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SELECTED MISCELLANY.

SPEECH OF HON. R. T. MERRICK.

The Hon. R. T. Merrick, of Chicago, (but formerly of this State), was a delegate to the Democratic State Convention of Illinois, recently held at Springfield, the capital of that State. He was one of the committee on resolutions, and was called upon after the close of their labors for a speech, which he responded to in an eloquent and forcible manner, in a pretty full review of the state of the country, and the aggregate progress of anti-slavery sentiment and action in the North against the South and its people and their rights, which had caused all this great trouble. He also in the end touched upon the "monstrous cure" which the republican leaders were now promising for the terrible results they had produced in the dismemberment of the Union, by "coercion" of the States. This was the only "cure" they proposed, and what he says on this subject, and how it was received in the very capital of the great free States of Illinois, the home of the President elect and the Governor of Illinois, who had but a few days before recommended the tender of the State military, is certainly very significant. We annex the concluding portion of Mr. Merrick's speech, which presents some striking points, and will be read with interest:

Such being the various and accumulating causes that have brought upon the country the fearful disasters under which she is now laboring the question recurs, how can these disasters be met? *How can the Union be saved?*

Give to the Southern States what they have always demanded—what it is your duty to render—give them *Truth, Justice and the Constitution*—and if it is admitted that the constitution as it is liable to various constructions with regard to the protection of the property and rights of the South, amend it in such a manner as to place it beyond the possibility of misconstruction, and to secure that property and those rights forever. But, gentlemen of the convention, you cannot save this Union, nor can our democratic brethren of the North save it. The causes of its danger having originated with the republican party, and from the policy they have adopted and the principles they advocate, that party must meet the crisis, and with them rests the duty of saving the Union or the responsibility of its destruction. Let them understand the position in which they are placed—let them see that the democratic party understand it—let them feel that we here to-day call them before the American people in the name of the liberties of our country and the existence of the Union to heal the dissensions they have created, and if they do not perform the sacred duty that is upon them, we will hereafter, if the worst should come, hold them responsible for the ruin they have wrought in the presence of the fragments of our government, which will bear testimony to the reckless adhesion to party discipline by which it was torn down and destroyed. [Loud applause.]

I must confess, gentlemen of the convention, that the portentous silence of the President elect and the most extraordinary course taken by the Governor of this State, fill me with alarm and apprehension for the fate of my country. What is now our condition? Since the election of Mr. Lincoln a revolution has been in progress, and one after another of the Southern States have thrown off their allegiance to the federal government, until four have withdrawn from the Union, to be followed in a few days by three of those that yet remain; and, in my humble opinion, the border States that have not gone will yet more decidedly and promptly than those that have preceded them, and unless something is speedily done to pacify existing disturbances and restore peace to the country, by the 4th of March next the fifteen slave States will have formed an independent Southern confederacy. But notwithstanding this unparalleled excitement of the public mind, and notwithstanding the unmistakable evidence that we are in a mighty revolution, which could be ended now and forever by just concessions on the part of the republican party, Mr. Lincoln has remained as silent as the grave, apparently well pleased to

see the ruin he could prevent go on unobstructed in its desolating course.

And the Governor of this State, here in the capital, not seven days since, and within hearing of Mr. Lincoln, sends forth to the country an inaugural address, which, in the present condition of the public mind, all good men must regard as one of the most dangerous, unpatriotic and incendiary papers that ever came from any public functionary in the United States. [Applause.] Instead of meeting the emergency with propositions of conciliation and compromise, he proposes to reorganize the army and militia of the State, upon a scale as grand as that upon which the standing army of a monarch is organized and armed, and then tells the country that "it is due to truth to say that the only participation to which the people of this State could accede would be upon the principles upon which Mr. Lincoln was elected."

I deem it due to the patriotism of the people of this State to say that the tribute offered by the Governor in their behalf is truth in fact a tribute to *untruth*. [Loud applause.] Let but the voice of the people be heard, and they would proclaim in tones too loud and too distinct for the most unwilling not to hear and understand, their determination to pacify the existing difficulties by any terms, and consign to lasting oblivion the men who, pretending to represent their sentiments, outrage their honor and their love of country by stating to the world that they are ready to maintain the integrity of a party platform at the expense of the integrity of the Union. [Long and loud applause.]

