Office M. & I. Rail Road Co.

Madison, March 15th 1852

My dear Sir

The enclosed document will explain itself. For other matters, touching application to Congress for right of way through public lands &c. please see Messrs Parsell & Ficklin, to whom I have written more at length today, - as I would to you, but for the fact that I am suffering too much pain from a rheumatic attack, that has nearly prostrated me for the last few days. I expect to be in Washington in about three weeks, and will then fully confer with you

Please show this note, and hand copy of the enclosure to your Shields, with assurance of my regard. He must be kind enough to take the above as my apology for not writing him

Very truly yrs &c

Jno A Bingham

Hon J A Dearborn

John Brough
Madison
15 Mch 52

No answer

WASHINGTON, *March 15* 1852.

SIR:—

My memorial being now printed and before the Senate, I have respectfully to solicit the favor that you will examine it. Its whole substance is contained in the first fifteen pages. The residue are references merely in support of the facts stated.

For every offence committed by an officer of the army, he is liable to be tried under the "Rules and Articles of War," and punished, if found guilty, by a court-martial. No other tribunal has jurisdiction, and by none other can he be punished, except under the act of 31st January, 1823. When an officer, having public moneys in his hands for disbursement, fails quarterly to render his vouchers for settlement, he shall be reported by the accounting officer, and by the President be dismissed from the public service. (See printed memorial, p. 32.) My vouchers were regularly returned to the Treasury for settlement (see memorial, pages 34, 35 and 36; Fowler's, and last of Hagner's statement;) consequently, the penalty enjoined by this act did not apply. The facts necessary to exist under the act not having arisen, the President, by virtue of its provisions, had no jurisdiction of the case. His action under it, of consequence, is void. All the particulars and circumstances detailed in a law must be made apparent before the imposed penalty can attach.

Another statute, the act of 25th January, 1828, (see memorial, p. 30,) says, that when public moneys are not paid over, the pay of the officer shall be withheld until the indebtedness is cancelled. President Van Buren first proceeded against me under this law, and detained my pay of brevet brigadier general and colonel of the corps of engineers, until the amount of $12,674 45 had been sequestered. (See memorial, pages 27 and 65.) Then he claimed and exercised a jurisdiction under the act of January 31st, 1823; thus punishing *twice* for the same supposed offence.

Conceding to those who entertain the opinion, that at mere pleasure the President may dismiss an officer, yet, if in doing so he assigns a cause, which in point of fact has no existence, necessarily the act is unjust and oppressive, and, in justice to the sufferer, its effects on him should be made null and void. The act of 1828 [illegible]ve no such power. The act of 1823 *gives it* when the officer neglects to return his vouchers. The testimony [illegible]ered to, even the statement of the accounting officer (3d Auditor, p. 36 of the memorial) shows that such [illegible]t the case; clearly, then, the punishment was in VIOLATION of that act. The President expressly says [illegible]as in *virtue* of that act the dismissal was made. (See memorial, p. 30.)

I am, with respect, sir, your most obedient servant,

C. Gratiot
Bvt Brig Gen & Col of Engrs

Hon. S. A. Douglass
U.S. Senate

C. Ignatius
Washington
15 Mch 53

Hon S. A. Douglas

Richmond, Va Delegates. March 15/52

Sir

You will confer a distinguish favour by sending me a copy of your speech on intervention

Respectfully yours

Thomas B. Hamlin


Hon S. A. Douglas

Washington City

D. C.

U. S. Senate

Thomas B. Hendrick

Richmond

Va.

15 Mch. 52

Ans

New Orleans March 15th 1852

Dear Judge -

I have been so much engaged since our State Convention that I could not find time to write you - Mr. Clack has promised to do so and explain fully - I will merely state that we proved and it is now admitted by the friends of both the other candidates, that you were the strongest in this state, and many have expressed their regret that it was not so declared by the convention - However all is right and you are twice as strong since - in the list of delegates you have more than either Cass or Buchanan, and all declare you to be second where you are not first -

We shall keep up our organization, and will explain the recent convention for the benefit of other states - the cause is gaining throughout the South West -

I am delighted with the explanation made by Richardson - it will calm the troubled waters - You must keep a tight rein on your over zealous friends, as I have frequently observed before - they are sometimes indiscreet - We are in the midst of an exciting city election and I am busy as a bee

In haste

Yours Truly

A Davis

A. Harris
New Orleans
15 Mch 52

No answer

Fulton Center March 15 1852

Mr Stephen A Douglas Esq

Sir I had almost drawn to the conclusion that you had forgotten me I am the same old Saunders that fought your battles in the Springville convention and as I have not as yet received a document from you I had concluded that I was not on the list please place me there and oblige your old friend

H. Saunders

Hon Stephen A Douglas
U. S Senator
Washington City

Free

Hutton Centre
March 30

T. B. Saunders
Fulton County
Ill.

Mr. Lincoln

St. Louis, Mo. March 15, 1852.

Hon. Steph. A. Douglas,

Sir; Herewith enclosed are several slips of newspapers containing facts and ideas which I have heretofore put forth on the subject of Land Reform. As you are to debate the subject, I have thought they might be of use to you in suggesting some fact you might desire to refer to - and therefore have I sent them to you.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your very humble servant,

Wm. Jefferson Sutherland.

Th: Jefferson Sutton
St Louis
15 Mch 52

For the Franklin Democrat.

## Nugatory Land Laws.

*Copy of a letter recently addressed by Gen. The Jefferson Sutherland to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, at Washington, D. C.*

GRAND NEMAHA, Nebraska Territory, July 4, 1851.

*Hon. Justin Butterfield,*
*Commissioner of the General Land Office.*

SIR; It appears by a publication in the current newspapers of the Union that on the 14th day of March last it was communicated to the Department of the Interior by Messrs. Walker and Dodge, Senators in Congress from the State of Wisconsin, that there are some twenty thousand settlers residing on the *unsurveyed* public lands of the United States lying in Wisconsin; and it may be stated upon reliable information that there are the like number of settlers residing on the *unsurveyed* public lands of the United States lyin within the state of Iowa. In Minesota Territory the number of settles upon the *unsurveyed* public lands of the United States will exceed ten thousand; and there are fair grounds for presuming that the number of settlers upon the *unsurveyed* public lands of the United States lying in the State of California will exceed fifty thousand.

Iowa and Minesota are included in the Territory of Louisiana, and as the provisions of the act of Congress entitled "an act to appropriate the proceeds of the sales of the public lands, and to grant pre-emption rights" approved September 4, 1841, do not authorize settlements on the *unsurveyed* public lands of the United States, the settlers upon the *unsurveyed* public lands lying within Iowa and Minesota may be subjected to the severe penalties provided for by the fourteenth section of the act of Congress entitled "an act erecting Louisiana into two territories, and providing for the temporary government thereof," approved March 26, 1804, a copy of which is hereunto annexed, marked [1.] But if the provision of law referred to may be regarded as *obsolete*, there is another law applicable to settlers on any of the *unsurveyed* public lands of the United States, and to the provisions of which all such settlers are amenable. I refer to the first and second sections of the act of Congress entitled "an act to prevent settlements being made on lands ceded to the United States, until authorized by law," approved March 3, 1807, a copy of which is hereunto annexed, marked [2.]; and the provision of the act of Congress entitled "an act to extend the provision of the act of the third of March, one thousand eight hundred and seven, entitled an act to prevent settlements being made on land ceded to the United States, until authorized by law," approved March 2, 1833, a copy of which is hereunto annexed, marked [3.] renders amenable to the penalties imposed by the act of the 3d of March, 1807, all who may settle on the *unsurveyed* public lands in the Territory of Nebraska; and if the act of the 26th of March, 1804, is to be regarded as remaining in force, its provisions included in the fourteenth section thereof will be applicable to settlers on the *unsurveyed* public lands of the United States lying within the territory of Nebraska, which was comprised within the former Louisiana territory.

