REMARKS OF MR HAUGHTON.

Delivered in the Senute, on Secession, &c

Ma. Spragar:-It is with unaffected embarrasamen that I rise to address the Senate—first, because it is my misfortune to be opposed to the distinguished Senator from Pasquotank. (Mr. Shepard.) whom I have had the pleasure to know longer than any Senator on this floor, and whose able efforts as a candidate for Congress in the Edenton District, are among the pleasant recollections of my boyhood. Again, the vast importance of the subject, upon which we are called to deliberate: for, sir, in it is involved to some extent the preservation or dissolution of this Union, aye, sir, I will still say, this glorious

One of the resolutions of the Senator from Pasquotank (Mr. Shepard.) and also of the minority of the Committee asserts the right of a State to secode from the Union. This I deny toto colo, and shall endeavor to demonstrate that it has no resting place in the Constitution or theory of our Government. I shall endeavor to show this by comparing and contrasting certain portions of the Articles of Confederation with the Constitution of the United States.

The 3d Art. of the Confede leclares that each State retains its overeignty, freedom, and indepen-

Art. 3, of the Confederation, the said States hereby severally enterints a firm league of friendship with each other, &c., binding themselves to assist such other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, or account of religion, covareignty, trade or any other pretence whatever.

Art. 4, sec. 5, provides, that if any person guilty of or charged with treason, &c., in any State shall flee, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the States, he shall, upon demand of the Governor of the State from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offence.

Art. 5, sec. 3, each State shall maintain its own delegates meeting of the States, &c.

The preamble to the Constitution declares that we, the people of the U.S., in order to form a more perfect union, &c., do ordain, &c., this Constitution for the U.S. of Ameri-

Sec. 3, Art. 3, of Constitution provides that treason against the U. S. shall consist only in levying war against them, &c. And that Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treasen.

Art. 1, sec. 8, the Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, &c., to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the U. S., and all duties and imports, &c., shall be uniform throughout the U. S. Art. 5, sec. 4, in determining questions in the U. S. in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote.

Art. 1, sec. 1. All legislative power here granted, shall be vested in a Congress of the U. S. which shall consist of a Senate and House of

These articles of confederation were by the united roice of the States pronounced inefficient and utterly in competent for the purposes of Union. This is the sentiment that runs through all the resolves of the several States just before the adoption of the Constitution. One of the resolutions of the Legislature of New York declares, that the present system (Articles of Confederation) of these States exposes the common cause to a precarious issue, &c , and that it is the natural tendency of the weak ness and disorder in our national measures, to spread dis trust among the people. And again, "that in the opinion of this Legislature, the radical source of most of our emharrassments, is the want of sufficient power in Congress. different States," do.

The Congress of the Confederation on the 21st February. 1787, declared that they entirely coincided in opinion with the Commissioners (to whom the subject had been referred) from New York, Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, as to the mefficiency of the Federal Government and the necessity of devising such further isions as shall render the same adequate to the exi-

gencies of the Union.

In the next place, Mr Speaker, I invite the particular ttention of the Senate to the opinions expressed by members of the different State Conventions, to whom was referred the question of the ratification or rejection of the Constitution. I will commence with our own. In the Convention that sat in Hillshoro' in 1788, the Rev. Mr. Caldwell insisted that the Convention that formed the Constitution had exceeded its powers, in using the phrase "we the people," in the preamble; to which Gen. Davie, who had been a member of that Convention, replied. "that the observation of the reverend gentleman is grounded, I suppose, on a supposition that the Federal Conven tion exceeded their powers. This objection has been in dustriously circulated. As I had the honor, sir, to be a member of the Convention, it may be expected I would answer an objection personal in its nature, &c. After repeated and decisive proofs of the total inefficiency of our General Gevernment, the States deputed the members of the Convention to revise and strengthen it. And permit me to call to your consideration, that whatever form of confederate government they might devise, or whatever powers they might propose to give this new government, no part of it was binding until the whole Constitution had received the solemn assent of the people. What was the object of our mission? To decide upon the most ef feetual means of removing the defects of our federal

Gen. Davie then goes on to enumerate some of the general objects of the Union, to-wit: "Ist. To protect us against foreign invasion. 2nd. To defend us against internal commotions and insurrections. 3rd. To promote the commerce, agriculture and manufactures of America. These objects are requisite to make us a safe and happy people, and they cannot be attained without a firm and efficient system of Union."

