REMARKS
BEFORE THE SOUTHWEST DELEGATION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF MISSOURI,
ON THE
SEPARATION OF THE SOUTH-WESTERN RAIL ROAD
FROM THE PACIFIC RAIL ROAD OF MISSOURI,

BY C. WILLIAMS, C. E.,
ON THE PART OF THE CITIZENS OF SOUTHWEST MISSOURI.

Gentlemen—Having had one side of the Pacific Railroad question presented to you by agents of that company, it is but right that you should have the other—that you should have them from another point of view.

Before proceeding to explain the defects of the present system of building the Railroads of Missouri, and giving the arguments in favor of substituting a rational and economical system, it would seem necessary that I should explain my own connection with the subject—how it is that I take upon myself to interfere with it in any way.

It is intimately connected with my business—my profession, and I have a right to discuss it, even if I had had no connection with the road; and this right, I presume, will be accorded by all but those who are in the influence of the Pacific Railroad Company. Agents of that company, and persons interested in the speculation, may say that the opposition to the present system originates in "prejudice." I admit it—it is the prejudice of the whole community, founded on facts and dear bought experience, of the defects of the system and management which has been carried out on the Pacific Railroad, and those who understand its defects best; and although the objects of its advocates, are most opposed to it. Gentlemen, I take it that while a citizen of Missouri, I have just as good a right to come before you as men who are backed by millions, particularly when I do not appear as a speculator.

It has been stated to some of you that my opposition to the present system originated in some petty difficulty connected with the change in the location, but I believe I am actuated by higher motives than the gratification of a little personal feeling, for insignificant matters of that kind have not occupied my attention five minutes since I have been advocating a separation. My work was sanctioned by the Chief Engineer and Board of Directors of a former administration, and if they were in error in their selection of routes, it is their fault, not mine. But they were not in error, as the results of the late survey have abundantly proved. I rest easy on that point, as the features of the country cannot be changed by representing it on paper. The persons making these representations to you, would gladly disguise the facts which I shall give you, by charges of disaffection and petty difficulties, but their object is apparent.

I will here remark, that had the late survey been successful, according to the best information—the Land Office at Washington, it is impossible to change the route as proposed; so that by a little precaution to obtain correct information, the ten or twelve thousand dollars which has been expended on the survey, might have been saved to the Company. And it should be borne in mind, that this survey was mainly on account of the contractors, as the contract was let on the shortest route, and however it resulted, it could not be to the advantage of the Railroad Company.
I presume there are those also, who regard my services as entirely voluntary. Suppose this is also admitted; gentlemen, there are other *volunteers* here among you with a far different object, whose arguments are listened to with profound attention, and whose reasoning up to this time has been convincing, who have cost the State several millions of dollars more for the construction of the Pacific Railroad, than it should have cost; and I *volunteer* to prove, that if allowed to go on with the present system, the State will continue to be the loser to the amount of millions, and its citizens deprived of a means of transportation or an outlet for their products, not only to their injury, but to the great injury of the State.

It is well known from one end of the State to the other, that the Pacific Railroad has cost from two to three millions more than it should have cost; and it is also well known that the most of this enormous amount must have gone into the pockets of speculators and favorites; and that in connection with its management, incidental speculations have been carried on to a great extent, which doubtless have been, in many cases, prejudicial to the interests of the road. The road has cost $23,000 per mile more than the average of the most expensive roads in the country—those of the New England States; and about $30,000 per mile above the average of the roads of the Southern and Western States.

This is all *admitted*, and the Pacific Railroad Company *now* asks to be permitted to continue the *same system*, with still more objectionable features added to it, on the Southwestern road.

The Southwest Branch has been in the possession of that Company for years, and they have *proved* that they can do nothing towards advancing its construction, even with the abundant resources placed in their hands to be expended upon it. First the aid of the State was granted to the amount of $1,000,000, requiring the expenditure of dollar for dollar, but they could not avail themselves of it. They then ask for a modification of the grant so as to require the expenditure of only one dollar for two of the State aid; this was also granted; *everything asked* was granted, and what has been done? There are not five miles of completed grading on the road, and it will take over twelve months to complete twenty miles.

