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THE OLD SURTOUT.

I had taken a place on the top of one of the coaches which run between Edinburgh and Glasgow, for the purpose of commencing a short tour in the Highlands of Scotland. As we rattled along Prince street I had leisure to survey my fellow travelers. Immediately opposite me sat two dandies of the first order, dressed in white frock coats and Belcher handkerchiefs, and each with a cigar in his mouth which they puffed away with marvellous complacency.

Beside me sat a modest and comely young woman in a widow's dress, with an infant in her arms. The appearance of the youthful mourner and her babe indicated that they belonged to the lower class of society; and although the dandies occasionally cast a rude glance at the mother, the look of calm and settled sorrow which she invariably, at such times, cast upon her child, seemed to touch even them, and to disarm their coarseness.

On the other side of the widow sat a young gentleman of plain yet prepossessing exterior, who seemed especially to attract the notice of the dandies. His surtout was not absolutely threadbare, but it had evidently endured more than one season, and I could perceive many contemptuous looks thrown upon it by the gentlemen in Belcher handkerchiefs. The young gentleman carried a small portmanteau in his hand—so small, indeed, that it could not possibly have contained more than a change of linen. This article also appeared to arrest the eyes of the sprigs of fashion opposite, whose wardrobes, in all probability, were more voluminous; whether they ever paid for it or not, might be another question.

The coach having stopped at the village of Corstorphine, for the purpose of taking up an inside passenger, the guard observed that the young gentleman carried his portmanteau in his hand, asked leave to put it in his boot, to which he immediately consented.

'Put it fairly into the centre, guard,' said one of the dandies.

'Why so, Tom?' enquired his companion.

'It may capsize the coach,' rejoined the first; 'sally at which both indulged in a burst of laughter; but of which the owner of the portmanteau, though the blood mounted slightly into his cheek, took no notice whatever.'

While we were changing horses at the town of Uphal, an aged beggar approached and held out his hat for alms. The dandies looked at him with scorn. I gave him a few half pence, and the young widow, poor as she seemed, was about to do the same, when the young gentleman in the surtout laid his hand gently on her arm, and dropped a half crown into the beggar's hat, and made a sign for him to depart. The dandies looked at each other.

'Showing off, Jack,' said one.

'Aye, aye, successful at our last benefit, you know,' rejoined the other, and both again burst into a hoarse laugh.

At this allusion to his supposed profession, the blood again mounted into the gentleman's cheek, but it was only for a moment, and he continued silent.

We had not left Uphal many miles behind us, when the wind began to rise, and the gathering clouds indicated an approaching shower. The dandies began to prepare their umbrellas; and the young gentleman in the surtout, surveying the dress of the young widow, and perceiving that she was indifferently provided for against the weather, enquired of the guard if the coach was full inside. Being answered in the affirmative, he addressed the mourner in a tone of sympathy; told her there was every appearance of a smart shower; expressed his regret that she could not be taken into the coach; and concluded by offering her the use of his cloak.

'It will protect you so far,' said he, 'and, at all events, it will protect the baby.'

The widow thanked him in a modest, respectful manner, and said that, for the sake of the infant, she would be glad to have the cloak, if he would not suffer for the want of it himself.

He answered her that he should not, being accustomed to all kinds of weather.

'His surtout won't spoil,' said one of the dandies, in a voice of effective tenderness, 'and besides, my dear, the cloak will hold you both.'

The young gentleman turned quickly around, and addressed the speaker in a tone of dignity which I shall never forget:

'I am not naturally quarrelsome, sir, but yet it is quite possible you may provoke me too far. Both the exquisites turned pale as death—drunk in spite of them into their natural insipidities; and they scarcely opened their lips, even to each other, during the remainder of the journey.'

In the meantime the young gentleman, with the same politeness and delicacy as if he had been assisting a lady of quality with her shawl, proceeded to wrap the widow and her baby in the cloak. He had hardly accomplished this, when a smart shower of rain, mingled with hail, commenced. Being myself provided with a cloak, the cape of which was sufficiently large to envelop and protect my head, I offered the young gentleman my umbrella, which he readily accepted, but held it, as I remarked, in a manner better calculated to defend the widow than himself.

