years of war, with varied fortune, the mighty armies of the Republic, which at no time have lacked aught to secure success but competent leaders, have at length found themselves marshalled to victory by commanders whom the progress of the conflict has slowly developed, of consummate skill, courage and energy, inspired by no other ambition than that of serving and saving their country by crushing the military power of the rebellion, and willing to abide with patience that recognition of distinguished merit which a grateful people have never yet failed to accord to their benefactors. Grant, Sherman, Sheridan and Thomas have inscribed their names in ineffaceable characters on the scroll of fame and on the tablet of every loyal heart. Coupled with these, and animated by the same inspirations, are the officers and soldiers of the armies of the East and of the West, companions of their toils, instruments of their success, they will ever be inseparably associated with their glory.

But the land has not alone been the theatre of heroic achievement. Old ocean has reverberated with the echoes of hostile cannon, pealing the triumphs of the American Navy. Stern Farragut, before the forts of Mobile, did not say, "that this day," America, "expects every" American "to do his duty," but lashing himself to the mast-head, directed the assault amid the iron tempest, and showed his men how to perform it. Brave old man! no nation on earth can drag from its history a naval hero to whom he is second.

Winslow, almost in sight of English shores, almost in English waters, accepted the combat to which he was defiantly challenged, with a British built ship, armed with British cannon, manned by

English seamen, but commanded by an American traitor. The Alabama was sunk to the bottom of the ocean, leaving not a spar or plank afloat. A fitting end to her piratical career. Her commander, after striking his flag, sought ignominious safety on board the neutral yacht so conveniently at hand for his rescue. Winslow, the countryman of Decatur and Hull, has earned for himself a fame as enduring as the mountain from which his noble ship was named.

The youthful Cushing, glowing with the same chivalrous spirit which animated Somers, Wadsworth and Israel, to immolate themselves in the harbor of Tripoli, but more fortunate than they, by the destruction of the Albemarle, at such imminent peril, well deserves association with those honorable names.

Along with these, come Foote—sweet be his sleep and hallowed his memory ; Porter, a name of glory in our naval annals ; Worden, the hero of the first combat of iron-clads, and scores of others worthy the naval genius of our country.

The action of other nations has inaugurated a system of piracy (for it is not warfare) inviting the destruction of our commercial marine, which to some extent has been effected. If any expectation has arisen in unfriendly bosoms, that the naval power of this country was to be crippled by this procedure, they may learn at once that it is not wood, iron and cordage which constitute the essence of that power, but it is the maritime genius of our people and the determined valor of our seamen. The vast increase of our navy, and the record of its exploits the past year, demonstrate that the United States are rapidly preparing for any conflict which may be forced upon them.

It is not, however, in the conflict of armies upon the land, or the combats of ships upon the ocean, that the record of the year that has just expired finds its most brilliant page. After nearly four years of deadly strife, attended by gigantic efforts, enormous sacrifices and heart-sickening sufferings, in the regular order of our Constitutional history, the people of the United States were called upon to elect for another term a Chief Magistrate of the nation.

The earnest and exciting discussions incident to a Presidential canvass, even when accompanied by none but its ordinary surroundings, have, from the beginning of the war, caused this point in our history to be looked forward to by all reflecting minds, as the hour of our extreme peril and the very crisis of our national

life. The policy and measures of the government in the conduct of the war and during its whole progress had been assailed with severe and able criticism by a portion of the press and public speakers of the country, with a freedom unrestrained, beyond the example of any other land, unsurpassed even in this, irrefutably disposing of the charge that the liberty of either speech or press was in danger and renewing the assurance that the long enjoyed American privilege of arraigning parties in power or candidates for office at the bar of public opinion for all short-comings, is not likely to fall into desuetude.

The renomination of the present incumbent, implying in itself, and accompanied by a distinct approval of the general principles by which he had been governed in his administration, with an expressed determination to prosecute the war to a triumphant vindication of the national authority, occurring long before the name of his competitor for Presidential honors was authoritatively announced, was but the signal for more impetuous assault.

The friends of the government were compelled more earnestly than ever to defend its measures while yet ignorant of what was to be the avowed policy of its opponents. At length the Convention assembled which nominated the rival candidate, and it did not adjourn leaving the country in doubt as to its purposes, however otherwise it might have been, judging simply from the antecedents and character of its candidate.

That Convention proclaimed "as the sense of the American people, that, after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, during which, under the pretense of a military necessity or war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private rights alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired; justice, humanity, liberty and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate Convention of all the States, or other peaceable means to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States."

The issue was thus squarely submitted to the people.

The canvass, though short, was animated and bitter. The prestige of a name long honored and honorable as the designation of a party which, almost from the birth of the nation, had shaped its measures, and, as it were, claimed the traditional right to the pos-

session of the administration of its government; whose proud boasts were the vast expansion of the borders of the republic, its unswerving fidelity to the country, its promptness to resent any outrage of its authority or insult to its flag, which ever visited its fiercest wrath upon every utterance calling in question the justice of any national quarrel with foreign powers as moral treason, and which had never been twice successively defeated, in an appeal to popular favor, allured thousands to the support of the candidate of the opposition, in spite of the pregnant implications of disunion contained in its platform. But it was of no avail. The people of the country, rallying in the spirit of the declaration that "the Federal Union must and shall be preserved," endorsed the administration of President Lincoln by overwhelming majorities, paying him the tribute of a re-election, which was last accorded to the patriot Jackson, and being the second which has occurred in forty years. This was, however, in no sense a personal or party triumph, it was the result of a national necessity. That a nation governed by an absolute despot or by a monarch of limited authority, surrounded by aristocratic orders upon whom the sacrifices and burdens of war bear lightly, should protract a bloody strife for years, is no new thing in history. But that a nation where each man is a sovereign and every voter an integral part of the government, in which every ballot cast, as in the late election, is a verdict upon the past, and, combining in a majority, a decree for the future; binding the whole nation, majorities as well as minorities, individuals and masses, to meet the sacrifices and bear the burdens of continued war, is a marvelous testimony to the steadiness of popular government and the capacity of mankind to sustain it. A war waged for less than the life of a nation freighted with the hopes of freedom and mankind, could alone have evoked so sublime a consecration.

Since the day which heralded the advent of our Savior, none more glorious has dawned on our race than the eighth of November, eighteen hundred and sixty-four.

SAMUEL CONY.