Again, "the encroschments of some States, on the rights of others, and of all, on those of the confederacy, are incontestible proofs of the weakness and imperfection of that system. Maryland lately passed a law, granting exclusive privileges to her own vessels, contrary to the articles of confederation Congress had neither power nor influence to alter it; all they could do was to send a eontrary recommendation.

It is provided by the 6th article of the confederation.

that no compact shall be made between two or more States without the consent of Congress ; yet this has been recently violated by Virginia and Maryland, and also by Pennsylvania and New Jersey. North Carolina and Massachusetts have had a considerable body of forces on foot, and those in this State, raised for two years, not withstanding the express provision in the confederation that no force should be kept up by any State in time of peace.

Again. Another radical vice in the old system, which

was necessary to be corrected, was that it legislated on States, instend of individuals; and that its powers could not be executed but by fire or by the second, by military force and not by the intervention of the civil magistrate. They (the Convention) knew that all governments merely federal, had been short lived, &c. These considerations determined the Convention to depart from that solecism in politics, the principle of legislation for States in their political capacities. And to show that the idea of nullification and secession was discountenanced in the Convention of that State, at Hillsboro', hear Gov. Johnston :--(said be) otherwise, it would be in the power of any one State to counteract the other States and withdraw itself from the Union. The laws made in pursuance thereof by Congress ought to be the supreme law of the land, otherwise any one State might repeal the laws of the Union at large. Without this clause, the whole Constitution would be a piece of blank paper. Every treaty should be the supreme law of the land; without this, any one State might involve the whole Union in war."

Mr. Spaight said it was found impossible to improve the old system without changing its very form. The very retractory conduct of Rhode Island in uniformly opposing every wise and judicious measure, taught us how impoli-

tic it would be to put the general welfare in the power of a few members of the Union.

I will call the attention of the Senate for a few moments to the opinions of some of the members of the Convention of South Carolina that adopted the Federal Convention stitution. Hon. Mr. Rutledge said, "he thought the old confederation is so very weak, so very inadequate to the purposes of Union, that unless it was materially altered, the sun of American independence would indeed soon set. never to rise again. What could be effected for America under that highly exalted Constitution? Could it force obedience to any one law of the Union? The people of America had seen these things-they had felt the consequences of this government, if that deserved the name of government which had no power to enforce laws founded on solemn compact; and it was under the influence of those feelings that, with almost one voice, they had called for a different government"

Gen. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, said, "Let us then consider all attempts to weaken this Union, by maintain ing that each State is separately and individually independent, as a species of political heres, which can never benefit us, but may bring on us the most serious distresses."

I have endeavored to show the true nature of the ar rangement into which the States entered under the old articles of Confederation, and the necessity for a change, and from it, I deduce the following propositions to wit:

1st. That the several States entered into the Confederation (by virtue of the Articles of confederation) as States, and in express terms declared that each State retained its sovereignty, freedom and independence.

2nd That the States, in the language of the " Articles of Confederation," entered into "a league of triendship to but the one before us, proposing to create a assist each other on account of any attacks made upon them or either of them, on account of sovereignty."

3rd. That this league was formed and admitted by all the States inefficient, and that a radical change was de manded by all.

4th. That this league was abandoned and a Constitu-Trox formed, adopted and ratified in its place.

5th. That the preamble to the Constitution, its various provisions, and the contemporaneous exposition of its framers, show a surrender by the several States, of so much of their sovereignty to the General Government, as was necessary to form a more perfect Union.

6th. That the Constitution thus formed, and the laws that might be passed in pursuance thereof, were declared. adopted and ratified by the people of the several States. as the supreme law of the land.

But it is said, that whatever the delegated powers to the General Go ernment may have been, yet that there were certain reserved rights retained by the States, as States, and that in these reserved rights is included that of Secession. It is important to enquire in this connection, as to the origin of this right, did it exist prior to the adoption of the Constitution? Or did it originate with the very formation of the Constitution? These are important enquiries, and deserve our most serious consideration.

