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IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

APRIL 13, 1892.—Ordered to be printed.

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Mr. JONES, of Arkansas, from the Committee on Indian Affairs, submitted the following

REPORT:

[To accompany S. Mis. Doc. 126.]

The Committee on Indian Affairs, to whom was referred the message of the President relative to the act to pay the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians for certain lands now occupied by the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians, and the memorial of the Chickasaws relating to said message, and the memorial of the Choctaws relating to the same subject, have considered the same, and report as follows:

By an act of the last Congress, approved by the President on March 3, 1891, an appropriation was made to pay the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians the sum of \$2,991,450 "for all the right, title, interest and claim which said nations of Indians may have in and to certain lands now occupied by the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians under Executive order." The money so appropriated has not been paid, and the President sent the message under consideration to Congress to explain why it had not been done, and to make certain suggestions or recommendations in connection therewith.

The President's objections to this measure are in brief as follows, taken in the order in which they are stated in his message:

(1) The agreement on the part of the Choctaws to pay three of their citizens 25 per cent of the amount appropriated to that nation, and of the Chickasaws to pay 10 per cent of the amount appropriated to them, as a fee for prosecuting the claims.

(2) That there are charges that the act of the Choctaw council stipulating for the payment of this fee was procured by corrupt means.

(3) That the Choctaws have by law provided for the distribution of this fund per capita amongst Choctaws by blood, excluding white and colored citizens from participation therein.

(4) That he does not believe that these lands were "ceded in trust" by article 3 of the treaty of 1866, but seems to conclude that the Government has an absolute title to them.

Taking these objections up in the order of their importance, the question of title to these lands must first be considered.

The President, in attempting to maintain his position as to the title to the leased district, seems to assume that Spain owned all the country west of 100 degrees west longitude in 1820, and that the \$800,000 paid the Choctaws in 1855 must have been mainly paid for the leased district, and not for the failure of title to more than 6,589,440 acres of land west of 100 degrees, and that the United States acquired in 1850 from the Choctaws and Chickasaws the same rights in the leased district that were acquired in 1866 from the Creeks and Seminoles to them.

western country; and, further, that in 1866 the Government of the United States acquired an absolute title to the leased district. None of these positions are sustained by the history of those transactions.

By the treaty of June 22, 1855, the Choctaws relinquished to the United States all of their title to the lands west of the one hundredth meridian of west longitude, and the Choctaws and Chickasaws *leased* to the United States, for certain specified uses, their lands west of the ninety-eighth meridian. The aggregate consideration for the relinquishment and lease was fixed in the treaty at \$800,000. There was no apportionment of this consideration as between the relinquishment of the lands west of the one hundredth meridian and the lease of the land west of the ninety-eighth meridian. The following are the provisions of the treaty relating to this subject:

ART. 9. The Choctaw Indians do hereby absolutely and forever quitclaim and relinquish to the United States all their right, title, and interest in and to any and all lands west of the one hundredth degree of west longitude, and the Choctaws and Chickasaws do hereby lease to the United States all that portion of their common territory west of the ninety-eighth degree of west longitude for the permanent settlement of the Wichita and such other tribes or bands of Indians as the Government may desire to locate therein, excluding, however, all the Indians of New Mexico, and also those whose usual ranges at present are north of the Arkansas River and whose permanent locations are north of the Canadian River, but including those bands whose permanent ranges are south of the Canadian, or between it and the Arkansas, which Indians shall be subject to the exclusive control of the United States, under such rules and regulations, not inconsistent with the rights and interests of the Choctaws and Chickasaws, as may from time to time be prescribed by the President for their government: *Provided, however,* That the territory so leased shall remain open to settlement by Choctaws and Chickasaws as heretofore. (11 Stat., 613.)

ART. 10. In consideration of the foregoing relinquishment and lease, and as soon as practicable after the ratification of this convention, the United States will pay to the Choctaws the sum of six hundred thousand dollars, and to the Chickasaws the sum of two hundred thousand dollars, in such manner as their general councils shall respectively direct. (11 Stat., 613.)

Now, what was the interest in lands west of the one hundredth meridian which the Choctaws by this treaty relinquished to the United States?

The following are the stipulations of the treaty of October 18, 1820:

ART. 1. To enable the President of the United States to carry into effect the above grand and humane objects, the Mingoes, head men and warriors of the Choctaw Nation, in full council assembled, in behalf of themselves and the said nation, do, by these presents, cede to the United States of America all the land lying and being within the boundaries following, to wit: Beginning on the Choctaw boundary, east of Pearl River, at a point due south of the White Oak Spring, on the old Indian path; thence north to said spring; thence northwardly to a black oak standing on the Natchez road, about forty poles eastwardly from Doake's fence, marked A. J. and blazed, with two large pines and a black oak standing near thereto and marked as pointers; thence a straight line to the head of Black Creek or Bouge Loosa; thence down Black Creek or Bouge Loosa to a small lake; thence a direct course so as to strike the Mississippi one mile below the mouth of the Arkansas River; thence down the Mississippi to our boundary; thence around and along the same to the beginning. (7 Stat., 211.)

ART. 2. For and in consideration of the foregoing cession on the part of the Choctaw Nation and in part satisfaction for the same, the commissioners of the United States in behalf of said States do hereby cede to said nation a tract of country west of the Mississippi River situate between the Arkansas and Red river and bounded as follows: Beginning on the Arkansas River where the lower boundary line of the Cherokees strikes the same; thence up the Arkansas to the Canadian Fork, and up the same to its source; thence due south to the Red River; thence down Red River three miles below the mouth of Little River, which empties itself into Red River on the north side; thence a direct line to the beginning. (7 Stat., 211.)

Here was an exchange of lands between the United States and the Choctaw Nation. The Choctaws ceded to the United States certain lands described by metes and bounds east of the Mississippi River, and

the United States ceded to the Choctaws certain lands described by metes and bounds west of the Mississippi. The consideration for which the Choctaws ceded to the United States their lands east of the Mississippi *was not a part of the land* included within the metes and bounds of the western country ceded to them by the United States, *but was the whole of the land* included within those metes and bounds. If it had happened that a part of the land covered by this deed of the United States to the Choctaws was not in fact and in law owned by the United States on the 18th day of October, 1820, when the treaty was signed, the obligation of the United States would have been identical with the obligation incurred by an individual who, being a party to an exchange of farms, should prove not to be the owner of all the land covered by his deed.

In that event it would have become the duty of the United States to do one of four things: Either to acquire a complete title to all the land covered by their deed, and to convey the same to the Choctaws, or to restore to the Choctaws a part of their land east of the Mississippi River; or to rescind the treaty altogether and place the parties *in statu quo*, or, finally, to make just reimbursement in money for the land purchased and paid for by the Choctaws, but not delivered by the United States.

If it had been true that on the 18th day of October, 1820, the date of the exchange of lands between the United States and the Choctaw Nation, the United States had owned no lands between the Red and Canadian rivers west of the one hundredth degree of west longitude, then unless the United States had subsequently acquired and conveyed such lands, or restored to the Choctaws a part of their land east of the Mississippi River, or rescinded the treaty, the United States would have become bound to make just compensation to the Choctaws in money for the lands deeded but not delivered to them. So it would have to come to pass that when the Choctaws, on the 22d day of June, 1855, relinquished their interest in the lands west of the one hundredth meridian, the interest so relinquished, as between the Choctaws and the United States, would have been precisely as valuable if the United States had not owned these lands on the 18th of October, 1820, as it would have been if the United States had owned the lands on that day. In one case it would have been the land itself the Choctaws relinquished on the 22d day of June, 1855; in the other case it would have been an indisputable claim for the just value of the lands which the Choctaws relinquished.

But while the reimbursement, to which the Choctaws would have been entitled for the relinquishment of their interest in these lands west of the one hundredth meridian of longitude in 1855, would have been the same whether the lands did or did not belong to the United States on the 18th day of October, 1820, when the exchange was made, the fact is that on that day these lands did belong to the United States, and while this question in this view of the case may not be material to the issue, your committee think that for a full and complete understanding of the matter it is best to show this fact.

On the 18th day of October, 1820, when the commissioners of the United States and the commissioners of the Choctaw Nation signed the treaty by which the Choctaw Nation ceded to the United States their lands east of the Mississippi River, in exchange for their new country west of the Mississippi, the United States owned all the land which is included between the one hundredth and the one hundred and third meridians of west longitude and the Red and Canadian

rivers. This tract of land became a part of the province of Louisiana, upon the original acquisition of that province by France by virtue of the discovery of La Salle in 1683 and the settlement of La Salle on the bay now known as Matagorda Bay in 1685.

It continued to be a part of Louisiana for seventy-seven years from the acquisition of that province by France in 1683 and 1685 until France ceded Louisiana to Spain on the 3d of November, 1762. It was a part of the province of Louisiana that France then ceded to Spain. It continued to be a part of the province of Louisiana during the period of thirty-eight years from the cession by France to Spain in 1762 to the retrocession by Spain to France in 1800 by the treaty of St. Ildefonso. It was a part of the province of Louisiana retroceded to France by that treaty.

It remained a part of Louisiana from the retrocession by Spain to France in 1800 to the cession by France to the United States in 1803.

And, finally, it continued to be a part of Louisiana from 1803 until the treaty of October 18, 1820, between the United States and the Choctaws, and was ceded by that treaty to the Choctaw Nation. The facts stated above are established by the State papers in the archives of the Government of the United States, by sixteen different maps of Louisiana published in London, Paris, Leyden, St. Petersburg, and Amsterdam, between the year 1702 and the year 1774, and by a map published in Paris in 1820, by M. Barbe-Marbois, who was the French negotiator of the treaty by which Louisiana was ceded to the United States in 1803.

Copies of these state papers and maps are embraced in the appendix to this report.

Now, it happened that there was an inconsistency between the *natural objects* and one of the *courses* specified in the conveyance made by the United States to the Choctaws in the treaty of October 18, 1820. It is a fact that a line drawn *due south* from the *source of the Canadian* will not touch *Red River*, because the source of the Red River is farther eastward than the source of the Canadian.

But Mr. Justice Story, delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States in *Preston's Heirs vs. Bowman* (6 Wheat., 580) laid it down as "a universal rule that course and distance yield to natural and ascertained objects." And in *Newson vs. Prior* (7 Wheat., 7) Chief-Justice Marshall said:

The courts of Tennessee, and all other courts by whom cases of this description have been decided, have adopted the same principle and adhered to it. It is that the most material and most certain calls shall control those which are less material and less certain. A call for a natural object, as a river, or a known stream, a spring, or even a marked tree, shall control both course and distance.

It is unnecessary to cite the numerous, not to say innumerable, authorities by which this principle has been recognized and approved.

Applying these indisputable rules of law to the case under consideration, we find that two of the calls of this conveyance to the Choctaw Nation are for *natural objects*; namely, first, the *source of the Canadian River*; and second, the *Red River*; that a third call is for a *course* connecting the Red River and the source of the Canadian; that this course, being due south from the source of the Canadian, is inconsistent with the other two calls, because the source of the Canadian is further west than that of the Red River, and that this third call is therefore controlled by the other two calls of the description. The result is that the Red River and the source of the Canadian are to be connected by a straight line from the source of the Canadian to the nearest point of the Red River, which nearest point happens to be the source of the Red River.

But on the map accompanying the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1888 the source of the Canadian River is located in $104^{\circ} 30'$ west longitude, and 37° north latitude, and the source of the Red River in $103^{\circ} 30'$ west longitude, and $34^{\circ} 45'$ north latitude. A line drawn from the source of the Canadian to the source of the Red River lies wholly west of $103^{\circ} 30'$, and may, therefore, lie within territory which belonged to Spain in 1820. But it is certain that the cession to the Choctaws carried all the land between the one hundredth and one hundred and third meridians and the Red and Canadian rivers. The map No. 18, hereto appended, accurately traced from the map published in the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1888, shows the dimensions of the lands of the Choctaws west of the one hundredth meridian. It contained 10,296 square miles and 6,589,440 acres.

Your committee therefore believe that when the Choctaws relinquished their interest in the lands between the Red and the Canadian rivers west of the one hundredth meridian of west longitude, on the 22d day of June, 1855, they were entitled to receive in compensation for that relinquishment the just value of those lands. What, then, was the just value of those lands in 1855? The territory of the Choctaws west of the one hundredth meridian of west longitude contained 286 full townships, excluding fractional townships, amounting to 10,296 square miles or 6,589,440 acres of land. At the price of $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents per acre this land amounted in value to \$823,680. But in the treaty of June 22, 1855, the sum of \$800,000 was constituted the entire pecuniary consideration, not only for the relinquishment by the Choctaws of their interests west of the one hundredth meridian, but also for the lease by the Choctaws and Chickasaws to the United States of the land between the ninety-eighth and the one hundredth meridians. The sum of \$800,000 was not more than sufficient to compensate the Choctaws for the relinquishment of the land west of the one hundredth meridian. Nothing remained, then, to apply on the lease of the land between the ninety-eighth and one hundredth meridians, which amounted to 7,713,239 acres. The rent of the 7,713,239 acres of land between these meridians was, therefore, altogether nominal—it did not amount to \$1. For less than \$1, then, the United States have held 7,713,239 acres of land from June, 1855, down to March, 1892, a period of more than thirty-six years.

Now, what considerations could possibly have reconciled the Choctaws and Chickasaws to a lease covering 7,713,239 acres of land for a period of thirty-six years at an aggregate rental of less than \$1? There were two considerations which reconciled the Choctaws and Chickasaws to this lease. These considerations were the uses to which the lands were devoted. In the first place, by the express terms of the lease, the lands were to be used for a permanent settlement of the Wichitas and other bands or tribes of Indians, entirely satisfactory to the Choctaws and to none other; in the second place, they were to remain open to settlement by the Choctaws and Chickasaws themselves, as before the lease.

But on the 27th day of September, 1830, ten years after the Choctaws had purchased and paid for their western country, including this land west of the one hundredth meridian, the United States caused the following article to be inserted in a new treaty between the United States and the Choctaw Nation:

ART. 2. The United States, under a grant specially to be made by the President of the United States, shall cause to be conveyed to the Choctaw Nation a tract of country

try west of the Mississippi River in fee-simple, to them and their descendants, to inure to them while they shall exist as a nation and live on it, beginning near Fort Smith, where the Arkansas boundary crosses the Arkansas River; running thence to the source of the Canadian fork, if in the limits of the United States, or to those limits; thence due south to Red River and down Red River to the west boundary of the Territory of Arkansas; thence north along that line to the beginning. (7 Stat., 331.)

In this article the western line of the Choctaws is declared to extend from the "source of the Canadian fork, *if in the limits of the United States,*" due south to Red River. But there was no such "if" in the deed by which the Choctaws acquired this land, on the 18th of October, 1820, and under which they had already held it, or claimed to hold it, for ten years.

What is the explanation of this new demarcation of the western boundary of the Choctaw country? And what is its bearing upon the right of the Choctaws for compensation for the relinquishment subsequently made by them in the treaty of June 22, 1855? The explanation of this change of boundary is this: After the United States had sold this land to the Choctaws, and received payment in full therefor, the United States sold the same land, out from under the Choctaws, to the King of Spain. On the 19th day of February, 1821, four months after the purchase of this land by the Choctaws, the Senate of the United States ratified a treaty whereby the United States sold the western part of the province of Louisiana, including the land of the Choctaws west of the one hundredth meridian to the Spanish King in part payment for the much-coveted province of Florida. This treaty was signed on the 22d of February, 1819; but it had been rejected by the King of Spain. Pending the negotiation of the treaty by which the United States sold this land to the Choctaws, the United States never disclosed to the Choctaws their purpose to sell the land to a foreign power.

The Choctaws were not apprised that a consummation of such a sale to the King of Spain awaited a possible ratification by that King of a treaty which had stood rejected for nearly two years, and its subsequent ratification by the Senate of the United States. And yet this Spanish treaty divested the Choctaws of their legal title to the land west of the one hundredth meridian, which the United States had previously deeded them, and for which they had fully paid. Indeed, when the United States sold this land to the Choctaws, without notifying them of the negotiations with Spain, it was far from being certain or even probable in the minds of the legislative and executive officers of the Government of the United States that the exchange of western Louisiana for Florida would be consummated; for not only had the King of Spain rejected the treaty, but a vigorous opposition to the exchange of western Louisiana for Florida had sprung up in the Congress of the United States, based on the ground that the price to be paid for Florida was extravagantly large, and also on the ground that the sale of the territory of the United States to a foreign government by the President and the Senate, in the exercise of the treaty-making power, without the coöperation of the House of Representatives was unconstitutional and void. On the 28th day of March, 1820, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, introduced the following resolutions in the House of Representatives of the United States:

(1.) *Resolved*, That the Constitution of the United States vests in Congress the power of disposing of the territory belonging to them, and that no treaty purporting to alienate any portion thereof is valid without the concurrence of Congress.

