

soldier he is only in a position to express differently his rights as an American citizen, and to defend them as a soldier.

The gentleman says that in the revolutionary times soldiers were denied the privilege of voting. At that time it mattered very little, there were so very few that were soldiers, whether they voted or not. I do not know that this question was discussed at that day. But here to-day, every rising sun shows more clearly that the time may arrive when all of us may be soldiers; that every man of us may yet be soldiers in defence of what the gentleman from Anne Arundel (Mr. Miller) talks about—constitutional liberty. The day may arrive when the constitution may be sunk out of sight. We have to defend the heritage given to us by our fathers. If we can retain the constitution they transmitted to us, well and good. But we have something more to do than that. We have to maintain and defend our liberty. It may become unnecessary in the future to say constitutional liberty. Every rising sun, I repeat, brings us nearer to the supposition, and I do not know how distant the day may be when all loyal American citizens shall have to become American soldiers—not paid soldiers but volunteers, defending our liberties. Then what shall happen?

Then, according to the argument of the gentleman, we shall lay aside all our civil rights; we shall have nothing to do with the government. If it is right for one man to go and defend his country, it is right for every other man to go if necessary; and when that time arrives, as it may arrive, when the whole mass of the community shall be in arms, then, according to the gentleman's theory, there is no power left to organize out of chaos, if chaos comes, in the confusion of arms, there will be nobody left to organize a constitutional form of government, because there will be nobody left who has not cast aside and shuffled off all his civil rights as a citizen.

I wish to allude also to the statement made by the gentleman in regard to the reports that he has seen in certain newspapers, about the elections that have been held so far, under the sanction of laws of the States which now allow their soldiers to vote. To a man who looks upon this question properly it is as plain as the sun at noon day how these statements get into the papers. From the very outset of the war until the present time, all the copperhead journals of the country have proclaimed what we all know to be false, that the armies have been filled with what they called the democracy; that the men who held their peculiar views about the policy of the administration, had gone to swell the armies. It has been stated constantly in the New York papers, and constantly in the western papers of that particular persuasion. All the time they have been insisting

that the abolitionists brought on the war, but that all the democrats as they call them—I call them copperheads—were fighting it out.

How could they possibly be sustained before the world—how could they look up without a blush of shame, unless they declared that this vote which gave them the lie was not a correct vote? They could not avoid it. They were obliged to do it. Every vote that has taken place from that day to this has given them the lie in their teeth. I have myself known plenty of votes that were fair, votes given without authority and without the necessary formula, votes entered into voluntarily by whole regiments of men. These votes have always satisfied me of the political character of the army. But they never satisfied these people, or at least that complexion did not satisfy their purposes. And as they had announced to the world that the whole army, or the large majority of it was of their political persuasion, when it did happen that certain States authorized the proper expression of the sentiments of that army, and when it did happen that the expression so manifested gave them before the world the lie, what could they do? They could only say that the expression was not a proper one. They could only fall back upon the assertion that the election was a farce. They were only consistent in their falsehood; that is all. I challenge the gentleman's refutation of my position upon that question.

Mr. BERRY, of Prince George's. What is the position before the country of the papers the gentleman does not style copperhead papers? Have they ever told the truth yet?

Mr. PUGH. They are administration papers—Union papers. They are the class of papers that may in the future be the general expression of the sentiments of the people who desire the continuance of the Union. If the gentlemen opposed to the administration to-day can get followers enough, it may be hereafter that the administration papers of the country shall be the only exponents of the class of people struggling for the existence of this nation as a nation when every shred of the constitution is gone.

Mr. BERRY, of Prince George's. Do I understand the gentleman to say that all the persons striving to protect the administration and sustain it, follow the lead of those papers? Does he vouch for the truth of the papers claiming to be administration papers?

Mr. PUGH. No, sir; I distinctly vouch, and that is all, for the falsity of the papers of the persuasion hinted at by the gentleman from Anne Arundel (Mr. Miller.) I state, and I challenge the gentleman to refute it, that those papers at the outset of this war declared that the army was made up of democrats, as they call them—not democrats as I call them, for I call them all cop-