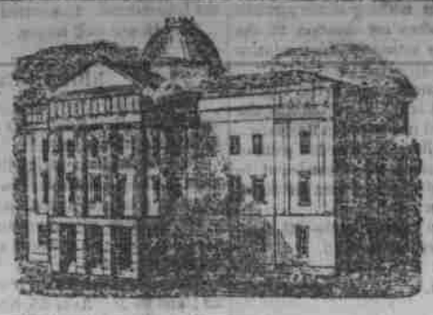
RALEIGH TIMES.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY CH. C. RABOTEAU,
EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.



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ADDRESS OF T. L. CLINGMAN
ON THE
RECENT SENATORIAL ELECTION.

To the Freemen of the First Congressional District of North Carolina:

FELLOW CITIZENS:

It has been my purpose for some days to address you on the subject of the late senatorial election in our State. This is due to you as my immediate constituents, and as regards the State generally, it is proper that a statement should be made explanatory and defensive of the course of my friends as well as of myself.

Before, however, detailing the events of this winter, it is right that I should advert briefly to the former condition of things in the State. North Carolina is six hundred and fifty miles in length from east to west. The senators, as well as most of the other high officers of the State, have usually been taken from the middle and eastern portions of the State. Nearly half a century ago, according to my present impression, a senator was elected residing in the vicinity of Salisbury, near the Yadkin. No one else living west of this river has ever, in any other instance, as far as I know, been chosen by the legislature to that station. Twenty years ago both the senators, Messrs. Iredell and Branch, were from the east. Since then, both of them have been exclusively taken from the counties of Wake, Orange, Caswell, and Cumberland. There are eighty counties in the State, but these four join each other, and form a tier directly thro' the centre from north to south. It is also well known, that, since the organization of parties on their present basis, North Carolina has usually been found a Whig State in the popular elections. But it is a little remarkable that three of these favored counties have been so thoroughly democratic that no Whig candidate for the senate has ever received a single vote from any one of them. The fourth county, Orange, though it has never sent a full Whig representation, has twice given one, and sometimes more, of its five votes, to the Whig candidates. The tract of country west of the Yadkin river is nearly three hundred miles in its extreme length. It also contains more than one-fourth of the voters of the State. What is still more worthy of being noted, its political majority for the Whig party, whether as shown in the election for governor or the members of the legislature, is greater than that of the State, taken as a whole. In other words, as a political party, east of this section the Whigs are beaten, and if this western region were equally divided, they could neither elect a governor nor a senator. When, however, as a party, we are beaten in the central and eastern parts of the State, the West, by its heavy majorities, neutralizes and overcomes the partial success of our opponents, and gives us the control of the State. This is immediately followed by filling the stations of senators and the other lucrative offices by persons living in the central part of the State, where we have been overthrown. If we look abroad through the Union we shall find nothing like this system any where. I might, by reference to particular States, show, that in some by positive laws, and in others by customs as strong and as unyielding as positive law, these stations are required to be filled by persons residing in different localities. That there are valid reasons for such a course I shall presently show. I only now desire to call attention to the fact, that the system that has been submitted to in our State not only is unknown elsewhere, but that it excites amazement abroad, wherever it is known, that the people of the West should have submitted to it. By what means this extraordinary state of things has been produced, I shall have occasion to state in the course of this address.

Injustice has been done, too, to the western part of the State in other respects. In 1836 the amended constitution went into operation, and the change then made was expressly understood to have been effected to put the West on an equal footing with the East as respects legislation, because its rights and interests had been disregarded. What has been the result under this ameliorated condition, after we have been advanced to a position of comparative equality, and are supposed to have had some share in the benefits of the government? Since then, out of the State treasury there has been appropriated for internal improvements in railroads and swamp lands one million and nine hundred thousand dollars, not one dollar of which has been expended west of Raleigh. This sum expended in the eastern part of the State is equal, nearly to fifty thousand dollars to the county. But the West, though from its interior position more in want of this kind of aid, could get nothing.—When they have been urged to aid us, the reply was, that investment in our project would not be profitable. It is admitted, however, now, by every body, that this sum, expended for the benefit of the East, will, if not entirely, be mainly lost to the State; so that our investments could not have been much less profitable. But, in truth, as far as they had any data before them, they should have been led to a different conclusion. Twenty years ago, in a moment of great liberality, when strongly urged, the legislature invested the sum of five thousand dollars in a turnpike in Buncombe.—Since that time the State has received regular dividends, varying from seven per cent. up to sixteen per cent. per annum. About the same time they advanced for the Swanannoah road a much less sum, taking bond and security from private individuals for its return. This money was refunded to the State in less time than the legislature contemplated. It thus appearing that these experiments in the West were successful, the legislators, if fair in their purposes, should have been brought to a different conclusion.