Capitalists will not advance money on the lands because the road is not built, but this is not the only reason; if $7,000,000 built only one hundred and twenty-five miles, as on the other road, the quantity of lands secured by the construction of the roads would not amount to one half the quantity named in the mortgage as secured. So far as the lands are concerned, the security depends entirely upon the manner in which the money advanced on them is expended. This is one reason why capitalists will not advance money on the lands while they are in the possession of the Pacific Railroad Company.

In addition to the objections to the suicidal policy which has distinguished the Pacific Railroad management being extended to the Southwestern road, the "original contract" which covers it, is in itself so objectionable as to fully warrant its disconnection with the other road, in order to rid it of such a system of speculation. Even at the very commencement of the construction of the road, almost every step that has been taken for the prosecution of the work, has developed the objectionable features of the system; to the cost of the road, and often to the cost of those having no direct connection with it—the citizens along the line.

The "original contract" system as introduced in this State is open to many and serious objections, as has already been thoroughly tested by the practical working of it on the Iron Mountain and North Missouri road; and also on the Pacific road, above Jefferson City, and on the Southwestern road; when the bad effects, as before stated, are seen in the "incipient stages of the complaint."

It is almost invariably a condition of all "original contracts," for the construction of Railroads, that the contractors shall furnish a portion of the capital to carry on the work, or that they shall take some of the stock or bonds of the Company in payment; but in the case of the South West Branch "original contract" they do neither; all the payments are made in cash or its equivalent; and I will here invite any advocate of the "original contract" system to point out a single advantage the company derives from that contract. There are, on the other hand, many disadvantages of the system, which are only counterbalanced by the contractors taking some of the securities of the company in payment, or furnishing the means to carry on the work. The Company is at the same expense, the same engineers and agents of the Company are on the ground, and just as able to let the work as the original contractors; so that all the contractors can do, is to sublet, draw up writings, parceling out the work in small contracts; and, as is well known, making a large profit on the work *without contributing a particle to its advancement, and which profits the Company might save by letting it themselves*. Those gratuitous profits expected to be realized on the South Western road, and on the Pacific road from Jefferson City to Kansas, have been put at $1,000,000 each, *by the contractors' admission*. But these profits could not be realized if the whole road was done for the total amount specified in the "original contract," but they will be made on the
work as it progresses, on the “pro rata” prices paid to the contractors, who had agreed to complete the work.

The disadvantages of the “original contract” system are, that the contractors, wishing to make a large profit, will often let the work at prices for which it cannot be done; and the contractors who do the work, after striving “to keep their heads above water,” and carry on their contracts, fail and throw up the work, thereby retarding the progress of the road. In other words, the hard working men, who do the work, are not paid for their labor, and the profits which they should receive are paid to the “original contractor”—perhaps a millionaire, passing his time at the first hotel in St. Louis or New York, who stands between the Company and the working contractor.

Another disadvantage is, that the work is often sub-let two or three times, each contractor making a profit, so that it is impossible for the last contractor to do the work as it should be done; and hence, it almost invariably happens that work done under “original contracts” is defective, and the road is less than “second class.” These complications of several different contractors also make the work far more difficult to superintend than if let directly by the Company.

Still another very objectionable feature of the system is, that the original contractors have the power to do whatever work may suit them best, thereby drawing out the means of the Company which is needed for other purposes, to pay for work which is of no sort of value to the road at the time; such, for instance, as for material delivered which cannot be used for years. This is particularly applicable to the South West Branch, where the ties are sub-let over a hundred and fifty miles ahead of the grading, for the reason that there is a large profit made on them.

Still another objection is, that there is an opportunity for systematic swindlers to come into this country and take sub-contracts, and having no responsibility, and being out of the control of the Company, have every opportunity to swindle the workmen and people living along the line of the road. This has already happened on the South West Branch, as a hundred or more of the citizens, who have been “experimented on,” are able to testify.

The contractors are well aware that the whole road cannot be built for the contract price, and therefore have fortified themselves with saving clauses in regard to “increase of quantities,” “change of classification,” and “pro rata allowances,” and above all, by not giving more than a nominal security for the completion of their contract—less than three per cent on the whole amount.

In proof of this I will put the question directly to them: will they give good security, by a proper per centage retained on the work, or otherwise, to complete the road for the contract price—$7,671,680, without any saving clause? If they will not, I would like to have them point out the use of such a contract.

I will here quote from the report of the President of the Iron Mountain and the Memphis and Little Rock roads, to show the working of the “original contract” system where it has been thoroughly tested.