The connection in which the recommendation of the Governor with regard to the militia appears in his inaugural address, is most significant. The present militia of the State, as has been fully explained by the distinguished gentleman who preceded me, is entirely sufficient for all our present and prospective State necessities. The change indicated does not originate in any desire among the people; and the people of the State, either democrats or republicans, never supposed any recommendation would be made by the Governor with regard to the subject. The policy originates with the Governor himself and those of the republicans who, claiming to stand above and to guide the people, consult with that distinguished gentleman. Why does he desire a reorganization of the militia? Are we threatened with invasion? No man dreams of such a thing. Are we likely to be engaged in a foreign war? Amity and good feeling and peace prevail between us and all foreign nations in probably a greater degree than at any preceding period of our history. Why, then, organize a standing army in the State? The answer is obvious, and is given by the Governor himself. A standing army is required because "the only participation to which the people of this State could accede would be upon the principles upon which Mr. Lincoln was elected."

Governor Yates knows that upon these principles a pacification can never be effected; he knows that it was those very principles, and the prospect of their inauguration in the policy of the country, that has caused the present most disastrous condition of public affairs. He knows that the South will never agree that there is an irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery—that "that this Union cannot last half slave and half free"—"that all the States must become free, old as well as new." He does not then look to or expect a protection upon the basis he has suggested, and since his suggestion excludes the idea of a pacification upon any other basis, it is evident he does not expect any pacification whatever. Acting, then, upon his opinion that the present distracted state of the country is not to be quieted by any peaceable adjustment, he proposes to put the State upon a war footing, for the purpose of coercing the seceding States to return to their allegiance to the federal government.

This is the means proposed by the republican party of saving the Union. I have stated what in my humble opinion would save it; in that opinion, however, I may have been in error, and it may already be too late for compromise and concession; but I feel that I cannot be in error when I say that this Union never can be saved by force—coercion!—force! This is war—war upon the Southern States—not on South Carolina alone—not on the cotton States alone—but on the entire South. For be assured gentlemen that, whether the border States follow the secession of States of the extreme South or not, they will certainly regard any hostile attack upon these Southern States as an attack upon themselves. It will be a war then upon fifteen States. Are you prepared for such a war? [Shouts, "no, no; fight here."] No, gentlemen, thank God, fanaticism has not yet so hardened our hearts that we are ready to imbue our hands in the blood of our brothers. [Applause.] Such a war would be most accursed, wicked, unjust, cruel and diabolical, and if the republican leaders expect that it would be a war in the Southern States—a war at a distance so far removed from the North that those who had brought it on would not even be disturbed

by the roar of its cannon, let them undecieve themselves at once.

The tone and feeling of this convention responds to my own; and I am satisfied that if such a conflict ever comes, it will be war in the North and not war in the South. [Applause.] It will be war in Chicago—war in Springfield—war on the broad prairies of Illinois. [Loud applause.] Before the patriotic people of this State will allow an invading force to pass beyond its borders to subjugate the South, they will make one vast manseum of your State. [Continued applause.] The lovers of peace—the lovers of the country, and you, the bones of whose ancestors repose in the South, would be upheld or sustained by the sacred recollections of the past, and spirits of the dead would commingle with the living to battle on the side of the just. [Immense and continued applause.]

And what would be the end of such a war? Could you judge of the South? No man can imagine such a thing. Gentlemen, such a war, after having given to history its bloodiest page and been to freedom and freedom's cause a fatal saturnalia, would at last end in a treaty, and that treaty would be one of eternal separation among the States. Never again, even in the most distant years of the future, could they be reunited as one common political power. Each section of the dis-jointed confederacy would inherit from such an endlesse strife, its debt immense of endless vengeance against the other which, though ever paying in repeated conflicts, would yet never be fully paid. [Applause.] The unknown generations of the South would, in time to come, refresh their hatred at the tomb of their ancestors, slain by a northern hand; and the unborn generations of the North would glow with the hope of reddening again with southern blood the fields where their forefathers fell. [Long and loud applause.]

Gentlemen, the picture is too horrible to contemplate. I trust a better spirit than that which now infuses the hearts of the republican leaders and looks to such results will prevail; and if our splendid fabric of government is to be shattered, that we may still be spared the necessity of bathing its fragments in fraternal blood. [Loud applause.] But, suppose the republican party refuse to acquiesce in any adjustment of the questions which have involved us in revolution, and the Southern States withdraw from the Union and form an independent confederacy, are we that remain the United States, with its form of government and officers—its laws, its constitution, its treaties and its liabilities?

