

Inaugural address
of
Paul Dillingham
As it appears in the
Journal
of the
House of Representatives
Annual Session,
1866

Friday, October 12, 1862
Inaugural Address

Gentlemen of the Senate

and House of Representatives:

Having assembled, in accordance with the requirements of the Constitution, for the discharge of the duties, and the fulfillment of the trusts imposed upon us by that instrument, I avail myself of the earliest opportunity to communicate to you such information respecting the prominent public interests of the state, as will enable you the more readily to enter on the business of the session.

FINANCES.

From the Treasurer's report, herewith submitted to you, it appears that the balance of cash in the treasury, Sept. 5, 1865, was

\$12,497 01

The receipts of the treasury from all other sources, to Sept. 10, 1866, have been

984,061 48

Total,

\$996,558 49

During the year to Sept. 10, 1866, there has been paid out by the Treasurer, in all,

\$967,981 82

Balance of cash in the treasury, Sept. 10, 1866,

28,576 67

Total,

\$996,558 49

For a detailed statement of receipts and disbursements, reference is made to the Treasurer's report.

The Treasurer's classified statement of receipts and disbursements, for the year proper is as follows:

RECEIPTS.

Taxes,	\$599,372 06
Agricultural College fund	8,072 00
Sale of real estate by the Auditor,	1,324 75
License for circus,	3,000 00
Safety fund notes, collected in part,	400 00
Loans of 1864 and 1865,	284,000 00
Soldiers' allotments,	1,328 30
Balance, Sept. 5, 1865,	12,497 01

	\$909,994 12

DISBURSEMENTS.

Ordinary and war expenses, balance,	\$291,083 19
Pay rolls, militia – less fines,	29,948 94
Soldiers' allotments,	18,100 43
Agricultural College fund – invested in bonds,	4,000 00
Safety fund repaid,	5,625 00
Loan of 1859 – balance paid,	25,000 00
Loans of 1864 and 1865 – paid,	284,000 00
Balance of interest account,	123,659 89
Credit sinking fund,	75,500 00

Bonds of 1871 – paid,	\$24,500 00
Balance in treasury, Sept. 10, 1866,	28,576 67

	\$909,994 12

The liabilities and resources of the State at date of Treasurer's report are as follows:

State bonds outstanding – viz:

Due June, 1, 1871,	\$875,500 00
Due December 1, 1874,	250,000 00
Due December 1, 1876,	250,000 00
Due December 1, 1878,	250,000 00

	\$1,625,500 00

The \$75,500 00 credited to the sinking fund, and \$50,000 00 which the Auditor expects to receive soon from the General Government, are intended for applications on these bonds.

CURRENT LIABILITIES.

Due allotments,	\$21,276 91
Due Receiver of Danby Bank – safety fund,	6,750 00
Due towns – U.S. Surplus fund,	11,176 18
Due Agricultural College fund,	4,137 10
Due extra State pay – estimated,	20,000 00

	\$63,340 19

CURRENT RESOURCES

Balance in the treasury,	\$28,576 67
Due on tax of 1865,	5,877 56
Surplus fund notes unpaid,	1,100 00

	\$35,554 23

Excess of current liabilities,	\$27,785 96

ESTIMATED CURRENT EXPENSES.

Interest on bonds and loans,	\$96,000 00
Other State expenses,	170,000 00
For sinking fund – installment on bonds,	\$150,000 00

	\$416,000 00

Total current liabilities for the year,	\$443,785 96

To meet this sum a tax of forty-five cents on the dollar on the grand list will be required; and as our people in every department of business are prosperous, and have ample means to meet this amount of taxation, it will almost certainly be consonant with their wishes to pursue the policy of applying yearly \$150,000 00 as a sinking fund, to lessen the funded debt in advance of its falling due.

Orders were drawn by me on the State Treasurer from October 24th, 1865, to January 1st, 1866, amounting to \$7,669 51, which may be classified as follows:

Services and expenses of recruiting officers,	\$128 45
Services and expenses of arresting deserters,	6 25
Defense of the frontier,	372 03
State pay prior to muster, and pay of officers,	114 60

Expenses organizing State militia,	102 84
Expenses of State military commission at Washington,	129 60
Expenses of Adjutant and Inspector General's office,	300 00
Transportation of Vermont officers, soldiers, &c.,	890 14
Expenses of State Treasurer's office, December 1, 1864, to December 1, 1865,	5,625 60

Since January 1, 1866, all orders on the treasury have been drawn by the Auditor of Accounts, in accordance with the provisions of the act approved November 9, 1865, entitled "An act defining the duties of certain State officers, and for the protection and benefit of the treasury."

