

this great effort of intellectual reform, will be in commanding the services of proper school masters.

The districts having been laid off by designated boundaries, a school-house is in the next place to be erected, at a proper place, of suitable materials, and on the most judicious plan. As the rising generation is to pass a deeply important, interesting and the most impressive portion of life in these tenements, the mode of construction is a matter of no small moment. Indeed much of the efficacy and success of the whole system, will depend upon the model which shall be selected, and the manner of its execution. Too much attention cannot be bestowed upon either. The edifices should be pleasantly situated; should be neat and comfortable, and as they may, on an average, afford the only opportunity of instruction to 128 children, they must be spacious. In no community, however, will the whole, or nearly the whole number of children, ever be sent to school at the same time.

The accompanying report of the Secretary of the Board of Education of Massachusetts, on the subject of school houses, contains all the information on this head that can be desired, and obviates the necessity of further remarks here. The districts having been designated, and the requisite school houses erected, the difficult question returns upon us—how are instructors to be provided? No one capable of forming correct opinions upon the subject, and conversant with the state of things around us, can suppose for a moment that we can find twelve hundred and fifty, properly qualified instructors, in North Carolina, or any considerable proportion of this number. They cannot be had from the North, if it were desirable to employ others than those reared in our own State, for the difficulty of obtaining them is much more loudly complained of in Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, and even in Massachusetts than here. What then is to be done? We will be compelled to adopt the course crowned with such perfect success at Hofswyl, in Switzerland, in Prussia, and Germany, and which is now in the progress of successful experiment in New York, and about to be adopted in Ohio, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. A scheme, pressed with so much earnestness and ability on the attention of the citizens of this State, by President Caldwell, in his volume of letters published in 1832, and which indeed, constituted his only plan and hope for the improvement of our common schools. We must establish Normal schools for the

need entertained to hope of accomplishing the favorite object of the State in any other way. New York has endeavored to separate department in each of her ten district academies, for the instruction of common school teachers. It has had the effect steadily of giving increased reputation to the least appreciated, but most useful of all the learned professions, and promises a radical change for the better in the schools throughout that State. The graduates of these Normal schools are sought for with the greatest avidity, and notwithstanding all the efforts that have been made to give efficacy to these departments, the supply is by no means commensurate with the demand.

The superintendent of common schools in Pennsylvania, advises the establishment of four practical Institutes in different sections of the State, the procurement of suitable libraries and apparatus, and a faculty of six professors for each, involving an annual expense of \$40,000. If these views needed the confirmation, either of argument or authority, they would find both in the subjoined extract from the report of the Board of Education of Massachusetts, made on the 20th of April last. Governor Everett is Chairman of this Board, and it is almost superfluous to remark that there is no individual, whose opinions are entitled to more weight on all subjects connected with education.

The subject of the education of teachers is of the very highest importance in connection with the improvement of our schools. That there are degrees of skill and success on the part of teachers, is a matter of too familiar observation to need repetition; and that these must depend, in no small degree, on the experience of the teacher, and on his formation under a good discipline and method of instruction in early life, may be admitted without derogating in any measure from the importance of natural gifts and aptitude in fitting men for this as for the other duties of society. Nor can it be deemed unsafe to insist, that while occupations requiring a very humble degree of intellectual effort and attainment, demand a long and continued training, it cannot be that the arduous and manifold duties of the instructor of youth should be as well performed without as with specific preparation for them. In fact it must be admitted as the basis of reason and experience, that institutions for the formation of teachers must be established among us, before the all important work of forming the minds of our children, can be performed in the best possible manner, and with the greatest attainable success.

No one who has been a witness of the case and effect of which instruction is imparted by one teacher, and the tedious pains-taking and unnecessary progress which mark the labors of another of equal ability and knowledge, and operating on minds equally good, can entertain a doubt that there is a mastery in teaching as in every other art. Nor is it less obvious, that within reasonable limits, this skill and this mastery may themselves be made the subjects of instruction and be communicated to others.

We are not left to the deductions of reason on this subject. In those foreign countries where the greatest attention has been paid to the work of education schools for teachers have formed an important feature in their systems and with the happiest results. The art

of imparting instruction has been found like every other art to improve by cultivation in institutions established for that specific object. New importance has been attached to the calling of the instructor, by public opinion, from the circumstance, that his vocation has been deemed one requiring systematic preparation and culture. The duties which devolve upon the teachers even of our common schools, particularly when attended by large numbers of both sexes and of advanced years, for learners, (as is often the case) are various and difficult of performance; for their faithful execution, no degree of talent and qualification is too great, and when we reflect in the nature of things, that only a moderate portion of both can, in ordinary cases be expected for the slender compensation afforded the teacher, we gain a new view of the necessity of bringing to his duties, the advantage of previous training in the best mode of discharging them.