When we reached West Craig's Inn, the second stage from Edinburgh, the rain ceased, and the young gentleman politely returned my umbrella, which he shook over the side of the coach, and afterwards hung it on the railing to dry. Then turning to the young widow, he enquired if she would take any refreshment, and upon her answering in the negative, he proceeded to enter into conversation with her, as follows:

'Do you travel far on this road, ma'am?'

'About sixteen miles farther, sir. I leave the coach about six miles on the other side of Airdrie.'

'Do your friends dwell thereabouts?'

'Yes, sir, they do. I am on my way to my father's house.'

'To your father's?'

'Yes, sir, said the poor woman, raising her handkerchief to her eyes, and sobbing audibly: 'I am returning to him a desolate widow, after a short absence of two years.'

'Is your father in good circumstances?'

'He will never suffer me or my baby to want,

while he has strength to labor for us; but he is himself in poverty—a day laborer on the estate of Earl H—.'

At the mention of this nobleman's name the young gentleman colored a little; but it was evident that his emotion was not of an unpleasant nature.

'What is your father's name?' said he.

'James Anderson, sir.'

'And his residence?'

'Blinkbunny.'

'Well, I trust that desolate so far as this world is concerned, you know something of Him who is the Father of the fatherless, and the Judge of the widow. Is so, your Maker is your husband, and the Lord of Hosts is his name.'

'Oh, yes; I bless God, that through a pious parent's care, I know something of Divine grace, and the consolations of the Gospel. My husband, too, though a tradesman, was a man who feared God above many.'

The remembrance of that must tend much to alleviate your sorrow.'

'It does, indeed, sir, at times, but at other times I am ready to sink. My father's poverty and advancing age, my baby's helplessness, and my own delicate health, are frequently too much for my feeble powers.'

'Trust in God, and he will provide for you; be assured he will.'

By this time the coach was again in motion, and though the conversation continued for some time, the noise of the wheels prevented me from hearing it distinctly. I could see the dandies, however, exchanging looks with one another, and at one time, the more forward of the two, whispered something to his companion, in which the words 'Methodist parson,' was alone audible.

At Airdrie nothing particular occurred; when we got about half way between that town and Glasgow, where we arrived at a cross-road, the widow expressed a wish to be set down. The young gentleman, therefore, desired the driver to stop, and springing himself from the coach, took the infant in his arms, and then along with the guard, assisted her to descend.

'May God reward you,' said she, as he returned the baby to her, 'for your kindness to the widow and fatherless this day.'

'And may He bless you,' replied he, 'with all spiritual consolation in Christ Jesus.'

So saying, he slipped something into her hand; the widow opened it instinctively. She saw two sovereigns glitter in her palms; she dropped a tear upon the money, and turned around to thank her benefactor, but he had already resumed his seat upon the coach. She cast upon him an eloquent, grateful look—pressed her infant convulsively to her breast, and walked hurriedly away.

No other passenger wishing to alight at the same place, we were soon again in rapid motion towards the great emporium of the west of Scotland. Not a word was spoken. The young gentleman sat with his arms crossed upon his breast; and, if I might judge by the expression of his countenance, was evidently revolving some scheme of benevolence in his mind. The dandies regarded him with amazement. They had also seen the gold in the widow's hand, and seemed to think that there was more under that shabby surtout than their 'happy brains' could easily conjecture. That in this they were right, was speedily made manifest.

When we had entered Glasgow and were approaching the Buck's Head, the inn at which our conveyance was to stop, an open traveling carriage, drawn by four beautiful horses, drove up in the opposite direction. The elegance of this equipage made the dandies spring to their feet.

'What beautiful grays!' cried one; 'I wonder who they can belong to?'

'He is a happy fellow, any how,' replied the other. 'I would give half of Yorkshire to call them mine.'

The stage coach and the traveling carriage stopped at the Buck's Head at the same moment, and a footman in laced livery, springing behind the latter, looked first inside and then at the top of the former, when he lifted his hat with a smile of respectful recognition.

'Are you all well at the castle, Robert?'

'All well, my lord,' replied the footman.

