

the sight of God and man, I have come to this, and I much mistake the feeling of the people I represent here if they have not come to the conclusion, solely in view of their responsibility, that there is no alternative, except the preservation of this Union on the one hand, or the subjugation of this Union to the domination of the Southern confederacy on the other. If the time comes that this State shall be brought within the limits of another government, and the Union is destroyed, then its provisions are killed by external force.

It would be unnecessary for me to refer to this but for the suggestion expressed here that these things can be turned against us. They never can be turned against us until the Union is destroyed. There is no way in which they can be turned against the majority of this house except by a successful rebellion, a disruption of the Union, taking the State into the Southern confederacy. And after that is accomplished I care very little what the result may be or which way the tables may be turned. I suppose that we have all made up our minds that we have got to succeed in this matter or to lose. So far as I am concerned, I have calmly and deliberately made up my mind to risk everything in this attempt to take the consequences, to save everything or to lose everything.

There can be but one issue. The people in this State who cannot sympathize with this administration, who cannot honestly agree to do these things, must wait until the progress of events has determined either that the authority of the Union shall be restored, or that we shall come under the authority and control of some other force than the Union.

People talk about spies and detectives. I want to know how many spies and detectives it would take to arrest twenty or twenty-five thousand people? It is practically impossible. Yet there is not a man who lives in this State that does not regard some of the people who live along side of him as in favor of Jeff. Davis, and only restrained from cutting his throat from the natural goodness of their own hearts, or possibly by the saving grace of God Almighty. That is all true. Any man is a fool who does not know that in civil war men are only preserved from cutting each other's throats by their personal respect for each other, and their desire to do nothing contrary to the moral law; and perhaps I should add the fear that there may be another side to the knife, or that if they did appeal to that they would find the points of the knives turned in different ways. Is it possible, so long as one set of people living under the constitution of the United States in any State of the Union hold to the view that the people should persist in their adherence to the Union, and the other side desire peace only if slavery is established and perpetuated over the State and re-established

over all the rest of the country, that there can be any harmony between them?

West Virginia has been cited. West Virginia was perfectly right in taking the course it did. I assume that a State carved out of a State in rebellion is under different circumstances from a State which has never been in rebellion. It has got to reorganize a loyal government in the seceded State, and to make the men there swear that they have taken no part in the rebellion would be to require them to be perjurers, although they may have yielded to superior force. We must make allowances for a State of circumstances like that. We are not in the same position with any State of the south; for this State has remained in the Union and has not violated its obligations to the United States. We have not created as they have a *de facto* government. We have not two governments, one *de facto* and the other *de jure* on our soil. But men here must have been against their own State and voluntarily made war against it if they have taken up arms against the United States. The southern States have had no authority here at all during the three years of the war. The government here has been the federal government. So far then from believing that these provisions will produce discord in this State, I believe that they will do more to conciliate and to unify—to use an expression of the gentleman from Howard (Mr. Sands)—the people of this State than anything else that can be done. Those people who have been hesitating about coming under the Union, but have been waiting the chance, will see that they must come in, and those that will not, will be so far marked off from those that will, that they will be safe and harmless; unable to do any injury to the rest of the community; and sooner or later when the success of the Union of these States shall have become assured, I hope it will not be necessary to have a single restriction upon the statute; for I hope that every citizen of Maryland will at some day be thoroughly loyal. I have no belief that these people are permanently disaffected. In other nations the people have been divided in their civil wars, but have become united again against some foreign foe. But until that state of things does come, I believe there is no safety except in this principle; and I shall support it as I have offered it, honestly and conscientiously cherishing the firm conviction that it is not only important, but absolutely essential to the salvation of our people.

Mr. ABBOTT moved the previous question.

Mr. BURT. I would like to ask by what measure the chair apportions the time; whether it is by the clock; for, by that, the gentleman has spoken thirty-five minutes.

The PARSONS. There are several gentlemen for whom the chair has not made any note of the time particularly.

The call for the previous question was sustained.