

the first principles of civil government regarded and believed to be the government of the country.

Many things have been said in this debate touching this war. Mr. Lincoln has pronounced upon it. The gentleman from Howard himself (Mr. Sands) has this morning pronounced upon it. Is there a man in this convention who believes that this war is now what it was three years ago? The words read by my colleague this morning show what it was three years ago. And what is it now? What a spectacle was presented to this nation three years ago? The tocsin of war had been sounded. Guns had been fired.—Blood had been shed. The flag of the United States had been fired upon. The southern States had gone out of this nation. There was a convention called in Virginia which met in the city of Richmond. There they sat, with hearts that beat as true to the Union of this land, as devoted to the constitution of this Union, as firm as the everlasting hills of their own Blue Ridge. They sat there, constituted of a large majority of Union men. While their sister States had seceded; while their brothers had raised the red hand and war was raging, they sat there under the flag of the stars and stripes. Here comes the warning that ought to have been heeded, the counsel of the father of his country: "Let there be no change by usurpation, for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed."

That was the spectacle. When that Virginia convention saw the proclamation from the executive chair going upon the wings of the lightning, calling for an army of 75,000 men to march through a sister State, what was the result? As one man that convention dissolved, and Virginia united her faith for weal or woe with her sister States. And will any man tell me that he believes that there remains between the Potomac river and the Sabine any of that feeling which kept Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky and Arkansas clinging fondly even as the child to the last hope of life in its expiring parent? Does he believe any of that feeling yet remains in those States? No, sir; it is gone; it is trampled to death.

The blood that flows down the mountain sides, and that is running red from the source to the mouth of the rivers, attests that there is no Union feeling there. This convention knows it; the people know it; the president knows it. And now, sir, let me read what Mr. Lincoln said on the day before the extra session of Congress of 1861 adjourned. He said:

"Mr. Mallory, this war, so far as I have anything to do with it, is carried on on the idea that there is a Union sentiment in these States, which, set free from the control now held over it by the presence of the con-

federate or rebel power, will be sufficient to replace these States in the Union. If I am mistaken in this, if there is no such sentiment there, if the people of those States are determined with unanimity, or with a feeling approaching unanimity, that their States shall not be members of this confederacy, it is beyond the power of the people of the other States to force them to remain in the Union; and," said he, "in that contingency—in the contingency that there is not that sentiment there—this war is not only an error, it is a crime.

Mr. Lincoln, sir, has solemnly declared that this war is a crime.

Mr. PUGH. I rise with a great deal of hesitation to take any part in this discussion. I had hoped we should proceed at once to vote upon this section; but inasmuch as there has been considerable said upon the other side of the question, I should not feel at all satisfied if I did not give some reasons why I support the amendment of the gentleman from Baltimore city (Mr. Stirling,) inasmuch also, as I have watched the course of this discussion, and in my judgment the whole gist of the matter has been either avoided or forgotten by the two gentlemen from Somerset (Mr. Jones and Mr. Dennis,) and as all the remarks that have been made upon the other side seem to have been made under the impression that we are living in 1861, or at least that the circumstances which now control us are similar to those which controlled the people in the year 1861.

I submit that in my judgment the gist of this matter is right here. It is a question of our existence as a people. It is a question of our existence as one of the States of the United States. This is a time of war. It is a time when the matter must be decided by the arbitrament of the sword. There is no other way in which it can be decided. Gentlemen talk about the constitution and the laws. They refer us to the laws of our own State, to the laws which should govern Maryland, and by which I, as one Marylander, am perfectly willing to be governed under peace circumstances. They refer to these laws and recall those old times, when they know perfectly well that but yesterday native-born Marylanders were in our midst devastating the land, invading the rights of the people of the State of Maryland, scattering destruction with fire and sword. What class of people were we, and what were we worth, if under these circumstances we stood here in this hall and talked about this fact as though it did not exist, and treated these people as if they were willing to come and sit down in our midst under the ægis of the constitution, to be governed by the laws which have been made for the government of Marylanders?

The gist of the matter, as I said, has been entirely overlooked by these gentlemen.—Their remarks, submitted with ability, would