At the sound of that monosyllable, the faces of the exquisites became visibly elongated, but without taking the slightest notice of them or their confusion, the nobleman politely wished me good morning, and descending from the coach, caused the footman to place his cloak and despatched him to the inn. He then stepped into it himself and the footman getting up behind, the coachman touched the leader very slightly with his whip, and the equipage and their noble owner were soon out of sight.

'Pray what nobleman is that?' said one of the dandies to the landlord, as we entered the inn.

'The Earl of H—,' sir, replied the landlord; 'one of the best men, as well as the richest in Scotland.'

'The Earl of H—?' repeated the dandy, turning to his companion; 'what assets we have been! There's an end of all chance of being allowed to shout on his estate.'

'O, yes! we may burn over letters of introduction when we please,' rejoined his companion; and silently and crest-fallen, both walked up stairs to their apartment.

SPEECH OF HON. W. P. HALL.

Mr. HALL said: Mr. Chairman, it is not my intention to discuss the President's message, but by the indulgence of the committee, I design to say a few words with reference to a bill I introduced into the House on yesterday. That bill proposes to grant to the State of Missouri the right of way and a portion of the public domain to aid in the construction of a railroad from Hannibal to St. Joseph. Some gentlemen seem startled at the project. I assure them it is nothing new nor unheard-of in the history of our country. It is only about fifteen months since Congress made an extensive grant of land to the State of Illinois, to aid in the construction of a railroad from Chicago to Mobile bay. I am not aware that that grant has ruined or seriously injured either this Government, or any State, or any individual. On the contrary, I believe it has been of general benefit. At all events, the road it was intended to promote will be one of vast importance, and is destined to exert a most

happy influence on the country at large. It is not, however, to be concealed that the Chicago and Mobile road must run nearly parallel with the greatest river on our continent, and must enter into competition with most of the great thoroughfares of the West. All the rivers of our great valley tend from the North to the South. The Ohio and its tributaries on the one hand, and the Missouri, the Arkansas, and the Red river and their tributaries on the other, in conjunction with the Mississippi, open up the entire West to New Orleans and the Gulf of Mexico. But between the Atlantic seaboard and the New States there is no direct natural channel of intercourse. Commerce can be carried on successfully between the old States and the Mississippi valley only by doubling Cape Sable or through means of artificial avenues extending from the Atlantic coast far into the interior. Hence if the last Congress was justifiable in aiding the construction of a railroad from the northern lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, we shall be more than justified in aiding the construction of a highway from the extreme confines of Missouri to the States this side of the Alleghenies—a highway which will open a direct, speedy, safe, and economical communication between parts of the Union that now hold intercourse only by the most circuitous, tardy, hazardous, and expensive routes. The Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad will form an important part of such a line of intercommunication.

The town of Hannibal is situated on the west bank of the Mississippi river, in latitude 39 deg. 45 min. north. The town of St. Joseph is one hundred and eighty miles due west of Hannibal, on the east bank of the Missouri river. The city of Philadelphia, and the seats of government of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, are nearly on the same parallel of latitude with the town of Hannibal. So that a railroad running due west from Philadelphia would pass through the centre of the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, cross the Mississippi at Hannibal, and strike the Missouri at St. Joseph. Within eighteen months a railroad will be completed from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. Within the same time a railroad will be finished from Pittsburgh to Columbus, Ohio. A railroad is nearly finished between Terre Haute, near the western line of Indiana, to Indianapolis, in that State. The Illinois cross-cut railroad is already finished from Springfield to the Illinois river, and in less than two years will be finished to the town of Quincy, which is only twelve miles from Hannibal; so that in the course of a few years we may reasonably expect to see a railroad communication complete between Philadelphia and the Mississippi river.