By the provision of the same act, the governor of the State was relieved of all care and responsibility relating to the settlement of the claims of this State against the United States, and the entire duty of their adjustment and final settlement was transferred to the Auditor of Accounts, to whose report I refer you for information on the subject of those claims, as well as for details of claims allowed by him against the State.

On the 31st of October, 1865, the Quartermaster General submitted to me the following schedule of military property belonging to the State, which he recommended should be sold, to wit:

One telescope rifle, 1 target rifle, 1 coil lead pipe, 20 small tables, 87 chairs, 61 straw hats, 139 pairs cotton trousers, 180 pairs overalls, 187 denim frocks, 28 grey coats, 243 bed sacks.

I appointed a board of survey to examine this property and on their report and recommendation, on the 14th day of November, 1865, ordered the Quartermaster General to sell the same at auction, which he afterwards did. This property was old and had been more or less used.

On the 5th day of December, 1865, the Quartermaster General had the following new property in his hands belonging to the State, to wit:

Thirty-seven hundred wool blankets, 2500 rubber blankets, 1200 rubber ponchos, 7776 canteens, 7776 haversacks, 1118 table knives, 1156 table forks, 575 tablespoons, 636 tin plates, 709 tin cups, 175 candle-sticks, 112 pepper-boxes, which he recommended to have sold, for the reason, that it was almost impossible to preserve the most of it from injury, if not destruction, through a succession of summer, that it would be useless till wanted for the militia when called into active service, and that when, if ever, such an event should happen, similar property could probably be purchased in market for less than this would now sell for.

On this application, a board of survey was appointed, composed of C.C. Wilson, Colonel 4th Regiment Vt. State Militia, W.H. Ballou, Captain 4th Regiment Vt. State Militia, C.C. Putnam Jr., Captain 4th Regiment Vt. State Militia, who, on examining said property, recommended its sale. Their report was confirmed, and the Quartermaster General authorized to sell the same, at such time or times as he saw fit, with directions to stop or suspend the sales when, in his opinion, it was not selling at remunerative prices. Under these orders he sold property to the amount of \$6,235 64, when, finding that the United States were selling like property, in very large quantities, all over the country, thereby depressing prices, he suspended further sales; but said order is still in force, and the residue of that property will be sold under it, during the present fall and coming winter, unless the Legislature direct otherwise.

STATE AID

Hon. John Howe, Jr., agent for the distribution of State aid to soldiers' families, has made his final report, showing that, from September 1, 1865, to April 15, 1866, he disbursed, under the acts of April 26, 1861, and November 14, 1862, the sum, in all, of \$582 18. The agent states that there is now no outstanding claim under either of those acts. I herewith transmit said report.

VOLUNTEER TROOPS.

Since the last session of the Legislature, the four companies of the 9th Regiment and the entire 7th Regiment of Vermont Volunteers have been mustered out in the state of Virginia, December 1, 1865, and the 7th Regiment at Brownsville, Texas, March 14, 1866. From these points they returned to Vermont, where they were paid and

discharged. Thus all the obligations of Vermont, in connection with the active prosecution of the war for the preservation of the Union, have been performed, and all the organizations sent from the State, and which have contributed so largely to its reputation and honor, and to the final success of the national arms have ceased to exist as such, and the officers and men composing them have laid aside their arms, assumed the garb of the citizen, and have quietly mingled with the mass of the community. All honor to these noble men that yet live; all respect, undying respect, to the memories of the fallen, who so cheerfully gave their own lives that their country might continue to live!

The original numbers that composed the different Vermont organizations for the war, were:

Officers,		702	
Enlisted men,		17,828	

			18,530
<i>Gain.</i>			
Appointed commissioned officers,	58		
Enlisted men,	10,379		

			10,437

Aggregate number,			28,967
<i>Loss.</i>			
By promotions to U.S. A.,	143		
Transfers to other organizations,	1,136		
Total by death	5,128		
Total by discharge,	5,022		
Deserted,	2,219		
Dropped from rolls,	5		
Not finally accounted for,	75		

			13,728
Total of loss (brought from preceding page),			13,728
Mustered out of service, in all,			15,239

Aggregate,			28,967
Veterans re-enlisted,			1,961
Enlisted in the U.S. Navy, Army and Marine Corps,			1,339
Drafted men, paid commutation,			1,971

Total number of men furnished by this State,			34,238

NORMAL AND COMMON SCHOOLS.

