

The Eastern Mail brings us information of the death of the Hon. BENJAMIN W. CROWNSHIELD, of Massachusetts. He died in the city of Boston, the place of his residence, on Monday last.

Mr. CROWNSHIELD was better known to the last generation than to the present. He filled with general acceptance, nearly forty years ago, the office of Secretary of the Navy, to which he was appointed in December, 1814, by President Madison, and served until his resignation in November, 1818.

He had arrived at an advanced age; but up to November last, when the writer of this had the pleasure of a conversation with him at his home, he was in full possession of his naturally keen intellectual faculties.

He conversed freely on public affairs, rejoiced heartily in the Peace Measures of Congress then recently passed, and severely condemned the talk of opposition to their execution. He showed himself then, as he had been all his life, a thorough friend to this Union.

THE "SOUTHERN PRESS," AT WASHINGTON.

We shall not waste time in replying to all that the Washington organ of the Southern Ultra has to say, and in wash-potting upon us, concerning the history of the past, or the prospect of the future, as affected by the artificial excitement gotten up by the very discontented persons who undertook, and some of whom continue to undertake, to represent the sentiment generally of the South. If the "Southern Press" had less influence in getting up this excitement than some other journals, it is only because it came later into the field.

It has, nevertheless, its full share of responsibility to encounter from the indignant South, when the South shall be fully undeceived, as undeceived it will be in time, as to the dispositions and intentions of the People of the North and the West, whom they have been led to believe to be inimical to their welfare and bent upon unwholesome interference with their peculiar institutions.

From a journal so situated we expect no approbation of the efforts of those who desire, as earnestly as we do, to see the peace and harmony of the Union maintained against all assaults, equally as shared from the North as from the South. It cannot be necessary for us, under the circumstances, to reply to such structures of that journal as are merely captious and peevish.

But to a notice of one or two of its criticisms, which might have some influence upon those of its readers who are not familiar with the course of the National Intelligencer, we may be allowed to devote a brief space.

First, as to the Mexican War. The "Southern Press" asserts, without qualification, that the National Intelligencer, though "opposed to the war in sentiment," "shrank from public opposition" to it. Nothing but ignorance and the false suggestions of those who account for a statement so entirely unfounded. We appeal to the columns of the National Intelligencer for proof of the goodness of its misrepresentation, as well in the general statement as in the particulars of which it is made up.

It would be no wonder, truly, if a press which, setting itself up as a leader and instructor of an entire region of our country, makes such blunders as this, should fail to acquire the confidence of the Press or the People of the South. The conduct of the National Intelligencer, so far from being, in regard to the Mexican War, what it is represented to have been, was directly the reverse.

Secondly, as to public honors and emoluments which South Carolina is said, by presses disaffected to the Union, to have disclaimed. The "Southern Press" has never seen any such complaint. Yet few things are more common than such claims of peculiar disinterestedness and public virtue by the public orators and writers of South Carolina. We have not them before us to refer to, except in one case, which may serve for a sample of the whole.

That, by the necessary and proper measures, to be concurrently and co-operatively taken, were meant measures known to the Constitution, particularly the ordinary control of the People and Legislatures of the States over the Government of the United States, CANNOT BE DOUBTED.

It is worthy of remark, and explanatory of the intentions of the Legislature, that the words "not law, but utterly null, void, and of no force or effect," which had followed, in one of the resolutions, the word "unconstitutional," were struck out by common consent. Though the words were, in fact, but synonymous with "unconstitutional," yet, to guard against a misunderstanding of this phrase as more than declaratory of opinion, the word "unconstitutional" alone was retained, as not liable to that danger.

The published Address of the Legislature to the people, their constituents, affords another conclusive evidence of its views. The address warns them against the encroaching spirit of the General Government; argues the unconstitutionality of the alien and sedition acts; points to other instances in which the constitutional limits had been overleaped; dwells upon the dangerous mode of deriving power by implication; and, in general, presses the necessity of watching over the consolidating tendency of the Federal policy.

But nothing is said that can be understood to look to means of maintaining the rights of the States beyond the regular ones, within the forms of the Constitution.

