From the Raleigh Register.

THE DISCUSSION AT MONROE—JUDGE ELLIS OPENS THE DEBATE—POWERFUL SPEECH OF MR. McRAE—REJOINDERS BY BOTH, &C.

MR. SYME:—As I suppose the public will wish to hear from the discussion between the candidates for Governor of N. Carolina, and learn somewhat of the issues in controversy between them at the outset of the campaign, I take the liberty of furnishing your paper with a brief account of the discussion which took place at Monroe to-day. The public can thus learn the points in issue, and, if there should be any dodging hereafter, who shifts his original position.

Judge Ellis opened the debate to-day about half past one o'clock, by declaring himself the representative of the great National Democratic party, he being the nominee of the convention which met in Charlotte. He represented the country as enjoying unexampled prosperity, and and attributed all these blessings to the triumph of Democratic principles.

He said that the great rule of Democracy was a strict construction of the Constitution, and that if we vary from that rule and allow high protective tariffs and the giving away of the public property, then the North may assault our property in the District of Columbia, in the arsenals and dock yards, and finally in the States themselves. He then spoke of the practical advantages of Democracy, declaring that it had opposed the assumption of State Debts by the General Government, opposed Internal Improvements by the General Government, overthrown the National Bank and thereby saved the Republic. He then discussed the tariff act of 1843, declaring that it made odious discriminations in favor of the wealthy and against the poor, and said that the Democratic party had reduced these taxes in 1846 and 1857 to something like equality.

Judge E. then referred to the Black Republican party, and said that if Fremont had been elected, civil war would have ensued and fraternal blood would have flowed throughout the country. He then alluded to the Kansas Lecompton Constitution, sanctioned by Buchanan, and denounced those 5 or 6 Southern Americans who voted against (but omitted to say anything about the twenty odd Democrats who also opposed it.) He then said that the Whig and Know Nothing parties no longer existed, and warned the people against party prejudices, saying that the Democratic was the only National Party upon whom we could rely to save the Union.

While the country is in this trying position, said he, we are asked to scramble for a few acres of the public lands. Judge Ellis said that he and his competitor, long fighting together in the cause of Democracy, differed as to this question of Distribution—that the plan of his competitor was to throw 300,000,000 acres of public lands into market, by land warrants to the States, to get rid of the question of sovereignty. He argued that such an amount of lands would glut the market, and render the warrants worthless. He then contrasted Mr. McRae's plan of distribution with that of Mr. Clay, and declared that Mr. McRae's plan was impolitic and unconstitutional, and a bid for popularity. He then cited the opinions of Calhoun, Jackson, King and Webster to prove that Mr. McRae's plan was unconstitutional. He said that Mr. McRae himself opposed as unconstitutional in 1852 the plan he now advocates. He said that his competitor excuses himself now upon the grounds that the lands had not been retained by the general Government, but had been given away to others. He admitted that there had been imprudent grants and donations, but contended that that was no sufficient excuse for deserting the principles of the party he had so long, so ably and so zealously defended. He said that wrongs and injustice in the minor details would not justify a desertion of principles. That was the excuse Arnold gave for his treason to his country, &c.

He then said that much had been said about dissatisfaction in the Democratic party, but he could not see how this could be, or why, since the Democratic party had triumphed in every part of the country. He said he would advise the democracy when they were perplexed as to what course to pursue, to follow the voice of their leaders, &c.

Here Judge E.'s time expired, but Mr. McRae offered to give him a half hour more to finish his position on Distribution. The Judge, however, occupied five minutes more and took his seat. He had spoken three fourths of his time on old issues, and barely touched the point in controversy between him and Mr. McRae. He spoke as if fatigued and under much embarrassment, and as if he did not wish to come to the only point in the case in which he and Mr. McRae differed. His speech was but a reiteration of old issues for the last 20 or 30 years, and upon which Democracy has turned a good many somersets, and veered and vacillated and progressed so much that it becomes exceedingly difficult to reconcile their changes and to recognize their old platforms and what they call their unchangable principles.