(2.) *Resolved*, That the equivalent proposed to be given by Spain to the United States, in the treaty concluded between them on the 22d day of February, 1819, for

that part of Louisiana lying west of the Sabine, was inadequate, and that it would be inexpedient to make a transfer thereof to any foreign power, or to renew the aforesaid treaty.

On the 3d of April, 1820, Mr. Clay delivered a speech in the House of Representatives in support of these resolutions, in which he is reported as follows:

The first resolution which he had presented asserted that the Constitution vests in the Congress of the United States the power to dispose of the territory belonging to them, and that no treaty purporting to alienate any portion thereof is valid without the concurrence of Congress. The proposition which it asserts was, he thought, sufficiently maintained by barely reading the clause in the Constitution on which it rests: "The Congress shall have power to dispose of, etc., the territory or other property belonging to the United States." * * *

But in the Florida treaty it was not pretended that the object was simply a declaration of where the western limit of Louisiana was. It was, on the contrary, the case of an avowed cession of territory from the United States to Spain. * * *

On the second resolution he said:

It results, then, that we have given for Florida, charged and encumbered as it is, first, unencumbered Texas; second, \$5,000,000; third, a surrender of all our claims upon Spain not included in that five millions; and, fourth, if the interpretation of the treaty which he had stated were well founded, about 1,000,000 acres of the best unseated land in the State of Louisiana, worth, perhaps, \$10,000,000. The first proposition contained in the second resolution was thus, Mr. C. thought, fully sustained. The next was, it was inexpedient to cede Texas to any foreign power. Mr. C. said he was opposed to the transfer of any part of the territory of the United States to any foreign power. They constituted, in his opinion, a sacred inheritance of posterity which we ought to preserve unimpaired. He wished it was, if it were not, a fundamental and available law of the land that they should be inalienable to any foreign power. * * *

The last proposition which the second resolution affirms is that it is inexpedient to renew the treaty. If Spain had promptly ratified it, bad as it is, he would have acquiesced in it. After the protracted negotiation which it terminated, after the irritating and exasperating correspondence which preceded it, he would have taken the treaty as a man who has passed a long and restless night, turning and tossing in his bed, snatches at day an hour's disturbed repose. But she would not ratify it; she would not consent to be bound by it, and she has liberated us from it. * * * Let us put aside the treaty; tell her to grant us our rights to their uttermost extent. And if she still palters, let us assert those rights by whatever measures it is for the interest of our country to adopt. (Ann. Cong., Sixteenth Congress, first session, Vol. 2, pp. 1691, 1724, 1725, 1726, 1729, 1730, and 1731.)

The final ratification of the Spanish treaty extinguished the title of the Choctaws to their land west of the one hundredth meridian, but it did not extinguish their right of reclamation against the United States for this land, which had been sold to the Choctaws by the United States and paid for by the Choctaws, and then sold without the knowledge or consent of the Choctaws to the King of Spain. When the Choctaw treaty of 1830 was signed the United States, being apprehensive that a part of the land sold to the Choctaws by metes and bounds in 1820 would prove to be within the boundaries of the land subsequently sold to Spain, in part payment for Florida, insisted upon such a modification of the boundaries of the Choctaw Nation as should, in effect, make its western line coincident with the eastern line of the land sold to Spain. By the Spanish treaty the eastern boundary of that part of Louisiana which was ceded to Spain in exchange for Florida was fixed as follows:

ART. 3. The boundary line between the two countries west of the Mississippi shall begin on the Gulf of Mexico, at the mouth of the river Sabine, in the sea, continuing north along the western bank of that river to the thirty-second degree of latitude; thence by a line due north to the degree of latitude where it strikes the Rio Roxo of Natchitoches or Red River; then following the course of the Rio Roxo westward to the degree of longitude one hundred west from London and twenty-three from Washington; then crossing the said Red River and running thence by a line due north to

the river Arkansas; thence following the course of the southern bank of the Arkansas to its source in latitude forty-two north, and thence by that parallel of latitude to the south sea. (8 Stat., 254.)

The stipulation in the Choctaw treaty of 1830 as to boundaries was a mere recognition of what had been for nine years an accomplished fact. It was only a recognition of the fact that so much of the land sold to the Choctaws on the 18th of October, 1820, as lay west of the one hundredth meridian had been sold to Spain on the 19th of February, 1821, and that the title of the Choctaws thereto had been extinguished by such sale. It was in no sense a stipulation, either express or implied, on the part of the Choctaws to waive their right for reimbursement for the lands which they had bought and paid for and then involuntarily lost. If this land had not been the property of the United States when the United States conveyed it to the Choctaws and received payment therefor from the Choctaws, the right of the Choctaws to reimbursement would have been incontestable. *A fortiori* was the right to reimbursement incontestable when the United States, having sold the land to the Choctaws and received full payment for it, subsequently sold it, without their knowledge or consent, to the King of Spain.

It was with good reason, then, that the United States and the Choctaws stipulated in the treaty of June 22, 1855, for the relinquishment of the interest of the Choctaws in the land west of the one hundredth meridian. This stipulation was not merely a nominal stipulation for the relinquishment of an intangible, nebulous, imaginary claim, but was a bona fide stipulation, entered into for the relinquishment of a substantial right, recognized as such by both parties to the treaty.

The books, documents, and maps showing the interest of the Choctaws and Chickasaws in the lands west of the ninety-eighth meridian, known as the "leased district," have always been readily accessible to the Secretary of the Interior, and yet when, in pursuance of the authority conferred by section 14 of the Indian appropriation act, approved March 2, 1889, a commission was appointed "to negotiate with the Cherokee Indians, and with all other Indians owning or claiming lands lying west of the ninety-sixth degree of longitude, in the Indian Territory, for the cession to the United States of all their title, claim, or interest of every kind or character in and to said lands," the Secretary, in his "compilation concerning the legal status of the Indians and lands in the Indian Territory," issued to the commissioners, informed them that the interest of the Choctaws and Chickasaws in Greer County, which was a part of the "leased district," had been extinguished by the treaty of 1866. This was tantamount to an assertion that the interest of the Choctaws and Chickasaws in the entire "leased district" had been extinguished by the treaty of 1866, and it was the only allusion to the interest of the Choctaws and Chickasaws in the leased district made in that compilation. The Secretary's statement is printed on page 30 of Senate Ex. Doc. No. 78, Fifty-first Congress, first session, as follows:

Greer County.—While that part of the Choctaw and Chickasaw country lying immediately west of the Kiowa and Comanche and Apache reservations, and between the Red River and the North Fork thereof and the State of Texas (marked No. 31 on the map), is not subject to negotiation, the Indian title thereto having been extinguished by the treaty of 1866 with those Indians, I deem it proper to give its status, as understood by this Department.

On the 19th of December, 1889, the Senate adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Interior be directed to send to the Senate the compilation recently made in the Indian Bureau concerning the legal status of the Indians and lands located in the Indian Territory, and that he also, if not incom-

patible with the public interest, send to the Senate instructions issued to the Commission recently appointed pursuant to act of Congress to negotiate for the cession to the Government of lands west of the ninety-sixth degree in the Indian Territory.

The Secretary, however, not only declined to send the "instructions," but also declined to send the "compilation." His answer to the resolution of the Senate is printed in Senate Ex. Doc. No. 21, first session, Fifty-first Congress, as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, December 21, 1889.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the following resolution of the Senate, dated 19th instant:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Interior be directed to send to the Senate the compilation recently made in the Indian Bureau concerning the legal status of the Indians and lands located in the Indian Territory, and that he also, if not incompatible with the public interest, send to the Senate instructions issued to the commission recently appointed pursuant to act of Congress to negotiate for the cession to the Government of lands west of the ninety-sixth degree in the Indian Territory."

In response thereto I have the honor to state that no compilation has been made by the Indian Bureau concerning the legal status of the Indians and lands located in the Indian Territory other than that embodied in the instructions to the Cherokee Commission.

In view of the pending negotiations with these Indians, I deem it incompatible with the public interest that these instructions at this time be made public.

With the final report of the commission a copy of the instructions herewith requested will be furnished.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

JOHN W. NOBLE,
Secretary.

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE.

Thereupon the Senate, by a resolution adopted March 10, 1890, peremptorily directed the Secretary to send the compilation to the Senate, as follows:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Interior be directed to send to the Senate the compilation recently made in the Indian Bureau, concerning the legal status of the Indians and lands within the Indian Territory.

The Secretary replied as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
Washington, March 12, 1890.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Senate resolution in the following words:

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Interior be directed to send to the Senate the compilation recently made in the Indian Bureau, concerning the legal status of the Indians and lands within the Indian Territory."

In response thereto I transmit herewith the compilation called for, from which has been eliminated the instructions given the Cherokee Commission.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

JOHN W. NOBLE,
Secretary.

The PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE.

The Secretary had access to the books, documents, and maps, which showed the interest of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes in the Cimarron tract of more than 5,000,000 acres, as well as in the tract of 2,489,160 acres within the "leased district," when he issued his "instructions" to the commissioners as above stated. Indeed, in this "compilation," on pages 9 and 10 of Senate Ex. Doc. No. 78, first session, Fifty-first Congress, the Secretary, referring to the Cimarron tract, says:

These lands, it must be conceded, were secured to these tribes by solemn treaty stipulation, and they have made no treaty ceding them, nor agreement of relinquishment that is of any binding force or effect. They have committed no act of forfeiture. Their title stands to-day as it did at the date of the ratification of the treaty of 1867. As between the United States and the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, the title

to the lands is in these Indians, and they have a perfect and indisputable right to remove to that reservation and enjoy all the privileges guaranteed to them by the treaty.

The commissioners refused to negotiate with the Choctaws and Chickasaws for their interest in the "leased district;" but they proceeded to negotiate with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes for a cession of their interest in that part of the "leased district" on which they were located by the executive order dated August 10, 1869, although there can be no pretense that the President had any authority to vest any sort of title to these lands in these Indians.

It seems to be a necessary inference from the facts just stated that the instructions which the Secretary declined to furnish to the Senate required the commissioners to negotiate with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes for their interest in the "leased district," which was, in fact, a mere right of occupancy and in no sense a title to the land, but *did not permit* them to negotiate with the Choctaws and Chickasaws for their interest therein, thus actually suspending the law, notwithstanding the fact that Congress had explicitly directed the commission, to use the words of the statute, "to negotiate with the Cherokee Indians and with all other Indians owning or claiming lands lying west of the ninety-sixth degree of longitude in the Indian Territory, for the cession to the United States of all their title, claim, or interest of every kind and character in and to said lands," which clearly embraced in its terms the claims of the Choctaws and Chickasaws to the "leased district."

The commissioners having, in pursuance, as your committee infer, of the instructions of the Secretary of the Interior, refused to negotiate with the Choctaws and Chickasaws for the relinquishment of their interest in the "leased district," the governor of the Chickasaw Nation it appears sent B. C. Burney and Overton Love, citizens of that nation, to Washington to apply to Congress for protection against the threatened invasion of their rights. Your committee are informed that before making their formal application to Congress the Chickasaw-delegates, Messrs. Burney and Love, had an interview with a well-known financier and capitalist, now a distinguished member of the Executive Department of the Government, in which he said to them that, if they could obtain from Congress authority to sell the lands embraced within the "leased district" at private sale, a syndicate could be organized to purchase them at the price of \$5 per acre, at which rate the lands, being in area 7,713,239 acres, would amount to \$38,566,190, and at the same time he expressed the opinion that the proposed syndicate would be able to sell the lands for \$10 per acre, at which rate the lands would have yielded the syndicate a profit of more than \$35,000,000.

If the law as it stands had been executed and the amount appropriated paid to the Choctaws and Chickasaws, and the Cheyenne and Arapahoe agreement had also been ratified and afterwards executed, even though it might be said that the Government had had to "pay twice for these lands," yet it would have bought land worth \$5 per acre for \$1.31 per acre, and which it proposed to sell to actual settlers at \$1.50, which upon a sale of the entire tract would yield, leaving out of the account 96,000 acres given in severalty to the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, a net profit to the Government of \$454,700, and to the settlers lands worth \$11,965,800 for \$3,589,740, or a net profit of \$8,376,060.

In the message of the President, transmitted to Congress February 17, 1892, he says:

After a somewhat careful examination of the question I do not believe that the lands for which this money is to be paid were, to quote the language of section 11

of the Indian appropriation bill already set out, "ceded in trust by article 3 of treaty between the United States and said Choctaw and Chickasaw nations of Indians, which was concluded April 28, 1866."

The President is of the opinion that the lands in question were not ceded in trust to the United States by this treaty. He thinks that an absolute, unqualified title was conveyed by the treaty, and as he elsewhere says, that the United States paid the Choctaws and Chickasaws therefor the sum of \$300,000. On the contrary, your committee believe that the estate conveyed was a trust estate only; that whereas the treaty of 1855 empowered the United States to locate upon these lands only those Indians whose ranges were included within certain specified limits, this treaty of 1866 authorized the United States—

(1) To locate upon these lands Indians like the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, whose ranges were not within the limits designated in the treaty of 1855, and whom, prior to the treaty of 1866, the United States had no right to locate upon the lands;

(2) To locate upon the lands Choctaw and Chickasaw freedmen;

(3) Deprived the Choctaws and Chickasaws themselves of the right to settle thereon.

The treaty disposed of this sum of \$300,000 as follows:

It was to remain in the Treasury of the United States. If the Choctaws and Chickasaws should decide not to confer citizenship upon their freedmen, and the United States should remove the freedmen with their consent from the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, then the sum of \$300,000 was to be held in trust for the freedmen. If the Choctaws and Chickasaws should decide not to admit their freedmen to citizenship, and the freedmen should decline to be removed from the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, then this sum of \$300,000 was to remain the property of the United States. But if within two years the freedmen should be invested with citizenship, and should refuse to leave the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, then, and only then, was the money to be paid to the Choctaws and Chickasaws.

The purpose of this provision relating to the \$300,000 was not to pay for the land. Its object was to cover the cost of the removal of the freedmen if the Choctaws and Chickasaws should not admit them to citizenship, or to compensate the Choctaws and Chickasaws in some measure for the benefits conferred upon the freedmen by conferring citizenship upon them, in case this should be done. These benefits were material and substantial; in addition to all the civil and political rights enjoyed by the Indians themselves, they acquired property rights such as were conferred upon no freedmen outside of the Indian Territory. They have the free use of lands just as the Indians have, and the benefit of excellent schools, for the support of which they have never contributed in any way a single cent. To have these rights conferred upon 3,000 freedmen the Government agreed to pay \$300,000. The Choctaws agreed to it, the Chickasaws did not. This sum was fixed at \$300,000 because the number of freedmen were estimated at 3,000, and it was agreed that each freedman, in case of removal, should receive for the expenses incident to emigration the sum of \$100.

The Choctaws admitted their freedmen to citizenship and received their share of the sum of \$300,000, less \$7,200 paid to freedmen who promised to emigrate from the Choctaw Nation.

The Choctaws and Chickasaws claim that their position was like that of the Creeks and Seminoles, who have already been paid under the acts of March 1 and 2, 1889, for their interest in the lands ceded by the treaties of 1866.

The language of the Creek treaty is:

In compliance with the desire of the United States to locate other Indians and freedmen thereon, the Creeks hereby cede and convey to the United States, to be sold to and used as homes for such other civilized Indians as the United States may choose to settle thereon, the west half of their entire domain, etc.

In the Seminole treaty the language is:

In compliance with the desire of the United States to locate other Indians and freedmen thereon, the Seminoles cede and convey to the United States their entire domain, being, etc.

In the Choctaw and Chickasaw treaty the words are:

The Choctaws and Chickasaws, in consideration of the sum of \$300,000, hereby cede to the United States the territory west of the ninety-eighth degree west longitude: *Provided, etc.*

The difference between these treaties is that the Choctaw and Chickasaw treaty does not contain the words "in compliance with the desire of the United States to locate other Indians and freedmen thereon" preceding the words of conveyance; but this committee believe that these words are distinctly implied and just as binding upon the United States as if they had been so used, for the reason that when the Commissioners of the United States met these Indians to negotiate this treaty they informed the Indians that they were authorized to treat only upon condition that they (the Indians) would consent that the Indian country should be set apart for Indian occupation. This demand of the Government was acceded to by the Indians, and upon this condition the treaty was made. The agents of the United States so reported to their Government at the time, and it has been so understood since.