Any further lights on the subject could be needed, a very strong one is reflected in the answers to the resolutions by the States which protested against them. The main objection of these, beyond a few general complaints of the inflammatory tendency of the resolutions, is directed against the assumed authority of a Supreme Court to declare a law of the United States unconstitutional, which they pronounced an interference with the exclusive jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Resolutions were regarded as unconstitutional, "taining a right, in an individual State, to resist, by force, the execution of a law of the United States, it must be presumed that it would HAVE BEEN A CONSPICUOUS OBJECT OF THEIR DENUNCIATION."

We conclude this brief notice of the attempt to make Mr. MADISON responsible for doctrines which he wholly repudiated, by introducing to our readers, and recommending to the very serious consideration of the Editors of the "Southern Press," the following Opinion of that illustrious Statesman, being nearly the last sentences which, towards the close of his life, he committed to paper.

"ADVICE TO MY COUNTRY.
As this advice, if it ever see the light, will not do so till I am no more, it may be considered as issuing from the tomb, where truth alone can be respected, and the happiness of man alone consulted. It will be entitled, therefore, to whatever weight can be derived from good intentions, and from the experience of one who has served his Country in various stations through a period of forty years; who espoused in his youth, and adhered through his life, to the cause of his liberty; and who has borne a part in most of the great transactions which will constitute epochs of its destiny.

The advice nearest to my heart and dearest in my convictions is, that the UNION OF THE STATES be cherished and perpetuated. Let the open enemy to it be regarded as a Pandora with her box opened; and the disguised one, as the serpent creeping with his deadly wiles into Paradise."

The Knoxville (N. Y.) Republican says that an article published in our paper some days ago, in regard to the iron regions of this country, and the product at different localities, has done great injustice to Northern New York. It says that Essex county, instead of yielding only 1,500 tons, yielded annually during the last five years more than 35,000 tons of iron ore; and Clinton, instead of 3,000, has yielded about 30,000 tons; and that in these two counties about 30,000 tons of iron are manufactured annually. We cheerfully make the correction.

The Hon. HENRY W. HILLIARD, of Alabama, delivered a very able and eloquent Lecture at Philadelphia on Monday evening, on the "Philosophy of the American Government." He spoke of its origin, of the amazing progress of the United States under its benign influence, and then proceeded to consider the relations of the Government to the people, the peculiarities of our political system, the duties of the citizen to the State, and the obligation of the American Statesman to cultivate independence.

RHODE ISLAND SENATOR.—It appears that Mr. JAMES was chosen Senator from RHODE ISLAND on the eighth ballot, when he received fifty votes, against forty-nine given to the other candidates. The Providence Journal thus speaks of this unexpected result: "The election of a Senator in Congress was made yesterday in Grand Committee. On the eighth ballot, CHARLES T. JAMES, the Democratic candidate, was elected, receiving the votes of fourteen men elected as Whigs. We will not trust ourselves now to characterize this transaction as it deserves, but we should be wanting in self respect, if we did not take the first occasion to say that, in our opinion, a more shameless treachery has never disgraced the annals of any party in this State. Who are the fourteen recent Whigs we do not know. They prudently sheltered themselves behind a secret ballot, and we would not, without good evidence, charge such conduct upon any member of the General Assembly. But their names will be known. The Whigs of the State, the outraged constituents whose confidence has been betrayed, have a right to know the names of the men who have done it."

The Journal notices three rumors connected with the election, which it says are all given upon what would usually be considered worthy authority, as follows: 1. That Gen. James stated to a Democratic member of the General Assembly that he was a Democrat, and nothing but a Democrat; and that he would accept the office of Senator only as a Democrat. 2. That Gen. James has written a letter in which he unequivocally pledges himself in favor of the measures of the Whig party. 3. That Gen. James had written such a letter, and demands that the men who make the assertion shall produce the document.

Then follows a disclaimer from thirty-one Whigs of the Legislature, who state that they gave no aid to the election of Mr. JAMES; and the Journal states that more might have appeared if the members had not dispersed with the close of the Legislature. The actual difficulty was, that the Whigs had two candidates, Messrs. WATKINS and STURGEON—the former having the support of many friends in the Legislature. The friends of the latter refused to be bound by the decision of a caucus, which refusal, as the Providence Journal says, was "unfortunate," while fifteen of the friends of Mr. Whipple voted in the Legislature for Mr. James, which was "treason."

