# New Orleans Republican.

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OFFICIAL JOURNAL OF NEW ORLEANS

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## LEVEES ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

### Speech of Mr. Sheldon.

In the House of Representatives on Thursday, the twenty-first instant, Hon. L. A. Sheldon, of the second district of Louisiana, made an excellent speech on the levee question, which is thus reported in the *Globe:*

MR. Speaker: It occurs to me that this may be regarded as an auspicious time for Congress to give attention to the development of the material resources of the country. The unity of the republic is assured, the largest liberty has been conferred upon all the citizens through the fundamental law of the land, and the means of protecting all in the enjoyment of this liberty have been provided by appropriate and ample legislation. It seems proper, therefore, that there should be added to these blessings the greatest possible facilities for promoting the material welfare of the people. The public debt is large, I admit, but integrity and efficiency in the collection, and economy in the expenditures of the revenues, together with the increase of wealth in the country, have conduced to its rapid extinguishment. When we objectify this debt it has huge dimensions, but when considered in connection with the resources of the nation its formidable appearance is greatly modified. When the means to pay are ample no liability is onerous. An increase of public wealth is equivalent to a reduction of the debt itself. The proposition which I shall present will, if adopted, have the effect to largely increase the national resources, and will open up homes for millions, and contribute immeasurably to the happiness of mankind.

On the first day of the session I had the honor to introduce a bill to incorporate the Mississippi Valley Levee Company. That its provisions may be more easily understood, it is well to state a few facts. The west or right bank of the Mississippi river is low, and liable to be overflowed nearly the entire distance from Cape Girardeau, in the State of Missouri, to Fort Jackson, in the State of Louisiana. A few miles of bluffs exist about sixty miles above Memphis. A continuous levee is necessary between the designated points. If a crevasse takes place at any point the country below it is more or less injured. If there are no levees in Missouri, damage is done to Arkansas, and if the latter State neglects those within her limits Louisiana suffers. Hence, it is not only necessary that the levee should be continuous between the points specified, but it should be skillfully constructed, and carefully watched and preserved. To place this single levee, which runs through two States and into the third, under three jurisdictions and control, the systems adopted and the management may, and probably will, be different, and in such event evil consequences can not be avoided by a State which employs the most perfect system, and practices the greatest vigilance. It is important, therefore, that this levee should be placed under one control, and that this control should be coupled with an interest which will be sufficient to guarantee the exercise of proper skill and care.

The levees heretofore constructed are not uniform in height or of ample strength, and, as might be expected, reflect a great variety of ideas as to the measures which are necessary to protect the country. During the continuance of the war the people were unable to take care of the levees, and to natural deterioration has been added the destruction incident to the conflict. Hence, the whole country is in danger of being submerged, and the people are too poor to pay the expense of repair and construction of the levees without grievous oppression. Nor is there in existence any plan or system by which the adequate laboring force can be concentrated in case of threatened danger. "The business of everybody is the business of nobody," is a rule which applies here. The low bank on the east side is not continuous, and does not, except in a single instance, extend into two States. The alluvial lands are small in extent as compared with those on the west bank. There are several tributaries on both sides of the Mississippi, which must be diked for some distance from their mouths, but the embankments need not be so costly as those on the main river. If the main levee on the right bank is placed under one management, with proper means to communicate information and to transport men and materials rapidly, the levees on the left bank and tributaries may be advantageously committed to the same management.

The objects of the bill are threefold: first, to create a system which will apply to all the levees; second, to place them under the control of a single and interested head; and third, to obtain pecuniary aid from the government.

The bill proposes to create certain gentlemen therein named a body corporate, with the usual powers and privileges of similar corporations, and prescribes the method of organization. It authorizes the company to construct a levee and line of telegraph from Cape Girardeau to Fort Jackson, and to lay a railway track on the top or along the line of the levee. The telegraph line is essential as a means of transmitting information from point to point rapidly. A railroad will afford a more speedy means of concentrating men and materials than that furnished by the river. Moreover, it is believed that when there is a reasonable certainty that the country is secure against inundation, emigration will tend thither, and that in the early future it will become one of the most populous and productive of the rural districts, and that a railroad will be a great convenience to the people and a source of profit to the company. Whether the track can be safely laid upon the levee is a question for engineers, and one upon which there are differences of opinion, the weight being adverse to the proposition. The bill is so framed that the track may be laid upon or along the levee, as shall be directed by the engineer therein mentioned. The building of the railroad is permissive, and not obligatory.