From a clause contained in a letter of reply addressed by the Hon. Alexander H. H. Stuart, Secretary of the Department of the Interior, to Messrs. Walker and Dodge, Senators in Congress from Wisconsin, it seems not to be the intention of the Government at Washington to enforce the penalties of either the act of Congress of the 26th of March, 1804, or of the 3d of March, 1807, against actual settlers upon any of the *unsurveyed* public lands of the United States.

On the westerly side of the Missouri river, between the Kansas and the Eauqui-court rivers, (the Indian country out of which it is proposed to organize the Nebaska Territory,) excepting a few missionaries and interlopers upon the Indian lands, there are no white settlers. Yet, in this Territory, not included in any lands secured to Indian tribes, or reservations for military purposes, there are tracts of land to which the Indian title has been extinguished, amounting in the aggregate to more than four thousand five hundred square miles.

Upon one of these tracts of *unsurveyed* public lands of the United States, myself with other citizens from the states east of the Mississippi valley, propose to make a settlement, if we may do so without incurring the penalties provided for by either or any of the several acts of Congress, copies of which are hereunto annexed.

In making the settlements we propose, there will be no infringement of any of the provisions of the act of Congress approved June 30th, 1834, commonly called the Indian Bill; and I have ascertained the fact that we can do so without creating dissatisfaction or disturbance with the Indians whose lands bound the tract in question; and after four months observations with the people on the opposite shore and the Indians on this side of the Missouri river, I am frank to acknowledge the fact, though I do it with some degree of chagrin, that the Indians are the more civil and upright in their conduct.

I beg leave further to state that I am myself, as well as all of the citizens who now propose to join me in founding a settlement in Nebraska, opposed to land speculation, and land monopoly, and that, if permitted to make a settlement, here as we propose, you may assure the Secretary of the Interior for us that we will abstain from the practice ourselves, and that we will by all lawful and honorable means resist every attempt which may be made by others to introduce land speculation and land monopoly into this Territory; and that we propose to take possession of, and to make settlement on only one quarter section for each head of family, and that we settle on the same for permanent residences.

Therefore, you will please to lay this communication, which is to be considered as a memorial in behalf of other citizens with myself, before the Secretary of the Interior, with the declaration, that we wish to be assured by him that if a settlement be made by citizens of the United States upon any of the unsurveyed public lands lying on the westerly side of the Missouri river between the Kansas and the Eauqui-court rivers, not included in any lands ceded and secured by the United States to any Indian tribes, nor within any military reservation, and on lands to which the Indian title has been extinguished, that such settlers shall be subject to no hinderance or molestation, so long as they commit no spoliation of timber, and take only that which may be required for their own use in prepairing the lands for cultivation and in constructing the necessary dwellings and out-houses, and in making required public improvements.

As it is designed to commence the proposed settlement the ensuing Spring, I beg you will take the earliest opportunity to bring this matter to the notice of the Secretary of the Interior, and to communicate to me such answer as he shall command.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your very humble servant.
TH: JEFFERSON SUTHERLAND.

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[1.]

AN ACT erecting Louisiana into two Territories, and providing for the temporary government thereof.

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled*, That, &c.

SEC. 14. *Provided further*, &c. That if any citizen of the United States, or other person, shall make a settlement on any lands belonging to the United States, within the limits of Louisiana, or shall attempt to survey such lands, or to designate boundaries, by marking trees, or otherwise, such offender shall, on conviction thereof, in any court of record of the United States, or the Territories of the United States, forfeit a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars, and suffer imprisonment not exceeding twelve months; and it shall, moreover, be lawful for the President of the United States to employ such military force as he may judge necessary to remove from lands belonging to the United States any such citizen or other person who shall attempt a settlement thereon.

Approved, March 26, 1804.

[2.]

AN ACT to prevent settlements being made on lands ceded to the United States until authorized by law.

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That if any person or persons shall, after the passing of this act take possession of, or make a settlement on any lands ceded or secured to the United States by any treaty made with a foreign nation, or by a cession from any State to the United States, which lands shall not have been previously sold, ceded or leased by the United States or the claims to which lands by such person or persons, shall not have been previously recognized and confirmed by the United States, or if any person or persons shall cause such lands to be thus occupied, taken possession of or settled, or shall survey or attempt to survey, or cause to be surveyed any such lands or designate any such boundaries thereon by marking trees or otherwise, until thereto duly authorized by law, such offender or offenders shall forfeit all his or their right, title and claim if any he hath, or they have of whatever nature, or kind the same shall or may be to the lands aforesaid which he or they shall have taken possession of or settled on, or caused to be occupied, taken possession of, or settled, or which he or they shall have surveyed, or attempted to survey, or caused to be surveyed, or the boundries thereof he or they shall have designated, or cause to be designated, by marking trees or otherwise; and it shall moreover be lawful for the President of the United States to direct the marshal, or officer acting as marshal, in the manner herein after directed, and also to take such other measures and to employ such military force as he may judge necessary and proceed to remove from lands ceded or secured to the United States, by treaty or cession as aforesaid, any person or persons who shall hereafter take possession of the same, or make, or attempt to make, a settlement thereon, until thereunto authorized by law, and every right, title or claim forfeited under this act, shall be taken and deemed to be vested in the United States without any other or further proceedings.

SEC. 2. That any person, or persons, who, &c., and every such person who shall at any time after the expiration of three months after such notice shall have been given, be found on the lands aforesaid, shall, moreover, incur a penalty of one hundred dollars, to be recovered in any court having jurisdiction of the same; and be, moreover, liable, on conviction, to imprisonment, at the discretion of the court, not exceeding six months; and the certificate of the proper register or recorder shall be a sufficient evidence that the tract of land which was occupied by the offender had not been previously sold, leased or ceded, by the United States, that the claim to such tract had not been recognized and confirmed by the United States, and that the person occupying the same, and removed, or to be removed, by the marshal, had not obtained permission to remain thereon, in conformity with the provisions of this act; &c.

SEC. 3. (Obsolete.)

Approved, March 3, 1807.

[3.]

AN ACT to extend the provisions of the act of the third of March, one thousand eight hundred and seven, entitled "An Act to prevent settlement being made on lands ceded to the United States until authorized by law."

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*. That all offences prescribed in the act entitled "An act to prevent settlement being made on lands ceded to the United States until authorized by law," approved the third of March, one thousand eight hundred and seven, when committed upon public lands not situated within any State or organized Territorial Government, shall be cognizable in the district court of United States, held in the State nearest where the said offence may have been committed, and the offender, upon conviction, shall be punished accordingly; and the said court shall also have jurisdiction to hear and determine all suits or prosecutions instituted for the recovery of all fines and penalties imposed by the said act.

SEC. 2. Be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the President of the United States to direct the Indian agent, at Prairie du Chien and Rock Island, or either of them when offences against the said act shall be committed on lands recently acquired by treaty from the Sac and Fox Indians, to execute and perform all the duties required by the said act to be performed by the marshal, in such mode as to give full effect to the said act in and over the lands acquired as aforesaid.

Approved, March 2, 1833.

## Cause and Cure of Riots.

BY TH: JEFFERSON SUTHERLAND.

*Extract from* TITLE XI.—*Monopoly of houses and lands; which deprive the many of homes, and weakens their attachment for place, and destroys their interests in the well-being of society; and the remedies for the evil proposed.*

The land we till is all our own,
What e'er the price, we've paid it;
Therefore, we'll fight till all is blue,
Should any dare invade it.
Since we're so blest, let's eat and drink,
With thankfulness and gladness;
Should we kick o'er our cup of joy,
It would be certain madness.

YANKEE DOODLE.