Mr. D. K. McRae then very gracefully began his reply by stating that although he was personally a stranger to the people of Union county, that he was not unknown to them, and especially that he was not unknown to the Democracy of Union, and he proudly pointed to the record to testify of his long and arduous services and fidelity in behalf of true Democratic principles. That he was still a Democrat, and he contended a better Democrat than Judge Ellis. That so far as a difference between the Whig and Democratic party was concerned, he was still, and the record always showed him to be, a Democrat of the "straitest sect." And he contended that there were very many of the best Democrats in this State, and that the whole of the National Democracy except a part in North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, were [illegible] speeches, and [illegible] and Buchanan [illegible] in favor of Distribution. That he was [illegible] policy, the [illegible] any convention. [illegible] the people as the representatives of a great principle of justice and right, in which the people themselves of all parties in North Carolina, and in all the old States, were most vitally interested. That the office of Governor, exalted as it was, and proud as he would justly feel to be called by such a constituency as the freemen of North Carolina to fill that high and honorable station, sank into utter insignificance when brought into comparison with the principles of justice and righteousness for which he contended. That on the one hand, under the plausible name of strict construction, we saw the strange spectacle of people glorying in a system of fraud and robbery, and aiding and abetting their bitterest enemies, and anti-slavery powers of the North and North-west in cheating their own children out of the very inheritance for which they had spilt their blood, and poured out their treasures, and enabling them (the anti-slavery power) by princely donations, to build up a mighty enemy to crush out their most sacred rights. He could not understand that sort of reasoning which, whilst it strained at a gnat would gulp down a camel—which could find constitutional scruples in a fair and equal distribution among all the States in common, and at the same time, could see no constitutional objection to a partial, unfair, and unequal division amongst all.—That to give the common inheritance of all to a favored few, and that too the least deserving few, he could only characterize as a system of fraud and robbery. It was a strange maxim in political economy for a State to impoverish and ruin itself to build up an opposing and rival power. He contended that such was no part of Democracy as he had learned it, and he thought, when the people of the country, not only the Democracy but the honest and true men of all parties, reflected upon this question, that they too, would come to the same conclusion with himself and that they would come up like freemen, regardless of party drill, and platforms made by office-seeking politicians of various grades and political stripes, and assert their rights like men.

As to the convention which nominated his competitor (Judge Ellis) if you had seen that assemblage you would have doubted if he was a Democrat. There was Gen. M. C. Avery, of Burke, its President, a renegade Whig. There was John Kerr, whom you well knew, another of the same stripe, and who was one of the most active in introducing the resolutions for the action of the Convention. James W. Osborne, one of its chief speakers, whom you well know to have been a Whig, and who said in the Convention he had nothing of all his former life to take back; he was one of its chief speakers. There was Walter L. Steele, and Gen. John Winslow, too, active participators in said Convention, and all old Whigs, and nearly every one of them formerly belonging to the Know Nothing party. Indeed, a paper published in Virginia said the old line Whigs had met in Charlotte, N. C., and nominated as their candidate John A. Ellis for Governor—

Judge Ellis—Nominated who?

Mr. McRae—John A. Ellis, mistaking not only the party who nominated, but also the name of my competitor.

Judge Ellis—And that shows that the Editor knew nothing about it at all.

Mr. McRae—But it shows he very well knew the men who nominated you.

Why, continued Mr. McRae, a person to have dropped in here to-day and heard the speech of my competitor would have imagined that he was running in 1844 and against John Kerr. Three fourths of the speech of my competitor was made of old issues which I do not intend to controvert—there is no difference between us on these issues, and they are not now before the public. I go as far as he or any one else in maintaining all that he asserts, so far as these old issues are concerned. My competitor seemed as if he had been asleep for the last ten or twenty years and had woke up in a dream imagining that he was in a campaign sometime in 1844 or 1848. He scarcely glanced at the only subject between us, as if it were a matter of minor importance—when it is the sole question at issue in our controversy, and that is as I hold, whether we shall have a fair and equal distribution of the public lands on equal grounds amongst all the States—the *old as well as the new*, Or, whether we will suffer these lands, and their proceeds, to be *squandered* away upon the new States *alone*, which is the position my competitor must maintain? That they are thus squandered, I intend to prove, and it cannot be denied. And if it is unconstitutional to make a fair, equal, and just distribution, it must be much more unconstitutional to make an unfair, unjust and partial distribution. If it is not constitutional, and just to take the revenue of Government arising from the public lands, and distribute it equally to all the States, it must be much more unjust and unconstitutional to rob the treasury of its revenue and give it to only a part of the States.