The Secretary of War is required to detail an engineer of the United States, whose sole duty while so detailed shall be to plan and superintend the construction, repair, and preservation of all the levees which shall be placed under the management of the company by the bill, or by virtue of arrangements with the several States, or with individuals, and his plans and directions are to be followed by the company.

The company is required to have a domicile in each of the States where there are levees under its control; and it may be sued upon its contracts, and for its torts in the State where the injured party resides, so that the people may not be required to go beyond their States to assert their rights.

The bill specially provides for the building of one levee and telegraph line, and does not contemplate government aid for any other. This levee is situated within three States, and is fully one-half of all the work to be done, and it will constitute the main protection against overflow for three-fourths of all the alluvial bottom lands, and the accomplishment of this will be all that the government ought to do. The States interested can bear the burden of doing the balance without severe taxation.

No direct advantage will be derived by Kentucky, Tennessee and Mississippi in lessening their expenses, but Louisiana and Arkansas will still have as much to do in building levees on the tributary rivers, and in the repair and preservation of the main levee as the other States will have in the construction, repair and preservation of all their levees. There will be a general advantage to all these States arising from the conception and adaption of the best and a uniform system, which, if properly executed, will cause the plan of levees, as a means of protection, to be a practical certainty; and as it is hoped the company will be responsible and efficient, and one which can perform all the work of construction, repair and preservation less expensively than it can be done otherwise, the States or individuals whose duty it is to keep up the levees will place all their work in their hands. Hence it is provided that contracts may be made with the States or individuals upon such terms and for such conditions as may be agreed upon.

The States are not interfered with, but the power is expressly reserved to them to fix the liability of the company in cases of overflow, and to prescribe the remedies for the injured persons. The right of way for the levees and the railway is to be acquired in conformity to State laws, and the company is prohibited from acquiring any levee or the ground on which it may be situated any further than may be necessary for levee purposes, and when the charter of the company shall be declared forfeited in the manner pointed out, the levees are to be turned over to the States to be used or disposed of as they shall direct.

The bill grants a subsidy in bonds to the amount of $16,000 per mile. The precise aggregate amount to be thus granted no one can at this time state, but it will not vary much from eighteen million dollars, being a sum as nearly as can be estimated adequate for the construction of the levee and line of telegraph. The bonds are to be issued in installments as the work progresses, and after a board of inspectors, composed of disinterested citizens of the United States, resident in the State interested in the levees, to be appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury, shall certify that the levee is constructed according to the plans and direction of the engineer, and the engineer is required to see that it shall be of sufficient height and strength to prevent inundation. Furthermore, it is provided that the bonds issued before the work is completed shall be void in the hands of everybody until the whole shall be accomplished. Hence the company can not do the cheaper part, obtain their bonds and then abandon the project. The company can not complain of this, because the bonds are issued as the work progresses.

Subscriptions to the stock of the company can not be received except upon payment of ten per cent, and certificates of stock can not be issued until the full amount of the subscription has been paid, so that trashy stocks can not be put upon the market to swindle and defraud the public. It was designed, in drawing the bill, to make the enterprise a genuine one, and of value to the people, without defrauding the government, and at the same time afford the company, in carrying out the whole scheme, an opportunity to obtain a reasonable remuneration. The subject is too great to be loosely managed, and the interests involved are so momentous that the capitalists of the country to be especially benefited must invest in the project and be satisfied with fair compensation.

It may be asked why not donate this money directly to the States. I answer that the States have squandered too much already upon ill-advised plans and upon speculative contractors. Under government supervision works are too apt to be expensively and defectively constructed. This is a common experience, and nowere has it been more grievous than in the States where levees have been built under government auspices. I am not tenacious about any particular plan, but shall cheerfully and earnestly support any that shall seem to be the best, and especially such a one as shall be most acceptable to Congress. But any plan that does not embody liberal assistance from the government, at this time especially, will be of little practical value.

Mr. Speaker, no man can appreciate more fully than I do the arduous labors to be performed by those of us who represent the States situated in the lower Mississippi valley in obtaining government aid for our levees. Many objections must be encountered and overcome. In this opening presentation of the subject it must not be expected that I shall be able to anticipate and answer all that may be interposed. But some, I think, I may anticipate and dispose of.

I already hear it said, as has been said many times before, that levees will not afford the protection necessary; that there are other less expensive and more efficient methods of avoiding inundation. This, however, is no new idea; for I have heard of sages who, having taken a short steamboat ride upon the Mississippi river, have formed such convictions, based upon arguments as vapid as their observations were cursory.

I hear also the strict constructionists interpose the objection of want of constitutional power, when the very spirit which pervades the constitution conveys the idea that it was formed and is to be administered to promote the general welfare.