For many years there has been an increasing strength of public sentiment in this State favorable to the adoption of some adequate means of supplying a more specific course of instruction for the teachers of our common schools. This sentiment has increased very rapidly, and has become more and more defined within the past few years, until the great majority of thoughtful friends of popular education seems thoroughly united in desiring the establishment of some system of State normal instruction.

The national troubles, and the very large expenditures induced thereby, have hitherto delayed any attempt to inaugurate such system as would respond to the general demand; for, while all have been united in opinion that we were in duty bound to lose nothing of the ground already gained in the field of educational labor, all have equally agreed that the heavy burden of our taxes rendered it unadvisable to undertake any new enterprises,

however laudable, which must necessarily increase so largely the State burdens, as would be done by the attempt to establish a system of State normal schools similar to those of some of our sister states.

Within the last year, the way seems to have been opened by which a beginning may be made in the accomplishment of this important work, and at very slight expense to the State. The trustees of Orange County Grammar School – an institution of established character – have proposed to the Board of Education to surrender up the use of their school property for a term of years, for the purpose of converting their school into a State Normal School; the Board of Education to establish courses of study, the first to include all the branches required by law to be taught in the common schools, and the second to be more rigid, and to require in its mastery a year's longer time; the board to determine the qualifications for admission to and graduation from the school, and to attend, by its agents, upon all examinations, and decide who shall be allowed to enter and to graduate; the board to nominate the principal, and the trustees to engage as principal no other than some person so nominated by the board; the trustees to keep the school property in good repair, and to determine the rates of tuition and receive the same for their own benefit; graduates from the first course to receive certificates which shall inure to their benefit, as qualifying them to teach in any common school in the State for five years; and graduates from the higher course to receive credentials which shall avail them as perpetual certificates. This proposition has been approved by the Board of Education, and will appear at length in the report of their Secretary, and, at their request, I commend the subject to your careful consideration.

I recommend the enactment of a law by which the Board of Education may be empowered to accept the proposition referred to, and also to accept, in their discretion, similar propositions from other schools in different parts of the State, and to carry out the compacts that will result from such acceptances, by attending, in person or by agents, the examinations for admission to and graduation from any schools thus adopted, and granting to graduates the appropriate certificates.

I desire also to commend to your attention the matter of the authorized list of school text-books, a somewhat extended discussion of which will be found in the report of the Board of Education to your honorable body. The original selection of school books was made in 1859, to expire in 1864; but the time originally appointed for its duration was afterwards extended to 1867, and will now soon expire. This plan of an authoritative selection of school books, although strongly opposed at first, seems to have won its way to very general approval.

Some legislation at your present session will be necessary to prevent a return to an unlimited diversity of books, that cannot but injure the schools; and I recommend that the Board of Education be empowered to revise the authorized list of school books, and publish the same as soon as maybe practicable, and that the authority of the present list be continued until such revision be made public.

REFORM SCHOOL.

Under the act approved November 9, 1865, entitled "An act to establish the Vermont Reform School," I appointed, by and with the advice of the Senate, Aaron G. Pease as acting commissioner, and Lewis A. Dunn and Lewis Pratt advisory commissioners, who soon afterwards located said school at Waterbury, Vt.; and in connection with said location, the commissioners purchased about sixty-seven acres of land, part of the old Governor Butler farm, so called, taking a deed of the same to the State, at the price of six thousand two hundred dollars. This purchase exceeded by two hundred dollars the sum they were authorized by said act to pay for land. They paid toward it six thousand dollars, and gave a guarantee to deed back one acre out of the south-east corner of the land purchased, in case the Legislature at its present session should fail to make a further appropriation of the two hundred dollars. The land purchased had large and valuable buildings on it, suited to the wants of the school, and though the commissioners were unrestricted in the amount of expense in erecting all suitable buildings for the accommodation of said school, yet as these buildings came with the land, the restriction as to the sum to be paid for the land, applied to the whole purchase. I most heartily recommend the appropriation of the remaining two hundred dollars, as the acre to be conveyed back is worth much more than that sum.

Russell Butler is the owner of about sixty-five acres of land, which adjoins that purchased and is a part of the old Governor Butler farm. This he proposed to sell to the State as a part of the Reform School farm, at the

price of four thousand two hundred dollars, and he gave a bond to convey it at that price, should the Legislature at the present session appropriate money for its purchase. This land is richly worth the price asked, and would, in my opinion, be a very judicious purchase for the State, as it seems really necessary in order to constitute such a farm as the school needs; and should be present opportunity to purchase it be neglected, I do not think it could ever again be obtained at anything like the price now asked. I therefore recommend an appropriation for its purchase at the price named.