There are sixty-four Whigs in the Rhode Island Legislature, and as Mr. Whipple did not receive over twenty-nine in caucus, (not a majority of the whole,) the Journal states that it was agreed that this vote should not be binding.

Mr. JOHN HOLMES, who has intimate personal relations with Gen. JAMES, publishes a card in defence of his vote for the latter, in which he makes the following statement: "Gen. James, our new Senator, is a Whig. He voted for General Taylor for President in 1848, and was elected for President in 1848. In 1848, at the time of the election of the late President, he was absent from this State upon Lake Erie. Had he been here, we are assured, he would have voted for Gen. Taylor for President. He voted for his present excellency Henry B. Anthony for Governor of this State. What better assurance can any man give of his Whig sentiments than these votes, reaching back for the last ten years?"

The Providence Journal does not adopt the statements of Mr. HOLMES as matters of fact and of history, and calls upon Mr. JAMES to explain his position. NEW YORK SENATOR.—The Legislature of New York did not succeed in electing a Senator on Tuesday. In the House of Assembly ex-Governor FISH received the nomination by a majority of almost two to one, viz: HAMILTON, Free Whig, 78; Jones, A. Dem., 76; Sundry other persons, 20.

The Senate, however, after two ineffectual ballots, adjourned without making a nomination; and consequently no joint meeting could be held under the law of New York, as it is explained by the Albany Argus in the following paragraph: "The law of this State regulating the mode of appointment of United States Senators, prescribes that the two branches of the Legislature shall be present at the time of the election of each House making its own nomination, without reference to the action of the other. In the event of a nomination being made by both Houses, by a majority of members present in each, (and in this event only,) the two branches meet in the same chamber to compare their respective nominations. If the nominations are found to agree in the name of the same person, he is elected without further proceedings; and the official announcement entered on the journals constitutes the credentials of the Senator elect. If the nominations of the two Houses shall be found to disagree, the joint convention determine the matter by ballot—a majority of all the votes cast being necessary to a choice."

OHIO SENATOR.—On Thursday last the Legislature of Ohio, in joint meeting, had ten ineffectual ballots for United States Senator. The leading candidates were HIRAM GRISWOLD (Whig) and HENRY B. PAYNE (Dem.). The Free-Soilers cast their votes for J. R. GIDDINGS. The seventh ballot, which is represented to be a fair exhibition of the strength of the respective parties, stood as follows: Griswold 44, Payne 44, Giddings 10—three Whigs and three Democrats having paired off. After the tenth ballot, none of which varied essentially from the above, the joint meeting dissolved, and it will require the passage of another joint resolution before renewing the attempt to make an election.

A telegraphic dispatch dated yesterday at Columbus, Ohio, states that the Legislative Convention has adjourned sine die without being able to elect a United States Senator. THE ATLANTIC.—There was a general expression of disappointment (says the New York Evening Post) when it was announced that the Canada brought no news of the probable fate of the steamer Atlantic. Many persons instantly concluded that she had gone to the bottom; but that melancholy inference is not yet inevitable. It is still possible that the Atlantic, in some crippled state, may have determined on returning to Europe, and not been able to reach there before the sailing of the Canada; or she may have decided to put into one of the Azore Islands, in which case the news of her arrival there would not come to us for some days yet.

SCOW CLEANING MACHINE.—The New Orleans " Crescent " thus describes the operation of "Hull's Patent Centrifugal Machine," which is represented to be an important invention to sugar planters, both in the saving of time and of sugar, as well as improving its quality. The machinery is propelled by steam. The process is as follows: The dark mixture of sugar, mixed with its water, is taken from the sugar-boilers, placed in a cylindrical tub, made of iron, the bottom of which is light, but the sides or circumference is pierced full of small holes, which are covered over by fine wire gauze. The cylinder is so arranged that it can be made to revolve on a stationary axle with great rapidity, making from one thousand to fifteen hundred revolutions in a minute—at a speed of 120 or 130 miles per minute. The sugar, as soon as the machine begins to revolve, gradually leaves the bottom of the cylinder, and attaches itself to the circumference. The motion continues, and as the wire gauze is not strong enough the sugar would break it and escape. The crystals, however, are retained by the fine network of the wire, but the molasses or syrup is driven by centrifugal force through the wire, and is projected with great power and rapidity into an outside case, arranged to retain and collect it. In the course of a short time, varying from five to ten minutes, the molasses has been thrown off, and the sugar is drained and fit for shipping, being much drier than when usually put on board. The sirup is now ready to be boiled a second time, before the sirup or molasses had any influence upon it, and another crop of crystals can be obtained, which can be subjected to the action of the machine, and the sirup coming from this second operation can be treated a third time, until its strength is exhausted.