The following is taken from a report made to Congress in this case by the Indian Office September 13, 1890:

The records of this office show that in 1865 a commission was appointed to negotiate with the Indians of the then Southern Superintendency, among them the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, Seminoles, and Cherokees. * * * A council was held between this commission and representatives of the Southern Indians at Fort Smith, Ark., in September, beginning on the 8th and ending on the 21st day of that month. On the 9th of September, 1865, the president of the commission, Hon. D. N. Cooley, who was also at that time Commissioner of Indian Affairs, addressed the council * * * and declared * * * that, as the representatives of the President of the United States, the commission, for which he spoke, was empowered to enter into new treaties with the proper delegates of the tribes located within the Indian Territory and others above named living west and north of Indian Territory; that such treaties must contain substantially the following stipulations, viz:

"Fifth. A part of the Indian country to be set apart to be purchased for the use of such Indians from Kansas and elsewhere as the Government may desire to colonize therein.

"Sixth. That the policy of the Government to unite all the tribes of this region into one consolidated Government should be accepted.

"Seventh. No *white person*, except officers, agents, and employes of the Government, or of any internal improvement company authorized by the Government, will be permitted to reside in the Territory, unless formally incorporated with some tribe according to the usage of the band."

On September 11, 1865, in a letter addressed to the commissioners of the United States, the Choctaw delegates said: "In answer, therefore, to your propositions to the several tribes of Indians, we say that the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth articles meet our approval;" and submitted in lieu of the seventh proposition a proposition which provided that "no white person, except officers, agents, employes of the Government, or of any internal improvement company authorized by the Government of the United States; also, no person of African descent, except our former slaves, or free persons of color who are now or have been residents of the Territory, will be permitted to reside in the Territory unless formally incorporated with some tribe according to the usages of the band."

Later, in the progress of the council about the 18th of September, the commissioners of the southern factions of the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes accepted the

propositions suggested by the commissioners, and before the final adjournment of that council, the 21st of September, all of the delegates of the tribes represented signed a treaty of peace between themselves and the United States. (These proceedings will be found in the Annual Report of the Indian Bureau, 1885, p. 105, etc.)

It will be observed that in each of the treaties made with each of the other civilized tribes, extracts from which are above given, the purpose for which the land was being ceded to the United States is specifically stated. No such purpose is stated in the treaty made about the same time with the Choctaws and Chickasaws.

It is possible that the commission, when it came to negotiate with the Choctaws and Chickasaws, may have omitted from the treaty with those Indians a similar condition and reservation regarding the purposes for which the lands were to be used, because of the fact that the United States had secured by a prior treaty a lease, which amounted to a permanent lease, of the lands in question for Indian purposes, for which, together with other considerations, it had paid the sum of \$800,000. Considering this fact, the commission negotiating the treaty may have considered the payment of the \$300,000 additional, as provided for in the treaty of 1866, a sufficient compensation for an absolute cession of all right, title, and interest that the Choctaws and Chickasaws had in and to the said "leased district." This conclusion, however, can not be fairly reached, when the record of the negotiations is fully considered; for we have already seen that these Indians accepted the terms proposed by the commission, upon which the treaties would be negotiated; and these very terms indicate the purpose for which the ceded lands were to be used. And it shows quite clearly that the Indians understood that they were parting with whatever right, title, and interest remained to them in the "leased district" to the United States, to be used for the location and settlement of other Indians thereon.

The negotiations made about that time by the United States with Indian tribes show very conclusively that a policy had been carefully mapped out for the acquisition by the United States of the right to locate other Indians upon portions of the lands owned and occupied by the five civilized tribes in the Indian Territory.

I am inclined, therefore, to the opinion that the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians have good ground for the claim that the United States took the land ceded by them upon the trust to settle other Indians and freedmen thereon, as the policy upon which the negotiations were made clearly indicated its desire and purpose to do.

While there are clearly no words of limitation in the treaty of 1866 as to the use to which the ceded lands should be put by the United States, the history of the negotiation preceding and resulting in that treaty and the subsequent treatment of the subject quite clearly indicate that the Choctaws and Chickasaws have good ground for claiming that they understood that the lands were to be used for the location of other Indians and freedmen thereon.

Hon. D. N. Cooley was Commissioner of Indian Affairs at the time this treaty was negotiated. He was president of the treaty commissioners, was himself personally present and conducted the negotiations, and in his formal report as Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior, in 1865, he uses this language:

With the Choctaws and Chickasaws a treaty was agreed upon the basis of the seven propositions heretofore stated, and in addition to which those tribes agreed to a thorough and friendly union among their own people, and forgetfulness of past differences; to the opening of the leased lands to the settlement of any tribes whom the Government of the United States may desire to place thereon, etc.

The Secretary of the Interior, in an official communication to the Secretary of War, dated May 1, 1879, said:

The lands ceded by the Choctaws and Chickasaws were, by article 9 of the treaty of June 22, 1855, leased to the United States for the permanent settlement of the Chickasaws, and such other tribes or bands of Indians as the Government may desire to locate therein. The treaty of 1866 substituted a direct purchase for the lease, but did not extinguish or alter the trust.

On the 17th of February, 1882, the Secretary of the Interior communicated to the Senate of the United States a decision of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, containing the following statement:

The Choctaw and Chickasaw cession of April 28, 1866 (14 Stat., 769) was, by the ninth section thereof, made subject to the conditions of the compact of June 22, 1855 (1 Stat., 613), by the ninth article of which it was stipulated that the land should be appropriated for the permanent settlement of such tribes or bands of Indians as the United States might desire to locate thereon. The lands embraced in the Choctaw and Chickasaw cession were also included in a definite district, established by

the stipulations of the treaty of 1855, pursuant to the act of Congress of May 28, 1830, the United States reëngaging, by the seventh article of the said treaty, to remove and keep out from that district all intruders.

In pursuance of the stipulations of the foregoing compacts, and in the exercise of the trusts assumed by the United States, under the several treaties, and in accordance with specific provisions of law and the lawful orders of the President, all the lands in the Indian Territory to which the United States has title have been permanently appropriated or definitely reserved for the uses and purposes named. The title of the United States to lands in the Indian Territory is, as heretofore shown, subject to specific trusts, and it is not within the lawful power of either the legislative or executive departments of the Government to annihilate such trusts, or to avoid the obligations arising thereunder. Such trusts are for the benefit of Indian tribes and Indian freedmen.

In response to a Senate resolution of January 23, 1884, the Secretary of the Interior transmitted to the President of the Senate the following communication:

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Senate resolution of January 23 last, directing the Secretary of the Interior—

“To advise the Senate of the present status of lands in the Indian Territory, other than those claimed and occupied by the five civilized tribes, the extent of each tract separately, the necessity for or obligation to keep said lands in their present condition of occupancy or otherwise, and as to whether any portion of said lands, and, so, what portion, are subject to entry under the land laws of the United States, and, as to what portion, if any, could be made so subject to entry by the action of the Executive.”

These lands were acquired by treaties with the various Indian nations or tribes in that Territory in 1866, to be held for Indian purposes and to some extent for the settlement of the former slaves of some of said nations, or portions thereof.

Such are the purposes for which said lands are now being used or held, according to the common understanding of the objects of treaties by which they were acquired and from these arise the necessity for or obligation to keep said lands in their present condition of occupancy or otherwise.

In an official communication to the President, dated January 23, 1885, the Secretary of the Interior said:

Objection will be made to the occupation of any part of the Indian Territory by other than Indians, on the ground that the Government set apart the Territory for the exclusive use of the Indians and covenanted that no others should reside there. It is not denied that the treaties so provide. It is, however, within the power of the Government, with the consent of the Indians interested, to change this provision, and to reach the objects of the treaties so that these desirable unoccupied lands may be placed within the lawful reach of the settlers.

In the case of *The United States v. Paine*, (2 McCrary, 290), the court said:

Now we must look to the acts of the Government, since the adoption of this treaty in order to understand its purpose. We find that in the year 1866 it entered upon the policy of settling tribes of Indians, other than the five civilized tribes, in the Indian country. Since that time by treaties, laws, and executive orders of the President it has settled upon reservations in the Indian country the Cheyennes, the Arapahoes, the Kiowas, the Comanches, the Wichitas, the Pawnees, the Sacs and Foxes, the Nez Perces, the Poncas, the Modocs, the Kansas, the Osages, the Potawatomes, the Absentee Shawnees, as well as some other small tribes. This explains why the treaty-making power thought, on March 21, 1866, that there was an urgent necessity of the Government for more lands in the Indian Territory. This shows that the Government not only had a desire to locate other Indians in the Indian Territory, but to a great extent it has consummated that desire.

But the President, referring to the leased district, says:

As to these lands, the Government had already, under the treaty of 1855, secured the right to use them perpetually for the settlement of friendly Indians. This is not true as to the other tribes referred to.

This statement, if material to the question now at issue, means, first, that by the treaty of 1855 the Government acquired the right to locate upon these lands any Indian tribes which it might be convenient for the Government to locate thereon, without restriction or limitation.

and, secondly, that the Government, by the treaty of 1855, acquired the right to allot these lands in severalty to such Indians. On both of these points, your committee think, the President is mistaken.

The treaty of 1855 secured to the Government the right to locate on the lands in controversy those Indian tribes whose homes and ranges were within certain designated limits, and no others. The following is the text of the treaty:

The Choctaws and Chickasaws do hereby lease to the United States all that portion of their common territory west of the ninety-eighth degree of west longitude, for the permanent settlement of such other tribes or bands of Indians as the Government may desire to locate therein; excluding, however, all the Indians of New Mexico, and also all those whose usual ranges at present are north of the Arkansas River, and whose permanent locations are north of the Canadian River, but including those bands whose permanent ranges are south of the Canadian, or between it and the Arkansas.

Moreover, the treaty of 1855 did not grant, or purport to grant, to the United States any right to allot these lands in severalty to individual owners, or to transfer the ownership of the lands. As to these lands the treaty of 1855 was not a deed in fee simple, but only a lease from the Choctaws and Chickasaws to the United States. It empowered the United States, not to convey, but only to sublet the lands. The words of the treaty are:

The Choctaws and Chickasaws do hereby lease to the United States all that portion of their common territory west of the ninety-eighth degree of west longitude.

Until the Choctaws and Chickasaws assented to the provisions of the act of March 3, 1891, they were never willing nor did they ever consent that these lands should be opened to settlement by whites, or allotted, or conveyed in severalty, to whites, blacks, or Indians.

The President expresses the opinion that the conditions attached to the cessions in the Creek and Seminole treaties of 1866 were the same as those which were attached to the lease in the Choctaw and Chickasaw treaty of 1855, and that, therefore, the claim of the Choctaws and Chickasaws that the cession in their latter treaty of 1866 was encumbered by a condition, or trust, is not supported by any analogies of the Creek and Seminole cases. This is a mistake. The trusts created in the Creek and Seminole treaties of 1866 were trusts (1) for the location of friendly Indians, in general, without restriction, and (2) for the location of freedmen. Neither of these two trusts was created by the Choctaw and Chickasaw treaty of 1855. Neither of them existed, in the case of the leased district, until created by the Choctaw and Chickasaw treaty of 1866. The trust created by the Choctaw and Chickasaw treaty of 1855 was a trust not to locate Indians in general, but to locate certain Indians whose ranges were included within the boundaries designated in the treaty. This treaty of 1855 contained no trust whatever for the location of freedmen. That trust was first created, for the leased district, by the Choctaw and Chickasaw treaty of 1866.

It is true that these two trusts of the Choctaw and Chickasaw treaty of 1866 are not created by express words qualifying the grant. But this is also true of the Creek and Seminole treaties. In those treaties the trusts are not expressed, but are implied in words used in recitals only. They are not implied in either of those treaties, in words used in the body of the grant. The recital in each case is in the following words: "In compliance with the desire of the United States to locate their Indians and freedmen thereon," etc. The words of the grant are then stronger in the Creek and Seminole treaties than in the Choctaw and Chickasaw treaty. The Choctaws and Chickasaws "cede," but the Creeks and Seminoles "cede and convey."

These trusts in the Choctaw and Chickasaw treaty of 1866 are implied in the language of the third article, in which the words of conveyance, the statement of the consideration, and the arrangements for the freedmen are placed in such juxtaposition as not only to warrant, but necessitate, the inference that it was the object of the parties, and the effect of the treaties, to authorize the United States to locate upon these lands Indians whose ranges were not embraced within the limits designated in the treaty of 1855, and also to locate Choctaw and Chickasaw freedmen thereon, and that the cession was encumbered with corresponding trusts.

If this be not true, if the Choctaw and Chickasaw deed of 1866 was an absolute deed, while those of the Creeks and Seminoles were on deeds in trust, then gross injustice was practiced upon the Choctaw and Chickasaws by the United States in 1866, for the Creeks then received \$325,362 for a deed in trust of only 2,169,080 acres of land, and the Seminoles received \$975,168 for a deed in trust of only 3,250,500 acres; but for 7,713,239 acres of land, which had been previously held by the United States under a gratuitous lease for thirty-six years, the Choctaws and Chickasaws received not a single penny, unless the \$300,000 provided for the freedmen be erroneously reckoned as compensation to the Choctaws and Chickasaws for the grant. And notwithstanding the President having, in 1889, paid the Creeks for the same lands the additional sum of \$2,280,857, and having, in the same year, paid the Seminoles for the same lands an additional sum of \$1,912,942.02, has, for almost twelve months, refused to pay the Choctaws and Chickasaws the amount appropriated by the act of March 3, 1891.

The third article of the treaty of 1866, standing alone, shows a cession by the Choctaws and Chickasaws to the United States of 7,713,239 acres of land, unsurpassed in point of fertility by any body of land of equal area within the limits of the United States. If the sum of \$300,000, named in this article, constituted the sole consideration for the conveyance, and the United States became the absolute owners of the land in their own right, and not the mere grantees of a trust estate therein, then the remarkable spectacle is presented of a purchase of the United States from their feeble and dependent "wards" of 7,713,239 acres of land, then worth in money more than \$10,000,000 and now worth more than \$40,000,000, for the nominal consideration of \$300,000, which sum of \$300,000 was to remain the property of the United States if the freedmen should not be removed from the Chickasaw and Choctaw nations, or become citizens of those nations, but was to be paid to the freedmen if they should be removed, and was only to be paid to the Choctaws and Chickasaws in the event that they should confer citizenship upon the freedmen and the freedmen should not be removed. Was such a bargain ever before made between a powerful republican government and a dependent Indian tribe? Was such a bargain ever made between an honest guardian and a helpless "ward"?

The treaty between the United States and Spain, by which the United States ceded these lands to Spain, in part payment for Florida, was ratified February 19, 1821, is designated by the President as the treaty of 1819. And he designates the treaty by which the United States had previously ceded the same lands to the Choctaws as the treaty of 1820. He says:

The boundary between the Louisiana purchase and the Spanish possession, by the treaty of 1819 with Spain, was, as to these lands, fixed upon the one hundredth degree of west longitude. Our treaty with the Choctaws and Chickasaws, made in 1820, extended their grant to the limit of our possessions. It followed of course

These lands were included within the bounds of the State of Texas, when that State was admitted to the Union, and the release of the Choctaws and Chickasaws, whatever it was worth, operated for the benefit of the State of Texas, and not of the United States.

These statements are altogether erroneous. They mean that the lands in question had been sold to Spain before the Choctaw treaty of 1820 was made, and so were not ceded to the Choctaws by the treaty of 1820, and, therefore, the release of 1855 operated for the benefit of Texas, whose title was derived from Spain, and not for the benefit of the United States. But the facts are as follows:

The district west of the one hundredth meridian, as already shown, belonged to France, as a part of the province of Louisiana, from 1685 to 1762. In 1762 it was ceded by France to Spain. In 1800 it was retroceded by Spain to France. In 1803 it was ceded by France to the United States. In 1820 it was ceded by the United States to the Choctaws in part payment for their lands east of the Mississippi River. In 1821, while this district was the property of the Choctaws, the United States, without their consent or knowledge, ceded it to Spain in part payment for Florida. It afterwards became successively the property of Mexico and Texas. (American State Papers, vol. 2, pp. 574, 575, 630, 634, 637, 663, 664; vol. 4, pp. 471, 473, 478, 479; Henry Clay's speech, House of Representatives, April 3, 1820; sixteen European maps, eighteenth century.)

The Spanish treaty was negotiated in 1819; but it was most vehemently opposed in the Congress of the United States and was rejected by the King of Spain. While this rejected treaty was dead the United States, in 1820, conveyed the same land to the Choctaws, without disclosing to the Choctaws the facts connected with the defunct Spanish treaty. After the treaty had been dead and buried nearly two years, it experienced a resurrection and a ratification in 1821.

