

self, into a joint convention and to embrace Toombs gushingly, and beg him to honor and favor us by coming back and taking the highest form of citizenship. My substitute requires that every one of these gentlemen should show his good faith by taking the oath which all of us take, and are glad to take; that is a very small exaction to make as a preliminary to full restoration to all the rights of citizenship.

"In my amendment I have excepted Jefferson Davis from its operation. Now I do not place that exception on the ground that Davis, as he is commonly called, was the head and front of the rebellion, because on that ground I do not think the exception would be tenable. Davis was as guilty as, and no more so, no less so than, thousands of others who will get the benefit of grace and amnesty. Probably he was far less efficient as an enemy of the U. S., probably he was more useful as a disturber of the councils of the Confederacy. It is not because of any particular or special damage which he above others did to the United States, or because he is particularly of any special consequence that I excepted him; but I except him on the ground that he is the author of, and knowingly and deliberately guilty, wilfully, of a gigantic murder and crime at Andersonville. I place it on that ground, and I believe, so rapidly does one event follow another in the rapid age in which we live, that even those of us who were contemporaneously cognizant of what was transpiring there, still less of us who have grown up since, have failed to realize the gigantic crime which was there committed. Since the gentleman from Pennsylvania introduced this bill I have taken occasion to read some of the historical cruelties of the world. I have read over the details of the atrocious massacres under the Duke of Alva in the low countries, which are mentioned with a thrill of horror throughout Christendom. I have read the details of the St. Bartholomew massacre, which stand out as one of the atrocities beyond imagination. I have read anew the horrors untold and unimagined of the Spanish inquisition; and here, before God, measuring my words, and knowing their full extent and import, I declare that neither the Duke of Alva in the low countries, nor the author of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, nor the thumb-screws and dungeons and atrocities of the Spanish inquisition, begin to compare in atrocity with the hideous crime of Andersonville. Thank God, Mr. Speaker, that when this Congress was under different control from that under which it is to-day, with a committee composed of members of both parties, this late horror was placed where it could not be denied or gainsayed. I hold in my hand the story, written out by a committee of this Congress, and by its authority I state that Wirz, who is now dead, was sent to Andersonville with a full knowledge of his previous atrocities, and that those atrocities in Richmond were so bitter and so bad that confederate papers, the *Richmond Examiner*, for one, said, when he was gone, that they thanked God that Richmond was rid of his presence. We in the North knew from there turning skeletons what he had accomplished at Belle Isle or Libby. Fresh from these accomplishments he was sent by Mr. Davis, against the protest of others in the Confederacy, to construct this pen of horrors at Andersonville.

"Of course it would be utterly beyond the scope of this occasion and beyond the limits of my design now, to give any details, but in arraigning Davis, I undertake to say that I do not ask gentlemen to take the testimony of a single witness, I do not ask them to take the testimony of a single Union soldier, I only ask them to take the testimony of men who, themselves, were engaged and enlisted in the Confederate cause, and if that testimony does not entirely carry out and justify this declaration, which I will take the liberty to read, I will state that I have been entirely in error in my reading."

Blaine then proceeded to quote from the report of the committee on the conduct of the war extracts in reference to the horrors of Andersonville, in which it is stated that no pen can describe, no painter sketch, no imagination comprehend, its fearful, unutterable iniquity. He then said—

"I undertake to say that that is a

moderate description of Andersonville, and I will now read a paragraph from the testimony of Wm. John Hamilton, a man who never was in the North, a Catholic priest at Macon, and a democrat, and when you unite these three qualities in a southern priest, you will not find much testimony strained in favor of the republican party."

Blaine then read from the testimony of Father Hamilton, as given in the Wirz trial, in which witness related the case of a young man named Farrell, from the north of Ireland, whom he saw among the prisoners at Andersonville, suffering from a wound on the right foot, which had opened like an oyster, and which had been simply caused by exposure to the sun in a stockade. The priest had given him a stocking to cover his foot, and when he returned to the stockade the following week he inquired for Farrell, and his companions told him that he had stepped across the dead line, and requested the guards to shoot him. He added that the man was not insane when he saw him the previous week. Said Blaine—

"I do not desire to go into such horrible details from any purpose of raising a bad feeling, I desire only to say that the man who administered that prison went there by order of Davis, and was sustained by him.

