# MAINE STATE LEGISLATURE

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# ACTS AND RESOLVES

AS PASSED BY THE

# Eighty-first Legislature

OF THE

# STATE OF MAINE

1923

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# INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF GOV. PERCIVAL P. BAXTER JANUARY 4, 1923

Mr. President, Senators and Representatives:

We gather here in accordance with law as the chosen representatives of a free people. The blessings that we citizens of Maine now enjoy were not obtained through our own efforts but through those of men and women of former generations. We are prone to accept them as commonplace, and often forget that centuries of struggle were necessary for their realization. If no backward step is taken and if this great inheritance is transmitted intact to those who follow, our part will have been well done.

Our system of government is the finest yet devised by man, for it allows to the individual the maximum of liberty consistent with the liberties of others. As members of this government its burdens and its opportunities are ours, and as legislators you occupy positions of greater importance than appears to the average citizen. Your purpose is serious. You are a court in which conflicting interests plead their causes, where rules of evidence have little weight, and restraints are few. A legislator unmoved by selfishness and possessed of ability both to attack and defend has an unusual opportunity to render service to his fellow citizens.

Some legislators base their success as public servants upon the amount of public money they bring home to their constituencies. Each legislator, however, represents all the people of the State, not alone those of his particular district, and what he accomplishes for the general welfare is the true standard of measurement for his service.

The opening of a legislature is a memorable event in the history of the State. You are one of three coordinate branches of government; the Legislature makes laws for the Judiciary to interpret and the Executive to administer. For the time being the State is in your hands. You express the people's will, have the power to make or mar, and next to the people themselves are the court of last resort. All good citizens expect that your record in upholding moral standards, in furthering good causes, and in promoting the highest interests of the State will be a creditable one.

# Respect for Law

In an inaugural address the Chief Executive outlines the accomplishments of his administration and makes suggestions for the future. Before discussing details of the State's business I shall speak of a subject that I believe is of paramount importance, respect for law. My two years' service as Governor has brought me in contact with lawbreakers of high and low

degree, and with both the direct and indirect results of their crimes. At present those lawbreakers who outwardly occupy positions of good standing are my chief concern, for they are undermining the moral standards of our communities. Low criminals who resort to violence, the burglar, thief and murderer, are outlawed on every hand. When their deeds are done they hide from their pursuers, and the problem they raise is not serious, for every man's hand is against them. The otherwise reputable citizen who purchases liquor from bootleggers and regales his intimates with tales of his prowess, is mean and cowardly and were it not for him, and others like him, men of wealth and social position, rum-runners would soon go out of business. This man violates the law but takes no chances. When his house is entered by night, or his family assaulted, he cries aloud to the authorities for protection, forgetting that the law he connives to break is just as sacred as the law of persons or property. Such a man should be classed with other criminals who are enemies of society. problem he raises is vital.

#### Enforcement in Maine

Enforcement conditions in our State are good, not perfect. I shall endeavor to stimulate some of our officials to greater efforts and to arouse public sentiment to the gravity of the present situation. It probably will be advisable to ask for legislation to remedy the defects in existing enforcement laws. Our sheriffs, county attorneys, local judges and municipal police, if their hearts are in their work, can drive out or imprison the whole brood of liquor offenders, and all State, county and municipal officials should work together with this end in view. Our two eastern counties, however, present the most difficult problem, due to their proximity to the Canadian boundary. The time for evading responsibility has passed and, except in extreme cases, we ourselves here in Maine can and should handle the enforcement work without calling upon Federal authorities. Most of the states are appealing to Washington for aid, and Maine, as the pioneer prohibition State, the home of Neal Dow, has an unusual opportunity by vigorously handling this matter to show the rest of the country what a law-abiding people can do for themselves. The days of "Bangor" and other "plans" have passed, and no longer do communities consider it an enviable distinction to have the laws notoriously violated within their borders.

We all should preach the gospel of respect for law, for those who disrespect it are setting an evil example to the rising generation and are undermining this country's noblest institutions. If during my two terms as Chief Executive it is given me to witness a marked improvement in law observance among the more intelligent of our population, I shall be satisfied with the results of my labors.

The ringing words of Abraham Lincoln are today more timely than when uttered sixty years ago: "Let every American, every lover of liberty, every well-wisher to his posterity, swear by the blood of the Revolution never to violate in the least particular the laws of the country and never to tolerate their violation by others. Let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample upon the blood of his fathers and to tear the charter of his own and his children's liberty. Let reverence for the laws be taught in schools, in seminaries and in colleges. Let it be written in primers, spelling books and almanacs. Let it be preached from the pulpits, proclaimed in legislative halls and enforced in courts of justice. In short, let it become the political religion of the nation."

# The State's Business

To study the business of the State is fascinating and the more thought given it the more absorbing it becomes. It reaches into every community, comes in contact with the lives and interests of countless citizens, and thus gives to those in charge of the State's affairs a knowledge of its people and industries, and an insight into its resources and possibilities that otherwise is unobtainable.

Maine is my inspiration, and I have unceasingly devoted the past two years to the State. Probably none will deny that I am well informed and I yield to no one in my affection for and knowledge of our State. To come to know Maine and its people is a wonderful experience, for the Almighty has lavishly bestowed His blessings upon us. I plead for a more consistent interest in public affairs on the part of citizens in general, for the State's business is theirs, just as it is yours and mine.

# Economy and Taxation

Finances are the foundation of government. The State's many activities are dependent upon its Treasury and close watch must be kept upon all expenditures. The Eightieth Legislature faced an unprecedented call for funds. It was estimated that it was asked to appropriate forty million dollars for the thirty months' period, January 1, 1921 to June 30, 1923. The requests for funds already presented to the Eighty-first Legislature are proportionately larger than those that were filed at the opening of the session two years ago, and no doubt the demands for money will be heavier in 1923 than in 1921. It was expected that as conditions became more normal there would be fewer calls for appropriations, but instead they have expanded in every direction. Strict economy is needed in State affairs and each member of this Legislature and the Governor as well, must be prepared to make sacrifices. Every item of expenditure should be scrutinized, every cause carefully weighed, and all non-essentials eliminated.

You will be hard pressed by folks at home to secure appropriations for home institutions. Your friends in the several State departments will recall the days when your appeals to them were not in vain. Political influences and aspirations will not be lacking, all of which proves that never was there greater need of moral courage and self-restraint.

Our people are overburdened with taxation, and agriculture, industry and the home feel its pressure. It is your duty and mine to lighten this load. and now is the time to begin. The Legislature is solely responsible for taxation. You cannot escape. Theorize as you may that the other man pays the taxes, ultimately they all are taken from the pocketbooks of the people. This plain fact cannot be disguised. To say "No" will take moral courage, but it can be said, and new and unexpected strength is developed by practice. I recommend that during the early weeks of the session the members of this Legislature take daily exercises in saying "No" in order to fortify themselves against the pressure for money that is bound to be exerted upon them during the closing days. The taxpayers left behind at home are watching you and will insist upon an accounting. Economy is pleasant to talk about but difficult to put into practice. I will lead the way and outline a program; it remains to be seen whether you will follow. The success or failure of this administration depends upon the ground work that you prepare, but whether a success or a failure it will be known as my administration. I believe you will give due weight and proper consideration to my recommendations.

During the past two years earnest efforts have been made to save in expenditures both large and small, and during this session suggestions acquired from close contact with departments and institutions will be made to you, which if adopted will result in still further economies. The State Contingent Fund has been used to meet emergencies and provide funds as required by law for certain purposes where the Legislature failed to make sufficient appropriations. Some of the large items withdrawn were for mothers' aid, the care of dependent and neglected children, the protection of our milk supply by the condemnation of diseased cattle, and forest fire fighting. I believe sound finance requires either that some limitation be placed upon the size of this Fund or that some different method of providing for emergencies be adopted.

It requires but little imagination to plan new methods of taxation. We could devise a dozen to yield handsome returns, but in doing so might be like the boy in the story book, who killed the goose that laid the golden eggs. I take less interest in new taxation than in how our present taxes are spent. Can we meet our obligations without increasing the people's burden? New taxes will be proposed to provide funds to meet the evergrowing demands made upon the State, but for the present I urge that

more attention be given to what goes out; later we can tell what is coming in.