A very considerable part of the benefit which those who attend our schools might derive from them, is unquestionably lost for the want of more skill in the business of instruction on the part of the teacher. This falls with special hardness on that part of youthful population who are able to enjoy, but for a small portion of the year, the advantages of the schools. For them it is of peculiar importance, that from the moment of entering the school, every hour should be employed to the greatest advantage, and every facility in acquiring knowledge, and every means of awakening and guiding the mind be put into instant operation; and when this is done, two months of schooling would be as valuable as a year passed under a teacher destitute of experience and skill.

If the Legislature should determine to establish a single school of this character, the public convenience will, of course, require that it shall be located near the centre of the State. If the Board were authorized to make and arrangement with the Trustees of the University, and to annex to that institution a department for the instruction of common school teachers, a less numerous faculty might be required, than for a separate school. The libraries, apparatus, geological and mineralogical cabinets, would subservise equally the purposes of both.—That institution now receives without charge either for tuition or room rent, every native of the State, destitute of the means of education, who, upon examination by the faculty, is believed to possess the requisite mental and physical constitution to render him a valuable member of society.

There can be no difficulty in pronouncing that the Trustees would greet with a similar spirit of benevolence, any proposition which should promise still more extended usefulness.

If a system of common schools of this or similar extent should find favor with the General Assembly, it will next become necessary to inquire more particularly into the amount of expenditure it will involve, and the manner in which the requisite funds can be provided.

The net annual revenue of the State cannot, as before remarked, be less than one hundred thousand dollars, and will probably exceed that sum. The act of 1825, creating the fund, provides that it shall be distributed among the several counties in proportion to their white population. No illustration can be necessary to show, that this sum unassisted from other sources, is wholly inadequate to the maintenance of any general system of education. The distribution of the fund set apart for this purpose, however, should not be made, until the citizens of each county shall have decided in favor of the scheme, at the ballot box, and the Justices of the County Court shall have levied and collected twice the amount that the county shall be entitled to receive from the State.

It would seem scarcely necessary to resort to argument to manifest the propriety and necessity of this condition. It is obvious that proper interest will never be taken in the management of the schools by those who are not conscious of having contributed to their maintenance. And no school can be conducted upon the best principles, that is not subjected to the constant and jealous supervision of the most intelligent portion of the community, and this keen circumspection nothing short of a sense of pecuniary interest can produce. The tax payer will not merely be disposed to see that his money is not wasted; he will be anxious to derive benefit, and the greatest possible amount of benefit from the expenditure. This can only be secured by the maintenance of a well regulated school, and the means necessary to the end will not be neglected. If the State fund were ample in amount for all the purposes contemplated by its creation, it is more than doubted, whether it would be possible to effect the object without uniting it with individual interests.

The Board are not to be regarded as intimating the opinion that the State and county fund provided and united in the manner proposed will be competent to effect all that the philanthropist would desire. Far from it. It will accomplish however vastly more, than has hitherto been attempted or anticipated in North Carolina. If the scheme now suggested should be carried into successful operation, all will have been done, perhaps, that is proper to be attempted at the present time. The foundation of a Universal system will have been laid, which properly beginning with society in its incipient stage, will ultimately adapt itself to every period of life, and to all the wants of the country. Well endowed academies will succeed to common schools, at no long interval, and colleges and universities, in due time, complete the structure. All are not merely necessary, but indispensable to the prosperity and happiness of a well governed State.

But it is time to return from this digression to the delineation of the plan. It would not probably be possible to di-

vide the State into the proper districts, erect school houses in each, and have one or more Normal schools in operation in less than three years. The accumulation of three years, arising from the regular income of the fund, and double the amount raised by the counties would amount to nine hundred thousand dollars, and this sum divided by the number of school districts (1250) would admit of an average salary of \$240 to each school master. This rate of compensation is certainly very moderate, but it is believed to be greater than the sum ordinarily derived from the same avocation at present. Various circumstances may tend, in many instances, to increase it. The wealthier neighborhoods, may augment it by voluntary contributions; the schools in summer, particularly in the poorer districts, will consist mainly of the younger classes of learners, and for these instruction may be provided, in an inverse ratio to the value of the services rendered, by the most amiable, patient and successful of the whole tribe of teachers—educated females. In all the districts where voluntary provision is not made, the instructor must, as in the Eastern States, board with the parents of his pupils at alternate intervals.

