

Lexington and Hadkin Flag.

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Lexington and Hadkin Flag.

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PLATFORM OF THE AMERICAN PARTY OF NORTH CAROLINA.

At a Convention of the American party,
held at Raleigh, on the 10th of October,
1855, the following resolutions were adopted.

Resolved, That, as the causes which rendered
the secrecy of the American organization necessary in its infancy, no longer
exist—all the secret ceremonies of the order
whether of initiation, obligations, signs,
constitutions, rituals, or passwords be abolished—that we do constitute ourselves into
a publicly organized party—that we do chal-
lenge our opponents to the public discus-
sion of our principles—and we do hereby
invite and invoke the aid and co-operation
of all the citizens of the State, without re-
gard to their former political affiliations, in
maintaining and carrying out the great aims
principles and objects of the American party.

Resolved, That we do hereby ratify and
endorse the principles enunciated in the
platform of the American party, by the
National Council of the same, begun and
held at Philadelphia, on the 5th day of June,
1855, in relation to the political policy of
the Government—while at the same time,
we consider the three great primary prin-
ciples of the organization, which constitute
the basis of our party, as paramount in im-
portance to any issues of mere governmental
policy.

Resolved, That these three great primary
principles are, first, the confinement of the
honors, offices and responsibilities of political
station, under our government, to na-
tive-born Americans, with a due regard, at
the same time, to the protection of the for-
eign-born in all the civil rights and privileges
guaranteed to freemen by the constitution,
whether Federal or State.

Secondly, Resistance to religious intoler-
ance, and a rigid maintenance of the great
principle of religious freedom—by excluding
from office and power, those who would
persecute for opinion's sake, who would
control the politics of the country through
Church influences or priestly interferences;
and who acknowledge an allegiance to any
power on earth, whether civil or ecclesiastical,
as paramount to that which they owe to
the Constitution.

And, Thirdly, unwavering devotion to the
Union of these States, and resistance to all
factional and sectional attempts to weaken
its bonds.

Resolved, That in all nominations for po-
litical station here after to be made by the
American Party, it is recommended that
the same be done in open public meeting—and
that all those who agree with us in principle,
and who concur in our aims and objects,
shall hereafter be recognized as members of
the American party.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the
American Party in this State to hold a Con-
vention of delegates, to be appointed in pub-
lic primary meetings in the respective coun-
ties, in Greensboro, on Thursday the 10th
day of April next, for the purpose of nomi-
nating a candidate to be run by the Amer-
ican party for Governor at the next election
—that each county appoint as many Dele-
gates as it chooses, and that the mode of
voting in said convention be regulated by
the convention itself.

Resolved, That we consider the 22d day
of February next—the time heretofore se-
lected by the National Council of the Amer-
ican order, for the nomination of candidates
for President and Vice-President, as too
early a day for that purpose, and we do
hereby recommend to our brethren of the
American party throughout the Union, the
propriety of postponing the holding of said
convention, to some time in the month of
June or July.

Resolved, However, lest such postpone-
ment may not take place, it is deemed ad-
visable to appoint two delegates to represent
the State at large in such nominating Con-
vention,—and it is recommended to the
American party in each Congressional Dis-
trict to hold primary meetings in the respec-
tive counties, and appoint delegates to Dis-
trict Conventions, for the selection of
delegates from each respective District
to a nominating Convention.

Resolved, That an Executive Central
Committee of five, be appointed by this body
whose duty it shall be to attend to the
general concerns of the American party in
this State, to carry on the necessary cor-
respondence, and take such incipient steps

as may be deemed necessary for the more
thorough organization of the said executive
committee be authorized and requested to
appoint a County Executive Committee for
each County in the State; and that said
County Executive Committee do further ap-
point a sub-committee for each election pre-
cinct in the county, with a view to a more
thorough and complete organization of the
American party in North Carolina.

President's Message.

CONCLUDED.

POST OFFICE.

It will be perceived by the report of
the Postmaster General that the gross
expenditure of the Department for the
last fiscal year was nine million nine
hundred and sixty-eight thousand three
hundred and forty-two dollars, and the
gross receipts seven million three hun-
dred and forty-two thousand one hun-
dred and thirty-six dollars, making an
excess of expenditure over receipts of
two million six hundred and twenty-six
thousand two hundred and six dollars;
and that the cost of mail transportation
during that year was six hundred and
seventy-four thousand nine hundred and
fifty-two dollars greater than the pre-
vious year. Much of the heavy expendi-
tures to which the Treasury is thus
subjected is to be ascribed to the large
quantity of printed matter conveyed by
the mails, either franked or liable to no
postage by law, or to very low rates of
postage compared with that charged on
letters, and to the great cost of mail ser-
vice on railroads and by ocean steamers.
The suggestions of the Postmaster Gen-
eral on the subject deserve the considera-
tion of Congress.