The buildings purchased have been repaired and enlarged so as to accommodate from twenty-five to thirty scholars and the school is now open for the reception of juvenile offenders, quite a number having already been received; and I think it gives good promise of accomplishing all that the State expects from such an institution.

The first report of the commissioners has been made to me, and I have caused the same to be printed, ready for immediate distribution. I commend its suggestions and recommendations to your careful consideration.

FISHING REGULATIONS IN LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

Pursuant to the act of the General Assembly, entitled "An act to prevent taking shad or white-fish in Lake Champlain or its tributaries," approved November 6, 1865, I caused copies thereof to be forwarded to the governor-general of Canada, and the governor of New York, with the request that "their respective governments adopt like measures prohibiting the taking, killing, or destroying of shad or white-fish in the parts of said lake within their respective jurisdiction." The subject was taken into consideration with promptness and courtesy by the government of Canada, and on the 13th day of April, 1866, the following regulation was approved by the governor-general in council, under the Canadian fishery act, viz: "No person shall, during the months of September, October and November, take, kill, or destroy any shad or white-fish in the waters of that part of Lake Champlain situated within the Province of Canada." A communication from the governor of New York, of May 19th, 1866, informed me that early in the session of the legislature of that state, he sent a copy of said act to that body, and by special message called their attention to the law passed by the General Assembly of Vermont, and urged upon them the importance of a similar enactment on their part, but that, owing to a press of other business, the legislature adjourned without final action thereon. The act of this State, is, therefore, by its terms, still inoperative.

RESTORATION OF SEA-FISH TO THE CONNECTICUT RIVER.

Under the joint resolution of the last session of the Legislature, relative to the restoration of sea-fish to the Connecticut river and its tributaries, I appointed Albert D. Hager, State Geologist, and Hon. Charles Barrett, Commissioners. I also communicated copies of said joint resolution to the governors of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut. The Commissioners' report may be expected during your present session.

Under another joint resolution of the last session, relating to the improvident destruction of shad in the Connecticut river, I addressed a communication to the governor of Connecticut, requesting him to call the attention of the legislature of that state, then in session, to the subject and to the resolution of our State, a verified copy of which I transmitted to him. I also transmitted copies of the same to the governors of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. In response to the application made to the state of Connecticut, I herewith transmit to you the certified copy of a joint resolution, passed by the legislature of that state at its last session, showing their willingness to co-operate with the other states in interest in the restoration of shad to the waters of the Connecticut.

NATIONAL STATUARY HALL.

Under the joint resolution of the Legislature relating to the National Statuary Hall, adopted at its last session, I at an early day appointed Hon. Solomon Foot and Hon. Justin S. Morrill, Commissioners to examine the subject, so far as it relates to this State, and to make report to the present session, with such facts and suggestions as would enable you to take definite action in the matter. After the death of Senator Foot, I appointed the Hon. George F. Edmunds, Commissioner to act with Mr. Morrill in the premises. A report may be expected from these gentlemen soon.

PARIS EXHIBITION.

I am advised that our state Geologist, Albert D. Hager, intends going to Europe next season, mainly for the purpose of learning more of the coal mines of Newcastle, the copper mines of Cornwall, the slate quarries of Wales, the silver mines of Germany, and the marble quarries of Italy. Should the Legislature authorize the Governor, without expense to the State, to commission Mr. Hager as State Agent to the Paris Exhibition in 1867, it would give him the benefit in his travels in the rest of Europe, of those courtesies and facilities for obtaining all desirable information, which are sure to be extended to one being a commissioner from the United State, or from a state of the Union. The information gathered by Mr. Hager would undoubtedly be of value in the development of the mineral wealth of this State.

UNITED STATES SENATORS.

The last Legislature adjourned on the 10th day of November, 1865, at 8 o'clock A.M. Within an hour afterwards intelligence was received that Hon. Jacob Collamer, Senator from this State in the Congress of the United States, died at his residence in Woodstock during the preceding night. Was the vacancy thus created one which it was the duty of the Governor of the State to fill? I at once submitted the question to the Judges of the Supreme Court, who, after consideration, gave me their opinion in writing, holding that the facts, as above stated, constituted such a vacancy as the Constitution made it the duty of the Governor to fill. Subsequently, on the 21st day of November, 1865, I appointed Hon. Luke P. Poland, of St. Johnsbury, a Senator from this State in the Congress of the United States, to fill the aforesaid vacancy until the next meeting of the General assembly of this State.