"God forbid that I should charge any people with sympathizing with such cruelties. There were many evidences of great uneasiness among the southern people about then, and one of the great crimes of Davis was that he concealed them from the southern people. We have obtained a complete series of Davis' messages, with the official imprint at Richmond, and they are now in the Congressional library. I have looked over them, and I find that in his message of Dec. 7th, 1864, at the time when these horrors were at their acme, at their extreme verge of desperation, he says the solicitude of the government for the release of our captured fellow citizens has known no abatement, but has on the contrary been still more deeply affected by the additional suffering to which they have been wantonly subjected—to the deprivation of adequate food and clothing and fuel, which they have not been permitted to purchase from the prison sutler; and then he adds that the "enemy attempted to excuse their barbarous conduct by the unfounded allegation that it was retaliation for like conduct on our part." I say there is not a Confederate soldier now living who has any credit as a man in his community, and who ever was a prisoner in the hands of a Union force, who will say that he ever was cruelly treated, that he ever was deprived of the same rations which the Union soldiers had, or of the same food. I say that not one can truthfully state it. As for measures of retaliation, though goaded by the terrific treatment of our friends in prison by Davis, the Senate of the U. S. specially refused to pass a resolution of retaliation as contrary to modern civilization and to the first precepts of Christianity. There was no retaliation attempted or justified; it was refused, and Jefferson Davis knew it was refused just as well as he knows to-day, because what took place in Washington, or what took place in Richmond, of that kind, was known on either side of the line within a day or two thereafter.

"This is not a proposition to punish Davis; there is no one attempting to do that. I say, I always thought, the indictment of Davis at Richmond under the administration of Johnson was a weak step, for he was indicted only for that of which he was guilty in common with every other gentleman who went into the Confederate movement, and there was no particular reason for singling him out for indictment. But I say that there is not a civilized government on the globe which would not have arrested Davis, or which, when it had him in its power, would not have tried him for the maltreatment of prisoners of war, and shot him within thirty days. France, Russia, England, Germany, Austria, any of them would have done it. The poor victim Wirz deserved his death for the brutal treatment of prisoners, but I always thought it was a weak movement on the part of our government to allow Jefferson Davis to go at large and to hang Wirz. Wirz was nothing in the world but a mere subor-

dinate fool, and therefore there was no philosophy in selecting him for punishment. Still I do not say that he did not deserve it; he did richly and fully deserve it, and he deserved no mercy. But at the same time his execution put me in mind of skipping the president, superintendent and board of directors of a railroad company in case of a great railway accident, and hanging the brakeman to the rear car.

"There is no proposition here to punish Davis, nobody is asking to do it; the time for such a thing has gone by. The statute of limitation and the common feeling of humanity would intervene for his benefit; but what you ask us to do is to declare, by a vote of two-thirds of both branches of Congress, solemnly that we consider Davis worthy to fill the highest offices in the U. S. if he can get a constituency to return him. He is a voter; he can buy and he can sell; he can go and come; he is free as any man in the U. S.; there is a long list of subordinate offices to which he is eligible, but this proposition proposes, in view of the record which I have read, to declare, by a two-thirds vote of the Senate and a two-thirds vote of the House, that Mr. Davis is eligible and worthy to fill any office up to the presidency of the U. S. For one, on full deliberation, I will not do it.

"It has been frequently said, in mitigation of Davis, in amnesty matters, that the men who died in such large numbers, the victims being placed at 15,000, fell victims to an epidemic, and died of diseases which could not be avoided. Now the record shows that out of 35,000 men about 33 per cent. died, that is one in three, while of the soldiers who encamped within half a mile of the stockade, and who guarded it, but one man in 400 died.

