THE EASTON GAZETTE.

SATURDAY MORNING, - - - - - JUNE 1, 1861.

EASTON, MD.

FOR CONGRESS

Hon. John W. Crisfield,

OF SOMERSET COUNTY.

The Peace Revolution Party.—The forlorn effort of the Secession party of this county to obtain a few votes in its last extremity by suddenly shifting its tactics and raising the cry of peace! peace!! may well excite the compassion of all beholders. The transparent covering, however, by which it is attempted to conceal its real designs, is too clumsily put on to deceive the most superficial observer. We have too much respect for the intelligence of the people of Talbot to suppose for a moment that they can be misled by such a shallow artifice. The sudden summerset of the party is only a new manœuvre to divert the attention of the public from its past misdeeds and to obtain support by professing that which it has steadfastly opposed through all the changes of the past few months.—Now we say to the people of Talbot again, be on your guard against such men. They are the very men who have been clamoring for the last six months for a call of the legislature in order that the State might take ACTION—for what? why that Maryland might take sides with the Confederate States. You have heard their abuse of Governor Hicks for not calling the Legislature and arming the State. You have heard their denunciations in all quarters because our patriotic Governor refused to grant their request and involve the State in civil war. But not satisfied with that they attempted to call a Convention without authority of law and carry the State out by revolution. The conspiracy to accomplish this baneful result was attempted to be carried out in our county in February last. It was supposed that Talbot county being a strong secession county, would elect a secession ticket and give a large majority in favor of a Convention and that the other counties would follow the example. The people, however, being aroused to a sense of danger came out in favor of the Union and the movement was defeated by an overwhelming majority. The attempt to carry the State FOR THE TIME, was abandoned. Now, we ask, what would have been the result if the people of the State had followed the advice of those who initiated the movement? We would at this moment have been in the condition in which Virginia now is, hostile armies would have been in conflict upon our own soil, and the blood of our citizens would have been running in a hopeless contest with the combined forces of the government. Our own section of the State which has so far been exempt from the evils and privations of civil war, would have been over-run with foreign troops to whom we must have submitted or perished in the conflict. These are the results which were attempted to be accomplished by the very men who now come to you crying peace! peace!! They are wolves in sheep's clothing. Like Santa Anna at the battle of Buena Vista, they display a white flag merely to conceal their design to accomplish your ruin by the overthrow of your institutions. They have adopted various devices for the purpose of alluring the people; first, they were the Southern State Rights party, next the speedy actionists, the anti-coercion party, the Conditional Union party and now the PEACE party. Yes, this peace party, as we have intimated before, is the very party that has countenanced every revolutionary proceeding in the Seceded States, that rejoiced in the commencement of the war at the attack of Fort Sumter, that encourged resistance to the passage of the federal troops through Baltimore, that has given aid and comfort to the enemies of our flag and attempted to involve the State in a collision with the general government. And how do they propose to accomplish peace? by overthrowing the government and rending asunder the tie which binds Maryland to the Union and which now constitutes her only protection against the ravages of war. This result you prevented by your patriotic efforts on the 4th of February. Turn out again in your strength on the 13th of June and by one vigorous effort the enemies of the Union will be swept forever from the stage of political action.

REMEMBER, people of Talbot, that the present attitude of Maryland by which she has avoided the dangers of civil war, is owing to the position taken by Gov. Hicks and the efforts of the Union men throughout the State. The most persistent efforts have been made by the Secessionists to induce the Governor to convene the Legislature in order that the State might take action and provide for arming the citizens of the State. Now for what purpose was this action to be taken? The State was already in a peaceful attitude to the general government and the only action that could have been taken would have been that of hostility to the government. For what purpose were the arms to be purchased? It will certainly not be contended that they were to be used against the Confederate States; they must therefore have been intended to be used against the government. This was evidently the design as avowed by E. Louis Lowe in the Baltimore convention, when he declared that the war should be carried on on the Susquehanna instead of the Potomac, and which was to be red with the blood of our citizens. Such treasonable sentiments are fit utterances for a man that declared to the people of Easton in October last "that our national Union was a matter of accident and not philosophical necessity." Stand fast then by that party that has so far preserved our State from the misfortune of civil war and trust not those whose every effort has been to bring about so dire a calamity.

☞ THE Star wishes to know "if the Union men of Talbot are prepared to reverse the verdict they rendered last winter in favor of peace." We answer no, they are going to seal it in thunder tones on the 13th of June by rendering powerless the efforts of those who in February last as now have been endeavoring to involve our State in difficulty. The inadvertent confession that the Disunion party was the war party on that occasion only shows the hopelessness of a disguise through which the slightest movement discloses the whole object.