The Government then found itself in this embarrassing predicament: The Choctaws, by the treaty of 1820, had conveyed to the United States all their lands in the State of Mississippi, and in payment therefor the United States had conveyed to the Choctaws all the lands included within certain defined boundaries west of the Mississippi River. The deed to the Choctaws embraced the district west of the one hundredth meridian, but afterwards, in 1821, the United States, without the consent or knowledge of the Choctaws, conveyed the same lands to Spain in part payment for Florida. It then became obligatory upon the United States, as already indicated, to take one of four courses, either to reconvey to the Choctaws a part of their lands in the State of Mississippi, or to convey to the Choctaws the additional lands west of the Mississippi River, or to surrender the territory of 1820 altogether and restore to the Choctaws all their lands within the State of Mississippi, and receive back the lands ceded to them west of the Mississippi River, or, finally, to compensate the Choctaws with money for those lands west of the one hundredth meridian which had been sold to, and paid for, by them, and subsequently, without their consent, conveyed to Spain. The United States chose the latter course, as, by the treaty of 1855, for the sum of \$800,000, secured from the Choctaws a quitclaim of their title to these lands and a lease of the lands between the ninety-eighth and one hundredth meridians of west longitude. That a large part of this consideration must have applied to release the President says:

It seems probable that a very considerable part of this consideration must have been paid to the leased lands, because these were the lands in which the Indian title

was recognized and the treaty gave to the United States a permanent right of occupation by friendly Indians.

One of the grounds assigned for the President's opinion is that Indian title to the leased lands "was recognized" by the United States. This implies that the Indian title to the lands west of the one hundred meridian was not recognized by the United States. But your committee think that this fact, if it were a fact, would have no bearing whatever upon the question of the apportionment of the consideration of \$800,000 as between the conveyance and the lease. The Indians themselves recognized the fact that the legal title conveyed to them in 1821 had been extinguished by the conveyance to Spain in 1821. They knew that the United States, a sovereign power, invested with the right of eminent domain, had ceded their lands, by a valid treaty, to the King of Spain. But they believed that the ratification of the Spanish treaty in 1821 had not extinguished their right of reclamation against the United States for this transfer of their lands without their consent to a foreign power.

Your committee, therefore, believe that the entire sum of \$800,000 paid, in pursuance of the treaty of 1855, was but a small part of the value of the 6,589,440 acres of land west of the one hundredth meridian, and that the whole of that sum was fairly applicable to the quitclaim or release of that land west of the one hundredth meridian.

The President says:

Our treaty with the Choctaws and Chickasaws, made in 1820, extended their grant to the limit of our possessions. It followed, of course, that these lands were included within the boundaries of the State of Texas when that State was admitted to the Union, and the release of the Choctaws and Chickasaws, whatever it was worth, operated for the benefit of the State of Texas, and not of the United States.

He thinks that when the Choctaws and Chickasaws, for the sum of \$800,000, relinquished their right of reclamation against the United States, for the alienation of their lands, by a release or quitclaim of their interests in those lands, this release "operated for the benefit of the United States, but of the owner deriving title from Spain." The Chickasaws assert, with good reason, as your committee think, that when they furnished the United States 6,589,440 acres of land, which was actually applied by the United States in part payment for Florida, the transaction inured to the benefit of the United States. They think that when an individual furnishes a debtor means to pay his debts, the transaction inures to the benefit of the debtor. But, then, it is true that "our treaty from the Choctaws and Chickasaws, made in 1820, extended their grant to the limit of our possessions." There is no such provision in the treaty of 1820. It occurred for the first time in the treaty of 1830, made ten years after the land had been sold to the Choctaws; and while it did deprive the Choctaws of that part of the land which was sold to Spain in 1821, it did not curtail the area actually ceded by the United States to the Choctaws in 1820, nor did it in any way diminish their right of reclamation against the United States.

The President thinks that if an Indian nation, being the owner of a tract of land purchased from the United States and fully paid for, should give the land back to the United States by a conveyance in trust, the terms of the trust permitting the location of other Indians and of freed slaves upon the land, but interdicting the location of white men thereon, the United States can evade the interdict by locating other Indians upon the land and purchasing from them a release from the interdict. He thinks that the United States can then open the land to settlement by white citizens. He thinks upon the assumption that the Choctaws and Chickasaws, in their

of 1855 and in their cession of 1866, interdicted the location of whites upon the leased district, it was nevertheless competent for the United States to cede the land to the Cheyennes and Arapahoes and then purchase from the Cheyennes and Arapahoes their interest in the land, with the right to open it to "white settlement," and that, by this device, the United States could evade the interdict of the Choctaws and Chickasaws. He thinks that if the United States, after paying the Cheyennes and Arapahoes for their interest in the lands, should be required to pay the Choctaws and Chickasaws for exemption from the restrictions imposed by their conveyance, then the United States would, in effect, be required to pay twice for the privilege of opening the land to "white settlement," or, as he expresses it, would be compelled to pay twice for the same land.

On this point your committee are constrained to differ in opinion with the President. It certainly was competent for the United States to locate Cheyennes and Arapahoes upon these lands and afterward to pay them whatever the United States saw fit to pay for a quitclaim of their interest in the land and for their consent to the location of whites thereon. But whatever effect such an arrangement might have as between the United States and the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, it could have no effect whatever to release the United States from the restrictions imposed in the treaties of the Choctaws and Chickasaws. In the same way an individual holding land in trust might, by purchasing from his own grantee a release from the obligation of the trust imposed by the grantor, divest his title of the trust and invest himself with an absolute title, and then resist his grantor's demand for redress by setting up his grantee's release and his own payment to his grantee for such release. If the United States saw fit not only to give the Cheyennes and Arapahoes allotments in severalty of a part of the land, but also to pay them money for their quitclaim of the residue and for their consent to their occupation by white settlers, and attempted by that arrangement to evade the terms of the Choctaw and Chickasaw lease of 1855 and cession of 1866, the United States ought to bear the expense of this speculation themselves and can not rightfully recoup that expense from the Choctaws and Chickasaws.

But the President thinks that all or a large part of the money promised to the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, in the agreement of 1890, is to be paid as compensation for their interest in lands within the leased district. This is a mistake. The facts are as follows:

By the Cheyenne and Arapaho treaty of 1867 the United States set apart for the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, and for such other friendly Indians they should be willing to admit among them, the entire country bounded on the north by the south line of the State of Kansas, on the east by the Arkansas River, on the south and west by the Cimarron River (15 Stat., 594). This tract contained over 5,207,000 acres of land. By an Executive order, dated August 10, 1869, the President set apart, for the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, the country between the thirty-fifth and thirty-seventh parallels of north latitude, and between the eastern line of Texas and the western line of Oklahoma. This country contains 70,771 acres of land. (Commissioner's report, 1888, p. 89.) Of this land, 1,781,611 acres lie north of the Canadian River and outside of the leased district, and 2,489,160 acres lie south of the Canadian River and within the leased district. The authority for the Executive order, setting this land apart for the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, was not conferred by any specific constitutional or statutory provision. Its origin is nebulous, and its origin and nature are not yet well defined.

When, by virtue of the Executive order of August 10, 1869, Cheyennes and Arapahoes were located in the country north and south of the Canadian River, they already held, under a treaty duly ratified by the Senate, the tract of 5,000,000 acres between the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers. And yet the President is of the opinion that it is competent for the executive authorities of the United States to substitute a reservation set apart by Executive order for a reservation apart by a duly ratified treaty, with the effect of investing the Cheyennes and Arapahoes with such a title to the 2,489,160 acres south of the Canadian River that a quitclaim of their interest therein to the United States will extinguish not only their own interest, but also that of the Choctaws and Chickasaws. He thinks that to pay the Choctaws and Chickasaws, after paying the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, would be to pay twice for the same land.

Your committee think that this Executive order was not effective to vest in 3,000 Cheyennes and Arapahoes such a title to 4,270,771 acres of land, in addition to the 5,000,000 previously set apart by treaty between the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers, as to make the quitclaim of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes effective, not only to extinguish their own interest, but also that of the Choctaws and Chickasaws.

But Congress will not lose sight of the real character of the Cheyennes and Arapaho agreement of 1890. By that agreement the Cheyennes and Arapahoes quitclaimed to the United States, not only the 2,489,160 acres of land within the leased district, but also the 1,781,611 acres north of the Canadian River, and more than 5,000,000 between the Arkansas and Cimarron rivers, in all 9,630,771 acres. Of this aggregate amount only one-fourth was within the leased district. And yet though 96,000 acres of land within the leased district are given to Cheyennes and Arapahoes, in severalty, the President is of the opinion that the sum of \$1,500,000 promised to the Cheyennes and Arapahoes in the treaty of 1890 is to be paid mainly, not for the 7,348,611 acres outside of the leased district, but for the 2,489,160 acres within the leased district.

It is difficult to reconcile this opinion of the President with the statement, made by Secretary Noble, in the "compilation" printed on pages 9, of Senate Ex. Doc. No. 78 Fifty-first Congress, first session, in the following words:

The select committee of the Senate, in its report on the removal of the Northern Cheyennes, etc., in speaking of the lands set apart for the Cheyennes and Arapahoes by the Executive order of August 10, 1869, say that "it was never intended more than a temporary abiding place for these tribes, where they were to stop until the United States could extinguish the claim of the Cherokees to the lands included in the treaties with the Arapahoes and Cheyennes." (Senate Report No. 708, Fifty-sixth Congress, second session, page 2.)

Nor is it easy to reconcile this opinion of the President with the following statements, made by Secretary Noble, in the "compilation" printed on pages 7, 8, 9, and 10, Senate Ex. Doc. No. 78, first session, Fifty-first Congress, in the following words:

CHEYENNE AND ARAPAHOE RESERVATION ON A PORTION OF THE OUTLET

By the second article of the treaty with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, concluded October 21, 1867 (15 Stats., 593), a tract of country west of the ninety-sixth parallel and bounded by the Arkansas River on the east, the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude being the southern boundary line of the State of Kansas on the north, the Cimarron or Red Fork of the Arkansas River on the west and south, in which tract are included 4,294,734 acres of the Cherokee lands west of the ninety-sixth parallel, all of which lies west of the Arkansas River, was set apart for the use and occupation of said Indians, and for such other friendly Indians as fit

o time, they might be willing, with the consent of the United States, to admit among
 mem.

This tract (so far as it relates to Cherokee lands) is indicated on the map by a dark-
 line and numbered 2.

This cession also covers 730,162 acres, including 53,006 acres subsequently set apart
 for the Pawnees, of the lands ceded to the United States by the third article of the
 treaty of 1866 with the Creek Nation of Indians (14 Stat., 785) for the purpose of
 settling friendly Indians thereon, lying north of the Arkansas River and south of
 the Cherokee line referred to; also that portion of the unceded Creek territory lying
 north of the Arkansas River, south of the Cherokee line, and east of the line divid-
 ing the Creek domain under the treaty of 1866, numbered on map 23^d. But as to this
 latter tract the Cheyennes and Arapahoes acquired the title. (See United States vs.
 Reese, above referred to.)

These lands, it must be conceded, were secured to these tribes by solemn treaty
 stipulation, and they have made no treaty ceding them nor agreement of relinquish-
 ment that is of any binding force or effect. They have committed no act of forfeit-
 ure. Their title stands to-day as it did at the date of the ratification of the treaty
 of 1867. As between the United States and the Cheyennes and Arapahoes the title
 to the lands is in these Indians, and they have a perfect and indisputable right to now
 move to that reservation and enjoy all the privileges guaranteed to them by the
 treaty.

But then Secretary Noble was actually notified by the commission, in
 the spring of 1891, that the amount allowed to the Cheyennes and Arapahoes
 for their interest, not in the "leased district," but in the entire
 executive order reservation, was \$250,000. Why this information was
 not communicated to the President, by the Secretary, your committee
 is not advised.

This would make the amount allowed for their land in the "leased
 district" less than \$150,000, or less than 6 cents per acre.

Your committee, therefore, conclude that the United States are not
 the absolute owners of the leased district, but only hold a trust estate
 therein; and they submit the following recapitulation of the grounds
 which this conclusion is based:

1) Under the treaty of 1855 the sum of \$800,000 was paid for the
 lease of the land west of the one hundredth meridian and the lease
 of the land between the ninety-eighth and one hundredth meridians.

2) Much the larger part of that payment was applicable to the re-
 lease of the land west of the one hundredth meridian, and a small part,
 if any, of it to the lease of the land between the ninety-eighth and one
 hundredth meridians.

3) In 1865 the commissioners, appointed by the President, officially
 notified the five civilized tribes, at Fort Smith, that the lands to be treated
 were to be acquired for the use, not of white men, but of Indians.

4) The Choctaws and Chickasaws, as well as the other civilized
 tribes, formally accepted that basis of the proposed negotiations, and
 on that basis consented to treat, and did treat, in 1865.

5) When the commissioners of the Choctaws and Chickasaws met
 the commissioners of the United States to negotiate the treaty of 1866,
 there is no pretense that anything had been paid by the United States
 towards the purchase of the land between the ninety-eighth and one
 hundredth meridians, although the United States had held that land
 under lease for even years.

6) The treaty of 1866 provided no compensation for the transfer of
 absolute ownership of the leased district. The sum of \$300,000,
 provided in the third section of that treaty, was to be paid to the freed-
 men, if they should be removed, but was to remain the property of the
 United States if citizenship should not be conferred upon the freedmen,
 and was only to be paid to the Choctaws and Chickasaws in the event
 that citizenship should be conferred upon the freedmen and they should
 choose to emigrate.

The President seems to intimate that the white citizens of these States are entitled to some sort of protection in the distribution of money at the hands of Congress, though he does not distinctly say so. Upon this very question the Attorney-General of the United States uses this language:

The persons entitled to such distribution, the evidence necessary to establish claims, and the manner of such distribution are all matters to be regulated by the laws of the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, respectively, subject doubtless to the rule that such laws must not be in conflict with the Constitution and laws of the United States.

This seems to this committee to be unquestionably the law of the case.

The next point to be considered is that of the compensations to the agents.

In speaking of this compensation (of 25 per cent of the amount collected) agreed to be paid their agents (three of their own citizens) the Choctaws for prosecuting this claim, the President says:

If the relations of these Indians with the United States are those of a nation, Congress should protect them from such extortionate exactions. We can not act as if that the expenses and services of a committee of three persons to represent this Nation before Congress could justly assume such proportions. The making of such a contract seems to convey implications which I am sure are wholly unjust.

The Choctaws in their memorial say:

The Choctaw Nation did not promise excessive compensation. The nation ceded not only its guaranteed legal right in making the contract of December 1889, but acted with wisdom born of experience and has many sound precedents therefor.

And support this position by the following argument:

As to the contingent fee, we respectfully state that it was not the first intention of the Choctaw Nation to employ any agents on a contingent fee to secure their claim which they honestly believed would be cheerfully acknowledged and settled on the same basis as that of their neighbors, the Creeks, Seminoles, and Cherokee. On November 5, 1889, the Choctaw council appointed commissioners at \$6 per diem mileage to attend to the leased district matter. (Copy of act herewith, Exhibit 3.)

On November 26, 1889, before the Choctaw commission had had a chance to present the claim of the Choctaw Nation to the United States commissioners at Tahlequah where they were then treating with the Cherokees, the United States Commission on its own motion, addressed the chief of the Choctaw Nation a letter (and the chief of the Chickasaw Nation also) stating that the United States claimed full title to the leased district and that the Commission was not authorized to negotiate for the lands. (See Exhibit 4.)

The Choctaw commissioners, though greatly discouraged by this action, upon the United States Commission in person, and insisted that the United States Commission should negotiate with the Choctaws and Chickasaws. The Commission refused to negotiate, and the Choctaws, from other sources, learned that the able Secretary of the Interior had issued secret instructions to said Commission instructing them.

The Choctaw Commissioners returned home; a special council was called to report their report; the Choctaws were greatly disappointed to learn that the Executive Department had decided against them, without a hearing, on a matter of such importance, and they believed that greatest efforts would be under the circumstances necessary to obtain justice. The Choctaws have always had peculiar difficulties in collecting anything from the United States. The Choctaw Nation were first involved in an exhausting contest with the United States in the famous "net proceeds" case.

This claim, based as it was on clear treaty rights, presented to the United States Executive Department and to Congress by innumerable petitions and many times favorably reported by the committees of both houses of Congress, never adversely, declared by a special award of the Senate in 1859 and later by the Supreme Court, infinite labor and enormous expense, solemnly established by the courts of the United States Government, including that august tribunal the United States Supreme Court itself to be justly due, cost the Choctaw Nation fifty-eight years of labor and patient waiting, the life, service, and fortunes of some of its best citizens, and 50 per cent of the claim itself before it was ever collected.

The Choctaw Nation, in passing the act of December 24, 1889, exercised its best judgment, and explains its reasons in the act itself, to wit:

That bills had been introduced in Congress to open the leased district without compensation to the Choctaws; that the United States had set up absolute title to this land, ignoring the history and common understanding of the treaty, and had refused to negotiate with the Choctaw Nation; that the Choctaw Nation not being willing to surrender what they anticipated might be a heavy draft on their annual income, and for the ordinary expenses of the government, the Choctaw law of December 1889, itself recites that "desiring to engage the services of a delegation willing to pay all expenses incurred, and whereas the Choctaw Nation wishes to support a delegation in the employment of competent counsel and a large and able corps of assistants to push the equitable rights of the Choctaw Nation upon the attention of the executive department of the United States and upon Congress in order that the rights of the nation now ignored may be recognized," the law enacts a contingent fee of one-fourth of the recovery, "it being distinctly understood that said delegation shall bear all expenses in conducting this business, and that they shall call on or expect any appropriation whatever in this connection * * * in case of failure said delegation shall bear the loss of their expenses, labor, and time."

