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THE PROBLEM OF CONSCRIPTION IN MAINE
DURING THE CIVIL WAR 90

By

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B. A., University of Maine, 1943

A THESIS

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June, 1948

THE PROBLEM OF CONSCRIPTION IN MAINE DURING THE CIVIL WAR

ABSTRACT

The problem of enforcing conscription in the Northern States during the Civil War was an exceedingly difficult one. The American people abhorred the idea of compulsory military service. The draft laws were formulated to favor the wealthy class at the expense of the poor. This aroused the wrath of the poorer classes. At first, the enforcement of the laws was left to the states, but in 1863, control was transferred to a branch of the War Department, resulting in more efficient administration. Immediately after the Conscription Act of 1863 was passed, riots broke out in Boston, New York and the Midwest. The disturbances were suppressed by troops but the latter were unable to prevent thousands from fleeing to Canada and the Far-West to escape the draft. Throughout the war, the wealthy were able to avoid the draft by paying commutation or furnishing substitutes. Bounty-jumpers and substitute brokers further impeded the purpose of the draft laws. Lastly, the draft was difficult to enforce because of the sectionalism of the country.

The old militia rolls, which had not been revised for years, were used in the administration of conscription in Maine. This forced many towns to supply a larger propor-

tion of men than others and added to the unpopularity of the draft. Maine, like other states, attempted to fill its quotas with volunteers and employed the draft as a last resort. The towns and cities of the state vied with one another in describing the ignominies of the draft and advertising for volunteers. It was the threat of the draft, rather than the draft itself, which enabled the state to supply its quota of men each time a call for troops was issued. In addition, men were led to enlist by offers of exceedingly high bounties.

The mercenary factor in the enlisting and drafting of men is difficult to evaluate. No estimate had been made of the number of persons who enlisted to avoid the stigma of the draft or of those who volunteered solely for mercenary reasons. Many offered their services for purely patriotic reasons. However, bounties and substitute fees played an important part in the war, and they rose to fantastic figures as men became more scarce. Notorious substitute brokers were engaged in selling fictitious lists of names to the hard-pressed towns of the state, providing few men and making additional drafts necessary.

Opposition to conscription in Maine was scattered and weak and the authorities promptly arrested all who attem-

pted to interfere. It was more difficult to arrest deserters, especially those who fled before the draft took place. Many deserters found refuge in Canada while others fled to Aroostook and the West. Of those who failed to report for the draft, many had moved to other localities since the revision of the enrollment lists. Compared to other states, Maine submitted rather passively to the draft.

PREFACE

The main purpose of this thesis is to show the obstacles encountered in the administration of the draft in Maine during the Civil War. The first chapter provides a background against which the rest of the dissertation is projected. It discusses the various conscription laws passed during the war as well as the opposition to the draft in different sections of the country. An attempt is made to demonstrate the fact that there was less opposition in Maine than in many other states, namely, New York, Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin.

The enforcement of conscription in Maine was beset with difficulties from the beginning. Maine, like other states, attempted to fill its quotas with volunteers and employed the draft as a last resort. A stigma was attached to drafted men but not to those who fled at the first intimation of a draft nor to the wealthy who paid commutation or provided the ever-increasing bounties. Substitute brokers impeded the purpose of the conscription laws by enlisting minors and men over age and by depriving them of their bounties. In 1864 and 1865, Maine received credit for those persons who had enlisted in the Navy and Merchant Marine since the beginning of the war. The state's quotas were also

filled by re-enlisting veterans at the front. These practices failed to keep the ranks of the army filled and growing, however.

Opposition to the draft in Maine was weak and scattered. But the very fact that it existed was enough to keep the authorities alert. The law of 1863 was enforced by companies of state militia and by 1864, the provost-marshals were adept at hunting down and arresting those who attempted to obstruct the draft. The arrest of deserters proved more difficult since many fled before the draft took place. Thousands found refuge in Canada and Aroostook, while others fled to other states. Of those who failed to report when drafted, many had moved to other localities since the revision of the enrollment lists had been made.

The author is especially indebted to the Portland Historical Society Library for the use of Maine newspapers of the Civil War period. The staff of the Bangor Public Library also provided valuable assistance in the search for original sources. The writer expresses his thanks for the kind attention received at the Boston Public Library and the State Library in Augusta. Acknowledgement must also be given for the patient assistance of Dr. Robert York of the University of Maine Department of History and Government.

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CHAPTER I

CONSCRIPTION IN THE NORTHERN STATES

CONSCRIPTION AND THE UNITED STATES TO JULY, 1862

Until the Civil War period, the wars of the United States were fought largely by volunteer troops. The small regular army, recruited by volunteer enlistment, was increased in the same manner in time of war. Although these volunteers became soldiers in time of need, they were expected to return to civil life once the emergency had passed. The militia was another volunteer organization of equal importance to the regular army. It was a state and a Federal organization at the same time. When it was called forth by the President, it supposedly lost its character of a state institution.¹ In practice, however, the militia remained a local institution. Consequently, it was characterized by neighborhood politics and so handicapped that discipline and efficiency were often lacking. Cutler says, "Owing to a lack of a uniform military clothing and

1. Randall, J. G., The Civil War and Reconstruction, (Boston, 1937), p. 407.

equipment, the militia presented a burlesque appearance... Democracy was ever the characteristic quality of the militia ...²

Since the nation had always depended upon volunteers in time of war, the American people, unlike the masses of Europe, were not acquainted with a system of conscription. As the Presque Isle Loyal Sunrise remarked in 1863, "...nothing of the kind has been heard of in this nation, and probably a great many persons...never dreamed of any such requirement being possible."³

If the Lincoln government had inaugurated a system of conscription at the beginning of the war, the conflict would undoubtedly have been of a shorter duration. But any policy of compulsory military service would have been out of keeping with American habits and policies of the period. Therefore, on April 15, 1861, Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to fill the militia of the various states. The quota was promptly filled. Adventurous young men, thinking that the rebellion could be quickly put down, hastened to aid in the chastisement of rebellious states. Jobs were scarce,⁴

2. Cutler, Frederick Morse, "History of Military Conscription With Especial Reference to the United States" (Thesis, PhD., Clark University, 1922), Historical Outlook, Vol. XIV, No. 5 (May, 1923), pp.170-171.

3. The Loyal Sunrise, Presque Isle, Maine, August 26, 1863, p. 2, Col. 1.

4. Thayer, George A., The Draft Riots of 1863, A Historical Study, (Boston, 1916), p. 5.

and there was the general notion that soldiers would get added compensation from the states in addition to the regular army pay of eleven dollars a month.⁵

Throughout the year 1861 little difficulty was encountered in obtaining volunteers. After the battle of Bull Run, patriotic mass meetings all over the North urged young men to enlist. As autumn approached, recruiting lagged in the East, where the rising industries were absorbing the labor ranks.⁶ In the West, however, there was a labor surplus and consequently, large numbers of men continued to volunteer. The Secretary of War reported on December 1, 1861, that the Midwest had furnished nearly three-fourths as many troops as the rest of the country combined.⁷

In the spring of 1862, the North seemed confident of an early victory. In February, Forts Henry and Donelson were captured. By May, McClellan was on the Peninsula ready to march to Richmond. So optimistic was the War Department that the recruiting system in every state was abolished by the order of April 3.⁸ The Government awaited the momentary collapse of the Confederacy.

5. Shannon, Fred Albert, The Organization and Administration of the Union Army, 1861-1865, Vol. II, (Cleveland, 1928), p. 50.

6. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 260.

7. Gray, Wood, The Hidden Civil War, The Story of the Copperheads, (New York, 1924), p. 61.

8. Shannon, Fred Albert, Op. Cit., p. 266.

As a result of Shiloh and McClellan's inactivity on the Peninsula, the North was awakened from its complacency. The news of Lee's victories dispelled the widespread belief that the war would be a short one. The realities of the situation were further revealed when the recruiting system was re-established because of the depletion of the army as a result of death, sickness and desertion.⁹ Meanwhile, the Confederacy demonstrated its intention to continue the struggle by enacting a conscription act. The North followed suit when Senator Henry Wilson introduced the Militia Act, which became a law July 17, 1862.¹⁰

9. Ibid., p. 268.
10. Ibid., pp. 275-276.

THE MILITIA ACT OF July 17, 1862

The Militia Act was passed at a time when the military reverses of the Union were most disastrous. Although the volunteer system had collapsed, the Federal Government was not convinced of the necessity of passing a full-fledged conscription bill. The word "conscription" was not used in the Militia Act, but conscription was implied since the President was calling the militia into Federal Service. Furthermore, the President could specify the period of service, providing it did not exceed nine months. Conscription was also indicated in that he could issue regulations putting the act into execution.¹¹ Universal military liability was recognized by the provision that "... the enrollment of the militia shall...include all able-bodied male citizens between the ages of eighteen and forty-five... ."12

The execution of the act was left to the states. Each state was assigned its quota of men by the Secretary of War. Most states were expected to fill their quotas with volunteers; however, if the quotas were not filled by August 15, 1862, the deficiency was to be made up by a draft.¹³

11. Randall, J. G., Op. Cit., p. 409.

12. The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series III, Vol. II, (Washington, 1899), p.280. (Subsequently referred to as Official Records.)

13. Ibid., p. 333.

Where there was no state law to carry the draft into effect, regulations were formulated by the War Department. In such instances the Governor was to appoint a commission for each county to superintend the draft and to determine exemptions. A doctor would be appointed by the Governor for each county to certify the exemptions. Among those exempted by the Militia Act were telegraph operators, railroad engineers, men employed in arsenals, government officials and seamen.¹⁴

The quotas assigned to the states would be reapportioned among the counties by the Governors. In case any state had not filled its quota within the allotted time, additional drafts were to be made until that was accomplished. On the day of the draft, all names on the enrollment lists were to be placed in a box and a blindfolded man was to draw names until the quota had been filled. A written or printed draft notice was to be served every man whose name had been drawn. But any drafted man could furnish a substitute. The enforcement of the draft was provided for by the appointment of provost-marshals by the War Department upon recommendation of the Governors.¹⁵

14. Ibid., p. 334.

15. Ibid.

As the machinery for the execution of the act was set in motion, it became evident that the purpose of the act was not being realized. The law failed to provide a substitute for the volunteer system. In fact, volunteering was stimulated.¹⁶ But the provision in regard to substitutes did furnish the Government with men who were badly needed in the summer of 1862. However, substitutes were soon able to dictate terms. Clubs, communities and individuals began to bid against each other in order to secure the services of these individuals. Prices of substitutes rose to fantastic figures. Moreover, unscrupulous substitute brokers appeared. Promising high bounties, these brokers induced men to leave their own towns and enlist in other states. Since the victim was dependent on the broker for transportation and sustenance, he was usually relieved of most of the bounty.¹⁷

There were also men who were in the substitute business for themselves. These "bounty jumpers" were deserters who reenlisted in order to get the large substitute fees or cash bounties offered.¹⁸ Honest people all over the North were incensed by these frauds.

16. Fish, Carl Russell, "Conscription in the Civil War," American Historical Review, Vol. XXI, (Oct. 1915) p. 101.

17. Shannon, Fred Albert, Op. Cit., Vol. II, p. 70.

18. Ibid., p. 71.

The New York Tribune declared that most people would rather pay"...double the sum (of the price of a substitute) directly to the Government rather than give it to private speculators."¹⁹

The American people had an innate horror of the draft. Consequently, resistance flared up and governors frantically telegraphed Secretary Stanton to postpone the draft and asked for instructions. Few governors had as hectic a time as Governor Saloman of Wisconsin.²⁰

Madison, Wisconsin
August 26, 1862

Hon. E. M. Stanton:

What course shall I take where in a township no man will serve as enrolling officer and the people refuse to give their names and abandon their houses when an officer comes to enroll them? Answer.

Edwd. Saloman
Governor

Again on November 10, Governor Saloman reported that the draft had been interfered with and that it was impossible to serve draft notices in several counties. On November 12, a draft commissioner was injured in Ozaukee

19. Ibid., p. 13 (Quoted from the New York Tribune, August 27, 1862).

20. Official Records, Op. Cit., Series III, Vol. II, p. 471.

County and was obliged to flee for his life. Fifty men were arrested.²¹

North of Milwaukee, in Port Washington, a mob made up of the foreign born of the city, marched through the streets with signs bearing the inscription "No Draft." After storming the court-house, it drove away the draft commissioners and destroyed the enrollment records. Order was restored after the Governor sent six hundred troops.²²

There were reports that, because of the draft, membership in such secret organizations as the Knights of the Golden Circle was increasing. In Southern Illinois, men subject to compulsory military service purchased arms and engaged in drill for the purpose of resisting conscripting officers. But the state had filled its quota at the time and no serious outbreak occurred.²³

The prospect of the draft in the fall of 1862 also stimulated other forms of resistance. From Maine to Minnesota, hundreds of men fled to Canada or the Far West or went into hiding in the more remote rural sections. As a result, Stanton ordered the arrest of anyone liable to draft who attempted to leave the county of his residence. Shortly

21. Ibid., p. 765.

22. Gray, Wood, Op. Cit., p. 111.

23. Ibid., pp. 112-113.

thereafter, a system of passes was arranged to permit necessary and legitimate travel.²⁴

Meanwhile, General McClellan was recalled to lead the campaign of Antietam ~~only~~ to be replaced by Burnside. After the costly defeat of Fredericksburg, a feeling of depression settled on the North. Many people urged the Lincoln Government to make peace with the South. War weariness was revealed in the October and November elections for the House of Representatives. The Democrats made substantial gains in New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Wisconsin. The dominant cause for this was the failure of our armies in the field. It was a protest against the loss of so much life and money with so little accomplished.²⁵

The spring of 1863 arrived; the Militia Act had failed to inaugurate compulsion in the formation of a powerful army. Of the 300,000 men obtained for the armies under the act, only 87,000 were drafted men.²⁶ Some new means of filling the dwindling ranks of the army had to be found.

