

# A P L E A

FOR THE

## Farmers, Mechanics and Miners

OF MISSOURI.

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SPEECH OF HON. JAMES S. ROLLINS, OF BOONE CO.

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DELIVERED IN THE SENATE OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI, MARCH 19, 1872,  
ON THE BILL MAKING AN APPROPRIATION FOR THE BENEFIT OF  
THE "AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGE," AND  
THE "SCHOOL OF MINES AND METALLURGY"  
DEPARTMENTS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF  
THE STATE OF MISSOURI.

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*"There is no duty so solemn, no responsibility so fearful,  
as that resting on the statesmen of this republic of making broad and universal,  
the diffusion of education amongst the masses of the people."*

DANIEL WEBSTER.

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## FARMERS, MECHANICS AND MINERS OF MISSOURI.

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MR. PRESIDENT :—

This is a most important measure. One in which the working men of Missouri ought to feel the profoundest interest. It is intended to elevate them, and to make some provision for the education of their children. Whilst I would prefer the original bill, as recommended by the Committee, making as it does an independent appropriation for the benefit of the “Agricultural and Mechanical College,” and the “School of Mines and Metallurgy,” I do not seriously object to the substitute offered by the Senator (Mr. Morse,) from Jefferson. The former bill makes an independent appropriation from the treasury for the benefit of the “Agricultural and Mechanical College,” whilst the substitute provides for the payment of a debt due to the University by the State, and with authority to use a part of it for the “Agricultural and Mechanical College.” In either the original bill or the substitute the “School of Mines and Metallurgy” gets the same ; so that, whether the one or the other be adopted the same end is reached. I will vote for either measure, and shall follow the lead of a majority of the Senate. It is my purpose to address myself to the subject, presenting considerations equally applicable to the original bill or the substitute.

I have from early manhood been in the habit of addressing, in my poor way, public assemblies, both primary and representative ; yet I declare to you, sir, I have never before in my

life felt the solicitude I now do in attempting to address myself to the consideration of the bill before the Senate. I am almost overwhelmed with the conviction that, do the best I can, I shall utterly fail to give expression to my conceptions of the importance of the measure now pending, and which the votes of the General Assembly, the Senate and House of Representatives must soon pass upon.

NOT A LOCAL OR PARTIAL MEASURE.

I trust the Senate will at least do me the justice to believe, that in what I shall say, I am not bound down by narrow, or partial, or local considerations. No, sir; no, sir. I rise above all such. I say, with solemn emphasis, that in my advocacy of measures "to maintain" the University and make it worthy of the State, and especially in advocating this bill, the very object of which is to benefit the industrial and practical departments of the institution, and to give it the necessary means of imparting that experimental science which in the enlarged domain of human knowledge has become so important—I had almost said essential—to the agriculturist, the mechanic, the miner, the engineer, the architect and the practical chemist, that I am looking, in the broadest manner, to the honor, to the interests, to the respectability, at home and abroad, of this our great State of Missouri—this grand commonwealth, possessing such capabilities of wealth and power as I verily believe belong to no other State in this our wide-spread Union. Yes, sir, I am speaking for the whole State, and especially for the elevation and welfare of its industrial interests; and I feel that with my convictions, were I now to withhold my voice or my efforts, humble as they may be, I should be an unworthy and unfaithful representative of the people of Missouri.

THE PEOPLE THE STATE, AND NOT ITS MATERIAL RESOURCES,  
HOWEVER GRAND.

We are ever to remember, Mr. President, that our possibilities and capabilities, as a State, do not lie merely in our rivers, though affording more miles of navigation than those of any other State, nor in our magnificent central position, nor in our soil, though richer than that washed by the Nile itself, nor in our mountains of iron, or our fields of coal, or mines of lead, or quarries of marble, or in any other natural advantage, however great and wonderful. They do consist, sir, far more in the people we are to have, in our children and youth; those who, in fact, are soon to make up and constitute the State itself (for let it be forever remembered that the people are the State and nothing else is); those who are to use and possess all its vast and untold resources and means of enjoyment, who are to develop its civilization, and to create for it the name and glory it is to have as a commonwealth.

“What constitutes a State?

Not high raised battlements or labored mound,  
Thick wall or moated gate;

Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crowned;  
Not bays and broad armed ports,

Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;  
Nor starred and spangled courts,

Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume to pride.

No! men, high-minded men,

Men who their duties know,

But know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain?

These constitute a State!”

POWER OF EDUCATION.

In a word, it is our system of education, embracing both the elementary and the higher, which is to make us a great and intelligent people; which is to awaken our own self-respect, and command the respect of the world at large; which is to put it in our power to subsidize the forces of nature, and make them the servants and workmen in behalf of our common civilization.

## WHAT SCIENCE IN ITS APPLICATIONS HAS DONE AND IS TO DO.

It is by no means my purpose to dwell upon what science has done for our age and generation ; hardly, indeed, to touch upon this grand and fruitful topic. We see its achievements everywhere, and in all departments of life, in the very greatest, and in the humblest and most minute. It has accomplished and made realities what you, sir, and I would, but a few years ago, have regarded as the wildest dreams of the imagination, if not, in the nature of things, utter impossibilities. I stand amazed at its results whenever I think of them. Steam, and lightning, and air, and all the agencies of nature as now subdued to the dominion of man by the simplest principles of science, have changed our whole earthly condition. It is practical science,—science applied to the arts of life, which has enabled men to understand and use the power and agencies of nature which exist everywhere around us. But the same science is to do yet more. She has but begun her triumphs. Think of all the wonderful discoveries of the past few decades. Far more will they be in the few years to come, for one discovery makes way for another, one step prepares for the succeeding one. I sometimes almost wish with Franklin, the great American philosopher, that I could lie torpid for a hundred years, and then walk forth upon the earth and see what improvements had been made among men. But, sir, I must not proceed in this line of thought, nor dwell upon the blessings which science is opening to our race.