CHAS. DICKENS has published a new edition of his "American Notes" in a pocket to which he says he is still of the same opinion in regard to his views of life in the United States, and independently asserts that he has borne the ill opinion of his citizens eight years, and can do so eight more, and longer if necessary. Like Macsworm, he loves to be miserable. ARIZONA WELLS.—Several fountains of great beauty exist at Fond du Lac, in Wisconsin. One, which exists only in the place, has recently been completed. It changes, with almost irresistible force, forty-five gallons of pure water in a second time, before the air or heat has had any influence upon it, and another crop of crystals can be obtained, which can be subjected to the action of the machine, and the sirup coming from this second operation can be treated a third time, until its strength is exhausted.

A WASHINGTON MONUMENT EXAMPLE!

WHEATLAND, one of the most intelligent and patriotic, as well as among the most wealthy agricultural towns in the State of New York, and always foremost in praiseworthy enterprises, has made a noble contribution to the WASHINGTON MONUMENT. We give the names of the largest contributors: Hiram Smith, \$50; Elisha Harmon, \$50; Theron Brown, \$30; Rawson Harmon, Jr., \$25; G. W. Hall, \$25; E. Finch, \$25; W. W. Goodrich, \$25; In Harmon, \$25; John Murdoch, \$25; Samuel Wood, \$25; Ira Armstrong, \$15; Z. Lewis, \$15; L. & J. Blackmer, \$20; E. Blackmer, \$15; Ira Carpenter, \$15; L. C. Andrews, \$15; Martin Sage, \$15; Daniel McPherson, \$15; J. Freeman Edison, \$10; Rawson A. Harmon, \$10; M. A. Hyde, \$10; Warren Sage, \$10; Charles Hale, \$10; James Frazier, \$10; Henry Gilman, \$10; W. H. Harbut, \$10; Daniel Smith, \$10; Wm. F. Garbut, \$10; Sanford A. Smith, \$10; G. Sheffer, \$10; Ariel Harmon, \$10; John Stewart, \$10; W. G. Garrison, \$10; John W. Lamson, \$10; Maurick McPherson, \$10; Samuel Shadock, \$10; Oliver P. Blackmer, \$10; Francis Hooker, \$10.

Then come the names of sixty-five \$5 contributions, together with the names of some twenty others who contribute \$4, \$3, and \$1. And, finally, the Wives, Sisters, and Daughters of Wheatland appear as contributors to the same fund, as follows: Mrs. Elisha Harmon, Theron Brown, D. Smith, S. A. Smith, M. A. Hyde, D. Lawson, \$5 each; John Murdoch, \$2 each; H. C. Hall, S. C. Smith, T. O. Edson, R. Wilcox, \$2 each; Misses Mary French, H. A. Lawson, E. M. Edson, \$2 each; Mrs. Ariel Harmon, J. J. Blackmer, S. Blackmer, W. Wood, A. Cox, J. Mallock, W. Sage, A. McPherson, T. Palmer, H. Lawson, J. D. Hutton, G. Cook, Susan M. Lewis, L. Goodhue, E. C. Ashley, S. L. Hooper, J. McNaughton, John Dorr, Caroline Galusha, J. S. Athony, P. Parker, A. McVean, D. McNaughton, W. Douglas, C. E. Sage, H. Moody, N. Blackmer, \$1 each; M. A. Hyde, N. J. Gilman, H. Harmon, N. C. Bennett, J. Z. 976; Hamilton, \$1 each; J. C. Justice, C. Stanhope, Emma S. Goodrich, 50 cents each.