ON Wednesday a slight rent was made in the flag at St. Michaels, in the hoisting of it. This is looked upon by secessionists as a bad omen. They have figured out just the number of stars they would like to see from it, as being the number torn off, and are gloating over the speck of a prospect for capital, but not a single star or a single stripe was injured and the little fracture was soon mended by the hands who are still clinging to the Union that these Secessionists are chuckling over the disruption of.

SENATOR DOUGLAS is very ill, and not expected to recover.

Hon. Jno. W. Crisfield,

WILL SPEAK

IN EASTON,

ON TUESDAY NEXT, the 4th inst.

Come one, come all, and hear the true points at issue. Speaking will commence at 2 o'clock P. M.

THE MASKED SECESSION PARTY

held a convention in Cambridge on Tuesday last and Daniel M. Henry, Esq., was nominated for Congress to oppose Mr. Crisfield. We understand they had a difficult task to get any one to serve, and it is quite likely that Mr. Henry did not accept with the expectation of being elected. He is said to be a perfect gentleman, but entirely unfit for the post, especially at this particular time, should he be elected.—He has had but little experience in national service—never, we believe, filling a higher place than that of delegate to the General Assembly of Maryland.—Mr. Crisfield has been tried in the halls of the nation and known to be equal to the task, and if elected will boldly defend the Constitution. If by any possible manœuvreing on the part of the Masked Secession party Mr. Henry should be elected have the people any assurance that he would not resign before taking his seat, thus leaving this district unrepresented? It has been the desire of this very secession party now wearing the mask of peace that Maryland should not be represented in the next Congress, and some of them have declared they would vote for no candidate. Will they hold their promise? Those that want to vote for a good man for this occasion should cast their ballots for Hon. Jno. W. Crisfield. A deep laid scheme is being made by the Masked Secessionists of this county to entrap the peace-loving citizens. This cry of PEACE which they have just raised does not reach beyond the smoke of the chimney of its originators. In the other counties or even in some of the Districts of this county, the cue has not been fairly taken, so it can easily be seen that the Secession party no where has put on the mask of peace except in Easton, where it originated and in some parts of the other districts where great effort has been made to spread it. Union men are you to be honey fuggled by this sugar-coated Secession pill?

HARD TO BEAT.—We received from Mr. Jno. Baggs, a few days ago a bunch of wheat numbering 186 stems all grown from one grain. The stems have been cut off to an ordinary stubble length, but it was very tall before cut. We doubt that this can be surpassed.

WE are informed by the chairman and treasurer of the Safety Committee of this county, that the sum of $951,49 has been expended and that no further expenditure is at this time contemplated.

THROWN FROM HIS CARRIAGE.—Dr. C. C. Cox was thrown from his carriage on Saturday last. He was badly stunned, but on the next day he was again enabled to attend to his professional duties.

AN IMPORTANT DOCUMENT.—We give much of our space this morning to the important letter of Hon. Jno. P. Kennedy, over the signature of 'E Pluribus Unum.' Every Marylander should peruse it carefully.

A CARD.

MR. EDITOR:—My attention has been called to an article in your paper of last Saturday, signed "Trappe," in which the charge is made against what is termed the "William's Expedition" to Baltimore, that the expense of the expedition is to be charged to the tax-payers of Talbot county. Now permit me to say in answer to "Trappe," that his informant stated what is altogether untrue, and I can hardly suppose that "Trappe" ever *heard even as a rumor* what he has stated. Yours, very respectfully,

THOS. P. WILLIAMS.

READ! READ!!—the following letter of Senator Mason, of Virginia, written about one week before the election on the ordinance and see if you are willing to trust your fate in the hands of the masked secession party. Senator Mason would not dared to have spoken this before the citizens of Virginia were safe in the clutches of the secessionists. Just so in Talbot, if they get you in their grasp, then away goes your liberty of speech and action, you will be placed under such leaders as Senator Mason, and be compelled to suit their views or leave the State.—Read his letter upon that subject below:

Letter from Senator Mason, of Virginia.

WINCHESTER, Va., May 16, 1861.

To the Editor of the Winchester Virginian:

The question has been frequently put to me, what position will Virginia occupy should the ordinance of secession be rejected by the people at the approaching election? And the frequency of the question may be an excuse for giving publicity to the answer.