Allow me here to say, that I am now pleading before this honorable body, not for classical studies or the elegancies and refinements of literature, however valuable and delightful that may be. I am pleading for science as applied to all the varied arts of life. In this I am pleading for the farmer, the mechanic, the miner, the worker in all the industries where science is needed ; and can any man tell me, where it is not needed, whether in the pursuits of war, or of peace, whether in navigation or manufactures, or agriculture, or mining, or even in the kitchen itself?

## THE GRAND EXAMPLE OF PRUSSIA—HER LESSON TO THE WORLD.

We have been amazed at the progress of one nation, which above every other of ancient or modern times, has made education the very fundamental principle of her government. The whole state-craft of Prussia is comprised in the simple word education—education—education—first, second, last—the very highest scientific education, and the very best elementary education. She has given us the great lesson of the age—she has pointed out the true method of national development and greatness. By this simple ruling idea, she has risen from the rank of a third or fourth rate power to be the great central power of Europe, and she has risen to this rank with unparalleled rapidity. There is not a department of industrial life for which this wonderful people have not their schools, their agricultural schools, their normal schools, their mining schools, their polytechnic schools. I can hardly enumerate them.

## THE NECESSITY OF PRACTICAL SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTIONS IN MISSOURI.

Mr. President, we must have in this, our commonwealth of Missouri—yes, I say *must*—we *must* have *our* scientific industrial institutions. The necessities of the state, the progress of opinion throughout the country, absolutely demand institutions such as we are laboring to build up in connection with our state university. The constitution, the laws, the true policy of the state demand them. Shall untold riches, such as no dream of oriental imagination ever pictured, lie all around us, on the earth and under the earth, and shall we, as a state, make no provision for their use or distribution? We cannot afford it. We cannot as an economic measure, looking simply at the development of wealth, afford it. With our varied ores and minerals, worth a thousand times all the sparkling diamond fields of South Africa, we need the practical knowledge of the world, to bring

them up from the earth and reduce them to the uses of man. We need the applied power of science beyond any other state. Shall the present legislature of Illinois give her hundreds of thousands to her industrial university—as she has actually done, and with far less need than Missouri—and shall we refuse a far less amount, a mere pittance, compared with the greatness of the object? We must have these institutions of science. If we do not establish and maintain them, other states will do it for us, and send their men to do our work. We must have them equipped and furnished in the best manner. It is too late in the day to deny their value. Why, sir, there is not a month in the year that we do not lose and waste more for the want of proper science than we are now asking by this bill, both for the School of Mines at Rolla, and the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Columbia.

#### COMMON SCHOOLS.

No man can say I have ever halted or held back as to our common schools. I have been at all times, and everywhere, according to the full measure of my feeble abilities, for the widest diffusion of elementary knowledge. Sir, I would make it universal; as free as the air that we breathe, and as the sunlight of heaven. I would extend it to every human being, no matter what complexion an Indian, an American or an African sun may have burnt upon him. I would, to the utmost of my power, perfect our scheme of universal popular education. I would plant the school house in every neighborhood; I would bring it to the door of the humblest sunburnt peasant; I would, to use the words of the great American historian, Bancroft, have the genius of the State take every child as it is born, no matter in what poverty or degradation, and, lifting it from its humble origin, throw around it the arms of protection, and endow it with the heritage of knowledge as its inalienable birthright. Said Madame de Stael to Napoleon: "Pour instruction upon the heads of the French people; you owe them that baptism."

Cousin, the great French philosopher, after visiting various countries, and examining their systems of education, upon his return to France, said, in the celebrated report which he made to the Chamber of Deputies: "Do whatever else you please, you have done nothing until you have supplied France with education!" Sir, in the light of recent events, these words were almost prophecy, and we have done nothing, absolutely nothing, unless we have legislated for the very highest interest of the people; their own advancement in science, in art, in a wide and universal culture. I place the people themselves above all their possessions. And Mr. Webster, in a speech in Richmond, Va., quoting that sentiment of the illustrious daughter of Neckar, said there was "no duty so solemn, no responsibility so fearful, as that resting on the statesmen of this Republic of making broad and universal the diffusion of education amongst the masses of the people." I most heartily adopt this sentiment.

#### THE HIGHER INSTITUTIONS.

When it comes to those higher institutions for the promotion of human knowledge, which the State is bound equally to provide, and which require the aggregation of libraries and buildings, apparatus and professors and students, in all departments I have been and am for concentration. It is the only possible way of success. In the words of Ezra Cornell, "I would found an institution where any person can find instruction in any study."