The time has not yet come for us to consider this question, but it may not be out of place to suggest to our jubilant and belligerent friends of the republican party that, if the Southern States are not pacified by some satisfactory concessions, there will be no United States of which Mr. Lincoln will be President. [Continued applause.] If fifteen States of the Union withdraw, could the remaining States, claiming to be the United States, require from England a compliance with her treaty stipulations with the fifteen that are gone as well as the eighteen that remain? The consideration of her treaty was the benefit she might derive from the exports of the States no longer part of the country claiming to be one of the contracting parties to the treaty. We have treaties with England, France, Spain, and nearly every country on the globe, made with the federal government representing the power of the States of this Union, and in many cases made because of the peculiar products and diversity of the pursuits of the different sections of the country. What will become of those treaties? Who will be entitled to the benefit of their provisions? Suppose, instead of the fifteen Southern States, thirty of the thirty-three States should one after another withdraw, would the three remaining States constitute the United States?

As I have stated, the time has not yet come—I trust in God it never will come—when we will be called upon to consider this question. But if it ever does—if the emergency is thrust upon us, and the Union is dissolved—I think it will not be difficult to satisfy the people that each State is thrown back upon its own State sovereignty to confederate with whom it pleases and determine its future course according to its own interests. [Loud applause and cheers.]

An one half of the planets drop from the universe and leave the others undisturbed in their circuits round their orbits? Philosophy teaches us that such a disaster would result in a disintegration of the system. Our Union, its stars circling round a common centre, was framed upon a plan corresponding with that of nature in the formation of the heavenly system, of which this world is a part. Politicians may learn something from philosophy.

But, gentlemen, as I have said, I trust the time to consider this question may never come; that patriotic devotion, love for the Union, a correct appreciation of its blessings, may yet come to its rescue

and preserve it. I rejoiced to hear the loud cheers which greeted our national banner when this morning it was unfurled among us. I rejoiced more when the venerable gentlemen in the chair, whom we all loved and delighted to honor, [applause], rose from their seats to join in your welcome shout, and with a heart swelling too much to permit of further utterance, said: "God bless the Union, we do all love it. Let no hand rend it! It protects us on every land and on every sea, and so let it be forever. [Great enthusiasm.] The speaker retired amid great applause.—(Three cheers were given for Mr. Merrick.)

Letter from Ex-Gov. Lowe.

FREDERICK CITY, MD., JAN. 19, 1861.
To the Editors of the Baltimore American:

GENTLEMEN:—My attention has been called to an anonymous communication in your paper of yesterday (the 18th inst.) purporting to give an account of the County Convention which assembled in this city on last Wednesday. In it I find the following paragraph:

Ex-Governor Lowe followed in a speech of great eloquence. He began by speaking of the exalted character of the presiding officer, and went on to expatiate about political chicanery, trickery, and what not. He treated with contempt the idea of Maryland remaining longer in the Union. If her people wish to be slaves, said he, let them remain, if they wish to bow down to the will of a despotic Northern section, let them remain; as for him, he would shake the dust off his feet and depart for more patriotic abodes."

This report is untrue. As, however, the writer uses language personally respectful, I am disposed to believe that he did not intentionally misrepresent me, although I am greatly surprised that any intelligent man could so seriously misapprehend my remarks. I generally speak with precision and never with concealment or ambiguity.

I have rarely ever noticed misstatements appearing in the political press, and especially when made by unknown correspondents; but, in the instance, and as the injustice is done me through the columns of a respectable and influential journal, I owe it to myself, as well as to others, not to permit the misrepresentation to go uncontradicted. Standing in the midst of a most perilous crisis, it becomes the duty of every citizen of Maryland to form his opinions with deliberation, and to express them with candor and fearlessness; nor should he permit the influence of his name, be it great or small, to be publicly associated with any principle or sentiment which he does not entertain. The solemnity of the occasion forbids it.

It is entirely untrue that I "treated with contempt the idea of Maryland remaining longer in the Union." On the contrary, I strenuously advocated the address and resolutions which were afterwards unanimously adopted by the Convention, and which you will find published in the Baltimore "Sun" of this morning. I earnestly expressed the hope that the Union might yet be preserved by the adoption of some basis of settlement as acceptable, at least, as that proposed by Mr. Crittenden. I dwelt with emphasis upon the immense blessings which a Constitutional Union would secure, and the individual suffering and national calamities which disunion, in any form, would certainly produce.