As furnishing additional evidence of the spirit with which the legislation has been conducted, I may refer to the action with reference to the literary fund. In 1823 the legislature set apart certain of the State revenues for purposes of education, and provided, that as soon as the fund should become sufficient for use, it should be divided among the counties of the State according to their white population. In the year 1840, however, when the fund had become sufficiently large to be distributed, this provision was repealed, and the money was directed to be distributed according to federal population. It is well known that the laws of the State forbid the teaching of slaves to read and write, and therefore the object which the legislature had in view was the education of the *white children* of the State. To justify, therefore, this change, it must be proven that it requires a larger expenditure to give the same amount of education to the children of those who own slaves than it does to those who do not own them.

I have referred, fellow citizens, to these things, to exhibit what has been the action of the State with reference to internal improvements, education, and the distribution of offices.

To show that I have not been willing heretofore to submit quietly and silently to this condition of things, I may refer to my course as far back as the year 1840, when I had the honor to represent a portion of you in the State Senate. When urging the adoption of a measure for the benefit of the West, I made an elaborate statement to show that the West had never received anything, but that all had gone to the Centre and East; that we had acquiesced—too tamely, perhaps—because we were "willing that the elder branch of the family, should be served first;" and concluded by asking the question, "Ought not the benefits, as well as the burdens, of government to fall on all alike?" There was no favorable response to this question; and I at that session, in connexion with one or two other gentlemen, sought—to no purpose, however—to organize a systematic resistance to the central action; and since then, under our tame submission, the evil has been aggravated.

Having, fellow-citizens, taken this preliminary view of the condition of things, I come now to speak of the recent occurrences. After the election in August last, it was ascertained that there was a tie between parties, on joint ballot, in the general assembly. It, therefore, seemed uncertain whether a Whig Senator could be chosen without Democratic aid. It was also then believed (rightly, as the event has shown) that the Hon. George E. Badger would not receive all the Whig votes, even in the East, and there was no reason to suppose that he could receive the support of any Democrat. It was also known to my friends that two or three gentlemen elected as Democrats, were willing, from considerations purely personal, to vote for me against even a Democratic nominee. It was obvious, therefore, that it would be in the power of the Whig party to elect a Whig Senator by a majority of six, if they should determine to give their support as a party to a certain individual. My friends imagined that public considerations might, in such a contingency, induce them to take this course. Besides this, there was a feeling, which has recently been gaining strength most rapidly, that the western members owed it as a high duty to their constituents not to submit longer to the unjust exclusion of all western men from public stations. I also learned that, in addition to the opposition to Mr. Badger in the East, one of the western Whig members, before I saw or had any communication with him either direct or indirect, had expressed a determination, in the strongest language, not to vote for the incumbent in any event.

Being in Raleigh, on my way to this place, when the legislature assembled, and understanding fully the condition of things, I advised my personal friends to make no opposition to Mr. Badger's election. In fact, I went so far as to state that I should, if a member, have felt bound by my former course to yield so far to party obligations as to cast my vote for him as the nominee of the party. I further advised them to act as they preferred individually, with reference to attending the caucus, but that they should not make any effort there for me individually. Some of them attended, while others stayed away—those who went throwing their votes on other persons, in compliance with what they regarded as my wishes. Lest it should be supposed that I ought to have urged upon them the propriety of supporting the incumbent, I must premise, in the first place, that no personal friend of mine should either have obstacles thrown in his way by me, or fail of success for want of any aid of mine, but that the circumstance out of which my personal difficulty with Mr. Badger grew would, as far as it is possible for any thing to do, relieve me from all obligation to *electioneer* for him as a candidate for the Senate; and secondly, that though opposed to him personally, yet, if public considerations existed, I should have yielded to them—as, for example, if the incumbent had been a man of eminent ability, whose absence would have been felt in the public councils. It is hardly necessary for me to state that no such condition of things as this existed, or that few well-informed men will dispute that there are in the State at least a dozen individuals, any one of whom is as well qualified personally for the station as the present incumbent, and the election of most of whom would, as a party movement, have been much more advantageous to those with whom I act politically.