The ordinance of secession withdrew the State of Virginia from the Union, with all the consequences resulting from the separation. It annulled the Constitution and the laws of the United States within the limits of this State, and absolved the citizens of Virginia from all obligations of obedience to them.

Hence it follows, if this ordinance be rejected by the people, the State of Virginia will remain in the Union, and the people of the State will remain bound by the Constitution of the United States, and obedience to the Government and the laws of the United States will be fully and rightfully enforced against them.

It follows of course that in the war now carried on by the Government of the United States against the Seceding States, Virginia must immediately *change sides*, and, under the orders of that Government, *turn her arms against her Southern sisters.*

From this there can be no escape. As a member of the Union all her resources of men and money will be at once at the command of the Government of the Union.

Again, for mutual defence, immediately after the ordinance of secession passed, a treaty or "military league" was formed by the Convention in the name of the people of Virginia, with the "Confederate States" of the South, by which the latter were bound to march to the aid of our State against the invasion of the Federal Government. And we have now in Virginia, at Harper's Ferry and at Norfolk, in face of the common foe, several thousand of the gallant sons of South Carolina, of Alabama, of Louisiana, Georgia and Mississippi who hastened to fulfill the covenant they made, and are ready and eager to lay down their lives side by side with our sons in defence of the soil of Virginia.

If the ordinance of secession is rejected not only will this "military league" be annulled, but it will have been made a trap to inveigle our generous defenders into the hands of their enemies.

Virginia remaining in the Union, duty and loyalty to her obligations to the Union will require that those Southern forces shall not be permitted to leave the State, but shall be delivered up to the Government of the Union; and those who refuse to do so will be guilty of treason, and be justly dealt with as traitors.

Treason against the United States consists as well "in adhering to its enemies, and giving them aid," as in levying war.

If it be asked what are those to do who, in their consciences, cannot vote to separate Virginia from the United States, the answer is simple and plain. Honor and duty alike require that they should not vote on the question, and if they retain such opinions they must leave the State.

None can doubt or question the truth of what I have written, and none can vote against the ordinance of secession who do not thereby (whether ignorantly or otherwise) vote to place himself and his State in the position I have indicated.

J. M. MASON.

Grand Rally at St. Michaels!

Raising of the Stars and Stripes!

St. Michaels a Unit for the Union!

GREAT ENTHUSIASM!

Stirring Speeches and Thrilling Music!

THE STAND AND POLL DECORATED WITH WREATHS AND FLAGS!

THE OLD DEFENDERS FIRM FOR THE UNION!

The Ladies doing their Mite for the Good Cause!

ABOUT 1200 PERSONS PRESENT.

Last Wednesday was a gala day in St. Michaels in this county. That being the day set apart for the raising of the Mammoth Flag, presented by the ladies to the Union men of that District, invitation was extended to distinguished gentlemen at a distance to be there, but having previous engagements could not be present, hower a number of the able defenders of the Stars and Stripes from our own county were on hand and did good work for the noble cause.

THE POLL AND SPEAKERS' STAND.

The poll upon which the stars and stripes were hoisted is the same that bore that flag through the Bell and Everett campaign. It is about one hundred feet high and perfectly straight, painted red, white and blue. The poll and the speakers' stand were both decorated with wreaths of flowers and evergreens and mottoes and devices of various kinds—the work of the fair hands who are ever ready to cheer the sterner sex by their smiles (and if need be—actions) to keep afloat that emblem of liberty which was on that day, flung to the breeze.

ORGANIZATION OF THE MEETING.

The meeting was organized about 2½ o'clock, by calling John Harper, Esq., to the chair, with a number of vice presidents and secretaries. On taking the chair Mr. Harper thanked the meeting for the honor conferred upon him and opened the exercises with a short but patriotic, well-timed and forcible speech, after which he introduced Dr. C. C. Cox, upon whom the ladies had conferred the honor of presenting the flag. To attempt to give a synopsis of the speech of the Doctor or any other that spoke on the occasion would be doing them great injustice. The Doctor's eulogy on woman was grand. He gave a passing notice to our present difficulties, deprecated the State of affairs, is opposed to the party in power now as he ever has been, but he advocated a maintainance of the government. Hon. J. B. Kerr, received the flag on the part of the Union men, with an able address of about an hour. He spoke of the good service which the town of St. Michaels did during the war of 1812, and at the conclusion of his remarks he thanked the ladies of that town for so great an evidence of their allegiance to the Union and respect to the defenders of their fire-sides. He then handed the national token to fourteen of the old defenders.

THE FLAG HOISTED BY THE OLD DEFENDERS OF 1812.