#### THE STATE UNIVERSITY AND ITS PROPER SUPPORT.

This is the State University, with all its departments as idealized in our state constitution, and such as we are laboring to build up at Columbia, a locality central in position, and in all respects suitable, with one of its departments, the school of mines and metallurgy, located at Rolla, in the county of Phelps; there located by the policy of the legislature on account of the variety of minerals found in that

district of the state, and the mining operations there carried on, and yet still more to be carried on in the future,—such an institution as we can with its present means, and a happy combination of circumstances, build up with comparatively small aid from the state. To-day we are actually asking less than states around us are freely giving to their universities, almost without argument, and upon the reports of their wants, after examination of committees. After the same judicious plan a joint committee of the two houses, composed of fifteen members, have made their examinations, and report the smallest appropriations necessary to meet the most urgent wants of the industrial departments of the institution. May we hope that the same action will take place in this enlightened body, and in the same spirit which took place in the Michigan legislature but the last winter? Judge Walker in his address at the recent inauguration of President Angell, says: “The committees of the legislature came to see and learn our necessities and wants—they made their reports and recommended the appropriation of \$75,000 for a recitation room building, without lobbying or besieging the halls of legislation, the appropriation was promptly and freely made.” But two years before that the legislature had appropriated a sum of \$15,000 a year, making the annual income of the institution now over \$100,000. Michigan University is a great success; her fame has gone to every civilized country. She has, at this very time, no less than *twenty eight students* from Missouri. The University of Michigan has been a success, and has achieved fame for the State, simply because she has had the means to do so. Can it be expected that we can do the same work with less than one fourth of the means, to say nothing of her accumulated capital in the form of libraries and other indispensable appointments?

#### GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY.

No State institution of learning can achieve its true end, or do honor to its State, without the means to do so. This is the simplest truism; yet, I doubt whether any five years pro-

gress of Michigan has surpassed the progress of our own University during the past five years and since the State gave its first aid. It is the professional schools of law and medicine which gather the large number of students at Ann Arbor, and give to the institution its wide-spread fame. Ours, with its present semester, or half year, reach over three hundred entrances—only fifty less than the far-famed University of Virginia, even with her professional schools, and equal to three-fifths of Michigan, without the professional schools.

THE STUDENTS NOT BOYS, BUT MEN, AND REPRESENTING ALL  
PARTS OF THE STATE.

It is, too, a most gratifying fact that while the students are (with one or two exceptions of less than a dozen) from Missouri, they are in about equal numbers north of the river and south of it, and from all parts of the State, about as well distributed as are the members of this General Assembly. They are not, either, mere boys, but men (excepting thirty young women), and fairly represent the rising talent and influence of the State. Had younger students been encouraged to enter the institution the count of numbers would have been much greater.

PROSPECTS IF NECESSARY MEANS ARE GIVEN.

With the necessary aid from the state to meet the present exigencies of the institution in the completion and proper equipment of the industrial departments, so that chemistry may be taught, by the student himself making analyses of soils and minerals, and that other branches may be taught in the same way by practice and experiment, we may expect a very large increase of numbers. It is of the utmost consequence that we do all in our power to maintain the continued and growing prosperity of the institution and all its departments. It was Napoleon the great who said, "Nothing is so successful as success." Success begets success. This is a law in human affairs. With the aid now asked for, the next

year will be more prosperous than any which has preceded. We have good reason to expect and believe that the institution will soon come up to the standard of the first American institutions, and that its position as such will be everywhere felt and acknowledged, and that it will confer honor upon the state itself.

THE OTHER SIDE.

But sir, I will not contemplate the other side of the picture. If nothing should be done, this state institution will not only have reached its goal, but there is great reason to fear it will actually fall back; professors will be discouraged, students will be disappointed, and what will the farmers and mechanics and miners say, and have reason to say?

WHAT THE AGRICULTURALISTS, THE MECHANICS AND MINERS WILL SAY.

May they not say, and will they not say, "The lawyers and the doctors and other professional men have their schools with public endowments; we now, for the *first* time in the history of the state, come forward with our petition for aid in a kind of education adapted to our peculiar wants. We want the means of experiment and practice. We must have them, if we are to keep pace with the spirit and progress of the times. We ask less for our industrial institutions than has been granted in Iowa, or Illinois, or Kansas, or even in the new and feeble State of Nebraska, with her 120,000 people and \$100,000,000 and less of taxables.

"We have the literary and scientific advantages of the university, and hence ask only for the industrial department—the department set aside for us, the farmers, the mechanics and the miners." So wisely have these interests been administered, and such the economy of connecting the industrial departments with it, that our call upon the state treasury is one-half and even two-thirds less than in those states where a different policy has been pursued. Shall we then, Mr. President, turn our backs upon such appeal?

THE EFFECT OF NOT TRULY REPRESENTING THE INDUSTRIAL  
CLASSES.

If we do there is not an agricultural paper in the state, or out of it, that will not express regret and dissatisfaction ; there is not an agricultural or mechanical association nor an industrial convention, where are concentrated the intelligence of our people, which will not seek to reverse our action and procure a right representation of their feelings and interests. If there is anything in regard to which there is unanimity among the best industrial men everywhere, it is as to the education which they require, and the education which they will have.

EFFECT UPON THE GROWTH AND PROSPECTS OF THE UNIVERSITY  
AND ALL ITS DEPARTMENTS.

If I could conceive that the legislature will not act favorably upon the bill before us, that it will not meet the helping wants and necessities of the institution, as reported and recommended by the committee, there must be great discouragement ; there will be reaction, and must be. The students in the agricultural department, who entered upon their studies at the opening of the school, cannot have the practical chemistry in the analysis of soils which belongs to their best year's course ; the building, now covered and closed in, will stand desolate, unfinished and unoccupied. This condition of things produces its injurious effect upon all departments of the institution, and upon the public mind. We must not, sir, by our inaction, or our non-action, permit this condition of things. We must not lose the prestige of yearly progress. We must not lose what it will require years of labor to regain. We must not stop the impulse which is carrying us forward. That the state will make the necessary appropriations, as every state is making them, or has already made them, no man can seriously doubt. Now, *now* is the time to make the smallest sum count the most in carrying forward this great interest. Next year or the year after it will not do. There is a crisis in the affairs of men, and nations, and institutions of learning.

“ There is a tide in the affairs of men,  
 Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune.  
*Omitted*, all the voyage of their life  
 Is bound in shallows and in miseries.”