I know, too, that in the presence of this proposition the national purse strings will be strengthened and tightened—that the bondholders will make haste to examine the latest foreign and domestic bond quotations, and the Treasury Department will calculate how much longer it will take to pay off an addition of fifteen or twenty millions at the rate of $150,000,000 per annum.

I see, also, the selfish and miserly shrug their shoulders and assume looks of astonishment, and local interests and prejudices put on the face of indifference, while many thousands of our fellow-citizens are making preparations to fly before an inundation they are powerless to successfully resist, from a soil more fertile than that in the ancient valley of the Nile, and the cultivation of which will contribute immensely to the wealth and happiness of the nation.

But those who have investigated and are interested in this question are not to be deterred by these formidable obstacles. They only ask a candid and careful consideration of the subject by Congress and the people, and they will then contentedly abide by the result which may be attained.

Whether levees are the proper means to be employed to prevent overflow ought not, at this late day, to be a controverted point. The Nile, the Volga and other rivers have been successfully diked for a long period of time. Holland, in large part, has been reclaimed from the sea by the same means. This plan has been successful as to the very river in question for a century. If it has ever proved defective, faults in the system or negligence in execution have been the causes. If precedents and experience are to have weight, the plan of levees, as superior to all others, ought to have been declared *stare decisis* long ago. To precedents and experience we might add philosophy and science. This subject has been made a patient and long continued study by many of our most learned and practical engineers, and I challenge denial of the assertion that among such there is no division of opinion. All concur in the opinion that levees are the least expensive and most sensible and effective means of reclaiming and preserving this section of our country.

The attention of the government was attracted to this subject several years ago, and so much interest was felt that a learned commission was appointed to investigate and report upon it. That investigation was the work of years, and combined arduous and persistent labors with the highest scientific attainment and greatest scope of mind. No subject of a similar character has ever been so exhaustively considered in this country. The report has been published by the government, and has become a text-book for engineers and men of science. The subject of levees is there presented philosophically and practically, and every other plan is exploded and all objections to this annihilated. The practices under similar conditions and the arguments in that report ought to put an end to cavil and remove every doubt. The finale of the whole matter is thus stated:

"The preceding discussion of the different plans of protection has been so elaborate, and the conclusions adopted have been so well established, that little remains to be said under the head of recommendations. It has been demonstrated that no advantage can be derived either from diverting tributaries or constructing reservoirs, and that the plan of cut offs and of new and enlarged outlets to the gulf are too costly and too dangerous to be attempted. The plan of levees, on the contrary, which has always recommended itself by its simplicity and direct repayment of investment may be relied upon for protecting all alluvial bottom lands liable to inundation below Cape Girardeau. The works, it is true, will be extensive and costly, and will exact more unity of action than has thus far been attained. The recent legislation of Mississippi in organizing a judicious State system of operations, however, shows that the necessity of more concert is beginning to be understood. When each of the other States adopts a similar plan, and all unite in a general system of protection of each part, the alluvial valley of the Mississippi may be protected against inundation."

If any doubt exists upon this point I commend him in whose mind such doubt rests to a thorough study of the report of General Humphreys upon "the physics and hydraulics of the Mississippi river, and upon the protection of the alluvial region from overflow." It will be seen from the report that levees are not only practical and necessary, but that concert of action is requisite to make protection a certainty.

Dismissing this point, I shall address myself to the question of constitutional power to enact this bill. Upon this branch of the subject I do not expect to be able to anticipate all the technical and captious objections that may be urged. It has grown to be a habit, if not a disease, of some minds to meet a legislative measure with the stunning objection of unconstitutionality. It matters little whether the measure be to enlarge the liberties or ameliorate the condition of the people, the same opposition is interposed. Sometimes I have thought that it was really a fact that the fathers made the constitution with the sole view of seeing how completely power could be denied to the people to do good to themselves, and how much they could outdo the crotchety lawyers who created that system of practice which made a frivolous technicality more potent than justice in the decision of a cause.

It is curious how this sacred document has been made to assume forms and shapes to suit the whims or interests of individuals and of localities. When human rights were to be stricken down, and slavery secured and expanded, the constitution contained ample provisions to accomplish these ends. When the Union pleaded for preservation, the enslaved appealed for relief, and the whole people sought enfranchisement and citizenship, this blessed old document, which was ordained "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," suddenly became shriveled and juiceless, and to the minds of some was found to be wholly without a grant of authority to aid or permit the attainment of any of these benign results. So now, after the nation has lived and prospered through efforts to achieve these great works, and when it is proposed to reclaim its valuable lands, increase production, and enlarge and cheapen the means of transportation and intercommunication, or whatever good is sought to be done by the government, there are men who find the constitution as barren of power as the heart of Shylock was destitute of humanity.