24. Gray, Wood, Op. Cit., p. 98

25. Rhodes, James Ford, History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850 to the McKinley-Bryan Campaign of 1896, (New York, 1920) Vol. IV, p. 164.

26. Cutler, Frederick Morse, Op. Cit., p. 172.

THE CONSCRIPTION ACT OF MARCH 3, 1863.

Although despondent of victory in 1863, the Northern people were making money. Industry was booming. Jobs were plentiful and wages high. Therefore, men were less inclined to volunteer for the army.²⁷ But men were needed as never before as a result of the crushing defeats of the Union Armies. Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts declared, "If volunteers will not respond to the call of the country, then we must resort to the involuntary system."²⁸ The result was the peculiar act of March 3, 1863. Adopted as a party measure with all Democrats in opposition, the bill passed the House with a vote of 115 to 49 and the Senate 35 to 11.²⁹

Liable to military duty were all able-bodied male citizens of the United States between the ages of twenty and forty-five, and all aliens who had declared on oath their intention to become citizens. The President had full power to call forth these persons and to draft them as needed.³⁰

Exemption was extended to three classes of men:

(1) The physically and mentally unfit, (2) The Vice-President of the United States, the judges of the various federal courts, the members of the cabinet and the governors of the

27. Thayer, George A., The Draft Riots of 1863, A Historical Study, (Boston, 1916), p. 5.

28. Shannon, Fred Albert, Op. Cit., p. 311.

29. Cutler, Frederick Morse, Op. Cit., p. 113.

30. Official Records, Op. Cit., Series III. Vol. III, p. 88.

states, and (3) the sole supporter of aged or infirm parents or of orphaned children.³¹

Those liable to military duty were divided into two classes: The first class included all men, married and single, between the ages of twenty and thirty-five and all unmarried men from thirty-five to forty-five years of age. The second class consisted of married men from thirty-five to forty-five, which was not to be called until the first class had been exhausted.³²

In order to avoid some of the complications of the Militia Act, the Conscription Act was to be administered by a provost-marshal-general in the War Department, and a group of provost-marshals appointed by the President. To facilitate the enrollment and draft, the entire country was divided into enrollment districts, which in general corresponded to Congressional Districts. A provost-marshal was put in charge of each. Besides making the rules and regulations governing his subordinates, it was the provost-marshal-general's duty to supervise the arrest of deserters.³³

In each district, there was an enrollment board made up of the provost-marshal, a physician and one other

31. Ibid., pp. 88-89.

32. Ibid., p. 89.

33. Ibid.

person. Its duties in regard to the enrollment and examination of the different classes of men were stipulated in detail. In an attempt to distribute the burden of the draft equally, credit was given for men previously furnished. All drafted men were to be notified within ten days after their names were drawn.³⁴

Section 13 was the notorious commutation clause. Catering to the wealthy class, it provided that anyone could either furnish a substitute or pay \$300 in place of a substitute. Among those who supported the clause was James G. Blaine, who said that it was for the benefit of "... the great 'middle interest' of society--the class on which the business and prosperity of the country depend."³⁵

Enforcement provisions stipulated that any person guilty of resisting the draft, aiding any person to resist the draft, obstructing any officer in making a draft or willfully counseling any person not to appear at the place of rendez-vous was to be arrested by the provost-marshal. Upon conviction, he was to be fined not more than \$500 or imprisoned for two years or both.³⁶

The Conscription Act was the most unpopular of

34. Ibid.

35. Shannon, Fred Albert, Op. Cit., Vol. II, p. 32.

36. Official Records, Op. Cit., Series III, Vol. III, p. 502.

the draft bills passed by Congress during the Civil War. The New York World denounced it as a "... repugnant... measure which could not have been passed in England even in those days when the press-gang filled the English ships-of-war with slaves..."³⁷ Similar opinions were expressed by hundreds of newspapers in the North.

Much of the resistance to the draft was in the cities among the foreign-born. Many feared that the principles of absolutism, from which they had fled, were being revived.³⁸ In Boston, a mob using bricks and stones, attacked the enrolling officers and besieged an armory. Troops arrived on the scene and the rioters fled after a cannon was fired on them, killing three and wounding several.³⁹

The day that the draft took place in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, a crowd gathered in front of the provost-marshal's office. When ordered to disperse, two men resisted and were promptly conducted to the police station. The same night, approximately one hundred friends of the arrested men attacked the office. The mob departed only after a show of force by soldiers with fixed bayonets.⁴⁰

37. The New York World, n. d., Quoted by Greeley, Horace, in The American Conflict: A History of the Great Rebellion in the United States, 1860-1865, (Hartford, 1867), Vol. II, p. 562.

38. Thayer, George A., Op. Cit., p. 4.

39. The Boston Post, July 15, 1863.

40. The American Annual Cyclopedic, and Register of Important Events of the Year 1863, (New York, 1865), Vol. III, p. 817.

As the draft was proceeding in Troy, New York, a riot broke out among the Irish of the city. They destroyed the office of the Troy Times, tore down a negro church and released prisoners from the jail. Although the draft was suspended, the rioters continued their activities for several days because of the sympathy shown by the Irish military detachments left in the city.⁴¹

Resistance to the draft was not confined to the cities, however. The enrolling officer of Holmes County, Ohio, was overtaken by an armed force of 150 men, who demanded that he take an oath never to enter the county again on such business on penalty of death. It became necessary to send several hundred troops to supervise the draft in the county.⁴²

In Rush County, Indiana, a provost-marshal was killed and his assistant wounded while carrying out their duties. It was estimated that in this region alone there were at least 1200 men under arms, led to full-fledged rebellion by wild tales of the Government's purpose.⁴³

The will to resist in Pennsylvania was strengthened by the State Supreme Court. Having a majority of Democratic

41. Official Records, Op. Cit., p. 515.

42. The American Annual Cyclopaedia, and Register of Important Events of the Year 1863, Op. Cit., p. 817.

43. Gray, Wood, Op. Cit., p. 137.

justices, that august body held that "...the Federal Government has no power to recruit armies otherwise than by voluntary enlistments..."⁴⁴ In a similar announcement, the act of 1863 was declared unconstitutional by Justice John H. McCunn of the New York Supreme Court.

The antagonism created by the law was due as much to its administration as to the law itself. Misunderstanding and irritation were increased by the method of enrolling men in visits to their homes. Furthermore, a stigma was placed upon the person who was drafted, but not on the one who volunteered to escape the draft. Neither was there a stigma attached to the recipient of enormous bounties nor the slacker who paid them.⁴⁵

Just as the states tried desperately to fill their quotas with volunteers under the Militia Act, a like situation developed in the execution of the Conscription Act. This time, however, quotas were larger and volunteers were even more in demand. The result was that the richer communities were able to offer higher bounties than the poorer rural regions. The wealthier towns borrowed immense funds for extremely high bounties. Thus when a draft was announced, men flocked to the town paying the highest bounty, leaving

44. Greeley, Horace, Op. Cit., p. 488.

45. Shannon, Fred Albert, Op. Cit., Vol. II, p. 528.

the low bounty areas denuded of men.⁴⁶

Nevertheless, the poor towns, like the rich ones were required to fill their quotas at a specified time. The former showered the War Department with demands that the quotas be distributed more evenly. This could be done, they argued, by making the draft by towns instead of congressional districts. However, Secretary Stanton replied that a revision of the quotas would entail a delay in reinforcing the army and consequently, no change could be made. Many governors, fearing riots like those in New York and Boston, expressed the same opinion as Governor Gilmore of New Hampshire, who telegraphed Stanton that, "If the draft is to be made as you have decided, you must send a regiment to enforce it."⁴⁷

In several states, governors held back troops which were about to leave for the front, so that the draft could be enforced. This delayed the reinforcement of the Army of the Potomac so that Lee was able to send Longstreet to reinforce Bragg, who was before Chattanooga. With this assistance, Bragg was able to inflict a telling blow on Rosecrans at Chickamauga.⁴⁸ But this is only one instance of the damage done to the Union cause by the resistance to the draft.

46. Ibid., p. 533.

47. The Conscription in New Hampshire, (Concord, 1863), p. 10.

48. Thayer, George A., Op. Cit., p. 11.

As could be expected in the face of repeated military reverses, and after two years of war, resistance to the draft was fanned by political agitators. The latter maintained that since the war was making no headway, it ought to be put to an end.⁴⁹ Sectional differences flared up. Midwestern newspapers accused the East of discrimination in the matter of freight rates levied by the railroads and the Erie Canal. Several of them even advocated an independent West, which could negotiate with the South for the reopening of the Mississippi River. Although the battles of Gettysburg and Vicksburg were won before drafting began, news traveled slowly then and the meaning of both victories had not filtered down to the minds of the populace.⁵⁰

It has already been said that to be conscripted was considered disgraceful by the majority of the Northern people. This fact is demonstrated by the manner in which conscripts were received in the army. One soldier in a letter home said that they were so ashamed that they held down their heads and marched along amid the jeers of the whole division. They were greeted with cries of "How are you, Conscripts?", and "Does your mother know you're out?"⁵¹

49. Gray, Wood, Op. Cit., p. 127

50. Thayer, George A., Op. Cit., pp. 7-11.

51. The Eastern Argus, Portland, August 17, 1863, p. 2, Col. 1.

The year 1864 arrived. Contemporaries considered the summer of that year the darkest period of the war.⁵² On July 11, General Early's raid on Washington was repulsed. In Grant's Wilderness Campaign, the Army of the Potomac was suffering heavy losses. Volunteers were slow in coming. The quotas of the Northern States were being filled by substitutes, men who paid the \$300 and the lists of names sold by the unscrupulous substitute brokers. Often, the names furnished by the latter were fictitious. In an attempt to correct some of these abuses, the act of 1863 was amended February 24, 1864.

THE CONSCRIPTION ACTS OF 1864

The amendment of February, 1864, differed little from the original act. The exceptions were as follows :

(1) Substitutes could be secured only from those who were not liable to the draft. (2) The distinction between old and young married men was repealed, and all were liable to draft, and (3) the commutation clause was altered so that commutation should last for one draft only. Any person who paid \$300 would again be liable to draft in the very next call.⁵³

52. Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay, (New York, 1939), p. 211.

53. Shannon, Fred Albert, Op. Cit., Vol. II, p. 33.

As a result of this law, the poor man was placed at a greater disadvantage than ever in comparison with the man of wealth. The former could no longer reap the fees of substitutes. If he was married and over thirty-five, he was no longer deferred. As in 1863, the commutation clause discriminated against him. If he bought his freedom in one draft, he probably could not do it a second or third time. But the wealthy man could well afford to buy his exemption several times.⁵⁴

In a memorandum to the President, Stanton complained that the commutation clause was frustrating the object of the law by furnishing money instead of men.⁵⁵ Many of the remaining men on the enrollment lists were well-to-do. Consequently, few men were obtained under the law.⁵⁶ Therefore, it became necessary to pass the act of July 4, 1864.

This was the final conscription act of the war. The law stated that the President had the authority to draft men for one, two or three years at his discretion. Men who had volunteered for the navy since the beginning of the war were to be credited to the quotas of their places of resi-

54. Ibid.

55. Official Records, Op. Cit., Series III, Vol. IV, p. 421.

56. Ibid.

dence.⁵⁷ The commutation clause was repealed and every man had to go or furnish a substitute. To encourage volunteering, bounties were offered by the Government to the extent of \$100 for one year, \$200 for two years and \$300 for three years. The right to provide substitutes was provided by the final section of the act.⁵⁸

Widespread resistance to the draft was again encountered. In Dodge County, Wisconsin, it was reported that everyone between the ages of twenty and forty-five was "leaving for parts unknown."⁵⁹ The Provost-Marshal-General of Indiana stated that there were between seven hundred and one thousand men encamped between the borders of Sullivan and Clay Counties preparing to resist.⁶⁰ The authorities in New York City requested several thousand troops to prevent riots like those of 1863.⁶¹ However, there were no serious disturbances anywhere in the North comparable to those of 1863.

The final conscription law produced more soldiers than any of the former acts. But the privilege of immunity was still enjoyed by those who could afford to hire a substitute. The wealthy continued to bask under this immunity until

57. Ibid., p. 515.

58. Ibid., p. 518.

59. Ibid., p. 683.

60. Ibid., p. 607.

61. Ibid., p. 626.

the surrender at Appomattox.⁶² In addition, the substitute brokers continued to swindle the country as before. The mercenary system was not ended until 1865, when an order was issued to stop volunteering.⁶³

62. Shannon, Fred Albert, Op. Cit., p. 42.

63. Official Records, Op. Cit., Series III, Vol. V, p. 674.

CHAPTER II

CONSCRIPTION IN OPERATION IN MAINE

PUBLIC OPINION AND THE MILITIA ACT

With the exception of a minority of the people of Maine, the Militia Act was favorably received. Many newspapers stated that conscription was a necessity long foreseen.¹ Although the idea of conscription was foreign to the Maine people, opposition to it later in the war was largely due to the framing and administration of the laws.

