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BY  
**JAMES A. LONG,**  
EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.  
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FROM THE MISSOURI REPUBLICAN.  
**To the Whigs of Missouri.**

At a meeting of a few Old Line Whigs of St. Louis, who prefer Mr. Fillmore for the Presidency over all his opponents, the undersigned were appointed a committee to prepare an address to the Whigs of Missouri, touching the course which, in patriotism, in prudence, and in self-respect, they ought to take in the approaching Presidential election.

In the discharge of the duty assigned us, we do not deem it necessary to go into a minute history of the present parties, or of those untoward events which have brought the government and the country into their present humiliating condition. Yet the mortifying facts are before the world.—Those entrusted with the powers of government have failed to discharge their duty.—Congress has failed to pass wholesome laws for the good government of the people.—The President has failed to see, as the Constitution commands him, that the laws which are passed are faithfully executed, and the consequences of this neglect of duty are painfully visible all around us. Instead of peace, order, and mutual respect, (the natural result of good laws well executed,) we have local parties, sectional animosities, intestine violence, and actual bloodshed, (the natural result of bad laws badly executed.) Instead of governing the Territories with mild and paternal authority, as was mildly and justly done during all the time of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, the present government confesses of impotence, abandons its duties, abdicates its power, and declares its inability to govern and protect a dependent Territory on our border, and leaves it to be scrambled for in bloody strife, by armed factions from the opposite ends of the country.

When President Fillmore resigned the chair of state to President Pierce, he left him a country to govern, at peace with all foreign nations, and quiet and prosperous at home. By mild and judicious measures all old quarrels had been settled; all former factions had been quieted into repose, if not subdued into peace, and every thing seemed to promise a long continuance of law, order and prosperity, (the natural result of a wise and conservative Whig policy.) But this bright prospect was dimmed, as it were, with industrious haste. A single term of a democratic President has changed the whole scene. Instead of moderate laws, passed in a spirit of concession and compromise, to soothe the wounded feelings of opposing parties, we see extravagant theories, reduced with indecent haste, to the form of statutes, and passed in a spirit of conquest and defiance, as if for the purpose of lighting up anew the extinguishing firebrands, and reviving and asperating the quarrels which had been settled, as we fondly hoped forever, by the wise and moderate measures of the last administration.—

Instead of a prudent home policy, wisely designed for the present and permanent good of our own country, by facilitating commercial and social intercourse, in the improvement of national highways; by removing or softening of the asperities of social prejudice; by stimulating the productive powers of agriculture and manufactures; and by insuring a permanent and profitable market abroad for the products of our labor and skill, in establishing relations of mutual respect and confidence with foreign powers. Instead of these good things, we see this administration and its peculiar supporters neglecting the home government in all its great elements of peaceful progress,—and ambitiously straining after foreign acquisitions, thus offending the pride and exciting the jealousy and fear of foreign nations, and thus habitually sacrificing the home interests of the country to the mad ambition of grasping foreign territory which, when acquired, they had not the wisdom and courage to govern.

At home, instead of peace, order and reciprocal confidence, with the energies of all harmoniously directed to national ends, we behold peace and confidence destroyed,—and mutual jealousy and hatred openly avowed in the halls of Congress and throughout the country. And these bad elements have formed themselves into parties, and have not been ashamed, (such is the madness of the times) to call themselves by the sectional titles of North and South.

We give it as our deliberate opinion, that Democratic party, as now organized and administered, is justly responsible for all these evils. If it did create them by all its own immediate acts, it had the ability, and lacked nothing but the will, to prevent the existence of them all. It came into

power with a flowing tide of popularity. It filled every department of the government, and (all domestic troubles being settled by its predecessor) it had ample power to originate and carry into execution all good measures which the public interest might require. Never before had any administration more inviting opportunities or more ample means to accomplish the great end of republican government—to do the greatest amount of good to the greatest number of the people. But those opportunities have been neglected and those means have been wasted. The administration has succeeded in denationalizing the government, by making all the great questions of constitutional principles and national policy subordinate to the local and transitory questions of slavery in the Territories, and in so doing has lost the prestige with which it began its career, and has sunk into odium, even with its own party. And the Government, in self-made weakness, has lost the confidence of the people, and has no longer the power to enforce the laws of the land. It cannot even restore a runaway negro to his master according to the terms of the act of Congress—nor quell a riot in a feeble Territory.

