



## The Tarborough Press,

BY GEORGE HOWARD,

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## POLITICAL.



From the Raleigh Register.

### AN ADDRESS OF R. M. SAUNDERS, To the People of North Carolina.

I had promised at a proper time, to make a full and explicit explanation of the transactions connected with the late election of United States Senator. This explanation I deem alike due to others, to myself, and to the public. And as my Congressional term is about to expire, I avail myself of this occasion to make good my promise. I have now been nearly thirty years actively connected with the politics of the country. It has been my good fortune during this long period, to have enjoyed the confidence of the Republican party, and I should deeply regret the just forfeiture of that confidence by any act of my own. I flatter myself, the facts I shall here detail, and the revelations I shall make, will satisfy the public, my course in regard to the election of Senator, has not been without excuse, and those friends who stood so firmly by me, were influenced by no factious motives. I know my conduct was denounced as anti-republican, as leading to discord and disunion—while I was accused of courting the Whig support for the mere love of place, and the gratification of a selfish ambition. To each of these charges I plead NOT GUILTY, and put myself on the country. I assert on the contrary, and expect to show, I have violated no rule or usage of the Republican party—I have by no act of mine produced either disunion or discord in its ranks—and so far from seeking to gratify a mere personal ambition, I had been led into the matter by what I had the right to believe, and did believe, to have been the wishes of the Democratic party. Under this conviction, I resisted what I felt well satisfied did exist, a hidden and secret combination against me personally, and a design to proscribe me politically because of my preference for a particular individual for the Presidency. How far this belief was well or ill founded, you can judge from the facts I purpose now to detail.

There appeared in the Richmond Enquirer an Editorial article pending the election, calculated and intended to do me an injury; holding me up as pressing my claims for past services, and desiring to "slip in" through the aid of Whig votes I gave to a friend a brief statement of facts, to induce the Editor to do me justice in the correction of his article, with the request not to publish the statement, as it might provoke a newspaper controversy. The Editor disregarded the request, refused to correct his article, but published the statement as "a communication." I received from the Editor of the Standard, a letter, dated December the 8th, saying, he apprehended, in the event of my election, there might be a wish to publish what might irritate the public mind; but, says he, "I shall leave it to yourself and Mr. Brown to publish such matter as you may severally think the case requires, under your own proper signatures." I expressed myself satisfied with this course, as the proper one in a contest between friends; & yet, in the next paper appeared an article with professions of respect for me, but condemnatory of my friends, and of their conduct, advising my withdrawal, and their support of Mr. Brown. Again, in the Enquirer of the 20th, (the election still pending) appeared "A Statement" by D. K. McRae, Esq. and a letter from Mr. Cardwell, which, at a proper time, I promised to notice. I am thus particular in these references, because these papers are under that political bias, which, as I expect to show, lays at the foundation of this concerted opposition to me.

As I have said, I had been drawn into this matter by what I believed to be the wishes of the democratic party. I proceed to state what occurred before the meeting of the Legislature, to show the truth of