INTERIOR.

The report of the Secretary of the In-
terior will engage your attention, as well
for the useful suggestions it contains as
for the interest and importance of the
subjects to which they refer.

The aggregate amount of public land
sold during the last fiscal year, located
with military scrip or land warrants, taken
up under grants for roads, and selected
as swamp lands by States, is twenty-
four million five hundred and fifty-seven
thousand four hundred and nine acres;
of which the portion sold was fifteen
million seven hundred and twenty-nine
thousand five hundred and twenty-four
acres, yielding in receipts the sum of
eleven million four hundred and eighty-
five thousand three hundred and eighty
dollars. In the same period of time
eight million seven hundred and twenty-
three thousand eight hundred and fifty-
four acres have been surveyed; but, in
consideration of the quantity already sub-
ject to entry, no additional tracts have
been brought into market.

The peculiar relation of the General
Government to the District of Columbia
renders it proper to commend to your
care not only its material, but also its
moral interests, including education,
more especially in those parts of the
District outside of the cities of Washing-
ton and Georgetown.

The Commissioners appointed to re-
vise and codify the laws of the District
have made such progress in the perform-
ance of their task as to insure its com-
pletion in the time prescribed by the act
of Congress.

Information has recently been received
that the peace of the settlements in
the Territories of Oregon and Washing-
ton is disturbed by hostilities on the part
of the Indians, with indications of exten-
sive combinations of a hostile character
among the tribes in that quarter, the
more serious in their possible effect by
reason of the undetermined foreign inter-
ests existing in those Territories, to
which your attention has already been
especially invited. Efficient measures
have been taken which, it is believed,
will restore quiet and afford protection
to our citizens.

In the Territory of Kansas there have
been acts prejudicial to good order, but
as yet none have occurred under circum-
stances to justify the interposition of
the Federal Executive. That could only
be in case of obstruction to Federal
law or of organized resistance to Terri-
torial law, assuming the character of in-
surrection, which, if it should occur, it
would be my duty promptly to overcome
and suppress. I cherish the hope, how-
ever, that the occurrence of any such
untoward event will be prevented by

the sound sense of the people of the
Territory, who, by its organic law pos-
sessed the right to determine their own
domestic institutions, are entitled, while
deporting themselves peacefully, to the
free exercise of that right, and must be
protected in the enjoyment of it, with-
out interference on the part of the citi-
zens of any of the States.

The southern boundary line of this
Territory has never been surveyed and
established. The rapidly-extending set-
tlements in that region, and the fact
that the main route between Indepen-
dence, in the State of Missouri, and
New Mexico, is contingents to this
line, suggest the probability that em-
barrassing questions of jurisdiction may
consequently arise. For these and other
considerations I commend the subject
to your early attention.

CONSTITUTIONAL THEORY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

I have thus passed in review the gen-
eral state of the Union, including such
particular concerns of the Federal Gov-
ernment, whether of domestic or foreign
relation, as it appeared to me desirable
and useful to bring to the special notice
of Congress. Unlike the great States of
Europe and Asia and many of those of
America, these United States are wast-
ing their strength neither in foreign war
nor domestic strife. Whatever of dis-
content or public dissatisfaction exists
is attributable to the imperfections of
human nature or is incident to all Gov-
ernments, however perfect, which hu-
man wisdom can devise. Such subjects
of political agitation as occupy the pub-
lic mind consist, to a great extent, of
exaggeration of inevitable evils, or over-
zeal in social improvement, or mere
imagination of grievance, having but re-
mote connexion with any of the consti-
tutional functions or duties of the Fed-
eral Government. To whatever extent
these questions exhibit a tendency men-
acing to the stability of the Constitu-
tion or the integrity of the Union, and
no further, they demand the considera-
tion of the Executive and require to be
presented by him to Congress.