Another circumstance in this connection which seems worthy of note is that there seems to have been no demand or even proposition for a fee from the agents, but, on the contrary, the offer seems to have been made by the nation and accepted by the agents. Mr. Standley, one of the agents, says in a communication to the President, and transmitted with his message, that the law fixing the fee was passed before any of the delegates were nominated, though the act seems to have received executive approval and become a law on the day of their appointment and confirmation, which was also, according to his statement, the day of the adjournment of the council. Standley also says he had no reason to believe he would be nominated as one of such agents until it was too late. If these statements are true, and some of them, at least, seem to be borne out by the record, the action of the agents is certainly not properly described by the President as "extortionate exactions."

In view of the fact that this claim was recognized by Congress and payment provided for with no unnecessary delay, if it had been promptly paid the fee would certainly have been a very large one for the services rendered and expense and risk incurred; but after their experience with the Cherokee Commission, and remembering their dealings with former claims, the Choctaw Nation seems to have had no doubt that it would obtain justice "completely and without denial" or promptly and without delay," and the committee regret to be compelled in candor to admit that the course of the Government toward the Indians in many instances justified this apprehension, and the present delay of payment for now more than a year after the law for payment has passed strongly vindicates the wisdom of their apprehensions.

It is well known that our own citizens having claims that they believe to be just, and many of which are established by overwhelming evidence, must, when they employ counsel on contingent fees, pay very large parts of their claims to have them prosecuted. This depends, of course, upon the great uncertainty of payment no matter how just the claim may be. The most material fact, however, in this connection, is the opinion of the committee, is the fact that by the laws of the United States and the nation, this money when paid, if it ever should be made to go into the treasury of the nation and be paid out by the authorities of the nation. No part of this money was to be paid to the agents by the Government of the United States.

Article 7 of the treaty of 1855 contains these words:

As far as may be compatible with the Constitution of the United States, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, regulating trade and the intercourse with the In-

Moreover, Mr. Cannon stated in the House of Representatives 2d day of March, 1891, that Secretary Noble had said to him that the Cheyenne and Arapaho agreement was ratified the land was thrown open to settlement." And Secretary Noble, in his letter of January 4, 1892, to the President, printed on the first page of Ex. Doc., No. 14, says:

I have the honor to submit herewith an agreement made and entered into between the Cherokee Commission and the Wichita and affiliated bands of Indians in the Territory of Oklahoma, and also a report of the said commission transmitting the agreement.

In my judgment the Choctaws and Chickasaws have no legal or equitable right to compensation for any of the lands covered by this agreement, and hence no provision is made therefor in the draft of the bill herewith presented.

Your committee thinks that if an attempt shall be made to convert the trust estate of the United States into an absolute estate, without compensation to the Choctaws and Chickasaws for their interest in the lands, and to transfer the lands to citizens of the United States, the Choctaws and Chickasaws will have the right to regard such an attempt on the part of the United States as a forfeiture of the trust estate held by the United States therein, and to assert the right of the Choctaws and Chickasaws to resume the full ownership and actual possession of said lands, and also to resort to such measures as shall be necessary to test the validity of any transfers of said lands to white men if attempted by the Executive Department of the Government.

Your committee, therefore, recommends the adoption of the following resolution of the Senate:

Resolved, That for reasons set forth in the report of the Committee on Indian Affairs upon the President's message of February 18, 1891, upon the appropriation of March 3, 1891, for payment to the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations for their interest in the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation, in the Indian Territory, submitted with this resolution, it is the opinion of the Senate that there is no sufficient reason to justify interference in the due execution of the law referred to.

APPENDIX.

A letter of instructions from James Madison, Secretary of State, to Mr. R. Livingston, minister to France, written within nine months of the cession of Louisiana to the United States, contains the following paragraphs:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *January 31, 1804.*

The two last letters received from you bear date on the — and 30th September, that we have been now four months without hearing from you. The last letter to you was dated on the 16th day of January, giving you information of the cession of Louisiana on the 20th of December, by the French commissioner, M. Loussat, to Governor Clayborn and Gen. Wilkinson, the commissioners appointed on the part of the United States to receive it. * * * With respect to the western boundary of Louisiana, M. Loussat held a language more satisfactory. He considered the Rio Bravo or Del Norte, as far as the thirtieth degree of north latitude, as its boundary on that side. The northern boundary, we have reason to believe, was settled between France and Great Britain by commissioners appointed under the treaty of Utrecht, who separated the British and French territories west of the Lake of Utrecht, who separated the British and French territories west of the Lake Woods by the forty-ninth degree of latitude. (Am. St. Papers, Vol. 2, p. 574.)

His statement is repeated on page 575, in a subsequent letter from James Madison to Mr. Livingston, dated March 31, 1804. M. Loussat was the commissioner who received the transfer of the Territory of Louisiana from Spain to France in 1800, and transferred it to the United States under the treaty of 1803.

James Madison, Secretary of State, in his letter of instructions of January 15, 1804, to James Monroe and Charles Pinckney, ministers extraordinary to the court of Spain, says:

"The territorial cession is to be made to Spain of any part of the territory on this side of the Rio Bravo, but in the event of a cession to the United States of the territory between the Perdido; and, in that event, in case of absolute necessity only, and to the extent that will not deprive the United States of any of the waters running into the Gulf of Mexico, or of the other waters emptying into the Gulf of Mexico, on the Mississippi and the river Colorado emptying into the bay of St. Bernard." (Am. St. Papers, Vol. 2, p. 630.)

Bay of St. Bernard is now known as Matagorda Bay.

In a subsequent letter to the same ministers, dated July 8, 1804, and published on the same page, Secretary Madison said:

"It is to be understood that a perpetual relinquishment of the territory between the Rio Bravo and Colorado is not to be made, nor the sum of ——— dollars paid, nor the entire cession of the Floridas, nor any money paid in consideration of the acknowledgment by Spain of our title to the territory between the Iberville and the Perdido."

In a letter from Mr. Monroe, minister extraordinary to Spain, to Mr. Livingston, a minister of the French Empire, dated Paris, November 18, 1804, he says:

"The excellency will receive within a paper containing an examination of the maps of Louisiana which, it is presumed, proves incontestably the doctrine advanced, as also that the river Perdido is the ancient, and, of course, present, boundary of that province to the east, and the Rio Bravo to the west. (Am. St. Papers, Vol. 2, p. 634.)

4. In a letter from the American ministers Monroe and Pinckney to the Spanish minister Cevallos, dated January 28, 1805, they say

By the cession of Louisiana by his majesty the Emperor of France to the United States it becomes necessary to settle its boundaries with the territories of his Catholic Majesty in that quarter. It is presumed that this subject is capable of a clear and satisfactory illustration as to leave no cause for any difference of opinion between the parties. By the treaty of April 30, 1803, between the United States and France the latter ceded to the former the said province in full sovereignty and independence, the same extent and with all the rights which belonged to it under the treaty of October 3, 1763, by which she had acquired it of Spain. That the nature and extent of the acquisition might be precisely known, the article of the treaty of St. Ildefonso, defining the cession is inserted in that of Paris. To a fair and just construction of that article the United States are referred for the extent of their right under the treaty of 1803. There is nothing to oppugn its force or detract from the force of its very clear and explicit terms. We have the honor to present to your excellency a paper on this subject which we presume proves in the most satisfactory manner that the boundaries of that province, as established by the treaties referred to, are the river Perdido to the east and the Rio Bravo to the west. The facts and principles which justify this conclusion are so satisfactory to our Government as to convince us that the United States have not a better right to the island of New Orleans under the cession referred to, than they have to the whole district of territory above described. (Am. St. Papers, vol. 2, p. 637)

In their letter of April 20, 1805, to the Spanish minister, Mr. Cevallos, Monroe and Pinckney say:

By the memorial which we had the honor to present to your excellency on the 10th of January last, the epoch of the discovery of the Mississippi and of the taking possession of the Bay of St. Bernard, and of the taking possession of the country which empty into it and of the country dependent thereon, is proved by documents which have been questioned. By these it is established, in respect to the Mississippi, its waters flow into the Gulf of Mexico, as low down the river as the Arkansas by Messieurs Joliet and La Salle from Canada as early as the year 1673, and to its mouth by the English in 1682, and by De la Salle and Joutel, who descended the river with a party of men to the ocean and named the country Louisiana, in 1682; and in respect to the Bay of St. Bernard in 1685. This was done, at those periods, in the name and by the authority of France, by acts which proclaimed her sovereignty over that country to other powers in a manner the most public and solemn, such as settlements and building forts within it. Of these it is material to notice in the present inquiry two only, which were erected in the Bay of St. Bernard on the western side of the river Colorado, by M. De la Salle, who landed there from France with two hundred and forty persons in 1685. It was on the authority of the discovery thus made and of the possession so taken that Louis XIV granted to Crozat, by letters patent bearing date in 1712, the exclusive commerce of that country, in which he defines its boundary by declaring that it comprehends the lands, coasts, and islands which are situated in the Gulf of Mexico between the Gulf of Florida on the east and Old and New Mexico on the west, with all the streams which empty into the ocean within those limits, and the interior of the country dependent thereon. Such are the facts on which the claim of France rested; such are the principles which that of the United States now rests.

The principles which are applicable to the case are such as are dictated by justice and have been adopted, in practice, by European powers, in the discovery and acquisition of the New World; they are such as are intelligible and at the same time founded in strict justice. The first of these principles is that when any European nation takes possession of any extensive seacoast, that possession is understood as extending into the interior of the country to the sources of the rivers emptying within that coast, to all their branches and the country tributary to them, and to give it a right in exclusion of all other nations to the same. The second is that whenever one European nation makes a discovery and takes possession of any portion of that continent, and another afterwards does the same at a distance from it, where the boundary between them is not determined by the principle above mentioned, the middle distance becomes such of course. The propriety of this rule is too obvious to require illustration. A third principle is that whenever any European nation has thus acquired a right to any port or territory on that continent, that right can never be diminished or affected by the power, by virtue of purchases made, by grants, or conquests of the natives, within the limits thereof. It is believed that this principle has been admitted and acted upon invariably since the discovery of America, in respect to their possessions by all the European powers. * * *

The above are the principles which we presume are to govern the pr

will now proceed to apply these principles to the claim of the United States as deduced on the facts above stated relative to the discovery and possession of Louisiana by France, and to designate the limit to which we presume they are justly entitled, by virtue thereof, in the quarter referred to. On the authority of the principle first above stated it is evident that, by the discovery and possession of the Mississippi, in its whole length, and the coast adjoining it, the United States are entitled to the whole country dependent on that river, its several branches, and the straits which empty into it within the limits of that coast. The extent to which it would go it is not in our power to say; but the principle being clear, dependent on plain and simple facts, it would be easy to ascertain it.

It is equally evident by the application of the second principle to the discovery of Louisiana by M. de la Salle of the bay of St. Bernard, and his establishment there on the western side of the River Colorado, that the United States have a just right to the territory bounded on the middle distance between that point and the then nearest Spanish settlement, which, it is understood, was in the province of Panuco, unless the claim should be precluded on the principle first-mentioned. To what extent that would carry us it is equally out of our power to say, nor is it material, as the possession in the bay of St. Bernard, taken in connection with that of the Mississippi, has been always understood as a right to extend to the Rio Bravo, on which we now insist.

In support of this boundary we rely much on the grant of Louis XIV to Anthony Crozat in 1712. That grant, it is true, establishes no new right to the territory. The right had already accrued by the causes, and to the extent contended for, which were never abandoned afterwards, except by the treaty of 1763, which does not affect the present question. This boundary is also supported by the opinions of the best informed persons who have written on the subject with which we have become acquainted. By an extract from a work on Louisiana, written by the Colonel Chevalier de Champigny in 1773, who, being of the country, was doubtless well informed, it is asserted, with more minuteness, in his second note to that work, in which he asserts that Louisiana was bounded before the treaty of 1763 to the west by the mountains of New Mexico and the Rio Bravo. In a book containing several memoirs on the same subjects, published about three years since at Paris, is one entitled "A Treatise on the History, Historical and Political, on Louisiana," by the Count de Vergennes, minister of State in Louis XVI, in which it is stated that Louisiana is bounded to the east by Florida to the west by Mexico. The opinion of geographers in general confirms that of the writers. By a chart of Louisiana, published in 1762, by Don Thomas Lopez, geographer to his Catholic Majesty, it appears that he considers the Rio Bravo as the western boundary of the province, as it does by that of De Lisle of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, which was revised and republished in 1782. Others might be mentioned, but it is useless to multiply them. (Am. St. Papers, vol. 2, pp. 663, 664.)

Mr. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, in his letter of March 18, 1818, to Mr. De Onis, the Spanish minister at Washington, says:

"The claim of France always did extend westward to the Rio Bravo, and the only boundaries ever acknowledged by her before the cession to Spain of November 3, 1763, were those marked out in the grant from Louis XIV to Crozat. She always claimed the territory which you call Texas as being within the limits and forming a part of Louisiana, which in that grant is declared to be bounded westward by Mexico, eastward by Carolina, and extending inward to the Illinois and to the sources of the Mississippi and of its principal branches. Mr. Cevallos says that the claims of France were never admitted nor recognized by Spain. Be it so, yet were the claims of Spain ever acknowledged or admitted by France. The boundary was disputed and never settled; it still remains to be settled; and here is the plain statement of the grounds alleged by each of the parties in support of their respective claims."

ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES.

The discovery of the Mississippi, from near its source to the ocean, by the French, from Canada, in 1683.

The possession taken, and establishment made, by La Salle, at the bay of St. Louis, west of the rivers Trinity and Colorado, by authority from Louis XIV, in 1685.

The charter of Louis XIV to Crozat, in 1712.

The historical authority of Du Pratz and Champigny, and of the Count De Frontenac.

The geographical authority of De Lisle's map, and especially that of the map of Don Thomas Lopez, geographer to the King of Spain, published in 1762. These

6. On the 3d day of April, 1820, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, in a speech in the House of Representatives of the United States, said:

The second resolution comprehended three propositions, the first of which was that the equivalent granted by Spain to the United States for the province of Louisiana was inadequate. To determine this, it was necessary to estimate the value of what we gave and of what we received. This involved an inquiry into our claim to the territory. It was not his purpose to enter at large into this subject. He presumed the subject would not be presented of questioning, in this branch of the Government, our title to Texas, which had been constantly maintained by the executive for more than thirty years past, under three several administrations. He was at the same time prepared to make out our title, if anyone in this House were fearless enough to controvert it. He would for the present briefly state that the man who is most conversant with the transactions of this Government, who so largely participated in the formation of the Constitution and in all that has been done under it, who, besides his public services that he has rendered his country, principally contributed to the acquisition of Louisiana, and who must be supposed from his various opportunities to know its limits, declared fifteen years ago that our title to the Rio del Norte was well founded as it was to the island of New Orleans. (Here Mr. Clay read an extract from the memoir presented in 1805 by Mr. Monroe and Mr. Pinckney to Mr. C. proving that the boundary of Louisiana extended eastward to the Perdido, and westward to the Rio del Norte, in which they say: The facts and principles, which support this conclusion, are so satisfactory to their Government as to convince it that the United States have not a better right to the island of New Orleans, under the cession of 1803, than they have to the whole district of territory thus described.)

So, west of the Mississippi, La Salle, acting under France, in 1682 or 1683 discovered that river. In 1685 he made an establishment on the Bay of St. Charles, west of the Colorado, emptying into it. The nearest Spanish settlement was at the Rio Del Norte, about the midway line, became the common boundary. (Cong., 1st sess., Vol 2, pp. 1726 and 1727.)

7. That the land which is included between the one hundred and first and one hundred and third meridians of west longitude and the Rio Canadian rivers was a part of Louisiana is shown by sixteen European maps published during the eighteenth century, and now open to inspection in the Congressional Library.

(1) A map published in Paris in 1703, by De Lisle, geographer to the Royal Academy, to be found in Vol. 1, No. 8, Old Maps of America.

(2) A map published at Leyden in 1704, by Louis de Hennepin, to be found in West Indise Voyagen, p. 1.

(3) A map of H. Moll, published at London in 1711.

(4) A map of H. Moll, published in London in 1715, dedicated to Lord Sommers, to be found in Old Maps of America, Vol. 1, No. 12.

