LEWISBURG CHRONICLE.

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For the Lewisburg Chronicle.

To L****, Richmond, Va.

A *thought* of me—one thought of me,
Within that gentle heart of thine,
Even though Memory's pictures there
Be traced by other hands than mine—
Though many friends warm, true, sincere,
Oft bend their speaking eyes to thee
Though Flattery enchant thine ear—
Still keep one thought, one thought of me.

When happy in thy soul's delight,
And besming joys around thee play,
To gild with stars thy quiet night,
And linger even through the day—
O would I then, in such an hour
Of sweet and fond felicity,
Still ask thy heart with Friendship's power
To cherish still one thought of me.

Whate'er may be my lot in life,
Through storm or sunshine it may glide,
Or be beset with trial-rife
Or bear me on its rushing tide,
Yet in the waves that rudely dash
Across its threatening surging sea,
One thought alone shall keep me safe—
That cordious thought, a thought of thee.

Philadelphia C. S.

Accounts from the New York papers, give the Mr. Ephraim Holbrook, who died the 24th ult., in the city of New York, at the age of 64 years, left an estate $100,000, one fourth of which he bequeats to his wife, and the residue to the American Tract, Bible, and other benevolent Societies.

On Friday week, Mr. Phillip Dempsey captured a wild cat on Brush mountain, Blair county. He succeeded in running it down with his dogs, when he despatched it with a club. It weighed forty-three lbs., and is a species of animal that is getting very scarce even in the mountainous region.

The emigration from Germany is said to be so great from the Port of Bremen, as to surpass anything before known. Emigrants average over 600 per day. The Germans will soon overflow the land at the rate they are now flocking to our shores.

The Harper's have lately purchased the International Magazine, and will unite its pages and interest, and subscription list, with their own popular monthly, and make one great and worthy periodical for the family circle, and promiscuous reading.

A Knowing Cat.—Recently a gentleman of New Bedford, brought by stage from Tiverton, R. I., a fine cat. The poor animal, not liking his new locality, found his way home in just eleven days, traveling a distance of sixteen miles.

It was lately stated that a number of cats had been shipped from New York to California, on speculation. The Cincinnati Nonpareil says that a citizen of that place has lately sent off 500 dogs to the same destination.

The jury box now in use in the city of Lynn, Mass., has been kept for its present purposes 120 years. The one used in Portsmouth, N. H., was made in the year 1740, and has been in regular use for 122 years.

A young man at Niagara having been crossed in love, walked out to the precipice, took off his clothes, gave one look at the gulf beneath him—and then went home. His body was found in—bed.

An American citizen in Florence says that in that city there is not an *auger*, and that the carpenters have nothing but a red hot poker to bore holes! Yet in that city the finest sculpture is produced.

Two of the Iron Works which carried off the premiums at the World's Fair, for iron, have ceased operation—Messrs. Forsyth & Son, of Chester county, and Moore & Hooven, of Norristown.

In Sweden, when a man gets drunk the third time, he is deprived of the right to vote. A very good law. If it were in force in this State, what an awful lack of voters there would be!

A beggar boy applying to a lady at Boston one day last week, for money to get castor oil, was called in, and the oil was administered gratis, despite his grimaces.

A gentleman in Hopewell township, York county, trapped a few months ago, a possum that was perfectly white, with all the other marks peculiar to the race.

The man that was kicked by a sawhorse, last week, was obliged to submit to an amputation. His trowsers legs were taken off just above his boots.

N. P. Willis challenges John Van Buren to fight a duel, and John shows his good sense by declining the "honor" of being shot at by fool.

Daniel Tucker, who has been so often warned to "get out of the way," is said to have been run over by a train of cars in Arkansas.

It cost thirty thousand dollars to prove a lady of unsound mind, in an English Court. The trial lasted sixteen days.

"Why don't you hit one of your own size?" as the ten-penny nail said to the sledge hammer.

Speech of Hon. John L. Dawson, of Pa.

ON THE

Bill granting one Quarter Section of the Public Land to Actual Settlers.

Delivered in the House of Representatives, March 3, 1852.

The House having resolved itself in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and taken up for consideration the bill "to encourage agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and all other branches of industry, by granting to every man who is the head of a family and a citizen of the United States, a homestead of one hundred and sixty acres of land, out of the public domain upon condition of occupancy and cultivation of the same for the period herein specified,"—

Mr. Dawson said—

Mr Chairman: I am in favor of the principle of this bill, and of its general provisions. I shall consume but a very small portion of the time of the House in assigning the reasons why I shall give it my support.