THE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE LAND GRANT.

But, Mr. President, we reach another very important point in our plea for our industrial institutions. How came we by the agricultural and mechanical fund, which is to endow and support these institutions, or rather by those lands which, when disposed of, is to give us (the State of Missouri) a fund for this object? They are the gift of Congress to the State; and a like gift, in the ratio of representation, was made to all the States. How came Congress to make this grant or gift? The history is an interesting one, and well illustrates the character of our energetic, practical business men. They had become thoroughly convinced, by their own wants and deficiencies, and after discussion in pamphlets and newspapers, and in conversation, that there must be a new class of institutions, or an enlargement of American education as then existing, to meet the specific wants of the industrial classes. They went with their demand to Congress. By petition, by agitation in every possible way, by delegations to Congress, by correspondence throughout the country, they pressed their demand. After a great struggle, after reports and counter reports by committees, and after a Presidential veto, they finally succeeded, as this class of men, the bone and sinew of the land, always will succeed. Think you, sir, if we vote them down now and here, that they will not have their Missouri industrial institution—their agricultural college and mining school? The grant of land was made in area equal to Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, and in value equal to \$15,000,000, and what for? I answer in the words of the grant itself, “to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes.” No such magnificent grant for objects of education was ever before made. The institution endowed and growing out of this grant cannot but pro-

duce an effect upon our American civilization. The grant has already produced its effect upon our American institutions of education. It has encouraged and stimulated the States. It has awakened individual munificence, so that within the last ten years (since the grant was made, July 2d, 1862,) such gifts have been made to American institutions of learning as never in the history of the world, nor any where, have been made to any object or for any purpose. The specific object of the grant is for industrial education—to unite, if you please, head-work and hand-work; to guide muscle by brain; to get more from the soil; to multiply and, at the same, save labor by the aid of machinery and invention; to improve the breed of all domestic animals; to aid in mining operations and the reduction of ores; to assist the geologist, the mineralogist and the chemist—in short, to enable men to live better, and with less labor, by better understanding the laws of nature.

THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE STATE INCURRED BY ACCEPTING THE  
GRANT.

But there were conditions attached to the grant—it could only be accepted with obligations attached. The States were to receive, but they were also to do. Not a State refused the grant, and they each agreed to perform the conditions and requirements of the act of Congress making the grant—they, in fact, entered into a solemn contract to do certain things. The State of Missouri, by the act of the General Assembly, formally accepted the grant, amounting, in her case, (not counting the reduction of acres when lands within the railroad belt were taken), to 330,000 acres, and assumed all the obligations imposed by the law of Congress.

The following is the resolution passed unanimously by the General Assembly of this State, approved March 17, 1863: "Be it

*Resolved* by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, That the said act of Congress of the United States is assented to and accepted by the State of Missouri, with all the conditions, restrictions and limitations therein contained, and the faith of the State of Missouri is hereby pledged to the faithful performance of the trust hereby created."

Now, what are these obligations, for the performance of which the faith of the state is pledged? I cannot present them in any better form than in the report of the condition of the university, which I had the honor to make to the governor, as president of the board of curators, in June last, as required by law. I will, if you please, read from that document, as the conditions and obligations of the state, are therein presented :

1. "The state must provide at least one college 'the object of which shall be' to teach 'branches of learning related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life,' 'other scientific and classical studies' are not to be excluded, 'and military tactics' are to be included."

How shall the state perform this duty? Shall it be in an enlarged and noble spirit, worthy the state, and worthy the beneficence of the general government?

2. "All expenses of location, management, superintendence, etc., of the lands granted, 'and all the expenses in the management and disbursement of the moneys received therefrom, must be paid by the state out of the treasury of the state,' so that the entire proceeds shall be applied, without any diminution whatever,' to the proposed object."

Expenses in the selection and appraisalment of these lands, have been incurred from time to time, and have been under the authority of law, paid from "the treasury of the state."

3. "No part of the fund nor the interest thereon shall be applied, directly or indirectly, under any pretence whatever, to the purchase, erection, preservation, or repair of any building or buildings."

"This makes it necessary that the State should provide buildings. It is most honorable to our American States, East and West, that they have liberally provided, under the requirements of the congressional act, not only buildings, but

apparatus, libraries, stock for farms, and other material aids of instruction. Here is a worthy State rivalry—most beneficial to the State—most honorable to the general government which has bestowed so liberally for objects calculated to advance civilization itself.

4. "The State, by its act of acceptance, guarantees the capital of the fund, so that if, by any action or contingency, it shall be diminished or lost, the State is bound to replace it.

"No grant ever heretofore made by Congress has been so carefully guarded from waste or misuse, by the very terms of the grant. Let Missouri do her part to make the most of the grant which falls to her by the bounty of the general government."

This, Mr. President and Senators, seems to me to be required by the obligation of contract and State faith; and yet, permit me to say, in even a *higher* degree by the considerations of honor and pride and of duty, to that large class, the laboring men and women of the State, for whose special benefit Congress, in its beneficence and enlarged views, designed this noble gift.

In the great and noble enterprise of establishing a new and better adapted system of education in the United States—a practical education, without the special ornaments of elegant literature, for a practical and working people—Congress did a noble part, but the States were required to come in and give their aid and co-operation. This was wisely done. And most magnificently have they responded. In the Eastern States it has been largely by individual munificence, and in the Western States by grants and aid from Legislatures.

