

Waste not a morsel,
Or a drop of oil,
That should be employed;
And when you have done that,
Which is the best of all,
Remember that the Lord
Will punish you for it.
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defence, promote the general welfare,
and secure the blessings of liberty
to ourselves and our posterity." The
powers conferred by it upon a central
Federal Government were specified
to be exerted for the accomplishment
of the above-named objects. And
so long as that Government moves
within its prescribed orbit, in spirit and
in truth, doing justice to all, insuring
domestic tranquillity to all, providing
for the common defence of all, promot-
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out grudge or vituperation, thus sec-
uring the blessings of equal liberty to
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will our heartstrings grapple and cling
around that Government and that
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honorable death than to lay down my
life in its defence. But whenever that
Central Government "shall become
destructive of these ends, it is the right
of the people to alter or abolish it, and
to institute a new Government, laying
its foundation on such principles, and
organizing its power in such form, as
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their safety and happiness."

It must follow, therefore, that that
man who cherishes and avows an un-
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condition, under all circumstances, de-
serves to be discarded from your confi-
dence; indeed, he is as much the enemy
of our true interests and of the country
as he who openly avows hostility to
our present form of Government, and
seeks its overthrow whilst it is confined
to its legitimate action.

It is desirable to preserve the Union,
but it is not less desirable to preserve
our rights. When the Union is
maintained at the sacrifice of our rights,
it works oppression and when any peo-
ple tamely submit to oppression, they
are prepared for a master. There never
has been a nation so prepared for the
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their limbs. No free government can
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tice; and the Union can only secure
the benefits of the country by dealing
equally between the several States;
maintaining the rights of each and ex-
ercising its rights. And if by insidiously
eroding rights, the Union is endangered,
so let it be; if the nerve of the aggres-
sor is stronger and stouter than that of
the aggrieved, let him who yields be
accounted a dastard. But a people
who exert an eternal vigilance over
their rights, and who have the courage
ever to assert them, can never be en-
slaved. Such do I regard the people
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to what are their rights—they may dis-
pute as to the extent to which they
are deprived of them by any given
measure or law; and owing to this dif-
ference they may differ as to remedies.
But let us be once agreed what are our
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great end with firmness and unanimity.

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ful acquiescence. On the subject of
slavery, it was supposed there was a
general unity of sentiment and feeling
with both parties.

ADDRESS

Of the Hon. Jacob Thompson, to his
constituents.

The time of my present service in the
Congress of the United States has nearly
expired. It will soon devolve upon
you to select my successor.

In advance of my decision on that
subject, and in response to many kind
letters recently sent me, I wish to pre-
sent briefly before you for the high
honorable post held by me for the last
twelve years, I desire to say that I
make known my fixed purpose to retire
to private life.

My entrance into the late career
for Congress resulted from peculiar cir-
cumstances, which it was impossible
for me to control, and which are well
understood by you. My interest, my
wishes, and my cherished and known
arrangement, should correspond to the
urgent and momentous obligations of my
party friends to become their standard
bearer. In this connection I did not feel
at liberty to disregard the request and
wishes of so many worthy men, who
had sustained me so cheerfully, and so
firmly in former contests, and who were
entitled to my warmest gratitude. On
the altar of a higher duty and a higher
obligation, I sacrificed my own personal
will and desires, and conformed my
course to their views. But I made
known then my determination at the
close of this term to retire from Con-
gress. Duty to myself and family, as
well as inclination, constrains me to
obey that resolution.

I know there are many of you, guided
by feelings of personal kindness
and partiality, who desire, amidst the
excitement through which we are pass-
ing, to make some manifestation of
your confidence and approval of my
conduct. To all such, let me appeal
and assure them, that the most accept-
able service they can now do for me
is to leave me to the quiet I seek around
my own fireside. As a private citizen,
I will unite with you with my whole
heart in upholding our cause, in main-
taining our constitutional rights, and
our true interests, under the lead of
any true and faithful candidate they
may choose to select.

While I feel my friends ought not,
and will not complain of my withdraw-
al, and my political enemies cannot
with any fairness or candor misrep-
resent my course or my motives, yet hav-
ing been so long your representative,
and having transparently passed, by
your support, through so many trials,
I regret that our relations are about to
change at a time when so much gloom
and apprehension cloud and depress
the public mind, and when the con-
sult of our safety and wisest advisers
are so much confused and divided.