### CHAPTER 1.

**Monopoly of Houses and Town Lots.**

1. A house and home to every man is a holy thing. Let there be established for each parent a home, and that be made secure to him, and he will feel that he has position in society, station with the people of his country, and a character worthy to be preserved. Without this no man can feel himself a permanent inhabitant of the State; nor can he be in mind devoted to the interest of a State where he has no partnership in its affairs, nor home, nor shelter upon its soil. It has been often remarked that "power is ever stealing from the many to the few;" and that the houses and lands are ever being lost to the many and monopolized by the few, is equally a fact; and it requires no peculiar grasp and power of intellect to perceive the strides which are being made by the few capitalists of the country in the monopoly of houses and habitations for men—and to determine the necessity of checking such career of the capitalists, in order to prevent the masses of the people of this Republic from sinking to the same condition of dependence, wretchedness and poverty which is now suffered by the masses of the people of the empires and kingdoms of Europe.

2. Among the most active and enduring of the influences which are impressed upon the minds of youth and which control the conduct of their after life are those of parental instruction and example; and the only process by which those impressions can be made, exists with the home and the domestic circle. The removal of the young and inexperienced—those of unformed characters from the reach of such instruction and example and the parental authority, and from the innocent but wholesome associations of home, however humble that home may have been, has originated and given cause to much of the vice and misery with which society has been afflicted, and to much of the *riot* and popular disturbances which have endangered the security of life and property, and rendered weak the foundations of the political institutions of the country. Hence, the establishment and maintenance of the home and the preservation of the family circle, are demanded from every republican government, as the most efficient preservatives from vice; and to individual virtue and happiness, and to public prosperity and good order and peace of society, the home and the family circle are the surest and most permanent contributors.

3. The principal number of the houses and town lots in the cities and larger towns of the middle States of this Union, as well as the States lying east, west, and south, have already been monopolized by a few capitalists, and the masses of the citizens are but a tenantry, who labor for the benefit of their land-lords—and the means for a meagre existence for themselves. The majority of the families who make up the population of the cities, are continually subject to the extortions of house owners, and are compelled to shift about from one habitation to another, from garret to basement, and from street to alley, as each successive year comes round, seeking, upon every opening season, as the birds seek their places of incubation, a habitation which is to serve then but for a single year, and that only upon the condition of payment of the monthly, or quarterly exactions of the landlord; which must be paid, though nakedness and starvation abide with the family.

4. Man is a gregarious animal; and the Lord God has planted within his mind an instinctive principle which attaches him to the place of his nativity—to the habitation of his birth, the house which sheltered his body when his mind first awoke to consciousness. The organ of this principle is called, by those of the new school of Mental Philosophy, INHABITIVENESS; and this is located in the posterior region of the *Cerebrum*, directly above PHILOPROGENITIVENESS, which comprises the base of the posterior region of the superior brain; and when this organ is full in its development, the head presents a posterior projection upon a horizontal line striking the top of the ears. This organ of the brain has been found to be much larger, and the principle of mind which it sustains much stronger with those who have been born and bred with families endowed with houses and lands and maintained in fixed and permanent homes.

5. By the ordination of the Lord God man *may live*; and for those who comprise the laboring classes of the cities and towns, by the monopolizers of the houses, it has been ordained that they *shall move!* Under the workings of this ordinance of men, the infant comes into the world in one house, cuts his teeth in another, and in a third learns to call things by their names; and when the boy is ready to shed his petticoats he will have been an inhabitant of as many different houses as he has years, and if he forgets not his birth-spot it will be for the reason that he has never learned it. He could, perhaps, tell that, according to his information, some where between two rivers, or in some place within the precints of a city, five or ten miles square, he had been born, but to a closer identity of his birth-spot, his mind will never have been brought; and if the house wherein his existance shall have commenced has been pointed out to him, it has only made him sensible that he had no home—that he was restrained from entering the habitation wherein his infant voice was first heard, and from looking into the room where was "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life" so that he "became a living soul."

6. The man so born and bred must feel himself illigitimate to his native town, and bastardized to his State and country, and what shall be the measure of his patriotism and his pride of citizenship? If the houses of any portion of his town be destroyed by fire, why should he care? he owns nothing and looses nothing; while he may be indirectly benefitted by an increased demand for labor to be applied for their rebuilding. If the town is disgraced, by riots and revolts against law and order, his pride is not wounded, because he is but a vagrant of the streets, and bred without home and without shelter, he feels himself an outcast, and carries no restraint in his mind for the violence of his feelings, and what the storm is to the child of the ocean so is a *fray* and and *riot* to the wanderers of the cities and towns.

7. Portland, Boston, Providence, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans, and all of the intermediate and tributary cities and towns are, as the boiling caldron, continually disturbed by frays and riots; one of the chief causes of which is in the fact that the same monopoly of houses and building lots exists in these American cities and towns, that for centuries, has existed in the cities and towns of the empires and kingdoms of Europe; and, upon enquiry, it will be found that most of the great house monopolists, including the Astors of New York, the Devereauxs of Utica, Bele D. Coe of Buffalo, and Stephen Girard of Philadelphia, were from kingly countries, where they had been schooled in the principles of house monopoly and instructed in the process of levying contributions upon the poor and houseless.

8. The course of house monopoly, which has been pushed to the same extent in the cities and towns on this continent as in those of Europe, not only carries with it a debasing and demoralizing influence, antagonistical to the principles of republican institutions, but it forms a machinery to work the wrong of those who labor, so glaring in its operations that it must ever prompt men to violence, and plant the seeds of public disorder that by and by will come up with a strength which no moral influence existing among us, nor the authority of law assisted by the *possi comelatis* will be found sufficient to restrain. This spirit of disorder, begotten by the infliction of wrong, in the empires and kingdoms of Europe is restrained and the sufferers kept down by sabres, bayonets and guns, wielded by mercenaries; and as here, for the support of this course of wrong, and for the preservation of the rights of individuals, and for the enforcement of law and order, military power cannot be relied upon, because no military force, to be applied for such purposes, exists; and, therefore, the only security which can be had for the maintenance of good order in the cities and towns of America, is by an abatement of the causes of public disorder, among the greatest of which is the monopoly of houses and town lots.

9. To continue the existing system of house monopoly is to destroy all confidence in the justice of the laws, as it is but an iniquitous scheme of taxation, not directly authorized by law, but indirectly established—and indirectly operating, for the great advantage of the rich capitalists, and to the serious oppression of those who labor.—The system is one of indirect taxation, as searching as the tribute system of the Romans, or the tariff of Great Britain. The traveller pays to the hotel-keeper for the house monopolists—and for the land speculators, whose exactions are included in the increased price of the produce of the soil. The shop-keeper and the merchant add to the price of the goods which they vend sufficient to meet the demands of the house monopolists; and the boarding-house keepers take from the mechanics and laboring men the one half part of their weekly earnings, which is used as contributions to the house monopolists, and as percentages to the land speculators and land monopolists, for whom they act as tithe gatherers.

10. That the laws of the several States of the Union, regulating the tenures of houses and lands should be so modified and amended that speculation therein might find no more incouragement, is believed, by the writer, to have become the true policy of the people; and the like has it become their policy to effect a little loosening in their hold of the hands of the house monopolists. The masses have been beguiled with songs caroled to the chorus of "high prices," while their houses have been built up so high, (yet neither with brick nor granite, but by factitious valuation,) that they cannot measure them with their purses, and the houses have been left within the reach of none but the millionaires and other wealthy monopolists; and it has now become the duty of the people, and it is their dangerous prerogative, to pull down the houses till they can be reached by those in moderate circumstances, who are and must be, as tenants if not as owners, the occupiers.—To effect these reforms the people have the power in their own hands—and they are needed, as well to give security to the property of the rich, as to accord peace and prosperity to those who live, not upon the income of vested capital, but by the result of the labor of their own hands.

## Mormonism and Squatterism.

Copy of a letter recently addressed by Gen. Th: Jefferson Sutherland to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, at Washington, D. C.