Mr. McRae then proceeded to show the effects of this unjust distribution upon the prosperity of North Carolina, and asked what it was that constituted the capital of a State? That it was its population, the development of its agricultural, manufacturing and mineral resources, its educational facilities, &c.

He then proceeded to show that the population of North Carolina in 1840 was about [illegible] and for the next ten years until 1850 it had only increased to 750,000 and that since that time the increase had been very small—nothing to compare with the new States. That her educational resources were [illegible] and that she derived from the General Government, by distribution in effect, nearly all that she has, to wit: 1,400,000 and that what she got by the system [illegible] Be [illegible], where would we be? Now, we learn that [illegible] educational facilities were carried to the very doors of every child of the State.

He said that by means of that distribution of the surplus, new life and vigor were infused into our internal improvements—that they were aided very materially by means of the loan given by this [illegible]

[illegible]

stock in all of them were far below par—not one of them selling their stock above 60 per cent, and many far below that.

That the manufactories were all at a low ebb, although we had the raw material here in abundance, the water power, the coal—we had everything necessary to make a great manufacturing people, but for the want of facilities to reach a market, these were all worthless to us. That we could not effect this purpose by our present means, nor could we finish the projects already undertaken without very burdensome taxation, unless by the plan I propose, and shall we see our present improvements break down for the want of means?—the value of our property diminished, and our population driven off by heavy taxes in order that a party might triumph?—and that, too, when we are fostering and building up those new States, by the very means to which we have a better right than they have?—*Give to our enemies* lands and money, the result of our blood and treasure? *Bribing our own* citizens by the magnificent gifts, to *desert and depopulate* the State of their birth, and remove their capital, their labor, their mind, and enterprize from us, and thus leave the same amount of taxes to be raised by our diminished numbers and capital. He would show by the best Democratic authority in the country that this *partial* system of distribution was not only unconstitutional, but was unjust—that it was a foul fraud and robbery.

Mr. McRae then eloquently proceeded to show the vast increase of our State indebtedness since 1846. That at that time the whole of the amount required to defray the entire expenses of the State's indebtedness was only $85,000 a year. That that amount had swelled in 11 years (in 1857) to the sum of $524,000. That the expenses had arisen 600 or 700 per cent, and that was not all, the next Legislature would have to raise the State taxes to 700,000, which will be an increase of 50 per cent over the present taxes, in order to meet the increasing liabilities then falling due; they will have to meet a liability of $5,294,000, and soon after a liability of 6,000,000 more, and all this must be raised in addition to the local debts for county expenses and county purposes. And in addition to the amount subscribed by your counties to your railroad.—Then your next Legislature after, will have to raise your taxes from $700,000 to $1,000,000 per annum, and that over and beyond your county taxes and your railroad subscription. So that in the course of twelve or fourteen years from 1846 to 1860 your taxes will have risen from $85,000 to $1,000,000—viz, about 1400 per cent. I propose a plan, said Mr. McRae by which this indebtedness can be paid without burthening the people of North Carolina, but by receiving justice from the Gen. Government, by removing from the General Government a source of fraud and corruption to members of Congress, and of bids for the presidency, and giving the whole lands to all the States to whom they of right belong; by making an impartial and fair distribution of the partnership effects, being held, as they now are by the General Government for the *common good* and *common* benefit of *all the States*, and not to be *squandered* upon the *favored few*.

Mr. McRae then went on to state some of the reasons that influenced him to take up the subject of Distribution. That it certainly was not from a desire for office, for that in 1845 he had received the unanimous nomination in his district for Congress, when his party had a majority of 2000 votes. That it was true that he had voted for the resolutions in the Legislature of 1852, and for the resolutions in the convention that nominated General Pierce at Baltimore. But that in these last he had not duly considered them and they were passed as a mere matter of form and in haste, and that in the Legislature of 1852, the same sentiments were in caucus, proposed "That if the lands were given away *partially*, to the new States, we should *go for an impartial* and fair distribution amongst them all," and that this proposition was carried in caucus. But was afterwards, by his consent, withdrawn for the sake of harmony, and those adverted to by his competitor were substituted. He noticed too that the bar of Wilmington, which was made less passible by the erection of the custom house by the United States, was not removed by any appropriation by the General Government, and that North Carolina received little or no benefits from donations by the General Government by appropriation for public works, whilst others received a large share, and then he considered how we might be enabled to receive justice from the Government of the United States and remove all obstructions to our commerce and build up our towns and benefit our country, independent of the negligence and partiality of Congress.