The preservation and continuance
of this Union is an object of deep anxi-
ety to every American citizen. We
have all been taught from earliest child-
hood to cherish it—to watch over and
guard it as a boon of inestimable value.
Under the stars and stripes of the Union,
our progress has far outstripped the
most extravagant calculations of the
patriotic men of other days. Three
score and ten years ago, we were weak
and poor, and of no repute; now we
are powerful, rich, honored, and con-
testing for the first rank among the
nations of the earth. In civilization,
in intelligence, in all the arts of peace and
war, in improvements, in the amount
of individual prosperity and wealth,
we are surpassed by no other people.
It is in the contemplation of such a pic-
ture, that good men fall down and
worship this "glorious Union" as the
highest God of their political idolatry.
But in so doing they overlook the cause
in their admiration of the effect; they
praise the picture, while they forget
the artist. The creature is worshipped,
while the creator is never remem-
bered.

This Union was formed by the adop-
tion of a Constitution or league be-
tween the different sovereign States.
The objects of that Constitution were
to establish justice, insure domestic
tranquillity, provide for the common

defence, promote the general welfare,
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rage, demanded to appease the anti-slavery
fever of the North. But this was not en-
ough; the valley of the Rio Grande was
known to command all the country west
and intermediate before reaching California.
Although this Government had been
involved in a war with Mexico, because
she claimed for Texas the country to the
Rio Grande, yet a dispute was raised as to
her boundary after Mexico had been sil-
enced at the mouth of the canon, and the
first proposition of the compromisers was
to buy out more than 87,000 square miles of
her territory south of the parallel of 36 30.
The true friends of the South, after a gal-
lant contest, defeated that surrender. It
was then proposed to buy out 44,000 square
miles at the price of \$10,000,000. This
proposition prevailed in Congress, and
Texas has agreed to part with her territory,
and the South will have to pay the largest
share of the consideration.

It is true the country belonged to Texas,
but it is also true that Texas was bound
in good faith and honor to hold all the coun-
try, south of 36 30 subject to the settle-
ment of the people of the South, who had
been her earliest and truest friends, and
who were ready to make a common cause
with her in defending the integrity of her
territory. It now seems that the faithful
advocacy of her rights by the true spirits of
the South was used by her brethren of
Texas as a means of extorting a large
price for the country. The money of the
United States is used to curtail the extent
of Southern territory, to humiliate her
pride, and Texas assents. I contemplate
the whole proceeding with mortification;
but it is all now matter of history, and can
never be amended.

The territorial bills of New Mexico
and Utah, our complaint against Congress
consists of an act of omission, not of com-
mission, in a refusal to protect us in the pos-
session of our property in slaves. Non-in-
tervention is nonsense unless it removes all
intervention which interferes in any way in
the perfect enjoyment of a constitutional
right. As an extreme concession, a large
portion of the South agreed to the adoption
of the Clayton compromise, which left the
people of the South to their uncontrolled
constitutional rights in the Territories.
But this movement was made while we
were in the possession of the whole valley of the
Rio Grande. The admission of California,
and the selling out all the upper country of
Texas, being thus dedicated to free-soilism,
man non-intervention for the intermediate
territories an absurd and ridiculous perversion.

In my own course, I made a distinction
between the bills for New Mexico and Utah.
I voted for the one and against the other,
because the omission to extend a rightful
protection to our people was more flagrant
in the one case than in the other. In New
Mexico, the Mexican laws excluded slavery
and the people of the Territory, at the
suggestion of the President of the
United States, had formed a State constitu-
tion, preparatory to admission into the Union;
and in that, like California, they had
excluded slavery to accommodate a Congres-
sional majority. It was different in Utah.
In that Territory no Mexican law had ever
been enforced, the people were all Ameri-
can citizens, and when assembled to petition
Congress for a government, they had
not insulted the feelings of the South, by
adopting any resolution for her exclusion.
It was also well established that there were
many Southerners then residing in the Ter-
ritory holding their negroes as property,
and they were undisturbed in their posses-
sion. These were the influences which led
me to vote for a law which omitted to se-
cure for the South the full measure of her
rights.

The abolition of the slave trade in the
District of Columbia was the greater insult
and injury to the South, because there was
no abuse of the trade here, and because of
the great leading objects intended to be ac-
complished by the law. Its first great pur-
pose was, to condemn and stigmatize, by a
national vote, the transfer of slaves from
one owner to another upon slave soil. Its
second great end was to establish a preced-
ent for emancipation. And I do know the
bill could never have been passed unless it
had worked the emancipation of the slave;
and thus, under the pretext of suppressing
a nuisance, they work the destruction of the
property.