"Now, as to a general amnesty, it is too late to debate whether it has in all respects been wise or unwise. I shall not detain the House in discussing that. Even if I had convictions on that question, I do not know that it would be productive of any great good to discuss it. But at the same time it is a very singular spectacle that the republican party, while in possession of this government, deliberately called back into power the leading men of the South, every one of whom turns out its bitter, relentless and malignant foe; and that to-day, from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, the very men who have received this amnesty are as busy as they know how to be in consolidating, into one compact political organization, the old slave states just as before the war, and we see their banner blazoned again with the inscription that with a united South and a few votes from the North this country can be governed. I want the people to understand that this is precisely the move, that this is the animus and intent. I do not think that offering amnesty to 750 men who are now without it will either hasten or retard that movement. I do not think the granting or refusing amnesty to Davis will hasten or retard it. I hear it said that we are going to elevate Davis into very great consequence by refusing amnesty to him; that is not for me to consider. I only see before me in him whose name is presented the man who could have stopped the atrocities in Andersonville, and I here protest, and shall with my vote protest, against ever calling back and crowning with the honors of full American citizenship the man who organized that murder."

Cox Replies to Blaine.

Cox then took the floor to reply to Blaine. He said that the gentleman from Maine had seen proper, in this centennial year, to tear away the plasters from the green and bleeding wounds of the late civil war, and had seen proper to attempt to justify his conduct in the light of history. He (Cox) ventured to say that there was no precedent in history and no canon in political philosophy which the party now in the minority on this floor had not outraged by the rejection of clemency, and by its persistence in making reprisals in time of peace. The gentleman from Maine had begun by a reference to the Duke of Alva, and there was no doubt that there had been spoliation, murder, death and tyranny in the South since '65. (Derisive laughter on the republican side of the House, and applause on the democratic side). He would refer the gentleman to a precedent two thousand years old, and would say that all history was filled with

such precedents, to the effect that nations should not erect monuments to vengeance, that nations should not erect monuments except to foreign conquests; they never erected monuments to domestic calamity. It had been reserved to the gentleman from Maine to fly in the face of all history—Pagan history, and Christian history, and Christian doctrine, and to issue, in this year of grace and jubilee, his anathema against the South. For such he had a purpose, which purpose would appear as he proceeded. He (Cox) took issue with the gentleman from Maine, when he said that the republican party had been clement and amnestical; it was not true. Whenever that party had proposed any clement policy, it had been sure to spoil it by some small peddling operation. Mr. Cox had had the honor to be a member of the House at the beginning of the war, and he also had the honor to bring forward the first measure for the exchange of prisoners, and he asked whether the record of the federal administration was all right in the matter of exchange during the war? He had it on the authority of some sixty gentlemen present, who had been in the Confederate army, that no order had been issued at any time in the South with reference to prisoners of war, as to rations or clothing, which did not apply equally to Confederate soldiers. *Ex parte* affidavits by that humbug, the committee on the conduct of the war, could not controvert the facts of history; these facts were to be determined on a fair issue. So far as the Confederate government was concerned, the orders of that government, whatever might be the bad conduct of certain officers under it, had been couched in a spirit of fairness and humanity. He spoke sneeringly in reference to the remark of Blaine, that southern gentlemen were now members of the House through the grace of the republican party, and he said—"Down on your knees, gentlemen of the South, before his majesty of Maine!" He (Cox) had labored in the House to mitigate the severities of the civil war. The democrats then on the floor had been powerless to avert most of the calamities, but they had tried to mitigate its severity. They had spoken against those measures which had destroyed industry and prosperity; which had burned libraries, poisoned wells, and done anything but make war—the duello between fighting men in the field. Until Lincoln's proclamation of amnesty, the same spirit had prevailed which provoked retaliation and perpetuated the war. When the amnesty of Lincoln was proclaimed, it was proclaimed in a spirit different from that of the gentleman from Maine to-day. He had looked down in sadness on the gentleman when he made his speech to-day. Lincoln's sentiment had been "malice toward none, charity to all," towards all, Davis included. With him there had been no exceptions, no restrictions, no odious test oaths. The gentleman from Maine could not have been raised in a Christian church or in any church in which is taught the doctrine of Him who spoke as never man spoke. He (Cox) could not tell, and the nation did not know, the church the gentleman was raised in, but one thing he did know, that if that gentleman had read the sermon on the mount aright he never would have made the stormy speech which he had made to-day.