By 1862, the Union Armies had been decimated by sickness, wounds and desertions. A deadlock had been reached with the Confederate Armies. The Militia Act seemed to be the answer to demands for a more energetic prosecution of the war. Declared the Ellsworth American, "... we rejoice

1. Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, August 8, 1862, p. 2, Col. 3.

that we see evidence ... of more energy in the prosecution of the war... . Action, action, ACTION is now the talismannic word... by which we shall conquer."²

Other Maine newspapers demanded that, since conscription was now necessary, better care should be taken of the troops. It was stated that in the first year of the war, incompetent army officers had needlessly exposed the troops to sickness and slaughter. Men dreaded a draft less than being put under inexperienced officers.³

In addition, the people of Maine realized in 1862 that volunteers were not coming forward in sufficient numbers to turn the tide in favor of the Union Armies. Since the Militia Act required conscripted men to serve only nine months, it was not considered a harsh measure. One newspaper likened conscription to bad-tasting medicine and although it went down with qualms, it was necessary for a cure. The people of Maine were urged to support the measure and to pay no heed to those who harangued against the draft.⁴

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- Col. 2. 2. The Ellsworth American, August 8, 1862, p. 2,
 3. The Progressive Age, Belfast, August 8, 1862,
 4. The Bangor Jeffersonian, August 12, 1862,
 p. 2, Col. 1.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MILITIA ACT

Before 1861, Maine, like other states, depended upon the local militia for emergencies. Although the Maine Militia had an enrollment of over eighty thousand men, it was largely a paper organization. It was estimated in 1861 that scarcely twelve hundred men were in a condition to respond to calls for ordinary duty within the state.⁵

The militia rolls had not been accurately revised for twenty years. Anticipating the draft, the Legislature, on March 19, 1862, ordered a census of all able-bodied men in the state between the ages of eighteen and forty-five.⁶ The keepers of taverns and boarding houses were required to give the names of all persons in their houses liable to military duty.⁷ This enrollment list was used in the execution of the Militia Act. In administering the law, the state militia laws were to be followed. Conscripted men were to be organized within the militia the same as volunteers.⁸

Maine's quota under the Militia Act was 9069 men. Governor Washburn assigned quotas to the towns and

5. Annual Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Maine for the Year Ending December 31, 1861, (Augusta, 1862), p. 5, (Subsequently referred to as Adjutant General's Report.)

6. Ibid., 1862, App. I, p. 47.

7. Ibid., App. A, pp. 10-11.

8. Official Records, Op. Cit., Series III, Vol. II, p. 326.

cities of the state, according to their total population. Considering this unjust, some towns complained that a redistribution should be made according to the number of able-bodied men in a given town.⁹ But quotas, once assigned, were rarely changed and they continued to be unevenly distributed throughout the war.

The coastal towns of Maine, especially, were assessed more than their share of men. Thousands of their citizens had enlisted in the Navy and Merchant Marine since the beginning of the war. But only a few towns had been credited with these men by a corresponding reduction in their quotas. Consequently, when a draft took place, men were not so plentiful as in the inland towns.¹⁰ York County, also, had difficulty in filling its quotas because hundreds of men were enticed into the regiments of Massachusetts and New Hampshire by promises of high bounties.¹¹

Other difficulties were encountered in the assignment of quotas. When Ellsworth was informed that its quota was ten men, the town officials promptly voted bounties for that number. However, a letter from the Adjutant General in Augusta stated that an error had been made and that Ellsworth's

3. 9. The Progressive Age, August 28, 1862, p.2, Col.
 10. Official Records, Op. Cit., p. 542.
 11. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., App. I,
 p. 47.

quota was forty-eight instead of ten. The Ellsworth American commented apprehensively, "... we hope (that) those towns which have thus far responded with the greatest alacrity to the calls of the Government, are not now to be doomed."¹² State administration of the draft was not always efficient. Because of such inefficiency and to break down state barriers, Congress entrusted the execution of the Conscription Act of 1863 to a branch of the War Department.¹³

The first draft in Maine was set for September 3, 1862, but it was postponed until September 10. Confronted by a draft, most towns hastened their recruiting activities. Young men were urged to volunteer before the draft should take place in order to take advantage of the bounties offered. Conscripted men were given no bounties. Governor Washburn encouraged recruiting because he was afraid that a draft might have serious results. In a letter to the Governor, Stanton stated that it mattered little whether the quotas were filled with volunteers or conscripted men.¹⁴ Stanton went on to say that the Federal Government had little control over the method by which the state filled its quota.¹⁵

Col. 4. 12. The Ellsworth American, August 29, 1862, p. 2,

13. Shannon, Fred Albert, Op. Cit., Vol. II, P. 104.

14. Official Records, Op. Cit., Series III, Vol. II, p. 377.

15. Ibid.

The threat of a draft continued to persuade men to volunteer. By the end of October, it was found that only a few towns in each county were lacking the required number of men. A draft was ordered in those towns for November 29. Before that date, volunteers filled the quotas. No draft took place in Maine in 1862.¹⁶

Meanwhile, in the September elections, when Lee was launching his invasion of Maryland, Abner Coburn was elected Governor. The election revealed a large gain for the Democrats. Coburn won by a majority of 4000 but Republican candidates in Maine usually won by a majority of 15,000 or 20,000 votes. In the same election, James G. Blaine was elected to Congress.¹⁷ As a result of the Union reverses, Republicans as well as Democrats in Maine were becoming more critical of the Lincoln Administration. This criticism made the enforcement of the next conscription act exceedingly difficult.

16. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1862, p. 20.

17. Muzzey, David Saville, James G. Blaine, A Political Idol of Other Days, (New York, 1934), p. 39.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE CONSCRIPTION ACT OF 1863.

As a result of this law, conscription was at last placed under the control of the Provost-Marshal-General's Bureau within the War Department. It was hoped that this arrangement would provide a closer control of the draft and thus eliminate the weaknesses of the Militia Act. But considering the pressure exerted upon it by the various governors, including those of Maine, it is amazing that it accomplished what it did. In spite of the Bureau, most of the soldiers enlisted in 1863 were raised by state and local effort. Since Congress expected the law to hasten volunteering, the draft was to be used only as a last resort.¹⁸

In accordance with the act, Maine was divided into five enrollment districts, corresponding as far as possible with Congressional Districts. Portland became the headquarters of the first district, Lewiston the second, Augusta the third, Bangor the fourth and Belfast the fifth. Enrollment officers were appointed by the War Department upon recommendation of the Governor. The apportionment of men for the first draft was to be based on the enrollment of the first class.¹⁹

18. Shannon, Fred Albert, Op. Cit., Vol. II, p. 104.

19. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1863,

In compiling the enrollment lists, a copy of the state enrollment of the preceding year was used. Many changes had taken place since that time because of men entering the service, death and a change of locality, not to mention the inaccuracies in the old list. Instead of using the list as an aid, the enrollment officers relied upon it entirely. The result was that some towns were compelled to bear a greater portion of the state quota than others.²⁰

It might be asked why this difficulty was not remedied by a revision of the lists. But these errors were not realized until the first apportionment was made and it was too late to correct them. If the quotas of individual towns were lowered, other towns would have demanded that their quotas be lowered. If a reduction was given without a re-assessment, the quota of the state would have been reduced by several thousand. A re-assessment would have entailed a delay that would have been costly to the Union Cause. The Government needed troops at once.²¹ Because of errors in the enrollment lists, names were drawn of persons who had been dead for years. Others were already in the service and found it difficult to do double duty.²²

Many annoyances and hardships resulted from the

20. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1863, pp. 31-32.
21. Ibid., p. 34.
22. Ibid.

method of enrolling in a house to house census. Men from other states, who were visiting friends in Maine, were enrolled and drafted. They had to prove, often at great expense, that they were enrolled in other states. In many cases, they were too far from home to get the required certificates in the ten days allowed. In such instances, men were often placed in jail to await the order to send them forward to some regiment. Aliens who had been in the country only a few weeks were enrolled, thus ~~frightening~~ other emigrants from entering the country to fill the diminishing ranks of labor. It became difficult to induce French Canadians to enter Maine and New Hampshire to work in the lumber industry, although wages were double the Canadian rate of pay.²³

Towns and cities complained of the inequality of the quotas. The latter were apportioned according to the sub-districts, which often embraced two or more towns. When that happened, the smaller towns found themselves burdened with an excessively high quota. Larger towns also complained of the high quotas. Portland charged that its quota was 250 in excess and demanded that the municipal authorities have it lowered immediately.²⁴

23. The Eastern Argus, July 27, 1863, p. 2, Col. 1.

24. Ibid., July 22, 1863, p. 2, Col. 1.

The enrollment board of York and Cumberland Counties begged the Governor to lower their quotas. But when Governor Coburn sent their request to Provost-Marshal-General Fry, he replied that "... the circumstances set forth by Governor Coburn do not warrent any change in the enrollment in this State and ... no reduction in the enrollment of any town will be made."²⁵ The press of Maine continued to hope that the law would be modified, but in case it was not, the people of the state were counseled to bear the injustices rather than resort to violence.²⁶ The New York riots had taken place only two weeks before.

Precautions were taken to insure the enforcement of the draft. One company of state militia, fully armed and equipped, was stationed at Portland. Augusta was fortunate in having Camp Coburn nearby, where there was usually a company of men or so awaiting transportation to their regiments. Damariscotta, Kittery, Norway, Rockland, Bath, Castine, Belfast, Machias, Eastport and Calais had a company of militia each, with the necessary arms and ammunition. Bangor had two well-trained companies of a hundred men each, ready for active duty at a moment's notice. Bangor and Brewer also had

25. The Maine Farmer, Augusta, August 27, 1863
p. 2, Col. 3.

26. The Eastern Argus, July 27, 1863, p. 2, Col. 1.

the advantage of possessing two pieces of artillery each and expert gunners to shoot them. Companies of state guards were also under organization in July, 1862, in the towns of Gouldsborough, Orland, Bucksport, Camden, Brunswick, Paris and York. Should any disturbances occur, Maine was prepared to enforce the draft without any assistance from Federal troops.²⁷

The first drafts in Maine were scheduled as follows:²⁸

<u>Enrollment District</u>	<u>Date Scheduled</u>	<u>Quota</u>
Second	July 7	1,762
First	July 9	2,455
Third	July 10	2,422
Fifth	July 20	2,190
Fourth	August 3	1,955

The procedure of drafting in Bangor was typical of other cities and towns of the state. Upon receipt of orders to draft, public notice was given in the newspapers and by means of posters which were distributed throughout the town. Civil officers and prominent individuals were invited to attend and witness the proceedings. The cards, on which each name was enrolled, were placed in a circular box two and one-half feet in diameter and eight inches thick.

27. Official Records, Op. Cit., Series III, Vol. III, pp. 512-513.

28. Ibid., pp. 462, 480, 590, 621.

It resembled a grindstone and was turned by a crank so that the cards would be well diffused throughout the box. William Arnold turned the crank each time before John Patten withdrew a name. Colonel Chandler, in a loud tone, announced them as they were drawn. John C. Flint and George Smith recorded them, prepared the draft notices and filed them away.²⁹

In Belfast, Isaac M. Beckett, a blind man, was selected to draw the names. Drafting continued every day for a week, except Sunday, until the quota was filled. The medical examinations took place in the court-house with only those who claimed exemptions for physical reasons being examined.³⁰

When the cards were drawn in Portland, tension was eased somewhat whenever a prominent citizen's name appeared. "What a back for a hump" and "there goes three hundred dollars" were some of the remarks overheard. One can imagine the anxious faces and the satisfaction of those whose names had not been drawn when the draft was completed. Yet many were the households made sad by the stern knowledge that dear ones must part. All could not pay \$300 or afford a substitute and the unrelenting military law gave little heed to the poor.³¹

29. The Bangor Jeffersonian, August 18, 1863, p. 1, Col. 3.

30. Williamson, Joseph, History of Belfast in the State of Maine, Vol. I, (Portland, 1877), p. 485.

31. The Eastern Argus, July 15, 1863, p. 3, Col. 1.

During the month of August, corrupt practices in the Provost-Marshall's office in Augusta were discovered. Sergeant Charles Bradbury and Winfield Norcross, assistants to the Provost-Marshall, were furnishing false certificates of exemption. They informed men, waiting for physical examinations, that there was no need of an examination and that they would furnish certificates of exemption for a price. The charge varied from \$70 to \$100.³²

Desertion by bounty-jumpers became so frequent in the army camps of the state that a guard was constantly maintained at the barracks. Before they were transported to camps, however, substitutes were occasionally confined to jail.³³ The caustic Machias Union commented, "There is a slave mart at Belfast. There are slave pens at Bangor and other cities in Maine...Negroes are not exposed for barter and sale there but the FREE WHITE MEN OF MAINE ARE...".³⁴

The draft bore heavily on Aroostook County. In 1863, Aroostook was a wilderness, isolated from the rest of the state. Its only connection with the outside world was by a road to Bangor and the St. John River Valley.³⁵ Many

32. Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, August 19, 1863, p. 2, Col. 3.