These are some of the miserable consequences of Democratic misrule, during the short period of Mr. Pierce's presidency.—Compare that presidency with the quiet energy and peaceful prosperity of a moderate home-loving Whig government—such as Fillmore's administration—and say, Whigs of Missouri! whether or not it is worthy to be continued in power, in the person of Mr. Buchanan as its legitimate successor, and upon a platform affirming all the errors of Mr. Pierce's Administration, with new and dangerous errors of its own.

Parties are now in a strange and anomalous condition which cannot long continue. The Whig and Democratic parties are both permanent and enduring in their nature, and cannot be destroyed by any temporary defeat or accidental disorganization. The first will continue to exist as long as men can be found who avow the constitution of their country and dread a government dependent upon the mere will of man and changeable as his passions—men who cherish that liberty which is established and regulated and protected by law. These are Whigs. The second is equally permanent, and is composed of that large class of mankind, in all civilized countries, who long for something in government better than human wisdom has ever been able to write down in the form of law. These are Democrats, true and genuine. Others in yonder often be found in their ranks; but they are for a special purpose—they join them to use them. They have constitutions and statutes for common convenience, but always subordinate to the higher law of popular opinion, whenever and wherever declared.

These two parties, by what ever names, are the natural antagonists in every free State, and will continue to hold alternate sway, until the liberty of the one, and the license of the other are both subdued under the hand of a despot.

All other parties are transient and occasional; made by the force of circumstances to meet some passing emergency, or later supposed. They cannot but survive the objects which called them into being; but whether successful or unsuccessful in their particular designs, they naturally die out with the occasion which produced them.—Of this character are, in our opinion, both the Republican and the American parties. They have both sprung into existence to accomplish a few specified objects. If they fail to attain their ends, after a full and fair trial of strength, there will be no motive to keep alive their fruitless organizations, and they will dissolve in their own weakness. If they succeed, the sole object of their union will be accomplished, and their only principle of cohesion as a party, will be consumed in the successful using; and then dissolution is the natural and necessary result. And when they do dissolve—as dissolve we must—where can their members find a retreat? They can find it nowhere but in the ranks of the two permanent parties, and the Democratic. And we confidently believe that the great majority of them, weary of maddening strife of the last few years, will seek an asylum in the more quiet and orderly associations of the Whigs rather than in the more turbulent ranks of the Democracy.

This condition of facts and principles imposes upon the Whig party, (which, even in its present broken and dismembered state is the surest guarantee that the nation has for the restoration of prosperity and peace.) a great duty, full of responsibility to its own members, and full of hope to the country. If, now, in this trying time of our adversary, we keep the faith, standing firmly upon our ancient principles, and with patient courage still maintaining the wise and

temperate policy that has made for our party the high character which it justly bears, we can at least insure our own self-respect and enforce the respect of others. And in doing this, we can hardly fail to accomplish much more for honesty is always the best policy, and truth, when urged with temperate boldness, is a mighty weapon. If we must be beaten, let our adversaries beat us in open conflict; let us not, in unreasoning fear and suicidal cowardice, beat ourselves.

As a party, we are too weak to have a candidate of our own, and are, therefore, under the necessity to choose among the candidates of other parties. In doing so, our self-respect, our party fealty and our patriotism all concur in making it our duty to choose the man whose known and established standard of doctrine and of practice most nearly conform to our own. Acknowledging this as a principle and a duty, we have no doubt or hesitation in declaring that Millard Fillmore is the man. In all his public life down to his last hour in the Presidential office, he was a Whig, without taint or reproach. Four years ago, he was the unanimous choice of the Whigs of Missouri, as their candidate for the Presidency, and that choice was based upon their belief that he was a wise and temperate statesman—a moderate safe, conservative Whig. If, since that time he has contracted any new obligations, or adopted any new theory of government, it is evident that in his own mind, he has done nothing since he retired from office, in conflict with his former political character and position, for, in the very act of accepting the nomination of the American party, he refers with honest pride to his Whig administration, and tells that party, with characteristic frankness, that his past administration will be a true index to his future. But for the fact that Mr. Fillmore is understood to have joined the American party, we confidently believe that there are not a hundred Whigs in Missouri who would not take him for their first choice for the presidency; and we are strongly inclined to the belief that there are thousands of Democrats in the State, who, though bound by party ties to vote against him, yet so much respect his personal character and his past conduct, that they would rather see him at the head of government than either Mr. Fremont or Mr. Buchanan.