Mr. McRae then showed from extracts from Mr. Hunter's speech of Va., that if the system of *partial distribution* was still carried on, he was for equal and impartial distribution. That he (McRae) saw that *some* States were getting *every* thing and *others nothing*, and then he took his position for *equal and fair* distribution. He went on to show that the leading democrats, R. M. T. Hunter, Gen. Cass, Judge Douglass, King, of Ala., and other democrats named, were voting for this unequal system for the benefit of the Western States, and giving away these lands, and he wishes to know what good reason there could be that Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, Arkansas and other States should carve out the public domain for their benefit, and that the other States, North Carolina among them, should not have her just share, she being one of the original 13, and one who had given the noble State of Tennessee, a princely gift, to the General Government.

We have, said he, 1300,000,000 of acres of public lands. How has it been acquired? By whose blood and by whose treasure? Who fought for it, and who paid for it and how ought it to be disposed of? 100,000,000 have been sold, 223,000,000 have been given away. In the year 1857 1,000,000 were sold and 14,000,000 given away. In 1852, forty railroads were projected, calling for donations of 30,000,000 of acres to build them. Then was the time Mr. Venable opposed this squandering and went for equal distribution. Then Mr. Bennett's land bill for equal distribution was proposed and Mr. Venable voted for it, and so did Mr. Clingman.

Yet, Mr. Venable was sacrificed, although Mr. Buchanan was personally friendly to him, and wished to give him the appointment of Judge, and the office was given to Mr. Biggs, the favorite of Mr. Clingman.

Mr. McRae then went on to show that 100,000,000 of acres *more* of the public lands had been given away than had been sold. He went on to *show* that Mr. Dobbin, late Sec'tary of the Navy, in one of his speeches said, if the lands were to be *given away at all*, that *he* was *in favor of equal*, in preference to *partial* distribution.

In reply to Judge Ellis' quotations from Calhoun and Jackson, he showed that Mr. Calhoun's plan of giving away to the new States all the lands within their limits, and General Jackson's Homestead bill, to give any body who would settle upon them the public lands, were more unconstitutional than to give as by fair and equal distribution. This homestead bill, giving away to any and everybody the public lands, was And. Jackson's plan and was a bribe to everybody to come and take the common property belonging to the States. Mr. McRae said that the extracts read by his competitor from Clay and Webster, were from speeches made in opposition to Calhoun's policy of giving the lands to the States in which said lands lay.

The plan that I suggest, said Mr. McRae, is only *one plan*, and not the *only* plan. I am *against squandering* away the public lands, and although able to defend the plan I have suggested, viz: by granting land warrants to the States in proportion to their representation in Congress, I am equally in favor of any *other* plan likely to succeed; and all we lack of success is to make the effort. If the N. C. members of Congress would vote for it, the measure could be carried, and I feel confident Mr. Buchanan would not veto it. He is upon the record in its favor. Here Mr. McRae read from Mr. Buchanan's speech on the Deposit bill, from the Congressional Globe, to show that Mr. Buchanan himself was in favor of Distribution—that he had "clung to that bill even when deserted by Mr. Clay," and that "it was a safety valve," &c., &c.

Mr. McRae next quoted from Gov. Brown, of Miss., who advocated equal distribution. He also showed that many other prominent Democrats voted for Bennett's Land Bill, viz: Appleton, Secretary of State, Brooks, of S. C., Venable, of N. C., Soule, of La., Beale, of Va., and others by him named, and that in the recent Agricultural Bill which passed the House of Representatives, the same principles were involved, and that they were voted for by Democrats without Constitutional scruples.

