# DAILY STATE SENTINEL.

## Speech of Hon. T. A. Hendricks, of Indiana,

*On the Public Lands—reduction of the price to Settlers, and grants to the Western States, delivered in the House of Representatives, April 27, 1852.*

The House being in the Committee of the Whole on the bill "to encourage agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and other branches of industry, by granting to every man who is the head of a family a homestead of one hundred and sixty acres of land out the of public domain, upon condition of occupancy and cultivation of of the same for the period herein specified"—

Mr. HENDRICKS said:

Mr CHAIRMAN: There are two measures now before the committee in which the West has a special interest; and as I represent a portion of that great and growing section, I will occupy the attention of the committee while I present my views in relation to them. I refer, sir, to that class of bills which propose to give the right of way over the public lands, and to donate to several of the Western States, to aid them in the construction of important lines of railroad, the alternate sections of the public lands lying within six miles of the proposed roads, on either side, and the bill (which is now the special order) which proposes to give to the actual settler, who is the head of a family, one hundred and sixty acres of the unappropriated public lands. The latter bill, Mr. Chairman, is objected to, as unequal and unjust in giving to a portion of the people that which belongs to all, and to avoid this objection, I desire to see it amended. And if it be in order, I will before taking my seat, move that it be reported to the House, with a recommendation that it be recommitted to the committee on Public Lands, with instructions to report in its stead, a bill securing to all persons, who settle upon the unappropriated public lands, in good faith, for their own exclusive use and benefit, the right to enter one hundred and sixty acres thereof, at the cost price to the Government. This measure of reducing the price of the public lands to actual settlers to the sum they cost the Government, and the measures to which I have alluded, of donating to the new States portions of the public lands, to aid them in the construction of railroads of general importance, I propose to discuss. And sir, I desire to present them in connection, as they form, together, a policy which will secure the early settlement and improvement of the unoccupied lands of the West. In this result, Mr. Chairman, I have intimated that the West has a special, paramount interest. But sir, with the West every other section of the country, and all the leading interests of every section, would be greatly benefited and promoted. It has been said that these measures are antagonistic; that securing lands to settlers upon such easy terms would greatly impair, if not defeat the purposes of the grants to the railroads. And I believe that some of the friends of the railroad grants oppose the other measures upon this ground. Sir these measures should go together. They will sustain and strengthen each other. The policy of stimulating immigration and encouraging dense settlements in the interior of a new country, without providing any means of transporting their produce to market, would be scarcely less wise, than that of constructing railroads into an unoccupied region, without, at the same time, encouraging the speedy settlement, improvement, and cultivation of the surrounding country.

But before attending to the considerations in favor of the policy, I will notice the positions assumed by some of the gentlemen who oppose it. The gentleman from Maine [Mr. Fuller] and the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Averett] deny the constitutional power of Congress to donate the public lands to the States, for internal improvement purposes, or to individuals, for the purposes of settlement and improvement. The whole power of Congress over the public domain, grows out of the following provision of the Constitution of the United States:

"Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting, the territory or other property belonging to the United States."

The mode of disposing of the public lands, is not here pointed out, but is left to the discretion of Congress, whether for an adequate, an inadequate, or for no consideration whatever, would seem to be within the letter of this clause. But, sir, I need not stand behind so *literal* a construction of this provision. Leaving the letter, and looking only to the spirit of the clause, I ask, in what manner may Congress dispose of the lands? I am answered, by sale; the proceeds going into the common Treasury. Then I ask, may not Congress do, in respect to the lands, whatever is necessary or useful, in bringing them into market, and securing an early and profitable sale thereof? This is not called in question. And upon this principle is based nearly all the legislation of Congress in relation to the public lands.

The gentleman from Virginia asks, where is the power of Congress to educate the children, provide for the poor, or cure the insane? I freely answer, there is no such power given. And as an object sought for itself, and not as incidental to something else, neither education nor charity may be provided for by the Federal Government. But if, in the administration of the public lands, these enterprises become necessary or useful, either to bring the lands into market, or to secure a speedy sale of the less valuable portions, by making them more desirable to the purchaser end settler, then may Congress lend her aid to these purposes. And under this right, from the earliest time, has Congress made donations of the public lands for schools, for seminaries of learning, for charitable institutions, and for roads and canals. Further sir: in the wise administration of the public domain, under the provision of the Constitution which I have mentioned, Congress has exercised the highest power which any government may possess, the power of organizing governments in the Territories. These measures on the part of the General Government were not less wise than they were just and right. Thereby the country was assured of the early establishment of schools and of law and order in the new countries. And thus men were induced to leave the too populous portions of the country, to find society and wealth in the new sections. And under this policy, the great agricultural resources of the West have been thus far developed.