33. Williamson, Joseph, Op. Cit., p. 485.

34. The Machias Union, September 1, 1863, p. 2, Col. 6.

35. Hallock, Charles, "Aroostook and the Madawaska", Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. XXVII, (October, 1863), p.689.

families lived in small clearings and often the nearest neighbor was miles away. This isolation made the enforcement of the draft more difficult than in the more populous counties. Men with large families were loath to leave them to shift for themselves in the face of an Aroostook winter.³⁶ No draft was attempted in Madawaska in 1862, but in 1863, a company of cavalry was sent to the tiny settlement to enforce the Conscription Act.³⁷

By December, 1863, Presque Isle was incensed by the sacrifices it had been called upon to make. In an excited town meeting, the municipal authorities declared that the town had made too great a sacrifice already. Feeling that a great wrong had been done the town by a demand for fourteen more men, the town voted to pay no further bounties.³⁸ As in the case of the coastal towns, the state authorities refused to reduce Presque Isle's quota.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact results of the draft of 1863 in Maine because of the erroneous returns of the towns. However, it may be noted that less than 807 men were drafted. More than twice as many provided substi-

36. Stanley, R. H. and Hall, George, Eastern Maine and the Rebellion, (Bangor, 1887), p. 190.
37. Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, September 28, 1863, p. 2, Col. 3.
38. The Loyal Sunrise, December 9, 1863, p. 2, Col. 3.

tutes and an even greater number paid the \$300 commutation. Nearly two thousand failed to report for induction but that is partially explained by the errors in the enrollment lists. Between one thousand and three thousand were exempted in each district, which included aliens and those exempted by the act in section 2.³⁹

In his annual report of 1863, Maine's Adjutant-General, John L. Hodsdon, remarked that the draft had been "comparatively ineffectual." Nevertheless, it had stimulated volunteering so that the army had received replacements at a critical time.⁴⁰ Also, compared to many states, Maine had responded patriotically. The draft of 1863 had been dreaded and feared. But by paying high bounties and aroused by the patriotic appeals of the day, the towns of Maine did their part in the war against the Confederacy.

39. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1863, App. E, pp. 25, 35, 59, and 103.

40. Ibid., p. 8.

THE CALL FOR 300,000 VOLUNTEERS, OCTOBER 17, 1863.

The quotas of 1863 were scarcely filled when President Lincoln issued a call for 300,000 volunteers. In making the levy, the deficiencies of the states in former drafts were to be disregarded. They were to be considered only in case another draft became necessary in January, 1864. Provost-Marshal-General Fry made it clear that another draft would be necessary, however, if the quota of volunteers was not filled.⁴¹

The volunteers were to make up two regiments of infantry and one of cavalry under organization in Augusta. The towns and cities of Maine were requested to co-operate in the campaign for volunteers. The latter were urged to take advantage of the state and Government bounty of \$502 before another draft took place.⁴² Stating that treason would be put down, Governor Coburn called upon the representatives of every class to contribute either themselves or money. "Personal efforts and personal sacrifices are unworthy considerations in comparison with the immense issues at stake", he declared.⁴³

Maine's quota under the call was 7,581. Towns

41. Official Records, Op. Cit., Series III, Vol. III, p. 920.

42. Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, November 4, 1863, p. 3, Col. 4.

43. Official Records, Op. Cit., Series III, Vol. III, p. 919

that furnished their full quota of volunteers were to be exempt from the pending draft in January. All towns were to receive credit for volunteers who had entered the service since the previous draft. The number was to be deducted from the state quota.⁴⁴ Municipal authorities were cautioned not to enlist minors without their parent's consent or "persons of infamous character." General Hodsdon also requested volunteers not to enlist or receive bounties from any town but their own.⁴⁵

The call for volunteers came at a time when Governor Coburn and Provost-Marshal-General Fry were involved in a dispute concerning the formation of new regiments. Catering to local interests, Coburn maintained that the various localities of the state should form their own regiments with local officers commanding them. If, instead, the towns sent replacements to the old regiments in the field, the latter would be officered by strangers. Such a practice, he said, would "prove a disgrace to the State and particularly to myself."⁴⁶

On the other band, General Fry said that by filling up the old regiments, the army would be kept in existence.

44. Ibid., pp. 1108, 1109, and 1116.

45. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1863, App. A, p. 13.

46. Official Records, Op. Cit. Series III, Vol. III, pp. 887-888.

The raw recruits would benefit from the experience of the veterans of the regiment. Otherwise, the new regiments would not be worth one quarter as much as the old ones. Moreover, the system of raising new and disbanding old regiments was exceedingly injurious to military interests. Fry concluded that national interests should come before local interests and requested the co-operation of the state authorities.⁴⁷

Hoping to fill the state quota by the easiest possible method, Governor Coburn allowed recruiting agents to go to the District of Columbia and Virginia to re-enlist soldiers whose terms of service were about to expire. Maine agents even appeared in far-off New Orleans.⁴⁸ Substitute brokers did a thriving business at the front enlisting men to sell at exorbitant prices back home. It made little difference either to the state authorities or the agents whether or not the recruits were from Maine. Lists of soldiers recruited in this manner were forwarded to the Adjutant-General in Augusta, who redistributed them to fill the quotas of the towns.⁴⁹

Volunteers were slow to offer their services. Substitute brokers interfered with recruiting by bargaining with towns that were too poor to pay high prices for "paper credits"

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid., p. 1090.

49. Report of Maine Commissioners On "Paper Credits", App. D, (Augusta, 1871), p. 338.

as the fictitious lists of recruits came to be called. Coburn praised the patriotism of the people of Maine in one breath, and in the next, threatened that a draft would certainly be forthcoming if the quota were not filled.⁵⁰ In another speech, he stated that the Government preferred the volunteer to the conscript and favored the payment of liberal bounties for patriotic service rather than the exaction of it by force.⁵¹ But he continued, if the quotas were not filled in forty days, conscription would be the only alternative. Finally, he issued a circular which said that the War Department desired only that the quotas be filled and that it would "accept nothing less." The circular was signed "Abner Coburn, Commander-In-Chief."⁵²

Newspapers took the cue from the Governor and encouraged volunteering but warned that a draft was imminent. The Bath Daily Sentinel and Times declared exemptions would be fewer in the next draft. "But friends," it said hopefully, "the draft can be avoided if you will take the matter in hand individually."⁵³

50. William, Charles E., The Life of Abner Coburn; A Review of the Public and Private Career of the Late Ex-Governor of Maine, (Bangor, 1885), pp. 91-92.

51. The Loyal Sunrise, Nov. 25, 1863, p. 3, Col. 3.

52. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1863, App. A, p. 17.

53. Daily Sentinel and Times, Bath, November 25, 1863, p. 3, Col. 3.

Anticipating unfilled quotas, the provost-marshal of each district was ordered to post a list of all persons enrolled in the first and second classes who was subject to draft. This was done to inform those who were enrolled of that fact and to give men claiming exemption time to put in their claims. All claims had to be made by December 20. Preparations for the expected draft were begun in Augusta immediately and other towns followed suit.⁵⁴

Towns paying the highest bounties continued to attract the most volunteers. Consequently, Governor Coburn decreed December 9 that a town could not be credited with a recruit from another town. But that would not apply if the quota of the volunteer's place of residence was filled. All recruiting officers and agents in the state were instructed to furnish lists of all men they had secured since May, 1863. Furthermore, they had to state the recruits' places of residence, the amount of bounty paid each volunteer and the quota to which he was assigned.⁵⁵ In spite of the decree, the towns and cities of Maine continued to offer high bounties to citizens of other localities. Substitute brokers sold fictitious lists to unsuspecting town authorities as be-

54. The Maine Farmer, December 3, 1863, p. 2, Col. 4.

55. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1863. App. A, p. 21.

fore. The decree was either ignored or ways were found to circumvent it.

The call for volunteers was a dismal failure. Towns refused to co-operate because they felt that the levy was unjust since it was made so soon after the draft of the summer. Although a great many town quotas were filled, it was accomplished only by including all the men who had volunteered since the previous May.⁵⁶ Veterans had re-enlisted at the front but that did not increase the number of men in the army. Bowing to the inevitable, Maine girded itself for the coming draft.

⁵⁶. Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, July 30, 1864, p. 3, Col. 3.

CONSCRIPTION IN 1864 AND 1865

Samuel Cony became the new governor in January, 1864. Backed by Republicans and War Democrats, Cony was selected by Blaine because of his loyalty to the Union. Although he was more efficient than Coburn in executing the conscription laws, he often became involved in undignified quarrels with the War Department.⁵⁷ Like Coburn, he placed state interests above national interests.

The year 1864 was the most difficult period of the war for Maine. During the year, there were four separate calls for troops. As in 1862 and 1863, the draft was used only in cases where the quotas were not filled by volunteers. Maine's quota for the year totaled 35,589 men,⁵⁸ an exceedingly high one considering the number already furnished by the state. It was little wonder that the existing conscription law became the object of much abuse.

Early in 1864, criticism of the draft law of 1863 became more vociferous. The people of Maine demanded a more efficient law. The previous drafts had been mere farces, they said. Men who could not pay commutation were able to avoid the draft by claiming exemption under the liberal pro-

57. Muzzey, David Saville, James G. Blaine, A Political Idol of Other Days, (New York, 1934), p. 40.

58. Official Records, Op. Cit., Series III, Vol. IV, p. 20.

visions. Unless greater energy was displayed by the Provost-Marshall-General's Department, every draft would be a miserable failure.⁵⁹ Signs of war weariness appeared in the state. People had been told time and again that the war was nearly over. Now, in the fourth year of the war, Maine was called upon repeatedly to supply thousands of men. As one newspaper said, "What could be more discouraging?"⁶⁰

The criticism was quieted somewhat by the act of February 24, which amended the draft law of 1863. By the new law, nearly everyone within the specified ages was liable to draft. Said the Progressive Age, "There seems to be ... little chance to shirk the draft...If a man is drafted, he might as well consider himself game and come down."⁶¹ The new law was also pleasing to the seaboard towns of Maine. Now, all cities and towns were to be credited with every man produced whether he went into the land or naval service.⁶² But the commutation clause was not repealed and poor people were placed at a greater disadvantage than ever.

Thus the burden of excessive quotas assigned under the levies of February 1 and March 14 was alleviated. To

Col. 1. 59. The Progressive Age, February 4, 1864, p. 2,

Col. 2. 60. The Machias Union, February 9, 1864, p. 2

Col. 2. 61. The Progressive Age, February 16, 1864, p. 2,

62. Ibid.

determine the number of past enlistments to be credited, a committee was appointed consisting of Governor Cony, Major J. W. T. Gardiner and the Acting Assistant Provost-Marshal-General. Throughout the spring and summer, questionnaires were sent the various cities and towns to discover just how many recruits had not been credited to them.⁶³ The number allowed by the commission was 3,436. Of these, 251 were arbitrarily assigned by the Governor to those towns which had lost the most men in the draft or were unable to pay bounties.⁶⁴

By this method, the quotas of February and March were easily filled. In addition, the quota assigned in March was partially cancelled by the veterans who re-enlisted at the front. The number who volunteered for three years more totaled 120,000 for all of the Northern States combined.⁶⁵ These men contributed nothing to the strength of the army, however, and Grant's Wilderness Campaign was consuming vast numbers. Consequently, Maine expected an additional draft in July.⁶⁶

By the time that the final conscription act was

63. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1864-1865, pp. 29, 31.

64. Whitman, William E., and True, Charles H., Maine In the War For the Union, (Lewiston, 1865), p. 592.

65. Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, July 30, 1864, p. 3, Col. 3.

66. The Eastern Argus, May 20, 1864, p. 2, Col. 1.

passed in July, the Maine people were thoroughly disgusted with the conduct of the war. With the approaching draft in mind, the Eastern Argus commented, "Imbecility, corruption, selfishness, and reckless squandering of the resources of a great country has wearied the patience even of a people patriotic and forbearing beyond all precedent."⁶⁷ Another critic accused Lincoln of failing to use the military strength of the country at the beginning of the war to crush the rebellion in its early stages.⁶⁸

Previously, in June, a second attempt was made to revise the enrollment lists. Orders were issued to the district provost-marshals to delete the names of non-residents, aliens, deceased persons, those exempted for physical reasons and all persons already in the service. Municipal authorities were urged to co-operate in every possible way. In the approaching draft, all deficiencies under the previous calls had to be made up.⁶⁹

The revision of the lists was completed June 10, but when the quotas were assigned, errors were again discovered. The old story of attempting to have quotas lowered was repeated. In August, an invasion scare swept the state. It

67. Ibid., July 6, 1864, p. 2, Col. 1

68. Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, July 22, 1864, p. 2, Col. 1.

69. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1864-1865, p. 560.

was rumored that small bands of rebels were stationed in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia ready to invade Maine. Governor Cony sent Stanton a sharply worded telegram demanding that Maine's quota be lowered because men were needed for the defense of the state. He reminded Stanton that Maine had always sent its full contingent for the armed forces. In addition, he said that he was appalled at the frightful carnage of Grant's campaign.⁷⁰

Stanton replied in a conciliatory tone that Maine was not the only state in danger. The quota could not be lowered, he said, because the armies in the field were rapidly diminishing from casualties. Moreover, Maine was in no danger and the people of the state had little cause for apprehension.⁷¹

Cony's fear increased as the draft was about to begin. He was not only afraid of riots but also of the prospect of the Republican Party losing votes in the September elections.⁷² His fears were not unfounded. Town agents came to Augusta to see what could be done to avoid a draft. Unless it was avoided or postponed, they declared, the Repub-

70. Official Records, Op. Cit., Series III, Vol. IV, pp. 544-545.

71. Ibid., p. 609.

72. Ibid., p. 623.

10.
licans would suffer a defeat in their districts. They would pay liberal bounties to men outside their towns but the towns themselves could not furnish men under any circumstances.⁷³

No drafts took place in August because of the usual custom of allowing ample time for volunteers to present themselves. Both Democratic and Republican newspapers promoted volunteering and intimated that only by reinforcing the army, would the day of peace be brought nearer.⁷⁴ But agents from other states hampered enlistments by recruiting in Maine. In Bangor, a New York agent was arrested on charges of enlisting men to be carried out of the state under the pretext of hiring them to work in Pennsylvania.⁷⁵

Bangor could little afford to lose men in August. Recruiting lagged because Bangor authorities had expressed the hope of obtaining volunteers in Europe. Many believed that the quota would somehow be filled without a draft. Patriotism was lacking on the part of municipal authorities and although nearby towns were offering high bounties, Bangor refused to follow their example.⁷⁶

In September, drafting began in earnest. But

73. Report of Maine Commissioners on "Paper Credits", Op. Cit., App. I, p. 441.

74. Democrat and Free Press, Rockland, August 10, 1864, p. 2, Col. 1.

75. The Eastern Argus, August 23, 1864, p. 3, Col. 1.

76. Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, August 22, 1864, p. 2, Col. 1.