this assertion: Soon after the result of our State elections were known, I received several letters in regard to my being a candidate for Senator. I answered none of these letters, but resolved to await the public manifestations on the subject. On my return home, I was still pressed to be a candidate, and from what I saw and heard, believed the indications decidedly in my favor. I received letters from the Edenton and Newbern districts, expressing a wish for me to run, and the belief that I was the choice of the democratic party. To one of these letters I gave the first assent to the use of my name, should it be the pleasure of my friends to bring it forward. That letter, from an intelligent gentleman, and in a situation to know something of public sentiment, assured me, "that in our part of the State, there was but one opinion amongst our democratic friends. We argue, that Mr. Brown, without any particular sacrifice or exertion, had enjoyed the honors the party could confer, for a length of time, which should satisfy him. That neither Mr. — or Mr. — have made the sacrifices which you have done, and common justice could not allow their claims to come in competition with yours." From different quarters, I learnt there were several gentlemen ready and willing to be taken up, if there should be found the least prospect of success. I heard nothing then of this party obligation to restore Mr. Brown, which was so strenuously pressed afterwards, as to render it treason to oppose him. The claims of these would be candidates were passed by; the public voice was in my favor, and then arose the clamor about restoration. I heard the Cape Fear country was expected to be against me—and as I had received a strong vote in that part of the State when a candidate for Governor, I could only account for this expected opposition on two grounds: First, a preference for some favorite of their own; and, secondly, hostility to me, in consequence of my known preference of Mr. Calhoun for the Presidency. The West, as I understood, were almost unanimous for me, and in my own section of the State, I believed myself the choice. Under these circumstances the General Assembly met. In the early part of the first week of the Session I was engaged in Court, and did not even visit either branch of the Legislature. Mr. Brown was a member of the Senate, and had, as I learnt, been active, with the aid of his friends, in securing the promised support of such as were thus to be approached. There were several other important elections pending before the Legislature, and which were made to bear upon that of Senator. In the latter part of the week, a meeting of the democratic members was called. This meeting as was supposed, was for the purpose of organizing with the view to future action. But those who were in the secret knew their game, and were at once for business. That Mr. Brown was apprised of the object of the meeting, is evident from the fact that he was not present, but in the Senate Chamber, where he was advised with, as to what was passing. This I learnt from one who saw him there in consultation with his friends; whilst I knew nothing of what was going on until informed of the result. As to what transpired in Caucus, I must rely upon the statement of those who were present. I give that of Mr. Wilder, which is confirmed by several others, and which is the understanding of my friends as to what did take place. "On Friday night, the 25th of November, (says Mr. W.) a meeting was called of the democratic party. As soon as the meeting was organized, it was proposed that we should ballot for a candidate for U. S. Senator. I opposed this motion, and asked for a postponement of the subject until the following Monday night. In this I was overruled, and four ballots immediately took place. But before the ballot commenced, the meeting adopted the following:—Resolved, That no one should be considered the democratic candidate until he got votes enough to elect in the Legislature,"—eighty-six being a majority on joint ballot, and the whole number of Democrats being ninety-eight. At the first ballot, Mr. B. got 48, and you 35—all of whom gave way except eleven. The meeting then adjourned to Monday next. At this meeting you got 31, Mr. B. 51. After the second ballot, it was moved that the meeting be discharged from the further consideration of the subject. I think the question was not taken on this motion in consequence of the remarks of one of the members from Caswell, who said, he had not despaired of uniting when the feelings of members had cooled down. Under these circumstances, your friends were much surprised when Mr. Cardwell the next day, nominated Mr. B., without informing any one who had voted for you of his intention; thus cutting themselves loose, and shutting the door of reconciliation in our faces. The morning after Mr. B.'s nomination, I proposed to Mr. Cardwell that you should not be put in nomination, if Mr. B.'s friends would withdraw him. This proposition was rejected."

The day after the first Caucus I saw those who had supported me, and inquired whether they felt bound by what had transpired!—if so the thing was at an end so far as I was concerned. They replied, they did not, and should support me, if I was brought forward. I also learnt that five of my friends had been absent and they would not attend a caucus. I well knew the advantage Mr. B. had gained; but I resolved to try and undo what had been done as far as practicable. But I soon found, upon mingling with the members, a combination and an influence operating against me, of which before I had no conception. In the first place, I heard the cry of "a split," and in order to prevent that, it was necessary to take up a third man. This hypocritical cant I well understood, and knew the source from whence it came. It was the voice of one who said—"Brown is for Van Buren—Saunders is for Calhoun—you will have to elect me, to prevent a split." Gentlemen may disclaim the influence of the Presidential question—yet I am bold to declare, but for my known preference for Mr. Calhoun, the opposition to me would not have come from the source it did, or been half so inveterate. This opposition was too distinctly marked and too easily traced, for me to be mistaken as to the malign influence which controlled and directed it. More than one member had the candor to say, they could not vote for a Calhoun man. This the more cautious and crafty sought to conceal and suppress. I saw men who had been my warm personal and political friends, because of their difference in regard to the question of the Presidency, now decidedly opposed to me. I found the whole Cape Fear country, as had been predicted, in active opposition. The few exceptions were soon driven off or threatened as to the consequences. Why was this? Certainly not because I had been opposed either to its men or interest. I appeal to the delegation of more Counties than one, to know if the information I had received of their people's being for me was true. They could not deny that it was so, and they themselves had come to Raleigh prepared to support me, but had here been told, "the party," was bound to restore Mr. Brown. One member had the candor to admit, to use his own emphatic language—"The big lawyers were against me, but, as he knew, the people were for me;"—and yet he had not the firmness to resist this secret influence against me. Such was the argument under cover of which the honest and unsuspecting were misled and deceived. The combination out of the Legislature, whose influence operated within, saw their advantage and did not fail to use it.—Men whom I knew and stand ready to name, who had been willing to run themselves, resorted to this argument of restoration. This was the point upon which Mr. B. rested his claim, and the only one his friends openly pressed in his favor. I could subscribe neither to its justice or force. It is easy enough, after the ramparts are carried, to find men to plant the flag on the highest tower. The difficulty is to find those ready to go into the breach, to take the front rank, regardless of consequences. Mr. Brown had been engaged in politics, and was censured by the vote of a Whig Legislature. He did not resign to the Legislature, but to the people. I was on the Bench, and had no desire again to enter the political arena. It was my wish that he should be the Democratic Candidate for Governor and I so declared at the time. But a Convention of the Democratic party decided otherwise. I well knew by relinquishing the seat on the Bench and accepting the nomination for Governor, the task I was undertaking. But my political friends had placed me upon the Bench and I resolved to relinquish the honor and its emoluments, when called on to do so. Mr. Brown says, he was turned out of the Senate by the vote of a Whig Legislature—I say, I was kept out of the Governor's office, by the vote of Whigs, at the ballot box. The account was then fairly balanced and if any thing, the difference was in my favor. Under this view of the matter, I thought the party were under no greater obligation to restore him than to elect me, and as such I resolved to enter the contest. The second Caucus was held on Monday night, the 28th November. On the next day, Mr. Brown was nominated by Mr. Cardwell, with a proposition to ballot, on that day two weeks. But, as Mr. Avery says, "this message did not go until near 12 o'clock on the next day, the 30th. In the Senate it was laid on the table, when a motion was made and carried to vote on the Friday following, you being then nominated. When this proposition came to the House it was opposed, but carried, by Yeas 72, Nays 39; your friends voting for and Mr. B.'s against it." It is idle to say, after these occurrences, that Mr. Brown was not either privy or knowing to the fact of his nomination. It was the friends of Mr. Brown and not mine who appealed from the Caucus to the House. Neither, according to this rule, was entitled to the