The Board of State Assessors under wise and experienced guidance has just completed the new valuation of the State, which is now \$672,767,742. an increase of \$35,014,520 since 1920. Our bonded debt is \$12,521,300. I 86/100% of the new valuation, and our per capita debt is \$16.30. As to per capita debts it appears that South Dakota leads with \$75.02, Kansas and Nebraska have no debts, while the average per capita debt of all the states is \$10.18. Our financial position is sound and is reflected in the high prices paid for our State bonds. During the past two fiscal periods, January 1, 1921 to June 30, 1922 the State has lived within its income notwithstanding the fact that the former Budget Committee of 1920 estimated an income of \$12,333,737.79 whereas but \$11,547,091.08 actually was received. This shrinkage in net income of \$786,646.71, caused by unforeseen business conditions, has handicapped the present administration and only by very close figuring has a deficit been avoided. The Legislative appropriations for the fiscal periods above mentioned were \$11,548,365.95, and the expenditures under them were \$11,323,139.88.

The cost of government has rapidly increased. The State has assumed much of the work formerly done by municipalities and by private charitable institutions. In this there is danger other than to our finances. The responsibility of the individual and of the local community has been materially weakened and today the tendency is to call upon the State for help. The road leading to paternalistic government is broad and easy to travel, but at its end is socialism.

#### State Tax Possibilities

The requests for appropriations for the next two years, July 1, 1923 to June 30, 1925, filed with the Budget Committee before this session opened, total \$23,754,133.46. This does not include the several million dollars that inevitably will be asked for after the Legislature gets well under way. If you appropriate \$23,754,133.46 you must raise taxes to an equal amount.

There are two kinds of taxes, indirect and direct, and it is estimated that indirect taxation for the period in question will produce a revenue of \$8,595,333, leaving the balance of \$15,158,800.46 to be raised by direct taxation.

As the State valuation has been placed at \$672,767,742, to provide a revenue of \$15,158,800.46 will require a tax levy on the real and personal property in the State of twenty-three mills on the dollar. Such a tax would actually provide \$15,473,658.06, leaving a balance or surplus of \$314,857.60 in the State Treasury to meet emergencies. This balance would hardly be adequate, for in a business calling for an expenditure of \$23,754,133.46 there should be a margin of 2% of the total appropriations,

or \$475,082.66 to go and come on. The State's expenses are estimated two years in advance and conditions may change considerably during that period.

The 23-mill tax for two years would give a State tax of 11½ mills for each year 1923-1924 and 1924-1925, which would be double the State tax for the two and one-half years, January 1, 1921 to June 30, 1923. Such a rate would be ruinous.

You all will appreciate the fact that the 23-mill tax would not provide for the numerous appropriation bills that will be put in during the session by the members of this Legislature, for these were not presented to the Budget Committee.

# Departments

The departments of our State Government as a rule are efficiently managed and most of them have lived within their legislative appropriations. They are directed by officials interested in their work, capable, honest and public-spirited. During the past two years it has afforded me satisfaction to work with these men and women. I doubt if any state surpasses us in the character and efficiency of what I am pleased to call our "State House Family," a group of more than three hundred loyal public servants in this building and in the departments connected with it, some of whom receive salaries not adequate for the services they render.

Some department heads no doubt will urge expansion, and although there are many of the State's activities that I would like to see enlarged, I believe that this is not the time to do so. We will do well to live within our present income, properly maintain that which we now have, and carry on the work already started without venturing into new fields. The State's business already has grown beyond expectation and to such an extent that the practice of heads of departments visiting Augusta upon infrequent occasions, and expecting deputies to do the work, is not in accord with modern requirements. Whether elected by the people or the Legislature or appointed by the Governor, the business of State requires that State officials devote their entire time to the duties of their offices and unless absent on official business should be in Augusta, not elsewhere. I suggest this as the State's New Year Resolution. The Chief Executive adopted it two years ago and finds the days far too short to complete his tasks.

# The State's Bookkeeping

The State's bookkeeping, both departmental and institutional, on the whole is satisfactory, but changes are needed for accuracy and uniformity. Some departments are authorized by law to pay out money before their vouchers have been passed upon by the Auditor. Income received by certain departments is used by them, whereas in my opinion definite sums

for departmental work should in all cases be appropriated by the Legislature, and all income received by departments should accrue to the general fund in the State Treasury. I doubt the wisdom of having any "carrying" accounts, which means that amounts unexpended during a fiscal year are available for the next period. Business needs clean-cut methods, especially in public affairs where one administration succeeds another and where one Legislature may reverse the action of its predecessor. Each administration should complete its records and leave no unfinished business to hamper that which follows.

We do not realize the improvements made in the State's accounting system during recent years. The present State Auditor, who has been connected with the office since its establishment, informs me that sixteen years ago the State's bookkeeping was in deplorable condition. Departments were given lump sums to disburse as was convenient and no real authority to hold officials in check was vested in any one. Department heads mixed State funds with their own and payrolls often included items that could find no other comfortable abiding place. An aged member of a former Governor's Council has told me that files of vouchers under the desks in the Council Chamber were used as rests for Councilors' feet. Governor Cobb is responsible for inaugurating the much-needed change. Today the State has an excellent system under able management, and modern methods of accounting prevail.

In this connection I call your attention to the financial reports of our cities and towns. These are as varied in form and substance as are the names of the municipalities issuing them. Sound government demands figures that can both be understood and depended upon. Cities and towns should have as modern accounting as the State and I suggest a law requiring uniform methods of accounting by all the State's political subdivisions.

# The Budget

The report of the Budget Committee soon to be submitted to you gives an outline of income and expenditures for the next two fiscal periods, 1923-1924, 1924-1925, and represents careful study by the committee. It has been prepared in advance to expedite the work of the session and is intended to be helpful. The Budget Committee is established by law. It has no pride of opinion, but its report is worthy of your consideration as the work of men of long experience is legislative matters.

#### "Blocs"

In the Federal Congress they have made a great discovery, "blocs." To us these are but old friends with a new name. A Maine Legislature would be a dull affair without them, and doubtless in this very hall infant "blocs"

are being successfully nursed toward maturity. "Bloc" is but another name for the old-time "log-rolling," the favorite legislative pastime indulged in to best advantage during the last weeks of a session. However, I hope that the Eighty-first Legislature will consider each question on its merits, and not allow itself to resort to the unfortunate practices of former days.

#### Schools

The schools of Maine are one of my principal concerns. In order to obtain first-hand information I have visited many schools of different grades throughout the State, and it is inspiring to see the teachers and children at work and play. The children of all our counties are the same, happy and responsive, eager for suggestions and appreciative of any attention shown them. I wish I had time to visit every schoolhouse in the State.

During the past few years the finances of our School department have been reorganized and placed in excellent condition. Appropriations have been liberal. Apart from the Soldiers' Bonus tax, 70% of all the money raised by direct taxation during the fiscal years 1922 and 1923 was paid into the School Fund under the annual 3 1/3 mill tax for school purposes. This amounted to \$4,251,688.08, in addition to which the department received \$465,560.48 from the bank tax and permanent School Fund interest, and \$319,600 for special educational purposes from the general tax levy. All these items total \$5,036,848.56 available for school purposes. In this connection it is interesting to note that the State of Maine holds the seventh position among all the states as to the amount of money raised for schools by State taxation.

At present the Legislature, by suggestion of the State Superintendent of Schools, plans two years in advance as to what amounts will be required for certain of our educational activities, and as our school system is constantly developing and improving it is difficult to estimate accurately. I believe it would be advisable to consolidate all the branches of our school work and place them under the regular mill tax School Fund. This would make for economy, simplicity in accounting, and would not hamper the department's growth, for the regular increase in State valuation that takes place every two years will provide a considerable amount of additional revenue for the expansion of the department's activities. The increase referred to for 1924 and 1925 will amount to \$233,429.78.

