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JAMES A. LONG,
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The Duty of the Whigs.

It is now a subject of great importance to the Whigs to decide what course they shall pursue during this Presidential campaign. The democrats, fully aware of the great influence which we will exercise, are endeavoring every where to create the impression that the coming election will be entirely an issue between democracy and republicanism. They would persuade us that Mr. Fillmore will receive so small a support that every vote given to him will either be thrown away, or else will contribute to the election of Fremont.

Is this a proper view of the case? It seems to me that the question for every one to decide is, not whose chances for election are best, but which of the candidates now before the people, represents the principles that he should best like to see prevail in the administration of the Government. If we admit that the great question now before the people is, How can we put an end to the agitation of the subject of slavery?—the agitation threatens to destroy the Government. No subject can be touched in Congress, no public meeting can be held, but slavery is made the permanent subject of discussion. We even find it ending the legislative assemblies of our churches and tending there, as in politics to produce disunion and destruction.

Shall these things continue? This is the great question for every lover of his country. This appeals to every conservative in the land, and calls upon him to exert his whole influence to check this ill spirit, and bring back our people, if possible, to harmony and brotherly love. How can this be done? To accomplish this, what candidate must we sustain? In this latitude of course, "Republicanism" is out of the question. But even in the North it seems to me that no lover of his country should sustain any party whose existence depends upon slavery agitation. "Republicanism" presents no other issue. Deprive it of this and the party must sink. Hence put an end to slavery agitation and "Republicanism" disappears—sustain "Republicanism" and agitation must and will continue. Such being the alternative, it seems to me that no conservative of any party, and especially no Whig North or South, can hesitate to do his duty. He can not sustain the "Republican" nominee.

But say the Democrats, "Vote for Buchanan, and thus put an end to agitation."—But can Buchanan be sustained for any such reasons? Will his elevation to the Presidency accomplish any such end? His friends, it is true say so; but where is the proof of any such position? We need not refer to his antecedents, for he repudiates them; and well he might, for they are too contradictory to avail much in proof of anything except a most lamentable want of firmness and consistency. In his speech to the Keystone Club, he says: "Now, since I am the representative of the great democratic party I am no longer simply James Buchanan, but I must square my conduct with the platform upon which I have been placed"—a platform which he so heartily approves that he is not willing to change it in the slightest degree. He will "neither add one plank to it nor take one plank from it." The plain English of all which is, that whatever opinion he may heretofore have entertained, he now renounces them all, and adopts and means to carry out, (if elected) to the fullest extent every principle and doctrine of the Cincinnati platform. He must be sincere in his pledge, otherwise he makes a pledge which he means never to fulfill. We are thus forced to believe that he really is sincere to carry out the platform upon which he has so solemnly placed himself.

Can, then, a Whig, can any conservative support a man who is pledged to that platform? It seems to me that all that has ever been presented to the American people a platform so pregnant with evil, so dangerous to the honor and welfare of our country. It is the essence of filibusterism—looking evidently to the acquisition of more territory in the Gulf of Mexico; determined at all hazards to assert and maintain the Monroe doctrine, the assertion of which, must inevitably involve us continually in war. Is the country ready to sustain any such policy? Can the Whigs hazard the peace and prosperity of the country upon any such issue? If not, how can we sustain, either directly or indirectly the party that sustains such doctrine? And especially how can we support Mr. Buchanan, whose celebrated Ostend Manifesto has

committed him to an extent even transcending the limits of the Cincinnati platform?—In that manifesto he does not hesitate to say that we must have Cuba at all risks.—He advises our Government to offer to purchase it; and if Spain should refuse to sell, then take it by force. Such is Mr. Buchanan's position.

Can he be trusted with the administration of our foreign affairs? It is in vain for his friends to speak of his conservatism;—here are his own words, deliberately expressed, and no apology or explanation of his friends can wipe them out.

Can he be trusted with any greater safety on the slavery question? His antecedents (see his Lancaster resolutions, speeches in Congress, &c.) show him to be a Free-soiler. As such, he was evidently supported by the North in the Cincinnati Convention. Reference to the record will show that during many ballots he received no votes from the South, save those of Virginia and Louisiana. The South preferred Mr. Pierce or Mr. Douglas. But, as Mr. Buchanan has repudiated his own antecedents, we perhaps ought to do so too; and shall only inquire, what is his present position on that question? In his letter of acceptance he fully endorses the Cincinnati platform, which heartily approves the entire conduct of the Democratic party as represented by Mr. Pierce! Thus Mr. Buchanan assumes the responsibilities of the action of the Democratic party during the last three years.—Let us consider this a few moments.