The following is from the fourth annual report of the President of the Iron Mountain road. After stating the terms, &c., of the contract, the report continues:

“It will be necessary to detail the condition of this contract: the line was to be completed to Big river by the first of July, 1855, and to the Pilot Knob by the first day of December, 1856. Fifteen per cent of the monthly earnings was to be reserved as a guarantee to the company. Payments were to be made in the bonds of the city and county of St. Louis, and the bonds of the State. The par value of the bonds being made good by an allowance from the company of five per cent, together with an additional allowance of five per cent., provided the work was completed within contract time.”

“Notwithstanding the fulfillment by the Board of Directors of their part of the contract, the Messrs. Watts & Co. carried on the work in a slow and unsatisfactory manner.”

“They sub-let the work at low rates? The Board had no control over the sub-contractors, who were only responsible to Watts & Co., and in several instances the work was abandoned, because it was not profitable to those engaged in executing it. It may be remarked at this point, that the prices paid by Watts & Co. to the sub-contractors were actually twenty per cent. lower than the prices which they themselves received.”

“This state of things was detrimental to the reputation of the company, as well as to the advancement of the work; and when your present Board entered upon the discharge of their duties, they resolved to put a stop to it.”

“They perceived that a radical change was necessary. After a protracted negotiation, they succeeded in annulling the contract with Messrs. Watts & Co., and procured a transfer of their sub-contracts direct to the company, thereby regaining immediate control of the work.”
"The results of the change were soon apparent; the work progressed, and continues to progress rapidly, and your Board feel authorized to state that the double benefit of having more work done in the same time and at a reduced expenditure, has resulted from the abrogation of the contract with Messrs. Watts & Co."

The President of the Iron Mountain Road is now a member of the Legislature, and I presume can be referred to for any information in relation to the working of the "original contract" system.

Extract from the Report of the Board of Directors of the Memphis and Little Rock Railroad Company, lately Published.

"The omission and neglect to report, either to the Governor or to the Board of Mayor and Aldermen, has been prolonged from month to month, by the radical differences as to the requirements of the contract, which very soon ripened into a grave controversy between the contractors, represented by Mr. Bradley (the principal of the firm) and the company, represented by the President and supported by the Board of Directors. As, fortunately for the successful prosecution of this important enterprise, the whole controversy has been satisfactorily adjusted by arbitration, and the company, has been relieved from a contract which brooded like a nightmare over it, paralyzing its energies and crushing out the elements of its vitality, we deem it unnecessary to set forth the grounds and merits of the controversy, to only such extent as may be necessary to enable those to whom we are directly accountable, to judge whether the suspension and delay of the work on account of it was justifiable.

"Besides the failure of an essential consideration leading to the making of the contract, the fact was revealed that upon much of the work done there was a vital disregard of the contract stipulations as to its character. Logs and stumps were allowed to remain in the embankment, and the work was otherwise shurred over, to the detriment of the interests of the company, and the total disregard of the contract requirements of work for a first class road.

"The work which has been done, though defective, will be by no means useless. Even if it has been dearly paid for, it may prove in the end,—by having been the means of ridding us, without litigation or further delay, of a contract which was preying like a vampire upon the very life of the enterprise, and in the lessons it will teach for the future,—cheapest."

I might go on and quote similar and stronger evidence, from the reports of a dozen or more different roads, in the East, South and West; but I deem these sufficient for all who can be convinced of the ruinous defects of the system, and that the opposition to it is not founded on "petty prejudice" as the agents of the speculators would have it to be believed.

I will however, mention the names of roads which occur to me as having tried, and with the same result, precisely the same general system, though all differing in some immaterial points as to the terms and conditions: Ohio and Mississippi; Iron Mountain; North Missouri; Alton and Sangamon, or Alton and Chicago; Memphis and Little Rock; Memphis and Louisville; Louisville and Nashville; Lexington and Frankfort; Lexington and Big Sandy; Paduca Branch, Mobile and Ohio; Mississippi Central; New Orleans and Opelusas. In short, there is not one road in twenty that has tried the system but that it has utterly failed; and the result has been invariably disastrous, retarding the progress of the work, and often proving,—as in the case of the Ohio and Mississippi, ruinous to the stockholders.

As a late example of the wholesale "go-between" contract speculations, I will refer you to the Des Moines River improvement, undertaken by Eastern speculators; where, by reference to the accounts of the developments now being made public, more testimony can be found.