#### MISSOURI HAS THUS FAR DONE NOTHING.

How has Missouri responded? Has she done her part? Has she come up to the standard of other States? Though having more industrial interests than any other State, a wider range and greater variety of employments—pursuits espe-

cially requiring the application of science—how has she responded to the munificence of Congress? The answer which we must give is, she has done nothing, absolutely nothing: not a dollar, Mr. President, beyond the payment of expenses of selecting and appraising the land. She has, at Columbia, a magnificent domain of land for which she paid nothing; she has a noble central university edifice, with some eight or ten other buildings, worth, in the aggregate, more than a quarter of a million of dollars, and they cost her not a dollar, with the exception of ten thousand dollars, appropriated by an act of the General Assembly of the State, approved March 11, 1867, for the purpose of aiding in rebuilding the President's house, which had been destroyed by fire; and that is all for this 670 acres of land and these buildings intended for the comfort and accommodation of all the sons and daughters of the State. I ask, sir, has any other State got so much for so little?

#### BONUS OF BOONE COUNTY.

Even the industrial scientific building, for the furnishing and equipment of which this bill, reported by the committee, provides, is up and inclosed without expense to the State, and most admirably adapted to the purposes for which it is intended. The bonus of Boone county, to the extent of \$20,000, has been expended upon it, and there remains upon it a debt to the contractors of \$10,000. To finish this building, and equip and prepare it for practical purposes, an appropriation is asked in the bill now under consideration in the sum of \$39,507.25.

Mr. President, though I have been familiar from the beginning with the generous gifts of Boone county to the State, made in the midst of trial and difficulty, and, I may say, poverty and pecuniary stringency, yet, when I look at the amount in the aggregate, and look at the results, in the State, by buildings now belonging to the State, and for the benefit of all the children of the State, I confess I am myself utterly amazed. They are monuments of which not only the people of the county of Boone but the State itself may be justly proud.

## THE FAITH OF THE STATE PLEDGED.

This General Assembly surely cannot consider it too much now to be called upon to carry out, in good faith, the establishment of the Agricultural College, by the erection of suitable buildings and by other necessary preparations to complete the institution. Is not, indeed, that the very thing that Boone county bargained for in the gift of \$90,000 as a bonus, every dollar of which has been paid, for the location of the Agricultural College. She supposed that by this gift she had obtained the Agricultural and Mechanical College, and that the State would meet the solemn pledge made on the acceptance of the congressional land grant, to furnish all that was necessary to complete it.

Now, I ask, does not good faith to our own citizens, as well as to the United States Government, require to be made, the appropriation provided in this bill for the benefit of the Agricultural College?

## HONORABLE ACTION OF BOONE COUNTY.

It was in no stinted or niggardly spirit that Boone county on her part fulfilled her engagement with the State. Let us hear the report of the Commissioners on the part of the State, such men as Judge Bliss, Edward Wyman and Prof. Matthias.

After such examination, and certifying to the correctness of the title papers to the land, and that the money was duly paid over to the credit of the University, they certify in the following terms :

"That having examined said tract of land, we found the same handsomely improved with valuable buildings, diversified with a variety of soil, well watered and timbered, and admirably adapted for the uses and purposes of the Agricultural and Mechanical College; and we further certify that in extent and character this part of their donation, with the amount of money they have expended to secure it, Boone county has fully and honorably met every reasonable expecta-

tion, and satisfactorily complied with the obligations incurred to the State in the matter of the location of the Agricultural College.”

This remarkable declaration, in an official document, made at the instance of the Commissioners from different and distant parts of the State, is most honorable to Boone county, and shows her worthy to be the site of a great institution of learning.

She did not higggle over the price of the land she was to give, or attempt to put the State off with that which was inferior or low priced, or unsuitable or unimproved. She came nobly up to all she had promised, and to more than she promised. Shall this great State fall below the fair dealing and generosity of one of her counties? No, sir, no; she will never do it.

#### EQUALLY HONORABLE ACTION OF PHELPS COUNTY.

And the same argument, Mr. President, applies with equal force to the School of Mines and Metallurgy. It is a department, made so by law, in the same institution, located, it is true, in a different part of the State, but intended, by a proper education, to prepare men for making discoveries, analyzing and developing the wonderful mineral resources in the south part of the State. And what a heritage it will be to us and our children; what a source of wealth and material power to the State when that vast region—stretching from the Mississippi river across the State westward to the Indian Territory, and southward to the State of Arkansas, with mineral deposits in nearly every county, and equal in utility and variety to the minerals found in any other State of the Union—shall be carefully explored by practical scientific men, and their hidden treasures touched by the wand of science, from which will gush forth streams of wealth now beyond our view, to enrich the treasury of your State, and to be utilized to supply the wants and increase the comforts of all who are to inhabit this great valley. Sir, what may not a school of mines located in the very heart of such a bountiful region, and wisely

directed, be to the youth and the people of the State? Sir, the county of Phelps has acted no less generously than the county of Boone, in securing this institution, and the same obligation rests upon the Legislature to furnish and equip all the buildings necessary to put the school into successful operation. Already the school is organized, under the direction of an efficient and accomplished scholar, Professor Chas. P. Williams, with two able young men as his assistants. Proper buildings are now only needed to make it a success.

These twin daughters of a common mother, born simultaneously into existence, the Agricultural college and the School of Mines, controlled by the same corporate authority, located on either side of our great river, and constituting a perpetual bond of sympathy betwixt the working men of North and of South Missouri; the one intended to advance in intelligence and power the great agricultural interests of the state, and upon whose success depends all private and public prosperity; and the other established to develop that wonderful source of material power which has enriched every people in the world's history who have possessed it. The iron and lead and other rich mineral deposits that are found so abundantly within our borders will, if cherished by a liberal and enlightened state policy, in time secure to all our people, if not the largest wealth, all the comforts and the choicest blessings of life.