(5) A map by H. Moll, published in London in 1715, to be found in Old Maps of America, Vol. 1, No. 13.

(6) A map published by Covens and Mortier, at Amsterdam, to be found in Atlas Nouveau, Vol. 2, No. 38.

(7) A map printed in London in 1722, dedicated to William Pitt, Earl of Gloucester.

(8) A map by De Lisle, published in Amsterdam in 1722, to be found in Atlas Nouveau, Vol. 2, No. 39.

(9) A map published at Amsterdam, without date, but before 1733.

(10) A map by H. Hopple, published at London in 1733, under the patronage of the lords commissioners of trades and plantations, to be found in Old Maps of America, Vol. 1, No. 17.

(11) A map by H. Popple, published in London in 1735, to be found in American Maps, Vol. 2, No. 9.

(12) A map by De Lisle, published at Amsterdam in 1739.

(13) A map by A. G. Boehme, published in 1746.

(14) A map published in 1753, to be found in American Maps, Vol. 2, No. 10.

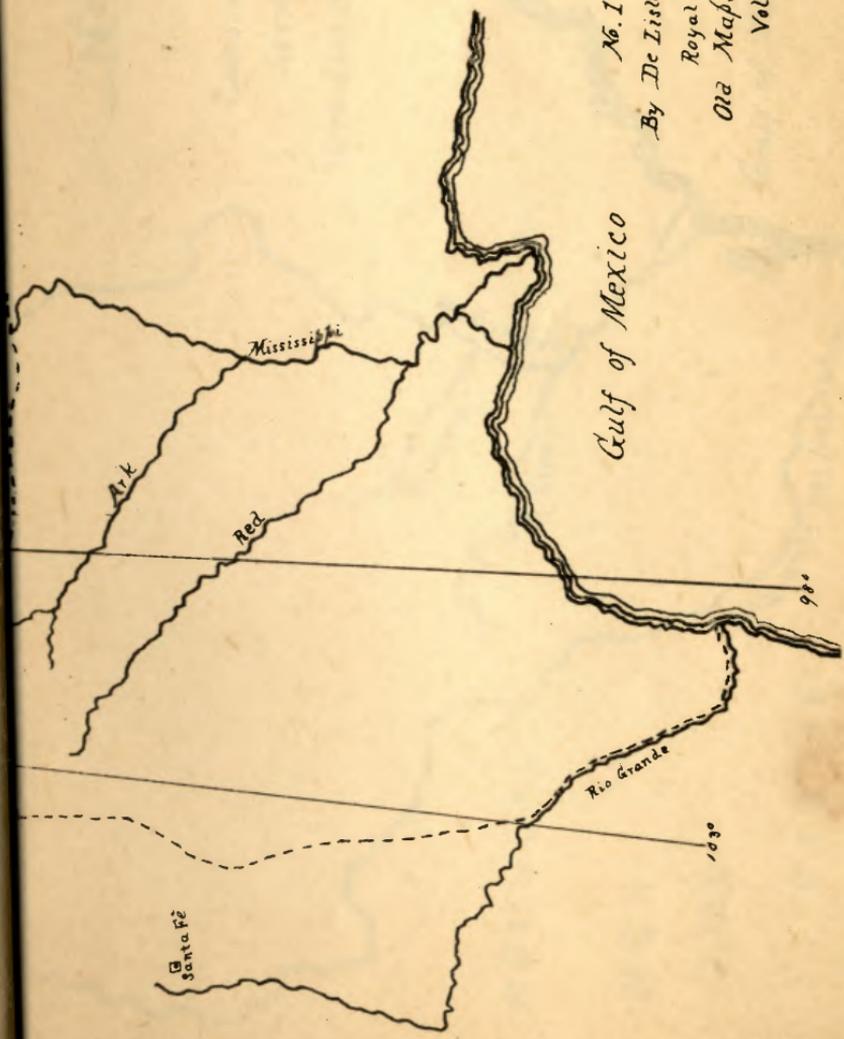
(15) A map published in 1774, at London, in pursuance of an Act of Parliament.

6) A map published by authority of Parliament, at London, in 1775, copied from von Staehlin's, published at St. Petersburg in 1774. That the land which is included between the one hundredth and hundred and third meridians of west longitude and the Red and Adian rivers was a part of Louisiana is shown by a map published in Paris in 1820, by Barbé-Marbois, the French negotiator of the treaty of 1803, in his History of Louisiana, to be found in the Congressional Library. Annexed are accurate tracings of the seventeen maps mentioned on pages — and —. The dotted lines represent the western boundary of the province of Louisiana. Map No. 18 shows the form and dimensions of the lands west of the one hundredth meridian of west longitude ceded to the Choctaws and Chickasaws by the United States on the 18th of October, 1820, which ceded lands were divided into townships on the map.



No. 1. 1703. Paris
By De Lisle Geographer of the
Royal Academy.
Old Maps of America.
Vol. 1. No. 8.

Gulf of Mexico



santa fe

Ark

Red

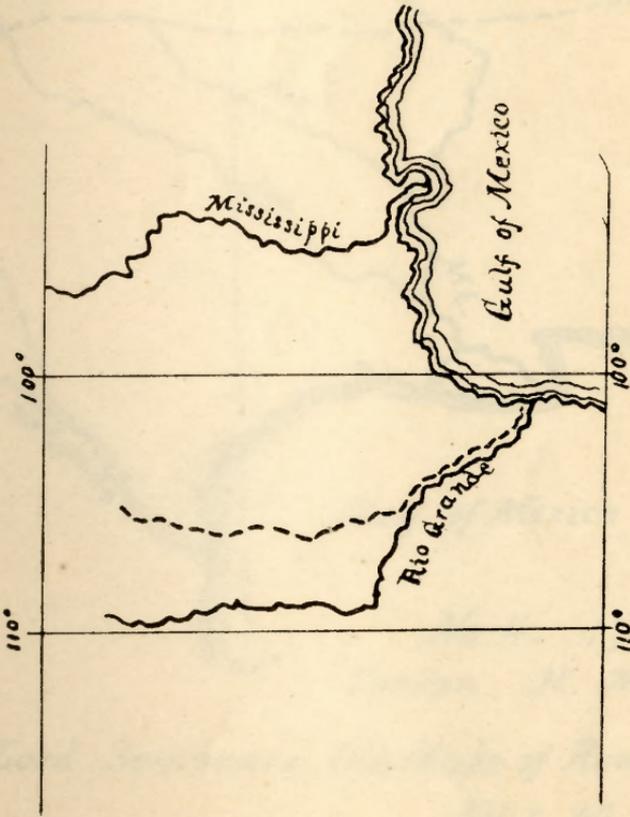
Mississippi

Rio Grande

90°

103°

No. 3.



No. 2. 17th. London.
H. Moll.

No. 4.



Gulf of Mexico

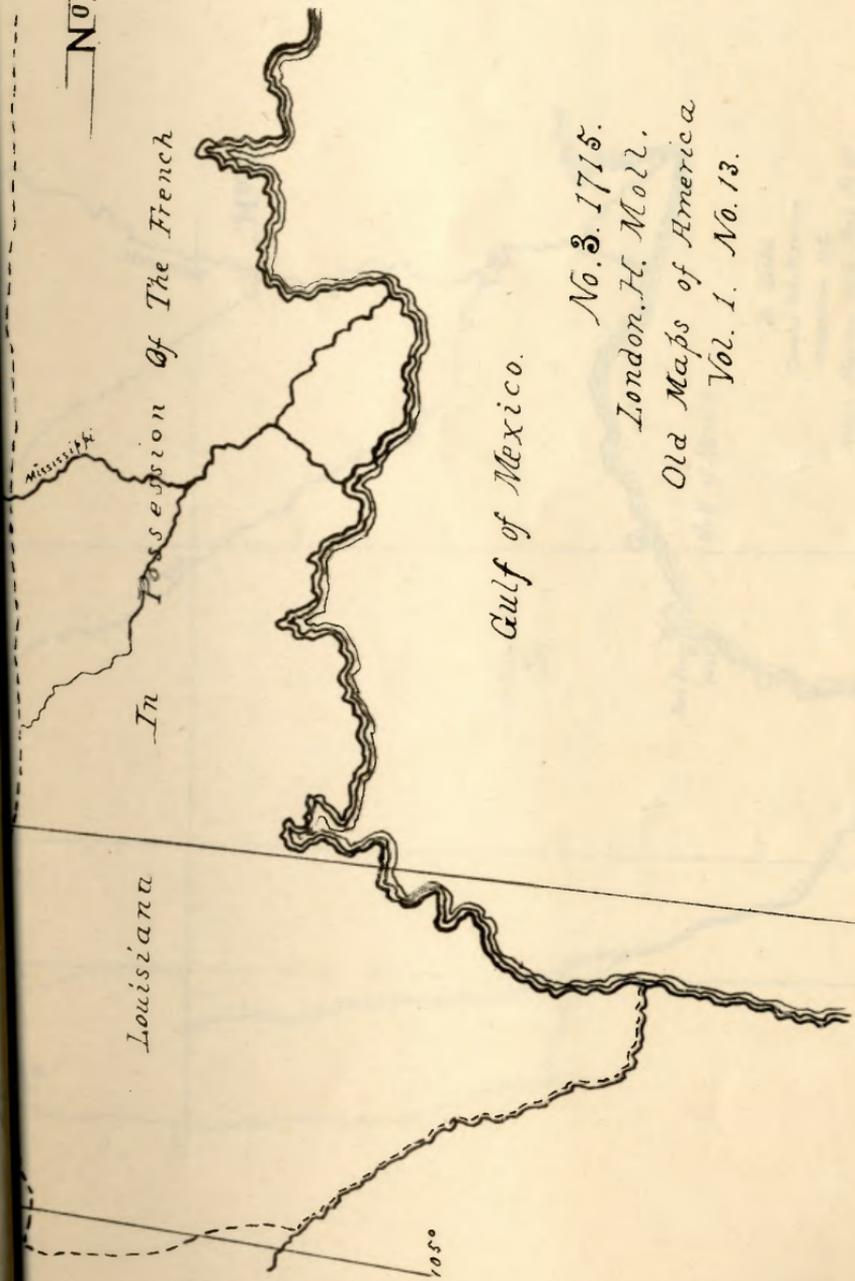
No. 4. 1715.

London. H. Moll.

To Lord Sommers. Old Maps of America.

Vol. 1. No. 16.

No. 5.



Louisiana

In Possession of The French

Mississippi

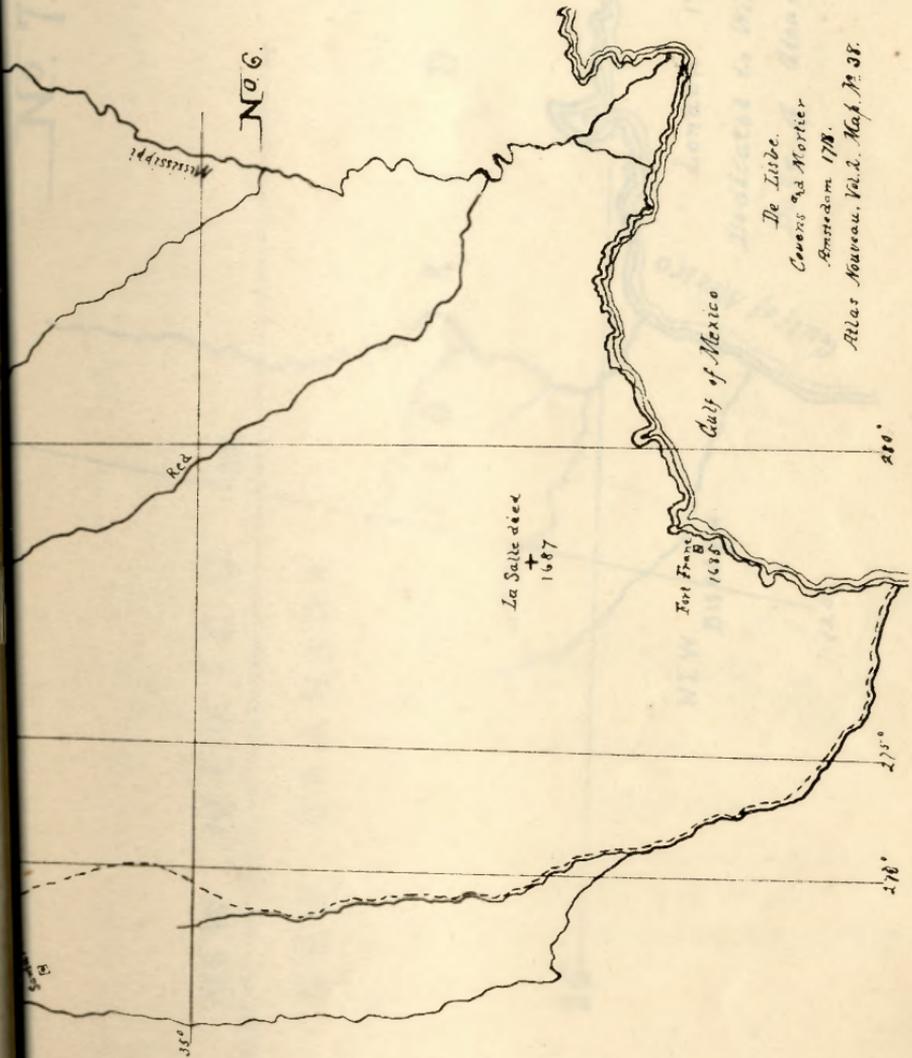
Gulf of Mexico.

No. 3. 1715.

London. H. Moll.

Old Maps of America

Vol. 1. No. 13.



N 06

MISSISSIPPI

Rca

La Salle died
+
1687

Fort Frontenac
1685

Gulf of Mexico

De Lisbe.
Cours de Mortier
Amsterdam 178.
Atlas Nouveau, Vol. 2, Map. No. 38.

28° 00'

27° 30'

27° 00'

88° 00'

89° 00'

90° 00'