The construction of the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad will complete the connection as far west as the Missouri. The same chain of railroads, too, which will connect the western portions of the State of Missouri with Philadelphia, will unite with that great railway line already extending from New York city to Cincinnati, and also with the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, and with the road from Louisville, by way of Nashville, to Savannah, Georgia, and to Charleston, South Carolina. Thus, in a few years, we may hope to see the banks of the Missouri river, and the fertile country bordering thereon, brought within three days' travel of the metropolis of the Union, and of the great cities of Charleston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. Nor is this all. The railroad from Chicago to the mouth of the Ohio river is to be completed within a few years. The Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad will connect with the Chicago and Cairo road, by means of the Springfield, Illinois, railroad. In this way will be opened to the South and to the northern lakes, as well as to the Atlantic seaboard, all the fertile country included within northern Missouri, and all that immense country to the west of our State, which is destined in a few years to be the home of multitudes of white men. Let any one, sir, turn to the map of the United States, and endeavor to trace out the line of railroads which will most promote the welfare of the whole country, and he will inevitably fall upon that very line of which the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad makes a part. That road is on the parallel of latitude which passes midway between the northern boundary of the United States and the mouth of the Mississippi river. It is on the line which passes through the heart of Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. It is on the line which passes between the northern lakes and the Ohio river, at nearly an equal distance from each. It is on the line which divides the population of the United States into two equal parts. It is on the line which connects at the same time with the great New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and southern railroads, and by means of which, therefore, more distant and more numerous points of the Union can be brought into easy communication than any other which can be conceived.

The opening of the good roads between the eastern and western portions of the Union has been a favorite object with our greatest statesmen almost from the foundation of our Government. The Cumberland turnpike was projected by one of the 'early Presidents,' and has been carried forward at the expense of millions of dollars. In consequence of modern improvements, that work has become nearly useless. But the time has been when the Cumberland road, by its promise of opening a way from the old to the new States, was a much-cherished object with a large portion of the American people. It is now proposed to effect the same purpose by the greatest of modern improvements without the cost of a dollar to the Government—without the exercise of any dangerous or doubtful power, by the mere appropriation of a small portion of the public domain in a manner that will cover it with an industrious and active population, and convert it from a wilderness to cultivated farms and flourishing villages. There is no portion of this vast country which contains so large an area of fertile land, in proportion to its extent of surface, as northern Missouri. Yet that fertile and beautiful region is, to a great degree, a waste, because it possesses no channel for the transportation of its products. Its citizens are almost entirely dependent upon the Missouri river for getting to and returning from the markets of the country. This river is closed to steamboats for four months every year, and during the remainder of the time it is so difficult of navigation that those who ship by it are subject to much higher charges for transportation

and insurance than the citizens of the neighboring States. The consequence is, that the farmers who live in the interior of northern Missouri, are almost as effectually shut out from all commerce with other sections of country as though they live at the North pole. The Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad is to penetrate the very centre of that entire section, and will bring its near market as some portions of the Atlantic States. Our farmers, stimulated by fair prices for their produce, will open large farms, and our products will be multiplied many fold. To the southern and eastern States we will sell stock, provisions, and our other staples. From there we will receive in return sugar, cotton, silk, rice, and furs. As our means increase our consumption will increase also. We will consume not only articles of domestic but of foreign manufacture, and thus, while we shall add to the lame trade, we shall also increase the foreign commerce of the country, and swell the resources of the Government.

If a proposition were submitted to connect New York or Boston with the extreme settlements of Missouri, all would admit the importance of the enterprise. Some would be willing, no doubt, to construct the road at the expense of the nation. No such charge upon the Treasury is, however, required in order to consummate a railroad communication between the Missouri and the Atlantic seaboard. A railroad is nearly finished from New York city to Cincinnati. Indiana is extending this road to her western boundary. Illinois is extending it through her territory to the Mississippi river; and all that is necessary to complete the entire chain of railroads from Boston to St. Joseph—indeed from Portland, Maine, to St. Joseph—is to construct a railroad through the northern part of Missouri.