They were seated upon the platform and when the flag was presented to them by the hand of the Honorable speaker they, with their locks white with the frosts of many winters and some bent under the weight of years, formed in line and marched down, with a firm step and made fast the flag to the halyards and with a long pull, a strong pull and a pull all-together it floated in the breeze as proudly as ever the Stars and Stripes floated before. The sight was of no ordinary occurrence. As it gradually mounted to the large gilded eagle which was upon the top of the poll the St. Michaels Band struck up the "Star Spangled Banner," and the immense crowd remained in almost breathless silence, with hats of men and handkerchiefs of ladies waving until the flag reached its destination and appeared safely grasped by the talons of the proud bird which over-looked it, when the multitude, as moved by electricty rent the air with their thunder-toned huzzas.

Wm. B. Clark, Esq., next addressed the meeting. We never saw him make a happier effort than he did on that occasion. He discountenanced anything like secession. By traitorous hands that flag had been attempted to be replaced by another, having for its recommendation nothing but a very small cluster of Stars. This he opposed and desired to see the Stars and Stripes which has given peace to many a down trodden soul, nailed to the mast, and in the language of the old warrior and statesman of the "Hermitage," "this Union must and shall be preserved."

The president then introduced our distinguished fellow citizen, Dr. Ninian Pinkney, of the U. S. Navy. The doctor addressed the meeting in a speech of about half an hour. His remarks were just such as might have been expected from a true patriot and one who has been so long in the service of his country. He said he had seen the Stars and Stripes triumphantly wave over many waters and in Mexico, but had never yet seen it trail in the dust. It is true it was lowered at Fort Sumter, but not until it was gallantly defended, and it was only lowered then to rise again with greater power. He thought that a kind providence had favored the sustenance of our country and believed it is still doing it. For who ever heard of such a fight as that of Sumpter—hot shot, bombs and all such deadly implements of war were thrown into Sumter—flying over and around the heads of her soldiers, guns dismounted and men having to lay flat upon their faces to prevent suffication, and not a life lost? But he doubted not the bravery of South Carolina. They to a man would battle hard. He had sworn to protect the Stars and Stripes and would suffer a thousand deaths before he would see that flag defaced or one Star plucked from it. Let Maryland do as she may he would serve under that flag so long as a single Star remained. At times the Doctor could scarcely speak on account of interruption from bursts of applause. The speakers were all loudly applauded and the whole proceedure appeared to be highly gratifying to the vast assemblage.

Hon. H. H. Goldsborough expected to be present but urgent business compelled him to go to the city that morning, consequently he could not be present, but the following letter was read to the meeting, which will be very gratifying to his numerous friends, who were not present on that occasion:

EASTON, May 29, 1861.

To Alexander H. Seth, Esq., Chairman Committee of invitation.

MY DEAR SIR: I had hoped to be able to accept your polite invitation to be present at the hoisting of the "Stars and Stripes" in your loyal town to-day, but have been compelled to go to Baltimore on urgent business.

Be pleased to communicate to the meeting this, my excuse, which I much regret, as I should love to express to them on some suitable occasion my views on national matters, and more particularly on those immediately connected with the welfare of our beloved State.

I am now confident that this mad attempt to destroy our government will meet with the most signal discomfiture. It only requires that the people should be kept well posted as to the machinations of wily politicians to defeat their schemes, however well planned.

I deem it of the highest importance that the people should avail themselves of this legislative recess, to demand by petition and every other Constitutional mode, the immediate and final adjournment of this department of our State Government. It can accomplish nothing but a total depletion of an almost bankrupt treasury, which in our present condition, does not I think, comport with either the general welfare or the best interests of the people.

Let the people then speak out in the majesty of their power on this subject and require at our hands, the surrender of those powers, which *happily* have only been temporarily entrusted to us.

I have written in great haste, having but a few moments to spare, and express again my sincere regret in not being able to meet on this occasion, our true and loyal friends of St. Michaels and its vicinity. Yours truly,

H. H. GOLDSBOROUGH.

Before we conclude this report we must refer to a striking and most beautiful incident which occurred. Just as the topmost of the poll which has upon it the large gilded eagle, was drawn up to its place, a large live simon pure American Eagle passed over. When it got over the eagle that was upon the poll it lowered to within a very short distance of it and appeared to be almost in the act of alighting. It paused for a while in a kind of nestly attitude, something as a hen when hovering her brood, thus appearing to look upon the proceedure below with admiration and then sped its way southward where such sights cannot now be seen. If it kept on to South Carolina no doubt it hung its head in shame to see that the rattle snake had taken its place.