The gentleman seems to repudiate the weight and authority of precedent. To this position he is forced, for the whole practice of the Government since 1791 is against his argument. Although no usage of the Government may create a power, yet, to ascertain the extent of that which is conferred in cases of doubtful propriety, or uncertain construction, it is well to consult the Fathers of the Republic. And to their counsel and decisions, given and made in the earlier days of the Republic, I would listen with almost reverential regard. I will briefly notice some of the precedents they have furnished us. Before the adoption of the Constitution, as early as 1785, (which was one year after the cession of the Northwestern country by Virginia,) in an ordinance prescribing the mode of disposing of the public lands in the Western Territory, there was *"reserved the lot No. 16 in every township,"* for the maintenance of public schools therein. Again, in 1787, we find similar legislation. After the adoption of the Constitution we find no change in this policy of the Government in relation to the lands. In 1791 an act was passed "granting lands to the inhabitants and settlers at Vincennes and the Illinois country, in the territory northwest of the Ohio river." By this grant four hundred acres were given to each settler that was the head of a family. The force of this precedent is somewhat impaired by the fact, that as to a portion of this grant, there was an obligation upon the Government to make it, incurred before that time.

In 1795 Congress passed a law granting twenty thousand acres of land, situate on the northern bank of the Ohio, and at the mouth of the Little Sandy, to such French inhabitants as should, within five years from the date of the patents, settle upon said lands and maintain such settlements for five years. Such a law as this the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Averett] pronounces unconstitutional; and yet it was passed by a Congress in which were many of the framers of the Constitution, and signed by the illustrious man who presided over the Convention which framed that instrument. In 1792 a grant of a township of land was made to John Cleves Symmes and associates, for the purpose of establishing an academy, public schools, and seminaries of learning. In 1802, by the law providing for the admission of Ohio into the Union, the sixteenth section in every township was granted to the inhabitants thereof for the use of schools; the six miles reservation, including the Scioto Salt Springs, were granted to the State, to be leased for limited terms, "for the use of the people," and the one twentieth part of the net proceeds of the lands lying within the State were set apart for the construction of roads leading into and through that State; all, however, upon the condition that the lands sold by Congress in the State shall be exempt from taxation for five years from the day of sale. In 1804, in the law providing for the disposition of the public lands in the Indiana Territory, the sixteenth section in every township was reserved "for the support of schools" therein, and one township for the use of a seminary of learning. In 1816 an additional township was granted to the State of Indiana, "for the use of a seminary of learning," and five per cent. of the net proceeds of the lands lying within that Territory was "reserved for making public roads and canals." By laws of Congress, passed in 1819 and 1820, five per cent. of the net proceeds of the lands lying within the States of Alabama and Missouri was reserved for works of internal improvement. In 1825, 1827, 1828, 1830, and 1831, lands were granted to the States of Kentucky, Alabama, Aarkansas, Indiana, and Ohio, for benevolent and educational purposes, and for construction of works of internal improvement.

Mr. Chairman, I will not weary the committee by a further detail of this legislation. Commencing with Washington's administration, and closing with the laws granting lands to settlers in Oregon and Minnesota, I might multiply the precedents upon the gentlemen, almost beyond number. The laws of this class are so numerous, in every administration, that they are as footprints along the pathway of the country's history. I will leave this branch of the subject, by saying, that the constitutionality of this class of legislation is sustained by every mode which we regard as authoritative.