Atlanta had fallen and Grant was advancing; the end of the war was in sight.⁷⁷ By a special order of Governor Cony and General Hodsdon, only a limited number were drafted in a district each day. This enabled the draft and volunteering to proceed side by side.⁷⁸

As usual, few men volunteered in Aroostook. In fact, by 1864, only a limited number of men were left in the county and the drafts of October bore heavily on the married men. Even a widower with six small children was not exempt and all he could do was to hope that the community would lend a helping hand during his absence. The town of Mapleton which had a population of 250, had sent 50 men since 1860. Widows, orphans, and families without a father or brother at home were scattered over the town.⁷⁹

The results of this draft were more gratifying than for any draft since 1862. However, since quotas were reduced by a liberal allotment of credits, the call of July 18 was only partially effective. Thus another draft became necessary in December. The repeal of the commutation clause by the Act of July 4, 1864, increased the number of substitutes. But

77. Democrat and Free Press, September 28, 1864, p. 2, Col. 1.

78. Official Records, Op. Cit., Series III, Vol. IV. p. 731.

79. The Loyal Sunrise, October 19, 1864, p. 2, Col. 2.

so many substitutes had deserted in previous drafts that Maine's quotas had been supplied largely by the patriotic people of the state. Maine advocated stern punishment for deserters. It was estimated that in the Belfast area alone nearly a thousand dollars was paid to substitutes who deserted during the drafts of September and October.⁸⁰

The final call for volunteers and for a draft was made on December 19, 1864. But a draft was not to be made until February 15, 1865, and only then in the sub-districts where the quotas had not been supplied by volunteers.⁸¹ Anticipating the end of the war, after November, volunteers were required to serve only a year. At the same time, the practice of giving furloughs to drafted men was discontinued since it was conducive to desertions.⁸² Maine men home on furlough often failed to return or fled to Canada.

For the most part, the last call for troops was accepted without complaint because it was evident that the end was near. Nevertheless, a minority of the people of the state were confused by the numerous calls for troops already made in 1864. Towns struggled to fill their quotas only to

Col. 2. 80. The Progressive Age, December 29, 1864, p. 2,

81. Official Records, Op. Cit., Series III, Vol. IV, p. 581.

82. Ibid., p. 582.

find themselves burdened with another. The Saco Maine Democrat complained that each time a draft was made, the reason given was always "to make up the deficiencies on the last call." "Will some loyal mathematician please inform us", it continued, "how many men were originally wanted and how many have been obtained by each draft."⁸³

The draft was not rigorously enforced during February and March of 1865. In a letter to the Governor, the Provost-Marshall-General said he hoped that enough volunteers would be produced so that a draft would not be necessary.⁸⁴

Stating that peace was near, Hodsdon appealed to the people of Maine to lay aside their business to accomplish that goal. Only a brief term of service could possibly be required.⁸⁵

Drafting became necessary by March but victory was at hand and little difficulty was encountered in carrying it out. Men who had held back during the most trying times of the war hastened to volunteer in order not to be dubbed slackers by their neighbors. By March 15, the draft was progressing smoothly in all districts. In the fifth district,

83. The Maine Democrat, Saco, December 27, 1864, p. 2, Col. 1.

84. Official Records, Op. Cit., Series III, Vol. IV., p. 1251.

85. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1864-1865, p. 588.

the draft was completed in Washington County and quotas were rapidly being filled in Hancock County. Drafting was to follow in Waldo and Knox Counties.⁸⁶

Although Appomattox was only eight days away, blunders in the administration of the draft were made as late as April 1. At that time, the second district was called upon for 405 more men. As the Portland Transcript said, "it was hard work to keep pace with General Fry's figures."⁸⁷ Finally, the order of April 13 was issued for discontinuing recruiting and the draft. On the next day all drafted men who had not been forwarded to the general rendezvous were ordered discharged.

Col. 5. 86. Democrat and Free Press, March 15, 1865, p. 2,

Col. 1. 87. The Portland Transcript, April 1, 1865, p. 3,

CONCLUSION:

The number of men actually drafted in Maine from 1861 to 1865 was small. Of those who volunteered, the historian dares not estimate how many were inspired by fear of the draft or enlisted for patriotic reasons or solely to receive the bounties offered. No one knows how many Maine men were drafted or volunteered for the regiments of other states. There is evidence that several thousands served for states other than Maine. In addition, the figures giving the number supplied by the state includes those who were recruited in Southern States, aliens and a few negroes, none of whom were residents of Maine.

In regard to the administration of the draft, inaccurate enrollment lists hampered authorities throughout the war. Had the governors been able to lay aside state interests, conscription would have been able to produce more men. But local interests were strong and more often than not, the interests of Maine came before those of the United States. Federal authorities dared not enforce the conscription acts to the letter of the law for fear of antagonizing the states. Then, too, the laws themselves were not written to apply uniformly to all classes. The commutation clause of the law of 1863 is a good example.

The needless loss of life on the battlefield as a result of faulty military leadership and the scant care given to soldiers in the field, provided a situation made to order for agitators who denounced conscription as a form of slavery. Often the draft administrators were in league with substitute brokers and became involved in dealings as scandalous as those of the war contractors. Also, in the isolated and scattered communities of the state, people failed to realize the danger to the Union and the necessity of a draft to supply reinforcements for the armies. Quotas were filled by the most expedient method. In that day of personal journalism, newspapers inspired fear of the draft and suggested ways of avoiding it, namely, by offering outrageous bounties so that enough volunteers would present themselves. Provost-marshals, whose duty it was to enforce the draft, also had the unpleasant job of arresting deserters and spies. This was bad from a standpoint of morale. Lastly, the all too frequent allotments of quotas were confusing and there was little incentive to fill them if others were to be assigned almost immediately.

CHAPTER III

THE MERCENARY FACTOR

THE PROBLEM OF EXCESSIVE BOUNTIES

The mercenary factor in the raising of troops in Maine involved such scandalous practices that public opinion demanded an investigation after the war. Although bounties were offered to induce men to volunteer, conscription was involved since such a practice interfered with its execution. The two principal forms of mercenary inducements to volunteers were: bounties and substitute fees for serving in place of drafted persons.

The practice of paying bounties to secure enlistments in the army was as old as the nation. After the bombardment of Sumter, the idea prevailed in the North that soldiers should receive some compensation besides the regular

army pay of eleven dollars a month. Thus, until the battle of Bull Run, humanitarian principles regulated the donation of irregular remuneration to soldiers and their families. Although men were to be had in abundance, many needed assurance that their families would not suffer while they were away.¹

After the defeat at Bull Run, the Northern people realized that the war would last longer than they had anticipated. Troops at the front were given such poor care that the men at home were less inclined to enlist. But the army was in dire need of troops and the only way to secure them, it was thought, was by offering greater pecuniary inducements. However, if high bounties failed to bring the necessary volunteers, conscription was to be employed.

In 1861, Maine paid a state bounty of \$40 to those who were appointed first sergeants of the various companies then under organization. But the private received only \$22 from the state. However, in 1861, recruits were plentiful and those who enlisted considered \$22 a high bounty. In the first year of the war, Maine paid bounties amounting to \$665,000.²

The idea of extravagant bounties, although deemed

50-52. 1. Shannon, Fred Albert, Op. Cit., Vol. II, pp.
p. 75. 2. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1861,

necessary, was received with misgivings in some parts of the state. No fault was found with the assertion that the people who stayed at home should pay the bounties of those who went to war. Nevertheless, many people could foresee that each time a levy was made, additional bounties would have to be provided until the state was heavily in debt. Moreover, if every man was not equally liable to the draft, the wealthy could remain at home and avoid the dangers of the battlefield. They would be safe as long as their money held out.³

That was the situation that actually developed. Deploring the large numbers of "cowards" who fled to Canada at the first sign of a draft, the well-to-do patriotically declared that they were ready to enlist "if the pinch came." But all would have to go at great pecuniary sacrifice. They preferred, they said, to pay almost any bounty to men who were willing to go rather than leave their businesses.⁴

The towns and cities of the state were not prevented from providing whatever bounties they could afford. The state and Federal bounties adopted in 1862 were high compared to the wage scale of the times. The Federal bounty of 1862 amounted to \$100, \$25 of which was paid the recruit upon entering the army and the remainder at the end of his term of

3. The Progressive Age, July 24, 1862, p. 2, Col. 2.

4. Ibid.

of service. He was also paid a \$2 premium shortly after enlisting, and the regular army pay was raised to \$13 a month.⁵

The state bounty was raised to \$45 for men who volunteered for three years and who preferred to join the new regiments under organization in the state. To the three - year volunteers who preferred to join the regiments already in the field, a bounty of \$55 was paid. For these men also, the Government premium was \$4 instead of \$2. Those who volunteered for only nine months received no state or Government bounty.⁶ Although they did not know it at the time, these were the men who would be in a position to take advantage of the high bounties of 1863.

Newspapers all over the state called upon the men of capital to come forward to "lay their golden offerings at the feet of the Republic." Bounties, they said, should be so liberal as to bring into the service sufficient numbers to fill all quotas.⁷ Although a draft must be avoided, the seriousness of the situation demanded that all party loyalties be put aside. Men should meet the crisis like men.⁸

5. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1862, P. 159.

6. Ibid.

7. Stanley, R. H., and Hall, George, Op. Cit., Eastern Maine and the Rebellion, pp. 169-170.

8. The Lewiston Falls Journal, July 31, 1862, P. 2, Col. 1.

The cities, towns and plantations of Maine differed not only in the amount of bounty paid but also in the method of payment. After the calls of July and August, 1862, bounties varied from \$20 to \$400 each. Towns that voted money to aid soldiers' families were reimbursed from the state treasury.⁹

In the town of Dresden, soldiers' families were paid \$1.00 a week and 50 cents a week for each child. On July 22, \$1300 was raised for bounty purposes.¹⁰ Columbia paid volunteers a \$20 bounty and their wives \$190, the latter being a bribe to encourage wives to part with their husbands. Machias voted the same bounty and a bribe of \$180.¹¹ Machiasport paid a \$100 bounty, \$20 of which was cash, the rest being in the form of a town note bearing interest and payable in ten years. Both volunteers and conscripted men were paid the same amount.¹² The town of York resolved that a liberal encouragement should be given to persons who were willing to leave their businesses and families to fight the battles of the country. The sum of \$3,100 was voted for bounties of \$100 each.¹³

9. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1862, p. 162.

10. Allen, Charles Edwin, History of Dresden, Maine, (Augusta, 1931), p. 674.

11. Portland Daily Press, September 1, 1862, p. 1, Col. 1.

12. The Machias Union, October 14, 1862, p. 2, Col. 6.

13. The Machias Union, October 14, 1862, p. 2, Col. 6.

The year 1863 witnessed a sharp increase in Federal, state and town bounties. The Federal bounty, including premiums, reached \$402 for each volunteer. By an act of the legislature, the state bounty was increased to \$100. Towns and cities followed the trend of rising bounties and it was not uncommon for a recruit to receive a total of \$700 by the end of 1863.¹⁴

Since it seemed probable that drafts would follow the passage of the Conscription Act of July, both veterans and non-veterans were urged to take advantage of the high bounties. The latter were sufficiently high, said Hodsdon, to secure for any man and his family a comfortable home.¹⁵ It was even predicted, in 1863, that soldiering would become one of the most profitable businesses in the country. The high bounties were already attracting large numbers of men from Canada.¹⁶

Towns and cities paying the highest bounties attracted the most recruits since nothing prevented a citizen of one locality from enlisting in another. Consequently, bitter controversies arose among towns. When the call of October 17 was received by the state authorities, it was sugges-

14. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1863, App. A, p. 21.

15. Official Records, Op. Cit., Series III, Vol. III, p. 921.

16. Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, July 21, 1863, p. 2, Col. 1.

ted that the legislature be called together to pass a law to assume town bounties so that they would be made uniform. But the War Department intimated that another call was to be made shortly. If the state assumed the payment of all bounties and if numerous levies were made, the state would emerge from the war with a larger debt than it had already. Towns would probably find ways to circumvent the law as well. Therefore, no law was passed and Maine towns continued to pay whatever bounties they wished. However, they were advised to limit bounties to \$200.¹⁷

In December, Governor Coburn stated that competition among towns was causing hard feelings and that enlistments were being retarded instead of promoted. He then issued an order prohibiting any town from paying more than \$200 to a recruit from another town, unless the quota of his town was filled. Men who thought of enlisting, he said, were waiting until the last hour to see which town offered the greatest inducements.¹⁸

The bounty system placed the heaviest burden on the poorer towns. Some of the towns and plantations of Aroostook paid no bounties and, consequently, sent no men

17. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1863, p. 36.