The proposition to donate the public lands in limited quantities, and with certain limitations, to actual settlers, is one of growing importance and of increasing interest to a large portion of the American people. In the few remarks that I shall submit in support of the general proposition, I shall avoid and discountenance any view that may approximate, or even give a color to a leveling or an agrarian spirit. I shall avoid any sanction, or any attempt at a demonstration of the problem, that there is a natural, indefeasible right inherent in every citizen to occupy and enjoy land without price, condition, or grant.

The structure of our Government is republican, not only in theory, but it is truly so in all its practical operations. There is no Government in existence now, nor none known to history, where the path to honor and distinction is so broad and so generally trodden as that which has been pointed out under the guidance of our Federal Constitution, nor none where the rewards of labor have been more certain or more generally diffused.

I shall treat the question as one not only wise and just in itself, but as political in its conception and results—as being intimately connected with and forming a part of our political economy.

Our own brief experience as a nation is illustrating the historic truth, that Governments commit egregrious errors; that they grow wild in the extravagance of their expenditures as the national revenues increase to an extent evincing not only great prosperity, but great national wealth. In the course of my remarks, I shall take occasion to draw the attention of the House and of the country to the large increasing receipt into the national treasury under our revenue system, and to the corresponding expenditure that is marked as a consequence, leaving the inference to be drawn whether the administration of the Government would not be more just, more pure and more economical, without any real or anticipated revenue from the sales of the public lands.

In the vast possessions of the Government, known as the public domain, there is comprised an area of fourteen hundred millions of acres. Its boundary finds now but a mere scattered beginning on the northwestern borders of Ohio, which was but recently the frontier settlement, and extends through the fertile valley of the Mississippi to the shores of the Pacific ocean, and from the lakes on the north to the Gulf of Mexico and the waters of the Atlantic. It embraces a variety of soil and a variety of climate, enriched in mineral wealth, and fruitful in agricultural productions. There would seem to be nothing wanting to develop its mighty resources, to elevate it to the capacity, the power, and dignity of a mighty empire, but to encourage its settlement, to secure its improvement, to stimulate and strengthen the arm that will fell the forest, cultivate the wild prairie, and reclaim the wet and waste lands. It was said by an eminent author that he that would make two spears of grass grow where but one would have grown, deserved the thanks of the community. This remark was made in the spirit of true philosophy, and is practical operation in determining a new policy for the management of the public domain, is deserving the favorable consideration of the American Congress.

The title in the General Government to the public domain has been acquired by deeds of cession, and by purchase through treaties with the Indians, as well as with France, Spain, and Mexico. The success of the revolution of independence gave the colonies or independent States a claim or title to the country lying or situate between the Canadas and Louisiana, which then belonged to France, and from the New England coast to the East bank of the Mississippi river. To avoid a feud that threatened from an angry conflict growing out of unsettled State boundaries, States equal in sovereignty and independence, ceded or conveyed to the General Government their right to the public domain. If Virginia was not the first to lead the way in this great sacrifice or contribution to the common fund, it is nevertheless true—and she may refer to it with pride, as forming a bright passage upon the page of her history—that after the gallant part she bore in the cause of the Revolution, from the adoption of the Declaration of Independence to the surrender of Cornwallis upon her own soil, she conveyed to the General Government her right to the most magnificent region of country upon which the eye of man has ever rested. It stretches from the Ohio to the Mississippi and to the Lakes, and comprises the States of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, and now contains a population of 4,523,139 souls—a country possessing great commercial advantages—almost unlimited in agricultural resources—penetrated by beautiful rivers—crossed by artificial lines of communication connecting the Ohio and the Mississippi with the lakes—covered with churches, school houses, cities, towns, and villages, and exhibiting all the evidences of high and unprecedented prosperity, and State after State will yet surpass Virginia herself, as Ohio has already done, and vie with her upon this floor for numerical preponderance in the councils of the nation.