Mr. Chairman, opposition is made to these measures upon the ground, as charged, that they are unequal and unjust, and in violation of that trust, under which the General Government holds the lands which were ceded by the States. And to sustain this position, gentlemen, refer to the several deeds by which the lands east of the Mississippi and north of the Floridas were ceded to the United States, in which were provisions that the lands were for the common use and benefit of all the States. And much stress is placed upon the language found in the Virginia and North Carolina deeds of cession, that the lands ceded should be considered as a common fund for the use and benefit of the United States "according to their respective and usual proportions of the general charge and expenditure, and shall be faithfully disposed of for that purpose," &c. This language was first used in the Virginia deed, which was made while the States were held together under the "Articles of Confederation," and to be properly understood must be taken in relation to the mode of assessing and imposing the "general charge" upon the several States. Under the Articles of Confederation, the revenues of the General Government were not collected directly from individuals, but were assessed upon the several States, in their proportions, and each State collected its proportion, and paid it into the common treasury. To this charge upon the several States, the Virginia deed refers. But under our present revenue system, the States are not thus charged, but the revenues are collected from individuals, by a tax upon that which they purchase from abroad. And under the Constitution this peculiar phraseology of the Virginia and North Carolina deeds, can have no practical meaning and effect, unless, perhaps, in the event of a resort to a "capitation or other direct tax," which (under the Constitution,) would be laid in proportion to the census or enumeration.

Mr. Chairman, the first step taken to secure a cession of their lands by the States to the General Government was in 1780. Under the Articles of Confederation, the General Government, as I have said, could not impose any tax directly upon the people; and by reason of the general derangement of trade and commerce in the country, some of the States were unable and failed to furnish their proportion of "the general charge and expenditure." Congress was thus greatly embarrassed in raising means to prosecute the war, and on the 6th of September, 1780, passed a resolution recommending to the States to surrender their lands to the United States. Further to induce this surrender, on the 10th of October of the same year, by resolution of Congress, the States were assured that the lands "should be disposed of for the common benefit of the United States." Under this call, New York alone surrendered her lands. On the 13th of April, 1783, Congress again appealed to the States, assuring them that, to discharge the national debt, reliance was had on the "prospect of vacant territory in aid of other resources." Virginia then surrendered her lands. But so great was the solicitude of Congress to obtain the control of the residue of the vacant territory, that in April, 1784, the subject was again presented to the attention of the States; and they were urged to consider "that the war being now brought to a happy termination by the personal services of our soldiers, the supplies of property by our citizens, and loans of money from them as well as from foreigners, these several creditors have a right to expect that funds shall be provided on which they may rely for indemnification; that Congress still consider vacant territory as an important resource; and that therefore the said States be earnestly pressed, by immediate and liberal cessions, to forward these necessary ends, and to promote the harmony of the Union." Upon this call, Massachusetts, Connecticut, North and South Carolina, and Georgia surrendered their lands to the General Government. And, sir, as soon as all these States, except Georgia, had made their cessions, Congress, by a law of 1790, pledged the lands in the Western Territory to the payment of the public debt.

For what purpose, then, sir, were these lands conveyed to the United States? The gentleman from Maine [Mr. Fuller] says it was not to pay any debt. Sir, I do not insist that it was for that purpose only. I repudiate the whole of the doctrine that that these lands were held by the Government, in trust, to pay the public debt, and after that for the benefit of the several States, and out of which grew the whole of the land distribution policy. But the whole transaction by which these lands were acquired by the United States, and the pledge of them to our creditors in 1790, show that the great consideration and inducement on the part of the States, in their surrender, was to provide for the exigencies of the country during the war, and to discharge the public debt afterwards; and, sir, after these ends were accomplished, the Federal Government held these lands, not specially in trust, but as she holds all her other property, to be used and disposed of by her, as the representative of the whole people, for the public good. And, sir, it is upon this very doctrine of the public good, that I advocate a reduction of the price of the public lands to the settlers. Now that the debts of the Revolution, and of the war of 1812, have been discharged, I deny that Congress may rightfully speculate in the lands off of the settlers. It is not for the public good. In his message of 1832, President Jackson says:

"Among the interests which merit the consideration of Congress after the payment of the public debt, one of the most important, in my view, is that of the public lands. Previous to the formation of our present Constitution, it was recommended by Congress that a portion of the waste lands owned by the States, should be ceded to the United States for the purposes of general harmony, and as a fund *to meet the expenses of the war.* The recommendation was adopted; and at different periods of time, the States of Masvachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, granted their vacant soil for the *uses for which they had been asked.* As the lands may now be considered as relieved from this pledge, the object for which they were ceded having been accomplished, it is in the discretion of Congress to dispose of them in such way as best to conduce to the quiet, harmony, and general interest of the American people."