First, then, did it exist prior to the adoption of the Constitution? I maintain that it did not, because the Article of the Confederation declares, as I have already shown, that the States entered into "a league to assist each other on account of sovereignty, &c.," and as by the also attentively examined our own system, very nature of the league, and is also shown from the and compared our laws and their effects history of the Confederation, no one State could be con trolled by the other; and as the other States, by virtue of their joint or common legislation, could not oppress the others, it therefore tollows that this right of Secession. according to the very theory of its advocates, did not exist prior to the Constitution. For, according to that theory, whenever the Constitution is violated, and the operations of the General Government become oppressive. and has never been provided with a motive a State has a right to secede; and they virtually admir that independent of these considerations she cannot.

Again, these States reserved their sovereignty by express stipulation. This right did not exist by express provision, nor could it be considered as one of the reserved rights of sovereignty, for that is a contradiction in terms, that would imply that a Government, which is sovereign to all intents and purposes, must, to maintain its sovereignty, its existence as a sovereign power, have certain reserved rights to fall back upon. Now this idea of re served rights presupposes that certain rights of sovereign- the author of the laws, is ignorant of their ty have been surrendered, and that certain others have effects. been retained. Independent, sovereign powers, that enter into a league or treaty, do not thereby surrender their soy ereignty or any part of it, and this arises necessarily from the very nature of a league. If, therefore, this right of secession did not exist before the Constitution, it will be an easy task, I conceive, to show that it did not grow out of the Constitution itself. The advocates of this theory maintain; that in the language of the 10th section of the Amendments of the Constitution, all powers not delega ted to the United States, nor forbidden to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people, and they derive from this latter clause, the right to secede, as one of the reserved rights. This very idea presupposes the existence of this right before the adoption of the Constitu tion, which I have endeavored to show, is not so Now. Mr. Speaker, the reserved rights are such as the States respectively or the people proposed, when the Constitution was framed, and it that of secession did not then exist, it could not be reserved. This theory is predicated upon the idea, that here was a most important right, admitted by all at the formation of the Constitution to exist; and yet we have the remarkable fact staring us in the face, that not one word is said about it in that instrument.—
Would the States, I ask, if this was a well ascertained and admitted right at the time, have failed to have asserted it in express and unmistakeable terms? Would they have left it to vague surmise, to conjecture? Would the little State of Delaware have been silent? Would longing to the State and raised for a sacred propriated by law for his fuition. To do good clared, a State whose opposition to the Constitution was so violent that she was even considered by her sisters refractory, and when, too, her preference for the old Articles of the old of Confederation was so strong, and her aversion to the Constitution so great, that she was the very inst State to good for the public? Is it diffusing light and come into the Union, under the Constitution. Suppose it had been inserted in the Constitution, would it have been vate speculations? I mean no reflections on adopted? Does any man believe it? Let us see, Mr any one: but as a representative of the pensers, how such a provision would have sounded it ple. I have a right to ask these questions, and of the average salenes paid; by which connection with the 6th Art., 2nd Sec., of the Constitu- it is the duty of he all to ask them, Who tion : that provides that "the Constitution and the Laws will answer us? passed in pursuance thereof, shall be the Supreme Law of the land," provided that each State may withdraw whenever she thinks proper, and that the Constitution dence that laws will answer us?

Will answer us?

Will answer us?

Here, sir, we see at once the necessity of a head; here we have overwhelming evidence that laws will know where to go to find it. whenever she thinks proper, and that the Constitution dence that laws will not administer themseland laws shall operate only on those who choose to submit to it! Now what sort of a Constitution would that have been! The preamble to the Constitution and the 1st resolution of the Senator from Pasquotank, (Mr. Shep ard.) declares that the Constitution was ordained and extablished by the people of the several States, in order to form a more perfect union; and yet, according to his second resolution, provision was made under and by the Constitution for the dissolution of the Union, or in the language of the motion of the Union, or in the language of the motion of the Union, or in the language of the motion that the constitution of the Union, or in the language of the motion of the Union, or in the language of the l Constitution for the dissolution of the Union, or in the officer to attend to this very important matilanguage of the great man of the age, "the Constitution ter; to have a head office

inguage of the great man of the age, "the Constitution provides for its own destruction." So that the gentleman's second resolution is an answer to the Bret. I have a head officer, who handles not support to the Articles of Confederation, as a nanwer to the Bret.