In March 1853, Mr. Fillmore retired from the Government and left the country in the enjoyment of the most profound quiet; now here was there the sound of discord; all was peace and harmony. Men of all parties acknowledged and applauded the firmness and ability of Mr. Fillmore, which had accomplished so happy a result; all parties pledged themselves to sustain it; and Mr. Pierce was elected by the influence of the following resolutions, adopted in the Democratic platform of 1852:

"Resolved, That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made."

Such was their language in 1852? Could it be stronger? Could a party be more fully pledged? And was not this pledge repeated over and over again, on the stump in Congress and even in the President's Inaugural? But what was their action? They were hardly in power before they proposed and effected the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and created a storm of agitation greater than has ever swept over this country!

I do not stop here to inquire whether the Missouri Compromise was constitutional or not nor whether the rights of any section demanded its repeal. It is sufficient to know that it had been in quiet peaceful operation for more than thirty years and that the Democrats deliberately and solemnly pledged themselves to sustain it, and to put down all agitation of the question from whatever quarter it might come. Under such pledges they were bound to maintain it under all circumstances. Why did they not do it? What advantage has been gained that is at all commensurate with the injury that has been inflicted upon the country? So far its only fruits have been discord, contention, yea, even civil war. How appalling the idea, much less the reality of civil war! a strife brought on by the insane ultraisms of the South and the fanaticism of the North; the one as dangerous to our peace and happiness as the other; the one just as necessary to be quieted as the other for both alike entail nothing but distraction and discord.

Here again I ask, how can this disastrous condition be remedied? Certainly not by retaining in power a party that has violated its every pledge on this subject however solemnly made; which has sacrificed every thing to party ends and party triumph; which has forced upon us a storm of agitation of which no man can now see the result. Has not all this been done by the Democratic party? And does not Mr. Buchanan endorse it to the fullest extent? Is he then, fit to present the conservatism of the country? Can the conservatives support any such man or any such party?

If then they cannot support Mr. Fremont or Mr. Buchanan, what can they do? It certainly will not do to nominate another candidate; for under existing circumstances every new candidate will only contribute to the success of the Democrats. There only then remains Mr. Fillmore? Can the conservatives of the country support him. It seems to me that no conservative can hesitate in the present position of parties.—Whatever may be said by Democratic politicians, the fact remains the same, viz: that Mr. Fillmore occupies a position intermediate between each extreme North and South. As such he deserves and I trust will receive,

the support of every one that is desirous to see peace and harmony once more shed their happy influence throughout the land. What matters it though his chances for success are not present so certain as his friends would like to see? The question as said above is not what policy dictates, but what is our duty. Is Mr. Fillmore qualified by his experience and principles to administer the Government? Does he maintain those principles which we desire to see prevail? If so, he is entitled to the support of every true patriot, and should receive it, despite every obstacle. Let us discharge our duty irrespective of consequences. Let us do what is right and leave the result in the hands of Providence. If we thus act, will we not succeed?

Is there not conservatism and patriotism in the land to put down the excitement which reckless partisans have forced upon us? I feel confident that there is. We have the power; we need only exert it and every thing is safe.

Come, then, all ye lovers of your country! Resolve that you will assert and maintain your rights at all hazards; that ye will preserve intact the glorious inheritance that we have received from the Constitution; that obedience to law shall be enforced; that justice shall be meted to all of every section. Thus and thus alone, can we restore and maintain that harmony and good will which should ever prevail among us.—Something must be done. To this end let us rally around Millard Fillmore. His is a position that none can assail. He has been fully tried, and found equal to every emergency. He has proved able to pilot us through one storm, and can he not safely steer us through the one that now threatens to overwhelm us? Shall we throw him aside and trust ourselves to the fickleness and timidity of Mr. Buchanan; or can we risk the youth and inexperience of Mr. Fremont? No! But let us turn to him.