THE GREAT DRAMA.

AN APPEAL TO MARYLAND.

It is the most deplorable misfortune of our unhappy country, at this moment, that it has no authentic voice to speak its honest, sober judgment on the public affairs. Here we are, in Maryland, involved in a dreadful revolution which has already convulsed society to the centre, torn up its prosperity by the roots, sown discord in families, alineated old familiar friends, and spread consternation through the whole community. It has visited peaceful and thriving households with want, stricken down fortunes acquired by long and patient industry, scattered the small accumulations of humble thrift, and reduced to absolute beggary thousands and thousands of the best and most useful of our working population. These are the ravages of the first act in the Great Drama.

The second act is about to open upon us. The pride and flower of our youth are in arms. Hostile camps are gathering their forces. Wild, ungovernable and savage men are openly and stealthily armed with terrible weapons. Hatreds are east abroad and sown in fierce hearts. Denunciation and proscription are uttered in under tones and with ominous threats of mischief.—Soon we shall hear the clash of arms. What then? Read the wars of the Roses; read the raids of Cromwell; the ravage of the Palatimate; the fusillades of Lyons. Read, at random, any page that records the rage, the demonism, the hellish passion of civil war, and fancy the sack of cities, the brutal and indiscriminate murder of old and young of either sex, the rape and rapine, the conflagration, the shriek of surprised families, the midnight flight of mothers and children tracking their way with bleeding feet—the mourning, the desolation, the despair which are all painted in such horrid colors in that history—fancy all these pictures converted into the realities of our own experience, and we shall then come to the perception of the second act of this portentous drama.

How does it come to pass that this, our prosperous State of Maryland—this, our beautiful city of Baltimore is suddenly buried into the bosom of this commotion? Why is it that Maryland, so remote from the first theatre of revolution, so little concerned in its issues, so reluctant to take sides in this miserable quarrel—Maryland, happy and peaceful—why is it that she is doomed to stand forward, the first to encounter the sweep of this storm, to bear its continuous brunt, and to give up her substance, her children and her homes, to the alternate ravage of contending factions, until war, wearied with slaughter and exhausted by its own destruction, shall no longer find a victim or a country to punish?

We answer this terrible question truly when we say that Maryland, like her sisters of the Confederacy is allowed no free and honest expression or her thoughts. It is too painfully obvious that Maryland opinion is surrendered to the control of influences that repress all wise and earnest consideration of the momentous topics that belong to the public welfare. Its key note is derived from the heated utterances of passionate and thoughtless youth, of impressible women and girls, of infuriated politicians, of all that multitude of excitable, rash, unreasoning persons, who fly to conclusions under the impulse of prejudice, desire or interest; and lastly and more significantly, of wily, unscrupulous partisan leaders who are moved by premeditated design to accomplish a selfish party triumph. In the domineering ascendancy of these agencies over the public mind, the quiet, reflective good sense of the community is repressed; the orderly and industrious are kept in the background; the timid are overawed; the weak are silenced, and the credulous are misled.

The whole movement towards secession, even in the States most favorable to it, has been artfully promoted by the fabrication of a false opinion. It has been borne along by a whirlwind of contrived excitement. The passions of the people have been inflamed by exaggerated representations of impending dangers; by skilful exhibition of the idle ravings of mad and wicked fanatics as the settled views of the Government; by startling conjunctures preconcerted by the managers to madden the temper and overwhelm the discretion of the populace, and by provoking outbreak and violence as the topics for frantic appeal to the manhood and patriotism of the State. The unnecessary bombardment of the starving garrison of Sumter was intended to stimulate the reluctant mind of Virginia to secession. The simultaneous seizures of Gosport Navy Yard and of Harper's Ferry were the arranged stimulants to confirm the wavering resolution of that State. The futile and calamitous attempt to resist the passage of the troops through Maryland was but another spur to quicken the speed of secession, by driving the State against its better judgment into rebellion. The secession enterprise, everywhere, has been remarkably characterized by the signs of a conspiracy to give the minority a command over the majority. It avoids reference to the popular consent, screens its plans from public criticism by secret sessions, and plies the machinery of passion to rush the people into the abyss of revolution, with the renunciation of all thought and forecast of its consequences.