To superintend, direct and control the whole of this complicated, but not inharmonious machinery, a superintendent of common schools must be selected. Perhaps there is no office in the State so difficult to fill well, as there is certainly none of such incalculable importance. For such a station, no character is too exalted, no amount of learning too varied and extensive, no talents too commanding, no benevolence too active or expansive. He must direct the Norman schools, visit and examine every section of the State, devise the principle on which it shall be restricted, furnish the model of the school houses, devise the mode for examining and licensing teachers, select the series of text books, and see that they are invariably used in every school, devise forms of reports, to be required annually from each instructor, that shall contain all that is necessary to be known, with respect to the condition, government and police of the school, and prepare a systematic digest of the whole to be submitted to the General Assembly. He should be able to exercise a commanding influence over multitudes in their primary assemblies, to advise the instructor in his school room, and to control and dissipate causeless prejudices and jealousies without; all these qualifications may not, and probably will not be found united in any individual, but proper pains should be taken

practicable. Although the Board have been simply instructed to digest a plan of common schools, a few remarks upon the subject of education, generally, and in connexion with some features of the scheme may not be deemed irrelevant to their duty. The system recommended contemplates the annual expenditure of \$300,000, of which sum \$200,000 is to be raised by direct taxation upon the counties, in proportion to their white population, for the instruction of 150,000 children in the elements of learning, morals and religion. It amounts at the most to one tenth of one per cent. on the entire capital of the State, \$200,000,000; in other words, every individual will be required to contribute the one thousandth part of each dollar for the education of his children, and the diffusion of the light of learning and the spirit of freedom throughout the State.

It will be perceived from the statement of the Public Treasurer of the condition of the Literary Fund, as exhibited in the Appendix, that there are about eight hundred retailers of spirituous liquors licensed in this State, at the rate of \$4 per capita. If the receipts of each of these individuals are of the average annual amount of \$400, the aggregate sum freely contributed to sustain these common Schools for the dissemination of vice and immorality is greater than that required to establish a system of the character which has been delineated.

If the country is too poor to sustain both, may not the question be properly submitted to the people, which shall be dispensed with. The security of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, is under the blessing of Heaven, exclusively dependent upon one—or of the other it must be left to its advocates to speak. Without the benefit of a Common School education, the usefulness of man to himself and his neighbor is greatly restricted. But who will venture to calculate the direct loss to the community in an economical point of view, from the too partial diffusion of elementary learning? When was a nation impoverished by any extent of effect to enlighten the common people? Is it possible in the nature of things to produce such a result from such a cause? On the contrary, must not the cultivation of the mind and the heart tend to diminish the expenses incident to crime? Will not the application of science to the useful arts insure increased production, and the consequent augmentation of individual and national resources? Nothing is more certain.

There is another point of view, however, even in connexion with the temporal interests of man, in which this subject should be regarded, in comparison with which all economical considerations dwindle into insignificance.—Not merely the property—the life and

liberty of every citizen, and the perpetuity of our free institutions, depend upon the jury box and the ballot box. If intelligence and integrity be wanting there, the form of government ceases to be of the slightest moment.

The Constitution of the State requires that a School or Schools shall be established by the Legislature, for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters, paid by the public as may enable them to instruct at low prices, and that all useful learning shall be duly encouraged in one or more universities. At the time when this instrument was framed, the public mind was most deeply excited, on all subjects connected with the rights of man. The fundamental principles of civil government were more universally discussed, and more thoroughly understood than at any subsequent period. The social edifice was regarded as resting upon the virtue and intelligence of the people. The principle which we now presume to controvert then, is true now, or our whole representative system is a delusion and a mockery. It must be carried into effect or the solemn declaration of the father of his country, that in proportion as the structure of government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened, becomes unmeaning and useless jargon, and our once revered Constitution a dead letter.

Let gentlemen understand me. I measure my terms. I speak in no spirit of bravado. I declaim not when I say that if a majority of this House would do their duty without fear, favor, or affection, the Secretary of the Treasury would, before this House adjourns, be impeached. If ever a felon deserved the human's knot, the Secretary of the Treasury, Levi Woodbury, deserves impeachment! That is the proposition which I will now proceed to demonstrate.