Having experience of past service in the administration of the Government, may be permitted to refer to that as the exponent of the future, and to say that should the choice of the American Convention sanctioned of the people, he shall with the same scrupulous regard for the rights of every section of the Union, which then influenced his conduct, endeavor to perform every duty conferred by the Constitution and laws to the Executive."—*National Intelligencer.*

Letter from Gen. Samuel Houston.
EXTRACT.
Where is that Democracy to day? Swallowed up in unmitigated squatter sovereignty—in sectional bickerings and disputes—in disregarding compacts between the different sections of the Union, the repeal of which has led to insurrection in Kansas—in getting up Indian wars wherever Indians could be found, as a pretext for increasing the regular army, the estimated expenses of which, at this time, are \$12,000,000 per annum, when \$300,000 judiciously expended, would secure peace with every Indian tribe on the continent, and induce them to embrace the arts of civilization.

The foreign policy of the present democratic President has been far from creditable to our government. It, too, has shown a disposition to court an alien influence to sustain it, while it has declared and practised relentless proscription against native born American citizens. I will pursue this point no further. To ruminate upon it is painful enough for a man who loves his country, but when called upon by friends, I feel it due to them to express my sentiments plainly. You and I, and tens of thousands of old democrats who were the true Covenanters under Jackson, wash our hands of these absurdities, follies, and evidences of culpable mismanagement.

None of these things are fraught with the principles of that Democracy which was taught at the Hermitage, and treasured up by us. I can find no relief in the nomination made at Cincinnati. I regard the gentleman upon whom it fell as a man of abilities, and one with whom I have always maintained kind personal relations; and for Mr. Buchanan I yet entertain the highest respect. From his antecedents, I cannot regard him as more patriotic and national than Mr. Fillmore. In the office of President one has been tried, the other has not. It is matter of astonishment to me that the nomination happened to fall to the lot of Mr. Buchanan, when other names as I have learned, were used on the occasion, who had been the active advocates of the Kansas Nebraska bill, which had been declared to be the main issue in the approaching Presidential contest. That plank is prominent in the platform, and the platform has been accepted, cordially, by the nominee. We have to regard squatter sovereignty as one of the cardinal points of modern democracy. The candidate, however, has merged himself in the platform, or the principles of it, which, to my mind, are not in harmony

with Jackson democracy, and I accordingly repudiate them. I cannot separate the candidate and platform in this instance, as they are identical, inasmuch as the nominee has said that he could no longer speak for himself, as James Buchanan, but as the exponent of the principles set forth in the platform. I am constrained according to my notions of Democracy, to utterly reject the platform and cannot give my support to the nominee of the present Democratic party.

Of the republicans, I can only say that their platform and principles are sectional, and I cannot conceive how any men loving this Union, devoted to its principles, can support a ticket fraught with such disastrous consequences to the whole country as its success would be. It has been my habit in life to deprecate and oppose everything of a sectional character, and therefore I cannot view with complacency anything which is calculated to militate against the Union, or any section to the whole country. You, my dear sir, know, as well as I do, that when Texas was annexed to the United States she did not consider herself as identified with any particular section, but viewed herself as merged in the Union. She had received the sympathy of the citizens of every section of the Union; her feeling, her interest and her existence, in becoming a member of the Union, she considered as inseparable from its preservation and prosperity.

A sense of duty, under these circumstances, led me to the conclusion to support the American nominees—Fillmore and Donelson. They are good men, and I think the only men now in nomination for the Presidency and Vice Presidency before the American people who do most assuredly claim the cordial support of men who are true hearted Americans, democrats and whigs. All faithful naturalized citizens, though of foreign birth, who cannot be controlled by any foreign allegiance, can come forward to their support, as rational men, capable and willing to support the constitution and the Union. Major Donelson, you know, was brought up in the same school with ourselves, which was the old Jefferson and Jackson democracy—and he has ever proved true to his democratic education—the love of the Union being the polar star.