Caucus nomination. By appealing to the House, they prevented the union upon any third party. They calculated on forcing my friends to give way.—Mine made no calculation of the sort, but as the other party had brought the democrats into that predicament, resolved to leave it with the Whigs or not, as they might see fit. This manner of appealing to the House Mr. B. soon saw was a false step & calculated to do him injury. Hence his application to Mr. McRae, who says: "For reasons of my own I had voted neither for Mr. B. or Gen. S. in Caucus; but on the morning subsequent to the second Caucus, Mr. B. took me aside in the lobby of the House, and, as I understood, asked my advice as to the best course to pursue. I without hesitation told him, I thought the safety of the party in the Legislature as well as in the State, depended upon the mutual withdrawal of the two candidates, and thus leaving to the party to select one upon whom it could unite. On the eve of the same day Mr. B. called on me and requested me to hear to Mr. S. a communication containing the proposition I desired." As to the time when this advice was asked and the proposition made, Mr. McRae is clearly mistaken. It was not, as he says, the morning after the second Caucus, but the day following, being the morning after Mr. Brown's nomination. The time no doubt escaped Mr. McRae's recollection, as it may not have seemed important to him, but it was highly material, as explaining this part of the transaction. He says it was in the morning of the same day, on the eve of which he handed me Mr. B.'s communication. That is dated November 30th, and my reply Thursday morning, December 1st. The second caucus was on Monday night, November 28th. On Tuesday, the 29th, Mr. B. was nominated, and on Wednesday, the 30th, he applied to Mr. McR. But he did not make his proposition to withdraw until after my nomination, and after the proposition of Mr. Cardwell to vote in two weeks had been voted down in the Senate and the vote had been carried in the House, by Yeas and Nays, to ballot on Friday; from all of which Mr. B. saw my friends would stand firm, and that he was in a minority. Hence I said to his proposal for the withdrawal of both—"Had your proposition been made at a proper time, it would have been favorably received; but after the door had been closed by your action, and the question is no longer an open one, I consider the proposition as too late to be entertained." And here I must correct another error into which Mr. McRae has fallen. He says he "understood me to express an expectation of being elected by the Whig vote." He no doubt so understood me, but I expressed no such expectation. The conversation with Mr. McRae, I made a note of the next morning. It is as follows: "On opening Mr. B.'s letter I remarked to Mr. McRae, the proposition came too late. He said he hoped not, as he had supposed the matter would be amicably adjusted as he feared my election by the Whigs would injure me and our party. I answered, the party was not so easily injured, as neither Mr. B. or myself were such big men as to break it up; and as to myself, I must decline taking his advice, as I understood he was not one of my friends." Here the conversation ended, on my promising to give a written answer the next morning.