The primary schools well may be called the cradles of the rising generation. Those in rural sections and unorganized townships require the most attention. The very young children in the lower grades seem so dependent and helpless that they make a special appeal to me. The older children having advanced somewhat in years and wisdom have attained a measure of independence and self-reliance. The little schoolhouse at the lonely

crossroads is a venerable institution that has contributed toward this country's progress, but many of them should be rebuilt with proper sanitary arrangements while others should be torn down or abandoned. There are few that do not need improvement. On visiting these schools and talking with the patient teachers, I marvel that little children progress as rapidly as they do under somewhat trying conditions.

Our rural schools of all grades must not be neglected, for no self-respecting farmer, even though his land be fertile, will remain in a town unless his children are at least given the fundamentals of a good education. A determined effort must be made to equalize conditions so that children in the smaller places may have equal opportunities with those in larger centers.

Our more advanced grades, and our high schools and academies, are doing satisfactory work and have made great improvement in their teaching forces and equipment. Agricultural, manual training and home economics courses have increased rapidly. The State takes pride in the young men and women of our colleges, Bates, Bowdoin, Colby and the University of Maine, for in character and natural ability they are second to none, and the training they receive fits them to cope with the problems of life. State Normal Schools are well managed and filled to capacity, while the teachers trained in them will do much to shape the future of the State. Teachers' salaries have been increased from 891% to 99 1/10% and the value of school buildings within the State, including those now under construction, has risen from nine and one-half millions to twenty millions, all within six years. In the list of states six years ago Maine stood thirtyseventh on its educational rating, but the new survey will at least accord us the twelfth position. All this has required many sacrifices on the part of our people, and great credit is due to the head of this department, under whose guidance and inspiration these marked advances have been made.

#### Roads

Although there is a wholesome difference of opinion on road matters, I believe the State's road work has progressed with reasonable satisfaction during the past two years. In 1921 and 1922 the State built 86.39 miles of State highway gravel roads; 430.46 miles of other gravel roads; 74.67 miles of macadam, and 32.97 miles of concrete roads, costing on the average \$15,712.57, \$5,332.41, \$29,789.92, \$46,520.03 respectively. In other words, one mile of macadam road costs as much as 1.89 miles of State highway gravel roads, and 5.58 miles of other gravel roads. The cost of a mile of concrete road pays for 2.96 miles of State highway gravel roads and 8.72 miles of other gravel roads. It should not be forgotten, however, that the gravel roads are part-time roads, in good condition for about eight months each year, while barring heavy snows those built of macadam and concrete are useful twelve months in the year. On these hard-surfaced

roads some better provision should be made for horse-drawn traffic. Approximately 90% of all the roads built by the State during the administration of the Highway Commission have been constructed of gravel.

We are spending all we can afford on road construction and the problem is to spend wisely. In this connection I call your attention to the plan of the Maine Federation of Agricultural Associations which is worthy of careful study as the work of practical men interested and well-informed. During the past two years road maintenance has been attended to better than before. In my State-wide travels I have found that in certain counties more attention is given to maintenance than in others. It always is encouraging to meet road patrolmen with team and drag smoothing out rough places after a shower. An effort must be made to have all sections of the State adopt higher standards of maintenance, and many a poor road can be kept decently passable at slight expense by proper co-operation between State and local officials. In 1922, 4414 miles of road were patrolled by 494 men and the State in that period spent about \$4.40 for maintenance for each \$1 spent for it by cities and towns. It is fundamental that roads should not be built faster than they properly can be maintained.

#### Bonds for Roads

Under the constitutional amendment of 1913 we have bonds to the amount of \$2,485,000 available for road construction, and no doubt you will authorize their issue under proper restrictions. I recommend your so doing. When our present bond resources are exhausted new bond issues or new taxes will be needed if road building by the State is to continue. All State bonds should be serial and should contain a provision against their reissue, for only in this way will our bonded indebtedness gradually be reduced. I see few objections to a second bond issue, provided it is expressly understood that it is to be the final one. If issued it should be used to complete the present trunk line system that totals 1570 miles. This plan will require the building of 600 miles of road of various types, together with bridges, and, according to figures given me by the Highway Commission, this can be done at the approximate net cost to the State of from \$6,000,000 to \$7,000,000. The suggested gasoline tax would provide more maintenance or construction money, but if levied certain exceptions should be made, as where gasoline is used for stationary engines and motor boats.

# Highway Bookkeeping

The plan under which the State's road money is allotted and used is complicated. The laws provide that this money be spent for certain purposes, but the Legislature would do well to simplify the laws and apportion the money on a more definite basis for such purposes. Specific amounts

should be appropriated for the bureau of registration of motor vehicles, for enforcement of motor laws and for expenses of administration. The public and even legislators of experience have difficulty in understanding these laws and the figures of our highway accountants based on them. I believe that savings can be effected on certain of these items as well as on overhead and engineering expenses. Our highway accounting system needs revision and should be made understandable for the average citizen.

Ever increasing road burdens are being placed upon the State, but it should be clearly understood that the State never can build or maintain all the roads within its borders. The responsibility for most of them always must be borne by local communities.

The safety of our roads is of vital concern and I often have emphasized my views that intoxicated automobile drivers deserve jail sentences. Once they are in jail no pardons will be granted by the Executive.

# **Bridges**

The bridge problem is as acute as that of roads, for many of our bridges are unsafe for modern travel. It is estimated that there are 5987 bridges in Maine, ten feet or over in length. The State can afford to build but few bridges each year and the responsibility for most of them, as in the case of roads, rests upon local communities and must remain there. The bridges built by the Highway Commission are of a permanent type and are a credit to the department. With hundreds of bridges needing to be replaced and with the State and towns unable to provide funds to erect permanent concrete structures, it may be advisable in certain places to adopt a less expensive type of bridge construction so that a greater number of bridges can be built with the same amount of money. Safety, however, should not be sacrificed to economy.

# Kittery-Portsmouth Bridge

The Kittery-Portsmouth Bridge approaches completion. It is an unusual structure, graceful and durable, and is a connecting link between two sovereign states. The bridge with approaches will cost about \$1,800,000, of which Maine will pay about \$650,000, the State of New Hampshire approximately the same, and the United States the balance. Maine's interest has been cared for by the Governor and Council in accordance with the terms of the special law of 1919. The engineers who have represented the States of Maine and New Hampshire and the Federal Government respectively, are entitled to great credit for their excellent work.

## State Pier

The State Pier at Portland is about completed and it is expected that it will contribute to the State's prosperity. The State appropriated

\$1,150,000 and the Cities of Portland and South Portland \$350,000 for this pier. According to figures filed with the Budget Committee, the immediate receipts from the pier will not pay its operating and other expenses and repairs. The directors ask \$60,640 annually for operating expenses, and the interest on the bonds amounts to \$46,000 per year in addition. The estimated annual receipts from the pier are \$25,000, which will be increased to \$36,500 if the State spends \$165,000 in constructing new freight sheds, and the directors are asking this Legislature to appropriate this amount of money. According to the directors' figures an annual deficit of considerable proportion must be cared for out of the regular State taxes, and some allowance certainly should be made for depreciation. As the use of the pier increases this deficit gradually should be reduced, and meanwhile it is hoped that the indirect benefit to the State's industries will be large.

# Agriculture

Thoughtful citizens understand that Maine is an agricultural State and that 52% of its population live on farms. These farmers are entitled to a good living because they are willing to work for it. Though the number of acres under cultivation and the number of our cattle have decreased in recent years, today Maine leads New England in the value of farm products, this item being \$79,364,121. The farming situation in Maine, however, is not what it should be and our agricultural interests are passing through a period of depression. It requires faith for the farmer to keep at work against heavy odds and falling prices, but notwithstanding the discouraging outlook taken by certain so-called experts who draw plans and plot elaborate curves on them to show the decline of Maine's agriculture, our farms are freer from debt than those of any Northern state. I have every confidence that better times are ahead.

The Maine farmer lives by himself, thinks for himself, is an extreme individualist, and his life makes him self-reliant and independent. These are splendid qualities, but they make it difficult for him to co-operate with other farmers. The solution of the farm problem rests with the farmer, but one thing is fundamental, he must obtain a larger share of what his products bring in the market. If this can be accomplished his future is bright.