18. Quoted by the Democrat and Free Press, December 16, 1863, p. 2, Col. 3.

except to fill the quotas of other towns. Biddeford, one of the wealthier towns of the state, paid a bounty of \$300 in 1863 and attracted men from every county. The small town of Perry, in Washington County, whose quota was excessively high, could afford to pay only \$100. When the recruits from Perry reached Augusta, they were met by Biddeford's recruiting agents who proceeded to offer them the higher bounty. Although the matter was straightened out after a few weeks so that Perry received credit for her own volunteers, other towns, including Machias and Calais, were not so fortunate.¹⁹

The citizens of Gardiner voted a bounty of \$200 for each recruit, thereby hoping that they "had secured themselves from any visitation of the draft." But their hopes were frustrated by the keen competition among the towns.²⁰ Augusta considered it a hardship for anyone to serve without a bounty. Therefore, the city council voted to pay even drafted men a bounty of \$300.²¹ The poor town of Stoneham, in Oxford County, paid \$300 and filled its quota of seven but thirty-three of its citizens enlisted in other towns for even higher bounties.²²

In a letter to Maine's Adjutant-General, the Pro-

Col. 1. 19. The Eastport Sentinel, December 2, 1863, p. 2,

p. 2, Col. 4. 20. The Gardiner Home Journal, December 31, 1863,

21. North, James W., History of Augusta, (Augusta, 1870), p. 737.

22. Official Records, Op. Cit., Series III, Vol. IV. p. 33.

vost-Marshal-General in Washington declared that the War Department was indifferent to the matter of competition among the towns. It made no difference to the officials in Washington if a man from Northern Maine chose to enlist and accept a bounty in Southern Maine. That was all part of the system of raising men by means of bounties and towns were advised to make the most of it.²³ Evidently, the poor towns would have to shift for themselves.

At last, on February 20, 1864, the situation was remedied by an act of the state legislature. This law limited the bounties to \$300; unless the quota of October 17, 1864, had been met, no town could hire a volunteer in excess of the number required for the current quota. In addition to the \$300 bounty, the cities, towns and plantations of Maine were authorized to raise a maximum of \$25 for each recruit to pay enlistment expenses. All bounties voted by the towns were to be repaid from the state treasury.²⁴

Among the evils of the bounty system, perhaps the bounty jumper was the most notorious. Since the object was to enlist as many times as possible in order to collect as many bounties as possible, the result was a delay in the re-

23. Ibid., p. 43.

24. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1864, p. 550.

inforcement of the armies. At Camp Coburn, Augusta, bounty jumpers gave the authorities much trouble. Although under heavy guard, recruits often succeeded in digging tunnels under the fence and escaping. Once, when an inspection was held previous to boarding the boat, between sixty and seventy recruits had prepared for their escape by donning civilian clothes.²⁵

When the Fourteenth Maine Regiment in New Orleans enlisted a hundred foreigners, Governor Coburn considered withholding their bounties. Since they were entitled to a furlough to Maine upon receipt of the \$300, it would be an easy matter to escape to Canada, But if the bounty was not paid, Maine would be accused of bad faith. Rather than disgrace the state, Coburn decided to pay.²⁶

The bounty system encompassed other evil practices. Men with physical disabilities, which were not immediately apparent, enlisted and received their bounties and then went straight to the hospital.²⁷ Barbers were hired to make old men appear young by means of toupees and other paraphernalia. When the recruit reached the front, he had to be discharged

25. Quoted from The Maine Farmer by The Progressive Age, December 15, 1864, p. 2, Col. 5.

26. Official Records, Op. Cit., p. 135.

27. The American Sentinel, Bath, January 12, 1865, p. 1, Col. 3.

because of his age. Needless to say, such practices filled quotas but produced few fighting effectives.

The question of bounties was inevitably carried into the field of politics. In the various elections during the war, politicians vied with one another in advocating an increase in both state and Federal bounties. Senator Fessenden of Maine deplored the fact that patriotism had been discarded for gold.²⁸ The vicious bounty system not only caused competition among towns but also among states. Massachusetts was accused of re-enlisting every veteran from Maine since the former's bounty was \$500 while Maine was offering only \$300.²⁹

Another serious result of the system was the indebtedness of the towns and cities. For example, Bath paid \$131,333 for bounties in the four years of the war. In spite of partial reimbursement by the state, the town's debt increased from \$98,000 at the beginning of the war to \$309,000 in 1865.³⁰

28. Quoted by The Union and Journal, Biddeford, January 1, 1864, p. 2, Col. 2.

29. Report of Maine Commissioners on "Paper Credits", Op. Cit., App. D, p. 338.

30. Plummer, Edward Clarence, History of Bath, Maine, (Bath, 1936), p. 217.

The town of Foxcroft, with a population of only 1102 people in 1860, expended a total of \$20,425 for bounties.³¹ It was reported that a small town in Oxford County amassed a debt of \$30,000 or \$25 for each person in the town.³²

31. Cushing, Wainwright, "Foxcroft in the Civil War", Sprague's Journal of Maine History, Vol. V. (September, 1917), p. 88.

32. The Loyal Sunrise, January 28, 1865, p. 2, Col. 1.

COMMUTATION, SUBSTITUTES AND SUBSTITUTE BROKERS

When the Civil War began, no one could foresee the results of allowing one man to serve in place of another. The quotas of 1861 were easily filled and if any man wished to avoid personal service, he could, without expense or inconvenience, find another to assume his responsibility. By 1862, however, all men willing to serve had been recruited. Gratuitous substitutes could no longer be found and it became necessary to offer pecuniary inducements.³³ As the war dragged on, the prices of substitutes increased until only men of means could afford to hire them.

The commutation clause of the draft law of 1863 was passed with the belief that it would keep down the price of substitutes. Without the provision, argued its supporters, the price of substitutes would rise to a thousand dollars or more. Consequently, exemption would be placed beyond the reach of any but the most wealthy.³⁴ Money received from commutation fees was to be used by the Government to purchase substitutes. It was also maintained that the price of substitutes would now be limited to \$300 and that most drafted men could afford to pay that amount if they preferred not to go.

33. Shannon, Fred Albert, Op. Cit., Vol. II, P. 12.

34. The Progressive Age, July 30, 1863, p. 2, Col.

A Rockland newspaper concluded, "The law, then, is for the poor, and not the rich. Had the sum named been three thousand and instead of three hundred, there would have been some ground for dissent."³⁵

The more intelligent, however, could plainly see that the law favored the wealthy class. It seemed to many people that in passing the act, the Government desired money instead of men. The amount that the well-to-do had to pay was limited to \$300. But even if the poor man was able to raise so much money, he could do so only by borrowing it and be faced with destitution and ruin.³⁶ Representing opposition in the extreme, the Machias Union said that if a drafted man was accepted, three hundred dollars was the price of his ransom. Moreover, if he was unable to obtain a substitute, he was lodged in jail until the time arrived to send him to the front. But if he hired a substitute, the substitute was lodged in jail.³⁷ The entire affair was as obnoxious to other people as it was to the Union.

The effect of the commutation clause on the towns of Maine was most unexpected. Several towns considered paying commutation for all who were drafted. Such a scheme was

Col. 6. 35. Democrat and Free Press, July 22, 1863, p. 2,

36. The Eastern Argus, July 16, 1863, p. 2, Col.1.

Col. 6. 37. The Machias Union, September 1, 1863, p. 2,

discussed by the people of Paris but it was defeated by the loyal Union men in the meeting. The latter refused to vote anything for commutation fees but they appropriated liberal sums for substitutes.³⁸ Accusing Democrats of raising money for commutation purposes, loyal Republicans in other sections of the state also voted large sums for substitutes. The Eastport Sentinel mirrored a common sentiment of the day when it declared that any man who could afford a substitute, but refused to hire one, was a fool.³⁹ It is no wonder that so much difficulty was encountered in filling the ranks of the army in 1863.

Governor Coburn, embarrassed by the turn of events, asked the opinion of the Maine Supreme Court as to whether or not a town could pay commutation for all who were drafted. The justices replied in the negative, stating that the purpose of the Conscription Act was to raise men, not money. They concluded that "... if one town may assess taxes to pay the commutation money of those who may be drafted, so may all, and the Government would be left without a soldier for its protection...."⁴⁰

Col. 1. 38. The Oxford Democrat, Paris, July 3, 1863, p. 3,
Col. 3. 39. The Eastport Sentinel, September 2, 1863, p. 2,
40. The American Cyclopaedia and Register of
Important Events of the Year 1863, Vol. VIII (New York, 1866),
p. 605.

In the five months between July, 1863 and January, 1864, a total of 1,937 men paid more than \$581,000 in commutation fees in Maine.⁴¹ It was, perhaps, the commutation clause more than any other section of the law that rendered the draft ineffective. In addition, so much antagonism was aroused that section 13 was repealed by the act of July 4, 1864.

The commutation clause tended to raise the price of substitutes since the Government intended to use the commutation money to hire recruits to serve in place of those who could afford to pay the fee. High bounties also tended to increase the price of substitutes because no one would offer himself as a substitute when there was a possibility of receiving more in bounties from volunteering. Likewise, the threat of a draft caused prices to soar. During the drafts of September and October, 1864, the total bounty that a substitute could expect to receive was between \$900 and \$1000 including town, state and Federal bounties.⁴²

The substitutes of 1862 and 1863 came largely from Maine, but by 1864, quotas were being filled by foreigners. The small town of Brooksville, in Hancock County, furnished

10. 41. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1863, p.

42. The Northern Monthly, October, 1864, p. 569.

nineteen substitutes in October, 1864, representing Canada, Great Britain, Ireland, Sweden, Norway, France and Jamaica.⁴³ The influx of aliens may have been due to the efforts of substitute brokers.

The substitutes hired by Maine were not always of the best character. Mention has been made of the aliens enlisted in New Orleans. It was reported that the French Canadians engaged by Aroostook either proved worthless on the battlefield or deserted.⁴⁴ William B. Lapham, who was in charge of a group enroute to the front, described them as a "very hard lot." His unit was made up of deserters and bounty jumpers and even rebels, who had come to Maine by way of Canada to enlist for the high bounties offered. Of a hundred such men, Lapham estimated that one-half would desert within sixty days.⁴⁵

According to the act of February 24, 1864, substitutes had to be recruited from those not liable to the draft. But this position was reversed by the act of March 3, 1863. By this law, persons were allowed to form associations to enlist substitutes and men liable to the draft could now be solicited. This act, coming at the end of the war, nullified

p. 717. 43. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1864-1865,
44. The Loyal Sunrise, January 25, 1865, p. 2, Col. 3.

45. Lapham, William B., My Recollections of the War of the Rebellion, (Augusta, 1892), pp. 137-138.

conscription and amounted to a coalition of the Government and the substitute brokers.⁴⁶

A substitute broker was a man who established an office and offered to provide substitutes for different localities. He paid bounties and gathered men in gangs for sale. When the towns were hard pressed for men, they sent to the substitute broker and bought his wares at exorbitant rates. He secured men for a small bounty and sold them to districts that were unable to fill their quotas.⁴⁷

As early as 1862, Hodsdon admitted that most of the bounties went into the pockets of brokers and agents. Whenever recruits arrived in camp, agents were present who offered a higher bounty than that paid by the volunteer's town. Many a town official wanted to pay the bounties of its men only to find the latter credited to another town.⁴⁸

By 1864, these brokers were doing a tremendous business. But in spite of their fraudulent practices, they were considered a necessary evil. Their importance in procuring men could not be ignored. They were extremely skilled in locating men and even induced aliens from Europe to serve in the Union Armies. The Eastern Argus commented that they could

46. Official Records, Op. Cit., Series III, Vol. IV. p. 1253.

47. Shannon, Fred Albert, Op. Cit., Vol. II, p. 44.

48. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1864-1865, pp. 22-24.

"pick up recruits where the genus seems to have become entirely extinct and where less industrious mortals would labor in vain."⁴⁹

Substitute brokers used all sorts of tricks to obtain the bounty of the men they enlisted. In September, 1864, two well dressed women called at Camp Berry in Portland and asked to see two men whom they said were their brothers. When the men appeared, the women seemed unduly pleased to see them. According to an observer, they "caressed the boys with great freedom." At length, they asked an officer at the camp for the men's bounties, which, they said, they intended to give to their mother. The officer called the men aside and asked them if they knew these women. They replied that they had never seen them before, and that the women had probably been sent by a substitute broker.⁵⁰

Almost every day in Portland, the provost-marshal was compelled to force substitute brokers to disgorge money that belonged to the substitutes. Three men were discovered who had not received a cent of the \$1800 bounty collected for them by the brokers. The latter were immediately taken into custody and relieved of the money.⁵¹

Col. 1. 49. The Eastern Argus, September 19, 1864, p. 3,

50. Ibid., December 16, 1864, p. 3, Col. 1.

51. Ibid., September 26, 1864, p. 3, Col. 1.

The most notorious frauds were perpetrated by the brokers of Augusta and Waterville. When the scandal was investigated in 1870, it was discovered that the quotas of dozens of Maine towns had been filled by lists of fictitious names sold by these brokers. Even officials in the War and Navy Departments in Washington were connected with the affair.⁵²

One group of brokers sent agents to Boston, Washington, Chicago and other cities to recruit men to sell to Maine. Whether the names on the lists sent to Augusta and Waterville represented living men or were simply names on a sheet of paper, the draft officials of the state had no way of knowing. The brokers themselves had no idea where some of the men on the list were from.⁵³

Another scheme employed by the ring was equally as ingenious. In 1863, it was discovered that the coastal towns of Maine had received little or no credit for men who had enlisted in the Navy and Merchant Marine early in the war. It is not clear how the substitute brokers managed to obtain lists of these men; however, upon receiving them, they were allowed to sell them to any town in the state on their own terms.⁵⁴

52. Gilmore, Pascal Pearl, Civil War Memories, 1928, p. 55.

53. Report of the Maine Commissioners On "Paper Credits", App. B, (Augusta, 1871), p. 89.

54. Ibid., App. D, p. 314.

These naval credits, as they were called, should have been credited only to towns that had men in the Navy or Merchant Marine. But the brokers sold the names indiscriminately to any town whatever. They did not bother to investigate and probably did not care whether or not the claims of the inland towns were valid. The inland town of Mercer, with a population of 850, claimed twelve residents in the Navy while Machiasport, a coastal town, was more honest and claimed only seven.⁵⁵ But the right to sell the seaboard towns or any town their own men was undisputed by the state authorities.