By an examination of the books of the Land Office, I have ascertained that the number of acres of public land in each State and Territory unsold and undisposed of on the 30th of June, 1851, was 1,400,632,305 48, and are distributed as follows:

States and Territories.	Acres undisposed of.
Ohio	302,195 62
Indiana	1,049,680 91
Illinois	8,219 628 72
Missouri	26,635,589 32
Alabama	15 486,849 23
Mississippi	8,849,165 11
Louisiana	13,579,384 47
Michigan	20 011,143 77
Arkansas	22,303,746 72
Florida	32 863,518 66
Iowa	25,661,550 27
Wisconsin	24,506,294 83
California	120,447,840 00
Minnesota Territory	59,075,931 85
Oregon Territory	206,349,333.00
New Mexico Territory	127 383,040 00
Utah Territory	113,589,013.00
Northwest Territory	276,040 950 00
Nebraska Territory	87 484,000.00
Indian Territory	119,789,440.00
Total	1,400,632 305 48

The aggregate cost of the public lands, to the 1st of January, 1850, the date of the last computation, was as follows, viz:

Cost of purchasing	$61 121 717 12
" surveying	6,369 838 67
" selling & managing	7,466 321.19
	—— $74,957 879 38

The aggregate receipts from sales of public lands from the earliest period to the 1st of January, 1850, amounted to the sum of $135 339,093 17.

No estimate has yet been made for the newly acquired Territories, or for California, and can not be made until the land system has been extended to the Pacific, and the actual cost of surveying, &c., ascertained.

Deduct, then, the actual or aggregate cost from the aggregate receipts, and it leaves a net balance—a clear profit—in favor of the Government of $60,381,213 79.

In this computation of cost is included the fifteen millions paid to France, under the treaty of 1803, for Louisiana, and the five millions paid to Spain, under the treaty of 1819, for the Floridas. By deducting this amount ($20,000,000) from the cost, the actual profit to the Government would be $80,381 213 79.

I propose to make this deduction for the reason that, in the purchase of Louisana the value of the land within its limits formed *no part* of the consideration whatever. The Government of the United States found it to be their true policy—an indispensable policy—to get possession and command of the mouth of the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico, a policy dictated by every consideration of commercial interest, as well as by every consideration, in a military point of view, pertaining to the defence of the country.

The same policy governed in the purchase of the Floridas. Thus, then, is the most favorable exhibit that can be made of the land system, as a source of profit and revenue to the Government, in a period of sixty-four years, from 1787 to 1850.

It also appears that, within a fraction, the one half of the above sum was the result of the receipts for the two years of 1835 and 1836. In 1835, the receipts amounted to $14,787 600 75, and in 1836, to $24,877,179 86.

These extraordinary receipts were the result of reckless speculation, created and stimulated by a depreciated paper currency, which at that time was receivable for public dues, and the evil was only arrested by the issuing of the *specie circular* by President Jackson.

To such an extend had the national Treasury become burdened from the proceeds of the land, that distribution was resorted to, and Congress, by the act of 23d of June, 1836, concluded to deposit with the several States of the Union the sum of $37,468,859 97, of which sum actual deposit was made of $27,063 430 80.

As a mere question, then, of investment in the abstract, the Government might here rest, for it has been more than reimbursed. But in this view of the subject, the question of profit as connected with and forming a part of our political economy, presents itself in another light. Commerce is the life and support of every nation. Its foundation is to be traced to the cultivation of the soil, and its prosperity reckoned by the extent of its agricultural productions.

In ancient times, it was commerce that gave wealth and power and grandeur to Carthage, and Tyre, and Alexandria, and in modern times, wealth and empire to Holland and to Venice. The loss of their commerce was the decay of their prosperity and the loss of empire. Should it not, then, be our policy to extend far and wide the basis of our agricultural interest, and thus lay broad and deep the foundation of our commercial prosperity?

I might here inquire to what extent, then, would the passage of this bill induce settlement and increase production. The most liberal estimate of those who could avail themselves of the provisions of the bill would not exceed a million of persons. One hundred and sixty millions of acres of wild land, settled, improved, and cultivated, as the result of a policy, shadowed forth and guarantied by the passage of this bill, would not only extend far and wide the basis of our agricultural interests, but it would extend far and wide, and secure our commercial supremacy.

The increase of agricultural productions consequent upon such settlement and cultivation would be almost incalculable. The single item of wheat, estimating a surplus over and above the necessary wants of the producer, at three bushels per acre, would be equal to 480,000,000 of bushels; valued at fifty cents per bushel, would amount to $240,000,000. The same rule and estimate will apply to all the other great variety of agricultural productions, the result of settlement, improvement and cultivation of the soil.