In 1922 the Agricultural Department spent \$231,823.33. It does a large amount of advisory and police work, and inspects dairies, tests seeds, fertilizers, foods and feeds. In cleaning up the milk supply of towns and cities 50,000 dairy animals were tested and \$97,167.25 was paid for those condemned. Sixty thousand apple trees were inspected, 3,628 acres of seed potatoes certified, and 65,000 pounds of wool graded.

Co-operative marketing is today often spoken of and may prove help-

ful, but farmers should be cautious about entering into long term contracts until they thoroughly understand what is involved, and until they have made ample provision for financing their needs for the full period of the contracts.

If Maine farmers would contract to raise a fixed amount of crops or a certain number of cattle each year, warehouses could be built and financed, but warehousemen must be assured of a steady influx of farm products. Our farmers ought to be independent of a Boston market. The standardization of products also is important in securing and holding a good market. A conference of farmers could be called to discuss these questions, but what better equipped conference could be assembled than one composed of the farmers who are members of this Legislature, all men of standing in their communities? I commend this suggestion to your Committee on Agriculture.

The Grange, County Agents, Farm Bureaus, Boys' and Girls' Clubs, the Department of Agriculture, and the University of Maine all are doing something for the farming interests, and I believe we all endorse the Grange program for better schools, better roads and better markets. Everybody seems willing to help the farmer, but as all his property is in plain view, this Legislature can accomplish more for him by keeping his taxes down than by calling conferences to discuss his troubles or by passing laws for his relief.

#### Public Health

Disease never will be entirely driven from the world, but preventive measures gradually will reduce its ravages to the minimum. This is what our Health Department seeks to do. It points out the path for citizens to tread and teaches rules of health to those who have not learned them. In addition to this educational work the Public Health Department devotes itself to sanitation, to protecting milk, water and food supplies, and to cleaning up disease-breeding centers. Unusual progress has been made in the treatment and segregation of individuals afflicted with venereal diseases and the director in charge of this work is rendering a service of great and far-reaching importance to the entire State.

Our schools have undertaken health work and this will improve the physical standards of the rising generation. It is gratifying to Maine people, in view of the recent discussion of the Sheppard-Towner Maternity Bill, to know that of the twenty-seven states reporting their efforts to save the lives of babies, Maine ranks fifth among those that have shown a decrease in infant mortality during the past two years. The city of Augusta leads the towns and cities of our State in this respect. In the winning fight against tuberculosis Maine ranks third among the New England States and eleventh in the country at large. Conditions are

improving year by year and we should not become hysterical on health

The State should not undertake the medical treatment of its citizens, for the individual should be held responsible for his own physical condition. It is fundamental that each person is entitled to choose his own school of medicine or of treatment, just as he may choose his politics or religion.

#### Welfare

Few citizens realize the extent of the State's Welfare Work. Formerly the care of the feeble minded, the aid to mothers with dependent children, the protection of neglected children, the supervision of charitable institutions, jails and almshouses were matters of no, or of purely local, concern. Today the State has entered these fields. On December 1st there were 535 persons in the Pownal Feeble Minded institution, 1856 in our two insane hospitals, 104 in the School for the Deaf, 38 in that for the Blind, 343 in the three Tuberculosis Sanatoriums, 363 in the State Prison and Reformatories, and 361 in the State Schools for Boys and Girls. In addition to these, on December 1st there were 517 mothers receiving State aid, 1432 dependent and neglected children under the care of the State, and 900 State paupers. The State inspects 46 private charitable institutions that yearly spend \$1,140,413.14, and 97 jails and almshouses that cost the citizens of the State \$422,872.55 annually. The State's pension roll includes 516 blind persons and 2523 soldiers including their families. All this is expensive, but if the money is judiciously spent the taxpayers are not likely to complain. During the past two years the Governor and Council have made liberal provision to carry on certain phases of this work for which the Eightieth Legislature failed to make sufficient appropriation. The problem now before you is how far should the State go in social welfare work and what is the most effective and economical method of carrying it on.

I recommend your studying this department so you will familiarize yourself with its many activities. The work that is being done means much for the present and even more for the next generation. The mothers who receive State aid and the children who are wards of the State, make a strong appeal to the sympathy of all who come in contact with them. There has been criticism of overhead and inspection charges, but constant supervision is a vital factor in the care of the State's dependents. This department does not have charge of all the State's welfare work, for certain phases of it are taken care of by the Executive Department, which has an annual appropriation of \$393,800 that is spent under the painstaking and efficient direction of the Messenger to the Governor and Council.

# Natural Resources: Water Powers

During my several terms as a member of the Legislature I have advocated two policies in connection with the water powers of Maine: first, the retention within the State of the hydro-electric energy generated therein; and second, the construction by the State of storage reservoirs to control and conserve the flood waters at certain seasons and to regulate the flow of our rivers. My views on these two questions remain unaltered. As to taking hydro-electric energy out of Maine, probably no one today would attempt it, for Maine's policy has been established by law and by public sentiment.

It is seriously urged that the time has arrived for Maine to allow its hydro-electric energy to be transmitted to the other New England States. Those in favor of a change in our policy say that great power developments are about to be undertaken in Canada, the purpose of which is to bring hydro-electricity from that country to Massachusetts and other New England states that are in need of it. I am told that those behind this project prefer to come to Maine and develop some of our great power locations provided they can take the power outside the State where there is a market for it, and these gentlemen say that unless this is permitted the Canadians will build their lines into New England and once this is done Maine's power will remain idle for a long time to come. This argument is based of course on the premise that Maine cannot use any considerable proportion of its undeveloped powers, and that development is impossible unless there is an out-of-State market.

This reasoning does not convince me that a change is desirable, for I believe the day will come when Maine will use and need all its water power resources, and once they are taken from us, no matter how we may strive to protect the State's interests, there is grave doubt about our ever being able to recall them. If Canadian power is brought to New England the pressure that is now being exerted upon our State to modify its non-transmission policy will be relieved, and Maine's water powers will be left for Maine people. All the water power men of Maine are not in accord on this question and some of those who always have favored taking power out of the State have changed their views and now believe that Maine's policy is sound.

# Natural Resources: Water Storage

Water storage is the foundation of successful water power development. Private companies already have constructed extensive reservoirs which have proven very profitable and which will furnish power for all time. The State itself could develop storage reservoirs and derive an income therefrom and, in my opinion, this would be a forward step and would

be building for the future. If our present financial condition warranted our doing so, I should advocate both a water storage constitutional amendment and an act supplementing it and conditioned upon its adoption by the people. Knowing what I do about the State's finances, I do not believe that we at present should ask for an appropriation or for a bond issue for water storage, and consequently would not advise going beyond the submission of an amendment which if adopted will make it possible for future Legislatures to take the next step forward if conditions warrant. The State has parted with most of its natural resources, for with the timberlands went the water powers, and about all that remains is the opportunity to develop storage reservoirs.

Shall charters be granted to private companies to develop water storage? The end to be sought is full utilization of Maine's water resources, for every water horse power developed, whether used for public or private purposes, means that our people and industries thereby become less dependent upon the coal supply. We all want development and if the State does not undertake it, private interests should be allowed to do so, with the State's interests fully safeguarded. In every private storage development hereafter undertaken I would reserve to the State the right to purchase it at any time for a fair price without paying for the franchise or storage rights granted by the State; the purchase price in no event to exceed the cost of the development. A clause partially covering these restrictions already has been placed in certain storage charters, and the State also could charge water storage companies a reasonable annual rental for the privilege of impounding the water and raising the natural water level of the lakes and reservoir basins. In this way private development would be encouraged, the State would derive an income, its rights would be protected, and it would be in a favorable position to acquire valuable rights upon payment of a fair price therefor if conditions later warranted such action. The recent coal strike, and threat of another, have impressed upon the people of Maine the great value of its water resources, and although the State itself owns but few water power locations, much can be accomplished through ownership and control of storage systems.