Every type of high pressure salesmanship was used by the brokers to compel town officials to buy their wares. Whenever a prospective customer entered the brokers' office, he was told that he was just in the nick of time and that there were only a dozen men left for sale. After stating the price, which was usually \$400 or \$500 for each recruit, the broker informed the official that other towns were anxious to buy his remaining men. The official usually gave in, especially if time was short and quotas were unfilled.⁵⁶

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid., App. B, p. 42.

Whether or not Hodsdon, the State Adjutant-General, knew of these frauds, it is not known. However, it was evident to all that few men were being contributed to the service and that vacancies thus created could make further drafts necessary. Many draft officials consulted him in regard to the validity of these transactions so that he had reason to suspect the activities of the substitute brokers.⁵⁷

57. Ibid., App. D, p. 314.

CHAPTER IV

OPPOSITION TO CONSCRIPTION IN MAINE

The people of Maine, like other Americans, had an innate aversion to military service in the Civil War period. It has been noted that by 1862, numerous other devices besides the patriotic appeal were being employed to keep the ranks of the Army filled and growing. Yet the number who could neither be coaxed, enticed nor ensnared by the draft was large. This discussion concerns this class of persons, who by force or illegal means, sought to evade their share of military service.

The system of conscription employed during the war was made to order for those who desired to avoid the unpleasantness of military life. The easiest method was for the person to remain at home and hope that his name would not be

drawn. But if this method failed, he could always hire a substitute or pay commutation. Another alternative was to secure false exemption papers. Some suddenly remembered a former connection with a religious faith that forbade the bearing of arms. There were those who evaded the draft by going into hiding or fleeing to a foreign country. The final resort was to offer personal violence to the enrollment officer or attempt to break up the draft.

Conscription was difficult to enforce in Maine because many newspapers continually counselled evasion. Several were violently opposed to the war and the Lincoln Administration. Among those who condemned the war and advocated peace at any price was the editor of the Bangor Democrat, Marcellus Emery. Almost every issue of the newspaper provoked denunciations and threats against him. On August 12, 1862, a mob entered his office and threw his presses and other equipment out of the window. Emery was compelled to suspend publication of the Democrat until 1863.¹ But when the paper again appeared, it resumed its denunciations of the war and proceeded to attack conscription. It even circulated the rumor that conscripts were to be handcuffed.²

1. History of the Press of Maine, Edited by Griffin, Joseph, (Brunswick, 1872), p. 137.
 2. The Democrat, Bangor, September 29, 1863, p.2, Col. 7.

Another paper that denounced the war was the religious journal, the Portland Pleasure Boat. In one issue, it maintained that all wars were "foolish and wicked", and advised women to keep their husbands from volunteering.³ The Pleasure Boat ceased publication in 1862 but not before publishing a detailed description of the battle of Bull Run, and characterizing Americans who favored continuing the war as "barbarous people."⁴

Although Washington County had opposition papers of its own, the administration of the draft was made more difficult by the hostile tone of the New Brunswick press. The latter continually exulted over Northern defeats and portrayed the deficiencies of the Union generals.⁵ Probably no newspaper in the state was more opposed to conscription than the Machias Union, which characterized the draft law of 1863 as subjecting the people of Maine to a military despotism "equalled only under the governments of France and Austria." It was all the more odious, said the Union, because its victims would be dragged from their homes like criminals to a call. When the Eastport Sentinel stated that all opposition to the draft must be put down, the Union immediately called it a

3. Portland Pleasure Boat, May 29, 1861, p. 5.

4. Ibid., July 26, 1862, p. 4, Col. 3.

5. The St. Croix Herald, Calais, March 3, 1863, p. 2, Col. 2.

"Negro-worshipping paper edited by a John Brown admirer."⁶

The practice of lodging conscripts and substitutes in the Belfast jail brought forth innumerable denunciations. Besides the Machias Union, the Belfast Republican Journal was especially incensed. In an editorial containing a liberal sprinkling of capital letters, it remarked, "What a spectacle for the middle of the nineteenth century, Free white men caught and caged to secure their services in an endless and bloody war for the liberation of Southern negroes."⁷ In 1864, W. H. Simpson, the editor was arraigned before the district court and charged with discouraging enlistments and other acts hostile to the Government.⁸ He was soon released, however, to resume the publication of the Journal.

Among the more loyal of the Republican papers was James G. Blaine's Kennebec Journal, which filled its columns with nationalistic editorials. The Lewiston Journal, Farmington Chronicle, and the Oxford Democrat also pretended to be loyal Republican newspapers. But when the editors of all three were drafted, two of them preferred to pay commutation rather than suffer the hardships of war. Their Democratic

6. The Machias Union, March 3, 1863, p. 2, Col. 3.

7. Quoted from the Belfast Republican Journal by the Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, August 24, 1863, p. 1, Col. 5.

8. Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, August 13, 1864, p. 3, Col. 3.

critics were delighted and asserted that no Republican, who possessed three hundred dollars, was willing to go to war.⁹

Not all of the Democratic papers were opposed to the draft, however. For instance, the influential Eastern Argus advised the people of Maine to refrain from violence and to obey the law. The Brunswick Telegraph, in a similar tone, declared that although the Conscription Act was unconstitutional, only legal means should be used to repeal it.¹⁰

In order to secure exemption from the draft, some men resorted to bodily mutilation. A young man from Moscow, Maine, cut off his finger. This gave him little satisfaction, however, because the quota of the town was filled by volunteers.¹¹ With the same object in view, a Portland man went to the dentist after his name was drawn and had four front teeth extracted.¹² However, since cavalry regiments began to be equipped with breech-loading guns, a full set of teeth was not necessary. A notice to that effect appeared in a

9. The Eastern Argus, July 20, 1863, p. 2, Col. 2.

Col. 2. 10. The Brunswick Telegraph, July 17, 1863, p. 2,

Col. 3. 11. The Progressive Age, September 18, 1862, p. 2,

Col. 4. 12. The Portland Transcript, July 25, 1863, p. 6,

Bangor Newspaper;¹³

Those drafted persons who have knocked out their front teeth to procure exemption, are informed that they will be accepted in the cavalry, where front teeth are not needed to bite off cartridges.

Other measures were resorted to in order to secure exemption. In the town of Industry, an odd looking person appeared at the examining board. Although he possessed a fine physique, he tried to give the impression that he was old and infirm. He wore old clothes much too small and a hat of bygone days. His hair was dishevelled and his eyes were protected by green glasses. Led by an attendant, he was escorted to a vacant chair. After seating himself, he proceeded to gaze at the ceiling. Having convinced the board that he was out of his mind, he was declared exempt for physical reasons.¹⁴

The physicians of Bangor were not so gullible. One drafted man appeared so deaf that the doctor could not seem to make him hear although he shouted at the top of his voice. Upon examining the man's knee, the doctor remarked in a low tone, "That is sufficient to exempt any man." "Glad to hear

13. Stanley, R. H., and Hall, George, Eastern Maine and the Rebellion, Op. Cit., p. 182.

14. Hatch, William Collins, A History of the Town of Industry, Franklin County, Maine, (Farmington, 1893), p. 314.

you say so," replied the deaf man, who had suddenly recovered his hearing. "What did you say was the trouble with my knee," he asked. When he was told that he was perfectly sound, he paid the commutation fee and became exempt.¹⁵

Thousands of able-bodied men avoided the draft by failing to appear when their names were drawn, hoping that no provost-marshal would seek them out. In the Belfast area, it was estimated that in February, 1864, more men had not reported than the total number of conscripts and substitutes sent to the army since the draft began.¹⁶ From July, 1863, to January, 1864, nearly two thousand failed to report to the enrollment boards of Maine. This was more than twice the number who volunteered or were drafted.¹⁷ But allowance must be made for errors in the enrollment lists; some men had moved to another locality since the lists were drawn up, while others had died. Many had fled to other states or to Canada before the draft took place.

The wealthy avoided the draft simply by paying commutation or furnishing a substitute. Among them were those who scorned the life of a private and volunteered only when

15. Quoted from the Bangor Times by the Portland Transcript, August 15, 1863, p. 3, Col. 1.

16. The Progressive Age, February 4, 1864, p. 2, Col. 1.

17. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1863, App. E, pp. 25, 35, 59, 103.

offered a commission.¹⁸ Of those who were over age, a large number remained at home unmoved by patriotic appeals. In Brunswick, not a single exempted man of wealth hired a substitute, although there were many who were financially able to hire several. Such lack of patriotism discouraged enlistments.¹⁹

The greatest number to avoid conscription were those who fled to foreign countries or to other states. At the first intimation of a draft in Winter Harbor, dozens of men packed and left by boat in the middle of the night. The people of the town were disturbed in their sleep by the rattle of chains and other sounds of a fleet getting under way. In the morning, every craft in the harbor had vanished.²⁰

In 1863, it was reported that a great many men were leaving the eastern part of the state for California and the British Provinces.²¹ Aroostook became the haven of copperheads and deserters. The stage lines to that county did a thriving business and according to contemporaries, the sale of intoxicating liquors was immense. Aroostook itself lost men in 1863 who fled to Canada. At that time the rumor cir-

18. The Loyal Sunrise, August 10, 1864, p. 2, Col. 2.

19. Brunswick Telegraph, August 19, 1864, p. 2, Col. 6.

20. The Ellsworth American, August 22, 1862, p. 3, Col. 1.

21. The Machias Union, June 30, 1863, p. 2, Col. 5.

culated that the Government had twenty-five pairs of handcuffs in Houlton and that as fast as the men came in, they were to be sent to the South without a visit home.²²

By the fall of 1864, thousands had fled to Canada from Maine. The conscription laws of 1863 and 1864 left the arrest of deserters to the provost-marshals, but in September, 1864, a \$30 reward was offered to anyone who caught one of these persons. The selectmen of towns, sheriffs, constables and loyal citizens were urged to assist in rounding up deserters.²³ Some patriotic newspapers volunteered to publish the names of any "skedaddlers", as these men were called.²⁴ Others demanded that deserters be disfranchised and their property confiscated.²⁵ Such drastic steps were never resorted to, however. In spite of the vigilance of the local provost-marshals, men continued to flee from the state. For instance, Wilson Andrews, of Machias, came home on furlough in March, 1865. When he failed to return to the army, the authorities telegraphed to have him apprehended, but he had fled to Canada.²⁶

22. Stanley, R. H., and Hall, George, Op. Cit., pp. 179-181.

23. Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, September 28, 1864, p. 3, Col. 2.

24. The Progressive Age, October 6, 1864, p. 2, Col. 2.

25. Democrat and Free Press, Sept. 28, 1864, p. 2, Col. 1.

26. The Machias Republican, March 23, 1865, p. 2, Col. 3.

Deer Isle was said to be nearly depopulated of able-bodied men. Many had fled to Boston, where they hoped to ship for a foreign port. Ships were anchored near York's Island with men on board who were ready to flee as soon as they learned that they were drafted. Boats were dispatched to the mainland each day to keep the group posted. If drafted, they sailed to a place called "Skedaddlers' Reach" on Campobello Island, where seven or eight families had already moved.²⁷ New Brunswick was said to be teeming with them. There they lived in one room shacks and worked for a bare subsistence.²⁸

Another form of resistance was employed by those who attempted to obstruct or break up the draft. A few weeks before drafting began in Rockland, notices were posted in various sections of the city denouncing the war as unholy.²⁹ As names were about to be drawn in Prospect, in Waldo County, an angry mob gathered. The people declared that no draft should take place in that town, and that any man attempting to draw names would be shot. One Union man was knocked down and beaten but the meeting broke up in a quarrel among the rioters without a draft having been made. When the governor was informed of the situation he threatened to send troops if

Col. 1. 27. The Progressive Age, October 20, 1864, p. 2,
 28. Ibid., December 29, 1864, p. 2, Col. 2.
 29. Stanley, R. H., and Hall, George, Op. Cit.,
 p. 215.

the quota was not filled within seven days. Sufficient numbers volunteered within the allotted time to make the draft unnecessary.³⁰

In the town of Brooklin, two drafted men refused to appear at the place of rendez-vous. Since their father was violently opposed to their leaving, he threatened to shoot the first man to come after them. The provost-marshal summoned a posse and proceeded to the island where they were concealed. A fight ensued but the irate father was captured and taken to the Augusta jail.³¹

The most spectacular resistance to the draft occurred in Franklin County in July, 1863. One night, the enrollment officer of Freeman was awakened in his sleep by a band of twenty men, who demanded the enrollment papers received that day from Augusta. The officer had no alternative but to comply with their wishes.³² A few days later, a mob of a hundred and fifty intoxicated men threatened to kill the enrollment officers sent to Kingfield, unless they left town within fifteen minutes. After daring the latter to appear in that town again, they proceeded to destroy all draft notifications in the area. Troops from the Lewiston Light In-

30. The Progressive Age, September 18, 1862, p. 2, Col. 1.

31. Ibid., October 16, 1862, p. 2, Col. 4.

32. Quoted from the Farmington Chronicle by the Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, July 30, 1863, p. 2, Col. 6.

fantry and the Eighteenth Maine Regiment were rushed to the scene to enforce the draft.³³

In the fall of the same year, one Dr. Brown of Augusta, was discovered administering croton oil to drafted men to stimulate certain diseases. After nearly killing his patients, he charged them a fee of \$100. However, the medical examining board readily perceived that the diseases were artificially provoked. Brown was arrested and removed to Portland to await trial.³⁴ Although he was convicted and sentenced to jail, he was released after a short time. In 1864, he was again convicted of the same practices. This time, he remained in jail until the end of the war.³⁵

In 1864, at a time when a draft was imminent in Old Town, a soldier on furlough entered the local hotel. A crowd gathered which suspected that he was in some way connected with the draft. When one of them asked him what he was doing there, the soldier promptly knocked the individual from the platform. He retreated to the stairway of the hotel, removed his pistol from its holster and declared that he would shoot the first man to approach him. He was saved

33. The Progressive Age, July 25, 1863, p. 2, Col.

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34. The Maine Farmer, October 8, 1863, p. 2, Col.6.