It may be further remarked, that so far was he from being the choice of the State generally, that the opinion was by no means uncommon at Raleigh that he was not the first choice, even of a majority of the Whig members, though nominated by the system which I shall presently explain.

His being the incumbent was decidedly in his favor; though the stratagem by which he was elevated two years ago greatly impaired, if it did not entirely deprive him of this advantage.

Before leaving Raleigh, I expressed a wish to my friends that I should not be put in nomination, unless it should be ascertained, after balloting, that Mr. Badger could not be elected. I further stated to them, that whatever course they might in the end resolve to take would be acquiesced in and sustained by me. It was then supposed that the election would be postponed, until the vacancy from Yancy should be supplied; but a vote was suddenly ordered at an earlier day, and some of my friends took the responsibility of voting against the nominee. Being at once requested by them to return to Raleigh, after consultation here with some of those political friends in whose judgment I had most confidence, I acceded to their request.

On my arrival there, I learned that they had decided to run me as an independent candidate, on grounds hereafter to be considered. Availing myself all the time afforded me to collect information, before the balloting began I submitted to my friends the opinion that it was not, under the circumstances, advisable to make a stand. They, however, with my acquiescence, decided on a different course. After the first vote occurred, I again desired each of them as I met to vote for one of the other gentlemen then in nomination, (Messrs. Badger and Swain;) but they preferred a different course. After the third ballot had occurred, but before the result was announced, Mr. Farmer, in accordance with the opinion then expressed by me, changed his vote so as to elect Mr. Badger. This he could not even then have accomplished but for the fact that the Democratic Senator from Stokes withheld his vote on some understanding with Mr. Badger's friends, while another member of the same party was absent from sickness. Before, however, stating the reasons for this change, I must advert to one other matter. Shortly after my arrival in Raleigh, I received a letter from several gentlemen of the Democratic party, containing inquiries as to my opinions on certain points. It was my impression, at first, that the situation in which I found myself placed was such as to excuse me from answering their inquiries; but a moment's reflection satisfied me that I was in error in taking this view. The members of the legislature are made by the constitution the electors of the Senator. As the Senator, when chosen, is under our system supposed to represent the views and feelings of the State, and as the members of the legislature, in making the selection, act for and are responsible to their constituents, they have a right to know the opinions of the person for whom they may reasonably expect to vote; and no gentleman, either a candidate or willing to accept the station, has, in my judgment, a right to withhold an expression of his opinions on important subjects.

With these views my reply was dictated. It was written immediately after the receipt of their letter, without consultation with any one. It was written to those whose views were, in many respects, different from my own, but who were gentlemen of high character and standing, actuated, as I well know, only by elevated, honorable, and patriotic motives; and therefore my statement to them was couched in language the most respectful and courteous, and yet sufficiently intelligible that there might be no misunderstanding between us. I now give the letter and my reply thereto.

RALEIGH N. C., *December the 18th*, 1848.

HON. THOMAS L. CLINGMAN:

DEAR SIR: The position you occupy in relation to the election of United States Senator, now pending before the legislature of this State, justifies us (we think) in respectfully propounding to you the following interrogatories, to wit:

1st. Do you believe it expedient that Congress should charter a United States Bank? And if a member of the Senate, would you vote for chartering such an institution?

2dly. Are you in favor of the repeal of the Tariff of 1846? Or of a modification thereof, affecting, materially, the principles of said law?

3dly. Are you in favor of the repeal of the law establishing the Independent Treasury?

4thly. Do you believe that Congress has the constitutional power to legislate upon the subject of the existence of slavery in the Territories of the United States.

Believing that you are prepared rightly to appreciate the motives which prompt us to submit you these inquiries, we respectfully solicit an early answer to this communication.

We have the honor to be,
Your obedient servants,
C. GRAVES,
GEO. BOWER,
W. H. THOMAS,
D. W. COURTS,
A. H. SHUFORD,
S. I. PERSON.