The State always will treat its public utility companies fairly and it has the right to expect these companies to do the same by the people of Maine whom they serve and whose money is invested in them. It is well for home capital to be interested in home enterprises. Companies that invite the public to purchase their shares of stock should sell them at a price consistent with their actual market value, and wise management is needed if the investments of our people are to be conserved. Public utility companies should never enter the field of politics, nor should they seek to control public opinion through direct or indirect ownership of newspapers. The days of such things are passing and the people of Maine

have a better understanding of affairs than ever before. The financing of all public utility companies should be open and above board. Those who serve the public and who are entrusted with its savings assume grave responsibilities.

# Maine Water Power Commission

Through my efforts the Maine Water Power Commission was established and valuable work has been done in stream flow measurement, map making and water storage investigation. I believe this work could be properly carried on and that it would not be detrimental to the public interest if the present membership of the commission of ten was reduced to three, or if this work were placed under a separate division of the Public Utility Commission until the Legislature and the people shall have taken the next step forward in a water power program.

This change would effect a considerable saving of money without loss of efficiency. Future Legislatures can make provision to meet the situation that will arise if the people adopt the constitutional amendment above referred to.

#### Natural Resources: Forests

Although our forests principally are located in the northern and eastern sections of the State, most of our people, realizing that the forests are a great natural resource, desire to have them protected from the ravages of fire. This was apparent when my proclamation prohibiting lunting was issued last October. Citizens from all parts of Maine approved my action and almost without exception hunters, sporting camp owners and guides willingly made a sacrifice for the sake of the forests. It was encouraging to see the helpful spirit that prevailed, and many people with no financial interest in timberlands appreciated what was done to check the fire menace.

Fire protection is the foundation of any sound forest policy. Our present system approaches completion and its work is effective. In 1903, 349 forest fires destroyed 269,451 acres of timberland, while in 1921, 362 forest fires destroyed but 68,830 acres. The issuing of the proclamation referred to established a precedent for the future. Conditions were serious and it was not a time for hesitation. Our laws against starting fires in the woods need attention and heavier penalties should be imposed for their violation. The danger of fires and of hunting fatalities would be reduced if the hunting season were opened a fortnight later than at present.

Three-quarters of the area of the State is covered by forests that furnish raw material for our principal industries, protect the sources of our water powers, stabilize agriculture, harbor our fish and game, and provide places of recreation both for our own people and countless visitors. Our wood-

using industries represent  $43\frac{1}{2}\%$  of the total capital invested in industry within the State, and 34% of the persons employed in all our manufacturing establishments are directly connected with our wood supply.

The forests of the northern and eastern sections cover large areas, but in addition to these the farmers' wood and timber lots represent large values, in many cases greater than the value of their owners' tillable land. These wood lots give employment during the slack periods and have saved many a farm from foreclosure.

The Forestry District plan meets with general satisfaction. The owners of forests feel they should not be subjected to municipal taxation as they derive no benefits therefrom. The timber areas or "wild lands" are grouped into a "district" and a special tax is levied upon them, the proceeds being used exclusively for the benefit of the lands thus taxed. In this manner they bear most of the burden of their own protection. During the year 1921 \$105,968.74 was taken from the State Contingent Fund to help the Forestry District meet unusual fire fighting expenses, and of this \$50,000 has not yet been repaid. It will be necessary to increase the District's taxes to meet this obligation.

#### Wild Land Values

In 1905 special appropriations were made for cruising timberlands to ascertain their value for taxable purposes. Since then this work has been continued and the Eightieth Legislature appropriated \$40,000 for it, with the result that \$2,552,434 has been added to the State's taxable property. Based on the 1922 tax rate this produces an annual revenue of \$15,314.60, or 38% on the money spent, which will be paid into our Treasury year by year without interruption. One hundred and thirty-three townships remain unexplored by the State assessors, the cost of which will average \$360 a township. This method of ascertaining values is fair both to timberland owners and the State and the investment that the State makes produces a generous income. I recommend a liberal appropriation for the next two years.

# Katahdin

In my opinion the State should establish a forest reserve or park in the Katahdin country. This would provide a wonderful recreation center and afford a suitable location for experiments in scientific forestry. Some progress already has been made toward establishing a refuge for wild animal and bird life in this section.

In 1919 and 1921 I advocated an appropriation for Katahdin, and if I thought the State could now afford it, should do so again. As I appeal to you to forego matters in which you are interested, I shall not ask an appropriation for the Katahdin project. It, however, would be well to

recognize the principle of a State Forest Reservation and a law could be passed so that purchases later can be made when funds are available. This Katahdin region has a rugged grandeur that is symbolic of strength and endurance. It is typical of the sturdy character of Maine's sons and daughters. I believe the people of the State have become interested in Mount Katahdin and this Legislature now can lay the foundations for the future without putting the State to any expense.

## Natural Resources: Inland Fish and Game-

In 1922 \$186,049.37 was spent by this Department. It has a wide field with unlimited opportunities for expansion. Our inland fish and game constitute an important natural resource that needs to be carefully conserved for our own benefit and that of those who follow us. This Department now receives a considerable portion of its fines, license fees and other collections, a plan that resembles the fee system of former days, long since abolished. The argument that if it is given its income those in charge will be more zealous in collecting it is a damaging one, for an Inland Fish and Game Commissioner should be as watchful of the interests of the whole State as he is of his particular department. All departments should be placed upon the same financial basis, the Legislature making definite appropriations and all income received going into the general fund in our State Treasury.

# Natural Resources: Sea and Shore Fisheries

In 1922 this department spent \$88,801.78, but at present, except for its work in the lobster fisheries, has done but little to develop the boundless natural resources of our coastal waters. This is unfortunate, for here are great possibilities. The present system is cumbersome, for the Governor appoints three commissioners, who elect a director, who employs the wardens who watch the fishermen. This divides responsibility and makes for inefficiency in the public service. A department properly organized and in the confidence of the fishermen could be of great assistance to them, especially in finding a market for their catches. The life of the fisherman is a lonely one and he is inclined to shun contact with others. He especially needs recognition and encouragement.

A single commissioner with vision and with practical experience could stimulate our salt water fishing industry and soon the coasts of Maine would be furnishing an unlimited supply of sea food to the fish markets of New York and New England.

# Labor

Maine has advanced child labor laws which are well enforced. No child under fifteen years of age can be employed for hire while the schools

of the town in which the child resides are in session. In December 1922 there were but 274 children in the entire State under sixteen years of age working for hire, a remarkable record for a population of 768,014 people.

During the past twelve months business throughout the State has shown marked improvement. There is little unemployment, and industrial and other workers seem reasonably contented. We are more fortunate than many other states in being remarkably free from what are termed "labor troubles," and in this connection Maine has an enviable record for maintenance of law and order and for the respect that is shown the rights of persons and property.

The injured workman today, under the liberal provisions of our Workmen's Compensation Law, is better cared for than ever before. It is estimated that in 1922 5000 employers and 150,000 employees came under the provisions of this act, and that more than \$1,000,000 was paid to injured men and women.

# "Blue Sky" Law

The State has a law, ably administered by our Banking Department, requiring the registration of dealers in securities. This is popularly called the "Blue Sky" Law. In former years any promoter with a wildcat stock selling scheme could come to Maine and fleece our citizens of their savings. I suppose in many of our counties there are almost enough beautifully engraved worthless stock certificates of oil, land, gold and silver mining and other companies to paper the walls of this Capitol. Today to a considerable extent our citizens are protected from these frauds and during 1922 new promotions with capital totaling \$104,000,000 were refused admission to our State. It should not be understood that the State in any way guarantees securities sold by dealers registered under this law. The Bank Commissioner makes careful inquiry as to the personal and financial standing of the applicant for a license, looks up his past record and satisfies himself that the proposition to be sold is apparently an honest one. Notwithstanding the considerable protection this law affords, investors cannot be too careful, for there are many securities on the market in Maine that are far from being high grade or desirable. The importance of our Banking Department is appreciated when it is realized that it has direct supervision over \$279,143,757.82 of the people's money.

# The Library

Our State Library is overcrowded and the last Legislature authorized the Governor to appoint a committee to prepare plans to meet this situation, either by enlarging the Capitol or by erecting a new building. As this was left to the discretion of the Chief Executive, I have taken no action because the condition of the State Treasury did not warrant the necessary outlay and it seemed best not to begin something unless it could be carried forward to completion.