No. 7

40°
NEW MEXICO
OR
NEW GRANADA

F L O R I D A

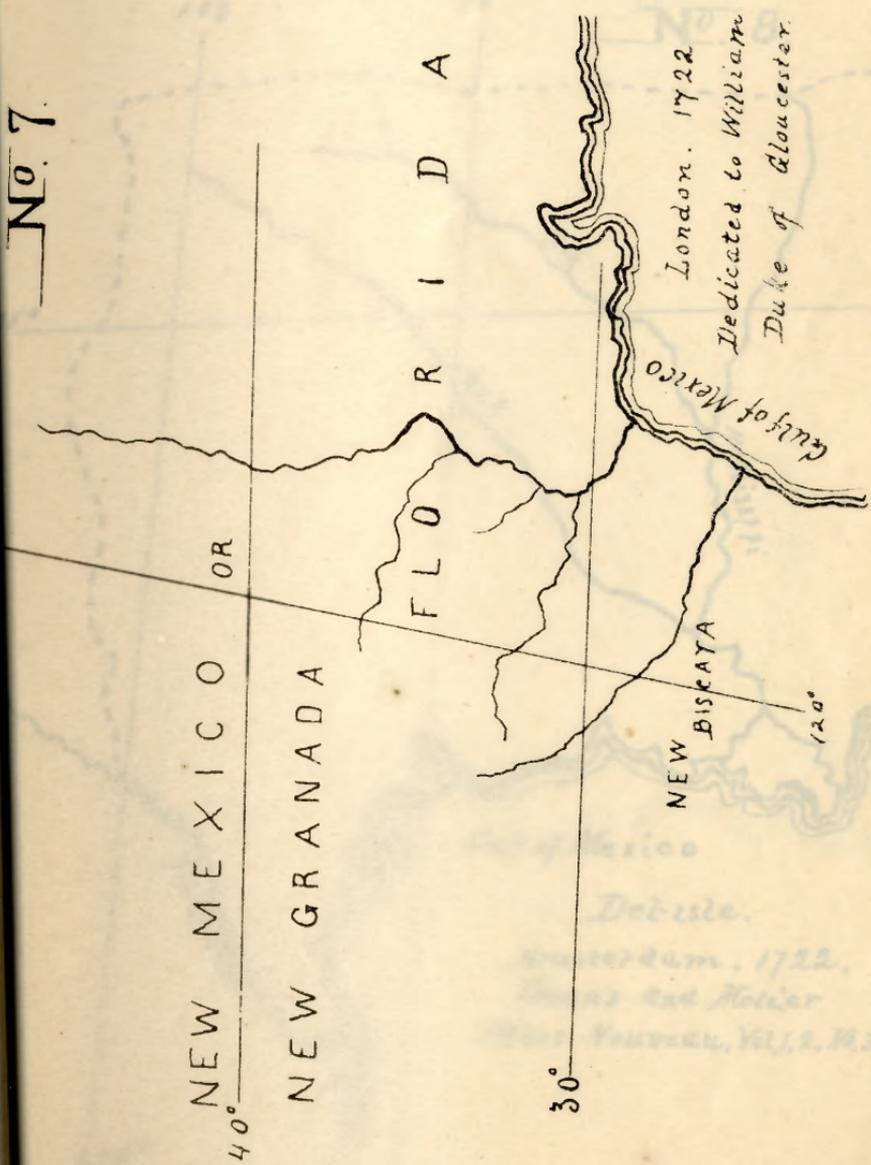
NEW BISCAYA

30°

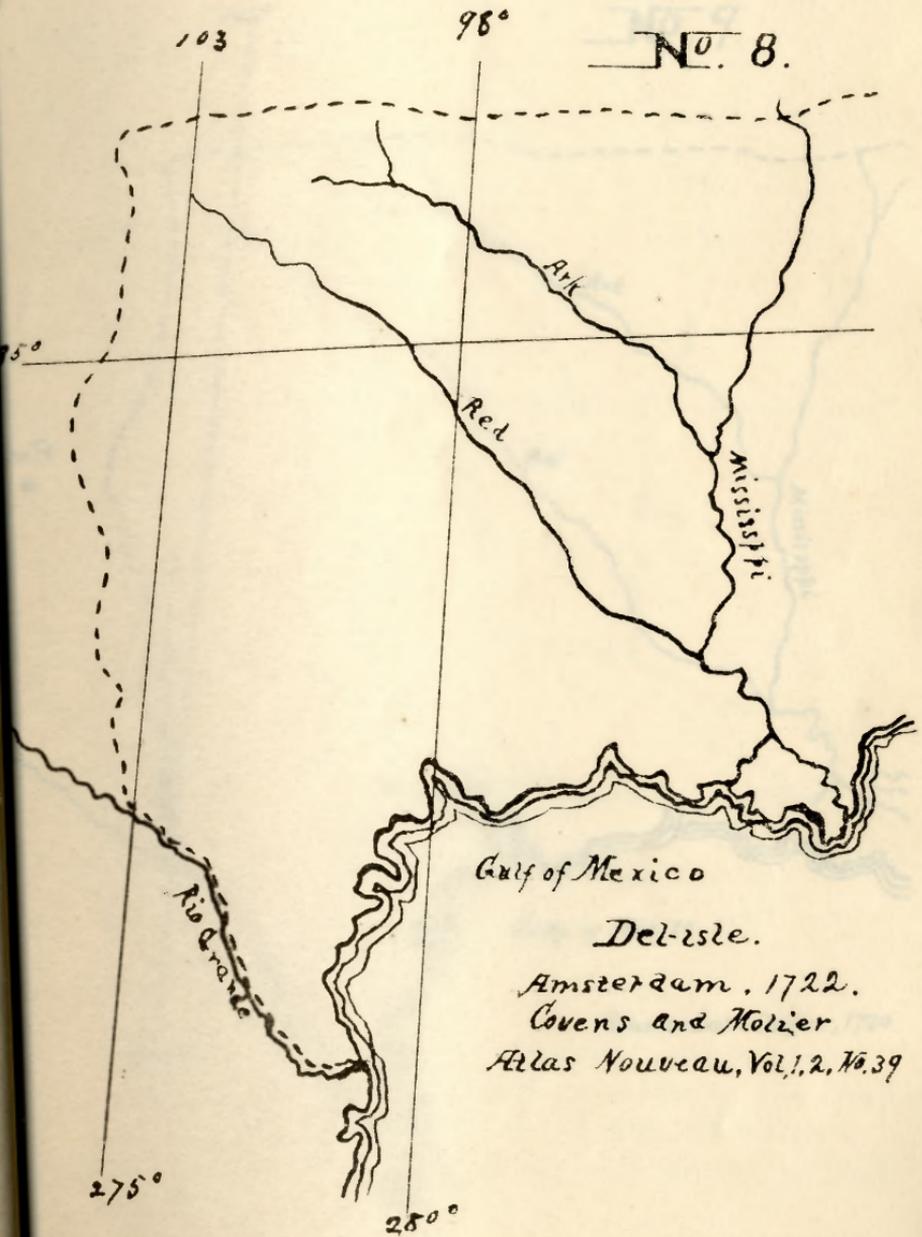
120°

City of Mexico

London. 1722
Dedicated to William
Duke of Gloucester.



N^o. 8.

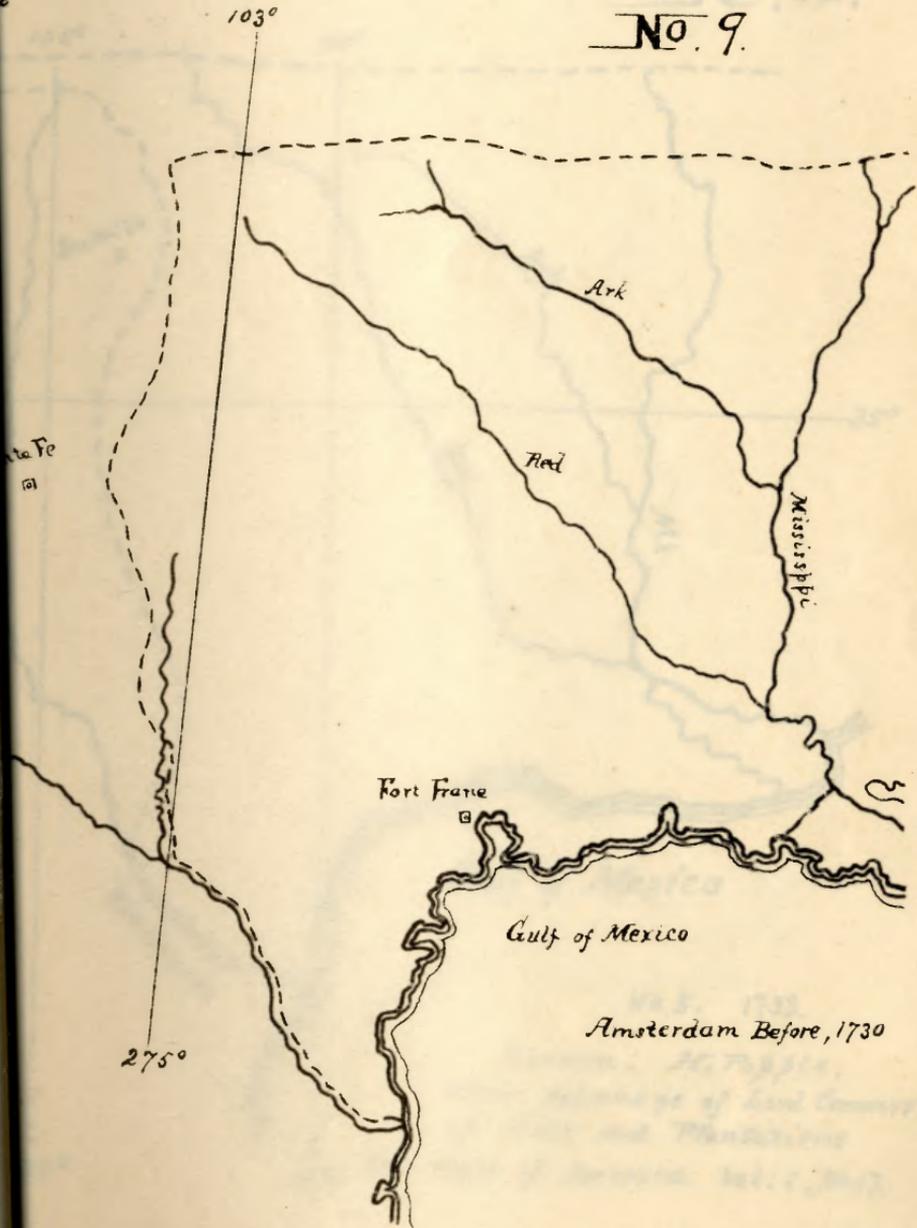


Gulf of Mexico

Del-isle.

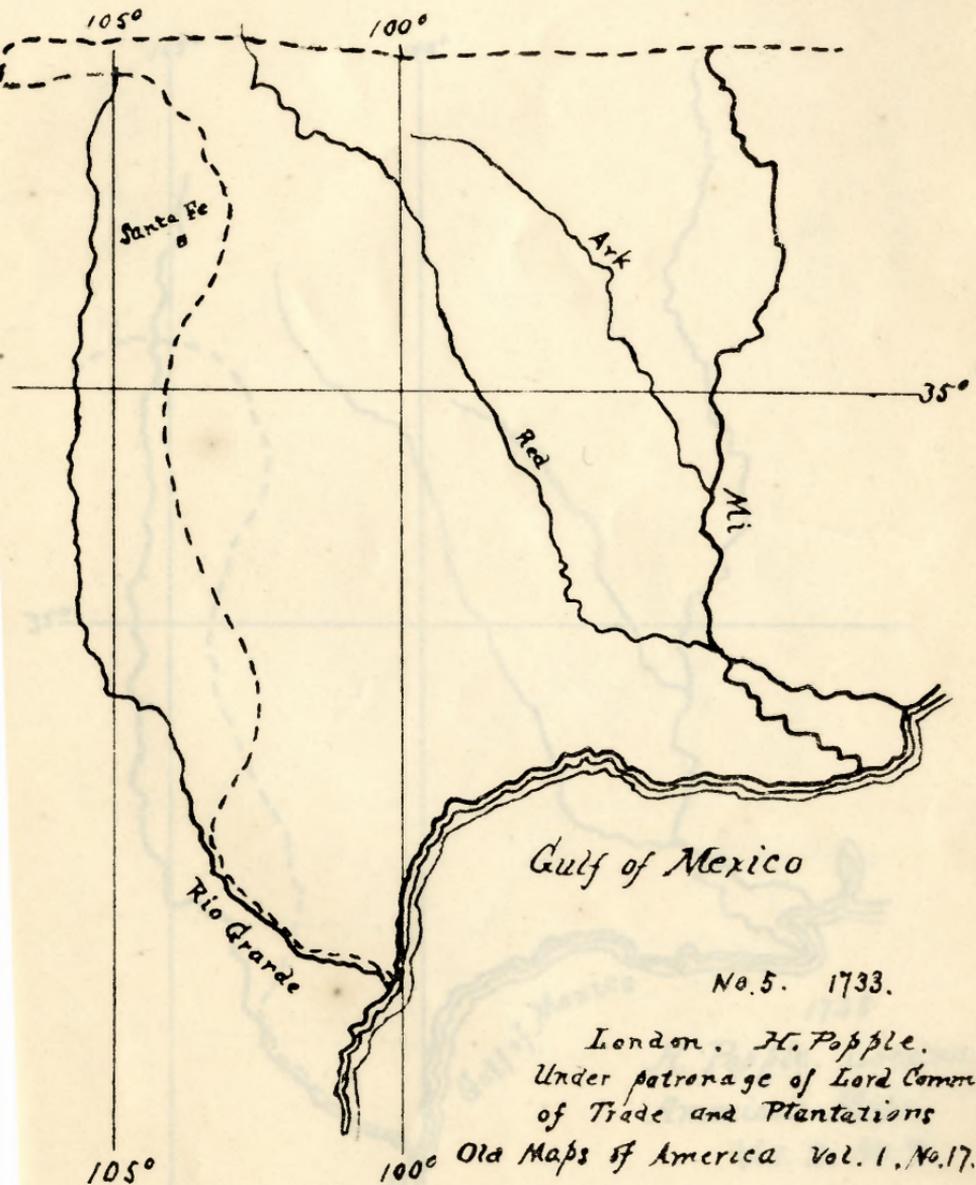
Amsterdam, 1722.
Covens and Molier
Atlas Nouveau, Vol. 1, 2, No. 39

No. 9.



Amsterdam Before, 1730

No. 10.



No. 5. 1733.

London. H. Popple.
Under patronage of Lord Commissioners
of Trade and Plantations

Old Maps of America Vol. 1, No. 17.

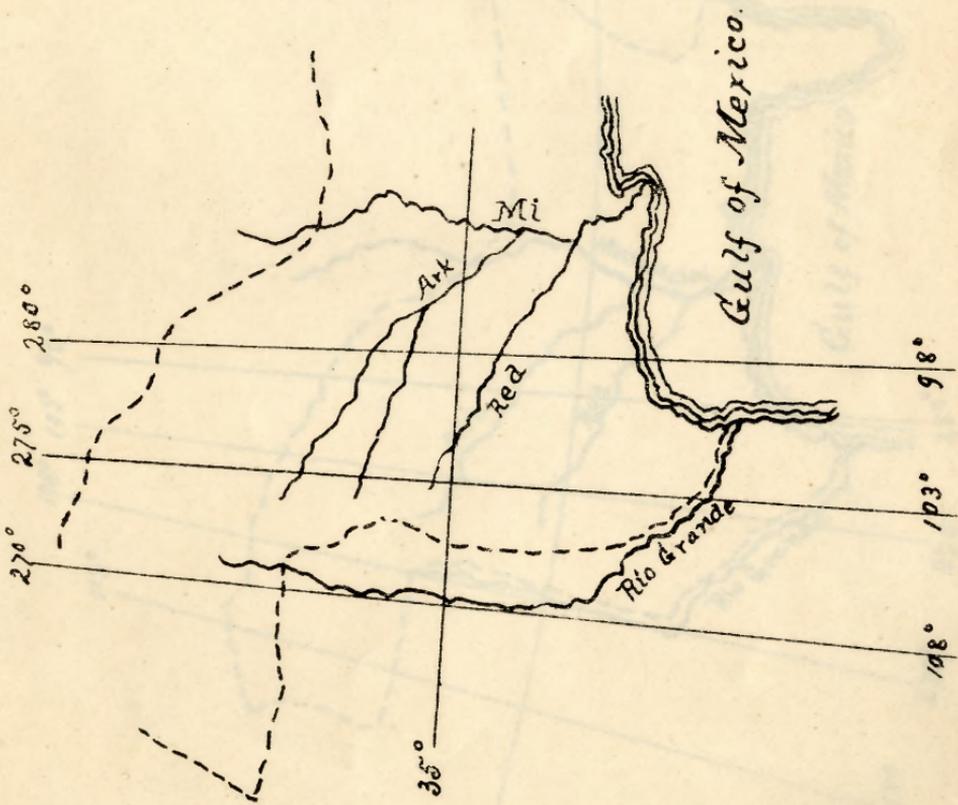
No. 11.



1735

H. Popple. London.
American Maps
Vol. 2. No. 9.

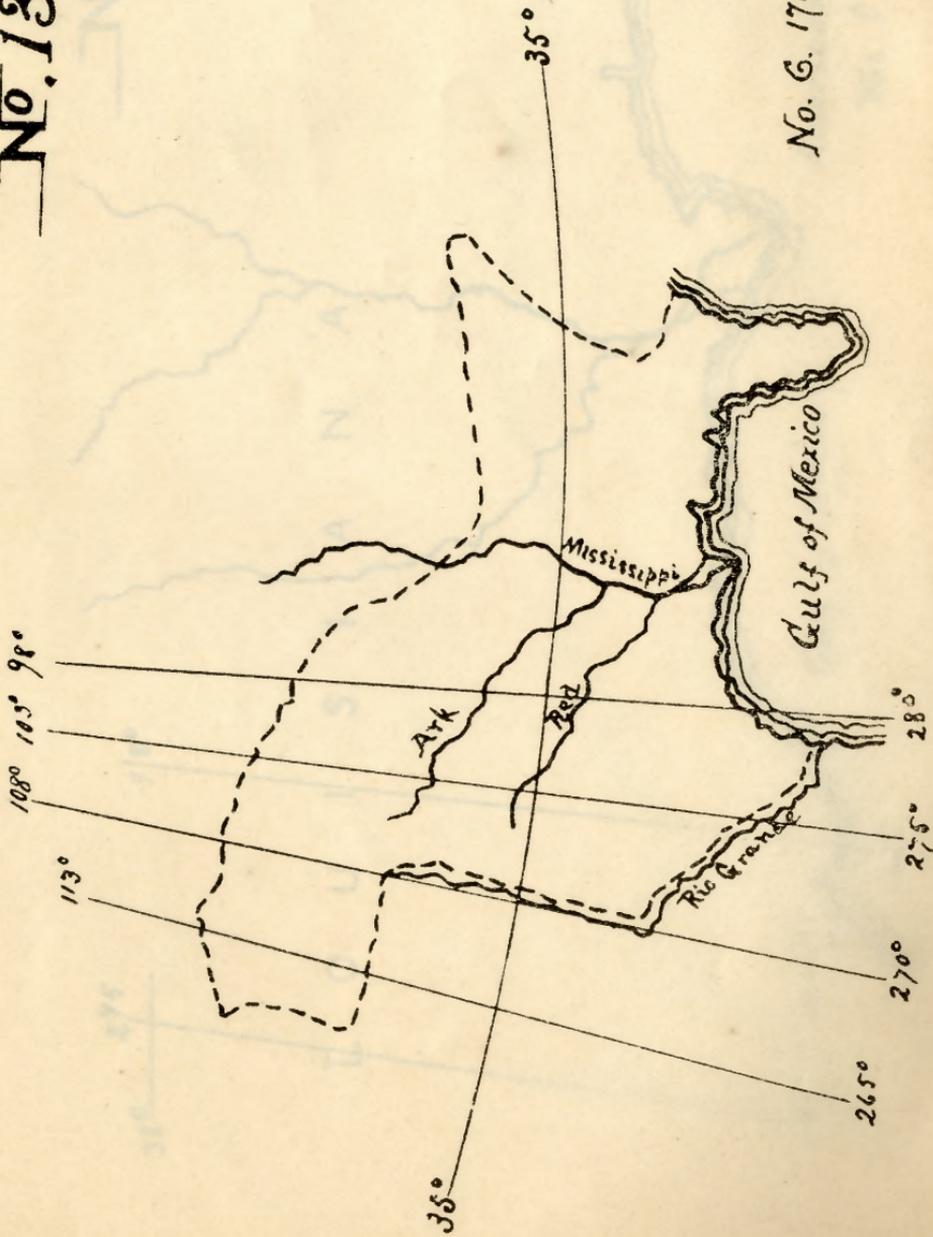
No. 12.