Mr. Fillmore was a whig, and served the people of his district while he was a representative in Congress. His service was satisfactory, and he secured their confidence. When his official duties took a broader range, and new and responsible duties developed upon him as the head of the nation, he cast aside every sectional and local bias—his views on all important questions were limited only by the extent of his duty to the whole country. His services met the acceptance of the nation, and heretofore from office with the approving voice of thousands who had been his former opponents. In my opinion, he administered the government wisely and well. He found the country in great excitement, as well as dissatisfaction, and even in peril; and yet he left it in repose, tranquility, and safety; and it is a pleasure for me to look back and remember that without any deviation from my line of duty as a Jackson democrat, I was enabled to sustain and aid him in most of his leading measures, and so, too, were nearly all the true hearted Jackson democrats of the present day even as sound as they were then, though heresies had then been introduced into the party, I would cheerfully co-operate and act with them on many important subjects; but since they have recognized squatter sovereignty, and their "great principle" (which I have been unable to discover) of the Kansas Nebraska bill as tests of true democracy, making them the front planks of their party platform, I will not stand upon it, nor can I recognize such principles as truly democratic. It was the attempt to carry out such measures which has involved us in our present calamitous and perilous situation. Hence the effort has been made to incorporate them with, and tender them parts of the ancient platform of the time honored democracy, supposing, as no doubt they did, that the talismanic name of democracy would on the American people in support of heresies as absurd as they are dangerous to the well being of the country. But my dear sir, I will not attempt to go into detail further.—I hope that Texas, when she comes to the polls in November next, will make a united rally for the American ticket, and that its triumph will be complete. I hope the friends of our Union and true democratic principles will rally around the sentiment of General Jackson, and show their reverence for his memory and great services to the nation, expressed in his letter to Dr. Coleman, that it is time we should become a little more Americanized." Since the day on which this warning was given our country has been progressing, and from developments which have taken place, it seems to

me that the exigencies of the country impress upon us the necessity of feeling fully alive to our nationality, by evincing respect for his wise counsel. I will not assume to offer to the people of Texas the words of warning and admonition. In the words of Jackson they have higher counsel. The days once were when my admonitions and advice were offered to them. They will remember what my course among them has ever been—they know with what interest I have sought to secure their peace and advance their prosperity. My devotion to them is not lessened at this moment—it can never abate so long as all I treasure upon earth remains in the bosom of that community. What ever estimate they may think proper to place upon my opinions is with them. To the aged and the middle aged I would speak as to brethren—to the younger men and the youth I would speak as a father—and beseech them to take the course best calculated to restore harmony to our distracted country, and promote the general good.

Thine truly,
SAM HOUSTON.
To Hon. John Hancock, Austin, Texas.

Hon. A. H. Shepperd for Fillmore.

At this age of changing and shifting among politicians, our readers and the citizens of the entire State, will no doubt be pleased to hear what position has been taken in the great political parties that now divide the country, by the Hon. A. H. Shepperd, who for 24 years, (we believe) occupied a seat in the Congress of the United States, and was distinguished no less for his spotless integrity of character, political and private, than for the high rank he maintained among the leading Whig members of the House of Representatives.

We have been favored with the following brief sketch of his address at Kernersville, in this county, on the 5th, by a gentleman who was present and heard him, and are assured that it does but faint justice to his very able and powerful speech.—*Press.*

Mr. Shepperd remarked that he had for the last six years been in the retirement of private life, with the expectation of never again mingling in politics; but as all parties seemed anxious to have his views on the approaching Presidential and gubernatorial elections, he deemed it his duty, as it was the glorious privilege of every man however humble, in this Republican Government, to give them cheerfully to his friends. He said he was an old line Whig, as they were pleased to call him, and are expected to live and die one. That he had for many long years battled in this noble old party against the Democratic party,—which he supposed was now the same that it ever had been,—for it is the boast of the Democrats that their principles never change. He and the old Whig party, as any of its old members who had not lost their memories, would still recollect, had been traduced and vilified by the Democratic party with all the foul charges and abusive words that the vocabulary of Billingsgate could afford. Now all of a sudden, when it was seen that they held the balance of power, they had suddenly become in the eyes of these same Democrats, the cleverest sort of fellows,—and good authority on all subjects. It reminded him of an anecdote he had heard of a fellow who had a blue beard, and was not blessed with a handsome person, besides having the misfortune of being poor. He was fond of the ladies' society, but shunned by them as the ugly blue bearded man.—After a time he inherited a large estate,—then of a sudden he became much admired by the ladies, who declared that his beard was not so blue after all.