Before the Thirteen Colonies became
a confederation of independent States,
they were associated only by communi-
ty of transatlantic origin, by geographi-
cal position, and by the mutual tie of
common dependence on Great Britain.
When that tie was sundered they severally
assumed the powers and rights of
absolute self-government.—The municipal
and social institutions of each, its laws
of property and of personal relations,
even its political organization, were such
only as each one chose to establish,
wholly without interference from any
other. In the language of the Declara-
tion of Independence, each State had
"full power to levy war, conclude peace,
contract alliances, establish commerce,
and to do all other acts and things which
independent States may of right do." The
several colonies differed in climate, in
soil, in natural productions, in religion,
in systems of education, in legisla-
tion, and in the forms of political admin-
istration; and they continued to differ
in these respects when they voluntarily
allied themselves as States to carry on
the war of the Revolution.

The object of that war was to disen-
thrall the United Colonies from foreign
rule, which had proved to be oppressive,
and to separate them permanently from
the mother country. The political re-
sult was the foundation of a Federal Re-
public of the free white men of the
Colonies, constituted, as they were, in
distinct and reciprocally independent
State Governments. As for the subject
races, whether Indian or Africa, the
wise and brave statesmen of that day,
being engaged in no extravagant scheme
of social change, left them as they were
and thus preserved themselves and their
posterity from the anarchy and the ever-
recurring civil wars which have prevail-
ed in other revolutionized European col-
onies of America.

When the confederated States found it
convenient to modify the conditions of
their association, by giving to the General
Government direct access, in some respects,
to the people of the States, instead of con-
fining it to action on the States as such,
they proceeded to frame the existing con-
stitution, adhering steadily to one guiding
thought, which was to delegate only such power as

was necessary and proper to the execution
of specific purposes, or, in other words,
to retain as much as possible, consistently
with those purposes, of the independent
powers of the individual States. For ob-
jects of common defence and security they
entrusted to the General Government cer-
tain carefully-defined functions, leaving
all others as the undelimited rights of the
separate independent sovereignties.

Such is the constitutional theory of our
Government, the practical observance of
which has carried us, and us alone, among
modern Republics, through nearly three
generations of time, without the cost of one
drop of blood shed in civil war. With free-
dom and concert of action, it has enabled
us to contend successfully on the battle-field
against foreign foes has elevated the feeble
colonies into powerful States, and has raised
our industrial productions and our com-
merce which transports them to the level
of the richest and the greatest nations of
Europe. And the admirable adaptation of
our political institutions to their objects,
combining local self-government with ag-
gregate strength, has established the practicability
of a Government like ours to cover a contin-
ent with federate States.

The Congress of the United States is, in
effect that Congress of Sovereigns which
good men in the Old World have sought
for, but could never attain, and which im-
parts to America an exemption from the
mutable leagues for common action, from
the wars, the mutual invasions, and vague
aspirations after the balance of power which
envelop from time to time the Govern-
ments of Europe. Our co-operative action
rests in the conditions of permanent fed-
eration prescribed by the Constitution.
Our balance of power is in the separate
reserved rights of the States, and their equal
representation in the Senate. That inde-
pendent sovereignty in every one of the
States, with its reserved rights of local self-
government, assured to each by their co-
equal power in the Senate, was the funda-
mental condition of the Constitution. With-
out it the Union would never have existed.
However desirous the larger States might
be to re-organize the Government so as to
give to their population its proportionate
weight in the common councils, they knew
it was impossible, unless they conceded to
the smaller ones authority to exercise at
least a negative influence on all the mea-
sures of the Government, whether legisla-
tive or executive, through their equal rep-
resentation in the Senate. Indeed the larger
States themselves could not have failed to
perceive that the same power was equally
necessary to them for the security of their
own domestic interest against the aggregate
force of the General Government. In a
word, the original States went into this
permanent league on the agreed premises
of exerting their common strength for the
defence of the whole and of all its parts,
but of utterly excluding all capability of re-
ciprocal aggression. Each solemnly bound
itself to all the others neither to undertake
nor permit any encroachment upon or in-
termeddling with another's reserved rights.

Where it was deemed expedient, particu-
lar rights of the States were expressly
guaranteed by the Constitution; but, in all
things beside, these rights were guarded by
the limitation of the powers granted, and by
express reservation of all powers not granted,
in the compact of union. Thus, the
great power of taxation was limited to pur-
poses of common defence and general wel-
fare, excluding objects appertaining to the
local legislation of the several States; and
those purposes of general welfare and com-
mon defence were afterwards defined by
specific enumeration, as being matters only
of correlation between the States them-
selves, or between them and foreign Gov-
ernments, which, because of their common
and general nature, could not be left to the
separate control of each State.