While this bill was before Congress, one
vote was taken, which shows the spirit of
the North. There is no legislative law of
Congress for the punishment of negro
stealing; and when it was proposed to make
it a crime punishable by confinement in the
penitentiary, no Northern Senator voted
for the amendment except those noble Ro-
mans, Dickinson, of New York, and Sur-
geon, of Pennsylvania. No Northern Re-
presentative gave the same vote, except
McClernand, of Illinois, and Ross, of Pen-
sylvania. It is a sad and memorable re-
membrance by the people of the South
for their devotion to justice and consti-
tutional right. This refusal to punish
negro stealing was based on the idea that
nothing was to be done to increase the con-
fidence in this property, and no direct re-
cognition of it was to be given by the Con-
gress of the United States.

To stop our just complaints for the ag-
gression committed, it is said the fugitive
slave bill was passed. But why was this
necessary. The surrender of the runaway
was expressly one of the compromises in
the Constitution of 1789. The law of 1793
was ample and sufficient for the enforce-
ment of this right among a people willing to
keep good faith, and to comply with their
constitutional obligations. But divers State
Legislatures have nullified this law, and
these States were in the Union, having
rendered null and of no effect a constitu-
tional law of the United States. This nul-
lification was in favor of the negro fugitive,
and, therefore, the sympathizers made such
nullification commendable. A new law be-
came necessary. A small band of gener-
ous, patriotic Democrats from the North
united with the South in passing this new
law.

But one State has already nullified this
new law, and the public sentiment of the
North is against its enforcement. Long be-
fore we have anything more to compromise
with, a new edition of this law will be
needed. Although I feel that the present
position of South Carolina and Mississippi
nullified this law, and directed by the
white race, forms an industrial system, as it
now exists, the best adapted of all others
to our own soil, climate, and produce, while
it is consistent with the highest advancement
of which both races are susceptible. I be-
lieve it exists by Divine appointment, con-
sistent with the laws and precepts of Moses
and the prophets, recognized by our Savior
and His Apostles, and guaranteed by the
Constitution of the United States. There-
fore I believe it to be duty and patriotism to
maintain the system as it came to us from
our fathers.

We can never unite in support of a Whig
Administration which is characterized only
by great zeal and anxiety to have the laws
observed south of Mason and Dixon's line,
and by great hesitancy and culpable inef-

ing will be onward till the whole power of
this Government shall be wielded for the
overthrow of slavery.

For the last twelve years I have been
here, and have watched the progress of ab-
dication. It has grown stronger, more
obdurate, and more intently aggressive,
each and every succeeding year. Flushed
with their late success, it is idle to suppose
that the cause is dead, or that all effort is
now to cease. What have they, the aboli-
tionists, gained, and what is the prevailing
feeling of the whole North?

1st. The free use of the Halls of Congress,
from which they can empty upon the South
their loathsome and insulting abuse of our
institutions.

2d. Slavery is forever excluded from the
whole Pacific coast, and that by the action
of Congress.

3d. Believing that Mexican law excludes
slavery from New Mexico and Utah, (and
there is unanimity with the whole North on
this subject, and a sufficient diversity of op-
inion on the same, prevails in the South,
to prevent emigration from that section,) it
follows that the South is effectually exclu-
ded from all the vast territories now owned
by the United States, embracing an area of
1,900,000 square miles, except a narrow
strip of land west of the State of Arkansas;
and in order to hamper us, this whole coun-
try south of the parallel of 36 deg. 30 min.,
has been granted in fee simple, to certain
Indian tribes, who are guaranteed its
perpetual possession.

4th. It is almost a unanimous feeling and
sentiment in the North, that slavery is a
moral, social, and political evil, and ought
to be abolished; and the late action of Congress
has fixed the limits to its further progress,
and has amounted to the passing of the un-
alterable will of the North, thus far shall they
go and no further, and within their present
confines, that art doomed to live and die.

5th. Congress has abolished slavery in the
District of Columbia in certain cases, and
the country is called upon to acquiesce.
The principle and the power being estab-
lished, time and the temper of the country must
alone determine the propriety of further ac-
tion.

6th. The Government of the U. States is
to be relaxed for the future, from all re-
sponsibility for this institution in every
shape whatever. Thus a common govern-
ment will become our enemy, instead of our
friend.