Reply of the Hon. T. L. Clingman to the committee.

RALEIGH, *December* 18*th*, 1848.

GENTLEMEN: I have before me your letter of to-day asking my opinion in relation to certain subjects therein referred to. You state, as a reason for desiring to know my opinions, that an election is now pending for the station of Senator of the United States before your body. Agreeing fully with you in the opinion, that under our republican system of government the constitutional electors of the Senator have a right to know the views of all persons from among whom they may be called upon to make a selection, I give you my opinions most cheerfully. Having adopted no sentiments but those which I am willing that all the world should know and fully understand, I regret that circumstances put it out of my power to give you more than the outlines of my views at this time.

And first. In relation to the establishment of a National Bank, I have had occasion to say, repeatedly, in public addresses during the past year, that I did not believe there was, in any quarter, a disposition to create such an institution, and that the state of the country, as well as the condition of the public mind, furnished decisive objections to any such measure should the movement be made.

Secondly. With reference to the existing Tariff laws, though not in favor of their repeal, yet I am inclined to believe that some modifications are necessary. As, however, there are hundreds of items embraced, it would be impossible for me to designate now, even if I had the time, the precise alterations that might be found necessary. Believing that while some of the duties may be too high, others are too low, perhaps, I should desire to be left free to act, when alterations are proposed, as my judgment, actuated by all the information I could obtain, should decide to be right. I feel at liberty to say, however, that I should be opposed to the re-establishing either of the Tariff of 1842, or any other *dead* tariff, but should desire that any alterations which might be made should be engrafted by way of amendments to the existing laws.

Thirdly. I have been informed from the highest sources, that the existing law establishing the Independent Treasury is of such a character that it is not executed according to all its requirements, and have reason to believe that the Secretary of the Treasury has found it impracticable to have all its details enforced in practice. I have no doubt but that some alterations should be made in the present system, but am not prepared to say to what extent these alterations should go. As, however, the Secretary of the Treasury has, to my own knowledge, made deposites in the State banks, in some instances in violation of the existing law, as I understand it, I think it probable, that in that particular, at least, there should be such alteration as would leave the proper discretion in the Government officers.

Fourthly. With reference to the powers and duties of Congress over the Territories of the United States as far as slavery is concerned, I would beg leave, in the first place, to refer you to my speech of the last session for my views in detail. I have there stated that I consider the adoption of what is commonly called the Wilmot proviso, or the exclusion of slavery from the Territories of the United States, as being, in my judgment, as gross a violation of the Constitution as the Government could possibly commit. A violation of such a character as would justify the Southern States in resisting its execution by all the means in their power, because unjust and degrading to them.

Should you, gentlemen, find this outline of my opinions less full than you might desire, I trust you will attribute its deficiencies to the hasty manner in which they have been drawn up, rather than to any disposition on my part to conceal my views.

While I admit that I should be highly gratified if I were placed in the Senate of the United States by the constitutional electors, I am not willing to obtain any, much less so high a station, by concealing or withholding my views. I am sure that you, gentlemen, would neither respect me as a man, or support me as a candidate, if you regarded me as capable of deception. Having been placed by my friends in the position of an independent candidate, and believing that the South will need all the strength in the next Senate of the United States that it can possibly have under the Constitution, I should feel proud of the distinction, if conferred on me, and would use my best efforts to advance the interests, in the first place, of my constituents, and secondly, to promote the welfare and honor of our common country.

With sentiments of the highest respect,
I am, your obedient servant,
T. L. CLINGMAN.

MESSRS. C. GRAVES, GEO. BOWER, W. H. THOMAS, D. W. COURTS, A. H. SHUFORD, S. I. PERSON.