He never had said as hard things of the Democratic party as a few other Whigs,—who shall be nameless, but who had deserted the party and gone over to the Democratic fold. He thought that it would have been well for these peculiarly wise and sagacious men, to have remembered the anecdote of the poor Irishman. He was at the point of death, and sent for the Priest to forgive his sins. The Priest told him he must curse the devil before his sins could be forgiven. "Faith," says the Irishman, "I cannot do that." "Why not," asked the Priest. "Faith and be Jesus," says the poor man, "I dont know whose hands I shall fall into!"

Before he would desert his political principles and unite in fellowship with a party that had been making war on his long cherished whig principles, he would retire into the deepest shades of obscurity and pray that the eyes of man might never witness such humiliating spectacle. What! unite with a party whose principles he had been battling all his life! No, never!

He never had attached himself to the American party, and knew nothing about their signs and crosses, and though there may be something objectionable to many, yet their principles he mainly approves of.

"A tree is known by its fruits." The American party has shown their nationality, in the nomination of Millard Fillmore for President of the United States, who is not only the choice among the present candidates, but before God, he declared him to be his first choice among all living statesmen.

He had known Millard Fillmore long and well. He had for several years served with him in the House of Representatives. He well recollected his unassuming manners in congress. And when he occupied the high and responsible place of Chairman of Ways and Means, he recollected with what clearness and decision he would answer and elucidate the many intricate questions then involved before that Committee. From 1836, when he entered Congress, up to 1848, when he became President, he was distinguished for his incorruptible integrity—purity of character and statesmanlike abilities.

He well recollected the distracted condition of the country, convulsed from the center to the circumference of the Union, on the question of slavery, connected with the vast territories we had just acquired from Mexico.

It was then Millard Fillmore threw aside the prejudices of education, and showed forth the noble qualities of the great statesman. He threw his heart and soul into the breach which was widening daily between the North and the South, brought in to requisition those vast powers to command and control the action of others which his whole administration manifested in such eminent degree.

He knew of his own knowledge that Millard Fillmore personally called on the conservative Whig and Democrat Members of Congress, to stand by and support Clay's Compromise Bill and save the Union. The Bill was adopted, and he firmly believed the Union thereby saved.

This is the great statesman now presented by the American party as their candidate for President of the United States.—Was he not the first choice of all the old line Whigs? Has he since changed? No sir! He is the same patriotic Fillmore as his speeches show, since his return from Europe. For where have speeches glowing with such fervid patriotism fallen from the lips of man since the days of Washington! The vast concourse of people who assemble to welcome his return from a foreign land and formed one great triumphant procession from the time he landed on his native shore till his arrival home, demonstrate that he is still enshrined in the hearts of his countrymen.

And pray, who are asked to support in the South by some of our slippery politicians? Nobody but James Buchanan of Pennsylvania! No man has ever figured in public life with such a striped record as James Buchanan!! He was notorious as a Federalist, an opposer to the late war with Great Britain, a reviler of James Madison's Administration and a high protective tariff man! And now the Democratic candidate for President!! And we asked to support him!!!! Do you know what he is for now? If you ask him for a Protective Tariff, he cannot answer until he examines the Cincinnati Platform to see whether it is in or not; if it is there he is for it—if not, he is against it!! How different Millard Fillmore:—He has no opinions to conceal, but boldly and frankly avows his sentiments, as his recent speeches fully prove. He needs no Platform built up by scheming and intriguing politicians for him to stand upon. His past administration, the public acts of his own life, have built for himself a Platform upon which he stands—broad enough and firm enough for the pillars of this Union to stand upon—and there he will be placed by the united voice of countrymen from one end of the Union to another.

Mr. Shepperd said, he knew Major Donelson the nominee for the secondary office. He had proved his devotion to the Union in his resisting the treasonable action of certain dis-unionists in the Nashville Convention.

He also paid a glowing tribute of praise to the public and private worth of John A. Gilmer and entreated those who wished to promote the prosperity of the Old North State to go to the Polls and vote for him for Governor.

A fellow coming out of a tavern one icy morning, rather blue, fell on the doorstep.—On trying to regain his footing, he remarked,—If as the Bible says, 'the wicked stand on slippery places,' I must belong to a different class, for its more than I can do.

What is the reason that, although we are frequently told of mother Nature's convulsions, we never hear of her falling into hysterics.

A poor look out.—A jail window.