Again, in the same message, he says:

"It seems to me to be our true policy that the public, land shall case, as soon as practicable, to be a source of revenue, *and that they shall be sold to settlers in limited parcels at a price barely sufficient to reimburse to the United States the expenses of the present system and the cost arising under our Indian compacts."*

If these lands are held under so strict a trust, and may not be diverted for any purpose, as gentlemen contend, then I ask how came the numerous grants to schools, academies, and works of internal improvement, at every period of the country's history? Did Washington, Jefferson, Madison Monroe, Adams, and Jackson violate a sacred trust in signing the numerous bills making the grants?

But, Mr. Chairman, lest I be misunderstood, I will say, that I do not advocate, and will not support, all of the bills making grants of lands for railroads now before Congress. Many of them I will oppose. I will only support such as I believe to be of general interest and importance "national in their character." The bill introduced by my colleague [Mr. DAVIS] I will support. That bill proposes to give to the States of Indiana and Illinois, to aid in the construction of a railroad from Terre Haute, in the State of Indiana, to Springfield, in the State of Illinois, the alternate sections of the public lands, for six sections in width on each side of said road. Now, sir, how can the Government, or any portion of the country, sustain any loss by this grant? Under it, about 61,000 acres will be given to these States, upon the condition that the railroad is constructed. But, under the provisions of the bill, the 61,000 acres reserved by the Government are required to be sold for $2,50 per acre; and thus, upon the construction of the road, the reserved lands will bring as much into the public Treasury as the whole would have brought without the road. And, sir, no man can doubt that the lands so reserved by the Government will sell more readily at this increased price than, without the road, the whole would have sold for $1,25 per acre? And the purchasers may well afford to give the enhanced price, for, by the construction of the road, the lands are rendered that much more valuable. This road will form a portion of the great line of railroads running from the East to the West, connecting by this chain the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. When this great enterprise is completed, it will be a work of national importance.

There is, sir, a provision in this bill, and I believe the same provision is found in the other railraid bills, the importance of which is, I think, overlooked. It is, that when the road is completed, the Government shall have the right of transporting in the cars the troops, munitions of war, and army supplies of the United States, at the lowest rates paid by individuals for like services; and that the public mails shall be transported thereon, under the charge and direction of the Post Office Department, at such prices as Congress may establish. By reference to the report of the Postmaster General, we find that during the last fiscal year, the transportation of the mails upon railroads throughout the United States, cost the Government about eleven and one half cents per mile; by coaches about five cents and three mills; by steamboats, about eight cents and three mills; and by other modes not specified, about four cents and eight mills per mile. In the State of Indiana the total annual transportation of the mails was 1,769,844 miles. Of this transportation, 99,216 miles were upon railroads, at a cost of $10,650, being about ten and three fourth cents per mile; the remaining transportation of 1,670,628 miles, was by modes not specified, at a cost of $77,634, about four and two thirds cents per mile. Mr. Chairman, it is very obvious that with but little delay, railroad companies might transport the mails with less inconvenience, and at less expense than it can be done by any other mode. Yet the Government is now paying them for this service at a rate of from one hundred to two hundred and fifty per cent. higher than is paid to the other contractors for the same service. This is owing to the fact that these companies can have no competitors for carrying the mail with equal speed. The right secured to Congress in this bill, of establishing fair prices for carrying the mail over the road, if secured in the roads now carrying the mails, would save annually of the post office revenue, about $500,000—nearly one sixth of the entire cost of transportation of the mails in the United States, and nearly one fourth the amount received from the sales of the public lands. What, then, sir, will this right be worth, when the roads now commenced, or in contemplation, are completed, and two thirds of the mail transportation is upon them? Sir, it would save annually to the Government nearly as much as we receive from the lands. I have no means of estimating the annual saving to the Government likely to accrue from the provision in these bills, that the troops, munitions of war, and army supplies of the United States shall be transported on the roads at the lowest rates paid by individuals for like services; but I will say, that if the demands of the railroad monopolies for this service are as exorbitant and unconscionable, as they are for carrying the mails, then this provision cannot but be valuable, and in time of war, for the speedy transportation of the army without extortion, it would be of the greatest importance.