There are 220 libraries in the State, 125 of which receive State aid. Of the 70 towns of 2000 population or over, 61 have libraries. Every town may receive books from the State Library, as well as may 500 granges, 142 school districts and 250 high schools. The library has excellent reference bureaus including those for legislative work, home economics, and the study of history. One of its most interesting features is the traveling library, which has increased from 171 in 1914 to 553 in 1922, 240%, and 415 towns in the State have used these libraries since 1914. The cost of maintaining the library has increased in proportion with other government costs, the price of books alone having advanced 82% since 1914. I hope the members of the Legislature will make liberal use of the library during this session, and you will find those in charge of it exceptionally well informed and unusually helpful.

## National Guard

The Governor of the State is Commander-in-Chief of its military and naval forces. I have made a careful study of the National Guard and have taken a deep interest in improving its personnel and in placing it upon a secure foundation. I want to see it the most efficient State National Guard in the country and it already is approaching that position.

The National Guard is the country's first line of defense and should rank high as to quality and be adequate in numbers. In 1914, before the World War, we had 1448 officers and men in the Guard, and when I took office in January 1921 we had but 1319 officers and men. At that time the standing of the Guard was far from what it is today, but during my administration its morale has improved and its size and efficiency have been greatly increased. At the present time we have 2228 officers and men, a gain of 68% in less than two years. Today we have 20 companies of Infantry, 10 of Coast Artillery, and 5 batteries of Field Artillery, a total of 35 units, as compared with 18 units when I took office, an increase of 95%. This all has been done while I have been Commander-in-Chief and by my orders. I take a personal pride in what has been accomplished and in the splendid men who compose the different branches of our service.

#### National Defense

Under the National Defense Act the maximum size of the Guard is based upon the number of senators and representatives in Congress, and is figured at 800 men for each senator and representative. There are military men and civilians who believe that this is not the proper basis and seek to have it reduced to a smaller number of men per congressman. The maximum under the Defense Act, however, has not yet been authorized,

but ultimately Maine might be asked to provide 4800 officers and men. In my opinion to support a force of those proportions would place a heavy burden on our treasury and would hamper the State's other activities. We are authorized to recruit to a total of about 3000 officers and men by July 1, 1923, but according to the Defense Act this is left to the discretion of the Governor. For the time being I believe that a Guard of 2228 officers and men is all we can afford to maintain and it would seem to be sufficiently large for our immediate and practical purposes.

The Federal Government itself is at present in arrears on its own program and is hampered by lack of funds. The same situation exists in many of the states. There is doubt as to just what action Congress will take on the apportionment of representatives, and if Maine should lose a seat in the House our military obligations will be reduced by one-sixth. The quotas for the State may be altered and just what finally will be asked of us is not yet determined. With all these uncertainties and with endless demands being made upon our treasury, I believe we should proceed deliberately and cautiously and await developments. Until the situation changes or clarifies I shall postpone increasing our Guard, but should an emergency arise immediate action will be taken.

# Cost of Guard

The cost of the Guard is growing rapidly. In 1914 \$59,900 was appropriated for it, while for 1922 the Legislature passed and I approved the largest military appropriation ever made in peace times, \$117,466.67. Requests have been filed with the Budget Committee for \$173,686 for 1924 and \$173,686 for 1925, a total of \$347,372, while in addition thereto \$100,000 probably will be needed to build two new armories. The total of these sums, \$447,372, means an average annual expense of \$223,686 or an increase for each year of \$106,219.33, or 90% over what we are now spending for our Guard. These totals, moreover, do not include the cost of maintaining the two new armories which will add another large item that must be borne by the State. The desire to expand all State Departments is natural and the calls for more money and greater power are insistent. The military department is no exception. The State of Maine, however, must economize in every department and those at home who pay the bills expect this Legislature to decide just how far each department shall go.

# Pay for Drills

The State's appropriation for the past year for the Guard was liberal. As an example, it costs the State over \$1000 a day for soldiers' pay when all are at camp, this being in addition to the pay they receive from the United States Government. The Federal Government also is liberal in

many ways, for when the guardsmen are on drill at their armories the United States pays them from \$1.00 a drill for privates up to \$6.67 for captains. The total amount thus received by our officers and men in 1922 was \$94,907.07. Officers of higher rank receive stated compensation from both Federal and State funds.

#### Resources for Defense

In 1914 we had a small National Guard and outside of these soldiers there were but a few hundred men in Maine with any military training. This State, however, sent over 31,000 men to the World War, and many of them were thoroughly trained. Thousands of these citizen-soldiers, many of them members of the American Legion, are today living in the State and can be called upon if need arises, as a considerable proportion of them will be good fighting material for ten years more. These are the men who would be the very first to respond. In addition we have the Organized Reserves, skeleton organizations that in a war would form the line of defense back of the Guard, and at present regular United States army officers are stationed in our State whose duty it is to interest exservice men and others to join these Reserve Units. With these several groups of fighting men it would seem that our State is well provided for, and that we are able at any time to make our proper contribution to the National defense.

#### Citizen Soldiers

I believe in the National Guard because it is made up of loyal civiliansoldiers, volunteers for service, who can be depended upon in any emergency, but I do not favor compulsory or universal military training or great preparation for war.

The people of Maine have placed me in charge of their military forces for the next two years, and I shall see that life and property are protected and am confident that the members of the National Guard will stand behind me. I unceasingly have encouraged the Guard, have asked citizens to give them moral and material backing, and in order to show my deep interest in their work have visited all their annual encampments.

# Training Camps

The Guard is handicapped because our citizens in general know so little about it. Parades sometimes are held on holidays and similar occasions, but these furnish only a passing interest and the public is not informed as to the real work and study that is being done by our officers and men. I believe it would be well for the Guard if it were made easy for the citizens of Maine to visit its annual encampments and, in my opinion, it would be advisable occasionally to hold these events within the State instead

of always having them at Camp Devens in Massachusetts. There are some objections to this plan, but an army to be effective must have the support of civilians at home, and it will be well for our officers to carefully weigh the arguments for and against my suggestion.

## Ideals and Realities

I have ideals for the future in connection with the world-wide reduction of armaments by the great nations, but I fully appreciate the fact that these ideals only can be realized after a considerable lapse of time, and after public sentiment throughout the world has undergone radical changes. Although we face present-day realities, we never should forget that disarmament some day will come, and meanwhile should do our part to bring this about by gradually removing the sources of war. Peace is the noblest of all causes, and if the nations of the world will devote to it a mere fraction of the energy now spent upon preparations for war, the next generation may indeed witness the end of war between civilized peoples. We must, however, take reasonable precautions for our actual defense, taking care not to be misled by those who would misuse the word "defense" to conceal other purposes and ambitions.

# Maine Is Loyal

The word "patriotism" is often used as a slogan by persons whose purposes are not altogether unselfish, and there are those in high places who would make of us a great military nation. We of course must prepare to defend ourselves from attacks from without and from the more insidious enemy within, but peaceful citizens should beware lest they be misled by catch phrases and selfish pleas of those who profit from war and its preparation, and from the manufacture of military armament. These war mongers today are planting seeds of discord among nations who really desire to live in peace with their neighbors. They plot war both at home and abroad. The members of this international group are eager to sell munitions and do not hesitate to do so even though the guns they traffic in are later turned upon the citizens of their own countries. They are the ones who foster great military preparations and their swords know no brothers.

I will see that the honor and good name of this State is at all times protected. Maine in the past always has borne its share of the national defense and our record compares favorably with that of any other state. Certain discretionary powers are vested in the Chief Executive under the provisions of the National Defense Act and I believe I should voice my views on this important matter. If the time should come when the government at Washington considers it necessary to assume full control over the

State's military forces and to leave no real discretion to State authorities, it would then be proper for the Federal Government to assume all the financial burdens incident to complete control. There is no need for hasty action, for our quotas are filled and our record is far ahead of that of many sister states, but we are entitled to our proper place at the council table of the nation. Our State sent 31,000 soldiers into the World War and 72,000 into the Civil War, and today ranks second to none in its loyalty to the Federal Government. Our share of the nation's burdens always will be honorably borne, and when the time comes and Maine is called upon our quotas will be filled.