I advanced the opinion that if Maryland and the other Border Slaveholding States had called Conventions of their people and invited the whole South to a conference, in accordance with the views expressed two months ago by the advocates of prompt action, we would now be much nearer to a happy adjustment of our difficulties than we are; and that such a proposition as that of Mr. Crittenden, had it been adopted by all or a large majority of the Southern States shortly after the late Presidential election, and presented as an ultimatum to the Northern people with candor and frankness, would, in all probability, have been promptly accepted; but that the vacillation of the Border Slaveholding States had deceived the people of the North into the belief that they would have no State to coerce other than South Carolina, and that Northern demagogues had availed themselves of this fatal delusion, and had profited by this delay to stir up the war feeling of their people and to rally them to the dangerous and monstrous doctrine of coercion, under the plausible pretext of "enforcing the laws and protecting the public property."

I said that in my opinion, the Disunionists *per se* in the South constituted, sixty days ago, a small minority, and are still a minority of the people of any one State, (unless we are required to except South Carolina); and that three-fourths of the Southern States, perhaps all, would cheerfully have consented to wait a reasonable time to afford the Northern people ample opportunity to respond through their Legislatures or by Conventions to the appeal of a united South in Convention assembled; which appeal, I urged, should and could have been made more than a month ago, had prompt action been taken after the 6th

of November, and which ought still to be made. I insisted that South Carolina herself would have been obliged to acquiesce, and doubtless would have participated in such action when she found that the call for delay was not a delusion and a snare for the enemy to gain time for offensive preparations, but the deliberate policy of her Southern sisters, simultaneously proclaiming their unalterable resolve to make common cause for the maintenance of Constitutional equality and domestic security within the Union, if practicable, and for the defence of the rights and the protection of the homes of a united South out of the Union, if necessary. I expressed the confident belief that such a frank and manly policy, inaugurated by a united South, sixty or even thirty days ago, and avowed with the calmness of true courage, the courtesy of conscious power and the inflexible resolution with which a free people are ever inspired by a just cause, would undoubtedly have commended itself to the good sense and enlightened patriotism of the conservative men of the North, hundreds of thousands of whom voted against Lincoln and the "irrepressible conflict," while many may have voted for him without intending to approve his abominable doctrines. I said that that was the auspicious time to make the issue, as the advocates of prompt action have constantly recommended; so that the Northern people might have been aroused to a full comprehension of that issue before they were blinded by false lights and helplessly entangled in the meshes of political leaders who have everything to lose and nothing to gain by a settlement of the slavery question, and who will not yield an inch even in the very presence of revolution, disunion and possible civil war. I said that coercion, for any purpose, and under any form or pretext, means civil war; and that civil war could no more be confined to one State or locality than can the air we breathe. I claimed for the Border Slaveholding States the special right to be heard in regard to all that concerns a question in which they, more than all others, are so terribly interested; and I lamented their long silence and inaction.

I confidently believe that if the fifteen Southern States had pursued the energetic and straightforward policy already indicated the Union would have been re-established and perpetuated upon a foundation more solid than that on which it has rested since the slavery agitation of 1820; at all events, that civil war would have been made a word impossibility; because it cannot be considered possible that one half of the States of this Confederacy would have undertaken to wage war against the other. The power of fifteen States would have commanded peace, and we should always have had hopes of reconciliation and re-union between the sections. The danger now is that the physical weakness of South Carolina may tempt the Federal Government to venture upon coercion, under the virtuous guise of "enforcing the revenue laws." It is perfectly manifest that South Carolina will resist. It is equally clear that the other seceding States will go to her aid immediately. It is just as certain that the shedding of blood will arouse the whole South to armed resistance.

My purpose, gentlemen, in presenting these views to the people of Frederick county, was, to show the real grounds of the opinions, and advice of those of us here in Maryland who have, from the beginning, advocated prompt and decided action by the Border Slaveholding States, and for the frank expression of which we have been repeatedly denounced by ignorant or designing men as enemies of the Union; as if, indeed, hundreds of citizens, whom we all know to have large interests at stake in this community, could afford to be revolutionists just for the pleasure of the thing, even were they not restrained by the highest and holiest promptings of patriotism and Christianity.

I further said to my fellow-citizens that the Border States—Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri—are beginning to see the folly of procrastination and indecision, and are now hastening to elect their Conventions, in order that they may, if not too late, concentrate their energies and influence for the preservation of the Union; and, if too late for that, then that their people may be prepared for the defence of their liberties and their firesides. I said that it was humiliating and alarming to see Maryland, alone of all the South, mute and seemingly paralyzed. I said that if the design was to separate her forever from her Southern sisters, in the event of a permanent dissolution of the Union, any such attempt would be resisted "at all hazards and to the last extremity" (in the language of the regulations), unless, indeed, I was totally ignorant of the spirit and principles of the people of this noble commonwealth.