This is a bold declaration; I know the weight of its responsibility; it requires some exertion to prove it; and I must be permitted to go back a little, to take a review of the past, from the beginning, and to gather, and group, and array all my exhibits and proofs. To go back to the beginning, then; you all know that this present Administration that now is, is only a continuation of the one which went before it—a different stage of the same disease. It came into power a reform Administration, an investigating Administration! Yes, sir, they were hot in the pursuit and detection of all the iniquities of the reign of the venerable gentleman before me, (Mr. Adams,) and they found victims on whom to glut and gorge their party vengeance, on whom to vent their holy hatred of corruption, and through whom they might gain public confidence by making an example of one offender, which would at once blast the character of the past Administration, and emblazon their own immaculate purity and self-righteousness. They succeeded. Their first and last victim was Tobias Watkins—they seized upon him and his effects—incarcerated him nearly four years for a defalcation of less than four thousand dollars, prostrated the power and the party which trusted him with place, and ingratiated themselves in the favor of the nation as pure patriots and honest men who would reform and retrace all abuses, and who were, themselves, incapable of like transgressions.

They were vigilant and faithful, energetic and efficient, untiring and relentless—they swept like new brooms,

they swept clean as long as any of the dirt of the Adams Administration was left in any of the departments. They in this time exposed all the enormities of their predecessors, and began to form a character for themselves. It was thought that they—they who had been such scourges to all offenders against the purity of the Government, would hardly be suspected of like offences themselves. But, mark you, sir, as soon as the immaculate Administration of General Jackson had been long enough in power to conceive iniquity and bring forth corruption and crime, worse—tenfold blacker than had ever before been perpetrated, all at once we witness an entire change, and hear from “the party” a different tone. The cry of corruption was now heard from another quarter—the trumpet blast came loud and long from a different point of the field. The Post Office Department was first charged with every crime in the calendar of malversation and malfeasance in office. The charges were denied, those who made them vilified, and investigation was scorned and scoffed at, until the complaint became too popular to be unheeded longer; a committee was at last granted by both Houses of Congress, their investigations could not be stifled, and their reports from both sides, in both branches of Congress, exposed more bribery and corruption, more flagrant violations of official duty and crying abuses of official power and trusts, than had ever been charged or dreamed of exist. The Administration made a narrow escape; they ran the gauntlet through this exposure, and they were by it taught a lesson which they have ever since remembered—not foolishly again to grant or yield to another investigation. To appease the public indignation Mr. Barry, the only honest man among that den of thieves, was given over to the tender mercies of—what a monstrous mission! O. B. Brown was permitted to resign with eclat and the gains he had laid up against a day of trouble from the profits of favored mail contractors, and the rest and worst of the robbers were retained in their places.

### SPEECH OF MR. WISE, ON THE SUBJECT OF THE LATE DEFALCATIONS.

Friday, Dec. 21, 1838. Mr. Wise rose to address the House on Mr. Cambreleng's motion for a select committee to investigate the defalcation of Samuel Swartwout, late collector at New York. Several gentlemen solicited him to defer his remarks until to-morrow. Mr. Wise declined, and said:

Mr. Speaker: After once losing the floor in the manner I did, by complying with such requests the other day, and by your decision yesterday that petitions had precedence for thirty days over this motion, I feel very timid of locofism in yielding it again. I see, sir, gentlemen desire that this discussion should not proceed at least not yet. They are afraid that public sentiment will be forestalled. They are heartily sick of this subject already, and would gladly get rid of it altogether. For their sakes, then, I shall go on; let them be patient under the operation; if they are hungry, let them go home and get their dinner; I shall not have concluded before their return, for, by refusing me leave to speak to-morrow, they will give me more time to provide more materials; they have only laid up for themselves wrath against the day of wrath. I feel better prepared, much better, in body and mind, than I was before, and with this bank of documents before me, I could reign forty days and forty nights upon their sins and iniquities!

Sir, in my rambling remarks the other day I said many things which I will prove now. I said the proposition of the gentleman (Mr. Cambreleng) did not go far enough. Instead of inquiring only into the manner and extent of Swartwout's defalcation, it should propose an investigation of the official conduct of the Secretary of the Treasury, with a view to his impeachment, if sufficient be found on which to base the articles of specification.