As to Mr. Fremont, we have very little to say. As a statesman we know nothing of him; politically, he has no antecedents, by which he may be judged. His party seems to us to be local and sectional, and at present unhappily, in a high passion. Its main object, and its only one, as far as we know, is the prohibition of negro slavery in the Territories. And thus we consider a local, sectional temporary question, which ought not to be allowed to interfere materially with the good government of the nation either in its domestic or its foreign interests. We are not aware of any Whigs in Missouri who desire Mr. Fremont to rule over them, but as he has no electoral ticket here, we need not discuss the propriety or impropriety of voting for him.

Our old adversaries, the Democrats, call upon us pathetically to come up to their help in this time of need; and we regret to be obliged to say that many Whigs have answered the call, and are now found side by side with their old enemies, contending hotly against their old friends. Doubtless they believe that they do nothing worse than their duty in taking this new position, and flatter themselves with the hope that, when the battle is over, and they have succeeded in putting into power such a Democrat as Mr. Buchanan, with such a platform as he has to carry out, they can retire at pleasure to their old position, and co-exist with their old Whig friends, in resisting the follies and vices of a Democratic Administration which they, themselves, have advanced to power. Perhaps that may be so. Yet there is room to fear that those who choose to be Buchanan Whigs in November, may not be allowed the option, if their candidate succeed, to be other than Buchanan Democrats in March.

The grounds upon which Whigs are urged to vote for Mr. Buchanan, are various, and some of them very strange, and are entitled to serious consideration: 1. Not venturing to affirm that Fillmore is not, and Buchanan is worthy of our support, they say that Fillmore has no chance of election, and therefore we ought to vote for Buchanan as against Fremont. How do they know that Fillmore has not as good a chance as Buchanan, to get the vote of New York and Delaware and Maryland, and even Virginia? This assumption of the weakness of an adversary is a common electioneering artifice, and those who allow themselves to be duped by it, deserve defeat. 2. Assuming that Fillmore has no chance they assume also that every Whig will of

course prefer Buchanan and his platform, to Fremont and his platform. Without expressing any opinion of our own upon their relative merits, (for we are fully resolved to oppose them,) we only say, that it is by no means a clear point, which of their elections would be most injurious to the public welfare. It is understood that Fremont aims at the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, and will accomplish the end if he can; but it is clear that he cannot carry his point without a consenting Congress. It is understood that Buchanan aims at the acquisition of Cuba, part if not the whole of San Domingo, and other countries stretching thence towards the equator, and that he will try to get them, peaceably if he can, forcibly if he must; and it is an undeniable fact, proved by our history, that he can begin the war of acquisition on his own authority, without the previous knowledge or consent of Congress. He may begin the war of Cuba as confidently as Mr. Polk began his war for New Mexico and California, and leave Congress to assume the responsibility, and the nation to bear the burden.

3. They say that it is a matter of national necessity to support Buchanan, as against Fremont, because if Fremont be elected, the Union will be dissolved. If that be true, it is a stringent case, and we admit that it would be better even to elect Mr. Buchanan than to dissolve the Union. But they do not tell us how the dissolution is to be brought about, or who are the traitors to perpetrate the crime. It is not at all likely that Fremont, if lawfully chosen to rule over the whole nation, would choose to dismember it, in order to rule over one of its benighted fragments. The Whigs, we know will commit no such wickedness, for they are ready to die in defence of the constitution. The Americans, we think, are equally free from the imputation, for their devotion to the Union is the highest boast of their order. And so, there is nobody left strong enough to commit the crime, but the Buchanan Democrats, and we are persuaded that the imputation of such villainy to them is a cruel slander. The passions of men may be highly excited in the fierce contests of parties, and their judgments may be warped by local prejudices, but we have no thought that there is in any part of the United States, any considerable body of men so utterly corrupt as to rise in rebellion and treason to destroy the nation, because a man odious to them has been chosen to the Presidency, in strict accordance with the constitution and the laws. No—the whole suggestion of treason and rebellion for such a cause, is a dishonest trick, designed to frighten the timid into the support of Mr. Buchanan—a thing which they would not do on the promptings of their own judgment, nor be persuaded to do by any motive more respectable than fear.

Whigs of Missouri, we are diminished and weakened, but not wholly powerless—Let us keep ourselves firmly united and true to our old principles, and then, whoever is elected President, we will have the conscious satisfaction of knowing that we have done our duty. When the election is over, and the excitement of the contest has subsided, thousands of worthy men will find that the violence of the times has thrown them out of their appropriate places, and they will need just such a nucleus as ours, around which all the scattered elements of conservatism may meet and combine.