On looking over my letter thus hastily written, I find nothing which, on reflection, I desire to change; nothing in it which differs materially from the views entertained by the sagacious and wise men of that party with which I have always acted. In short, it is their opinion that a National bank will not, and ought not, under existing circumstances, be brought forward; and that the Tariff and Independent Treasury laws must undergo changes, though there may be some diversity of opinion as to the extent of these changes.—With reference to the last of these, I may further remark, that but three modes of keeping and disbursing the public revenue have been at any time, as far as I know, recommended. As to the first, a National Bank, I have remarked sufficiently.—Secondly, the State bank deposite system, never a favorite with the Whigs, and which signally failed under Mr. Van Buren's administration; and, thirdly, the Sub-treasury, or Independent Treasury as it was called. This last system, though modified and changed from what it was when first advocated, is still in such a form that it has been found impracticable to execute it in all respects. The fact that, during the existence of the Mexican war, there have been loans and large emissions of Treasury notes, has alleviated the effects of the system on the business of the country. Whether to avoid the cost of transporting specie from point to point, and of creating various places of deposite, drafts would be issued under proper restrictions, and deposites be made, in certain cases, in State banks, are questions hereafter to be discussed and decided. With reference to this whole subject, as well as to the Tariff, I expressly left myself free to act as I might hereafter think right.—With regard to the last subject, that of slavery in the territories, I referred particularly to my speech of the last session, quoting from memory substantially an extract or two. This being, as far as I know, the only subject on which those gentlemen regarded Mr. Badger and myself as differing, I considered it as fortunate for me that I had it in my power to refer to a full exposition of my views, made public several months before his speech on the same subject, and thereby relieving me from any suspicion of having sought to make an issue with him on the question as a means of defeating him.

As far as the propriety of receiving support from political opponents is concerned, it has been expressly sanctioned by both of the great parties of the State. In 1842, the Democratic party being in a majority, nominated, as their senatorial candidate, the honorable Bedford Brown, and the honorable R. M. Saunders opposed him as an independent candidate, sustained by a minority of his own party. After a number of ballotings had taken place, the Whigs determined to abandon their own nominee and support Judge Saunders. In the caucus at which this decision was made, Mr. Badger and myself were both present; and though he made a speech in favor of adhering to the Whig nominee, while I, in reply to him, took the other side, yet, as soon as it was determined by a very decisive vote that the party should support Judge Saunders, there was a general acquiescence in the effort to carry out the object. The Whigs having thus decided that it was right for them to support Judge Saunders, could not regard it as wrong for him to receive that support. The course of a majority of the Democratic members, in the present case, is evidence that they find nothing in it to condemn. As far as I was individually concerned, there was, as I have already shown, no obstacle in the way of my occupying such a position. Gen. Taylor took the ground that he, as an independent candidate, would accept nominations either from Whig or Democratic meetings; yet this position of his did not seem objectionable to the Whig party generally, or its National Convention could not have nominated him; even after his nomination there, he, with the continued support of his party, avowed his willingness to receive nominations and support from Democratic associations of men. But my own case is more favorable than even this. The Democrats, as a party, did not make me their nominee. They, in fact, as I have learned, determined to make no nomination, but to leave each gentleman free to act as he preferred. There was obviously no impropriety in my receiving their support, standing, as I did, in the attitude of an independent candidate. On the contrary, I feel that I have a right to be justly proud of such support, given not in obedience to party requisitions or for the advancement of party interests, but in opposition to party organization and against party prejudices; given from high and patriotic considerations of public duty; a support doubly honorable from the circumstances under which it was extended, as well as from the character and position of those who tendered it.

There is another circumstance worthy of being mentioned in this connection. To induce a Democratic Senator from Stokes to support Mr. Badger, I learn that it was proposed that his friends should agree to divide that county centrally, as he desired to have it done. Though the Whigs generally were unwilling to agree to vote for the measure until they should, on examination, be satisfied of its propriety, yet I was credibly informed that there were some of his active supporters who declared that they were willing to "go it blind."—Those very persons who profess themselves willing to sell their votes in a matter affecting seriously the rights and interests of other persons, to induce thereby a Democrat to vote for Mr. Badger, and who was thus induced to decline voting, are, nevertheless, violent in their denunciations of me, because Democrats voluntarily, from a sense of public duty, think proper to support me. Again, in other elections some of his leading supporters have abandoned the Whig candidates and voted for Democrats without drawing on themselves one word of censure from those newspapers that have denounced my friends, not because they voted for Democrats, but simply because they did not vote for a particular Whig candidate. The reason, however, for the distinction in the cases, is to be found in the fact that those persons were thereby favoring the proteges of the central junto, while my friends were acting in opposition to their views.