The government, however, of late years has not been deterred in its efforts to enlarge the liberties or ameliorate the condition of the people. It has improved rivers and harbors and performed other acts for the encouragement and safety of commerce, foreign and domestic. It has chartered and subsidized railroad companies to open up new countries and to encourage the settlement and cultivation of the vacant lands. The principle that Congress may charter companies is too well establi-hed to be overturned. This may and ought to be done whenever the object to be accomplished will redound to the common welfare, and especially when it does not encroach upon the prerogatives of the States. The bill has been carefully drawn so as not to be objectionable in this respect. It will be noticed that it fully recognizes State authority and State laws in all respects, and any connection of the States with the project must be wholly voluntary.

I have at all times anticipated opposition to this or any similar proposition, not only upon constitutional grounds, but upon grounds of economy. Happily the constitutional question is not a new one. The power to expend the public money for such a purpose was discussed and definitely settled in the early period of our history in parallel cases. President Madison recommended that roads and canals be built by Congress. And while he expressed no doubt of his own as to his authority to do this, he suggested that if there were any who did, the difficulty might be obviated by an amendment to the constitution in the manner therein pointed out. President John Quincy Adams recommended the same thing, but with more liberality as to the subjects embraced, and affirmed the constitutionality of such action in an argument brief in words, but comprehensive in scope and convincing in effect.

President Monroe, in an early annual message, took grounds against the plan of internal improvements recommended by his predecessor, for the reason that in his opinion the constitution did not contain the requisite grant of power. Subsequently, however, in a special message to Congress, devoted to this subject alone, he elaborately discussed the question of constitutional authority, in which he reviewed every part of that instrument from which anybody had claimed the power was derived. He belonged to the school of strict constructionists, and must have adopted the conclusions announced in that message with great reluctance. The power to appropriate money from the public treasury for works of internal improvement he found to exist in the clause which says:

"The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare."

Maintaining what seems so clear in those days, that the latter part of the above quoted clause grants the power to appropriate the revenues for the purposes expressed, he asserted the unlimited authority of Congress to raise money in the four modes specified, and that the authority to appropriate was equally broad, provided its expenditure is confined to the purposes designated. He laid down the principle that in raising revenue there was no restraint upon the Representative except his responsibility to his constituents, and in its appropriation the authority was subject to the same limitation, and the additional one that the object for which the money is given shall be national in its character.

President Jackson, in his message vetoing the Maysville road bill, reaffirmed the doctrine of Monroe as sound, and as an established principle in the administration of the government. He refused his signature to that bill only because he deemed the project local and not national. Such has been the practice of the government for the last half century without a single objection from high authority, except by President Polk, in vetoing a river and harbor bill during his administration. He did not assume to combat the doctrines of Monroe and Jackson. Although his objections in part were based on constitutional grounds, their precise nature has ever been intangible to my mind, whatever effect may have been wrought upon the minds of others. At all events, his views have never had an appreciable effect in shaping the policy of the government upon this subject.

The positions taken by Monroe and Jackson are undoubtedly correct, except as to whom belongs the right to decide upon the nationality of the enterprise contemplated. The Representative is responsible to his constituents for everything he does and for every view he entertains upon public affairs, and upon which he acts. It makes no difference whether it be an international, constitutional or economic question. This responsibility constitutes the reason why he should be invested with the sole right to determine whether the object for which the public money is appropriated is national. I am content that the proposition to grant the aid contemplated by the bill under consideration shall be decided upon the principle annunciated.

It may be difficult in many cases to determine whether an appropriation is made for a national object. Much depends upon the rule that shall be adopted in such cases. Where the beneficial effect will be universal and equal, no doubt can be entertained. But such a case can hardly arise, except in the payment of a debt. It is then presumed that the whole people are equally benefited. It is not by such a rule, however, that this question should be tested. Congress has a right to appropriate money for the common defense and general welfare. No one has ever questioned the power to build a fort in Florida, yet none can see how that act will contribute to the defense of Oregon or Alaska. Congress builds lighthouses and harbors on the coast of Maine, yet the people on the coast of California receive no direct advantage from it. The true theory is that as each section is an integral part of the whole nation, a benefit conferred upon a locality whose condition, physical and otherwise, seem to demand aid, will operate to the benefit of the whole.