THULE, (near Linden, Mo.)
June 26, 1851.

HON. JUSTIN BUTTERFIELD,
Commissioner of the General Land Office.

SIR:—I write this from a position on the east shore of the Missouri river included in the extreme south-west corner of the State of Iowa. The neighborhood, which was nameless until I took the liberty of bestowing a *cognomen*, is in fact astraddle of the west end of the dividing line between the States of Missouri and Iowa.

I am unadvised if it has been assigned to any person to furnish the Department of the Interior with information of the condition of the public domain included in the western section of the State of Iowa, or whether such duty has been performed; and if such assignment has been made and the duty properly performed, yet I trust that the facts contained in this paper will be regarded as respectfully communicated, although the exhibit may be a mere recounting of facts already known to your Department.

This western part of the State of Iowa verging upon the Missouri river, except a strip of territory of the breadth of one or two townships stretching along the dividing line between the States of Missouri and Iowa, is comprised of unsurveyed public lands of the United States, the chief tract of which is known as the "Pottawatamie purchase." These lands, for agricultural purposes, are the best in the United States; and although unsurveyed, and consequently neither subject to private entry nor pre-emption, they have been entered upon by several thousand persons of a sect of people calling themselves Mormons, who have usurped the entire control of the lands, and whose leaders have assumed to parcel them out to individuals of their sect, in tracts of an extent altogether inconsistent with an equitable division of the soil—and contrary to the provisions of the laws of the United States—and the instructions issued from the General Land Office; and the members of the sect parties to this partition of the public domain, are now selling out their "claims" to strangers, and thus constituting the unsurveyed public lands of the "Pottawatamie purchase" matters of commerce and speculation.

The number of persons inhabiting the "Pottawatamie purchase" have been much overrated as to numbers. From reliable information the whole amount of souls there do not exceed 5,000; four thousand of whom are of the sect of Mormon, and the other thousand are of those whom the Mormons call Gentiles; and these have occupied and "claimed up" all of the wood-land of this tract of beautiful country.

The timbered portions of the "Pottawatamie purchase" are comprised of a strip of land forming the easterly shore of the Missouri river, and of another strip stretching along and including the bluffs, (a range of clay-hills dividing the Missouri bottoms from the rolling prairie, and which lie back from the river at various distances, ranging from five to fifteen miles,) and a few groves scattered along the streams of water tributary to the Missouri river. The residue of this tract of country is bald prairie, which, though of the highest value for farming purposes, could not be occupied and made subject to cultivation, without a just partition of the timbered lands, which is stinted in quantity for the whole country, and which is now entirely monopolized by the Mormons and the purchasers of their "claims" whom they have "taken in."

The lands on which settlements could be made, (without a special act of Congress providing for a distribution of the timbered land with the bald prairie,) have all been "claimed up"—and are now held in parcels measuring from 320 to 2,000 acres, by squatters, who demand more than the government price of the land is likely to be fixed at for the privilege of making a settlement. It is not for improvements that the squatters demand a price, as there are none made in the country, but for the privilege of settlement—*and their protection.* If a person refuses to pay the demands of a squatter and attempts to make a settlement, though it be on lands a mile distant from any other settler, he is denounced as a "claim jumper" and lynched. The undersigned travelled the distance of three hundred miles in the "Pottawatamie purchase," and found no spot of earth elligible for a home, on which a person would be permitted undisturbedly to make a settlement, without paying a larger sum of money than the government would be likely to exact for the fee of the land: and yet there is not in the country one settler to each fifty quarter sections of land, for which the timber, with a proper distribution, would be sufficient to allow of settlement.

The undersigned found many persons in the district of Iowa embraced in the "Pottawatamie purchase" who have sold out their possessions in the eastern States and emigrated thither with a view to better their condition; but when arrived they could make no settlements without paying prices equal to the cost of the full fee of lands in other sections, and prices entirely beyond their means to meet. After having defrayed the expenses of the emigration of their families, and having sunk their little means in effecting the same, they could not return, and to live and obtain bread, they have been obliged to shelter themselves in hovels, and to become hirelings to the usurpers of the soil; and there are now more renters on the unsurveyed government lands of the "Pottawatamie purchase" than in any section of the State of New York, or of Pennsylvania, of the like extent, excluding the cities and large towns.

In a timbered region of Fremont county, called Pleasant Grove, which is bordered by extensive prairies, embracing beautiful tables and plateaus of the most fertile soil, reside Milton Richards, Harvey Bourne, John E. Beaty and —— Eldredge. These persons claim of the unsurveyed public lands, mostly timbered, as follows: Richards 1000 acres, Bourne 640, Beaty 1,250, and Eldredge 800.—There are other timber monopolists of the same neighborhood, who combine with those named to enforce their "claims."

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Joseph Ralls who is settled upon the public lands in Mills county "claims" to the extent of three or four quarter sections, and maintains possession of the same by threats of violence. He has been a pre-emptor in the State of Missouri, and therefore is not now entitled to a pre-emption of any of the public lands which he claims. He has also, with a partner, caused to be erected on the public lands near his present settlement, a saw-mill, and he is causing the timber of the neighboring lands to be despoiled for its supply; and at his mill he sells sawed lumber at $20,00 per 1000 superficial feet.

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Perry Liston and John Liston who reside on separate tracts of the public lands lying on Five Barrel Creek, "claim" three or four quarter sections of land each, and assert and maintain the possession thereof. There are also many others in the same neighborhood residing on the public lands who claim like quantities; among which number is William Clarke, who has built for himself a cabin in a grove of timber, and cut away the trees from about five acres of ground, which comprise his whole enclosure—and yet he claims an extent of three quarter sections of land and keeps off intruders from the whole by threats of violence. This man Clarke stated to the undersigned that he had before coming to reside upon the public lands in Iowa been a pre-emptor of a quarter section of the public lands in the State of Ohio.

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About one half part of the Mormon population now settled on the unsurveyed public lands included in the "Pottawatamie purchase" are *aliens*, principally English emigrants who have made no declaration of intention to become citizens of the United States.

The preceding, sir, I give you as samples of the condition of the whole public domain included in the "Pottawatamie purchase." With the population occupying this tract of country there seems to be few only aiming to cultivate the soil.—The present amount of cultivation is insufficient to produce food for the people in the country. The mass are speculators in "land claims," and look to the proceeds of their speculations, instead of the labor of their hands for bread. From Sergeant's Bluff, (the boundary of the Sioux country,) down to THULE, (the State line,) there are no improvements of the country. The settlers have large "claims" with small enclosures [illegible] staked out towns there are [illegible] and among all the dwellings for men now within the bounds of the "Pottawatamie purchase" there exists not one good house: and, yet, the white man has been there since 1844. The facts are thus, sir—while there have been made no improvements on the land, the country has been damaged at least ten per cent. of its value by a spoliation of the timber, which has been continued for seven or eight years, and ever since the Mormons commenced their exodous from the State of Illinois.

Every material fact set forth and stated in the preceding exhibit may be sustained and established with the highest grade of proof. The matters, though taken up by my own observation and understanding, are nevertheless known to many honest and upright men residing in the country. I have written of things which are no secrets, but of common notoriety.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your very humble servant,
TH: JEFFERSON SUTHERLAND.

## Mormonism and Squatterism.

Copy of a letter recently addressed by Gen. Th: Jefferson Sutherland to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, at Washington, D.C.

Tura, (near Linden, Mo.) }
June 26, 1851. }

Hon. Justin Butterfield,
Commissioner of the General Land Office.

Sir:—I write this from a position on the east shore of the Missouri river, (included in the extreme north west corner of the State of Missouri.) The neighborhood, which [illegible] until I took the liberty of [illegible] is in fact actually the "west end" of the dividing line between the States of Missouri and Iowa.