Mr. Spenker, what does the expression "more perfect union," refer to T Clearly to the Articles of Confederation, and it virtually declares, that under them the States and accountable to this body, the body and does not be successful to the second that provision was necessary to promote the harmony of the whole. Now, sir, about the to informed, how that Union could be more perfect if the body to provision was necessary to promote the harmony of the whole. Now, sir, about the total country of the whole will be the situate and of criting different and directors of the Literary fund.

Mr. Spenker, what does the expression "more perfect union," refer to T Clearly to the Articles of Confederation," and it virtually declares, that under them the States had too mitch power, and that provision was necessary to promote the harmony of the whole. Now, sir, about the country of the whole was necessary to promote the harmony of the whole. Now, sir, about the country of the whole of the provision was necessary. He is also to look after the \$180,000 in the hand of criting different and directors of the Literary fund.

Mr. Spenker, what does the expression "more perfect to the States and accountable to this body. The bill makes it his duty to scending the sum of the States and the second to the states and the second the same than the states and the states

ON THE "BILL TO PROVIDE FOR THE AP POINTMENT OF A SUPERINTENDENT OF COMMON SCHOOLS AND FOR OTHER PUR-MR. SPEAKER: It is not my purpose to make a set speech : nor au I ambitious of notoriety in this Assembly. My desire is to do good-to carry a purpose which I deem of much importance to the people of North Carolina, 'Ps educate the people of the State should be, it seems to me, a subject of great concern to her politicisms and statesmen : a subject which night to engage the serious and anxious attention of this Assembly. By common consent, however, this matter seems to be left to my especial careat least no one seems willing to go before me, and I am, therefore, compelled to per-form a task from which I would gladly be

delivered. Diffident as I am, however, I will not shrink from the performance of my duties to the public ; and I will endeavor in as brief and plain a manner as possible, to convince this House of the necessity and importance of the Bill under consideration.

It has been well considered and strongly recommended by the very intelligent Committee on Education; and though a great many other bills and propositions were be-fore them, they not only selected this one as best suited to the exigency of the times, but have endorsed it without recommending a single amendment or alteration. This sanction might ensure success to ordinary hills ; new office and being of general interest, ought to be well understood by those to whom its fate to how committed.

Mr. Speaker, since I have been of an age to take an interest in public matters, I have given a good deal of attention to the subect of education. I regard the education of the masses as necessary to the stability of free institutions, and as especially neces. sary to the comfort and happiness of the people themselves:

The establishment of Free Schools 1 North Carolina gave me more pleasure than I have experienced from any other public event; and I have watched with increasing interest and auxinty, their progress and ef

The system so far has not fulfilled public expectation; complaints are heard in all quarters, and a remedy is loudly demanded. What is it? To solve this question, I have personally examined the systems in other States-have even gone, for information, to the vankees holding it to be right to get useful information, if I can, from an enemy, and knowing that the New-England people with all their faults, have been eminently successful and judicious in regard to the subject of public education. I have witnessed their systems and those of Pennsyl vanta and Delaware : conversed with their officers and corresponded with them. I have pains, I have arrived at this conclusion: That our laws, as far as they go, are geneally good and suited to the subject and the State, I say as far as they go; and the radical defect of the system is, that it is not complete. There is no head to it; there is an excellent machi ie, but it is inert matter

The wisest laws will not administer them selves-the finest systems need a controlling. governing, sentient principle or agent t put them in operation.

Our school laws are good, and they pro vide for the appointment of local and inferior agents and officers ; but these inferior officers set without concert, are, in a measure, irresponsible, because there is no one to call them to account, and the Legislature,

of the system beyond his own neighborho d; and when complaints are made to the General Assembly, from time to time, it has to legislate in the dark and at random and never afterwards knows the result of its policy. . Is any one able to report progress so far We are beset by clamors for reform. Can

any one tell the precise nature of the evils to be reformed? Have we any authentic information before us?

Sir, we are informed by the Report of the President and Directors of the literary fund, that upwards of one hundred and eighty thousand dollars is unaccounted for in the hands. of chairmen of boards of county superintendants; and they say that besides this im-mense sum there is an "indefinite amount" in the hands of private individuals who have filled these county offices. What does this mean? That a sum twice as large as the whole revenue of the State is in the possession of men who fail to inform you, and are not called upon to inform you of its applicagood for the public? Is it diffusing light and knowledge among the poor? Or is it used to oppress the poor, in note-shaving and private speculations? I mean no reflections on He is also required to publish an annual

ves. All these chairmen of county boards

But, Mr. Speaker, there is another, and as I conceive a conclusive argument of the appointment of such an of an imperative duty which we've selves and to the State to find out the opera-tion of our own laws and to amend them if they are defective. The subject of educaselves and to the State to find out the they are defective. The subject of educa-tion is all important; and the State bestows about one hundred thousand dollars annually on this object. What good has it done?—
What good is it likely to do? We ought to
know; and we can be informed only in the
manner pointed out in my bill.