In his report of last November, the Commissioner of the General Land Office, speaking of the Western States and the Territories, says:

"In those States and Territories there now remains an aggregate of more than fourteen hundred millions of acres of unsold land, abounding in all the varieties of mineral wealth, and fruitful in all the productions of the earth that can minister to the happiness or comfort of man."

Fourteen hundred millions of acres! So vast is it, sir, that our minds fail to fully take in and comprehend its extent. "Fruitful in all the productions of the earth, that can minister to the comfort or happiness of man," this vast portion of the earth lies yet a wilderness. Holding these lands for the people, in what way shall the Government dispose of them? What, sir, should be its policy in reference to this great territory? Should it be liberal, encouraging its early settlement, and the speedy development of its vast resources; or, to secure two or three millions of dollars annually to the public Treasury, should the lands be held on to with a miser's grasp? Sir, let them be settled, improved, and cultivated, and the settlers will pay into the Treasury, in the import tax upon foreign goods which they must consume, more than we are annually realizing from the sales of the lands. And what a market will New England be called upon to supply from her shops and factories, and Pennsylvania from her furnaces, and the South with the productions of her soil! And how will our commerce be stimulated—our ships laden down with the productions of that vast country! I say to gentlemen of New England, and the Atlantic States, that we all have an interest in this great enterprise.

But we are met with the sectional and selfish reply, that the advantages of this liberal legislation cannot be available to the people of the East. I ask, why not? Why may not the industrious and enterprising young men of your States, who have not means to secure a homestead where the land is so high, go to the West, and, at the cheap rates which I propose, secure to themselves a freehold, and the independent position of Western farmers?

It is true, Mr. Chairman—and I freely admit it—that, in this policy, the Western States have the greater interest. By bringing these wild lands into cultivation, and subjecting them to State taxation, we are made the richer, while you are made none the poorer. In this we take nothing from you, but will bring our wealth up out of that earth which is now idle and waste. We ask no unequal and unjust protective laws, by which you shall be taxed that we may become rich. Mr. Chairman, I will not disguise the fact that upon this question I feel and speak as a Western man; and I am bold to say that the West may now rightfully claim that a liberal, generous policy be adopted in the disposition of the public lands. To show, sir, the profit made by the Government in the sales of the lands to the people of the West, I will read from the report of the Commissoner of the General Land Office, of December 9, 1850. He says:

"That by a careful examination it is ascertained that the entire area of the public domain, exclusive of the lands in Oregon, California, New Mexico, Utah, the Indian and Nebraska Territories, was 424,103,750 acres. About one fourth of this land has been sold, and the purchase money received for it amounts to $105,339,092. The cost of the whole of these lands, including the amount paid to France for Louisiana, to Spain for the Floridas, and amount paid for extinguishing the Indian title, was ..... $61,121,717

A portion only of these lands has been surveyed, the cost of which, including salaries of surveyors general, and clerks and expense attending the survey, is..... 6,369,838

Less than half the land surveyed has been sold, and the whole cost of selling and managing the same, including every expense, not previously charged, is..... 7,466,324

Aggregate outlay of every kind ..... $74,957,879

Net profit to the Government ..... $60,381,213

This will be more fully appreciated when it is understood that the average cost to the Government of acquiring title to the public lands, including the extinguishment of the Indian title, is...cents. 14.41 per acre.

Cost of survey..... 2.07 per acre.

Cost of selling and managing..... 5.32 per acre.

Total average cost..... 21,80 per acre.

While for each acre sold, the Government gets $1 25, or a net profit, over and above every cost and expense, $1 03 1-5 per acre."

Yes, Mr. Chairman, the lands cost the Government not twenty-two cents per acre, and she sells them for $1 25. The eighty acre tract costs her not quite $17 60, and she sells it for $100. And for the quarter section, which costs her less than $36 20, she gets $200, making a profit of $164 80, on every quarter section she sells to the farmers of the West. This profit not being required to meet any expenses connected with the lands, goes into the treasury, and forms a part of the general revenue. It is a tax, sir, to that amount upon the settlers of the West.