Here then, we have proof beyond contradiction, of the ruinous effects of the "original contract" system, under far more favorable circumstances than on the Pacific road, where the advantages to the contractors are far greater than have ever before been given. It is useless to deny or disguise the fact that the millions granted to the Pacific Railroad Company, have been expended under a system of speculation and favoritism unparalleled on any road in the United States; and the millions now asked of the State, are to be expended under contracts, which if not conceived in the same spirit of favoritism, are from mistaken policy, and the consequences are precisely the same. I care not to whom this may apply, it is time these gigantic Railroad speculations were exposed. With a rational and economical system, Missouri would have had two hundred miles more Railroad than she now has. Large portions of the State have been deprived of the advantages of a Railroad that speculators might be enriched, and that too, while those very sections have been taxed heaviest, by being obliged to pay a double price for their lands, and by having immigration prevented.
The agents of the speculators endeavor to mystify and invest with insurmountable difficulties, the simple operations of building a Railroad as a means of magnifying the great importance of their unusual ability and experience, in order to keep the control of the expenditures. But whoever is capable of managing ordinary business transactions, and can be trusted with the expenditure of other people’s money without putting some of it in his own pocket, can manage a Railroad. It is simply to provide the means, and see that it is economically expended by the agents and employees.

Prominent gentlemen connected with the Pacific Railroad, come here and tell you they are in favor of a separation if it could be effected; if they are sincere, why not a limit the forfeiture? or settle the question at once, and no one can object. They admit the roads never should have been connected, and that it would be better to separate them if it could be done; and now there is an opportunity let them make good their professions.

It might be supposed, from what has been said, that the sub-contractors would be in favor of the separation, and read sub-contractors would be, but there are the best of reasons for believing that some of the principal sub-contractors on the South-west Branch, have also an interest, directly or indirectly, in the original contract.

The great mistake in the management, was in building the Kansas road first; but if any regard had been paid to the interests of South-west Missouri, it would have been more excusable, but years have passed away and the resources of nearly one-third of the State prevented from being developed, while the Pacific Railroad Company has had the road blocked up; and yet, after having done the South-west so much injury, they have the presumption to come here and boast of their liberality, and profess sympathy with the people of South-west Missouri, for the difficulties they are laboring under for the want of a Railroad; and that too, when the citizens of South-west Missouri, have to pay for the road—twice over.

The enormous expenditures for internal improvements are now wholly controlled by those who are hostile to the institutions of the State—the speculators included—protected and patronized by some of the millionaires of St. Louis, comprising one of the most extensive and unscrupulous monied monopolies ever organized, and most dangerous to the interests of the State. Under the protection of this monied influence, and controlling almost the entire press, the Pacific Railroad Company has been, and still is, nearly invulnerable, and can carry out any measure, however destitute of right or justice, whether affecting the interests of persons, or any portion of the State.

The press is so effectually closed against any discussion of their management, and measures which they are about to propose to the Legislature, that it is impossible to get anything before the public, but what it may suit them to represent. For this reason, it is hoped that they will not be permitted to force their measures through the Legislature—under cover of omnibus bills, till there has been a thorough investigation of their merits, and as to how the millions they ask for are to be expended.

I know that they have already endeavored to impress many members with the unimportance of the opposition to their schemes; charging it to prejudice and hostility to particular persons; so that it is evident—if their statements are believed, that justice cannot be done to the people of a section, or even to the State itself; and which is a practical illustration of the danger of foreign monopolies to the interest of the State, as they now control all the expenditures and no one can raise an effectual objection.

I will here ask, how the facts and arguments in behalf of the people, are to be made public, unless it is by some one acquainted with the management of the road, and also with the management of other roads? It is impossible to get them in any other way; and yet there are those who are willing to close the door to all testimony, but what comes from persons interested in the officers or speculators. But if they regard my testimony as prejudiced or partial, let them call up disinterested engineers and contractors, not named, however, by the company or original contractors, but men who will give a fair and impartial opinion; and see if they do not more than substantiate all that I have shown.