I am unadvised if it has been assigned to any person to furnish the Department of the Interior with information of the condition of the public domain included in the western section of the State of Iowa; or whether such duty has been performed; and if such assignment has been made and the duty properly performed, yet I trust that the facts contained in this paper will be regarded as respectfully communicated, although the exhibit may be a mere repetition of facts already known to your Department.

The western part of the State of Iowa verging upon the Missouri river, except a strip of territory of the breadth of one or two townships stretching along the dividing line between the States of Missouri and Iowa, is comprised of unsurveyed public lands of the United States, the chief part of which is known as the "Pottawatamie purchase." These lands, for agricultural purposes, are the best in the United States; and although unsurveyed, and consequently neither subject to private entry nor pre-emption, they have been entered upon by several thousand persons of a sect of people calling themselves Mormons, who have usurped the entire control of the lands, and whose leaders have assumed to parcel them out to individuals of their sect in tracts of an extent altogether inconsistent with an equitable division of the soil—and contrary to the [illegible] laws of the United States [illegible] instructions issued from the [illegible] Office; and the members of the sect [illegible] to this partition of the public domain, are now selling out their "claims" to strangers, and thus constituting the unsurveyed public lands of the "Pottawatamie purchase" matters of commerce and speculation.

The number of persons inhabiting the "Pottawatamie purchase" have been much overrated as to numbers. From reliable information the whole amount of persons there do not exceed 5,000; four thousand of whom are of the sect of Mormon, and the other thousand are of those whom the Mormons call Gentiles; and these have occupied and "claimed up" all of the wood land of this tract of beautiful country.

The timbered portions of the "Pottawatamie purchase" are comprised of a strip of land forming the easterly shore of the Missouri river, and of another strip stretching along and including the bluffs, (a range of clay-hills dividing the Missouri bottoms from the rolling prairie, and which lie back from the river at various distances, ranging from five to fifteen miles,) and a few groves scattered along the streams of water tributary to the Missouri river. The residue of this tract of country is bald prairie, which, though of the highest value for farming purposes, could not be occupied and made subject to cultivation, without a just partition of the timbered lands, which is stinted in quantity for the whole country, and which has been entirely monopolized by the Mormons and the purchasers of their "claims" whom they have "taken in."

The lands on which settlements could be made, (without a special act of Congress providing for a distribution of the timbered land with the field prairie,) have all been "claimed up"—and are now held in tracts measuring from 320 to 3,000 acres, by squatters, who demand more [illegible] price of the land is [illegible] for the privilege of making [illegible] it is not for improvements [illegible] squatters demand a price, [illegible] made in the country but for the privilege of settlement—and [illegible] protected. If a person refuses to pay the demands of a squatter and attempts to make a settlement, though it be on lands a mile distant from any other settler, he is denounced as a "claim jumper" and is lynched. The undersigned travelled the distance of three hundred miles in the "Pottawatamie purchase," and found no spot of earth eligible for a home, on which a person would be permitted undisturbedly to make a settlement, without paying a larger sum of money than the government would be likely to exact for the fee of the land; and yet there is not in the country one settler to each fifty quarter sections of land, for which the timber, with a proper distribution, would be sufficient to allow of settlement.

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Your very humble servant,
T. S.

For the Democratic Register.

## LAND REFORM.

*Advantages of a free distribution of the Public Lands of the United States for actual settlement and cultivation.*

—

BY TH: JEFFERSON SUTHERLAND.

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1. Exclusive of the unappropriated public lands lying within the States of the Union, the public domain of the United States is of great extent. The Northwestern Territory lying West of the Mississippi River, and bounded on the North by the parallel of the forty-ninth degree of North latitude, East by the Mississippi River, South by the State of Iowa and the Nebraska River, (or Platte,) and West by the Rocky Mountains, has been estimated to contain 722,243 square miles, or 463,878,720 acres of land. The Northwestern Territory lying East of the Mississippi River, and west of the State of Wisconsin, and North of the parallel of the thirty-sixth degree and thirty minutes North latitude, has been estimated to contain 22,336 square miles, or 14,295,040 acres of land.

2. The Indian Territory lying West of the States of Mississippi and Arkansas, and bound North by the Nebraska River, and South by the parallel of the thirty-sixth degree and thirty-minutes North latitude, has been estimated to contain 348,318 square miles, or 121,923,200 acres of land; and the same Territory lying South of the parallel of the thirty-sixth degree and thirty minutes of North latitude, has been estimated to contain 58,346 square miles, or 37,341,440 acres of land. A considerable portion of this Territory has been appropriated to the Indians. Total extent of the old Territory, 1,152,243 square miles, or 637,418,500 acres of land.

3. The Oregon Territory lying on the Pacific and bounded on the North by the parallel of the forty-ninth degree of North latitude, South by the parallel of the forty-second degree of North latitude, East by the Rocky Mountains, and West by the Pacific Ocean, has been estimated to contain 526,464 square miles, or 336,936,960 acres of land. The State of California and the Territories of New Mexico and Utah, bounded on the North by the parallel of the forty-second degree of North latitude, East by the Northwestern and Nebraska Territories, South by the Gila River and by a line running from its mouth West to a point one marine league North from the Southernmost point of San Diego, and West by the Pacific Ocean, have been estimated to contain 526,278 square miles, or 336,689,920 acres of land. Total of new Territory, 1,052,542 square miles, or 723,626,780 acres of land.

4. The Territories of Texas, exclusive of the State proper, and including the three divisions, viz: The country between the Nueces and the Rio Grande del Norte, and the Santa Fe country, North of the parallel of the thirty-sixth degree and thirty minutes North latitude, and the Santa Fe country South of the same parallel, which has been estimated at 325,520 square miles, or 208,332,800 acres of land. Grand total of the public domain included in the several Territories, and in the State of California and Territories of Texas, 2,530,310 square miles, or 1,569,378,030 acres of land. But a very small portion of these vast Territories have either been occupied by settlers or surveyed and run out by the Government at Washington.

5. By these statistics, which claim to have been compiled from the most authentic sources, it is made to appear that there are, at this time, subject to occupation, in the Territories of the United States and the State of California, subject only to small deductions, one thousand five hundred and sixty-nine millions, three hundred and seventy-eight thousand and eighty acres of land, exclusive of the public domain included in the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, and some others of the States of the Union, in which there are lands to which the Government title has not yet been distinguished.

6. The public lands in the Territories of the United States comprising the vast domain of 2,530,310 square miles, or 1,569,378,080 acres, allowing the fullest deduction for rivers, lakes, mountains, and deserts, would afford twelve millions of farms of one hundred acres each, which is quite a sufficiency for any family. Then the population of the United States may, at a rough estimate, be set down at 25,000,000, which would give about 5,000,000 familes. Hence, it will be seen that each family might take from the public domain a farm of one hundred acres, and that there would be still remaining unappropriated seven millions of farms of the like quantity of land, sufficient for an additional population of 35,000,000.

7. The unappropriated public lands within the several States of the Union, will not fall much, if any, short of the extent in the Territories and California, giving a grand total of twenty-four million of farms of arable lands which are yet remaining unproductive, and which is sufficient for an increase of population to 150,000,000, granting to each man who should require it, a farm of one hundred acres of land. Let this land be allotted to settlers without fee, and no more sold to the monopolists, and the ordinary increase of population continue, and there shall remain unoccupied and unappropriated public lands for the seventh generation yet to come.

8. Over the vast public domain the Government of the United States now keeps watch, like a great mastiff, holding the lands against the wants of the people. The lands are given up to wild beasts and speculators, and monopolists, while there remain thousands, aye, millions of the American people who have neither shelter nor home, and who are without the means of subsistance, not through any lack of industry or virtue on their part, but because they have no land on which to exercise their industry; and because, for the want of land, labor itself becomes an object of barter, and by the operation of partial laws the products of their labor go to increase the profits of the speculator. A free grant of appropriate parcels of land from the public domain to the landless, would not only put thousands in possession of homes, and in the way of acquiring the means of support, but it would enable the hand of industry to transform millions of acres of the most fertile, though now unproductive lands, into an immeasurable source of national wealth.