But, Mr. Chairman, let us prosecute this inquiry a little further. When the Indian title is extinguished, and the surveys are completed, what are the lands that are situated far out from the settlements worth to the Government? What can she get for them? Not anything, sir. Not even the twenty-two cents per acre. But, as the advancing column of emigration approaches, bearing down the forests, opening farms, building up towns, constructing roads, erecting school houses and churches, organizing society, and establishing law and order, these lands are brought into market, and are rendered valuable and desirable, and then the Government may command for them the $1 25 per acre from the hardy, enterprising adventurous men, who lead the advanced ranks of civilization. Sir, it is the bold pioneers of the West that have given value to your lands. And when they or their sons wish to improve and cultivate a portion thereof their Government charges and taxes them with this very value which they have given to it. To show the profit which the General Government has made out of the sales of her lands to the people, I will refer to the sales that have been made in the State which I have the honor in part to represent. And first, sir, I will say, that I have heard very much said since I have taken my seat in this Hall, about the donations of land that have been made to the State of Indiana, and other Western States. And these donations have been spoken of as if they were mere benefactions from the hand of the Government. Let us see how the account stands with Indiana.

The grants made to her for schools, colleges, &c., for roads, canals, and other internal improvements, for the seat of government, and for swamp lands, in the aggregate amount to 3,267,460 acres, which, at $1 25 per acre, would amount to $4,084,325. But, sir, for 675,917 acres of this, amounting, at $1 25 per acre, to $844,996, granted by the law providing for her admission into the Union, Indiana surrendered the right of taxing the lands sold by the General Government for five years after the sale, a full consideration, and that grant is no donation. This leaves the Government to claim as a donation to the State only 2,591,543 acres, amounting to $3,239,329, I have not included the three per cent. of the sales of the lands in the State, secured to her by the same law, for that was but a part of the consideration for which the State surrendered her right of taxing the lands for five years after their sale. The people of Indiana have purchased of the lands within her border 15,918,790 acres. This cost the Government not quite twenty-two cents per acre, amounting to $2,502,133 80. For this land the Government received from the purchasers $21,870,255 57, more than $1 37 per acre, making a profit to the Government upon every acre of land sold to the people of Indiana of $1 15.

Mr. Chairman, after deducting the donations to the State, estimated at $1 25 per acre, and the costs of the lands, the General Government has made a clear profit upon the lands sold to the settlers within the State of Indiana, of the sum of $16,128,793. When was a people so taxed? and who were the men who paid this enormous profit? Not men of wealth; not speculators, sir. They were bold men, energetic and enterprising; but they were generally poor men—men who, to secure a home for themselves and their families, paid out the last dollar to the Government, and without means encountered the hardships of the border life: without means opened their farms, built their houses, and made their roads. What a contrast in the policy towards the East, with her manufacturing establishments, and the West, with her agricultural interest. The former you have protected, encouraged, and stimulated; while the latter, in its infancy and in its weakness, you have made to pay a burdensome tribute.

And, sir, where has this money, that the West has paid into the Treasury, gone? Not in any way has it been received by the West. Not a tithe have we received back again. While our navigation and commerce are neglected, and our great national rivers are unimproved, this money that we have paid into the Treasury is taken to construct your break-waters, improve your harbors, and build your light houses upon the Atlantic coast. And yet Maine, and New York, and Virginia, hold on to the lands; tax them, we must have revenue from them. Sir, the pioneers of the West have paid enough, let their sons have cheap lands. Give the young men of the country lands upon easy terms, and they, as independent farmers, will make you a good return of virtue, of patriotism, and of revenue.

Mr. Chairman, in this connection I will refer to the sentiment of President Jackson, expressed twenty years ago. And I do so with great pleasure, for he understood Western insterest, and comprehended the importance of agriculture more thoroughly than any other statesman of our country. And if his sentiments had governed in other administrations, we would not have seen the West, in its infant struggles, so burdened by the hand of Government, while the East was protected and strengthened. He says:

"It cannot be doubted that the speedy settlement of these lands constitutes the true interest of the Republic. The wealth and strength of a country are its population, and the best part of that population are the cultivators of the soil. Independent farmers are everywhere the basis of society, and true friends of liberty."