Gentlemen, I can refer you to some of the oldest contractors on the Pacific road, who have done work on it almost from the commencement, and have seen and known how the money has been expended, and they will tell you that the Pacific Railroad has been a hot bed of robbery and favoritism; that structures have been given to particular favorites, in which it can be proved by the testimony of disinterested engineers or contractors, that the money of the stockholders and the State has been shamefully squandered; and they will tell you that it is their firm belief, that men in high positions on the road have been indirectly the recipients of a part of the profits of this favoritism; and they will urge upon
you, although interested in the progress of the road, not to grant any further State aid till the system of management is changed. And if the engineers and agents of the company, were called upon and put on their oath, all this will be borne out by their testimony; as they have already freely expressed their opinion of the original contracts, the system of favoratism, and the defective structures.

It is not myself alone, who is opposed to the present system, but every one acquainted with the past management, who is disconnected with the present administration and speculations.

I will now ask if the people of Missouri, and the Legislature are willing to permit the Pacific Railroad Company to expend $10,000,000 more of the public treasure, on the South-western road, under the same management which has proven so disastrous on the other road? I believe there will be an emphatic no from every man who has any regard for the interests of the State, and who is opposed to seeing it unnecessarily plunged in debt, that speculators may be enriched.

There is now an opportunity to rescue the South-western road from a similar fate to the Pacific road and to establish it on a basis which will insure a rapid and economical progress, and an early completion—as a new road; a new Directory who are identified with the interests of South-west Missouri; contractors who are entitled to the profits they make by actual service, and agents and employees who will perform their duties fearlessly, without the apprehension of being interfered with by the contractors for discharging their obligations to the Company.

In order to effect a separation, the Legislature has only to refuse any further extension of time or aid to the Pacific Railroad Company for the construction of the South-western road, and the lands and road must be forfeited, as it is impossible to complete the first division in the remaining time—now less than two years; and if they refuse to admit the forfeiture, and agree to come to a compromise, they are aware that at the expiration of the time, they forfeit all unconditionally, and the lands and road can be given to another company, and they receive nothing for all their expenditures.

By accepting the condition or the act of December, 1855, they placed it out of their power to delay the construction of the road beyond a certain time, and now they have only to comply with the terms of their agreement; but fortunately, they cannot, and the only remedy is to compromise and agree to stand no longer in the way of the construction of the road. Transfer the road as it now stands—and let but one half the aid asked by the Pacific Company be granted to a new company, and the construction can be carried on steadily to the completion; and without paying out one or two millions of profits to speculators who contribute nothing to the advancement of the road, or to the wealth of the State.

The separation would be an advantage to both roads, to the State, and to South-west Missouri; and would be the means of securing their completion much sooner than if they were to remain connected. It is the only way that the "speculations" can be got rid of, for if the road is left in the possession of the Pacific Railroad Company, the "original contract" remains in force.

The gentlemen of the Pacific road say that "a new company would not have the experience." I would like to know what advantage such experience as theirs has been worth? With the experience they profess to have obtained, they come here and ask for millions of aid to be expended under contracts in which they admit they have been "over-reached," and which they know must cost the company a million or two, without their deriving a single advantage from them. If their "experience" has been of so much value to them, why is there not some evidence to prove it? It may be reasonably supposed that the "experience" on that road would be more beneficial to a new company.

The contractors cannot be censured for getting the best bargain they could—it is the agents of the company who are to blame for allowing themselves to be "over-reached;" and it is their duty to the stockholders and the people of the State, to avail themselves of every opportunity to annul or get rid of their contracts, which they acknowledge to be so objectionable.

They maintain that the separation cannot be effected—that one stockholder can prevent it. The absurdity of this argument must be apparent, for it is only necessary for the Board of Directors to admit the forfeiture now, as they know they must do, if they get no extension of time or aid, and the stockholders cannot object.

It would be far better to give to the other road, one third, or even one half, of what they ask for the South-western road, than to give the whole amount to be expended under the Pacific Railroad management and original contract—it will go further and build more road, as it will be rid of the profits and speculations.

It has been proposed to let the Pacific Company admit that they have forfeited—as they do by asking for an extension of time and additional aid—and agree to give them a part of the aid they ask for the South-western Road which has been expended on the other road, and pay them for what has been expended—af-
ter deducting the South-west stock that has been paid in; and pass an act incorporating the South-western Company—transferring the lands and road to that company, and granting it the balance of the aid asked by the Pacific Company—after deducting the amount transferred on condition of the forfeiture, the Pacific Company transferring the South-west stock, and all their rights and privileges, vested or obtained, to the South-western Company—the Legislature also granting the aid asked for the Pacific road.