Applications for a change of the laws are
numerous and increasing daily; in what par-

the laws are often changed. Why not then fair trial before we change it? Why act in the dark if we can have light? The people are beginning to understand the system as it is: but if we often change our common school laws, they will continue to be inopera tive and prove a constant failure.

Let us, therefore, infuse a living soul inte this dead body; let us apply a motive power to this machinery, and then if it works be well informed; it will know what has been done, what is doing and what may be expected. The officer provided for in my bill will report progress to the next meeting of this body; he will present a great many facts which we ought to have and which he only can furnish, giving us a minute, com-prehensive and complete picture of the ope-rations of our school system, of its defects and of its results up to that time.

If we can obtain such information we should certainly make no material alteration's in our school system until we get it; we should not act without it, and yet the cries of the country demand that we should act in some way. Then it is most safe, most prudent, most statesman-like to move first to obtain imformation: we can obtain the re-quisite information by the provisions of my bill and we cannot obtain it without some law of this kind.

Desiring, Mr. Speaker, to propose measures that would make our common school system meet the just expectations of the public, and having anxiously deliberated on the matter, I have concluded that we ought to appoint a General Superintendent; and the ty. reasons on which this conclusion is based have been partially given. I am satisfied our laws are, in the main good, and need only an officer to see to their faithful execution; and I am equally well satisfied that if they are defective we cannot so pronounce them, nor judiciously change them, until the law changing and law making power is put in possession of facts which can be obtained easily by an officer appointed for that purpose, and which cannot possibly be obtained

my bill; and the mention of those duties will show the necessity of such an agent.

He is required, by the advice and concurrence of the President and directors of the literary fund, to prescribe a uniform set of books to be read as text books in each county; and in the discharge of this duty he would of course consult economy and prescribe works best suited and most easily obtained. power in this matter, was to prevent the posof any attempt to effect political purposes.

heavy tax on the community, and retards telligent officer; he takes a lively interest in the progress of students, and especially of the Com'n School system, and is in every way young children and new-beginners. The well qualified for his post. He is one of the best Free Schools are kept open about three officers in the State; and I feel perfectly months in each year : and as things now go, sure that for one and a half per c at. he the students can study only three months in any one book.

It is a familiar fact, that a child can learn best in his own book; and if he is allowed the same book, he will continue to make progross, though ofter interrupted in his studies. As it is, he is just beginning to learn and become familiar with his book when the school is closed; he is then kept at home for nine months, and when he starts again, a new book, which is all a mystery to him, is put into his my bitl. We will not only be able thus to hands and he begins again, not where he left off before, but at the beginning. Thus is his progress retarded; and text

up the school. A remedy for this evil is loudly demanded but it is no body's business to redress it, and if any one had the will, he has not the au-

The sum annually disbursed is small; but with the taxes levied in each County, it is sufficient to keep at school, three months in purpose? How much have they of the come of court by law for his fuition. To do good

> It is also made his duty to issue circular letters to the Examining Committee of each

State, and of the average saleries paid; by which Having, Mr. Speaker, satisfied myself of the

cient and more useful, sums that are disbursed Any necessary expenditure of money to save a greater amount, is true economy; and such, I believe, will be the operation of my bill.

The Literary Board disburses annually, a sum greater than the whole Revenue of the State; and to guard the latter, and manage it, and account for it, we have a Transport of a Computable.

for it, we have a Treasurer and a Comptroller. who have to report to this body, while their a who have to report to this body, while their accounts are also semi-annually investigated by a What good is it likely to do? We ought to know; and we can be informed only in the manner pointed out in my bill.

Applications for a change of the laws are numerous and increasing daily; in what particulars can we change them for the better?