On the 28th day of March last, Hon. Solomon Foot, Senator from this State in the Congress of the United States died at Washington, in the District of Columbia. On the 3d day of April, 1866, I filled the vacancy thus occasioned by appointing Hon. George F. Edmunds, of Burlington Senator from this State in the Congress of the United States until the meeting of the General Assembly of this State.

The loss of both her Senators within so brief a period was a calamity unprecedented in the history of Vermont – unprecedented in the history of any of her sister states. Their long experience distinguished services, their rare ability and ripe wisdom, their tried and unflinching constancy to duty and fidelity to state and country, their Christian purity and nobility of character, had won for them the foremost rank in the councils of the nation. In the fullness of their great usefulness and influence, at a time when the need of the nation cried out for their continuance among us, they were, by the decrees of an inscrutable but just Providence called hence. Their loss seems irreparable. Vermont doubly honored by their lives, weeps over their fresh graves and the nation mourns with her. The never-fading record of their lives remain a rich legacy to their State, a guiding light upon the pathway of their successors, an inspiration to all.

JUDGES OF THE SUPREME COURT.

Hon. Luke P. Poland, having on the 21st day of November, 1865, received the appointment of United States Senator from this State, resigned the office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Vermont, to which he had then recently been elected. The vacancy occasioned by this resignation, I on the 30th day of November, 1865, filled by appointing Hon. John Pierpoint, of Vergennes, to be Chief Justice of said Court until the then next meeting of the General Assembly. On the same day I also appointed, for the same period of time, Hon. James Barrett, of Woodstock to be first Assistant Justice, Hon. Loyal C. Kellogg, of Rutland, to be second Assistant Justice, Hon. Asahel Peck, of Burlington, to be Third Assistant Justice, and Hon. William C. Wilson, of Bakersfield, to be Fourth Assistant Justice of Said Court; thus leaving a vacancy in the office of Fifth Assistant Justice: and on the same day I appointed Hon. Benjamin H. Steele, of Derby, Fifth Assistant Justice of said Court, to fill said vacancy until the meeting of the General Assembly.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

Since my last annual communication to the Legislature, the work of reconstructing and reorganizing the state and local governments, which, for more than four years, had been in rebellion against the federal authority, has largely engaged the attention of the executive and legislative departments of the General Government; and, as is both necessary and wise in a republic in which the citizens are sovereign and the source of all power, this

work has commanded the interested and intelligent observation and criticism of the whole people of the country.

Unhappily for the best solution of this problem of reorganization, the national executive and the national legislature have not been in accord in their views of the best method of restoring these insurgent communities to their true relations to the federal Government; and the work has thereby been much delayed, the difficulties which environ it have been much increased, and the southern communities have become much more hostile than at first to the demands of that wise policy which would render "treason odious," obtain ample security for the future, and enable the Government to redeem every pledge it has made to its creditors, to its friends, and to the race which it has emancipated.

The executive branch of the Government, having inaugurated the work of reorganizing the rebellious states without seeking the advice or co-operation of Congress, has continued to insist upon its exclusive control of the work, and has denied to the legislative branch of the Government any share in the determination of the *status* of the insurgent communities, or the conditions of their restoration; and while denying to Congress all right to judge of the completeness of this work of reorganization, it has conceded only the right of each House to judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members. This policy assumes that the Executive has the sole right to reconstruct, reorganize and restore to their former condition in the Government, the people communities and states which have waged a gigantic war against that government; and it insists, with emphatic iteration, that Congress, by refusing to recognize the executive reconstruction as just, safe, complete and constitutional, and at once admitting to seats in the Senate and House of Representatives persons claiming to be elected by states thus reorganized, is assuming functions which do not belong to it infracting the Constitution, and attempting, with a guilt equal to that of the rebellion, to dismember the Union.

On the assembling of Congress in December last, and throughout its last session, that body claimed for itself the constitutional right to examine this work of reconstruction, and judge both of its conditions and completeness. After a careful and prolonged investigation, through its joint committee on the construction, of the condition of the states lately in rebellion, the disposition of their inhabitants, and the workings and results of the executive method of reorganization, it was fully satisfied that the political and civil power in those states was, in almost every instance, placed in the hands of those who, during the rebellion, were either active in their hostility to the national Government, or gave aid and comfort to its enemies; while it was apparent that, without further conditions that the executive plan proposed, those who had been during the rebellion the bitterest enemies of the national authority, would have the unchecked and entire political control of those states in the future, and would use that control to oppress and put under ban those who have never swerved from their fidelity to the Union.