The question is, will the appropriation sought be compensated for in the advantages which will result; is it needed, and are the people to be directly benefited sufficiently numerous and the section of sufficient consequence to be developed and preserved? If these questions may all be answered in the affirmative, the character of nationality ought to attach to the proposition. The language of the constitution is that Congress may provide for the general, not the universal welfare. The improvement contemplated by this bill is of such magnitude, and the influence of its accomplishment will be so wide-spread in promoting the wealth and strength of the republic, and in its contributions toward human happiness, that I cheerfully leave the nationality of its character to be determined by a rule the most rigid and illiberal. Let us first know the facts, and then come to a decision. Upon the facts which I shall present I rest the case, and feel confident that ultimately the judgment of Congress and the country will pronounce the measure a proper national undertaking, and of great economic importance.

The alluvial bottom lands sought to be protected against inundation by the construction of levees contain about twenty million acres, or nearly thirty thousand square miles; an area four times as large as the kingdom of Holland, four times as extensive as Massachusetts and nearly equal to one-half of all the New England States. These lands are situated in the middle of the continent, and border upon the greatest natural inland thoroughfare in the world. They have drawn their fertility for ages from one-half the continent. Every fertilizing agent from the decayed vegetation of the valleys and the minerals of the mountains has found a lodgment here. They are situated, too, in that part of the temperate zone most adapted to valuable productions and most celebrated for salubrity of climate.

The productiveness of these lands is understood in a general way, but their real value is only comprehended when we apply the test of statistics. I regret that I have been unable to obtain more complete information. In the year 1869, from 876,000 acres in Louisiana, there were produced cotton, corn, sugar, and rice of the value of $105,000,000, or about $120 per acre. There are in that State fully six million acres liable to overflow, and it is safe to say that four million may be cultivated, and that the annual yield per acre will approximate $100. These lands in that State alone ought to add each year to the productions of the nation $400,000,000. Fifteen million acres of the lands to be protected by levees may be made to grow crops, and at the rate of sixty dollars an acre, which is a low estimate, their aggregate value would be $900,000,000 per annum—quite sufficient to liquidate the entire public debt in three years, with the accruing interest thereon. There is productive capacity enough to employ one and a half million agricultural laborers, and to furnish support for eight million people.

Surely this great productiveness, and the large population that may be sustained thereby, ought to give the character of nationality to an enterprise which will bring about such a result. The useful character of the crops grown upon these lands, and the circumstances which will compel their cultivation almost solely here, are important considerations. The uplands of the South are not generally of a very fertile quality. Such as have been cultivated for a considerable length of time have become well nigh exhausted. They are not as easily resuscitated as lands in snow countries. Their strength is wasted away by winter rains. They are not adapted to the growth of valuable grasses, manures are not as plentiful as in countries where much feeding is done; and when applied to the soil they do not contribute to productiveness for any great length of time.

Hence, cotton planters will of necessity be driven to the richest alluvial localities, and none exceed the richness of the lands on the Mississippi and tributaries. Within the last half century something above one hundred million bales of cotton have been grown in the United States. Their value can not be less than five thousand million dollars. Nearly ninety million bales have been produced in the last thirty years, and for four years of that time there was almost a hiatus in its cultivation. As I do not believe in any monarchical institution, I do not think "cotton is king," but I do regard it as a very useful servant—one, indeed, which is almost indispensible. We have suffered much from adverse balances of trade, which have been paid off with the coin and bullion of the country. Deduct from our exportations the single item of cotton for twenty years last past, and see how the balances against us will foot up.

Take this item out and the nation would be compelled to go into bankruptcy, or turn half our population into quarrying and crushing quartz rock to obtain the means to meet our liabilities. At times many of our people have gone wild on the subject of gold mining, and our wealth in precious metals has been paraded and extolled, as if no financial mishap could betake us so long as we possessed this resource; yet in the last twenty years cotton has enriched us more than four times as much as the gold and silver mines, in its contributions to commerce, and in meeting the demand for foreign exchange, and immeasurably more has it promoted the comforts of the human family. These facts, so briefly stated, are sufficient to justify the legislation which I have proposed. But there are others equally potent to influence our action.

Are you aware, sir, that for a considerable period of the year the people east of the river can not hold communication with those on the other side, unless inundation is prevented; that for more than a thousand miles commerce and the mail service are interrupted; that the river for much of that distance cannot be approached by railroads or wagon roads; and that if the trans-Mississippi country is invaded men and munitions cannot be sent to expel the invaders, except under great disadvantages and delay? Such are the facts, and is not the avoidance of all these worthy of liberal national aid?