Of the circumstances of local condition,
interest, and rights, in which a portion
of the States, constituting one great section
of the Union, differed from the rest, and
from another section; the most important
was the peculiarity of a larger relative colored
population in the Southern than in the
Northern States.

A population of this class, held in sub-
jection, existed in nearly all the States, but
was more numerous and of more serious
concernment in the South than in the North
on account of naturally differences of cli-
mate and production; and it was foreseen
that, for the same reasons, while this popu-
lation would diminish, and sooner or later,
cease to exist in some States, it might in-
crease in others. The peculiar character
and magnitude of this question of local
rights, not in material relations only, but
still more in social ones, caused it to enter
into the special stipulations of the Consti-
tution.

Hence, while the General Government,

as well by the enumerated powers granted
to it, as by those not enumerated, and there-
fore refused to it, was forbidden to touch
this matter in the sense of attack or offence
it was placed under the general safeguard
of the Union, in the sense of defence in
either invasion or domestic violence, like
all other local interests of the several States
Each State expressly stipulated, as well for
itself as for each and all of its citizens, and
all of its citizens, and every citizen of each
State became solemnly bound by his allegi-
ance to the Constitution, that any person,
held to labor or service in one State, escap-
ing into another, should not, in consequence
of any law or regulation thereof, be dis-
charged from such service or labor, but
should be delivered up on claim of the party
to whom such service or labor might be
due by the laws of his State.

Thus, and thus only, by the reciprocal
guaranty of all the rights of every State
against interference on the part of another
was the present form of government estab-
lished by our fathers and transmitted to us;
and by no other means is it possible for it
to exist. If one State ceases to respect the
rights of another, and obtrusively intermed-
dles with its local interests; if a portion
of the States assume to impose their institu-
tions on the others, or refuse to fulfill their
obligations to them, we are no longer united
friendly States, but distracted hostile ones,
with little capacity left of common advan-
tage, but abundant means of reciprocal in-
jury and mischief.

Practically, it is immaterial whether ag-
gressive interference between the States, or
deliberate refusal on the part of any one of
them to comply with constitutional obliga-
tions, arise from erroneous conviction or
blind prejudice, whether it be perpetrated
by direction or indirection. In either case
it is full of threat and of danger to the
durability of the Union.

CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS OF SLAVERY.

Placed in the office of Chief Magistrate
as the executive agent of the whole coun-
try, bound to take care that the laws be
faithfully executed, and specially enjoined
by the Constitution to give information to
Congress on the state of the Union, it would
be palpable neglect of duty on my part to
pass over a subject like this, which, be-
yond all things at the present time, vitally
concerns individual and public security.

It has been a matter of painful regret to
see States, conspicuous for their services in
founding this Republic, and equally sharing
its advantages, disregard their constitutional
obligations to it. Although conscious of
their inability to heal admitted and palpa-
ble social evils of their own, and which are
completely within their jurisdiction, they
engage in the offensive and hopeless un-
dertaking of reforming the domestic institu-
tions of other States wholly beyond their control
and authority. In the vain pursuit of ends
by them entirely unattainable, and which
they may not legally attempt to compass,
they peril the very existence of the Consti-
tution and all the countless benefits which
it has conferred. While the people of the
Southern States confine their attention to
their own affairs, not presuming officiously
to intermeddle with the social institutions
of the Northern States, too many of the in-
habitants of the latter are permanently or-
ganized in associations to inflict injury on
the former by wrongful acts, which would
be the cause of war as between foreign
Powers, and only fail to be such in our sys-
tem, because perpetrated under cover of the
Union.

It is impossible to present this subject as
truth and the occasion require, without no-
ticing the reiterated but groundless allega-
tion that the South has persistently asserted
claims and obtained advantages in the
practical administration of the General Gov-
ernment to the prejudice of the North, and
in which the latter has acquiesced: that is,
the States, which either promote or tolerate
attacks on the rights of persons and of prop-
erty in other States, to disguise their own
justice, pretend or imagine and constantly
aver that they, whose constitutional rights
are thus systematically assailed, are them-
selves the aggressors. At the present time
this imputed aggression, resting, as it does,
only in the vague declamatory charges of
political agitators, resolves itself into mis-
apprehension or misinterpretation of the
principles and facts of the political organiza-
tion of the new Territories of the United
States.