A million of freemen, by the liberal action of their own Government, put in possession of a limited quantity of wild land—a home, would soon supply their families with the necessaries and comforts of life. The history of all prosperous communities exhibits the fact, that we supply our wants and consult our comforts in proportion to the means within our control. With increased means comes an increased demand for all those supplies, the interchange of which is the life of commerce, and constitutes one of the main elements of national prosperity. Much that contributes to our necessary wants and comforts, is the product of foreign climates. Assume, then, that each landholder created by the passage of this bill would, in consequence of the increased production, the result of his own labor, be enabled to supply himself and family with foreign productions and fabrics to the value of but fifty dollars per annum, and it would increase our annual imports, $50,000,000; the revenue derivable from which, under our present revenue system of thirty per cent., would yield annually to the national Treasury the sum of $15,000,000. The increased importation thus created, would induce a corresponding export of agricultural produce—the result of a wise, just, and benevolent system of governmental policy, which had caused two spears of grass to grow where but one would have grown.

If it is true, as it has been alleged, that it is the policy of the Government to cling to the public domain as a source of revenue and profit, I insist that no grander scheme of speculation can be devised than the passage of this very bill. All land speculations in the valley of the Mississippi have proved successful just in proportion to the extent of the surrounding settlements, improvement, and cultivation. The very basis upon which the numerous grants here to ore made by Congress of alternate sections of the public land to aid in the construction of roads, canals, and railroads, was the assumed increased value that would be given to the remaining sections by the construction of such improvements. It is the great argument relied upon in support of the numerous applications and bills for the partial appropriation of the public domain to aid in the construction of State works and corporate improvements. If Congress has recognised the principle and acknowledged the force of the argument, by sanctioning this system of partial legislation, why not carry out the principle and extend the policy? I am opposed to this partial legislation; and in the general scramble that is about to ensue for the public domain, I want this bill to stand first and foremost upon the statute-book.

Mr. Chairman, in the examination and discussion of this subject, it is important to remark, for it is true, as exhibited by legislative history, that the policy of the Government in the management of the public lands, with a view to revenue, has for years contemplated a change—a relaxation, if not a total abandonment, of such policy.

As early as 1832, General Jackson, in his annual message to Congress, stated that—

"It can not be doubted that the speedy settlement of these lands constitute the true interest of the Republic. The wealth and strength of country are its population; and the best part of the population are the cultivators of the soil. Independent farmers are everywhere the basis of society, and true friends of liberty. It seems to me to be our true policy that the public lands shall *cease* as soon as practicable to be a source of revenue."

In 1840, the aggregate revenues of the Government were $17,666,450 03. The expenditures reached to $24,139 920 11. In 1851, the revenues reached to $52,312,979 87. The aggregate current expenditures for the same year were $50,952,902 59.

In 1840, the population of the United States was 17,069 453. In 1850, it was 23,257,723. Mark the disparity! Why this extraordinary increase of expenditure? The question can be readily answered. The Treasury is too full—its overflowing stimulates an ardent, impatient, and resistless appetite for extravagant expenditure. In the presence of its glittering and imposing influences, all the old fashioned practical notions and safe-guards of political economy relax and give way. By the last report of the Secretary of the Treasury, submitted to Congress, December 26th, 1851, it appears, that by including the balance on hand at the close of the preceding fiscal year, it is found that the surplus in the Treasury on the first July, 1851, after deducting the current expenses, was $10,911,645 68. It appears further, by the same report, that the estimated receipts for the fiscal year 1852, will be $51,800,000; whilst the expenditures are estimated at $42,892,299 19, being an excess of receipts over the expenditures of $8,907,700 81. I may inquire, then, under this state of facts, in the language of President Jackson, if it is not now "practicable" that the public lands should "cease to be a source of revenue?"

That the period has arrived when they should cease to be a source of revenue is not only indicated by the recent legislation of Congress, but that they will not for years yield revenue is acknowledged in the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, made by Mr. Corwin to Congress on the 17th of December, 1850. Ex. Doc. No. 11, page 12. In referring to the sources of revenue, and particularly to that portion heretofore derivable from the sales of the public lands, the report sets forth, that "this source of revenue" "should not hereafter be relied upon with any certainty or to any considerable amount in estimating the receipts of the Treasury."