The people of Missouri have, by an act of their Legislature, appropriated \$1,500,000 to the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad. Counties and individuals have taken a large amount of stock in the work. And now we ask Congress to do for us what they have so frequently done for other States. We ask you to give us alternate sections of the public lands, through which our road will pass, for six miles on each side of the road, to aid us in the enterprise. This is not a proposition to take money out of the Treasury. If it was I would not advocate it. The effect of the proposition will be, in my opinion, to increase the revenues of the Government. And why? Because the alternate sections reserved by the United States are not to be sold for less than two dollars and one-half per acre. Now they are liable to entry at one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre. So that you will receive as much, at least, from the public lands if this grant be made, as you will receive if it fail. Do gentlemen fear that the value of the public domain will not be enhanced by our road? Let me beg them to look at our condition, at our soil, as fertile as any in the world; at our situation, possessing none but the most expensive and tardy means of reaching a market, and then to reflect on the effect which similar roads have had elsewhere. No such work has ever been made even through the most densely settled sections, which has not greatly enhanced the real estate in its neighborhood. How much greater enhancement of lands must follow the construction of a railroad through such a section as northern Missouri. It is now occupied by some three hundred thousand people; it is capable of sustaining a population of several millions. The making a railway through it will powerfully add grants into it until every foot of land shall be occupied and improved. Its citizens now need mills, schools, churches, and many of the comforts of life. A railroad will secure to them all these advantages at one and the same time. In view of these facts, it is a most stubborn skepticism which doubts that the construction of the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad will appreciate the lands near it twofold or more. That appreciation will not be confined to the lands within six miles of the road. It will extend to the lands even fifteen and twenty miles from it. Public lands that are not worth fifty cents an acre will readily bring the minimum price. Lands that soldiers will not locate with their warrants will be eagerly sought for this purpose, and the income of the Government from the public lands will be greatly augmented. This is not fancy. During the last Congress millions of acres of public lands were given to soldiers. It was confidently predicted here and elsewhere that for many years to come, in consequence of the military grants, receive no money from the public lands, and yet we find that our revenues from that source have greatly increased within the last year, and are still rapidly increasing. Why is this? Solely because numerous railroads are projected in the new States through the public domain. Some of these roads are now constructing. They have so largely appreciated the public lands that millions of acres are now bought which until recently were a drug in the market. This fact, and this alone, explains why it is that the receipts from the public lands have increased, notwithstanding the bounty act of the last Congress and the immense emigration which has recently gone from the Western States to Oregon and California.

There is another piece of history in connection with this matter, to which I must refer gentlemen of the committee. The only acts granting lands to new States, besides the Illinois grant of 1850, in which the price of the alternate sections reserved by Government was doubled, are those relating to certain lands in Ohio. The amount of those reserved sections is 259,423.98 acres, of which, up to the 30th of September last, nearly one half had been sold for two dollars and fifty cents per acre. No returns have been received as yet from the lands reserved by the grant of the last Congress to the State of Illinois. But the case of the Ohio grant shows that the doubling of the price of the alternate sections reserved to the United States in internal improvement grants is not a nullity. It is a reality which secures the Government from all loss.

I trust it will be borne in mind, that under the acts granting land to soldiers, warrants can be located only on land subject to private entry. Now, all the lands in northern Missouri are subject to private entry, and have been for sixteen years and more. Whatever, therefore, adds to the value of these lands is for the benefit of soldiers having land warrants, whether in Maine, Virginia, or Texas. So that the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad grant is not only recommended

by its intrinsic merits, but by the tenacity it will have to benefit a large and most meritorious class of our citizens who are scattered all over the Union.

What is the extent of the grant I ask? I am able to answer this question from official documents. The whole amount of public lands within six miles of each side of the proposed route of the Hannibal and St. Joseph railroad was, on the 11th day of April, 1847, 640,362 acres. A portion of these lands has passed into private hands since that time. All of them have been subject to private entry for many years—most of them sixteen years and over again, and they have been called over and over again, and rejected as worth less than one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre. The most that Missouri can receive by the grant I ask is \$20,181 acres of refuse land. She would not probably receive more than 250,000 acres if the grant should pass to-day. And in return for that, she not only engages to construct a railroad which will enhance your public domain two or three times as much as this grant will amount to, but to carry your troops and munitions of war over the road free of all charge forever, and to transport your mails at such prices as you shall prescribe.