There is something ungenerous, and even worse, in the advantage which the Seceding States have taken of the wise and patriotic sentiment of the Border States against coercion.—When these latter States pledged themselves, in the beginning of the rupture, that they would not sanction any attempt of the Government to coerce the Seceders into submission, it was a pledge that the experiment of secession should be allowed to take its allotted course in peace, with the hope that peace would bring calm judgment into action, and, though its influence, an early return to harmony in the Union. Such a pledge implied a counter-pledge of moderation, of counsel and honest confidence in the unbiased judgment of the people, by the Seceding States. It implied that the good sense of the country should be left free to act, with perfect immunity from artificial excitement, on the whole subject whatever it might be brought into debate. Instead of granting this freedom from agitation to the Border States, the secession party of the South, taking advantage of the promise against coercion, has busily employed itself in provoking collision by assault and spreading panic by alarm, and thus stirring the population of the Border into sudden revolt against the Government. They contrive a necessity for coercion, and then call on the Border States to resist it, in fulfillment of a promise really made to secure peace. Such are the conditions in which Maryland is now invoked to imbue her hands in the blood of civil war. It cannot escape observation that, notwithstanding the large majority of the people of Maryland are now, and ever have been, true and faithful to the Union, and averse to every design to drag them into this ruinous career of revolution, here is an active, intelligent and ardent minority in the State who are bent upon forcing her into the Southern Confederacy; and that although this secession party, now accidentally in possession of the Legislative power, finds itself compelled to succomb to the force gathering around us to and to temporise with the difficulties it cannot surmount, it still cherishes the purpose of future control, and only lies at lurch waiting the events of the day, to make a new effort to array the State against the Government. In this condition of things it is of the profoundest moment that we should invoke the good sense of every patriotic citizen in our Commonwealth to look the dangers around us in the face, and, before it is too late, to make a united effort to recall our excited brothers to an honest and sober consideration of our destiny. The men of Maryland, of all parties, are too earnest, too faithful to their duty to themselves and the community in which they live, too honorable, frank and just, knowingly to perpetrate a wrong against the prosperity and happiness of their own homes and kindred—their children and their friends. We accord the fullest honesty of intention even to the rashest and most thoughtless of those who are endeavoring to cast our lot upon the path of disunion. We believe them sincere in thinking that the honor and the welfare of the State demand that we should follow the lead of the bold spirits of the South who have plunged the country into this commotion. Our ingenuous and excitable youth have yielded to what we regard as but a natural impulse, when they bravely rushed to arms to resent what they were taught to think an invasion of our rights. In doing this, they have only demonstrated a noble and mistaken ardor proper to their age and temper, and which now only wants a good cause to win all the applause to which they aspire. They prove to us how much we may depend upon their manhood when the country really requires their arm.—But they, like many of their elders, are acting under a delusion.

Maryland has no cause to desert our honored Stars and Stripes. Out of this Union there is nothing but ruin for her. In the Union, dark as may be the present day, the stout resolve of Maryland to maintain her fealty to the faith of her fathers, will secure to her yet a glorious future.

Let us not fall into the fatal error of thinking that the great interests of the Union are irretrievably lost by the election of an Administration we do not like. At the worst the present predominance of a sectional party in the National Government is but a transient evil. We shall never have another but through the ignoble surrender of the loyal men of the South. Even indeed now, the perpetuation of such a party is an impossibility in the North. The excitement and storm of this day—if it has, for a season, unseated the prosperity of the nation—is worth all its privations, in the good it has already accomplished. It has forever put an end to that pestilent agitation of slavery which, for thirty years, disturbed the repose of the country; it has forever put an end to sectional Presidents and parties; it has revealed a great truth to this nation—that the Union is above all party, and that peaceful brotherhood is the most beneficent of all our blessings.

Let us bring our minds to a calm estimate of our own duty in this great crisis. There is but one issue before us, Union or Disunion. Every man in Maryland must meet that issue.

Union, on the one side, is loyalty, faith in the traditions of our ancestors, devotion to our historical union, brave support of our country in its adversity.

Disunion—let us not evade the conclusion—is rebellion, desertion of our duty, dishonor to our flag; voluntary disgrace cast upon the name of the heroes and sages who have made our country illustrious in human annals. It is prompted by the assertion of a principle of anarchy which makes all government impossible; a false dogma which affirms a right of disintegration that may pervade every division of society.

This assumed right of secession is scouted by the judgment of the world. No jurist, no statesman, no man of honest judgment ever affirmed it until, in these latter days, it was found to be the convenient pretext for a party design. Every President who has heard it uttered, every Cabinet, every State, every party, at one period or another of our progress, has disowned it. If Washington or Jackson were alive they would account it only as rank rebellion and would so treat it.