9. The free grant of the public lands to actual settlers, would leave no excuse for idleness. It would make labor honorable, as industry would no longer be confined to *menials* and *slaves*; and, by offering homes and honorable employment to all, it would reduce the number of all moral defalcations, and consequently the amount of taxes; and by bringing into immediate use millions of acres of the uncultivated lands, it would greatly increase the means of support, and thereby reduce the cost of the support of life; and save thousands of the one sex from prostitution, while it would deliver a great er number of the other sex from the poor houses and prisons; and the measure would also enable those who now enjoy but little —and pay but little for the support of Government—to enjoy much, and to contribute much for the support of Government.

10. Allow the people to occupy each a parcel of the public domain, without exacting from them a tax of two hundred dollars in advance, and before any use or benefit has been had or received from the land, and those who will immediately occupy the Territory between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains, and that which lies between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, will soon cause a railway to belt the country between the Mississippi and the Pacific, without appropriations from the public treasury of the United States. The settlers would themselves build the railway, and requisite general and sectional roads, for their own convenience, and for the obtainment of the market which the travel of strangers thus induced, would bring for the products of the islands.

11. With a view to the preservation of peace among the Indian tribes of the Territories of the United States, and to protect the frontier settlements, the Government at Washington have employed almost the entire of the peace establishment of the army, together with a large additional force provided for by a law of the Thirtieth Congress. For the support of this military force, (posted as it is far beyond the section of country where supplies are produced,) the people are required to pay from eight to ten million of dollars annually; and by the operation of the measure, twenty thousand men are continually released and kept from labor, while they are fed and clothed by the labor of others; and after having remained for years in a state of degradation and of moral depression, divisions of them are periodically discharged and sent back to the people of the States, to add to the sum of public disorders in the populous cities.

12. By a free grant of the public lands to actual settlers, the Government at Washington would be relieved from the necessity of keeping up a standing army for the preservation of peace among the Indian tribes, and for the protection of the frontier settlers; and from the people of the Union—the laboring people who shoulder it—the burthen of feeding, and clothing, and paying twenty thousand men to keep watch upon a few thousand Indians, would be taken away, and society would be eased from the emission of degraded and demoralized men, who are now, by discharges and desertions, being continually sent out from the army.—The settlers, being granted free occupancy of the land, would soon be found in sufficient numbers, in every Territory, and in every section of Territory and State, to preserve peace among the Indian tribes, as well as to protect themselves.

13. The gold found in the State of California has placed in the mining districts a population sufficient to protect itself against any aggressions of the Indians, as it is shown by the following account of a transaction near Sacramento mines, taken from a newspaper printed in California, and dated October, 1850:—

"The Indians having been guilty of many unprovoked outrages and murders, the whites formed a corps of riflemen for their common defense. While seven or eight of the company were out prospecting, they were suddenly attacked by a party of fifty or sixty of the natives, some of whom were armed with pistols, which had been imprudently sold them by the whites. The men stood their ground, and were soon reinforced by the commander, (Captain Sanger,) and some others who heard the firing and rushed to their aid. This little band stood their ground for three hours under a terribly hot sun and in a most disadvantageous position, till at last the Indians, disheartened by their slain, retreated. Captain Sanger was mortally wounded, and three others severely; the former was from Massachusetts, and the latter from Maine. Lieutenant Johnson started the next day with the entire force, and completely broke up all the enemy's villages or camps, and entirely routed the scoundrels, so that no Government aid will be needed at present. He is quite sure that he heard either an Irish or a Scotch voice among the enemy; perhaps some disgraced miner. The Maine and Massachusetts men are dreadfully exasperated by the attack upon their friends, and took fearful vengeance, and the deadly rifles of the Kentuckians and Missourians told with terrible effect."

14. The assumptions of the writer are also well sustained by the following extract from a report of an exploring expedition made along the Rio Grande del Norte, in 1850, by Capt. John Love of the first regiment of U. S. Dragoons:—

"Ringgold Barracks is the first military station on the Rio Grande del Norte above Fort Brown, and is garrisoned by two companies of the First Regiment of Infantry, under command of Major Lamotte. This is a depot from which are supplied Fort McIntosh, Fort Duncan, the Texas Rangers, and other mounted troops stationed temporarily in the vicinity of those posts. All the supplies from this depot are transported from Fort Brown at present by the United States steamboat Corvette. The next military post on the Rio Grande del Norte is Fort McIntosh, situated near the old town of Laredo, and is garrisoned by two companies of the First Regiment of Infantry, under the command of Captain Burbank.

15. "Between Ringgold Barracks and Fort McIntosh are several towns, viz: Camargo, situated on the San Juan River, three miles from its junction with the Rio Grande del Norte, having a population of about one thousand; Rio Grande City, a new and flourishing place on the American side, one mile above Ringgold Barracks; Roma, a new town on the Texas side, with a population of about five hundred; among whom are several enterprising merchants, who carry on considerable trade with the neighboring Mexican States; Mier, situated two miles from the Rio Grande del Norte, on the river Alcantro, with a population of about two thousand; Guerrero, six miles from the Rio Crande del Norte, on the Salado, with a population of about four thousand.

16. "The soil on both sides of the Rio Grande del Norte, between Ringgold Barracks and Fort McIntosh, is very fertile, and under cultivation. The principal products are corn, beans, melons, &c. Some tobacco, planted this year for the first time, looks well. Ebony, willow, musquit, and hackberry grow along its banks. The grazing is excellent, supporting immense flocks of sheep and goats, and vast herds of cattle. Large droves of wild horses and cattle are seen in every direction. Game is very abundant. There are large mines of bituminous coal near Guerrero. The distance between these two points, Ringgold Barracks and Fort McIntosh, is one hundred and twenty miles by land, and two hundred and sixteen by water. The next military post is Fort Duncan, (near Eagle Pass,) garrisoned by three companies of the First Regiment of Infantry, under the command of Colonel Morris. It is about one hundred miles by land, and two hundred and thirty four by water, above Fort McIntosh. The only town of any size between Forts McIntosh and Duncan is Presidio, situated six miles from the Rio Grande del Norte, opposite the ford at Presidio Rio Grande del Norte, and about thirty miles from Fort Duncan. It contains two thousand inhabitants, and has a garrison of two hundred men.

17. "A little town is springing up just below Fort Duncan, which will probably become one of considerably commercial importance, as it is near that point where six roads from Mapimi, Parras, Monclova, Santa Rosa, San Fernando, Nava, Presidio, &c., strike the Rio Grande del Norte. The soil between Fort McIntosh and Fort Duncan is excellent, but, in consequence of the frequent incursions of the Indians, only a small portion is under cultivation. The farmers turn their attention, on a grand scale, to the raising of sheep and goats—animals which the Indians never steal. Wild horses and game are abundant. Timber the same as below Fort McIntosh, with the addition of pecan. There are two inexhaustible mines of bituminous coal of superior quality on the Texas side of the river—specimens of which, brought down by Captain Love, have been tested. There are several rich silver mines on the Mexican side, some forty or fifty miles back from Presidio de Rio Grande del Norte, which were worked to advantage by the Spaniards before their expulsion, in 1829, even after paying a handsome percentage of the nett proceeds to the Mexican Government and the owners of the land.—Nothing prevents their being worked now but the want of capital, and, perhaps, energy.

18. "There are no settlements, either American or Mexican, above Fort Duncan; neither will there be any until settlers are afforded some permanent protection against the Indians. The country above, between Fort Duncan and the mouth of Devil's River, *are beautiful and rich beyond description*, and watered by numerous streams flowing into the Rio Grande del Norte from both sides. The principal are the Escondido or San Fernando, Elm, Morel, Las Moras, Pecan, San Felipe, Pear, and Turkey. The whole country is susceptible of irrigation; but, from a single visit, it of course could not be decided whether a scarcity of rain in that region would render this mode of watering the soil necessary. The lands are well timbered at intervals with live oak, pecan, mulberry, hackberry, ash, musquit, &c. There are many fine mill sites on the streams, as nearly all have excellent waterpower. They abound with perch and the regular speckled trout of our northern mountain streams."