But the question will be asked, fellow-citizens, why did I assent to my friends yielding, in any event? Why, since my vote was increasing at each ballot rapidly, and since it was understood that some Whigs intended, if I came near an election, to change their votes from Mr. Badger to me, and thereby elect me, why was not the contest prolonged to the last moment? Had there been no other motive for the course of my friends than to secure my election to the Senate, this would have been done. But the leading object they had in view was to assert the right of their section of the State to a share in the public honors; and a great stride had been made in that direction by demonstrating that they and I had the courage to assert that right against all the power and influence which the central clique could bring to bear on us. It had not only been shewn that there was a spirit of independence aroused in the hearts of Western representatives, a feeling of self-respect, and a regard for the rights of their constituents, but it had also been shewn that they had the *power* to resist the central action. In short, it had been demonstrated that the incumbent could not succeed without their aid, much as it might be *contemned*. They had shown, that under the impulses of a spirit of manly independence they lacked neither the power nor the *will* to resist. It is by no means certain that this leading object would would have been advanced by securing a different result in the contest. Had I been elected, it might, with more appearance of plausibility, have been alleged that the only motive to action had been a personal one, viz: a desire to advance a particular person. Had it simply resulted in the overthrow of Mr. Badger, and the election of some third person, it might still have been set down to the score of malice against a particular individual. Yet the resistance would have been persevered in but for considerations which I am about to state. My position was one of great delicacy and embarrassment. In the first place, I was, seemingly, in opposition to the great body of the Whigs—of that party, to the promotion of whose success the efforts of my political life had been directed.—Secondly, it was manifest that a number of Democrats were averse to voting for any Whig, and were standing out in the contest between Mr. Badger and myself. They having shown themselves thus unwilling to vote after repeated trials, was I under any obligations to hold on till it was seen whether they would be dragged, by the force of circumstances, into my support? Or was it not magnanimous on my part to relieve them from such an alternative? But there was, in the third place, a consideration which was controlling with me. A majority of the members from my own district, but with whose motives I find no fault, were acting against me. I have never yet, fellow-citizens, sought, or been willing to receive, a public trust against the wishes of a majority of those persons in my own section, those to whom I am best known personally. It is true I did not believe that those gentlemen fairly represented the views of their own section. I did not believe, nor do I now believe, that Mr. Badger was the choice of the majority of our district, or even that he could have beaten me before the people in any one of the twelve counties comprising it. Whether I am right in this, none are so well qualified to judge as you, gentlemen; still, had I taken the office under the circumstances, I should apparently, not have been sustained by the general feeling of my own section. I was not willing, therefore, that a contest for my personal advancement should be prolonged under such circumstances. As I was then informed, I had doubts at least; and in a personal matter, where one has doubt, it is safest for him to decide against himself. The result may have disappointed several persons whose position was not so well understood by the public, I mean those who were desirous that Mr. Badger should be defeated, but who, nevertheless, appeared to be his most decided and clamorous supporters. They being anxious that he should be broken down and gotten off the field to make way for other candidates, were still anxious for him to remain, with a view of being themselves in a better position for the race. Being confident that my friends would stand out and defeat him, they felt at liberty to play the game very strongly against them. I submit humbly to these gentlemen, that when they were joining in the general clamor against my friends, and increasing as much as possible the difficulty of their position by throwing their own weight on them, to them do I submit it, that they have really no right to complain that they would not, for their benefit, bear the burden indefinitely.

As it was, those young men exhibited in that trying position a perseverance, a moral firmness, a high courage, in defence of the liberty and independence of their section, worthy of the days when Harmodius and Aristogiton overthrew the tyranny at Athens.

Having thus fellow-citizens, detailed the leading facts connected with this transaction, and adverted to some other matters connected with them, I am brought to the consideration of the grounds upon which my friends rested their opposition to the central action. In the earlier history of our State individuals were brought forward, by themselves or their friends, on their own responsibility, as candidates for office. Hence it sometimes, though rarely, happened that those were elevated to high stations who resided remote from the centre. But for a number of years past such has not been the case. The change seems to be owing to this circumstance: Political parties having, for the last fifteen or more years, been pretty closely balanced in the State, it was thought necessary to resort to the caucus system. By this means a party having a small majority on joint ballot may always secure the election of its own men. This machinery, however, though convenient, is liable to the grossest abuses; and hence it has elsewhere been found necessary to impose certain limits on its action. Such, however, has not hitherto been the case in our State; and hence the evils have been vastly greater than the advantages which have resulted from it.