35. The Loyal Sunrise, August 31, 1864, p. 1, Col.

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from bodily harm, when a major drove up in his carriage and took the frightened soldier away with him.³⁶ In October, 1864, a provost-marshal was killed in Wesley, in Washington County, when he attempted to arrest a man accused of resisting the enrollment officers. The murderer and his companions fled to the woods where they remained in hiding for some time.³⁷ There is no record of their fate but the district provost-marshal in Belfast was relieved of his position for delay in arresting the band.³⁸

If a man failed to report for the draft, he was considered a deserter and was subject to all the penalties provided for those who deserted from the army itself. This fact was not generally understood until the end of the war. When William Knight, of Poland, Maine, refused to report, he was sought by the provost-marshal. Upon entering Knight's house, the provost-marshal was confronted by Mrs. Knight with an axe in her hands. She attacked and wounded him but her husband escaped, leaving a part of his shirt in the marshal's hand. Mrs. Knight was lodged in the county jail.³⁹

36. Gardiner, Ira B., Recollections of a Boy Member of Company I, 14th Maine Volunteers, 1861-1865, (Lewiston, 1902), p. 35.

37. The Eastport Sentinel, October 19, 1864, p. 2, Col. 2.

38. Bangor Daily Whig and Courier, October 21, 1864, p. 3, Col. 3.

39. Daily Sentinel and Times, Bath, September 29, 1864, p. 2, Col. 3.

After arriving in camp, conscripts were sometimes encouraged to desert by orators of secessionist sympathies. On one occasion, the men of Camp Keyes, Augusta, were subjected to a harangue by a stump speaker from Gardiner. After succeeding in getting a group to one side, he told them that no law existed which could keep them there even for an hour. If he were in their places, he added, he would leave the camp as soon as possible.⁴⁰ Conscripts who deserted were often aided by people living near the Canadian border. James Leslie and an assistant of Patten were arrested for assisting deserters to escape to New Brunswick. Similarly unpatriotic people were to be found in other sections of Aroostook County.⁴¹

The number of drafted men who escaped enroute to camp or shortly after arriving there was large. Over two hundred drafted seamen from the Kittery Navy Yard attempted to desert on their way to a receiving ship. Thirty-six succeeded in getting away and one civilian was wounded in the fracas.⁴² In Portland, conscripts and substitutes were kept on Mackies' Island and in 1863, eight attempted to swim to the mainland. Only five of the number reached the shore.⁴³

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4. 40. The Progressive Age, October 16, 1862, P.2, Col.
 41. The Loyal Sunrise, October 14, 1863, P. 2, Col.
 42. The Maine Democrat, Saco, December 6, 1864, P.
 2, Col. 6.
 43. Zion's Advocate, Portland, August 14, 1863,
 P. 3, Col. 2.

In his message to the legislature in January, 1865, Governor Cony reviewed the opposition to the draft in Maine. He described those who had fled from the state as "unpatriotic, base and cowardly." He went on to say that the quota of each town had to be filled and that the desertion of such a large number of men had made additional drafts necessary.⁴⁴

Opposition to the draft in Maine was scattered and weak. The geographical position of the state made it relatively easy for deserters to escape from the arm of the law. The opponents of the Lincoln Administration were loud in their condemnation of conscription, but after the New York draft riots of 1863, they changed their attitude somewhat and counseled others to obey the law rather than to resort to violence. Nearly all of those who obstructed the draft were promptly arrested and brought to trial. Although it was more difficult to arrest deserters, by the fall of 1864, the authorities endeavored to enforce the law more vigorously. Members of the wealthy class furnished substitutes and bounties but there were numerous instances where they simply remained at home and did nothing.

⁴⁴. American Sentinel, Bath, January 12, 1865, p. 1, Col. 5.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

It is evident that conscription in Maine was ineffective and that men furnished during the war were mostly volunteers. Aside from the fact that the draft laws were poorly conceived and poorly administered, the draft was impeded by the sectionalism of the state. If a state senator did not realize the danger to the Union, it is not surprising that the common people did not appreciate the threat. In 1863, Senator Wiggin of York declared that "...the State of Maine can never consent to surrender her rights as a sovereign state under the Constitution."¹ The practice of threat-

1. Maine Documents, Senate, 1863, No. 15, p. 2.

ening a draft if quotas were not filled and promising high bounties to volunteers was not conducive to an efficient draft policy. Every possible means of avoiding the draft was employed and when many towns were forced to supply more than their quotas of men, much ill feeling was aroused against the system.²

The reluctance of men to serve was abetted by the incompetence of military leadership and the needless slaughter of men on the battlefield. Newspaper accounts of the poor care given the wounded lowered civilian morale. The wealthy were practically exempt from military service and it was natural that the poorer classes should feel that they were bearing the entire burden of the war. It is impossible to accurately judge the influence of Southern sympathizers on the draft. Since many persons were arrested, it is reasonable to believe that their influence was considerable. Moreover, Maine was exposed on three sides and the invasion scares prompted the governor to hold back men for the defense of the state. Likewise, the coastal towns were exposed to the depredations of Confederate cruisers and, particularly in 1863, men were retained for the defence of these communities.³

35. 2. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1863, p.

3. Stanley, R. H., and Hall, George, Eastern Maine and the Rebellion, Op. Cit., p. 224.

State authorities had no control over credits obtained outside the state and, in addition, substitute agents were allowed to sell men indiscriminately to the highest bidder. The resulting frauds encountered no opposition from the state authorities. No Federal law was passed until 1865 to prevent substitute brokers from enlisting minors, deserters or drunkards or to prevent the brokers from depriving the latter of their bounties.⁴ Unsuspecting town officials continued to buy names from these brokers until the end of the war. Town debts, resulting from high bounties, remained unpaid a generation later.

Opposition to the draft in Maine was promoted by the resentment born of blunders in the conscription act, by the belief that the Lincoln Administration was incompetent, by the agitation for peace, by anger at the "rich man's war" and by party feeling. For instance, the Democrats of the state maintained that if Lincoln were re-elected, the drafts would continue until the North was bankrupt and exhausted.⁵ Nevertheless, countless Democrats in every county patriotically supported the war to the end.

IV. p. 1225. 4. Official Records, Op. Cit., Series III, Vol. Col. 4. 5. The Eastern Argus, September 10, 1864, p. 2,

Escape to Canada was the most common means of avoiding the draft. Aroostook County was a frontier region which asserted its individualism by refusing to supply its quota of men. Almost every day following the announcement of a draft, the stage lines to Houlton and Calais, in Washington County, carried deserters to the border. Others escaped by boat. Large numbers interfered with the draft itself and several riots broke out. Men claiming exemption attempted to convince examining boards that they were insane or otherwise incapacitated. However, compared to other states, resistance to conscription in Maine was weak.

Although Maine experienced many difficulties in executing the draft, other states were confronted with more serious problems. Unlike New York, Pennsylvania and the Midwest, Maine had few aliens. This tended to make the enforcement of conscription less hazardous since it was the foreign-born who resisted more persistently and extensively. The governors of Maine were not politically opposed to the Lincoln Administration and, consequently, they co-operated with the War Department more than did Governor Seymour of New York, for example. The Maine people disliked conscription but they were able to supply their quota of troops by patriotic appeals to volunteers.

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BIOGRAPHY OF WRITER

Murray Chandler Bowden was born in North Brooksville, Maine, on April 25, 1922. At thirteen years of age he moved to Greenwich, Connecticut, where he graduated from Greenwich High School in 1939. The following year he entered the University of Maine and graduated from that institution with the degree of B. A. in January, 1943. After spending three years in the Army, he returned to the University of Maine for graduate study in the summer of 1946.

In September of the same year, he enrolled for graduate work at the University of Colorado. After one quarter at that institution, he taught history and economics at Fremont High School, Fremont, Michigan for one semester. He resumed graduate study at the University of Maine in July, 1947, completing his thesis for the Master of Arts degree in June, 1948.

APPENDIX

Table I

RETURNS OF ENROLLED MILITIA FOR 1861¹

COUNTY	ENROLLMENT
Androscoggin.....	4,303
Aroostook.....	2,383
Cumberland.....	9,842
Franklin.....	2,667
Hancock.....	4,761
Kennebec.....	6,477
Knox.....	4,356
Lincoln.....	3,484
Oxford.....	4,881
Penobscot.....	9,124
Piscataquis.....	3,218
Sagadahoc.....	2,628
Somerset.....	4,951
Waldo.....	4,634
Washington.....	5,195
York.....	8,240
An estimate of those not returned.....	358
Total Enrollment.....	81,501

H. p. 22. 1. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit. 1861, App.

TABLE II

RESULTS OF THE DRAFT FROM JULY, 1863, TO JANUARY 1, 1864²FIRST DISTRICT, HEADQUARTERS, PORTLAND:

Number of men drafted plus enlistments.....	33
Furnished substitutes.....	514
Paid commutation.....	150
Exempted.....	2584
Failed to report.....	215

SECOND DISTRICT, HEADQUARTERS, LEWISTON:

Drafted and entered service.....	119
Furnished substitutes.....	273
Paid commutation.....	298
Exempted.....	1717
Failed to report.....	212

THIRD DISTRICT, HEADQUARTERS, AUGUSTA:

Drafted and entered service.....	194
Furnished substitutes.....	292
Paid commutation.....	774
Exempted.....	1758
Failed to report.....	430

FOURTH DISTRICT, HEADQUARTERS, BANGOR:

Drafted and entered service.....	383
Furnished substitutes.....	337
Paid commutation.....	214
Exempted.....	1494
Failed to report.....	492

FIFTH DISTRICT, HEADQUARTERS, BELFAST:

Drafted and entered service.....	78
Furnished substitutes.....	321
Paid commutation.....	501
Exempted.....	1733
Failed to report.....	584

2. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1863, App. E, pp. 25, 35, 59, 103. (The results of the draft of 1864 and 1865 are not included because of the incomplete returns for those years.)

TABLE III

MAINE'S QUOTAS UNDER THE VARIOUS CALLS OF 1864³

<u>District</u>	<u>Feb. 1</u>	<u>March 14</u>	<u>July 18</u>	<u>Dec. 19</u>	<u>Total</u>
First	2,871	1,055	2,273	2,172	8,371
Second	1,547	610	1,790	1,477	5,424
Third	2,691	1,012	2,238	1,402	7,343
Fourth	2,356	887	1,878	1,644	6,765
Fifth	2,771	1,015	1,694	7,684	7,684
Total	12,236	4,579	10,383	8,389	35,587

3. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1864-1865,
p. 20. (The quotas for 1864 are given because the calls of
that year were more frequent than in any other year.)

TABLE IV

NUMBER OF MEN SUPPLIED BY MAINE, 1861-1865⁴

County	1861 to Oct., 1863	Oct., 1863 to 1865	Total
Androscoggin	1,948	1,864	3,812
Aroostook	1,028	824	1,852
Cumberland	4,451	4,451	8,902
Franklin	1,061	1,063	2,124
Hancock	1,710	2,195	3,905
Kennebec	3,215	3,400	6,615
Knox	1,584	2,081	3,665
Lincoln	1,189	1,784	2,973
Oxford	2,181	2,035	4,216
Penobscot	4,681	4,211	8,892
Piscataquis	936	938	1,874
Sagadahoc	1,253	1,235	2,488
Somerset	2,096	2,298	4,394
Waldo	1,953	2,229	4,232
Washington	2,205	2,077	4,282
York	2,743	3,476	6,219
Men enlisted in Coast Guard			2,500
Total For State	34,234	36,211	72,945

4. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1864-1865, p. 28.

TABLE V

BOUNTIES PAID BY THE COUNTIES OF MAINE, 1861-1865⁵

Androscoggin.....	\$ 529,437.56
Aroostook.....	44,315.54
Cumberland.....	1,189,366.02
Franklin.....	288,416.95
Hancock.....	518,806.59
Kennebec.....	922,801.44
Knox.....	613,525.83
Lincoln.....	495,642.89
Oxford.....	465,973.17
Penobscot.....	889,108.48
Piscataquis.....	209,107.53
Sagadahoc.....	387,741.46
Somerset.....	690,448.99
Waldo.....	663,331.83
Washington.....	475,538.53
York.....	1,311,758.12
Total	\$9,695,320.93

5. Adjutant General's Report, Op. Cit., 1864-1865, p. 61.