If Fillmore should be elected we will look with confidence for the speedy restoration of harmony and peace, for he has taken no active part in the miserable quarrel about negro slavery. But neither Fremont or Buchanan is chosen, we shall contemplate with sorrow, but not with dismay, the continuance of that needless and wicked controversy.

EDW. BATES,  
WM G. PETTUS,  
E. S. FRAZIER.

The difference between Messrs. Fillmore and Breckenridge, so far as speech-making in the present canvass is concerned, consists in this, that whilst the former has remained quietly at home, the latter has left Kentucky and gone into other States, making speeches in behalf of the Democratic party, himself being a candidate of that party. It is true that Mr. Fillmore on his arrival from the old world, and when proceeding rapidly homeward through his own State, made two or three speeches at different points of the journey, but when he reached Buffalo his lips thereafter were sealed. He declined a pressing invitation to visit Philadelphia, and, for aught we know, other places. The speeches that he did make were in response to tributes of respect on the part of his fellow citizens to the exalted station he once held with so much honor to the country and himself.—He had been President—had been absent or a length of time abroad—and on his return home was warmly greeted by us, take it, political foes and friends alike, in N. Y.,

who assembled to do honor to the station as well as the man. He repaired with proper dispatch to his home in Buffalo, and has since studiously avoided any participation in the canvass.

But with Mr. Breckenridge the case is essentially different. He leaves his home in Kentucky for no other reason in the world that we have ever heard of, except to make political speeches, and accordingly we hear of him in Cincinnati, at Pontiac, and at Tippecanoe, electioneering for the Democratic ticket, his name being upon that ticket; and there is no knowing but that he will canvass the whole West, or as much as he can get over between now and the election. And the beauty of it is, he keeps such fine company too! Breckenridge, the Democratic candidate for Vice President, on the same stand with John Van Buren, the notorious free-soiler, whom the Washington Union read out of the Democratic party some time since because he would not swallow the Kansas-Nebraska bill, the great test of orthodox Democracy! There is no accounting for tastes, but we think the Loco candidate for Vice-President believes with very questionable propriety.—*Wil. Herald.*

FROM THE FAYETTEVILLE OBSERVER.  
**Letters from the Senior Editor.**  
BALTIMORE, Sept. 17, 1856.

At the afternoon session of the Convention, the Committee on Resolutions not being ready to report some time was spent in perfecting the list of Delegates; and then vociferous calls were made in the Hall and galleries, for Graham! Graham! Though taken by surprise, as it has never been customary to call out speakers on the first day of a Convention, and before there was any matter prepared for action, yet Gov. Graham rose and delivered an admirable speech, in a mirable style, set off by his fine personal appearance—so that in all respects we had reason to be proud of the impression made by our State in his person. He was repeatedly applauded and cheered. And when he avowed the purpose with which he had come to the Convention, to nominate Millard Fillmore, the applause was loud and long continued, ending in a general rising of the Members to their feet, shouts and waving of handkerchiefs and hats. It was a moment of unbounded enthusiasm, and Millard Fillmore was thus nominated by acclamation, without voting for resolutions.—Gov. Graham then went on to speak in simple yet eloquent terms of the purity of Mr. Fillmore's administration, with which he had been connected as a member of the Cabinet; of his moderation, his firmness, his justice, his Nationality. It was nobly said, an fell upon grateful ears.

After Gov. Graham sat down, the Hon. Francis Granger of New York, was called on to respond, and delivered an able and eloquent speech in very fine style. Then calls were made for Virginia, and Alexander Rives of that State, spoke eloquently and in the main appropriately. His manner and voice were very fine. With the characteristic modesty of a Virginian, however, he closed by calling for a speech from another Virginian, Mr. Janney, who rose and spoke without saying anything noticeable. After that, Massachusetts was called for and Mr. Geo. Lunt, a lawyer-poet, delivered a speech abounding with beautiful figures, earnest national sentiments, but avowing some opinions of government in which I do not concur.

The Convention then adjourned till 10 o'clock to-morrow morning.

There was an immense concourse of persons present, as in the morning.

BALTIMORE, Sept. 17.