Frequent changes are injudicious; uniformity and certainty, things greatly to be desired in all laws, cannot be attained when the laws are often changed. Why not then the laws are often changed. Why not then complete our present system and give it a what they have done or mean to do with these fair trial before we change it? Why act in monies. We are told that they are all respectable gentlemen: no doubt they are, but I have never heard that any amount of respectability is a sufficient guaranty, in well-governed States, for the faithful conduct of Treasurers of the Public.

It certainly, in my judgment, would not be an extravagant, or a waste(n) use of the dollars; and in these schools, with this sum. public funds, to appropriate a sum sufficient where the cost of living is at least three times to enforce the accountability of ugents with as great as it is in the country, in this latitude. badly we can wisely shandon it for a bet-ter. The Legislature, too, before stacts, will two millions of dollars, and a sum nearly branches of an English education, and in equally as large, raised from the people by most of the practical and useful sciences.—
taxation. Still, Mr. Spenker, I did not wish In some of the Northern States the sum does to come in conflict with those who might not average more than five dollars; and think differently; I did not wish any Bill, with this is educated a race of men and wowhich I deem of so much importance, to men who out-wit us in every thing, who suphave to encounter the proverties indisposis ply us with all the fabrics that we use, and tion of North Carolina Legislatures to the who are our engineers, our miners, our geomaking of new appropriations. After east. graphers, and historians, our mathematicians ing about for the means of avoiding this bar, and astronomers. I happily found them; I was enabled to fix The salaries paid to the teachers of our will even be saved.

Under our School laws the County Courts are annually to elect a Board of Superintendents of Common Schools for each County: and these Superintendents appoint School Committee men for each School district in their respective Counties. It is the duty of importance to three fifths, ave to three fourths the School Committee men to build School. of the respectable men and women of North houses, employ feachers, &c. &c., and to make returns to the Superintendents. The Superintendents elect one of their number for Chairman; and with this Chairman are intrusted all the School monies of his Coun-

The Committee-men and the Superintendents, with the exception of the Chairman, get no pay; the Chairman, who generally resides at the county town, receives for his services the sum of two and a halt per cent. on all monies which pass through his hands. His duties, Mr. Speaker, are by no means arduous; he performs but little more/labor than the other officers, and does not perhaps consume ten whole days in the year, in the business of his office. And yet for this lie is most liberally rewarded; and his compentlemen can cipher for themselves; let them take the amount disbursed in any one cointy and add to it the sum raised by taxes, and they can easily find out the sum paid to the Chairman of Superintendents.

My bill proposes to tax the salaries of the county Chairment to allow them but one and a half per cent., and the sum saved amount He cannot prescribe without the concurrence to the salary proposed for the General Suof the President and directors of the literary perintendent. One and a half per cent, will fund; and the object, in giving these a veto be an ample salary for these Chairming; and I'll answer for it there will be found in ibility of improper speculations in books, or every county good men, intelligent men, who will discharge tathfully all the duties of this The frequent change of text books has be-come an intolerable nuisance; it imposes a man of my county is an active, faithful and in would, if called for, continue the discharge, with undiminished fidelity, of the duties of the station be now fills.

But, Mr. Speaker, the very small counties may be exempted; the four or five Chair. men who do not receive in all more than twenty five dollars may be allowed to receive two and a half per cent. on the mouses fifteen dollars per month, as the report which they disburse, and stall we will save enough I hold in my hand will show; and yet for to meet the appropriations contemplated by raise a salary for a General Superintendent, but, as the sum disbursed for School purposes increases, we will actually save some books cost as much as it would take to keep thing, in addition, to the Fundamend still we will have as faithful, discreet and inteils. gent county Charmen as we now have.

As the system now works, some of those Charmen use for years, the funds deposited with them, applying them to private purpothe Treasurer of the State, they doubtless retain two and a half per cent., for each year, for the trouble of having applied the money to their private speculations!

Suppose, sir, it were given back to the Treasury; that would we do with it? Would we not be in the condition of the man who were called junisaries; and these troops came, in time, to be the masters, in fact of both sovereign and pools. It is said that when a troop of them marches on any service of the Sultan they would soize and any propriate to their use the booltry, eggs, beef and but the pool farmers and villagers, whose houses they passed; and if called on for severage and force its oldering. This charge was for texth-seenes; and the possants whose substance had been deverred, had to pay the consumer for the applications men. But matanics have occurred and might occur under our system of a practice similar to thus alluded to.

