

That the imappropriated lands which may be erd or retinquished to the United States by any reular State * * * shall be disposed of for the mon benefit of the United States ; and be settled abrined into distinct republican States, which abecome members of the Federal Union, and we the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and Accudence as the other States. Sco. That the said pushill be granted or settled fat such times, and with regulations, as shall hereafter be agreed in the United States in Congress assembled, or nine pore of them."

pursuance of this resolution, New York, Vir-Massachusette, Connecticut, South and North ma, Georgia ceded their claims to the waste auside of their State limits. And in pursuance stesolution, the clause was inserted in the as usion giving Congress power " to dispose of, make all needful rules and regulations respectte territory or other property of the United a, under which clause Congress is limited in over over the public domain only by a sound

te objection of the gentleman from Georgia Dent,] who has just taken his seat, to grantthese lands to the actual settler under this bill that is holding out an indocement to the paoper thation of the Old World to immigrate bither, is of that class that can get here come now at are forced to seek our shores for bread; and will continue to come, no matter what your shion on this subject may be. A dire necess ares them from the land of their fathers and ome of their childhood. Starvation and death them from the Old World; and where can find a testing place save in the wilderness of New ! The decrees of fate are no less imperative the necessity that compete them to seek our -ici Then, as they must come, for man never, mere choice, team himsell f.o.n his native miry-the graves of his tathers, and home of his alred-un not bener to give them a home in our wildemess, and thus fasten them to the coup brathe stronger than oath of allegiance ! By this seale you place them in a condition to become tens, instead of leaving them to hang about the nieus of your cities, a curse to themselves and to ir own population:

agree with the gentleman, that it is the first y of man to take care of his own household; but, there is a kind of selfishness that defeats itselt; culightened selfishness seeks it own happiness romoting that of others. And while it is the of Goverment to take care of itself, this is one measures by which to do it-one to give i in peace, and strength in war. The first ion to this mode of disposing of the public a, by those who have given the subject but little tion, is that it is leveling and agrarian. Sir, es was there ever an attempt made, since the ild began, to wrest from power its ill-gotten or its undbe advantages, and to restore to bis inalienable rights, but it has been met by hends of the existing order of things with the out of leveling and agrarian !----

The is the alarm cry of the devotee of the past, Wich he has ever attempted to resist all reins and innovations upon established usages, deo condemned to the rack. Is it not time the d ceased its blind reverence for the past, or for ditions, because of their gray age?

you increase their consumption. So that every family of reven consumer, on average, yearly, seventy dollars' worth of imported articles; and the average of the tariff being about thirty per cent, each family of that number pays to the Government annually twenty-one dollars. By the sale of these lands the Government receives, for a quarter section, two hundred dollars, the interest of which would be twelve dollars a year; so the government would be the gainer of hine dollars a year by giving away this land to a settler in preference to selling t without a settlement.

orts of life, or increase man's means to pay for them

For the purposes of education, building railroads and opening all the avenues of trade. the best disposition to be made of these lands is to grant them, in limited quantities, to the seuler. The two hun dred dollars the Government now takes for the land would enable the settler to furnish himself with the necessary stock and implements to commence its cultivation. Acd, with this beginning, he soon sur rounds himself with the comforts of life, and has the means to erect the school-house and church, and all the other ornaments of a higher civilization. and to educate and rear his children respected

membera of society. . Under the present policy of the Government his earnings for years are abstracted for the benefit of speculators. The Government sells a township of land six miles square, containing, therefore, thirtysix sections of six hundred and forty acres each: making twenty-three thousand and forty acres of land in the township. Now, the settler when he comes to buy, must pay, in most case, four or five dollars per acre. So on each township of land purchased from the Government, by the speculator you compet the settler to pay \$100,000 over the Government price, which amount would be suffi cint, or nearly so, to build a railroad through the township. With this capital that you have abstracted by the policy of the Government, the avenue, of commerce and trade would be opened by the c zen as hair !want called for them, while their industry would furnish them business. Fill up your wildernesss with population, and cease to abstrac their earnings for the support of idleness and ex travagance, and the railroad, church, and school house; will keep pace with your advancing, settle ments. This policy will not only increase the re