De Lisle.

Amsterdam, 1739.

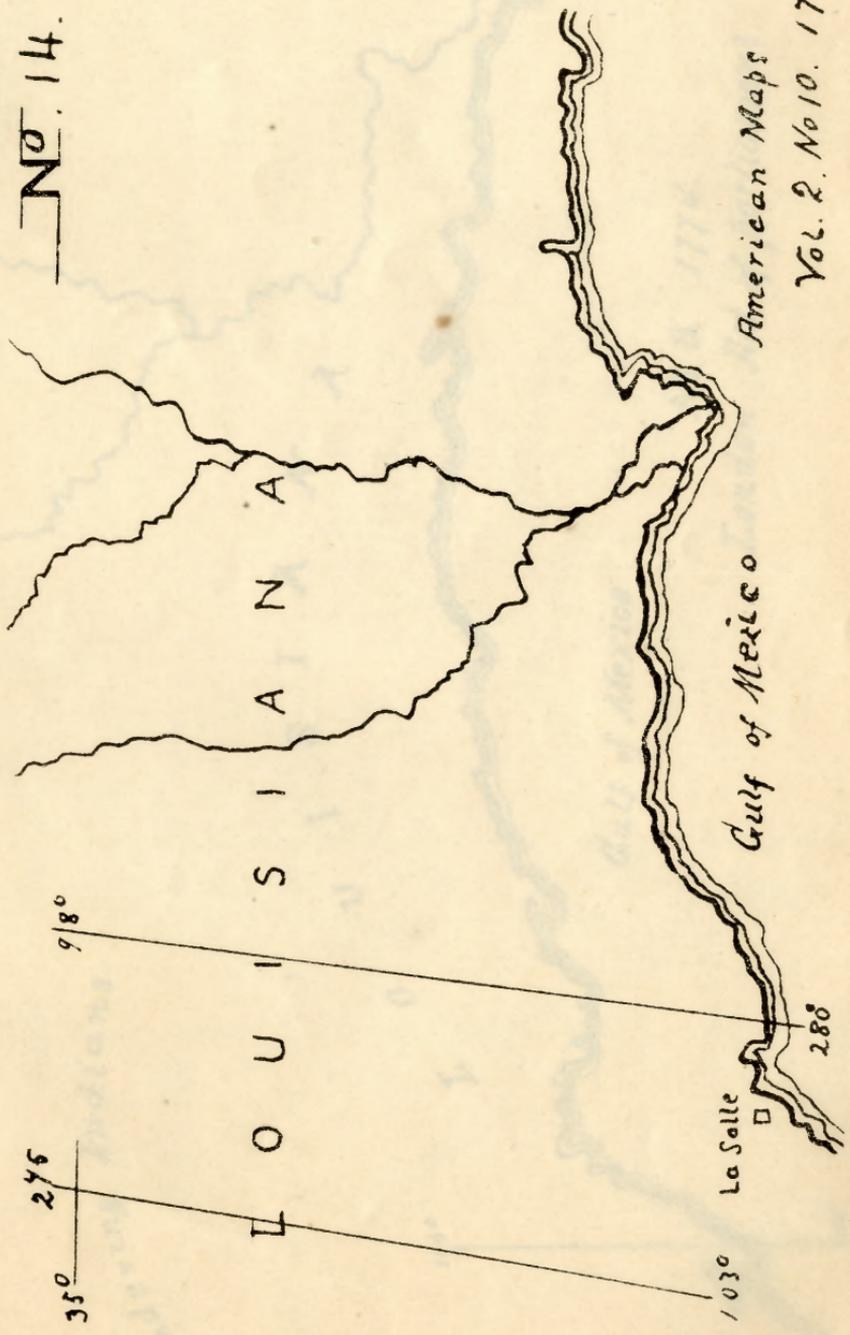
No. 13



No. G. 1746

A. G. Boehme.

No. 14.



American Maps

Vol. 2. No 10. 1753

No. 15.

Wardens
Indians

U
S
I
A
N
A

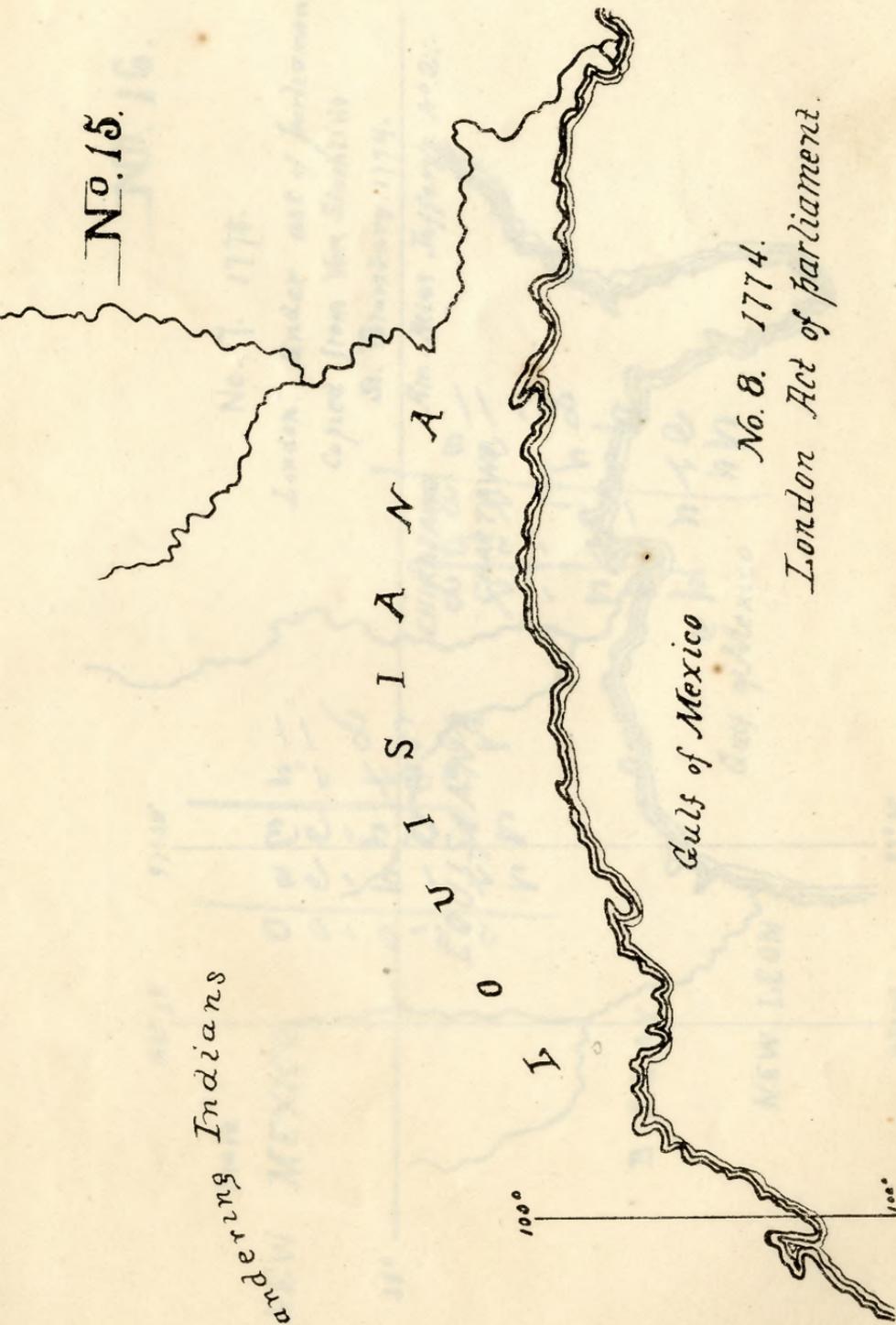
Gulf of Mexico

No. 8. 1774.

London Act of Parliament.

100°

105°

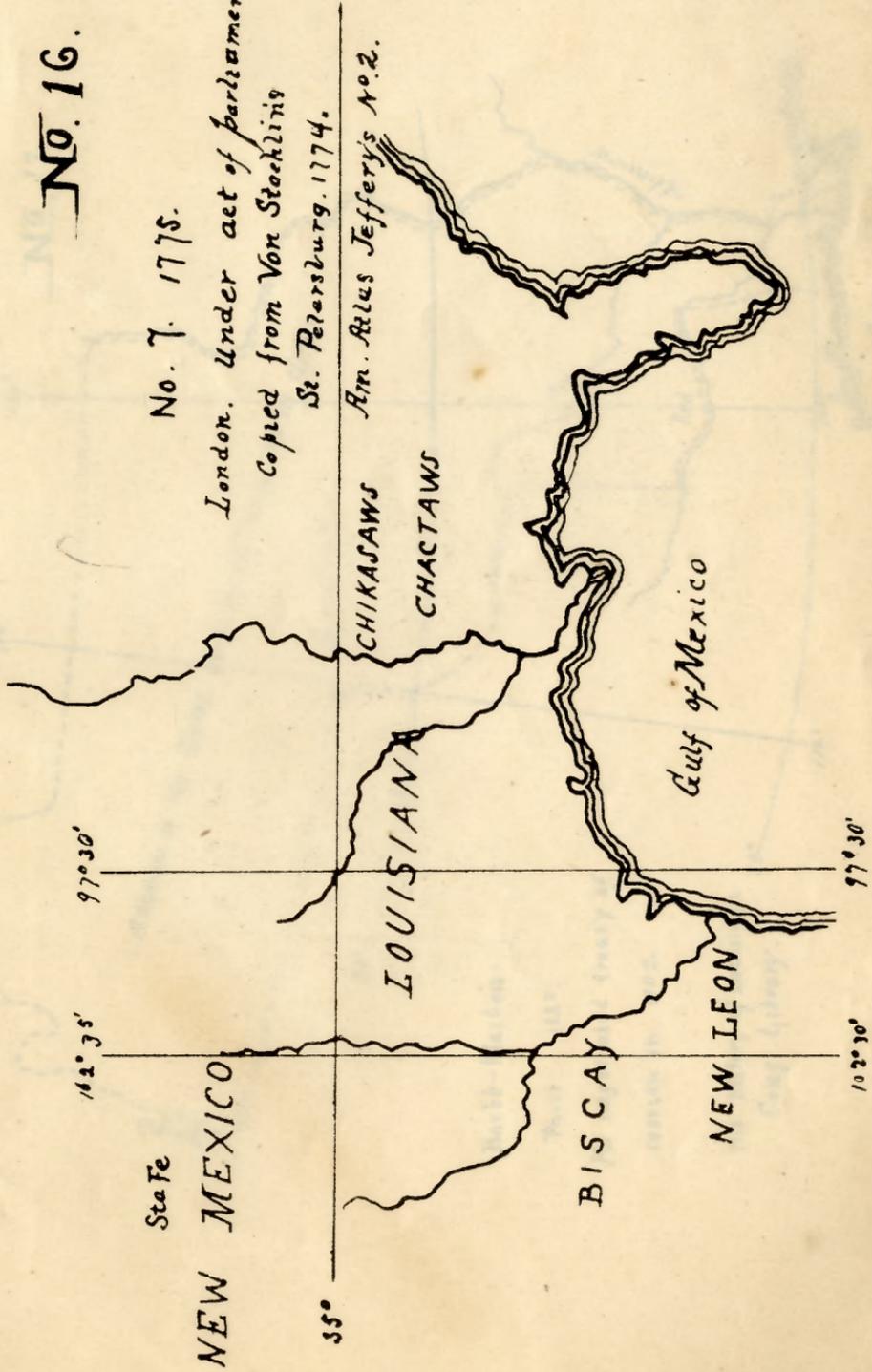


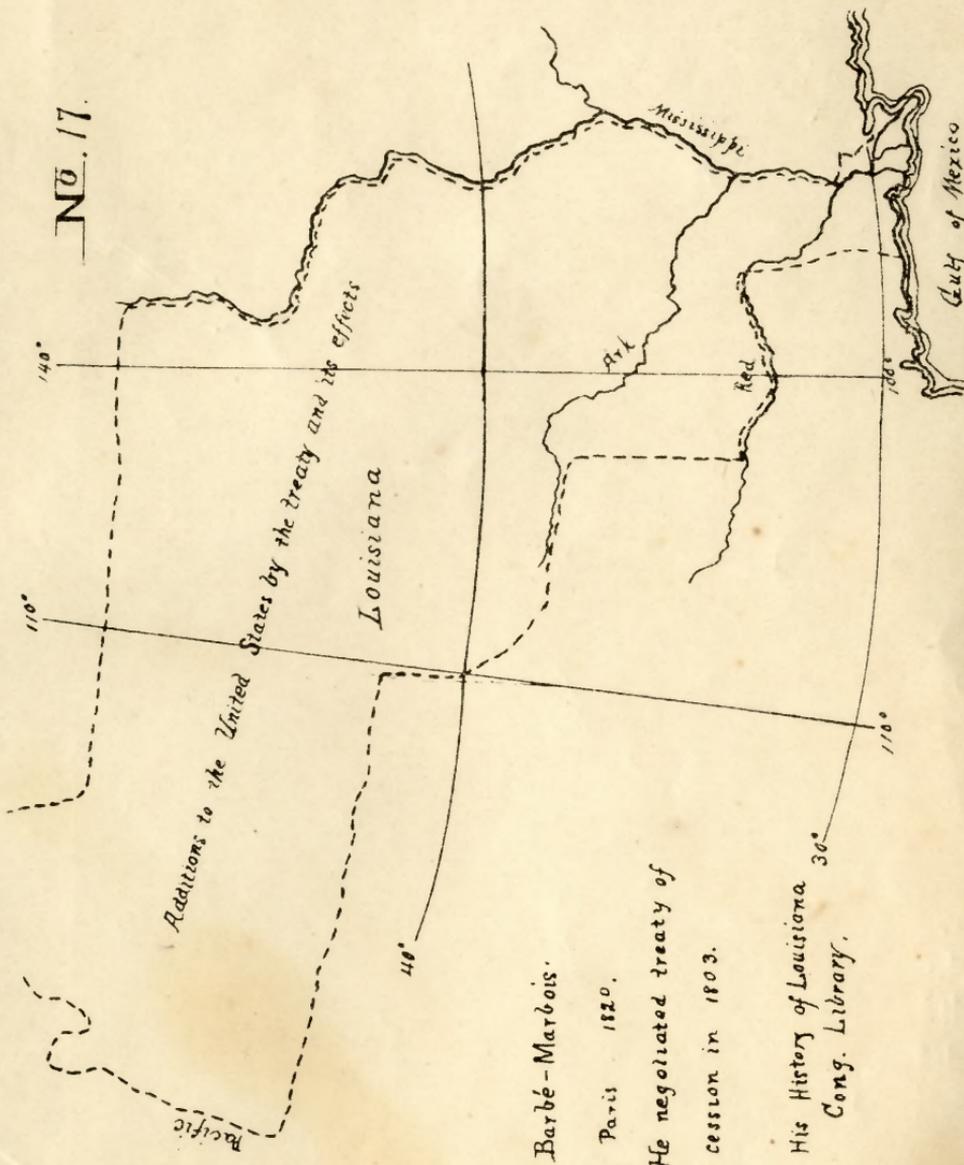
No. 16.

No. 7. 1775.

London. Under act of parliament,
Copied from Von Stacklin's
St. Petersburg. 1774.

Am. Atlas Jeffery's No. 2.





Barbé-Marbois.

Paris 1820.

He negotiated treaty of
cession in 1803.

His History of Louisiana 30
Cong. Library.