We may not shelter ourselves under the plea of revolution. Maryland has no cause for revolution. No man in Maryland can lay his hand upon his heart and say that this Government of ours has ever done him wrong; has ever stinted its bounty to him in the full enjoyment of his life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. We cannot answer to God or man, therefore, for plunging into the great crime of rebellion and treason.—Our honor, our faith, our religion will rise up in judgment against us, to convict us of the greatest wickedness man can commit, if, on such a pretence, we lifted a bloody hand against the blessed parent of our political life. Is loyalty nothing? Submission to law nothing? Fidelity to duty nothing? Gentlemen of Maryland, do these things no longer touch your honor? Will you listen to the sordid arguments of gain, to the mean persuasions of interest, to the fear of danger, to the wretched slanders of fanatics, to the dread of that vulgar obloquy which brands you with the name of "Submissionists," to seduce you from your allegiance to the government you have inherited from brave ancestors? Has the cavalier blood become so diluted in your veins that you can for such motives abandon your country in her distress? We mistake you, and have long misunderstood you, if that be the spirit in which you meet this crisis. No, no. Stand by your ancient flag. Be true to Maryland and keep her where her fathers placed her, and when the time comes redeem your country.

For what does Secession now rear a mutilated banner?

For what cause does it invite us to take up arms?

We hear different answers to these questions. Some, who think a sectional patriotism to be their greatest duty, answer 'For Southern rights.'

Others, who think worldly profit a higher motive, say "For Southern trade."

Others again, who seem to be swayed by a kind of fatalism, say "We have no choice—we must go as Virginia goes."

We have not yet heard the first man on that side say anything about Maryland rights, Maryland honor, or Maryland independence.

Is it not strange that they forget Maryland has any duty to perform to herself and for herself?

Let us weigh these answers.

What are Southern rights? Everybody speaks of them, nobody defines them.

So vague, so misty, so variable, they escape every attempt to grasp them.

Do they comprise, as a chief demand—as many say they do—the right to maintain the institution of slavery unmolested and unimpaired in the States that possess it?

If so, no one now disputes that right. It is affirmed and offered to be made perpetual, even by the late Republican Congress, by the enactment of an irrepealable amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees it forever.

Do they assert the right to take slaves into all territory of the United States south of the Missouri line, as proposed by the Crittenden resolutions?

If that be the demand, that right now exists to its fullest extent, and slavery is at this day by law protected in every foot of territory south of 36.30, and even the three new Territories north of that line are open to the admission of slaves without restriction.

Do they mean the right to recover fugitive slaves from the Free States?

If so, all impediment to that right is virtually withdrawn. The Administration affirms a purpose to execute the law, and, in point of fact, the law is now executed with more efficiency and less obstruction than it has been for thirty years past.

Are these the Southern rights for which we are invited to get up revolution and war, and will war be likely to secure them in more full enjoyment than we have them now?

Are there any other Southern rights in dispute? We hear sometimes of a right to free trade and direct taxation; a right to traffic in African slaves; a right to Cuba, to Mexico, to Central America. Is Maryland willing to fight for these?

Then as to "Southern trade," which has captivated the imagination of some who have fallen into the Secession ranks.

There are many variant and contradictory notions on this point. Carolina hopes to make a New York of Charleston, Georgia claims the bounty for Savannah, Virginia demands it for Norfolk, Louisiana pleases her fancy with the miraculous growth of New Orleans. The visionaries of Maryland quietly smile at all these delusions, perfectly confident that the cornucopia is to be emptied upon Baltimore.

We say nothing of the heart-burnings and jealousies which these various hopes must engender if any one of these dreams are realized to the disappointment of the others. We are only concerned to look at the probable result upon Maryland.

This supposed commercial advantage is founded upon the idea, much commended in the South, of free trade with all the foreign world, and heavy restrictions upon the trade with the United States; a system of commerce built upon complacency on one side and revenge on the other.

The Southern Confederacy, it is presumed, will, in the future permanent arrangement of its policy, encumber one-half of its trade—and that its most indispensable and necessary supply—with heavy duties, and leave the other half which chiefly concerns its luxuries, free. Does any experienced merchant believe this? What will the South gain by laying duties upon the thousand productions of the North that now enter so largely into their common household and agricultural wants? Will they get their farming implements, their machinery, their wooden ware, their fish, their beef, their hay, their ice, their carriages, shoes, hats and clothing—any part of their whole inventory of family requisitions, more cheaply for that? No other country can supply them so well, and the experiment will soon prove that every cent of tax so levied is but a charge upon themselves. When that is proved, and the passion of the day subsides, it is reasoning against all the motives of human conduct to suppose that a merely vindictive restriction will be allowed to exist. The North would soon grow to be in the same category to the South with all the rest of the world—in war enemies, in peace friends; and the free trade system, if practicable at all, will be extended equally to all within the range of Southern commerce.