When Missouri came into the Union, the Federal Government required her to promise not to tax the public lands within her limits for the term of five years from and after the day of sale. In consideration of this promise, the United States agreed to pay to the State of Missouri five per cent of the net proceeds of the sale of lands lying within her limits, of which three-fifths was to be applied to purposes of internal improvement by her Legislature; and the other two-fifths in defraying, under the direction of Congress, the expenses to be incurred in the making of a road or roads, canal or canals, leading to the said State. In order to discharge a public debt, the United States have granted some 30,000,000 or 40,000,000 acres of land to those who have been in our military service in a time of war. A large amount of those lands has been located there still. Those lands not being disposed of by this Government for money, the State of Missouri receives nothing for exempting them from taxation. The strict letter of the compact does not, perhaps, entitle her to anything. But surely a fair and liberal spirit on the part of the United States will give Missouri some equivalent for not taxing the lands within her limits which have been and will be located by military warrants. Missouri supposed that she was to receive a valuable consideration for her agreement not to tax the public lands for the term of five years from and after the day of sale. The United States so understood it. Now, suppose all the public domain in Missouri should be absorbed by land warrants, what would she receive for not taxing the lands of this Government? Nothing, absolutely nothing. And would that be a fair and bona fide execution of her compact with the United States on the part of the latter? On the contrary, would not the United States be obnoxious to the charge of "altering in a double sense" of keeping "the word of promise to our ear and breaking it to our hope?"

Missouri does not ask that the land given to soldiers should be treated absolutely as land sold for cash. All she asks is, that inasmuch as the policy of granting bounty land is for the benefit of citizens of every State, each State shall bear its proportion of whatever expense and burden that policy costs. Missouri is willing to give up a part of her three per cent, but she does not think she should be required to relinquish all. And it appears to me that this Government cannot discharge the equitable demands of Missouri on better terms to the nation than by making the grant I am urging.

When Missouri makes a road through the land of her citizens, the landed proprietors benefited by the work are compelled to pay their share towards its construction, in the form of taxes. As the value of their land is increased, their taxes are increased also. Now, this Government is a great landed proprietor, and owns large domains in the State of Missouri. Is it right, it is just, is it fair, under these circumstances, that while private individuals are compelled to pay for improvements which add to the value of their estates, the Federal Government should receive precisely the same benefits and not contribute one dollar? Let gentlemen from the old States revolve this matter in their minds, and I am sure they will dismiss some of the opposition which they manifest towards donations of lands to the new States.

It should be borne in mind that all the new States receive five per cent of the net proceeds of the sales of the public lands within their limits, for the purposes of internal improvements, except Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. They receive but three per cent, for that object, the other two per cent, being retained in the Treasury for constructing, under the direction of Congress, a road or roads, a canal or canals, leading towards the limits of the enumerated States. It should also be remembered, that this portion of the public lands is not given to the new States as a gratuity. It is given in return for the non-taxation of the public domain for a term of "five years from and after the day of sale." This arrangement has never been a favorite with the new States. It originated with Congress, and was forced upon the Western States as a condition to their admission into the Union. From the statement just made, it will be perceived that Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, stand on precisely the same grounds, so far as their compacts with the United States are concerned. But how different, how widely different, is the treatment which Congress has meted out to them. In Ohio \$2,812,034 91 have been expended on the Cumberland road. In Indiana \$1,128,289 50 have been spent on the same work. In Missouri not one single cent has been expended by this Government on any like enterprise. Besides this, Ohio has received upwards of eleven hundred thousand acres of public land for the purpose of internal improvements. Indiana has received upwards of three millions of acres for canals and railroads. Missouri has received nothing. Why this difference in the policy of Congress towards those four States? Is not Missouri faithful in the discharge of her duties to the Union? Is she not upright in her engagements with her citizens? Is she not worthy of membership in this Confederacy? I have never heard any such charges made against Missouri, and I must trust that the neglect of

Congress has been unintentional. There is certainly no equity in treating Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois with marked kindness, while you turn away from Missouri as from a step-child.

It is, however, objected, that the grants of land to the new States for the purposes of internal improvement are injurious to the old States. In what way? I enquire. It has been shown that those grants do not diminish the revenues of the country, but largely increase them. They diffuse the comforts and conveniences of life into many a fabulation and family that are now cheerless. They spread education and intelligence. They build up school-houses and churches, and they bring into communion and friendly intercourse distant parts of the Republic. Surely there is nothing in all this of which any member of the Union ought to complain.