venues of the General Government, and the taxable rooperty of the new States, but will add to their population, and will swell the commerce of the country, while it will be an inducement to the landless of the old States, where a surplus population is constantly reducing the price of labor by its own competition, to seek a home, where they can be secured from the fear of the poor-house and the 190 W 121 1 13 151 15 L would not, however, have this Government con verted into an alms house to relieve all the miser. ies and woes that afflict man; yet I would have it legislate, so far as is consistent with sound principles, so as best to promote the happiness and wellate of the citizens ; for thereby you promote the real intersts of the country and make strong all the elements of pational power. Revenue should not co Socrates was poisoned with the hemlock, and General Jackson, in his land, velo messages, of the December, 1823, says; serent protect Latore pour

to bring life and immortality to the weary pilgrim of earth, and beckon them on to a higher and nobler existance, laid the foundation of his mission in the alleviation of physical , pain, suffering, and woe. He cleansed the lepsi, touched the blind eve, the severed brow, and withered limb ; and the first petition, in the supplications which He taught nan to address to the Author of all Good, -was, "Give us day by day our daily bread." The best evidence of the divinity of that mission was its adaptio to the nature, condition, and wants of man --In the language of remarks, made on this subject n a former occasion, viches, it is true, are necessary to man's enjoyment; but the means 'to prevent starvation are. Nor is a splendid palace pesessary to his real happiness; but a shelter against the storm and winter's blast is. It you would lead the erring back from the paths

of vice and crime, to virtue and honor, give him a home, give him a hearthstone, and he will surround it with household gods. If you would make men wiser and better, relieve your alms houses, close the doors of your penitentaries, and break in pieces your gallows. Purify the influences of the domes t c fireside : for that is the school in which human character is formed, and there its destiny is shaped, there the soul receives is first impress, and man his first lesson, and they go with him, for weal or elevating the thoughts, and developing the noblest oris all classes of the State.

It was said by Lord Chatham, in his appeal to waged a ceaseless wastare with the House of Haris burgh. Her three weak and leeble cantons of Uri, Schweitz, and Underwalden, for more than a century, baffled the imperial arms of Austria And during the night of the middle ages," when darkness and gloom light palled the hopes of men, and shrouded all Europe in despotiem, the fires of liband the spirits still lived in the hearts of her untons

landless of lished by the Government. wh istribute her public lands among the alows that float in the twilight. He who came the nation. And had that policy been adopted, her ancient Campania, instead of being now known as speculator, in addition to all the other disadvantathe Pontine Marshes, might have continued the garden of the world, and the star of her empire might have waved in triumph long after the ivy twined her broken calpmns. The Italian Republice; that rose from the ruins of the empirer flourished for a day; but they, too, fell with the neglect and decay of agriculture. It is the great interest upon which a nation must rely in the hour of its peril and it should therefore be most sedulously cared for in the day of its prosperity. While the population of a country are the proprietors of the land which they till, they have an interest to surround their fire. sides with comfort, and make their homes happythe great incentive to industry, frugality, and sobriety. It is such habits alone that give security to a government, and form the teal elements of na-

tional greatness and power. The associations of an independent freehold are eminently calculated to enhoble and elevate the possessor. For the proud consciousness that man ever feels in standing on soil that he can call his own-the consciousness that there is one spot on the earth's surface over which he can exercise sole dominion, and that spot is his home, which he hopes to transmit as such to his children-is one of the best and noblest stimplants to well doing. Pertor woe, through life. For purifying the sentimen a haps his farm has come down to him from his fatheis. It was the scene of their former labors, and impulse of man's nature, the influences of rural the play-ground of his childhood; around him are fresides and agricultural life are the noblest and the objects of the earliest and fondert associations he best. In the obscurity of the collage, far remov. of his life. The brook along which he sported in ed from the eeduciive influence of rank and afflu , boyhool, the meadow over which he gamboled tu erice, is nourished the virtues that counteract the de. his way to the school house of his early days, and cay of human institutions, the courage that defends near by is the church yard where repose the ashes national independence, and the industry, that sup- of his fathers, by the side of whom, when this life is o'er, he expects to rest in peace. Amidel asso-