The time has come when we must begin to consider—not the propriety, but the necessity of a more thorough and systematic cultivation of our agricultural lands. We have been intent on colonizing, and in skimming over the surface, until the duty to organize and institute more thoroughness stares us in the face. Some people may be astonished to hear that there is comparatively little public land remaining which is desirable for agricultural purposes. I make the assertion, and challenge successful contradiction. We shall need "more room" sooner than we anticipate, unless we commence the reclamation and cultivation of the good soils which have been left behind in our race to find the western terminus. Already the tide of emigration has been brought to a halt by the waters of the Pacific, and we shall soon see it eddying backward and filling up the country over which it has glided so hurriedly.

The policy of the government is such that it is deemed both benevolent and economical to present the public lands to actual settlers. The public lands are as much the property of the nation as the public moneys. I am unable to mark the distinction between giving lands to the people and in appropriating the money to reclaim or create lands for them. The protection of the alluvial bottom lands against inundation is creating lands for the people's occupation and cultivation.

Sir, my education and sentiments have ever been averse to sectional ideas and prejudices. Justice and fair dealing, however, in a popular form of government demand that the blessings of the government should be dispensed with due reference to the principle of equality toward all sections. Anterior to the war the politicians and statesmen of the South unfortunately applied their great capacities in concentrating popular sentiment upon one idea, which they deemed most essential to the welfare of their section, and in the use of the power thus acquired they showed great strategic abilities. The subject of material development was neglected, while the politicians and statesmen of the North applied themselves with creditable zeal to advance the material welfare of their people by means of government aid.

In this condition of things it is not surprising that the North outstripped the South in the race for wealth. If, on examination, it is discovered that the beneficence of the government has been more bountifully bestowed upon one section than upon another it would be but the expression of a kindly and fraternal sentiment to seek an opportunity upon a meritorious case to make that beneficence equal, so far as it may be practicable to do so.

Appropriations for the improvement of rivers and harbors began in 1824. Since that time upward of thirty-two million dollars have been given for these works. The South had more sea coast than all other parts of the country before our territory was enlarged by the aquisition of our Pacific possessions; and now, in number and magnitude, her rivers exceed those of all other sections. Her productions attracted commerce to her shores, and her territory comprised full one-half the republic. Yet, from the sum appropriated for the improvement of rivers and harbors, the Northern States obtained more than twenty-seven million dollars, and the South less than five million dollars.

The same advantage seems to have been secured in the appropriation for public buildings. From the beginning of the government to July 1, 1871, the Northern States received upward of twenty-three million dollars, and the South eight and a quarter million. All the States south of the Potomac and the Ohio and Missouri are classed as Southern States. The sums given the Territories and District of Columbia are not taken into the account. When we reach the subject of lands donated to railroad companies, the disparity is even greater.

The Northern States have had, in round numbers, 140,000,000 acres, and those of the South less than 37,000,000, Missouri being classed with the South; and included in this quantity of land are all the grants which were made before and which lapsed during the war by limitation, only a few of which have since been revived. This statement embraces all the lands donated to the several Pacific railroads, counting the Texas Pacific with the South, and of course it does not include the $64,000,000 in United States bonds which were given to the Union and Central Pacific companies.

It is true the Northern States contain a greater population, and contribute more to the revenues, but not in proportion to the superior government beneficence of which they have been the recipients. Estimating the lands as of equal value, and at $1 25 per acre, and including the $64,000,000 in bonds, the subsidies granted to Northern companies aggregate $239,000,000, and those granted to the South amount to but $46,250,000, and from this sum should be deducted the value of the lapsed grants, which I have not the means of estimating.

Mr. Speaker, I have not made a presentations of these statistical facts with any design of exciting sectional prejudices, or to cause a feeling to arise in the minds of the people of the South that they have been wronged, but to appeal to the sense of justice and to the principle of an equal distribution of blessings which ought to actuate every American heart, and which, I am confident, will sooner or later dominate in all our public actions, and because I feel that there is no present subject more entitled to call forth the exercise of these high motives than the one which I am presenting for your consideration.

It has been a national misfortune that the ideas and purposes of the people of the two sections have been so widely and so bitterly divergent. The events of the last decade have swept away differences in sentiments as well as in institutions. The day is at hand when all will act unitedly, and the people of the South will enter upon a career in which they will emulate the North in every great and good work. Their money and energies will be cheerfully applied to a restoration of the country from its existing prostration. I have made an exhibit of their poverty and their great needs, that considerate minds may have a knowledge of all the circumstances which will induce favorable action in their behalf.