In order that we may see how large has been this liberality both on the part of Phelps and Boone counties, the following statement is presented:

Gifts of individuals in Boone county, in order to secure the location of the University, made in the year 1839.....	\$117,500 00
Rollins' AidFund—	
A bequest by Dr. Anthony W. Rollins, to aid young men and women in their education. The proceeds placed at the disposal of the president of the University—now amounting in gross to.....	30,000 00
Gift of Boone county, to secure location of Agricultural College.	80,000 00
Town of Columbia for the same.....	10,000 00
Gift of Phelps county to secure Mining School at Rolla.....	130,545 00
<hr/>	
Total .....	\$368,045 00

To the above is to be added \$500, the sum guaranteed by J. L. Stephens, Esq., Columbia, to found the Stephens' prize.

Now, sir, let us see what the State has done, what amount has been appropriated from the treasury at different times for other State institutions since their establishment, and for their support. I hold in my hand a statement from the Auditor's office, approximating as near as the facts can be ascertained upon this subject.

*Statement showing approximate estimate of aggregate appropriations made from the State Treasury, for the various institutions of the State since their first organization to Jan. 1, 1872 :*

	Total amount appropriated.
Penitentiary.....	\$685,125 87
Lunatic Asylum.....	783,622 83
Deaf and Dumb Asylum.....	319,257 20
Blind Asylum (St. Louis).....	200,575 20
Salaries, Orphans' Home (St. Louis).....	50,000 00
State Capitol.....	449,797 03
Normal Schools.....	12,268 60
Lincoln Institute.....	10,000 00
Military Institute (Lexington).....	15,000 00
State University (Columbia).....	10,000 00

#### MOST OF THE PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS WELL CARED FOR.

It will be observed, Mr. President, that in the above tables I have only referred to those public institutions which are recognized by the constitution and the laws—institutions which the State has taken upon itself to aid in supporting, and which constitutes a part of its public polity, and to answer the imperative demands of our present civilization. These and similar institutions are found in every free State. Nor would a State be hardly recognized that was without them. Nor do I complain of these appropriations. They were found to be necessary and proper, and therefore the Legislature that made them were compelled by the obligations resting upon them to do as they did. It will be remarked, however, that while Missouri has expended hundreds of thousands of dollars from her treasury to erect buildings, and make secure her

criminals; whilst the insane, the deaf and dumb, the blind, the orphans have been cared for by large appropriations from the treasury, (and all of which is right, and meets my cordial approbation); whilst other literary institutions have met with favor at the hands of the Legislature, and appropriations have been made from the treasury to sustain them—

LITTLE HAS BEEN DONE BY THE STATE FOR THE UNIVERSITY.

The University next to the oldest institution in the State, and the only institution recognized and expressly named in the Constitution of the State, placed there in the Constitution of 1820, adopted when Missouri was admitted into the Union, and retained there in every succeeding Constitution, and with a clause, article 9 section 3 of our present Constitution, which expressly provided: "The General Assembly shall establish and maintain a State University, in which there shall be departments in teaching, in Agricultural and Natural Science, as soon as the public school fund will permit"—this institution, the oldest of the kind in the State, the only one named or recognized in the Constitution, standing at the head of our educational system, has received only, the sum of \$10,000 from the State treasury to be expended in the rebuilding of the president's house, which had been destroyed by fire. This is the only sum in a period of thirty-four years, and since the founding of the institution, that it has received from the treasury for purposes of permanent improvements. All the rest of its lands, deeded to the State; its fine buildings, the property of the State; its Normal department, its boarding facilities for the accommodation of students, worth more than a quarter of a million of dollars, has been the generous gift of the people of Boone county to the State! I speak, sir, of appropriations for permanent improvements upon the University grounds. It is true that by an act of the General Assembly, approved March 11, 1867, in addition to the \$10,000 above mentioned, the sum of one and three fourths per cent. of the State revenue was set apart, according to the express

authority of the 9th article, section 4 of the Constitution, for the maintenance of the institution, and the whole amount derived from that source, up to this date, is betwixt forty and fifty thousand dollars; and this is all, sir, (except debts paid and due the institution) in more than a quarter of a century, which the great State of Missouri has appropriated from her treasury for the support and maintenance of the State University. All the rest has come from private and county beneficence. I am particular in the accurate statement of these facts in order to correct a wrong impression existing in the public mind upon this subject. Many people, and even legislators, believe that the University has been during its existence, the constant recipient of large pecuniary appropriations from the State treasury; but it is not so; I have stated the facts correctly above, and they will not be disputed by candid men.

#### RAPID INCREASE OF WEALTH AND POPULATION.

But, sir, I wish to put the proposed measure of aid and relief to the State University, and its agricultural and mechanical departments, upon more liberal and higher grounds than those of mere contract, if, indeed, there can be any higher. I have endeavored to do so. I would make my appeal to a great and magnanimous State, increasing with unexampled rapidity in every element of power and of wealth. Our population now is more than 1,800,000 inhabitants. It will, during the present decade, reach at least 2,500,000. But wealth increases in yet a higher ratio. I have not the census tables of 1870—they are not yet published—but in every prosperous country wealth increases in a greater ratio than population. The actual increase of wealth in the United States from 1850 to 1860 was, according to the census of 1860, no less than 130 per cent., while the increase of population was a fraction of under 36 per cent. The increase of wealth in Missouri from 1870 to 1880 will be in a yet higher ratio. It cannot be less than 200 per cent. The small amount asked in this bill, and for other State institutions, i

not even worthy of thought or consideration, in view of such facts and figures.