It further appears by the same report that "By the various acts of Congress appropriating the public lands to objects which withdraw them from ordinary revenue purposes, it is quite certain that for several years to come the Treasury must be mainly if not entirely dependent for its receipts upon duties levied upon foreign merchandize:" and that "The law recently enacted, giving lands to those who served in the war with Mexico, and at the last session, to such as had served in former wars, in addition to grants to States for internal improvements, will undoubtedly supply the market with the greater portion of the lands that will be required for occupation for many years to come."

The quantity of lands sold and taken from market by virtue of these warrants for the years 1847, 1848 and 1849, is 14,727,742 40 acres; the warrants yet to be presented under these acts will require 78 922,513 acres—in all 93,650,245 40 acres; and at the most liberal average "over sixteen years will be required to absorb and satisfy the warrants yet to be issued as estimated, under the several bounty land acts now in force." This exhibit presents a state of things requiring the fullest consideration of Congress, and a speedy and radical change in the policy and management of our land system. What better plan, then, can be suggested than that proposed by the bill now under consideration? What more just in its conception—more benevolent in its objects—more conducive to a rigid political economy, or more certain in its practical results, to swell the aggregate of the national wealth, and advance the great commercial interests of the country?

The power of Congress over the public domain can not be questioned, for it is contained in the Constitution, and is of the broadest kind. The third section of the fourth article is in these words:

"The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States, and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State."

The power of Congress over the public domain to make donations and grants, is not only given by the Constitution, but it has been freely and liberally exercised from the foundation of the Government up to the present time; at all events, from 31 March, 1803, to the 20th September, 1850, the date of the act granting about 3,025,920 acres to the State of Alabama, Mississippi and Illinois, to aid in the construction of the Chicago and Mobile rail road.

For the purpose of showing that the power has been exercised, and the extent to which it has been exercised, I refer to the exhibit of "donations" and grants to the different States for the various purposes mentioned:

Statement of Donations and Grants of Public Lands to States and Territories to the 30th June, 1851.

Ohio	12,664 853.97
Indiana	4 169 302.66
Illinois	11,126,802 88
Missouri	4 704 678.20
Alabama	2 263 014.99
Mississippi	4 231,578 56
Louisiana	10 572,115 56
Michigan	6 416 742 97
Arkansas	7 734,561.99
Florida	2,127 576 97
Iowa	4,078 457.14
Wisconsin	4,843 920.99
California	500,000.00
Minnesota Territory	3,939,631.00
Oregon Territory	12,186 987.00
New Mexico Territory	7 493,120 00
Utah Territory	6,681,707.00
	104 857 412 88

To come, however, more directly to a full illustration of the constitutionality, not only of the principle of this bill, but of its practical recognition by Congress, I need but refer to the act of the 27th of September, 1850, making donations of public lands in the Territory of Oregon to actual settlers. By the provisions of that bill, the actual settler is entitled to receive from one hundred and sixty to six hundred and forty acres, depending upon the time of his settlement and his condition, whether married or not.

No doubt can exist, then, as to the constitutional right of Congress to legislate in the premises. The exercise of the right in making a disposition of this kind of public property, depends upon the views of Congress under the circumstances before them.

The proposition, benevolent and patriotic in its conception, so far has neither been strengthened by the power, nor incumbered by the prejudice of party, but by the force of merit is attracting public consideration, and gaining strength and power through the force of public sentiment. It has received the sanction of Mr. Webster, now the Secretary of State. Whilst a member of the Senate of the United States, he introduced on the 22d day of January, 1850, the following resolution:

"*Resolved.* That provision ought to be made by law that every male citizen of the United States, and every male person who has declared his intention of becoming a citizen according to the provisions of law, of twenty-one years of age or upwards, shall be entitled to enter upon and take any one-quarter section of the public lands which may be open to entry at private sale, for the purposes of residence and cultivation; and that when such citizen shall have resided on the same land for three years, and cultivated the same, or if dying in the meantime, the residence and cultivation shall be held and carried on by his widow or his heirs, or his devisees, for the space of full three years from and after making entry of such land, such residence and cultivation for the said three years to be completed within four years from the time of such entry, then a patent to issue for the same to the person making entry, if living, or otherwise to his heirs or devisees, as the case may require: *Provided, nevertheless*, that such person so entering and taking the quarter section as aforesaid shall not have, nor shall his devisee or heirs have, any power to alienate such land nor create any title thereto in law or equity, by deed, transfer, lease, or any other conveyance except by devise by will."