ciations I ke these he is bound to the Government, he House of Commons, in 1775, to withdraw the that shields and protects him by the strongest ties British troops from Boston, that " trade indeed, in.] known to mortals. It is the life-spring of a manly, crease the glory and wealth of a country; but its national character, and a notile, generous, patriot une strength and staming are to be looked. for in ism; a patriotism that rushes to the detence of the the cultivation of the land. In the simplicity of country, and the vindication of its honor, with the their lives is found the simpleness of virtue, the in. I same zeal and afactily that it guards the bearth stone tegsity and courage of treedom. These true, gen and frestile. It is amid the sports and labore of the nine sons of the soit are invincible." In the world's I field alone that these associations are kindled in all history their arms have ever proved the citadel of their mensity. They spring not from constant con nation's power; their hearts the balwark of lib., tact with brick walls, and the through avenues of eny. For more than, three centuries Switzerland a crowded mart, where gain is the all-absorbing thought that in a great degree shapes and, controls the actions of men. The puty counterpoise to the evils that afflict man

n a dense popula ion is in the nursuits of a country life, where no fin id atmosphere of a crowded. city crushes, incubus like, the vigor of youth, and the energies of manhood ; but where children grow erty still bernedbrightly plong the crest of the Alps, up amid rocks, woods, and waterfalls, and all the wild beauties of nature's every varying scenes, with derived from incidental sources—the amounts from liant with those of the plumed warrior, are equally, wild beauties of nature's every varying scenes, with the public lands varying an different, years from a if not more lasting. Their achievements are in the unered bestantig. Whith Bomies and firesides to dei the pure air of hearen to fan their locks and the mufend, the arms and hearts of an independant, year sic of birds mingling with their morning prayer and veeper hymn, Amid such associatious is developmanry are a surer and more impregnable deteuser than battlement, wall or tower. A stell sta contract ed the most of the best of man. Health, and, long Man, in defence of his hearth stone, is riever con-Tyears is there his. "God made the country, and quered save, with his life. In such a struggle, man made the town." The population of cities and crowded districts are short-lived ... fittes are the venue, not only from a sense of justice and tight to fer his ardor and palsy bis arm by legislation that every pars becomes & Thermopylers southersty plain ban Marsthonon Wherever freedom tas and destroyers of human life, as well as the reservoirs the citizen, but in order, while our tariff system "On the whole, I adhere so the brinine aprese furled har bellert, the men who have allied houid of heir miseries; and the statistics of their moralis i shall cuttines, to give 10 th a more uniform stand. ed by me in my annual message of 1832; this it is to subtain and uplicit' it have come from the work. Iy seem to corroborate the statement of Mr. Blair, ard, and thus subject it to less changes.

an amount from his earlings for the benefit of the conterv. ges that over beset the unequal struggle between the bones and sinews of men and dollars and cente; son, who has advanced money for a piece of pro-

al his fireside, and penury and sorrow surround his · · · · death-bed 2 Mr. SMITH, of Virginia. It would ask the gen

leman, who talks about those who are pinched now lietore the committee does not allow the wealthiest man in American to get one hundred and sixty acres of land ? Perhaps he has overlooked that fact. .

Mr. GROW. No, sir; I have not. The bill is general in its provisions. Any man who goes there and settles upon the public domain for the purpose of cultivation, has secured to him a quarter section of land.

Mr. SMITH. If a man has ten thousand acres of land, cannot he get one hundred and sixty acres under the provisions of this bill 3