#### SENATOR MORRILL'S NEW BILL.

It is a matter of pride that, while Congress has done so much, the different State Legislatures have, without exception, thus far, done a noble part towards building up the Industrial Colleges. This has encouraged Senator Morrill, who introduced the original bill donating land to the States for the benefit of colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts, to introduce a new bill, making still further donations for the same object.

#### SHALL MISSOURI FAIL?

And shall Missouri alone fail, of all the American States in the grand work of supporting her Agricultural College and School of Mines? It must not, and cannot be. We cannot maintain our rank as a State and do so.

#### EXAMPLE OF OTHER STATES.

Mr. President, we are to a great extent influenced by the action of others; we are as individuals, and no less as States. Could any State, for example, maintain its rank at this day as a Christian and civilized community, which shall fail in its establishment and support of what are called the State benevolent institutions, such as lunatic asylums, deaf and dumb, and blind asylums? Surely not. And have not the State Universities become part and parcel of State civilization, and under our Constitution, quoted above, a part of the State system—and can a State at this day refuse support to her institutions of this character? No State can do it—Missouri cannot. She must come up to the standard of the times, or fall back in public consideration—she must stand abreast with her sister States in the great work of educational advancement. I beg here again to read from the report, to which I have referred, to show what other States have done for their State institutions of education.

"The present General Assembly of Illinois, as the Secretary of State writes Dr. Read, appropriated to the Illinois Industrial University a sum total of no less than \$265,200; and this over and above all former appropriations and its large income from endowments. To this sum \$75,000 has just been added.

"The State of California gave her University at Oakland \$245,000 in coin, in order to start it in a manner worthy the State and becoming its high destiny.

"Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and even Nebraska, have made provisions for their Universities and Industrial Institutions by the appropriation of thousands of dollars, and of even hundreds of thousands. Nebraska gave \$150,000 for the erection of her University buildings.

"No State has better understood how to raise up a race of great men among her sons than Virginia. According to a recent statement of the chairman of the faculty, the State has given to her university a grand total of \$1,044,304. She has given tuition fees to 1,081 students, known as State students, and has boarded a large number free of charge. It is estimated by the same authority that the amount brought into and retained in the State by the university is no less than \$4,476,800. Even in the days of her poverty she forgets not her university. The recent appropriations amount to \$82,545.

"Shall great Central Missouri, so rich in all the elements of wealth and civilization, fall far below her sister States around her; or rather shall she not be pointed to as a model and example for her spirit and liberality in sustaining her university upon the broad basis upon which, by her constitution and laws, she has established it?"

To this statement much more might be added, showing such munificence in behalf of institutions of learning as the world has never before witnessed.

I know, Mr. President, there has been a prejudice against what we call colleges or universities. But we must remem-

ber that these institutions for which this appropriation is asked are intended especially for the working classes. They are not merely literary institutions, for the advantage of those who are preparing themselves for the learned professions. We should follow the advice and example of the great men of the republic. Thomas Jefferson, the great apostle of American liberty and of true democracy, appreciated the importance of such institutions of learning for the American people. He had represented our government abroad at the most brilliant courts of Europe; he was the third President of the United States, and he had held other important positions, but when he came to die, he did not choose to rest his fame upon the flimsy idea that he had been promoted to great offices, but upon the more enduring basis, that he had aided in planting the principles of liberty and religious freedom in our soil, and founding a great institution of learning, in which the people might be taught to understand, to maintain, and to defend them. The epitaph inscribed upon the marble which marks his last resting place, and written with his own hand, reads thus :

HERE LIES BURIED  
 THOMAS JEFFERSON,  
 AUTHOR OF THE  
 DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE,  
 OF THE  
 STATUTE OF VIRGINIA FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM,  
 AND  
 FATHER OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

We have, sir, sufficiently seen the end of poor, starveling institutions, having credit neither at home nor abroad, with high-sounding names and lofty pretensions, having no means whatever for that scientific instruction which the present status of education requires. The country is sick of them.' We

surely do not want the first educational institution under the patronage of the State to be of this class. As citizens of Missouri, we want it to be of the very highest type, so that we shall have a just State pride in it—so that the stranger or foreigner, when he thinks of Missouri, will think of her great industrial institutions as part and parcel of the State, just as when he thinks of Michigan, her University is first in his thoughts, or of Connecticut he thinks of Yale College, or of Virginia, her great University rises spontaneously to his mind. As Missourians we cannot have our University any less. We have already excellent foundations. We can soon realize our best and highest wishes. Already our institution is beginning to command the attention of the most distinguished educators. Its plans and method are beginning to attract attention. Will you neglect it, for the want of nutriment? Will you ignore it or pass it by, just as it is beginning to assume a position amongst the great institutions of the nation?

#### IDEAL OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE.

I would, Mr. President, by every proper inducement, by affording every encouragement, by furnishing the highest advantages, call in the youth of the State, by hundreds if not by thousands. I would make it a great fountain of knowledge in all departments, I would throw wide open its doors, and invite all to enter its portals, without money and without price. I would place it above and far beyond the polluting influence of party strife and contention, and equally so of the contests of religious sects. It should be sacred to knowledge, a sound Christian morality, and the best interests of civilization. This, sir, is my ideal of the State University of Missouri, and this you have it in your power to make it. Let this bill become a law, and its stability and prosperity will, in my judgment, be assured.

APPROPRIATION ASKED MAINLY FOR THE LABORING MEN OF MISSOURI.