In the discussion of the resolution on the 30th of the same month, the principle received the sanction of Gen. Cass in the following words:

"I desire to say but a word on this subject. I am glad to witness these preparatory discussions. They bring up a great principle—a principle to which I am highly favorable." * * * "I believe it would be better for the country that those who cultivate the lands should be those who hold them. I believe that the time has come, and that this country is now in a situation when it is best to hold out this encouragement, and that is what I call the 'age of progress,' in reply to the honorable Senator from Kentucky. When I saw him come here in 1806, in the meridian of his life, I did not dream that this age of progress would come; but I hope it has come now; I hope the time has arrived in which the public domain will be held for the benefit of those who will become actual settlers."

Mr. Chairman, the unexampled growth and prosperity of our country is traceable, in a great measure, not only to our vast agricultural productions, but to the fact that the free white population of the United States is an approximation to a community of landholders. The Government of Great Britain, of which, prior to 1776, we were dependent colonies, traces its power to a mighty landed aristocracy, representing one of the legislative departments of the Government—a power far above that of the Army and Navy, if not above the Throne, for it shapes the policy and controls the Legislative action of Parliament. There the rights of primogeniture are adhered to with stubborn tenacity. It seems to be the policy of the Crown to build up immense landed estates. In the United States, we have practiced upon the reverse of such a policy. We have qualified the right of primogeniture, and repudiated the doctrine of entailment. The fruits of our wisdom are visible in every State and in every community. In Great Britain, the Government relies for its protection upon the power of the Army, the Navy, and the House of Lords, representing the landed interest of the kingdom. In the United States, we rely for our success and preservation upon the virtue, intelligence, and patriotism of the people.

In Great Britain, the population in 1851, including Ireland and the islands in the British seas, was 27,619,866. The number of landholders only about 30,000.

In the United States and Territories the free white population, by the last census, was 19 630,738. The number of landholders—the owners of farms—was 1,448,486; add to this the number of freeholders as contradistinguished from farm owners, being 930,997, and it would increase the numbers to 2,380,483, distributed as follows:

Table showing Population and number of Landholders in the United States and Territories.

States and Territories.	Free white population	Number of landholders.
Maine	581 863	46 760
New Hampshire	317 489	29 229
Vermont	313 411	29,765
Massachusetts	985,704	31,235
Rhode Island	144,000	5 885
Connecticut	363,305	22,445
New York	3,049,457	170,621
New Jersey	466 240	23 905
Pennsylvania	2,258,463	127 577
Ohio	1,936,108	143 887
Indiana	977,628	93,896
Illinois	846 104	76 268
Michigan	395 097	34,089
Wisconsin	304,565	20 177
Iowa	191 879	14,805
California	163,200	108
Delaware	71,289	6,053
Maryland	418,590	21,860
Virginia	895 304	77,013
North Carolina	553,295	66 916
South Carolina	274,623	29,969
Georgia	521,438	51,759
Alabama	426,507	41,964
Mississippi	295,758	33,960
Louisiana	255,416	13,424
Tennessee	756 893	72,710
Kentucky	761,688	74,777
Missouri	592,077	54,458
Arkansas	162,068	17,758
Florida	47 167	4 304
Texas	154 100	12,198
District of Columbia	38,027	264
Territory of Minnesota	6,038	157
Territory of New Mexico	61,530	3,750
Territory of Oregon	13,087	1,164
Territory of Utah	11,330	926
Totals	19,630,738	1,448,486

Let us, then, Mr. Chairman, pass this bill, which will necessarily increase the number, and at the same time strengthen the arm of the Government.

Love of country and love of land is a natural association. It existed in a primitive condition of society. Under the organization of government and the forms of society, the desire for acquisition is still greater; and when attained, it enables its possessor to discharge more fully the duties of life—to contribute his part for the support of his country in time of peace, whilst it nerves his arm in the hour of battle. Patrick Henry, whose patriotism and matchless eloquence put in motion the ball of the Revolution, was ardent in the acquisition of land, and at one time, even contemplated a location of the shores of the Chesapeake. Washington, the Father of his Country, who led our armies in triumph through the battles of the Revolution, was equally ardent in the acquisition of land. Even before the Revolution, he found no barrier in the Alleghenies to his enterprising spirit, and at that early day, in the district which I have the honor to represent, he made a location and an improvement, which is now often referred to with interest, because when the dark forest marked it as the wild hunting ground of the Indian, it had received the impress of the Father of his Country.