There are some who think these discriminations will be made with a view to the establishment of large manufacturing interests in the South. But to this there is the obvious reply, that no manufacturing system ever was built up in companionship with free trade; and the Southern Constitution has already put a vote upon the attempt by a specific prohibition of all power to protect any domestic industry.

The Northern manufactures are sufficiently established and prosperous to compete with the world in free trade, and they will always continue to find a Southern market from their exact adaption to Southern wants. But the manufactures of Maryland, in great parts are precisely those which would wither and perish under the free trade policy. We could supply no iron from our mines, no iron fabries from our workshops. Our great steam engineery, our railroad apparatus, our heavy work of the foundry, our cast and rolled metal, could never hold their own in the presence of free importations from England. It will occur to any one conversant with our workshops, that much of our most important industry here in Baltimore, and throughout the State, would be compelled to yield under the pressure of European rivalry.

Again, free trade implies direct taxation to raise revenue for the support of government. A glance at this will supply another element for the consideration of those who fancy that Maryland is to prosper in a Southern Confederacy.

The expenses of the new government are inevitably to be cast upon a higher estimate than we have ever witnessed in our heretofore harmonious Union. Large armies and navies are to be provided as the necessary apparatus of government. Fifty millions a year will not be an unfamiliar experience to the Southern financier. If that amount is to be levied upon some nine million of free population, which about represent the present number of the whole of the Southern States, it affords a ratio of more than five dollars a head. If but thirty millions be the expenditure, it will be over three dollars a head. Maryland contains near six hundred and fifty thousand free persons, and thus we estimate her annual share of the tax at over three millions per annum, on a fifty million expenditure, and on the supposition of thirty millions something near two millions per annum. Our present State tax is about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The addition to this for the support of the Confederate Government, will, on the first supposed rate of expenditure, be eight, on the other twelve times the present tax. I give these figures as a formula of calculation which any one may apply to his own estimate of the probable expenditure of the new government if its revenues are to be supplied by direct taxation.

How the trade and industry of Maryland may reconcile themselves to such a system, I leave those to judge who are best acquainted with the tax bills our present necessities impose upon us.

If it should be discovered, as I have no doubt it will be, after some sore and short experience, that this free trade fancy is but an expensive delusion, and that the old, long tried, universal and inevitable system of duties, known to and practised by all nations, as the most commendable system of national support, must be substituted by the Confederate States, what then will be the condition of their commerce? It will then be found that the revolution has been a vain work. The bubble will have burst, and the experimentors, after having turned the whole nation back a quarter of a century in its career—having ruined a generation, subverted more capital than would suffice to purchase ever slave in the nation, accumulated a debt impossible to be paid, and spread repudiation and bankruptcy over a whole circle of States—happy, if to these evils it has not added the clothing of every household in mourning—the experimentors will then find themselves vainly endeavoring to restore trade to the same relations and arrangement in which it was at the fatal moment when they initiated their new career. All that will then have been achieved will be the creation of a double set of political dignitaries, and the distribution of a double supply of loaves and fishes to the patriots of the ferment.

A tariff of duties for revenue once adopted, it then becomes the plain policy of the United States of the old Confederacy to enact the same rates, and commerce will immediately oscillate back to the track and custom of its old career.

EVEN if it should not be drawn again into that current, what has Baltimore to hope for? Will she import for the South, from the head of the Chesapeake, while Norfolk lies on the margin of the sea at its mouth, with an admirable harbor, and with all the means of Western and Southern distribution by railroads that penetrate to the Mississippi and Ohio? Do old and sagacious merchants of Baltimore allow this delusion to seize their minds? Boys may prate about such things, but surely men of sense will repeat no such absurdity. But, we have heard it said, if Maryland be not a member of the Southern Confederacy, Virginia, in time of war may close all access to the Chesapeake against us. That is true. But if Maryland should be a member of that Confederacy, then the North in time of war, may also shut up the Chesapeake against us; and not only that, but may also shut up our Western and Northern railroads. It may deny us the Ohio river; it may deny us access to Philadelphia, to New York—utterly obliterate not only our trade, but cut off our provisions. In the other case, Virginia could not do that, nor even impede our transit on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, as long as Western Virginia shall stand