The location is fixed by the land grant, and cannot be materially changed; so that a change of general route is impossible, therefore the interest of local subscribers cannot be affected.

The lands and road being forfeited, they become the property of the State, to be disposed as the Legislature may think fit; and the "original contractors," after being paid for their work, have no claims upon the road.

If South-west Missouri will stand united and delegates from Northern and Eastern Missouri—who think more of the interests of the citizens of the State, than of foreign speculators, supported by their friends and patrons in St. Louis—will lend their aid, the measure can be carried. If they will unite and stand aloof from all omnibus bills, including the millions for the speculators, till this act of justice is done to South-west Missouri, they can then come forward and extend such aid to the different roads as they may seem to require.

South-west Missouri will sanction it, almost to a man—all but those who are in some way connected with the Pacific Company. The citizens of St. Louis will sanction it, and even a majority of the stockholders in the Pacific road, I believe would be in favor of it;—all but the speculators and their friends.

If the roads continue connected, the stock will remain at its present nominal value for years, whereas, if they were separated, the South-west stock would be the best in the West, and would be eagerly subscribed to. There is no doubt but nearly a million of dollars would be subscribed to in South-west Missouri alone; which would reduce the amount of State aid necessary, and diminish the all-consuming interest on bonds. And the citizens of South-west Missouri, who have to pay for the road twice over, should be allowed to reap some of the advantages by becoming stockholders.

Doubtless a large majority of the Legislature are in favor of aiding the internal improvements of the State, but it is as equally important that it should be properly expended, as to grant it. The aid already granted to the Pacific road should have built one hundred miles more than have been built; and, as the amount now asked for, is to be expended under these speculating contracts—under a system that has proved to be ruinous wherever it has been adopted, it is already certain that if the aid is granted without a change of management, that the same or a greater discount is to be deducted from it, and that it will not build much over half the length of road that it would if properly expended; and therefore, the first step should be to change the system of expenditure, by refusing aid and compelling a separation of the roads, and then give them such aid as may seem necessary.

Before concluding, I wish to make a few more remarks in explanation of my own connection with the subject.

I oppose the present system on professional grounds, for it is ruinous to the profession of engineering, as well as to the interest of the stockholders; it lowers the position of an engineer, destroys his authority so that he has but little control over the work, and gives him no opportunity to exercise economy. For these, and other reasons, I have always been opposed to it; and from the time I accepted a position on the road, I have condemned it, first, last and all the time; and have thereby procured the hostility of the contractors, as well as some of the leading men of the present administration.

I know I shall be villified by the speculators and their friends, both in and out of the Legislature, for the part I have taken; but I care not for it, for I am borne out in my position by positive evidence of the disastrous results of the present system, and of the total failure of "original contracts" on every road in the South and West, where they have been tried. There is not a road or work of internal improvement that has been placed in the hands of Eastern speculators, but what there has been almost a total failure on the part of the contractors, to fulfill the conditions of the contract; and in every case, proving to be nothing more nor less than a wholesale system of speculation—and if the "original contracts" covering the two lines of the Pacific road, are allowed to go on expending the money of the State, I am willing to leave it to the future to show whether my position is correct or not.

If I am wrong, I have the satisfaction of knowing that I have plenty of company, for there is not one man in a hundred in South-west Missouri, who does not sustain me in the position I have taken; and one of two things must be admitted—that I am immensely popular, or that there are good and suf-
icient reasons for asking for a separation; and as I do not lay claim to any such popularity, the reasonable conclusion is, that there is good cause for the unanimous expression of the wishes of the citizens of South-west Missouri in favor of it.

In order to anticipate a little of the abuse, I shall expect to receive from the speculators and their friends—I can assure them that they comprise only about every tenth person—of those who have formed any opinion upon the subject; so that with such odds in my favor, I can afford to be abused.

I understand there are some of the South-west delegation who may be expected to side with the Pacific Railroad Company, against the wishes of their constituents. I hope it is not so, but that is no business of mine. I simply wish to present the facts and arguments in favor of a separation, and have only to say, that if the roads remain connected, time will show whether their course has been judicious or not.

I repeat, that I wish it to be distinctly understood, that I do not come here as a speculator, nor as an office seeker, but in behalf of the citizens of South-west Missouri, and of my profession.