Mr. McRae then proceeded to show the *cause of our want of prosperity*, and the reason *why* the *new States were so prosperous*. He began with Illinois. She was a new State, but a few years since a wilderness. Her chief city now, (Chicago,) sprung up, as if by magic, and was the largest grain exporter in the world. In 1837, Illinois began her system of Railroads. She had *no one then, within her limits, like my competitor*, said Mr. McRae, to raise his voice *against* her, and *stand in the way* of the *prosperity of* his State, no *party* raised its *parricidal* arm to wither and destroy the prosperity of *that State*, by metaphysical objections and constitutional obstruction, to her receiving the boon given to her by the General Government, to develope her resources, and make her a great and prosperous State. She obtained 2,500,000 acres of the public lands to build 703 miles of Railroad, as you can see represented on this map, (here Mr. McRae showed a map made by the Illinois central Railroad company.) The Stockholders paid only $40 in the 100. The company has sold $13,000,000 worth of land. The road cost $40,000 per mile. The entire cost being $30,000,000, and when the road is finished she will have fully paid for it by the sale of the lands and have millions beside. Suppose *we had $41,000,000* put amongst *us: it would pay our entire indebtedness*, and infuse new energy to every pursuit in life. Illinois is in easy circumstances, has all these means of prosperity, and *no burthens* rest upon her citizens. Capital, labor, mind, enterprise and people have gone there. The population has *doubled* in seven years, whilst we in North Carolina, have only increased *seven* per cent in *ten* years. Illinois, containing more population, has only *one half* the number of children that can't read and write, that North Carolina has. Then, I ask, said he, *why should Illinois* get all this fostering care of the Common Government, and *North Carolina get nothing? Is this State Rights?* Or is it *rights of any* kind? Or rather, is it not a grievous and outrageous wrong? It is because I am a State's right Democrat, and this is State's right doctrine that I am in favor of it. If this is not State Rights I should like to know what it is?

We occupy a very different position now, from what existed when Clay's land bill was introduced. The injustice and inequality is now much more glaring than it was then, and I have no doubt that General Jackson from his known love of honesty, justice, equality and fair and impartial dealing, would, were he here, go for this measure, and swear in his emphatic language, and in the sincerity of his soul, that, by the Eternal, justice must, and should be done equally to all. Besides the grant spoken of above, Illinois has 18,000,000 acres more of land.

Mr. McRae then adverted to Ohio, whose annual revenue was $3,600,000, with a school fund of $2,000,000 per year; and all this she has without paying for it. Whilst our Educational fund is in all, only $1,400,000, and the income only about $84,000 a year, and doing much good by even that partial light. Ohio sheds a perfect flood of light over her whole country, whilst ours gives only a faint glimmer of the dawn. Hers bursts out with the effulgency of the noonday sun. With all her resources her debts are only $16,000,000, but very little more than ours. She has received for Roads and Canals 3,835,000 acres, besides 8,000,000 acres more for other purposes, and received altogether 25,000,000 of acres of the public lands.

As for Kansas he would go as far as his competitor, or any one else for her admission as a slave State. But it was intolerable arrogance in her to ask for 23,000,000 acres of the public lands, almost as large as the whole State of North Carolina; and in addition, to ask for all the salt springs, gold mines and 5 per cent upon the sales of the public lands. He pronounced this a stupendous robbery. The conference bill gave Kansas too much land when they gave 4,000,000 of acres, and although I would have voted for it, said Mr. McRae, I would have done so with reluctance, for the reason alone, that it gave too much; and they will make it a freesoil State after all, and the large grant is an invitation to our citizens, and those from the other States, and from the world, to settle there. And many of these same men, who voted for the Kansas bill, voted against Mr. Morrel's Agricultural Bill, granting 20,000 acres to each Representative and Senator in Congress for this State.

Mr. McRae proceeded to show the feasibility and practicality of obtaining fair and equal distribution by the system he proposed, (as by his letter to Daney, viz. by warrants,) or he was willing to go for it in any other practical way that it could be obtained. He showed that we had distribution by the Deposit act of 1836, under General Jackson's administration. We had it again passed in 1841, by the Distribution bill which was vetoed, and by Bennett's bill, the Agricultural bill of the present session, and other bills, and that if the *members of Congress from N. Carolina* would go for distribution, they *could get* it *whenever* they *asked* for it. He showed that the *national democracy* were in favor of *partial* and *unfair* distribution to the *new* States and that if *North Carolina* demanded it, they would be for *fair* and *equal* general distribution. As to distribution increasing the duties on import, as contended for by my competitor, the *fact is*, that under partial distribution it (the tariff) has *always gone down*, and he could not see why the *tariff* should be reduced under *partial, and increased by fair and general* distribution. But, even should it *rise* we would be *ten fold more able* to pay it. It would increase and develop our resources, bring up and pay laborers better, create a division of labor, bring in capital and enterprize, and stay the depopulating tide of emigration from our State.