The area of the public domain, instead of having diminished in proportion to settlement, the increase of population, and of emigration, has increased almost without limit, by purchase and by conquest. We have an immense extent unsettled and uncultivated; and under the best legislation we can adopt, a great deal of it must remain unsettled and uncultivated for ages—it may be for centuries.

The number of acres of public land unsold and undisposed of in the twelve States of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Florida, is 200,000,000—equal in area to the old thirteen States that carried us triumphantly through the Revolution.

The area of the lands remaining undisposed of in the Territories is 1,201,123,557 85 acres, sufficient in extent to make *forty-two* States of the size of Pennsylvania. Of this, much is possessed by the Indians, and will be for many years to come; but all of it eventually will become the property of the United States, from the certain operation of the same causes which seem to doom the Indian race to ultimate extinction—a result to be deplored, but which seems to be inevitable. They have already so far disappeared before the advances of civilization, until their homes are now far beyond the angry waters of the Mississippi; and as they travel towards the setting sun, the council fire will gradually disappear in the gorges of the mountain, and the war whoop finally be lost in the murmurs of the great Pacific ocean.

In this vast region there are certainly large districts that are mountainous, parts of which are unfit for improvement, and for the residence of man; but, after making all necessary deductions on this account, there will yet remain immense districts which will support a dense population, and sooner or later will be converted to the great purpose of civilization and production. What is to be done with this vast region, that it may be converted from an uncultivated wilderness to its natural purpose, and made to bring forth its fruits abundantly? Pass this bill—encourage and secure its settlement.

This Government was founded by the people for the good of the people. Its great basis is popular affection. It possesses an immense property which it can not sell, but by a process equal in time to a period of centuries. Compare the number of acres sold up to this date and the length of time (sixty-four years) that has been consumed in making the sales, with the number of acres now undisposed of, and it will be seen that it will require, at the same pace, nine hundred years to dispose of the same. The progressive spirit of the age is impatient of delay, and demands a quickened step. Vast forests and prairies separate our Atlantic and Pacific regions, which every consideration of security and of intercourse require should be settled. Its settlement would place upon a distant frontier a force able and willing to defend us against hostile savages, and thus spare us much of the expense we are now required to defray. It would be justice to the new States in which portions of the public lands are situated, by converting them into private property—subjecting them to taxation—and thus requiring them to bear their legitimate proportion of the burdens of State government.

With all of our unexampled prosperity, Mr. Chairman, in the arts and sciences, in the progress of improvement, in the extent of our commerce, in the growth and success of our manufactures, in wealth and in power, it is nevertheless true that there is great inequality in the condition of life, and that much can be done to ameliorate that condition without doing injustice or violence to the rights of any. There is no Government that has so much to spare as ours, and none where the gift would be productive alike of mutual benefit. It would be the exhibition of a union of philanthropy and national interest, consummating a measure by which worthy citizens would be made comfortable, not by wasting the property of the State, not by exactions from the property of others, but by moderate grants of wild land, the cultivation of which would swell the productive property of the country, and thus contribute its proportion to the common necessities, in peace and in war.

No inconsiderable portion of our population is unable, for the want of means, to push forward to the frontier, and there form settlements. Desirous of doing so, it requires an expenditure they can not meet. All that many of them can do, is to reach the country and provide for their support, until the land, improved by their labor, becomes productive. To require them to pay beyond that for the land, amounts to prohibition against their going there. The pre-emption system stimulated emigration and settlement; but experience has shown, that inability to pay the Government for the title after a period of severe trials incident to such new settlement, gave the land, in many instances, into the clutch of the speculator, and drove the hardy pioneer again to the forest.

Certainty and *reliability* are words full of import and value in the American language. The certainty of being secure in a small possession—a *home*—even on the extreme confines of civilization, would nerve the heart of many an honest man of limited means to make the effort to secure it. Pass this bill, and it will provide homes, and happy ones, for a vast number of meritorious persons, and teach them the value of a Government which desires to fulfill the first of its duties