Here is over TWELVE HUNDRED DOLLARS from the inhabitants of a single town in Monroe county! And this large amount comes from farmers, men who earn their money from the sweat of their brow. (Albany Evening Journal.) A SERIOUS ACCIDENT occurred on the Erie Railroad on Wednesday evening to the train leaving Binghamton, (N. Y.) midway between Equinunk and Hankins, one of the rails, which appeared to have been affected with frost, gave way as the train was passing over, throwing the hindmost car completely off the track. The road here runs along the steep bank of the Delaware, thirty or forty feet above the water, and the car was precipitated down to the river. Fortunately for the passengers, about twenty in number, the top was entirely broken off in its descent, and though the body of the car rolled into the icy current, they were enabled to extricate themselves from the wreck. It was feared that some might have been swept away, but this could not be ascertained in the darkness and confusion. Most of the passengers lost their carpet-bags, hats, and other loose articles. The wind and water were so intensely cold that the clothes of those who were submerged froze stiff in a few minutes. One man was found lying under the top, with his hip severely injured. A number of others were hurt, but not seriously.

THE GUANO TRADE.—A letter from the Chinese Guano Islands, on the coast of Peru, dated November 26th, says that there were then a large fleet of vessels there, loading principally for England, but some few of them were for the United States. The guano is mostly taken from the north island, the southern one remaining untouched, and there are said to be in the three islands thirty millions of tons of guano. It is thirty feet in depth. The letter says: "At different points of the island are shoots or tunnels made of heavy canvas, about three feet in diameter and fifty feet in length, reaching from the top of the island to the water, under which the boats are placed to receive the guano, and as it runs down with considerable velocity, they are soon dispatched."

About one thousand Chinese laborers are employed, poorly paid and miserably fed; and as they have contracted for a term of years, their usage is so hard that they sometimes commit suicide. Many are chained to wheelbarrows to prevent their escape.

BACK FOR THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT.—The Chicago Journal says that a number of the tribes of Western Indians propose to contribute a block of stone to the National Monument. It is to be taken from the celebrated "Starved Rock," in Illinois, the Indians having no land they call their own to obtain it from. The following is the inscription, as already decided upon: "This step the red man gives to the pale face to build him a path to a better hunting ground." It is said that the Board of Foreign Missions will probably offer to bear the expense of the transportation of the block to Washington.

Mrs. MARTHA MYERS, the last survivor of the massacre of Wyoming, died at Kingston, Luzerne county, (Pa.) on the 4th ultimo, aged 82. Her father, Thomas Bennett, was one of the forty white men who built the stockade called "Forty Fort."

THE HENDERSON CASE.—In the United States Circuit Court yesterday, Judge McCLELLAN presiding, on motion of District Attorney HUTTON, another trial of Gen. HENDERSON was ordered to take place on Monday next, and the marshal was instructed to summon a venire of two hundred jurors.—N. O. Bulletin, 23d ult.

INDIANA CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.—This body has adopted a resolution fixing the day of adjournment on the 10th of February. Sections to the following effect have been ordered to be engraved: Corporations shall not be created by special acts except in such cases as are authorized in the constitution, but may be formed under general laws. All laws conferring corporate powers may be altered from time to time or repealed. Stockholders in corporations to be individually responsible for all liabilities in the proportion which their stock bears to the whole stock.

"DISTRESSING CALVERTY."—Under this head a Western editor announces the birth of his ninth child! The Government schooner Wm. A. Graham, (passed Midshipman Geo. F. W. commanding,) is at Algiers, (opposed to New Orleans,) preparing to sail for Key West. The schooner is K. Y. West, where she will take on board the distinguished naturalist, Professor AGASSIZ, who is engaged to make an exploration in regard to the coral reefs and other obstructions to navigation in that quarter, which is expected to be of great utility to the Government.

Drinking himself to Death on a Bet.—A man named John Kelly, with some others, entered the portier house corner of Pike and Water streets, and made a wager as to who could drink the most liquor in a specific time. Kelly seated himself at a table with three or four of his associates, and began with all ease. In a few minutes afterwards he left the place and went to house 189 Cherry street, where he expired in a few minutes afterwards without saying a word. The deceased was a man of very intemperate habits, and had left a wife and family.—N. Y. Post.