#### State Institutions

In 1922 our nineteen State institutions, under the management of forty-five trustees grouped into nine boards, spent \$2,328,410.63. Every State institution has its problems. In some, affairs have become adjusted and routine perfected, while in others, especially in those recently founded, trustees constantly are faced by new conditions. Some institutions have no difficulty in living within their appropriations, while others are inclined to overrun them. This depends to a large extent upon the active personal interest the trustees take or fail to take in their work. Of course trustees are not attracted by the nominal compensation they receive, but an appointment to a State board is a recognition of ability and good standing and affords an opportunity to render public service. It should not be accepted unless the recipient is ready to carry the burdens the position involves. Trustees always should work in harmony with the Chief Executive, for he is even more interested in and responsible for the management of the State institutions than they are.

It has been suggested that our system of institutional management be changed by having a full-time adequately paid board, or boards, of managers. The present volunteer system works reasonably well, but a re-grouping of the institutions to reduce the number of boards and trustees probably would tend toward greater efficiency, would reduce heavy traveling expenses, and on the whole would be desirable. The bookkeeping at our several institutions is not uniform and for that reason the costs of their management cannot be properly compared. This is a serious handicap to sound business methods, for it removes one of the incentives to good management and enables inefficiency to escape detection.

# Institutional Accounts Receivable

The books of the State institutions recently showed that \$61,119.31 was due the State on accounts receivable, these appearing as assets even though many are uncollectable. These bills, although rendered to relatives and persons responsible for the care of inmates, have not been collected by

the trustees. Some time ago, at my suggestion these accounts were turned over to the Attorney General's Department with instructions to collect wherever possible, and \$444.69 has resulted therefrom. I believe that more determined efforts should be made by our trustees to collect accounts due the State for the care of those unfortunates who have relatives able to pay in part or whole for their support, and primarily it is for the trustees and not the Attorney General to do this work.

# Private Institutions That Receive Public Money

The private institutions in Maine that receive public money present a problem. It has become the custom for Legislatures to appropriate money for private corporations, such as hospitals, children's homes, homes for aged men and women, hospital aid and "heart work" societies, and certain other private institutions. These private undertakings do excellent and much-needed work and are managed by high-minded citizens who are unselfishly devoting their time and money in carrying them on. In this connection I believe a uniform practice should be adopted where the wards of the State are cared for or treated in State aid institutions. Certain institutions use their State aid money in caring for or treating the State's dependents, while others charge the State for such care or treatment and use their stipends for other purposes. In my opinion all State aid institutions should be required to spend the State's money upon the State's wards if called upon to do so.

The State is now asked to appropriate for these private purposes \$648,710.54 for 1924 and 1925. There are many private institutions in the State doing educational and charitable work similar to that done by those receiving State aid that do not ask it, but once an institution receives money from the public treasury and is placed upon the State's books, it is rare that its name is removed. Usually an increase of State aid is asked of succeeding Legislatures.

After close study of this question I believe the principle is sound and fundamental that public money should be used exclusively for public institutions. All will agree that State institutions should be properly cared for before State aid is granted to private charities and schools, no matter how worthy. Others will urge that after the State's needs have been provided for if there are surplus funds they should go to deserving private institutions. In your time and mine there will be no surplus, for the needs of our public institutions grow faster than does our ability to meet them. New construction is asked for at Pownal, Windham, Augusta, Bangor and several other places; in fact almost every board of trustees has included new buildings or extensive improvements in their estimates for 1923 to 1925.

#### The Pressure for Funds

I know what this discussion involves. The pressure exerted by folks at home will be intense and boards of managers of private institutions, eager for funds to carry on their good work, will appeal to you. Political aspirations may be affected. I fully understand that these State aid appropriations of a few thousand dollars here and there smooth the pathway for the Legislative Budget, because every member has friends interested in one institution or another. The work done by these private hospitals, schools and charities is excellent, and it would be a calamity if any one of them should close its doors. We want them all to continue. If State aid is withdrawn will not our public-spirited citizens, for the sake of principle, make an heroic effort and forego State aid for their private institutions? Our citizens are generous and an appeal made to them on these grounds would meet with ready response. Where State aid is granted to a private institution does it not weaken the obligation imposed upon those in charge of it, and upon the community that the institution serves? Is not the sense of personal responsibility the vital factor behind the success of any institution? Would not most, if not all of our private charities, in the long run be better off, better managed, and would they not serve their communities better if they did not lean upon the State?

There are a few private institutions which receive more than what properly can be called "State aid," for their principal support comes from the public treasury. Exception might be made in these cases to allow a proper time for a readjustment of their finances until they shall become self-sustaining. The University of Maine, held by the Supreme Court to be a private institution, is in a class by itself and could not continue upon its present basis without State aid, as the sum involved is too large to be raised by private subscription. A great principle is at stake and the longer we refuse to recognize it the more complicated does the problem become. Will the Eighty-first Legislature have the moral courage to face this question?

# Direct Primary

The direct primary is an issue at this session. The conventions of both political parties advocated its submission to the people. I was a member of one convention but unfortunately at that time was totally incapacitated from speaking, and therefore unable to protest against the passage of the resolution. As a rule the manner in which our party platforms are presented and passed precludes debate, and weakens the obligations their adoption seeks to impose. I believe the action taken at Bangor on April 6th last does not represent the sentiment of the people of Maine or even of a majority of Maine Republicans. The direct primary may have its faults but to me these are trivial compared with those of old time party

conventions. I speak dispassionately having lived through both systems and always having been successful in securing nominations under them. In my opinion the repeal of the primary would be a serious blow to popular government.

Certain elements in both parties, seeing an opportunity to secure control of party councils, began the present agitation for the repeal or radical modification of the primary law. They very modestly ask that it be submitted to the people. Other citizens whose motives cannot be questioned also desire its repeal. These two groups make strange political bed-fellows, but it is easy to predict which group will control the party councils if repeal becomes effective. All of the suggested amendments that have been brought to my attention, in my opinion, would weaken the law and make it easy for selfish interests to manipulate party nominations.

The people are the source of political power and it is well for candidates for office to appeal directly to the highest authority. The day of the hand-picked convention has forever passed in Maine. If the men and women of this State, the rank and file of our citizens, want to exert a dominating influence over party nominations they will hold fast to the present primary system. I place myself on record as opposed to the repeal of the primary, nor do I favor its submission to the voters, for as yet the voices calling for it are not the voices of the people.

#### Woman's Place in Public Affairs

It has been my privilege to appoint several women to public positions. I believe women should be admitted to government circles for certainly their point of view is needed in the administration of public affairs. Since the advent of women into politics the political atmosphere has undergone a wholesome change. Women are likely to scrutinize the public and private records of officials more closely than do the men, and they also will insist that high moral standards be maintained by those who seek and hold public office. Already they are demanding that the old double standard of morals, one for women and a very different one for men, be forever outlawed, and now that women share equally with the men the responsibility of affairs we shall witness a gradual strengthening of the moral fibre of the entire community. The women of Maine are destined to take an active part in moulding the future of the State.

# Legislative Committee

The 80th Legislature appointed a committee to make a survey of the State's business and report to the Governor and Council. The committee is composed of veterans in legislative work, its personnel inspires confidence, and its members have labored diligently with a sincere desire to

make recommendations that will be helpful in improving the State's business methods. These gentlemen have obtained an intimate knowledge of the State's affairs and you will do well to receive their report with open minds and give it every consideration. Because certain methods long have been in vogue in State affairs, is no reason that changes are not desirable and although it is well to recognize the power of precedent I hope you will not hesitate to disturb the traditions of the past if occasions arise. This committee has rendered a public service, their recommendations are progressive, and I am glad to give many of them my cordial approval.