Mr GROW. Certainly he can, if he set les on and cultivates it. The object is the settlement and cultivation of these lands. What matters it, then whether the settler be rich or poor? I am in favo of this pulicy of disposing of the public lands as contradistinguished from all others. I am speaking of the general principles which

should control in making a full and final disposition of these lands, and settling a public policy which shall take them forever out of the legislation of Congress. Wp have innumerable bills piled or rour table, and before Congress, for the disposition of these lands to railroad companies, in order U. t they may be thrown into the market and absorbed by capital, and that in enormous quantities, to the mjury and detriment of the labor of the country. The public lands are now the great fund to be scrambled for, by schemes of private legislation, for the benefit of companies and individuals. That eason would be sufficient. If there were no dihers why we should fix some general policy that would settle this land question forever ; and settle it in the way best calculated to secure the real greatness and glory of the country; and promote the happiness and wellare of the race.' I know no reason why the Government should lot k to the public lands as a source of revenue than to any other of the bounties of God to man. Why should they not be graped to the actual settler, hit himitell quantifies, at a price barely sufficient to pay the cost of survey and transfer? and thus the Government would di charge faithfully its trustito the citizen. While the lands are looked to as a source of revenue, owing to the keeps our tariff fluctuating, and we can fix upon no revenue standard, for the unceftr inty of the amounts million to six or seven millions. So that one year we have too much revenue, and the next that engine h. owing, in some degree, to the fluctuations in the revenue from this source. Let us then cease forever to look to the public lands as a source of re-

te of the lands, then do not the lands rem sold still belonging to the common people of this

Mr. GROW. Certainly they do. But can a perwhat wonder is it that misery and want so oben sil reity, complain that you derive him of a portion of his investment, after all the money he advanced has been relunded ? The furthersales of the proper ty, if any, would be a speculation. And, sir, is it a wise and sound policy for the Government to hold by penury and want, whether the bill which is these lands for such a purpose? For after they pass from the Government, until settled, the Government derives no advantage from their sale, save the interest on the \$1 25 per acre. But by an ac mal settlement the occupant is constantly paying revenue on the imported articles which he consumes, while he is increasing the taxable property of the State, and allding his part to ull that gives comfort to society. But none of these advantages result from the lands being held by a speculator. Mr. DENT. - 11 the gentlemen will allow me to interrupt him; I simply want to ask one question One of the objects of the friends of this measure seems to keep the public lands out of the hands of speculators. Now, I ask the gentleman from Perin extrania, and the friends of the measure, how they will keep these lands out of the hands of specula tous when the five years of the tenantry have ron

Mr. GROW. The man who has kept his quarteresection five years, and has surrounded i with the comforts of the fireside, and has connected with it all the associations of home, is not likely to leave, it unless at be for the purpose of bettering his condition in some far distant location. The proba-bilities are that it will remain in the hands of the settler, who first selects it; for what does the speculator want of cultivated lands 1 But even if the settler does sell, it would be to some one who wants to cultivate the land, and that would secure its coninned settlement and cultivation-the object of the

But the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. DEST] is n favor of the most liberal bounty land laws for the soldier. He and many others who oppose this billy ard reddy, in all cases, to vote bounties. The men, who go forth at the call of their country to uphali its standard and vindicate is honor are deservings. it is true, of a more subscantial reward than tears iq the dead and thanks to the living. But the truest heroism is not always found in the night watch and orforn hope of the battlefield ; but in the garret, the workshop, the by-faues of toll, and the wilderness home, where the bones and shows of men are strugt cles of nature, and the equally unmerciful obstacter of a false civilization .: Industry in rage, and labor reighed down by poverty, work ng day by day, face to face with death, yet keeping usstained hands; womanly honor fighting with hinger and crushed ? by despair, yet keeping its heart unsullied ; infanse cy, born in squallid vice and cradled in ghastly crime, yet in manbuod, asse ting, the dignity of its namre . In these achierements, on the obscure ban, " manly courage, and forbitude that crowns the. here of the tented field. But as the plumed warrior mouned on his charger, is conspicuous upon the battlevalying amounts collected almually from them, it field above the unprelending private in the ranks.so. these obscure soldiers of civilization are passed by as unheeded while living, as are their graves, w deall." Yet their schiovements, if not equally bril. van of civilization, and on the footsteps of the say terests of munkind-for his happiness and welfare not fir his destruction. "While, then, the pioneer

spirit goes forth into the wilderness, snatching new areas from the wild Geost, and bequesthing them a legacy to civilize man, let not the Government damps places him in the power of soulless capital and graps are the only fors that his own stern heart and right farmennut ungusti.