The government has done many great and noble actions to promote national prosperity. But none are greater than this which we ask. The Congress has donated to private corporations for the construction of a railroad from Omaha to San Francisco, a distance of nineteen hundred and fourteen miles, $100,000,000 in bonds and lands. No one will underrate the greatness of this act. We ask less than twenty million dollars to build a levee about eleven hundred miles, which will reclaim and preserve forever twenty million acres of the choicest land of earth, and which will remove grievous obstructions to domestic commerce and intercommunication. I aver it, except in the idea of a thoroughfare from ocean to ocean, and the facilities to divert Asiatic trade to and across our country, the building of the levees will be of more value to the nation than the construction of a Pacific railroad. The twenty million acres of alluvial bottom lands contain more wealth than a strip of country two hundred miles in width from the Missouri river to the Pacific ocean.

In the proposition under consideration you are shown an enterprise which will add abundantly to the national wealth, and which will put money into the treasury—a project which will keep busy the spindles of New England, which will furnish a market for the coal and iron of Pennsylvania, and for the cereals of the great Northwest, and which will supply freight to the common carrier, and exchanges for international trade It will cheapen the shirt upon every man's back, and the sugar that sweetens his coffee. Upon these reclaimed lands a dense population will grow rich from honest industry, and when an occasion is presented, it will be demonstrated that in the very centre of the continent will be found the greatest strength and power of the republic.

### Cincinnati and Southern Railroad.

CINCINNATI, December 22.—Resolutions calling for a repeal of the law authorizing Cincinnati to issue bonds to the amount of ten millions of dollars to build the Southern railway, and directing the city solicitor to sue out an injunction to prevent the issue of the same pending legislation on the subject, were introduced to-day in the board of aldermen by H. B. Bissell, and referred to the committee on claims.

It is apparent that those who are opposed to the city making this expenditure propose to make an effort at this juncture to prevent the city from entering on this work, kindred resolutions having been introduced in the chamber of commerce since the publication of the resolution.

The society men in New York are beginning to make their appearance with their hair arranged *a la* grand duke. None but blondes can accomplish this result, and, consequently, there will soon be a demand for yellow hair dye.

St. Louis girls are in a fearful way to know if they will get a chance to dance with Alexis. The clerk of the Southern Hotel, in which the ball is to be, has already fifteen hundred applications on hand. The applicants average thirty-three years of youth each.


## INSURANCE.

GUARDIAN MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY OF NEW YORK.

Established in 1859.

ALL POLICIES NON-FORFEITABLE.

CASH OR THIRD NOTE PREMIUMS.

NO NOTES REQUIRED.

Last Cash Dividend Fifty Per Cent.

| | |
|---|---|
| Cash assets over | $2,000,000 |
| Policies in force | 25,000,000 |
| Annual income | 1,000,000 |
| Losses paid since 1859 | 600,000 |

OFFICERS:

W. H. PECKHAM, President.
W. T. HOOKER, Vice President.
L. McADAM, Secretary and Actuary.
G. A. FREDRIKAR, Superintendent of Agencies.

DIRECTORS:

Hon. John A. Dix, New York.
John J. Crane, President Bank of Republic.
William M. Vermilye, Banker, Wall street (Vermilye & Co).
Charles G. Rockwood, Cashier Newark Banking Company.
Hon. George Opdyke, ex-Mayor of New York.
Minot C. Morgan, Banker.
Thomas Rigney, firm Thomas Rigney & Co.
Benjamin B. Sherman, Treasurer New York Steam Sugar Refining Company.
Aaron Arnold, firm Arnold, Constable & Co.
Richard H. Browne, of Wetmore & Browne, lawyers.
E. V. Haughwont, firm E V. Haughwont & Co.
William Wilkens, firm W. Wilkens & Co
Julius H. Pratt, Merchant.
William W. Wright, Merchant.
Charles J. Starr, Merchant.
William Allen, Merchant.
George W. Cuyler, Banker, Palmyra, New York.
George T. Hope, President Continental Fire Insurance Company.
John H. Sherwood, Park Place,
Walton H. Peckham, corner Fifth avenue and Twenty-third street, New York.
William T. Hooker, Wall street.
Edward H. Wright, Newark, New Jersey
George W. Farlee, Lawyer.
W. L. Cogswell, Merchant.

JOSEPH MAGNER,
Manager for Louisiana and Texas, No. 158 Common street, New Orleans. fel8 2y

TEUTONIA INSURANCE COMPANY OF NEW ORLEANS.

Insure Fire, Marine and River Risks at Lowest Rates.