Such has been the situation of things in North Carolina that public opinion is not only directed and controlled, but is manufactured, to a great extent, at the centre. The newspapers there published, being the only ones in the State having any general circulation, and being the first to give the proceedings of the legislature, and the action of the State government generally, are looked to with confidence, and are able to form mainly the opinion of the State. But these papers, not so much perhaps from any want of liberality on the part of their editors, as from the power of particular local influences brought to bear on them, seem to have been mainly directed to the advancement of the views and interests of a few persons in that vicinity. Though they profess to be the organs of their parties in the entire State, yet they are not only devoted to the advancement directly of their favorites, by the most extravagant system of laudation and puffing, but they carefully exclude from their columns such statements of facts as might bring into prominence others at a distance. For example, if some one of their friends should at one point have the courage to meet in debate a Democratic candidate for the office of Governor, the most elaborate eulogies are made in celebration of his daring and of his great triumph; but when that same candidate reaches our district, he may be met at every point in it, and so met as to reduce his vote throughout the district, and yet no notice is taken of this by these professed organs of the whole State. If a general officer, after a battle, were, in a report professing to give a fair account of all that occurred, to notice in terms of high eulogy certain officers, while he took no notice of others equally or more meritorious, such omission would amount to positive injustice and injury. Again, in the election last summer it is well known that the Democratic candidate for the office of Governor made considerable gain on the votes of his predecessors. As compared with the contest four years ago, which, because it immediately preceded the Presidential election, and for other reasons, was adopted as the standard of comparison, it appeared that the loss of the Whig candidate was, throughout the State generally, as compared with the contest of 1844, nearly equal to three hundred in each Congressional district. In our district, owing to the fact that there are there a larger number of immigrants from other States than elsewhere, attracted by the gold mines and other causes, and as all of them, unaccustomed in the States of their former residence to such a discrimination as prevails between voters for the Senate and for the Commons; and feeling, as you know, in some instances, a repugnance so strong to our system that they refuse to vote at all, because they are not allowed to vote all around; it was natural, I say, that these persons should be most operated upon by the free suffrage question, the issue upon which our candidates lost ground. Under such circumstances it was not to be regarded as surprising if there should be a greater loss with us than the average of the State generally. But, in point of fact, instead of *losing* three hundred votes with us, the Whig candidates actually *gained* two hundred and forty-eight, by the standard universally adopted, being upwards of five hundred better than in the other districts. Instead, however, of our getting credit for standing up under adversity better than other sections, the reverse is the fact; and such have been the representations made, that all through the central regions it seems by this time to be understood that our loss in the summer occurred mainly in the West; and I was amused recently to see that one of our own representatives, after a residence of only ten days in Raleigh, had become firmly convinced of this fact. But, in the recent election for President, our ground in the State was recovered again; and upon its appearing that there had, from August to November been a gain, in one or two of the metropolitan districts, of two or three hundred, they are in these papers, greatly glorified; and this change is properly ascribed to the extraordinary efforts and wonderful eloquence of Mr. A., Mr. B., and others; while in our own district, which even in the summer did better, both positively and comparatively, than the rest of the State, a gain of thirteen hundred is unnoticed. Not only so, but I have now before me a paragraph in circulation, which falsely states the majority for Gen. Taylor in our district at one thousand less than it really was, while it exaggerates as much the vote of another district in the State, so as to enable these persons to argue, as they do, that ours is not the strongest Whig district in the State. The editor who makes such a statement, as well as those who republish it, know the truth very well, because they have all, I think, published in their columns the votes of the different counties; but they know that few of their readers, in the State generally, can tell precisely what counties constitute our district, and that still fewer would be likely to select twelve counties from a list of eighty, alphabetically arranged, and footed up the majorities, so as to detect the misrepresentation.

I have referred to these cases merely for illustration. To detail all such might take a volume. By such means a sort of public opinion is made up in the State that answers well the purposes of the makers. It has been remarked, heretofore, and again, that the Democrats of the centre treat us with more consideration than do those of our own party; yet the former can have no motives for

(*Concluded on fourth page.*)