He next adverted to the projects now undertaken in North Carolina, and for which the State had pledged her credit, and as he stated at Charlotte on yesterday, looking at our *present and assumed debts*, he had set his face against any new enterprise except those already projected and now in progress. He was for finishing what we have already contracted and made appropriations for, but *for no more* than that. I am unwilling, said he, to go in debt any more deeply than we have now already assumed. And I wish a perfect understanding to be had now between my competitor, Judge Ellis, and myself on this matter. As I understood him at Charlotte, he said that he was for making additional appropriations to complete any gap that should be unfinished upon a deficiency of appropriations already made. (Then turning to Judge Ellis.) I think that was your position at Charlotte yesterday.

Judge Ellis—*Yes*, that was about my position—consulting, of course, the condition of the treasury.

Mr. McRae—You said nothing about *any condition* of the treasury on yesterday. But that you would recommend that an appropriation should be made to fill up the gap.

Judge Ellis—Oh, it was understood, because if we had no money it would be useless to make any appropriation. But I think we will be able to make it. And in his (Judge Ellis') rejoinder, he remarked that he would never let four millions of dollars stop the Road (the Western Extension) from reaching the Tennessee line, if it should butt up against the mountains on each side, he was for making the appropriation, if the condition of the treasury would permit.

Here the time of Mr. McRae expired, and the general discussion ended. There was a rejoinder of half an hour by Judge Ellis, and a surrejoinder by Mr. McRae.

[Our correspondent sent us a synopsis of the rejoinders of each of the gentlemen, but our space will not admit of their publication. We have only room for the concluding portion of our correspondent's letter:]

A sort of running debate closed the discussion, and I think Mr. McRae made a favorable impression, having heard some two or three Democrats say that they were for distribution and expected to vote for Mr. McRae. Judge Ellis sustained himself very well, considering the difficulties of his position, and his being out of public political discussions so long. He will improve daily, I think, but will never be able to make any thing off of McRae. My opinion is that McRae will gain a considerable increase over Gilmer's vote in Union. They are both talented and skilful debaters, and well posted on all political matters. But D. K. McRae evidently makes the fairest argument, and sticks closer to the points at issue.

Yours, &c.,
S. H. W.

DOOMED MEN—MESSRS. VENABLE, ARRINGTON AND BATTLE.

We take the following from the last Standard.

We challenge the Register to point to the first good Democrat who urged Mr. McRae to become a candidate. Mr. Venable, Mr. Archibald H. Arrington, and Mr. L. N. B. Battle may have urged him to take the field; but no Democrat is regarded as good and true who confers with the opposition, and plots against the organization and the usages of the party. Name your men, Mr. Syme. Let us know who the traitors are. If Mr. Venable, and others who might be mentioned, should dare to set themselves up against the organized action of the Democratic party, or to question in public any of its well known principles, they will be "sifted" as the Devil desired to "sift" Peter—"like wheat." The chaff will be at once winnowed from the good grain, and cast out to "be trodden under foot of men." The Democratic party of the State is now strong enough for all useful purposes, and it can afford, if necessary, to purge its ranks of the treacherous and the unclean.

If this is not precious language to be applied to free men in a free country, then we do not know what tyrannical dictation is. Here we see gentlemen old enough to think for themselves, threatened with being "sifted like wheat" and "cast out as chaff to be trodden under foot of men," if they "dare to set themselves up against the organized action of the Democratic party, or to question in public any of it well known principles." We do not know how the gentlemen referred to will regard this threat—this attempt to hold them in leashes like so many hounds; but, for one, so long as we wrote man, and *free* man to our name, we would spurn such language applied to us, as we would any other attempt to enslave us, to deprive us of the right of free thought and free speech, and subjugate us to the control of a set of irresponsible party tricksters. Because a set of men at the town of Charlotte thought proper to assert the monstrous fable that a Distribution of the Public Lands is unconstitutional, and because Duncan K. McRae, a respectable gentleman, at the solicitation of gentlemen of both parties, and in pursuance of his own convictions of duty and right, thinks proper to disregard the behests of these men, and oppose their platform and candidate, men of high respectability and intelligence are told by *name* that if *they* oppose the platform, or sustain Mr. McRae, they will be "sifted like wheat," and "trodden under foot like chaff!"—*Raleigh Register.*

For the Raleigh Register.