Mr. Speaker, why not make the experiment which I desired. It will not make the experiment which I desired. It will not make the experiment which I desired in the state of the world that we cannot make a good system of consume schools to confess that we have made failure and cannot do better? If we were the first who had triedels experiment of establishing free the world that we cannot make a good system of constant schools to confess that we have made failure and cannot do better? If we were the first who had triedels experiment of establishing free schools we might make anch a confession and avoid disgrace by declaring the scheme impracticable and resource, but who had triedels experiment of establishing free schools we might make anch a confession and avoid disgrace by declaring the scheme impracticable and resource, but the cause, we will but published to respect to the task of framity, good system and give up the cause, we will but published to respect to the state of the proposed and all of them bitteries of the following interests would be proposed, and all of them bitteries out the proposed and all of them bitteries of surface by declaring the scheme impracticable and control of the world. I can never consent to this account of the world in the world in the world in the world i

closely watched, judiciously applied, and strictly accounted for.

But Mr. Speaker, I must say, and I say it with due respect for the persons alluded to, that our Literary Fund has been apoken of contemptuously in this Hall, without proper consideration; that they who so speak have either not examined a matter which they condemn in such sweeping terms, or are not sufficiently familiar with the interests, situation, wants and habits of the masses as to enable them to initiate or understand a system of beneficent legislation.

They who are educated at a cost of five hundred or a thousand dollars a year may possibly be unable to understand how others can be instructed for two dollars a year; but, sir, their inability to understand this matter does not disprove the fact.

The amount distributed by the Literary Fund and raised by taxes will average two dollars per head, if properly unuaged, will keep the schools open for

tend subscription schools; and two dollars per head, if properly uhunaged, will keep the schools open for three months out of twelve. A child who goes to school three months in every year for ten or twelve years will be extremely stupid if he does not become a good scholar; and you know, sir, and I know, that thousands of bright and useful intellects have received their polish with fewer opportunities.

In thitadelphia, where they have an adn i rable system of free schools doing an incarculable amount of good, the average per scholar of the sum distributed is a little over six

on a plan by which to pay the General Su- free schools have been characterize as pitiperintendent without taxing the Literary ful; and we are told that no one fit to teach Fund a single cent and by which something will engage for such paltry sums. The teachers get, Mr. Speaker, about fifteen dollars per month, sometimes more-a sum which, I acknowledge, is very inconsidera-ble compared with the income of eminent Attorneys, owners of factories and extensive planters; but it would be a matter of vast

We cannot all be great lawyers and doctors-but a small portion of us are born to rich inheritances; and three fifths of the men and women of N. Carolina toil at occupations more laborious than that of the school master and for much less than fifteen dollars

per month. We may not now be able to get first-rate teachers for such salaries; but as the masses become educated poor young men and poor young women will become our teachers and we will be most abundantly supplied. A great many boys, with dispositions as liberal as ours, now follow the plow and handle the axe for less than half of fifteen dollars per month; and many thousand girls whose veins are crimsoned with blood as rich as dest legislator, and whose hearts are as pure, whose instincts as refined as those of our fairest belles, have to toil at the loom, to delve and drudge in the open fields for less than one third of fifteen dollars per month. Many of these have already been rescued from their hard condition by our free-schools; have been well instructed at them, and are glad to make forty-five dollars in three months in a manner more lady-like, more suitable to the tenderness and delicacy of the female constitution than are the occupations by which they were making but forty in the year. With this forty-five they are enabled to go awhile at higher and better schools then they teach another three months and a gain return to the dearer Seminary or Academy, thus learning others and accomplish

Those, sir, who understand the wants and the interests of the people will know that this is a truce picture; they know that this is beginning to be the practical operation of our own system of free-schools and that in a short time the competition for the charge of the schools will be very great, even at a sale ry of fifteen dollars per month.

In Massachusetts where all classes are educated and all occupations crowded their teachers generally do not average more than this sum they employ the most shining talents and the most varied and thorough accomplishment.

Mr. Speaker it may be too late in the day to speak of the general importance of our free schools; and I must confess sir, that I feel awkward in making the attempt.

But I have heard expressions in this Hall that I feel bound to notice—general and sweeping charges which must not go unanswered. Our system has been denounced as a humbug; and we have been told that it is better to give up our literary fund and apply it to other purposes.

Suppose, sir, it were given back to the Freasury; what would we do with it? Would