And now, gentlemen, for the point of my discourse which your correspondent has so entirely misstated. I did say and shall ever say that, if the Northern people deliberately refuse to recognize and secure the clear Constitutional rights of the fifteen Southern States as expounded by the Supreme Court and most moderately demanded in the proposition of Mr. Crittenden—if they do any such a reasonable mea-

sure of justice as that asked for by that proposition—I shall not hesitate to avow myself an advocate of eternal separation from a people who would thus attempt to subvert the principles of the Constitution, and by numerical power and mere brute force to subjugate and dishonor fifteen sovereign States and eight millions of Southern freemen. I said distinctly, and say now, that I am not in favor of a Union without a Constitution to protect the minority against the aggressions of the majority; and that a Constitution, unequally and unjustly administered, is but an instrument of despotism and a base and cowardly pretext for oppression.

I said, furthermore, that if we should unhappily fail to save this Union or to reconstruct it after the most patient, earnest and laborious efforts to re-establish it in the spirit of the immortal men by whose wisdom and virtue it was erected before the eyes of nations, then I would strive to link the destinies of Maryland to those of Virginia, within whose hallowed soil now (and forever will) repose the consecrated ashes of Washington. I implored the people of this, my native county, never to abandon the heroic "Old Dominion" the venerated mother of patriot sages and of warrior-martyrs, whose genius constructed and whose blood sanctified the institutions which the South is now struggling to preserve in the spirit of the Fathers of '76—a noble Commonwealth, in whose every accent *now*, as in the days that tried men's souls, are recognized the tones of Madison, Jefferson and Henry! It was at this point that I used the language quoted but misapplied by your correspondent—that, if Maryland, could so far forget her historic fame and her present obligations of honor, as to submit to the degradation of joining a despised appendage to a Northern Confederacy, after Virginia and all her sister States of the South had bidden her farewell, I would cover my face in shame and humiliation, and shaking the dust of her dishonored soil from my feet, seek elsewhere a home for my children, not leaving the ashes of the dear departed behind me.

Such is a very brief yet faithful synopsis of a speech which your correspondent has so greatly misinterpreted, and which you will find to be responsive to the spirit of the address and resolutions adopted by the convention. I can apply the same remark to the eloquent and patriotic addresses of my friends Messrs. Johnson, Lynch, Ritchie and Kilgour, who were likewise greatly misunderstood by your correspondent.

Your correspondent is also mistaken when he says that the Convention adjourned "with three cheers for the Union"—it was, with "three cheers for the Union, the Constitution and the Rights of the South." Yes, gentlemen, those cheers were given with heartfelt emotion by that vast assembly of the solid men of Frederick county; and God grant that millions of American freemen may respond to them in time to save the "Union and the Constitution" by a just recognition and vindication of "the rights of the South."

Very respectfully,
E. LOUIS LOWE.

A STARTLING PROGRAMME.—I strikes us that the incarnate fiend must be the presiding genius of the Republican party for from no other source could its principles derive such inspirations of diabolical wickedness. The following, as an instance, appears in the Washington correspondence of the New York Tribune, from James S. Pike, one of the editors and proprietors of the paper. He says:

If the secession epidemic reaches the extreme border States, and the whole aspect of affairs becomes threatening, high reasons of State may compel prompt and radical measures of emancipation wherever it can be safely attempted. And no one would be likely to deny that it could be safely attempted in all the States west of the Mississippi River, as well as in Maryland and Delaware. If secession forces itself upon the Federal Government, and becomes dangerous in its proportions and localities, the instincts of self-preservation, and the demands of imperative duty, may require the instant abolition of slavery in certain States by which their power can accomplish the object."

COCKADES.—The present fashion of wearing cockades at the South is the revival of a custom much in vogue in this country when John Adams was President. The friends of Mr. Adams adopted the black cockades as the distinguishing badge, and men by an unconscious impulse looked to the hat of every one they met, rather than at his face, to see whether or not he wore the partisan badge, that they might determine whether to regard him as a friend or an enemy. Party spirit ran very high in those times, friendships were broken by political differences between intimate friends, and men who had been acquaintances all their lives crossed the street to avoid meeting each other.

Always be quite as careful in your business transactions of taking credit as giving it.