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vigilant and faithful discharge of the public business. 4th. That there was no just cause of complaint from any quarter, at the manner in which they had fulfilled the objects of their creation. I charged the very reverse of these propositions upon the pure, virgin Administration of him who could do no wrong, and declared it was more corrupt than that which had, on the plea of corruption, been thrust out of power. I pledged the proof, and demanded a committee. It was not until within one month and twelve days of the 4th of March, 1837, of the expiration of the 24th Congress, that I was able to bring from a reluctant Executive majority the appointment of a committee of investigation. It would never have been granted had not an issue been tendered by the President himself.

And here, sir, before I proceed in the regular chronology of my history of investigation, I must pause to draw your attention to the Message of President Van Buren of Dec. 10th, 1838, transmitting Mr. Secretary Woodbury's report of Dec. 6th, 1838, "in relation to the recently discovered defalcation of Samuel Swartwout," &c. Such is the new title of this old fact disclosed in this report, which I wish to call your attention to, that the deficient of Mr. Swartwout at the end of each successive year, was as follows:

On the 31st December, 1830.	\$622 34
On the 31st December, 1831.	1,168 87
On the 31st December, 1832.	20,801 32
On the 31st December, 1833.	35,398 54
On the 31st December, 1834.	50,379 00
On the 31st December, 1835.	137,061 69
On the 31st December, 1836.	336,718 29
On the 31st December, 1837.	1,016,955 39
On the 28th March, 1838.	1,225,765 09

This is it now officially reported by Mr. Woodbury in 1838, who was himself Mr. Secretary at the head of the Treasury Department in December, 1836, when the certificate was given, that then, at the very date of the president's certificate of honesty and probity ability and integrity, Mr. Swartwout's deficit was \$336,718 69!!! So much for the "integrity" of the chief officer of the custom-house at New York. While I was denounced for insinuating even a breath of suspicion that any one of the President's pets was impure, here was the officer in receipt of customs at the very flood-gate of duties—the very emporium of commerce, embezzling public money to the tune of \$336,000! And was he alone a defaulter? Was it at the receipt of customs alone that the public money was purloined? No, Sir. Other Judges held offices, too, were at the same date equally in default, morally and in a pecuniary point of view. There were tens and fifties of cases even worse in moral turpitude, though less in amount of dollars and cents, than the case of Swartwout, as I will show directly by House document No. 297, dated March 5th, 1838, containing the official correspondence of Mr. Woodbury with receivers, and the reports of commissioners upon the "condition" of their offices; a document which shows defaulting receivers were as numerous as land offices themselves. I did not know of these cases then; no one had heard a whisper of the defalcations of a single one of the long list which is now reported. All was then kept quietly and snugly concealed in the dark chamber of Mr. Woodbury's secret cabinet, I did not know, but in Vankee phrase, I "guessed" a great deal, though not half of what is since told.

To return to my history. I challenged the opportunity of inquiry and investigation, and not until the 17th day of January, 1837, the session necessarily to expire on the 4th of March, it was granted—grudgingly, desultively, hypocritically, it is true, but it was granted.

Now let us see what then were the doctrines and practices of the Administration, of the President, of the heads of Departments, of the Speaker of the House, of the Committee appointed by him, of the House itself, and the whole party, teaching the rights and powers and duties of investigating the official abuses and corruption in the Government?

Sir the whole party, from the President down to you, sir, resorted to every device to evade, and finally defied and denounced, all inquiry and all investigation. You all attempted to "hide the cat." You warned the rats, &c. hid them. After ostensibly giving full scope in the resolution of inquiry, to gull the people with fair pretensions, you shut the doors of the Departments; you silenced all resolutions and interrogatories in the committee rooms!

On the 17th day of January, 1837, the House of Representatives passed the following resolutions:—Resolved, That so much of the President's Message as relates to the condition of the various Executive Departments, the ability and integrity with which they have been conducted, the vigilant and faithful discharge of the public business in all of them, and the causes of complaint, from any quarter, at the manner in which they have fulfilled the objects of their creation, be referred to a select committee of nine members, with power to send for persons and papers, and with instructions to inquire into the condition of the various Executive Departments, the ability and integrity with which they have been conducted, into the manner in which the public business has been discharged in all of them, and into all causes of complaint, from any quarter, at the manner in which said Departments, or their bureau officers, or any of their officers or agents of every description whatever, directly or indirectly connected with them in any manner, officially or unofficially, in duties pertaining to the public interest, have

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