THE CAMAIGN OPENED—DISCUSSION BETWEEN MESSRS. McRAE AND ELLIS AT CHARLOTTE—BRILLIANT EFFORT OF MR McRAE—JUDGE ELLIS USED UP—HE IS TAKEN SICK!

[Correspondence of the Raleigh Register.]

CHARLOTTE, N. C., May 10, 1858.

MR. SYME:—The candidates for Governor, on their way to the first regular appointment at Monroe to-morrow, concluded to fill up a vacant day at this place, "just for the fun of the thing." It may be interesting to people elsewhere to hear something of the first passage at arms between the two gentlemen who are aspiring for gubernatorial honors.

Mr. McRae led off. He spoke two hours; and like a man in real earnest, he went into his subject directly, and without preface. He remarked that in the discussion to-day, as well as at every other time and place throughout the canvass, he intended to address himself exclusively to questions of State policy; that the office to which he and his competitor aspired was a State office; that, above all, there had at length arrived a crisis in our State affairs, which laid a necessity upon the people for once, at least, to look away from the fruitless excitements of national politics, and to give their candid attention to home interests.

He then proceeded to present a picture of the present condition of the State in all the elements that go to make up municipal strength and greatness. This part of his subject was handled with peculiar force and eloquence. His facts and statistics were drawn from the most authentic sources; and some of them are so well calculated to excite sober reflection among our patriotic masses, tho' sufficiently humiliating to our pride at home, that the temptation is irresistible to go somewhat into detail.

How did North Carolina stand in respect of population? Every return census lessened the number of her voices in the Halls of Congress. Every passing decade recorded her positive retrogression, as compared with her sisters in the Confederacy. From 1830 to 1840 she increased but 2 per cent., and from 1840 to 1850 only about 7 or 14 per cent.—What has become of our population? It has gone—and is daily going—to those new States and Territories which have ever been the remorseless recipients of an unjust distribution of the public domain. And with population, of course, labor and capital have also gone out from us. Our property is on the verge of a general depreciation. Nothing has an upward tendency. What town within our borders, since the completion of our improvements, has advanced, or is now advancing, in wealth an importance? Our Educational facilities and school fund are not on the increase. That fund is very limited, at any rate—not more than two millions—and was mainly derived from the Distribution Deposit Act of 1836. It wholly fails to answer the cry of our indigent youth for mental food. Some years ago—in 1840—our people had entered upon a system of manufactures—a pursuit well adapted to their habits and their condition. Where are our manufacture now? They have gone down. We have scarcely a loom in operation, which is returning adequate compensation to its proprietor. Our system of Internal Improvements is paying nothing, nor can the wisest among us calculate, as things now are, when it will pay. Our Railroad stocks never have been at par. The stock of the Wilmington and Weldon Road, which is the best among them, ranges at about 60 cents, while that of the North Carolina Road where the State has interest of three millions, is growing painfully less year by year. It is selling from between 15 to 25 cents; and this, too, in spite of the unusual efforts by the officers of all the Roads from Kingsville, S. C., to Weldon, to compete with the rival line by the way of Wilmington. None of our Roads are laying up a sinking fund too meet their indebtness, and they are in debt more or less. Besides all this, and far worse than this, we have an absolute State debt of $5,294,215. In addition, we have a prospective debt of about $4,000,000 and a liability of $2,000,000 more. By way of contrasting our condition with what it was ten or twelve years ago, it was shown that the whole amount of State taxes, for all purposes, in 1846 was $85,134, while in 1857 it was more than $500,000. Next year it will mount up to between $600,000 and $700,000. Besides, the next Legislature will have to provide the means of discharging a principal debt of about $700,000.

After setting out our true condition with a clearness and vigor of expression that seemed to burn the facts and figures into the memory, Mr. McRae inquired, what is our duty in view of the present and of the future? For himself, he said, he intended to deceive nobody. He did not mean that any body should mistake his position. He had a question to ask of his competitor, which, as he intended himself to answer it in all candor and plainness, he would call on that gentleman to answer with equal sincerity and directness. Pointing then to his competitor, he inquired: *If elected Governor of North Carolina, will you recommend any further appropriations, or any increase of the State indebtedness for works of Internal Improvement?*

He offered Judge Ellis the floor to respond to this question, but the Judge declined, saying that he would answer in the regular course of discussion. Whereupon, Mr. McRae declared that for his part, if elected Governor of North Carolina, he would not recommend any other appropriations or any further State indebtedness for Internal Improvement, no matter from what quarter, or by whom he might be importuned. He distinctly announced that he was now, and always had been, an Internal Improvement man—that he desired the completion of our whole system of works already begun, and would maintain to the last, in full faith, the legislation hitherto had on this subject, as a contract irrepealable—but he considered that this legislation would tax the people up to the point of utmost endurance—that labor and capital had left, and were leaving the State, and that a heavier burden of taxation could not be borne. Believing this, he was opposed to any further State debt at this time for any Internal Improvement begun, or to be projected.