This appropriation is asked essentially for the benefit of the working men of the State. It is for their education and their elevation that we are asked for the first time to do something for them. Sir, who pay the taxes? Who build the cities and the railroads? Who convert the wilderness into fruitful and smiling fields? Who fight the battles of the country? Who are the bulwarks, the hope, and the stay of the country; its institutions and its liberties? Who, but the farmers and mechanics, the miners and laboring men of the country? It has been justly said of one of these classes of citizens by one of the ripest scholars and ablest financiers this or any other country has produced, that: "It may not be foretold to what dangers the country is destined when its swelling population, its expanding territory, its daily complicating interests, shall awaken the latent passions of man and reveal the vulnerable points of our institutions. But whenever these perils come, its most steadfast security, its unflinching reliance, will be on that column of landed proprietors, the men of the soil and of the country, standing aloof from the passions which agitate denser communities; well educated, brave and independent; the friends of the government without soliciting its favors, the advocates of the people without descending to flatter their passions. These men, rooted like their own forests, may yet interpose between the factions of the country, to heal, to defend and to save."

How important, then, that they should have all the advantages of education, and of liberal culture, which this measure is intended to give.

NO OPPOSITION TO INDEPENDENT OR DENOMINATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

Mr. President, in what I have said, no one will conclude that I do not feel an equally warm interest in the success of

all other higher institutions of learning in the State, whether they be independent or denominational. But it is not our province as legislators to deal with them. We have only to provide for that system which the State itself has established and pledged itself to maintain. But the whole constitute different parts of those great moral and educational agencies set on foot to enlighten and elevate the people. Sir, I am for upholding and sustaining all of them. They are needed in our country, and must be multiplied to meet the increasing wants of our rapidly advancing civilization. One of these institutions, bearing the honored name of a former distinguished and patriotic citizen of my county, William Jewell College, located in Clay county and called for Dr. William Jewell, of Boone county, now gone to his rest, founded by his liberality, and which has been largely increased by the contributions of other noble men of my own and other counties of the State, in its highest prosperity, I cannot feel other than the deepest solicitude for its success. And still two other institutions, planted in the town where I reside, for the education of women, one of them bearing the honored name of another of our most public spirited citizens, "Stephens College," called so for James L. Stephens, of Columbia, and upon whose large endowment the institution principally rests; and the other built up by the means of its distinguished president, (Christian Female College, located in Columbia, Eld. Joseph K. Rogers, president,) aided by others, and long years on his part of patient care and labor until it has become one of the first female educational institutions of the West. In these and all similar establishments, I shall continue to feel the deepest interest, shall exert my poor influence to advance them wherever they may be located or by whomsoever endowed and sustained.

Mr. President, I have thus, in a poor way, presented to the Senate my views on this measure. And I confess, sir, that besides these public considerations which I have mentioned, and which alone ought to govern our action, there are per-

sonal considerations why I feel some anxiety about the passage of this bill. Thirty-four years ago, before the building of this capitol, I came here, a youth, barely eligible to a seat in the General Assembly of the State, as a member of the House of Representatives from the county of Boone. The first bill I ever wrote was a bill providing for the location of the University of the State. The first speech I ever made in a legislative body was in advocacy of the passage of this bill. Under it the institution was located in the county of Boone, the people there having given the largest sum to secure it. I have been its steady friend and advocate ever since. I have been the author of other measures to strengthen and make it permanent, useful and respectable. It has passed through the usual vicissitudes of literary and scientific institutions placed under the guidance and direction of political bodies. But it is now nearly safe from danger from this source. Resting secure on the larger intelligence of the people, and in the affections and confidence of the well-educated young men and women who have hitherto gone, and will continue to go out from the walls of their *alma mater* as faithful sons and daughters—they will shield it against the assaults of those who would either attempt to wound or destroy it. In time it will have an ample endowment, with its departments greatly extended. Presided over by an experienced and enlightened President, with a full corps of learned and faithful professors, and at this session of the General Assembly, a bill introduced by myself will become a law, making it substantially free to all the youth of the State, male and female, betwixt the ages of 16 and 25 years, its progress must be rapid, upward and onward. Let the State continue to do its duty (and there can be no complaint that the Legislature has failed to make the amplest provision for both elementary and higher education), and there is no reason to doubt that in a few years Missouri will boast of an institution of learning equal to any in the West; and in the course of time, when ours will be the great central State of the American Union, unequalled in wealth

and population and political influence, the people who will succeed us may boast of an institution of learning rivaling and even surpassing those grand institutions planted in the olden times, and whose fame have come down to us through revolutions, and changes, and the gloomy mists of the centuries—of Cordova, of Padua, of Salamanca, of Paris, of Oxford and of Cambridge in England, as well as those of more modern growth, Yale and Harvard, in our own country.

Since I first entered this General Assembly, Mr. President, many changes have taken place. The star of empire has taken its way westward. This country was then a wilderness—and almost immediately around us. I look around me in this Senate Chamber, and through the hall of the House of Representatives, and I find nearly all my contemporaries have left these halls, and their sons (pointing to Senator Birch) taking their places; some of them directing their energies in other pursuits of life. A still larger number of them, having finished their labors on earth, have gone to—

“The undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveler returns.”

Standing in your midst I feel, sir, almost alone. I am next to the oldest Senator on this floor. My legislative career is nearly closed. I have seen much public service, and whilst I may have committed many errors, I feel that I can say my aims have been unselfish, and I have endeavored to promote the public good; and, borrowing an illustration from my great model in political life: If the General Assembly will pass this bill, I will retire from these halls; I will go to my home at Lagrange, on the hospitable banks of the Hingston, and there, with a people who have honored me beyond my deserts, amidst my flocks and herds, beneath the shades of my trees, in the bosom of an affectionate family, enjoy an attachment and fidelity, which we seldom meet with in the walks of public life. (Applause in the Senate Chamber and in the galleries.)

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