Congress, therefore, wisely in my judgment, declined to treat the states which had confederated in their treason against the Government, as rightfully entitled to immediate representation in the national legislature, or to be released from the control of the federal authority; and this decision was evidently in agreement with the opinions of a large majority of the people who had heartily sustained the Government in its contest with the rebellion.

To the reading and thinking people of the nation, who judge by facts and results rather than by the refinements of argument, the riots at Memphis and New Orleans have furnished the most complete and startling evidence of the inherent error of the executive scheme, and have written its condemnation in characters of blood. In those riots peaceable citizens, with circumstances of savage atrocity, were cruelly murdered by a mob, incited and led by local officials, and inspired by an illiberal and intense prejudice against an inoffensive race, and by a vengeful hatred of those who dared to claim equal political and civil rights for all men; and these outbreaks have furnished melancholy proof of the danger of committing unrestrained political and civil power to men recently rebels, and are significant commentaries upon that reorganization of which they were the legitimate fruits.

Congress, however, did not insist upon its constitutional right to inaugurate the work of reorganizing the governments of the states which had confederated in rebellion, nor did it surrender that right, but in its legislative action it manifested a willingness to suffer the work of the Executive to remain undisturbed, so far as

it could do so with due respect to the dignity and safety of the republic, and with a proper regard to the security and protection of the property, liberty and lives of all the people of the United States.

After a laborious and extended session and a patient comparison of views, both Houses of Congress agreed, by the necessary two-thirds vote, to propose to the legislatures of the several states the following amendment to the federal Constitution:

A M E N D M E N T .

ARTICLE XIV.

SEC. 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws

SEC. 2. Representative shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a state, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state.

SEC. 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any state, who, having previously taken an oath as member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States or as a member of any state legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any state, to support the Constitution of the United State, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SEC. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any state shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SEC. 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

Soon after this proposed amendment was adopted, it was ratified by the legislature of Tennessee, and immediately thereupon the senators and representative previously chosen by that state, upon taking the oaths prescribed by law, were admitted to seats in the respective Houses of Congress.

Texas is the only other state confederated in the rebellion, that has acted upon this amendment. There it was rejected, the legislature directing the committee having it in charge to return it to the Secretary of State.

Every other state – except Oregon, whose legislature first ratified and then rejected it – which stood by the Government during the rebellion, whose legislature has been in session since the amendment was proposed, has ratified it; and there is good reason to confidently anticipate that it will be ratified by the number of states necessary to make it a part of the federal Constitution.

While this amendment does not contain a single proposition which the Executive has not, either in his speeches or official communications, approved, its only danger of defeat – a danger now happily small – arises from his hostility to its ratification.

The issue presented to the people this fall has been and will be this policy of Congress, as contrasted with that of the Executive Department of the Government. The former puts such safeguards about the restoration of the states lately confederated in rebellion to an equal participation in the Government with the state which always remained true to the flag, as shall secure to the original Union men of the south equal rights and impartial liberty, while it stamps upon treason the indelible mark of the people's condemnation. The latter restores to civil and political power the men who plotted the rebellion and fought it through to its bitter end, leaving to their unappeased and unrelenting hate a minority of whites so small as to be helpless, and the entire colored race, to whom liberty has been given, and its peaceable and full enjoyment guaranteed.

The elections already held have resulted in the triumphant approval of the Congressional policy; and there is no reasonable doubt that the elections yet to be held will pronounce as unmistakably in favor of the constitutional amendment.

Vermont, as is her wont when called to any good work, led the way with a grand emphasis in the popular approval of Congress. Yet, decisive as her declaration was at the polls, the State would have welcomed, with still greater enthusiasm and with a more triumphant majority, such a reorganization of the rebellious communities, as would have given to the people, white and black, the equal civil and political rights secured to the people of this state by our Bill of Rights and Constitution, and under which peace, order, civilization, education, contentment, Christianity and liberty have shed their benign and blessed influence alike upon ever home and household in our beloved Commonwealth.

I invoke upon you, and your labors, the blessing of that God who has hitherto so graciously led an upheld us as a State and people.

PAUL DILLINGHAM.

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
Montpelier, Oct. 12, 1866

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