But to proceed with the narrative. On Friday, the day fixed for the ballot, as I had been charged with being self-h, I sent for Mr. Brown, and proposed to refer the whole matter to ten members, five to be selected by each, and to abide the result. This being agreed to, and the men selected, they were informed they were to decide which of the two should be the democratic candidate, and in the event of their not being able to agree to say whether both should be withdrawn. I give the statement of Mr. Dobson as to the result of the conference. "As soon as it was discovered that we could not agree on the first proposition, the friends of Gen. Saunders proposed to withdraw both gentlemen, which was positively refused on the part of Mr. B.'s friends, and the only alternative was to return them both to the House." On the next day two ballots were had; on Monday a third, and on Tuesday morning I left for Washington City, leaving but one injunction, that an election must be made, and if that could not be effected with my name in nomination, to withdraw it. Such is a true and faithful account of this election. The result is known and of that I do not intend to say any thing. If others are satisfied with their course and the public is content, so am I. I have said, neither my friends or myself violated any rule or usage of the democratic party, in bringing my name forward; and if any ill feelings arose, we were not responsible for it. The rule adopted in Caucus, where Mr. Brown's friends claimed to have a majority, required the Caucus candidate to receive votes enough to elect on joint ballot. This was no new rule in our Caucus proceedings. In 1836, when Judge Strange was elected, the Caucus then required a unanimous vote—because at that time the Democrats had a majority of one only, on joint ballot. The rule is intended to produce unanimity and to prevent that "split"; about which so much is said. If neither Mr. B. or myself could unite the party; then try a third man.—My friends had my full assent to withdraw my name, provided it was done before a nomination. This was proposed and declined, and if either of us threw ourselves upon the House, so as to let the Whigs decide, I was not the first to do so.—The rule, or rather the practice; in older times, was different. Then we had no caucus to select Republican candidates, when we had a majority in the Legislature. Each man was left to nominate and vote for whom he pleased, provided he was a republican. A Caucus was only resorted to, when necessary to unite upon some candidate before the people. And even in cases of this kind, Caucuses were reluctantly tolerated, the people choosing to settle the matter in their own way, at the ballot box. It may be, I am too old-fashioned a Republican to yield submission to these new party obligations; so exacting in its demands, and so inexorable in its exactions—that spirit of party which can today "vote a Patriot black," to-morrow, "a Courier white."—When the voice of a majority of the people is heard, I bow to their will and submit to their choice. But when I saw and heard men say, they doubted not I was the choice of the State, and that I was their choice, but the party was bound to restore Mr. Brown, in order to relieve him from Whig censure—when I heard and saw others opposing me, who had said, "they believed Mr. B. not fit for the station, but that a majority seemed for him"—when I saw and believed myself opposed, as I most sincerely did, because of my personal preferences relative to another election—when I saw, heard, and believed these things, I should have been alike treacherous to the country, and false to myself, could I have submitted quietly to a majority, thus constituted and obtained.

Again, when I knew letters had been written, designed, and intended to influence the election, and that, not by citizens of the State, I felt it my duty, as a North Carolinian, with the blood and pride of a native son, to resist, and that unto death. And here let me explain—I had heard letters were written by General Jackson, Mr. Senator Wright and Benton, each expressing a preference for Mr. Brown's election. The letter of General Jackson I have seen, and its date explains its contents. It was written in answer to one informing him of the result of our August elections. He had no reasons at the time to believe I was to be candidate, as I had said to him a few years ago, when he expressed a wish to see me in the Senate, I was not in a situation to serve, even if I could be elected. I understand Col. Benton has admitted he wrote a letter, and that he was for Mr. B. I have heard nothing from Mr. Wright. When their letters shall be seen, the public will be qualified to appreciate their contents. To show that I do not exaggerate, I give an extract from a single letter, amongst others, using the same language, and that from a gentleman on the spot, and a witness to what he describes. "How is it, that so many of the leading men of the party are opposed to you? They flocked here from every direction, and used every effort to induce your friends to desert. Letters in abundance were received, many from the wire-workers in Washington City, urging upon the democrats to prevent your election." But my great offence has been my willingness to be elected by a Whig vote. Much better, says the High-Priest, that you should have a Whig elected by Democrats, than a Democrat by Whigs. On this point, I defy the malice of the most vindictive. I was placed in a situation where I could not object, though I did not court the Whig vote. The vote I received from that quarter was a voluntary act, without any promise or assurance, direct or indirect, and from me they expected no favor, save only such as citizens of the State they had the right to claim. They supported me on the same grounds that the Democrats in the Legislature of Louisiana, joined in the election of Judge Porter over another Whig. I stood pledged, if elected, and my conduct should not give satisfaction to the great body of the democratic party, to resign before our next elections. But, may I ask if mine would have been the first case in our State of a Senator being elected by the vote of his political opponents? In

\*Weldon N. Edwards, the Senator from Warren, claims to be a relation of Mr. Brown's possibly within the fourth degree, and assigns that as a ground of preference for him over me, whose friend he has professed to be for more than twenty years. Let not that Senator deceive himself. His reason for the support of his cousin will be considered by the public as puerile, as his course towards me has been illiberal and