

the man of all others whom he should last look to. He looks to his own government—to the power and duty of that government under the constitution to protect him. And, sir, tell me why it is, that those soldiers have lain so long in these dungeons of the South? It is because the secretary of war, with that arbitrary despotic power which he wields, has refused to enter into proper negotiations for the exchange of prisoners. One of the very first causes of this difficulty was the introduction of slaves into the army of the United States. It was said over and over again—it was said by the secretary of war and by some of the best military men in this country—it was said by some of the head men in the army, by some generals and major-generals, over and over again, and by governors of States throughout the North, that if you put negro slaves into the federal army to fight against the South you will raise the black flag. There will be no quarter shown—there will be no mercy to prisoners—there will be none of the considerations of humanity influencing these people. That was done contrary to the advice of all these gentlemen—contrary to the advice of some of the first intellects of this land. It was done, and the consequences that they predicted followed. It was seen that the man who had heretofore been merely considered as property in this country, who had not been put upon an equality with the white man, who had received all the benefits that the white man could bestow upon him, and who was still going on to receive these benefits, so far as he was capable of improving under them, was not in a condition at this time to be put upon an equality with the white man. It was denounced in the North as well as in the South. If the responsibility rests anywhere for the treatment of these prisoners, in my humble judgment, it rests with the administration of this government. They are responsible for it. Let them enter into proper negotiations. Let them consider the rights of the soldier. Let them place proper guards and protection around him. Had they done this, the exchange would have taken place long ago. Why should they have stood upon a punctilio? Why should not they have said, release these men at all hazards? I see only one reason. I may be wrong, but I can see no other. It was necessary to get up a hue and cry at the North. The warfare was waning. Hopes for peace were springing up throughout the country, and everybody was anxious about peace. It became necessary to get up a hue and cry to arouse the spirit of the North, to revivify and invigorate the war feeling, and the only way that it could be done was by letting our soldiers stay down there suffering and dying inch by inch, to be heralded all over the country, and to be pictured in photographs. The telegraph was called in to carry the

news that our soldiers were dying inch by inch, and then the photograph was resorted to to send their pictures through the country, and thus it was heralded through the North, and it had its effect. Did the poor soldier need to go down there—the poor prisoners who are dying inch by inch—that it should have aroused the spirit of the North? That the men who have risked their lives, property, and everything, and been made prisoners, should be made sufferers in order to make capital out of their unfortunate condition, I conceive to be unpardonable. Yet, in my humble judgment, that is the only conceivable construction that can be put upon the course pursued by the administration of this government which will in any conceivable degree justify their conduct. I think when these facts are thoroughly understood and demonstrated, we shall never hear anything more of this inhumanity and barbarity.

I intend to pass no eulogy upon these southern people. I intend to pass no eulogy upon anybody. But when I see that my country is going wrong, when I see that they are leading us to despotism, that they are exercising usurped powers, I consider it to be my duty to raise my humble voice in opposition to any such measures. As to the oath that is proposed here, I have on another occasion given more in full my views upon that subject. I have before stated that you might pile up your oaths as high as heaven, and they should never stand between me and my duty as a citizen of this State. I will resort to all honest, honorable and constitutional means in my power to enable me to secure my rights at the ballot box. I hope and trust that the people of the State of Maryland will not be intimidated, but will put their mind to the subject, and see that it is nothing more than a trap to drive off all who happen to be opposed to the party that is now ruling the State.

The gentleman from Baltimore city (Mr. Stockbridge) has alluded to something fiery that he said had come from the Chicago convention. Whatever that Chicago convention may do, if it is done by the advice and by the deliberative action of those true democrats of the north who have stood up for State's rights and the people's rights, through sunshine and through shade, through stormy and through peaceful times, I shall give it my hearty vote, and my hearty concurrence. These are men they have nominated who were in some respects objectionable to us. One of them has in former times exercised arbitrary power. Let bygones be bygones.

Mr. ABBOTT. I call the gentleman to order.

The CHAIRMAN (Mr. Daniel.) The house has allowed the gentleman to proceed.

Mr. ABBOTT. No vote was taken.

The CHAIRMAN. If the gentleman insists upon it, the chair must rule the speaker out of order.