7th. By the admission of California, the
South is thrown into a minority in all the
departments of the Government. All the
power that she receives, is owing to the for-
bearance of the North alone. The ruling
doctrine of the hour is, that the majority of
the nation must control in all things; and
it is the duty of the minority to submit and
acquiesce in the action of that majority on
all subjects. The helplessness of our con-
dition is still more apparent when we con-
sider how soon Minnesota, Oregon, New
Mexico, and Utah, will become States.

8th. The tendency of every thing at
Washington is to Federalize and consolidate.
The astounding increase of the revenue;
and the prodigality of the expenditures of
the General Government, the enlarge-
ment of Executive patronage, and the army
and the navy, and all the operations of the
Government, give to the central govern-
ment such grandeur and power, as to attract
all eyes, and excite the ambition of the as-
piring in every direction. The central
attraction of the Government is the strong-
est force of the age. States are compari-
tively weak and insignificant, and the power
of a State now is a constant theme of ridicule.

9th. There can be no doubt that the com-
mercial and manufacturing interests of the
North, have encouraged these assaults and
aggressions upon the South, because their
policy is to have the great agricultural inter-
est, that refused to favor class legislation, con-
ferring bonuses upon one pursuit, and bur-
dening upon another.

And now that they have triumphed, they
are knocking at the doors of Congress for
their reward. Some having seen the mis-
chievous spirit they have raised, give signs
of a disposition to relent, and would now
open the stream which is bearing us down.
But their feeble and indecisive efforts, are
futile and unavailing. Those who doubt
and hesitate, will be cast aside, and the bold
and unscrupulous demagogues of the North
will ride out and direct the whirlwind.

in view of the late action of Congress af-
fecting the institution of slavery, and in
view also of the existing state of feeling in
the Northern States on this subject, it is difficult
to determine the true line of conduct which
duty to herself, and a sound policy would
dictate to Mississippi.

If the South could unite in any course of
action we could effect all that is desirable.
But that union I now despair.

We cannot unite in endorsing the late
compromise measures. It is certain that
the South can never unite to ratify the
wrong she has suffered; she can never look
back and thank her oppressors for the dis-
honorable blow, nor justify, much less reward or
applaud those among us who have co-operated
in its infliction. Indeed, nothing would so
much promote the policy of future federal
aggression as a ratification of the late ag-
gression.

We can never unite in making Mr. Clay,
of Kentucky, the great leader of the South,
or in regarding him as the unyielding de-
fender of the integrity of our institutions.
He is the author of nearly all the measures
by which the South has been despoiled of
her territorial rights. His position is undis-
puted and well-known. He is inimical to
the institution of slavery and is anxious to
see it abolished. By his advocacy of the
emancipation of the slave and the curtail-
ment of the slaveholding limits, he has
sought to reconcile to his support the anti-
slavery feeling of the North. His policy,
carried out, would work the ruin of the
South, socially, industrially, and politically;
because the maintenance of the system of
slave labor, as now existing among us, is ab-
solutely essential to the development of her
wealth and resources. The labor of the
black race, now wild and directed by the
white race, forms an industrial system, as it
now exists, the best adapted of all others
to our own soil, climate, and produce, while
it is consistent with the highest advancement
of which both races are susceptible. I be-
lieve it exists by Divine appointment, con-
sistent with the laws and precepts of Moses
and the prophets, recognized by our Savior
and His Apostles, and guaranteed by the
Constitution of the United States. There-
fore I believe it to be duty and patriotism to
maintain the system as it came to us from
our fathers.

We can never unite in support of a Whig
Administration which is characterized only
by great zeal and anxiety to have the laws
observed south of Mason and Dixon's line,
and by great hesitancy and culpable inef-

ing will be onward till the whole power of
this Government shall be wielded for the
overthrow of slavery.

For the last twelve years I have been
here, and have watched the progress of ab-
dication. It has grown stronger, more
obdurate, and more intently aggressive,
each and every succeeding year. Flushed
with their late success, it is idle to suppose
that the cause is dead, or that all effort is
now to cease. What have they, the aboli-
tionists, gained, and what is the prevailing
feeling of the whole North?

1st. The free use of the Halls of Congress,
from which they can empty upon the South
their loathsome and insulting abuse of our
institutions.

2d. Slavery is forever excluded from the
whole Pacific coast, and that by the action
of Congress.