Cox proceeded to give a history of the various attempts at amnesty, in the course of which Blaine enquired of him how the Southern gentlemen who were members of the House had got here? Cox replied—"They got here because the South wanted honest representatives, and the republicans down there were not honest."

Blaine—"But will the gentleman tell us how they got the amnesty?"

Cox—"They got it from the force of popular sentiment, which enabled a few good men on your side of the House to join with the good men on this side to compel amnesty."

Cox went on to give a history of the amnesty legislation in Congress, and referred to the fact that the colored men voted generally for amnesty. He characterized this by saying that the colored troops fought nobly, and it was a pretty comment upon the white side of the House. He said he had been surprised and mortified at hearing the gentleman say that

when he was Speaker he sent down a request to a colored member to do what he had not the courage to do, that was to have Davis excluded from the operations of that bill. To Blaine—"Is that the statement you made? Is that correct?"

Blaine—"As the gentleman asks me, I will make an explanation if he will allow me."

Cox—"Certainly."

Blaine—"What the gentleman states is in the main correct, but I can state it more fully. Maynard was anxious to report the amnesty bill; he had certain reasons for doing so, which I do not know, and which if I did know I would not disclose. He asked me, personally, in the committee room, not to urge any objections to it, and from my respect and friendship for him I allowed him to report it without objection. I had some conversation with gentlemen on this floor as to the expediency of allowing that bill to pass, but there was at that time a certain feeling around the gentleman from N. Y., and it was believed that his associates would be very kindly disposed towards the civil rights bill if the general amnesty bill should pass. I asked the gentleman from S. C. to object, and I appeal to him whether he does not recollect."

Rainey—"I recollect the circumstance perfectly well."

Blaine—"He said he would not like to do it for many reasons, among others that it might prejudice the civil rights bill. I thought then that the amnesty bill, including Davis in it, could not have gone through. I was in the chair, and could not myself object to the bill, and I took the course which the gentleman has indicated."

Hill of Georgia obtained the floor, and the debate went over till tomorrow.

The Speaker announced the following select committee on the Texas frontier trouble—Schlergher, A. S. Williams, of Mich., Lamar, Banks and Hurlbut.

The Indian Nation.

GENERAL POPE TAKES POSSESSION OF THE UNION AGENCY—STARTLING DEVELOPMENTS.

Muskogee, I. T., January 3.—Major J. J. Upham, commandant of the post at Fort Gibson, acting under telegraphic orders from the secretary of the Interior through General Pope, took possession to-day of the office, books and vouchers belonging to the Union agency at this place. The United States Indian agencies for the Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole nations were abolished by act of Congress in 1874, consolidated under one agency, and placed in charge of George W. Ingalls as agent, although his appointment was not confirmed until 1875, owing to some prior difficulty while acting as agent for the Putes. The necessity for such summary proceedings has not transpired, but it is intimated that the misapplication of public funds intrusted to his care for the selecting of a location and erecting of the new agency buildings, just completed, public and private funds, and funds contributed to influence his selection of this point for the location, seem to be mixed indiscriminately, and disbursed in a careless and unauthorized manner. What the amount of loss to the Government of the Indian trust funds, on building funds, if any, cannot be determined, as Ingalls is absent from the Territory, and the examination cannot be completed till his report of funds on hand is obtained and vouchers examined. The loss will probably be fully covered by his bonds for \$10,000 held by the Government. The affairs of the office have been conducted in a manner very unsatisfactory to the Indians under his care, whatever it may have been to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. No report of expenditures has been made to the Department, as required by law, for nearly a year.—*St. Louis Globe Democrat*.

NOTICE.

FIFTY-SEVENTH QUORUM SEVENTIES! We desire to learn immediately the whereabouts of the members of the 57th Quorum. Please communicate promptly to the clerk of said quorum.

W. E. WILCOX,
WM. H. WALKER, } Residing in
A. M. MITCHELL, } this City.
F. A. MITCHELL,
WM. J. NEWMAN, Clerk.