19. In the annual Message to Congress, of the President of the United States, delivered on the 2d of December, 1850, were contained information and recommendations as follows:

"Texas and New Mexico are surrounded by tribes of Indians, who are a source of constant terror and annoyance to the inhabitants. Separating into small predatory bands, and always mounted, they overrun the country, devastating farms, destroying crops, driving off whole herds of cattle, and occasionally murdering the inhabitants, or carrying them into captivity.

20. "The great roads leading into the country are infested with them whereby traveling is rendered extremely dangerous, and immigration is almost entirely arrested. The Mexican frontier, which, by the 11th article of the treaty of Guadulupe Hidalgo, we are bound to protect against the Indians within our border, is exposed to those incursions equally with our own. The military force stationed in that country (altho' forming a large proportion of the army) is represented as entirely inadequate to our own protection and the fulfillment of our treaty stipulations with Mexico. The principal deficiency is in cavalry, and I recommend that Congress should, at an early period as practicable, provide for the raising of one or more regiments of mounted men."

21. It is a well known fact to all who are acquainted with the organization of the U. S. Army, that there are now, or might be raised by the President, under existing laws, a larger body of soldiers, disposable for the protections of the Western frontiers, than those commanded by Major General Taylor when he captured Monterey, or when he beat back General Santa Anna and his grand army of Mexicans from Buena Vista, and even a body larger than the troops commanded by Major General Scott when he entered and captured the city of Mexico. The organization of the United States army under existing laws, as appears by reference to the official army register, exclusive of General staff, engineers, topographical engineers and ordnance department, embraces fifteen regiments, including in the aggregate 12,326 officers and men.

22. Why is this force inadequate for the protection of the Western frontier? The answer to this enquiry is obtained by recourse to the fact that the officers of the army are mostly comprised of *cadets* from the Military Academy at West Point, who are little enured to hardships and the fatigues attendant upon the performance of duty on the Western borders and who have penchants for and capacities to enjoy the snug quarters of the fortresses upon the Atlantic sea board rather than for the bivouac of the forest and the camp of the Prairie, while the rank and file are comprised of the most ignorant and debased of the foreign population emited from Europe and received into the ports of the Union upon the Atlantic sea board, who desert from the army so soon as arrived at the stations on the Western borders where they are required for duty; and any additional number of regiments added to the United States army, organized as those regiments now in the service, would leave the Western frontiers still undefended, and the army as it now is —but a skeleton force composed principally of officers.

23. As previously premised, a provision of law granting lands in small parcels from the public domain, free to actual settlers, would *result* in superseding the necessity of troops for the restraint of the irregularities of the Indians among the tribes, and to defend the settlements of the whites against their incursions. But, in the present emergency, corps of volunteers are the only troops which could be relied upon for the protection of the frontier settlements and for the preservation of order and peace among the Indian tribes.

24. Therefore, let Congress provide by law for raising three regiments of volunteer cavalry, to be accepted by companies, to serve for one year, and to be organized into regiments by the President of the United States and to be assigned for duty on the Nebraska, Rio Grande del Norte, and Gila and Columbia Rivers, and there to be employed in the construction of roads, as well as in the subjugation of the savages; and at the conclusion of their term of service, let the officers and men be invested with their military equipments and one hundred and sixty acres of the public lands, and be domiciled in the Territories in which they have performed military services and constructed roads; and let there be free grants of public lands, in small parcels, authorized by law to actual occupants, and no military establishment will the Government at Washington be thereafter required to keep in tact, to restrain the irregularities of the Indians, and prevent their incursion upon the whites.

25 The free grant of the public lands to actual settlers would not only effect the establishment of peace among the tribes of Indians, and afford a certain and reliable protection to the extremest settlements, but *the measure would result in producing the* civilization of the members of the Indian tribes. That the Indian race may be civilized, (but not while there are extensive forests in which to hunt, and vast Prairies to roam over,) has been demonstrated with the Stockbridge, Oneida, Onondaga, Tuscarora, and Senaca tribes, portions of whose members have remained in the State of New York, facing civilization and adopting all of its forms, manners and customs. But, the primary result of the measure would be the bringing into use and cultivation a vast extent of exceedingly fertile but now unproductive lands, affording plenty, comfort and happiness to millions of the citizens of this Union who are now suffering homeless and houseless blight and misery.

For the Democratic Review.

# LAND REFORM.

*Advantages of a free distribution of the Public lands of the United States for actual settlement and cultivation.*

BY THE JEFFERSON ASSOCIATION.

1. Exclusive of the unappropriated public lands lying within the States of the Union, the public domain of the United States is of great extent. The Northwestern Territory lying West of the Mississippi River, and bounded on the North by the parallel of the forty-ninth degree of North latitude, East by the Mississippi River, South by the State of Iowa and the Nebraska River, (or Platte,) and West by the Rocky Mountains, has been estimated to contain [illegible] square miles, or [illegible] acres of land. The Northwestern Territory lying East of the Mississippi River and West of the State of Wisconsin, and North of the parallel of the thirty-sixth degree and thirty minutes North latitude, has been estimated to contain 22,-336 square miles, or 14,295,040 acres of land.

2. The Indian Territory lying West of the States of Missouri and Arkansas, and bound North by the Nebraska River, and South by the parallel of the thirty-sixth degree and thirty minutes North latitude, has been estimated to contain 248,318 square miles, or [illegible] acres of land; and the same Territory lying South of the parallel of the thirty-sixth degree and thirty minutes of North latitude, has been estimated to contain 58,348 square miles, or 37,341,440 acres of land. A considerable portion of this Territory has been surrendered to the Indians. Total extent of the said Territory, 1,152,218 square miles, or 632,418,560 acres of land.

3. The Oregon Territory lying on the Pacific and bounded on the North by the parallel of the forty-ninth degree of North latitude, South by the parallel of the forty-second degree of North latitude, East by the Rocky Mountains, and West by the Pacific Ocean, has been estimated to contain 528,-484 square miles, or [illegible] acres of land. The State of California and the Territories of New Mexico and Utah, bounded on the North by the parallel of the forty-second degree of North latitude, East by the Northwestern and Nebraska Territories, South by the Gila River and by a line running from its mouth West to a point one marine league North from the Southernmost point of San Diego, and West by the Pacific Ocean, have been estimated to contain 526,-[illegible] square miles, or [illegible] acres of land. Total extent of new Territory, 1,032,342 square miles, or [illegible] acres of land.

4. The Territories of Texas, exclusive of Texas proper, and including the three divisions, viz: The country between the Nueces and the Rio Grande del Norte, and the Santa Fe country, North of the parallel of the thirty-sixth degree and thirty minutes North latitude, and the Santa Fe country South of the same parallel, which has been estimated at 325,520 square miles, or 208,-332,800 acres of land. Grand total of the public domain included in the several Territories, and in the State of California and Territories of Texas, 2,530,310 square miles, or 1,509,378,080 acres of land. But a very small portion of these vast Territories have either been occupied by settlers or surveyed and run out by the Government at Washington.

5. By these statistics, which claim to have been compiled from the most authentic sources, it is made to appear that there are, at this time, subject to occupation, in the Territories of the United States and the State of California, subject only to small deductions [illegible] five hundred and [illegible] millions, three hundred and [illegible] thousand [illegible] acres of land, [illegible] of the States of Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, Florida, Mississippi, and some others of the States of the Union, in which there are lands to which the Government title has not yet been extinguished.