There is much to gratify my pride as a North Carolinian in the character of our Delegation as well as in the consideration shown for it by the Convention. Two incidents, out of many, will prove this. The room had been arranged for 3000 Delegates within the railway—one for each Congressional District and Senator. When New York marched in, nearly 100 strong, and Virginia 45, the arrangements were disarranged, and Virginia complained that she had not had sufficient seats assigned her.—This produced a reply from the Chairman of the Maryland Committee, who said he had not looked for such an assemblage of Whigs, and had been mortally afraid of empty seats. But he would make room for the Virginians, if Maryland had to go out of doors. Gov. Morehead then, in a few happy words, alluded to the number of North Carolinians who were outsiders. His remarks brought down the house with three cheers for North Carolina, and brought likewise a handful of the blue tickets which admit all our Delegates to the privileged seats on the floor. A gentleman of Baltimore told the Chairman of the Maryland Committee that the North Carolina delegation is the ablest in the Convention.

Again: When Judge Bates was announced as permanent President, loud

cheers arose. Next followed the names of the Vice Presidents, which were received with silent approbation, until the name of Gov. Wm. A. Graham of North Carolina was read, and that brought forth a round of applause, in the Convention and among the immense crowd. Afterwards Gov. Trimble's name and one other were received with a like mark of respect.

The Delegation selected Gov. Morehead for the Committee on Resolutions, but he declined on account of having other engagements this evening, which would prevent his meeting with the Committee. Mr. Morehead was then selected.

The speeches of Gov. Hunt and Judge Bates were well received. The hall is so large, and there were so many thousand persons present, that I could not hear all of either speech.

BALTIMORE, Sept. 18.

The proceedings and speeches in the Convention to-day have been both deeply interesting and highly satisfactory in all respects but one. That one particular, in which quite a number of members of the Convention as well as myself dissented from its action, was the nomination of Mr. Donelson for Vice President. The first expression of dissent to this came from the venerable Gov. Trimble, of Ohio, one of the Vice Presidents of the Convention. I could not hear distinctly what he said, but believe that he made no motion. Mr. Machette of Penn. also opposed the nomination of Donelson. Then followed the speech of Mr. Banks, which was so well spoken in every way, manner and matter, as to command the most earnest attention of the whole Convention and galleries, and whose motion to strike out the resolution nominating Donelson was promptly followed by a good many cries of "agreed," "agreed." But it was evident that the majority was opposed to striking out, some, perhaps, (though I doubt,) because they approved of the nomination, some because it would be ungracious to strike out what they would have been glad had not been put in, but most, I suppose, because those who voted for Mr. Fillmore, as the members unanimously intended to do, must of necessity vote for Donelson along with him, and therefore he might as well be named in the resolution.—For these reasons I approved of the course of Mr. Banks. His motion to strike out gave to many, including myself, an opportunity to express our feeling that the nomination of Donelson was scarcely more acceptable than would have been the nomination of Mr. Buchanan or any democrat, and therefore that it was a nomination "not fit to be made," by Whigs; and his withdrawal of the motion was so handsomely done as to bring the whole body of the members to their feet, with a round of cheers for the old North State. I may here mention, that soon after Mr. Banks had spoken, he was waited upon by some of the Virginia delegates with a request that he would speak at the great mass meeting to be held in Richmond on Monday and Tuesday next, the 22nd and 23d. He was obliged to decline the invitation, on account of business which would detain him in Baltimore.

I have not time of course, to write out for the Observer, the speeches and proceedings. These will be better reported by the Baltimore papers, particularly by those able and exceedingly enterprising papers, the American and Patriot, from which,—I doubt not, the material matters will be copied into the Observer. All I desire is to record those incidents which appear likely to interest my readers. Among these, I may mention, that soon after the resolutions had been adopted by an enthusiastic and unanimous "aye!" and by cheer upon cheer the house and galleries rang with calls for "Morehead! Morehead!" I was glad to see the noble form of our old war-horse rise to respond. But before he could utter a word, a modest gentleman from New York who had not been called for, was speaking at the top of his voice. After he closed, the calls for Morehead were renewed, and after several annoying interruptions to adopt resolutions, &c. he did speak, at first I thought with less power than of old,—doubtless owing to the annoying interruptions to which he had been subjected; but as he warmed with his subject he reminded me of the campaign of 1840, and of his powers as an orator then, it is needless to tell any body in North Carolina. I do not agree with him that this Union can never be dissolved, but I most heartily respond to his wish that it never may be, and that its existence may be perpetual.

Besides Gov. Morehead's, there were numerous other speeches, some very good, and some rather indifferent, but every thing passed off in the happiest manner.

When it was proposed to constitute the Maryland delegation a committee to prepare for publication the proceedings and speeches delivered during the Convention, Gov.