But if the policy of granting land to the new States for railroad purposes is to stop, let justice be done to both sections of the Union. Heretofore these grants have been confined almost exclusively to the free States. Let Missouri Arkansas, Mississippi, and other Southern States be placed upon an equal footing with Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, before you refuse all grants. To stop before this is done would give color, at least, to the charge sometimes made, that the majority of this House cannot and will not do justice to the Southern part of the Union.

The old States should not overlook the fact that they have received all the unappropriated lands which were within their limits at the date of the Revolution. Massachusetts and Maine, even at this moment, possess a large domain which is undisposed of. Now all of those lands were acquired by the common blood and treasure of the nation. The lands of Maine, and Virginia, and Georgia, which were unappropriated at the time of our Revolution, were as much the common acquisition of the whole Union, as the public lands in any of the Western States. But the old States, I reiterate, received every foot of unappropriated land within their limits. And yet when a new State asks for a small part of the public land within its limits, in discharge of high and important services, rendered by it in the construction of railroads through the Government domain, we hear the cry, Injustice to the old States. Place the new States on the same footing with the old States, and you would give them all the waste lands within their limits. This we do not ask. We are not so rapacious as the Atlantic States were when they occupied our position. All that we ask is a small appropriation, which, while it increases the revenues of the Treasury, will afford some remuneration for our services in the nation at large.

No other expenditure of public money has resulted in so much and so general good as that which has had for its object the settlement of the West. Separate the new States from the old ones; strike off the Valley of the Mississippi, even in imagination, from the Atlantic seaboard, and you will possibly form some small conception of the benefits which the settlement and improvement of the public lands have had upon our national wealth, greatness, and prosperity. The fortification of your coast, your Navy, your Army, are all useful; but no statesman will pretend that any one or all of these combined has contributed one tenth as much to our reputation abroad, or our security at home, as the settlement of the great West. Now, while the settlement of the West has been of greater advantage to the whole country than almost anything else which has transpired in our history, it has cost the Government, your public domain has cost you \$74,757,579 58. Up to this time it has yielded you \$135,337,993 17—just \$60,580,413 79 more than it cost you. If the Navy, besides protecting our commerce, had yielded to the Treasury double the money it has cost, how irresistible would be an application for an appropriation to that branch of the service! But the settlement of the public domain has operated in that manner. It has increased the general welfare, it has augmented resources and multiplied the power of the country, and it has at the same time repaid to the Government two dollars for every one it has cost.

Will not gentlemen be instructed by the history of the past? Experience has taught us that every foot of land brought under cultivation in a new State adds to the wealth and prosperity of all.

'The current of emigration, from one part of the Union to the other—from the old to the new States—rolls back a golden tide of trade and business. The old States now supply nearly all the wants of the farmers of the Valley of the West, and hence its prosperity wonderfully promotes the welfare of the older States, of the Union. The poor emigrant from the old States, who establishes a farm in the West, soon contributes more to the wealth and commerce of the State he left than if he had remained there in dependent poverty. The prosperity of the new States reacts, through the channel of trade and business, in favor of the old States, and hence the wonderful growth of the whole country.' This is a fair statement of the fact. Every man of observation knows it to be true, and still you hesitate to be liberal to the new States—no, sir, not liberal, but just.

Mr. Chairman, Congress should either graduate the price of the public lands, or aid in enhancing the value of those which have been for a long time in market. All the public lands near our navigable rivers are readily sold and settled. So it is with the best lands in the interior. But the public lands of poorer class remain uncultivated forty years after they have been subject to private entry, dividing neighborhoods, keeping settlements sparse, and rendering it impossible, very frequently, for our people to enjoy even the blessings of common schools. In order to remedy this evil, the new States have been applying to Congress for more than a quarter of a century to graduate the price of the public domain. This has been steadily refused. Now, in order to settle our waste lands, we ask you to aid in increasing its value, by grants to railroads, which will enable Government to sell the public domain at its present minimum in all cases, and at double the minimum in many instances.

I hope gentlemen will not oppose this policy because the new States are to have an immediate benefit. What would be thought if the West should vote against a proposition to fund an important support because the money need

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