COUNTERTEN TEN CENT PICES.—A vast number of ten cent counterfeit coins have, we are told, been issued from a secret mint in Connecticut. They bear the dates, respectively, of 1847 and 1848, and are passed with impunity on all our difficulties. The principal feature proving their spurious character is the absence of the circle of stars around the figure of Liberty, which the genuine ten-cent pieces have. These bogus coins have been traced, and found to be a mixture of metals easily fusible, with a plating of silver. (Boston Times, Monday.) HORRIBLE AFFAIR.—A gentleman recently from Holmes county, Mississippi, (says the New Orleans Picayune,) has detailed to us the particulars of a dreadful case which occurred 'a few days since near Lexington, in that county. An engaged man had existed for some time between Mr. Tye and a Miss Sheppard, in the Harlan County district, in Kentucky, however, the father of the young lady refused his consent. The young couple had agreed to run away for the purpose of getting married, and for that purpose were to start from a wedding party held in the neighborhood. We have not heard what intervened to excite the young man's passions. He met the young lady as arranged, at the party, and asked her publicly whether she was ready to fulfill her promise, and she replied that she was, but that she would be drawn a pistol, shot her dead in the room, and attempted to destroy himself, but in this he was frustrated, and is now in Lexington jail on the charge of murder.

UNION MEETING AT PITTSFIELD.

We have published several extracts from speeches made at different meetings for the purpose of showing what was the tone of sentiment which met their approval. We now copy from the speech made by the Rev. Dr. DAWLEY, at the Union meeting at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, his powerful argument on the obligation of citizens to yield obedience to the Fugitive Slave Law: Dr. Dawley discussed the Fugitive Slave Law, and asked what was the duty of the friends of the Union? Mr. Choate had pointed out the true course—accept the whole body of compromise measures, leaving any objectionable details to be amended hereafter, and discountenance all further political agitation at least of this subject; for what practical good had ever come of it, or was ever likely to come of it! Had it loosened the chains of one slave, or hastened by one hour the day of emancipation?

What now are we to do? What, especially in the present crisis, are we to do? I say in the present crisis; but I wish it to be seen that the present crisis is only the exponent of a great difficulty that lies in the very nature of the case. The danger of national convulsion has, perhaps for the present, passed by; but it is only postponed. The difficulty lies in the principle—lies, in fact, in the situation in which we are placed as a people. It is not this particular bill that is the great trouble. This bill may perhaps be modified—perhaps it ought to be modified—but any bill that secured the delivering up of the fugitive would be about as distasteful to us. The difficulty lies in the absolute necessity of some such bill. It is not a question of Southern passion or Northern provocation. If provocation and passion were all laid to sleep; if South and North were met together in the most disinterested and brotherly spirit, to consult together upon this subject, the same painful and perilous question would press upon us. What, in the name of humanity and in Heaven's name, are we to do?

Understand, I say, the situation of things into which we are brought, not by the action of this generation, but by the course of events. We have now a Union; we are in a position that we will not have fugitives from justice fleeing from a State sovereignty, of which every one of us is a partaker. We are in a position that we will not have fugitives from a State sovereignty, of which every one of us is a partaker. We are in a position that we will not have fugitives from a State sovereignty, of which every one of us is a partaker. We are in a position that we will not have fugitives from a State sovereignty, of which every one of us is a partaker.

But to return; we have now a Union. Suppose we had not, suppose the bond were broken this day, and that these States stood side by side as independent sovereignties? Then the question comes again, what is to be done? We are in this situation; we can't help it; we did not choose it; what is to be done? One of two things—either to re-union, or to form a Northern and a Southern Confederacy. Suppose the latter done. Draw a line of division from the mouth of the Chesapeake bay west to the Pacific ocean. What follows? The States would be dotted with forts and measured all through the length by the cohorts of standing armies. The border on each side will be a debatable and a bloody land. Can any one doubt it? Is it possible that slaves can be constantly running over that border into the free States, and that no effort will be made for their capture? And is it possible that such a state of things can exist without producing molasses war, devastation, and bloodshed?