TEMPORARY OFFICE, NO. 111 GRAVIER STREET, NEAR THE CORNER OF CAMP STREET.

| | |
|---|---|
| Capital | $1,000,000 |
| Subscribed | 700,000 |

A. EIMER BADER, President.
CH. ENGSTFELD, Vice President.
GEORGE STROMEYER, Secretary.

Board of Trustees:

A. Eimer Bader, W. B. Schmidt, Louis Schneider, J. M. Schwartz, F. Rickert, Jacob Hassinger, S. L. Nasits, Louis Schwartz, R. Seig, H. R. Gogreve, W. Davis, Isaac Scherck, M. Frank, Theodore Lilienthal, Frank Roder, Hermann Eicke, C. H. Miller, Ch. Engstfeld, H. Pohlmann, G. L. L. Mayer, X. Weissenbach, N. A. Baumgarden, Joseph Keller, E. T. Del Bondio.

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OFFICE OF THE SUN MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANY OF NEW ORLEANS.

61.....Camp street.....61

FIFTEENTH ANNUAL STATEMENT.

NEW ORLEANS, January 21, 1871.

In conformity with the requirements of their charter, the company publish the following statement for the year ending December 31, 1870:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Amount of premiums for the year ending thirty-first Decembe viz.: | | | |
| On Fire Risks | $102,660 88 | | |
| On Marine Risks | 48,465 84 | | |
| On River Risks | 74,305 59 | | |
| | $224,832 11 | | |
| Add— | | | |
| Unterminated Risks for 1869 | 51,511 00 | | |
| | | $276,343 11 | |
| Deduct— | | | |
| Unterminated Risks for 1870 | $45,612 00 | | |
| Return Premiums | 914 56 | | |
| | | 46,526 56 | |
| Net earned premiums for 1870 | | $229,816 55 | |
| Losses paid during same period viz.: | | | |
| On Fire Risks | $78,539 00 | | |
| On Marine Risks | 51,005 61 | | |
| On River Risks | 20,964 88 | —150,519 09 | |
| Taxes | 13,913 79 | | |
| General Expenses | 37,012 72 | | |
| Discount on Premiums | 16,031 91 | | |
| Interest on Scripa | 47,434 42 | | |
| Re-insurances | 3,114 38 | —117,507 22 | |
| Amount reserved for unadjusted losses less savings | 6,759 04 | | |
| | | $274,776 35 | |
| Less— | | | |
| Discount and interest, and profit and loss | 57,995 80 | | |
| | | 216,780 55 | |
| Net Profit | | $13,036 00 | |

The Company have the following Assets, estimated at the lowest market cash values, viz:

| | |
|---|---|
| 465 Consolidated and Railroad City Bonds | $336,425 00 |
| 6 State Bonds | 5,160 00 |
| 44 City Seven Per Cent Bonds | 23,630 75 |
| 4 I. O. O. F. Bonds | 4,000 00 |
| 3 Grand Lodge of Louisiana Bonds | 3,000 00 |
| 2 N. O. Turners' Association | 1,000 00 |
| 600 Shares N. O. Gas Light Company* | 99,000 00 |
| 224 Shares Citizens' Bank of Louisiana | 36,600 00 |
| 350 Shares Union Bank of Louisiana* | 11,900 00 |
| 223 Shares Canal Bank* | 9,372 00 |
| 60 Shares Crescent City Bank | 1,200 00 |
| 59 Shares Louisiana State Bank* | 5,900 00 |
| 50 Shares Mechanics' and Traders' Bank | 1,800 00 |
| 30 Shares Harbor Protection Company | 1,500 00 |
| 5 Shares Merchants' Bank | 325 00 |
| Loans on Pledge | 54,863 45 |
| Loans on Mortgage | 72,450 00 |
| Bills Receivable | 2,800 00 |
| Scrip of other Insurance Companies | 6,381 60 |
| State Coupons | 3,457 20 |
| Premiums in course of collection | 28,000 00 |
| Cash on hand | 63,286 82 |
| Total | $774,061 82 |

*Including Dividends.

The above statement is a just, true and correct transcript from the books of the Company.

THOMAS SLOO, President
THOMAS ANDERSON, Secretary.

STATE OF LOUISIANA, PARISH OF ORLEANS, City of New Orleans.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this twenty-first day of January, 1871.

ANDREW HERO, JR., Notary Public.

The Board of Directors have resolved to pay six per cent interest on the outstanding Certificates of Profits, on and after the second Monday of February, 1871; also, fifty per cent on the balance of the scrip of the year 1858