This is believed to be almost the very language of Mr. McRae. The writer feels the more certain, as he repeated it several times, and gave pause after each announcement—that if he was misunderstood by any body in the audience the correction might be made on the spot.

Having discussed our condition and our duty, he came next to the remedy which he had to propose. It was a just and fair Distribution of the public lands. He handled this great subject in a masterly manner and with overpowering eloquence. He discussed its constitutionality, its practicality, its expediency, and answered *seriatim* the various objections to it, but it is deemed unnecessary to follow him in his convincing argument. The attention of the audience, under the charm of his fine narrative, sprightly wit, and powerful appeals, never for an instant gave way, and he closed amid loud applause.

Mr. Ellis replied. His preface was long. His order of treatment was not clear. Indeed, he rambled over the whole domain of political history and national policy; and the crowd thought he never would find a place for the sole of his foot in the only domain in which North Carolina is particularly interested. Jefferson, and the Federal party, strict construction and State rights, a national bank and high tariffs, free trade and sailors' rights, Kansas and slavery, Lecompton and the Black Republicans—these topics danced through his sentences "in all the mazes of metaphysical confusion." But he seemed reluctant to come up to Distribution, and to the home interests of North Carolina. At length, however, he was admonished by the listless and diminishing crowd that every body was tired of that rigmarole, and that he must face the music. His argument against Distribution was a rehash of all that the land-robbers have ever said on that subject, and it was not done up with even the ordinary force and piquancy. The point of most interest in the discussion was his answer to his competitor's question about further State indebtedness. He tried for a while to get around it. He sought to convert himself, like Mr. Buchanan, into a platform. He thought the Charlotte edition was better and more explicit than former editions of the Democratic creed. He cordially approved it. But Mr. McRae's question was not what platforms said—but what will you say, Judge Ellis, *if you are elected Governor, to the Legislature on this head?* At last he owned himself up to it, as well he could. *He said there was not much difference between himself and his competitor about further State indebtedness. He understood his competitor was in favor of the legislation already had. If that was so, he thought the appropriations provided for by that legislation were sufficient to complete every work desired in any quarter of the State—but if they should not be—if they so nearly completed the Road to the Tennessee line as to leave only "a little gap," he would recommend an additional appropriation to fill up that "little gap."*

This is Judge Ellis' position. He did not, it is true, reiterate it clearly and distinctly as Mr. McRae did his—but his language was noted at the time, and there cannot be a doubt about it, except about what he means by his delectable phrase, a *little gap*. May be he means the tunnel through the mountains of a mile in length, costing a million or two of dollars.

The Judge was equally unfortunate in defining his position on the Pacific Railroad. He was against the bill introduced into the House of Representatives, against which our members voted, but he was for the *military* Road, recommended by Mr. Buchanan. Now, is not that to the point?

The truth is, the Judge is a dodger, and for that very reason is not the man whom North Carolina should call into her service now. The election of such men never decides anything. If he should be elected, nobody will know the popular will, upon the most important question in our domestic affairs, for it is evident that he will be claimed by the friends and opponents of farther State indebtedness. Let the people demand and require that these two gentlemen shall show their hands and make a clean breast of it.

Judge Ellis' effort was a disappointment to his friends as an intellectual effort. He has been much complimented by his party press, and expectations have been raised, which, unless he mends his pace from henceforth, are doomed everywhere to be disappointed. Some allowance should be made for him, however, on the score of indisposition of which he publicly complained.

It should be remarked—and this will be gratifying to all—that the discussion was conducted throughout in excellent spirit and temper, and that, from the well-known character of the candidates as gentlemen, the canvass promises to be conducted in like spirit and temper to the end.

X. Y. Z.

Educational Association.—The next annual meeting of the State Educational Association will be held in Statesville, on the first Wednesday in July.