If that alternative is intolerable, then we must re-union. But upon what principles? Without any convention, any agreement respecting the recovery of fugitive slaves; the thing is impossible. It is not prejudice or passion merely that makes us so, but the very nature of things. For then what we have is a war, but civil war. Nor is this all that is to be considered. Once proclaim that we will not restore the fugitive; that we will not aid nor permit his restoration; that the moment he touches the free soil he is free and irremovable, and in five years the slave population would be gone. In five years there would be an end to the Government and the Nation. I deem this result so certain, at any date, that I would not undertake to reason with a man who denied at least the strong and almost overwhelming probability of it.

It may possibly be thought by some that there is one escape still from this dilemma. "Let the South at once emancipate its slaves," they may say, "and there will be an end of the trouble." I do not think, for myself, that that would be an end of the trouble. But suppose that it would, it is certain that the South would consent to do it. I think it no more their duty than their interest to do it. Upon this ground, at any rate, right or wrong, they firmly stand. They will make no convention, have no union with us, but upon the condition of our surrendering fugitive slaves. This state of things presses home upon us at the North the one great question with which we are set out, and upon which I would wish to say something further. Is such a compact with the South, in that part of our Constitution, essentially immoral and iniquitous, such as cannot be reconciled with obedience to God and to an enlightened conscience, and ought not on any account to be kept or complied with? This is the question which has sunk deeply into the heart of our people. It is a question that must be answered, and I hope and believe that no party can stand and vindicate itself by a course of policy that does not meet this question.

Now I admit, as I have already said, and I maintain, that there is such a thing as a law of conscience, which is above any constitution, any compact, any advantage whatever. If we regard the law of conscience as a law that is to be held in a lien to stretch here in the presence of God that to be true which I know to be false—I firmly say I would not do it; I would not do it to save my life, or my fortunes, or the life of a whole nation. Or if the Southern people were idolaters and would make no compact with us but on condition that we would worship their gods, I say that we could not do it. We ought not to do it. Or if they were worshippers of Malchob, and demanded as the condition of union with them that we should send to them a hundred of our children every year to "go through the fire" to their idol, I say we could not do it.

Does the proper sense of justice, or of humanity, demand that, in defiance of the law of God and of every law that shall pen a door of refuge to the fugitive slave; protect, defend him; aid, if need be, deliver him with the strong hand? I believe not. I hold myself bound to do all that I can for such fellow-man, in consistency with my other obligations, but not in disregard of them. I hold myself bound to do all that I can for my fellow-man, but not to do it if it requires me to do it. Or if they were worshippers of Malchob, and demanded as the condition of union with them that we should send to them a hundred of our children every year to "go through the fire" to their idol, I say we could not do it.

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their people, and never name in connection with man the hateful word property. The question, then, is not about the particular law. It is essentially about any compact this nature. It is a question for the future if it is a permanent question, and whether there be any present danger or not, I am willing to come here and to offer my poor thoughts upon it. I say my poor thoughts, not out of feigned modesty, but in pure sincerity. I have no boast to make of being right. I may be wrong, but I have made up my mind that I can comply with some such compact. I take no responsibility in doing so, for the system of my Southern neighbors; I simply say that I will not interfere with their consciences or with their interests in the matter—that I will not protect or defend their people if they come to me—that the system shall be shut up to themselves exclusively. But it is plain to me that they cannot consent to any union without this condition, unless they immediately free all their slaves, and I do not see how they can rightly do that. Their people must be prepared for freedom before it can be a blessing to them. Till then, for them to allow that touching our soil shall make their people free, would be a thing utterly at war with their institutions, their plan, their interest, repose, and safety. I cannot expect it; I would consent to it if I were not a man.

But, whatever I might do, no one can doubt what they will do, and what they will not do. They will demand a fugitive slave bill; they will not do without it. Sir, I have seen those men—talked with them—heard them speak. I believe they are in earnest. It is said they can't separate from us—that their interests are bound to us. But people do not know that it is of stronger than interest? And they have not only passion, but a sense of right—a feeling of being grievously wronged. And, besides, do you not hear what they say? "That they may sell their cotton to England and take her manufactures in exchange and to our own—that they may have Cuba and Mexico, and make the most glorious empire under the sun, while we dwindle to nothing on the globe, if you please, but plausible; and they believe it. Alas! how do we misunderstand one another, and how fatally, it may be. They say we are fanatics; and we say they are blue-stones; but the truth is, we are both "terribly in earnest." 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