What is the voice of history? When the
ordinance which provided for the govern-
ment of the territory northwest of the river
Ohio, and for its eventual subdivision into
new States, was adopted in the Congress
of the Confederation, it is not to be sup-
posed that the question of future relative power,
as between the States which retained and
those which did not retain a numerous col-
ored population, escaped notice or failed to

be considered. And yet the concession of
that vast territory to the interests and opin-
ions of the Northern States, a territory now
the seat of five among the largest members
of the Union, was in a great measure the
act of the State of Virginia and of the South.

When Louisiana was acquired by the
United States it was an acquisition not less
to the North than to the South; for while
it was important to the country at the mouth
of the river Mississippi to become the em-
porium of the country above it, so also it
was even more important to the whole Union
to have that emporium. And although the
new province, by reason of its imperfect
settlement, was mainly regarded as on the
Gulf of Mexico, yet, in fact, it extended to
the opposite boundaries of the United States,
with far greater breadth above than below,
and was in territory, as in everything else,
equally, at least, an accession to the North-
ern States. It is mere delusion and pre-
judice, therefore, to speak of Louisiana as an
acquisition in the special interest of the
South.

The patriotic and just men who partici-
pated in that act were influenced by motives
far above all sectional jealousies. It was,
in truth, the great event which, by complet-
ing for us the valley of the Mississippi, with
commercial access to the Gulf of Mexico,
imparted unity and strength to the whole
Confederation, and attached together by in-
dissoluble ties the East and the West as
well as the North and South.

As to Florida, that was but the transfer
by Spain to the United States of territory
on the east side of the river Mississippi, in
exchange for large territory which the United
States transferred to Spain on the west side
of that river, as the entire diplomatic history
of the transaction serves to demonstrate.—
Moreover, it was an acquisition demanded
by the commercial interests and the securi-
ty of the whole Union.

In the mean time, the people of the United
States had grown up to a proper con-
sciousness of their strength, and in a brief
contest with France, and a second serious
war with Great Britain, they had shaken off
all which remained of undue reverence for
Europe, and emerged from the atmosphere
of those trans-atlantic influences which sur-
rounded the infant Republic, and had begun
to turn their attention to the full and sys-
tematic development of the internal resources
of the Union.

Among the evanescent controversies of
that period, the most conspicuous was the
question of regulation by Congress of the
social condition of the future States to be
founded in the Territory of Louisiana.

The ordinance for the government of the
territory northwest of the river Ohio had
contained a provision which prohibited the
use of servile labor therein, subject to the
condition of the extradition of fugitives from
service due in any other part of the United
States. Subsequently to the adoption of the
Constitution, this provision ceased to remain
as a law or its operation as such was ab-
solutely superseded by the Constitution.—
But the recollection of the fact excited the
zeal of social propagandism in some sections
of the confederation; and, when a second
State, that of Missouri, came to be formed
in the Territory of Louisiana, proposition
was made to extend to the latter Territory
the restriction originally applied to the coun-
try situated between the rivers Ohio and
Mississippi.

Most questionable as was this proposition
in all its constitutional relations, neverthe-
less it received the sanction of Congress,
with some slight modifications of line, to
save the existing rights of the intended new
State. It was reluctantly acquiesced in by
Southern States as a sacrifice to the cause
of peace and of the Union, not only of the
rights stipulated by the treaty of Louisiana,
but of the principle of equality among the
States guaranteed by the Constitution. It
was received by the Northern States with
angry and resentful condemnation and com-
plaint, because it did not concede all which
they had exactly demanded. Having
passed through the forms of legislation, it
took its place in the statute-book, standing
open to repeal, like any other act of doubt-
ful constitutionality, subject to be pronoun-
ced null and void by the courts of law, and
possessing no possible efficacy to control
the rights of the States which might there-
after be organized out of any part of the origi-
nal territory of Louisiana.

In all this, if any aggression there were,
any innovation upon pre-existing rights, to
which portion of the Union are they justly
chargeable?

This controversy passed away with the
occasion, nothing surviving it save the dor-
mant letter of the statute.

But, long afterwards, when, by the pro-
posed accession of the Republic of Texas,
the United States were to take their next
step in territorial greatness, a similar con-
CLUDED ON FOURTH PAGE.