# The Lobby

Although some of the remnants of the old time lobby linger about the Capitol they are rapidly becoming relics of the past. Years ago lobbies exercised a considerable control over legislators and legislation. Spacious quarters at the leading hotels were maintained by these autocrats of the "Third House" and those who came and those who went paid them homage. They sought the end and were little disturbed as to the means. The old lobby leaders were able, picturesque and powerful but their modern successors are of smaller mental calibre. Lobbying is not the fine art it formerly was. It has become commonplace and those who attempt the old style methods appear to take themselves far too seriously as they gather in groups behind the rail or about the corridors. Times have changed and there are new methods of lobbying less offensive and dangerous than those of a few years ago.

I have no grievance against citizens employed to come to Augusta to plead an honest cause. Such men are always well received and are entitled to our respect, but lobbyists who become arrogant with imaginary power and who, as often has been done in the past, use business pressure and other undue influences are properly discredited. I hope the 81st Legislature will be spared those time-worn methods but all will welcome information given in a cleancut, wholesome manner by men sent here to impart it to us.

#### Fuel Administration

Last August a crisis arose in the coal mining regions of this country and a nation-wide coal strike was declared. Maine faced a fuel famine and it looked as though there would be no hard coal for our homes and but little soft coal for our industries. The emergency demanded prompt action and I cancelled all my engagements so as to face this unexpected problem. Our laws make no provision for a fuel administration but, believing that public sentiment would give it approval and supported by the Executive Councilors, I created an organization to meet the situation, made

myself Fuel Administrator, and Mr. Andrew P. Lane Fuel Director, and appointed an Advisory Committee composed of some of our most public-spirited citizens. We promptly began to provide for Maine's needs and in fact Maine was the first State to have its official representative in Washington to confer with the Federal authorities. Shortly after our administration began work it offered emergency supplies of coal to the industries of the State, some of which were sorely in need of it. Since August every thing has been done to secure an adequate supply of fuel for our people and industries, and through our efforts Maine has been given priority rights over other states. With few exceptions the coal dealers have co-operated with us and the situation is now becoming more nearly normal. Maine will receive in excess of its allotted percentage of anthracite mined since the end of the strike, and soft coal is abundant.

Our State administration from the beginning has insisted that the State refrain from entering the fuel business or interfering unnecessarily with the affairs of private concerns. Coal is now coming into the State according to schedule and profiteering has been checked. The State Fuel Administration is responsible for a great saving in the coal bill of our citizens. The expenses of this work to Dec. 1, were \$2,540.19.

The Fuel Director's long experience as Traffic Manager of a large corporation gave him an unusual insight into coal and traffic problems. He deserves great credit for his accomplishments and the State of Maine owes him a debt of gratitude. I could not have found his equal.

I also desire to express my official and personal appreciation for the prompt and generous response of the President of the Great Northern Paper Company when I appealed to him to release Mr. Lane for public service. No questions were asked, and my request was granted without delay.

#### Federal Aid

The offer of the Federal Government to contribute toward maternity and child welfare work in Maine provoked State-wide discussion. The Councilors and myself were unanimously of the opinion that the acceptance of Federal funds was a matter for legislative action, and that at least until the Legislature convened the State was able to care for its own mothers and children. We did not accept the proffered aid, but appropriated for the work referred to an amount of money equal to that offered us by the Federal authorities. You will be asked to accept Federal Aid for maternity and child welfare work. The question needs to be considered from every angle and I hope you will be unmoved by partisan appeal or political influences. It is a fact that Maine today is receiving Federal Aid for several of its departments but under arrangements made before I became Governor. The principle of the State's sovereignty is involved in this question.

# Individual Endeavor and Paternalism

The modern tendency is toward governmental paternalism. The Federal Government is gradually assuming control over and directing the policies of States: the States are doing likewise with their municipalities: and all three, as they encroach upon the fields of individual endeavor, are doing much to weaken the citizen's sense of personal responsibility. This progression is in the wrong direction and should be checked. We should have the minimum of government and the maximum of personal effort. Citizens should become self-reliant, they should not lean upon the State or town, they should be made to understand that they are responsible members of the community and that this responsibility cannot be evaded. Those who are able to care for themselves must be made to do so, while those who cannot, of course, will be provided for at public expense. The action that this Legislature takes on the Sheppard-Towner Bill will be of deep interest to students of government throughout the country. A ray of hope to those who disapprove of Federal interference comes from an unexpected quarter. President Harding in his recent message to the Congress in referring to Federal Aid spoke of the "extraneous activities" over which he was "concerned" because of their "increasing State, County and ·Municipal indebtedness." He stated that no material reduction in Federal taxes could be expected until and unless there was a material reduction in Federal Aid. Evidently Congress is tiring of its costly experiments.

# Secret Orders

The secret order that has obtained a foothold in neighboring states has as yet made but little headway here. Our people respect our constitution and what it stands for and believe in government by law. They are accustomed to talking and acting in the open, where they can be both heard and seen. I may find it necessary to ask for legislation to curb those who seek to set up an invisible government in our midst but whatever happens the dignity of the State will be maintained regardless of cost.

#### Public Service

It is an honor to be Governor of this State or a member of its Legislature, if one is free from outside influences and in a position to decide each question on its merits. As for myself I am as unhampered by promises or obligations as when I unexpectedly became Governor on January 31, 1921. If I am spared until the close of the term that begins today it will be just twenty years since I first entered this Hall of Representatives as a member from Portland and, except for those periods when the minority party controlled the district I represented, my public service has been continuous. I have no doubt that you, like myself, consider it a

greater honor to occupy the positions we now hold in the State of Maine than it would be to occupy similar positions in any other State in the Union.

Party lines need not interfere with public service; in fact it would be difficult for any of us accurately to define the real differences between the principles of the two leading political parties. We need two parties so that one may check the other and a strong minority in this Legislature has a real service to perform.

We are not here as Republicans or Democrats for each and all of us represent all the people of this State and their welfare is in our hands. We have a government of checks and balances and although differences of opinion may arise between individual members or between the two branches, I feel confident that no ill feeling will result. If at the outset each member adopts the principle that every other member has a right to his own opinions and that every other member probably is actuated by motives as unselfish as his own, a sure foundation for real co-operation will have been laid. The opportunity is yours to set an example in this respect for future Maine Legislatures.

# Executive Council

My associations with the Executive Councilors have been based on mutual confidence and respect. There have been a few differences of opinion but a spirit of tolerance at all times has prevailed. Six of the seven Councilors retire and it is with regret that I witness their departure. During the past two years the Councilors have rendered valuable public service and have been of real assistance to me. I am fortunate in having had their friendly advice and helpful suggestions and shall miss them from their places where I have come to know them so well.

The Council is an institution that has come down to us from Colonial times and most modern systems of government have abolished it. The manner of its selection is hardly in keeping with the theory that the Chief Executive should be given full power and be held responsible for his exercise of it, for the Council affords both the Governor and the Councilors opportunity to evade responsibility if they are so inclined. However, I seriously doubt the wisdom of making any change in our present system even though it is somewhat out of tune with present day theories.

#### Our Government

Our State Government is comparatively simple in form. Our present system is not overburdened with complicated machinery nor has it to any dangerous extent degenerated into government by commissions or boards that tend to hamper the business life of the community and the freedom of the individual. A famous author in writing of Maine said: "Maine

is the least governed and therefore the best governed American State. It illustrates the theory that the less government the better for those governed." This quotation might well be carved on the desk of every Legislator.

We have no secrets in this administration. Everything is open and above board. It is my ambition to bring the people from all sections of the State together so that those jealousies that often have hampered the State's progress may from now on be entirely done away with. The people of Maine can be trusted to respond to fair and honest treatment and as long as they are not betrayed they will hold in honor the public officials who serve them. We follow in the footsteps of worthy men whose records as Governors and Legislators were honorable ones and we should never forget the debt of gratitude we owe them.

#### Maine

The following tribute to our State by the author above referred to, is worthy of a permanent place in our records: "In Maine there is a stable condition of comfort, self-reliance, non-parasitic occupation, common in the New England of a previous generation, which makes for sturdiness, individualism and conservatism.

"It (Maine) is the last stronghold of the Puritan . . . It is distinctive from its neighboring states . . .

"More than most parts of the modern world Maine has kept its native quality, moral and physical. Whatever may be left of that famous old New England will be found today more purely and abundantly here in Maine than elsewhere."