3d. Believing that Mexican law excludes
slavery from New Mexico and Utah, (and
there is unanimity with the whole North on
this subject, and a sufficient diversity of op-
inion on the same, prevails in the South,
to prevent emigration from that section,) it
follows that the South is effectually exclu-
ded from all the vast territories now owned
by the United States, embracing an area of
1,900,000 square miles, except a narrow
strip of land west of the State of Arkansas;
and in order to hamper us, this whole coun-
try south of the parallel of 36 deg. 30 min.,
has been granted in fee simple, to certain
Indian tribes, who are guaranteed its
perpetual possession.

4th. It is almost a unanimous feeling and
sentiment in the North, that slavery is a
moral, social, and political evil, and ought
to be abolished; and the late action of Congress
has fixed the limits to its further progress,
and has amounted to the passing of the un-
alterable will of the North, thus far shall they
go and no further, and within their present
confines, that art doomed to live and die.

5th. Congress has abolished slavery in the
District of Columbia in certain cases, and
the country is called upon to acquiesce.
The principle and the power being estab-
lished, time and the temper of the country must
alone determine the propriety of further ac-
tion.

6th. The Government of the U. States is
to be relaxed for the future, from all re-
sponsibility for this institution in every
shape whatever. Thus a common govern-
ment will become our enemy, instead of our
friend.

right, she should never anticipate final
defeat, but should persevere with un-
shaken faith that time and subsequent
developments will arouse the South
from her alarming stupor and false se-
curity, and thus secure that union
which is essential to her salvation.

But I could not advise her to change
her position; I could not advise her to
pledge herself to the attempt to secede.
I regard secession for Mississippi a-
lone, lemming in and compassed about
as she is, as impracticable. And to
make the attempt will injure the cause
which we seek to maintain. Without
the sympathy and support of the cotem-
poraneous States, we make but a sacrifice
of vital interests, in separating from
them. No—a common fate awaits the
Southern States; for good or for evil
God has linked them together, and man
but fights against his decrees when he
attempts to separate them.

If the Southern States will not unite
with Mississippi, but choose to wait
and sleep on till the clanking of the
chains of a master and the lued of de-
olation shall awake them, so must it be.
The skirts of Mississippi are clear—she
has been true to herself, true to the
South, true to her own pledges, and has
satisfied all the demands of the most
scrupulous honor.

The constancy she has manifested in
this cause will inspire confidence in any
declaration she has made; and when
new dangers present themselves, the
friends of the South will know where to
look for support, and upon whom to rely
with the highest confidence.

In addition, Mississippi in her future
legislation, should take steps to reduce
her dependence on the North, to en-
courage her own mechanics, to lead
her people to diversify their invest-
ments of capital, to develop her re-
sources by improvements, and to build
up her own institutions. This will open
a field for useful and advantageous leg-
islation, which the present difficulties
will force her to enter, and from which
I anticipate decided benefits.

Have thus fellow-citizens spoken to
you with my accustomed frankness.—
The occasion demanded of me this ex-
position of my views. I am no seeker
for praise. I have no further ambition
to gratify. Grateful for the generous
confidence you have ever extended to
me, I shall retire to the domestic circle,
and devote myself to my private affairs,
which require my attention; but I shall
never cease to entertain the deepest
solicitude for your prosperity and hap-
piness. Your obedient servant.

J. THOMPSON.
WASHINGTON CITY,
February 13, 1851.

FARMERS.
Adam was a farmer while yet in
Paradise, and after his fall was com-
manded to earn his bread by the sweat of
his brow. Job, the honest, upright and
patient, was a farmer, and his stern en-
durance has passed into a proverb.
Socrates was a farmer, and so wed-
ded to his calling the glory of his im-
mortal philosophy. St. Luke was a
farmer, and divides with Prometheus
the honor of subjecting the ox for the
use of man.

Cincinnatus was a farmer, and the
noblest Roman of them all. Burns
was a farmer, and the muse found him
at his plow, and filled his soul with poetry.
Washington was a farmer, and re-
tired from the highest earthly station
to enjoy the quiet of rural life, and pre-
sent to the world its spectacles of hu-
man greatness.

To these names may be added a host
of others who sought peace and repose
in the cultivation of their mother earth;
the enthusiastic Lafayette, the steadfast
Pickett, the scholastic Jefferson, the
fiery Randolph, all found an El Dorado
of consolation from life's cares and
troubles in the green fields and verdant
lawns that surround their homestead.

Mind against Mind.
There is a strong disposition in men
of opposite minds to despise each other.
A grave man cannot conceive what is
the use of a wit in a society, a person who