Again, he says:

"The adventurous and hardy population of the West, besides contributing their equal share of taxation under our import system, have, in the progress of our Government, for the lands they occupy, paid into the Treasury a large proportion of forty millions of dollars, and of the revenue received there from, *but a small part has been expended among them.* When, to the disadvantage of their situation in this respect, we add the consideration *that it is their labor alone which gives real value to the lands,* and that the proceeds arising from their sale are distributed chiefly among States which had not originally any claim to them, and which have enjoyed the undivided emolument arising from the sale of their own lands, it cannot be expected that the new States will remain longer contented with the present policy after the payment of the public debt. To avert the consequences which may be apprehended from this cause, and to put an end forever to all partial and interested legislation on this subject, and to afford to every American citizen of enterprise, the opportunity of securing an independent freehold, it seems to me, therefore, best to abandon the idea of raising a future revenue out of the public lands."

Mr. Chairman, there is but one other consideration in favor of the reduction of the price of the public lands, which I shall now notice. It is, sir, that it will provide for the foreign emigration that is yearly landing upon our shores in greatly-increased numbers. Motives of humanity, as well as considerations of sound policy, require that we provide cheap lands for these emigrants. Whether we desire it or not, they will come. In Europe, the battle for freedom seems to have been fought, and lost. Despotism has settled down upon the people, All who long for liberty are looking towards our shores. Ireland is coming, and Germany is sending her children. Oppression has made them poor, and many destitute, and many with small means, are landing. For their good, for our good and safety, give them cheap lands.

Sir, I am not one of those who are troubled with fears of danger to our institutions on account of the presence of a foreign population amongst us. I think that the man who leaves the land of his nativity, the associations of his youth, and the attachments of his manhood, because he admires our institutions, and longs for the liberty they secure, and makes ours the land of his choice and adoption, gives a high guarantee of his fidelity to our laws and institutions. But to those who think differently, who believe there is danger in this foreign emigration, may I not address my argument.

Whence do you apprehend the danger? Under what circumstances is it most imminent? Is it not where we find them in great numbers dependent upon city labor for subsistence? But hold out inducements for them to go out to the new country, each man to settle down upon land that is his own, to labor there for himself and his children, associating with the native farmers around him, and how soon will they become Americanized—imbued with the pervading love of country? They will then feel that they and their children have a stake and interest in the country and its institutions. In peace they will be quiet, law-abiding citizens, and in war the country's cause will be their cause, and her enemies their enemies.

Mr. Chairman, I know of no object that, as philanthropists and statesman, we can more desire, than that every man who cultivates the soil shall have his own land to labor upon. But, sir, there is force in the objection to the bill under consideration, that it gives the land to the settler without any price; that it is taking that which belongs to all, and giving it to a part. And to avoid that objection, I propose the amendment that the Governmeut shall be paid for each piece of land what it has cost her. None can then complain of inequality or injustice. And the price, twenty-two cents per acre, is but a small impediment to the settler in getting his freehold. It is but a small impediment, too, to the speedy settlement of the Western wilderness.

I therefore move that the bill and pending amendments be reported to the House, with a recommendation that they be recommitted to the Committee on Public Lands, with instructions to report a bill securing to the settler the right to enter a quarter section of land at the price it costs the Government.

The CHAIRMAN. That motion is not now in order.

Mr. HENDRICKS. Then I will make it when in order, if I can get the floor.


PUGH, NEWLAND, & CO.

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350 Barrels Plantation Molasses, Cypress Cooperage;
50 do do New Orleans Syrup;
20 do. Golden Syrup, St. Louis Refinery;
20 hf do. do do do do;
50 Kegs do do do do;
250 Bags Mayaville Cotton Yarns, assorted sizes;
200 do Pittsburg do do do do;
200 do Grahampton do do do do;
50 do Tennessee do do do do;
300 Bales Cotton Batting, Pure;
25 Bags Carpet Chain,
25 Bales Candle Wick;
50 Doz Fancy half Buckets;
100 do Painted and Fancy do;
40 Nests Painted Tubs;
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7000 lbs Rolled Bar Lead;
200 Bags Shot, assorted sizes;
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75 coils Bedcord Rope;
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50 boxes Missouri and Kentucky Tobacco;
50 do James River Tobacco, various brands;
25 do common Ky. do very low;
100 do pressed Candles;
163 do Star do assorted sizes;
30 do Sperm do;
200 do Rosin Soap;
100 do Fancy do;
300 reams heavy Wrapping Paper, assorted sizes;
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40 barrels pure Cider Vinegar;
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Louisville, May 1, 1852. may16d1t-w4w

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