6. The public lands in the Territories of the United States, comprising the vast domain of 2,530,310 square miles, or 1,509,-378,080 acres, allowing the [illegible] deduction for rivers, lakes, mountains, and deserts, would afford twelve millions of farms of one hundred acres each, which is quite a sufficiency for any family. Then the population of the United States may, at a rough estimate, be set down at 25,000,000, which would give about 5,000,000 families. Hence, it will be seen that each family might take from the public domain a farm of one hundred acres, and that there would be still remaining unappropriated seven millions of farms of the like quantity of land, sufficient for an additional population of 35,000,000.

7. The unappropriated public lands within the several States of the Union, will not fall much, if any, short of the extent in the Territories and California, giving a grand total of twenty-four million of farms of arable lands which are yet remaining unproductive, and which is sufficient for an increase of population to 120,000,000, granting to each man who should require it, a farm of one hundred acres of land. Let this land be allotted to settlers without fee, and no more sold to the monopolists, and the ordinary increase of population [illegible], and there shall remain unoccupied and unappropriated public lands for the seventh generation yet to come.

8. Over the vast public domain the Government of the United States now keeps watch, like a great mastiff, holding the lands against the wants of the people. The lands are given up to wild beasts and speculators, and monopolists, while there remain thousands, aye, millions of the American people who have neither shelter nor home, and who are without the means of subsistence, not through any lack of industry or virtue on their part, but because they have no land on which to exercise their industry; and because, for the want of land, labor itself becomes an object of barter, and by the operations of capital [illegible] the products of their labor go to increase the profits of the speculator. A free grant of appropriate parcels of land from the public domain to the landless, would not only put thousands in possession of homes, and in the way of acquiring the means of support, but it would [illegible] of industry to transform [illegible] the most fertile, though now unproductive lands, into an immeasurable [illegible] national wealth.

9. The free grant of the public lands to actual settlers, would leave no excuse for idleness. It would make labor honorable, as industry would no longer be confined to menials and [illegible], by offering homes and honorable employment to all, it would reduce the number of [illegible] moral delinquencies, and consequently the amount of taxes; and by bringing into immediate use millions of acres of the unproductive lands, it would greatly increase the means of support, and thereby reduce the cost of the support of life; and save thousands of the one sex from prostitution, while it would deliver a greater number of the other sex from the poor houses and prisons; and the measure would also enable those who now enjoy but little—and pay but little for the support of Government—to enjoy much, and to contribute much for the support of Government.

10. Allow the people to occupy each a parcel of the public domain, without exacting from them a tax of two hundred dollars in advance, and before any use or benefit has been had or received from the land, and those who will immediately occupy the Territory between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains, and that which lies between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, will soon cause a railway to belt the country between the Mississippi and the Pacific, without appropriations from the public treasury of the United States. The settlers would themselves build the railway, and requisite [illegible] and sectional roads, for their own convenience, and for the attainment of the [illegible] which the travel of strangers through [illegible], would bring for the products of their lands.

11. With a view to the preservation of peace among the Indian tribes of the Territories of the United States, and to protect the frontier settlements, the Government at Washington have employed almost the entire of the peace establishment of the army, together with a large additional force provided for by a law of the Thirtieth Congress. For the support of this military force, (posted as it is far beyond the section of country where supplies are produced,) the people are required to pay from eight to ten millions of dollars annually; and by the operation of the measure, twenty thousand men are continually released and kept from labor, while they are fed and clothed by the labor of others; and after having remained for years in a state of degradation and of moral depression, divisions of them are periodically discharged and sent back to the people of the States, to add to the sum of public disorders in the populous cities.

12. By a free grant of the public lands to actual settlers, the Government at Washington would be relieved from the necessity of keeping up a standing army for the preservation of peace among the Indian tribes, and for the protection of the frontier settlers; and [illegible] the people of the Union—the laboring people who shoulder it—the burthen of feeding and clothing, and paying twenty thousand men to keep watch upon a few thousand Indians, would be taken away, and society would be eased from the contagion of degraded and demoralized men, who are now, by discharges and desertions, being continually poured out from the army. The settlers, being granted free occupancy of the lands, would soon be found in sufficient numbers, in every Territory, and in every section of Territory and State, to preserve peace among the Indian tribes, as well as to protect themselves.

13. The gold found in the State of California has placed in the mining districts a population sufficient to protect itself against any aggressions of the Indians, as it is shown by the following account of a transaction near Sacramento mines, taken from a newspaper printed in California, and dated October, 1850:—

"The Indians having been guilty of many unprovoked outrages and murders, the whites formed a corps of riflemen for their common defense. While seven or eight of the company were out prospecting, they were suddenly attacked by a party of fifty or sixty of the natives, some of whom were armed with pistols, which had been imprudently sold them by the whites. The men stood their ground, and were soon reinforced by the commander, (Captain Sanger,) and some others who heard the firing and rushed to their aid. This little band stood their ground for three hours under a terribly hot sun and in a most disadvantageous position, till at last the Indians, disheartened by their slain, retreated. Captain Sanger was mortally wounded, and three others severely: the former was from Massachusetts, and the latter from Maine. Lieutenant Johns [illegible] the next day with the entire force, and completely broke up all the enemy's villages or camps, and entirely routed the scoundrels, so that no Government aid will be needed at present. He is quite sure that he heard either an Irish or a Scotch voice among the enemy, [illegible] some disgraced miser. The Maine and Massachusetts men were greatly exasperated by the attack upon their friends, and took fearful vengeance, and the deadly rifles of the Kentuckians and Missourians told with terrible effect."

14. The assumptions of the writer are also well sustained by the following extract from a report of an exploring expedition made along the Rio Grande del Norte, in 1850, by Capt. John Love of the first regiment of U. S. Dragoons:—

"Ringgold Barracks is the first military station on the Rio Grande del Norte above Fort Brown, and is garrisoned by two companies of the First Regiment of Infantry, under command of Major Lamotte. This is a depot from which are supplied Fort McIntosh, Fort Duncan, the Texas Rangers, and other mounted troops stationed temporarily in the vicinity of these posts. All the supplies for this depot are transported from Fort Brown, at present by the [illegible] steamer Corvette. The next military post on the Rio Grande del Norte is Fort McIntosh, situated near the old town of Laredo, and is garrisoned by two companies of the First Regiment of Infantry, under the command of Captain Burbank.

15. "Between Ringgold Barracks and Fort McIntosh are several towns, [illegible] Mier, three miles from its junction with the Rio Grande del Norte, has a population of about two thousand; Rio Grande City [illegible] one mile above Ringgold Barracks; Roma, a new town on the Texas side, has a population of about five hundred, among whom are several enterprising merchants, who carry on considerable trade with the neighboring Mexican States; Mier, situated two miles from the Rio Grande del Norte, on the river Alcantro, with a population of about two thousand; Guerrero, six miles from the Rio Grande del Norte, on the Salado, with a population of about four thousand.

16. "The soil on both sides of the Rio Grande del Norte, between Ringgold Barracks and Fort McIntosh, is very fertile, and under cultivation. The principal products are corn, beans, melons, &c. Some tobacco, planted this year for the first time, looks well. Ebony, willow, mesquit, and [illegible] grow along its banks. The pasturage is excellent, supporting immense flocks of sheep and goats, and vast herds of cattle. Large droves of wild horses and cattle are seen in every direction. Game is very abundant. There are large mines of bituminous coal near Guerrero. The distance between the two points, Ringgold Barracks and Fort McIntosh, is one hundred and [illegible] by land, and two hundred [illegible] by the river. The next military post [illegible] near Eagle Pass [illegible] companies of the First Regiment of Infantry, under the command of [illegible] about one hundred [illegible] two hundred and thirty [illegible] Fort McIntosh. The [illegible] between Forts McIntosh and Duncan [illegible] situated six miles [illegible] del Norte, opposite [illegible] Rio Grande del Norte [illegible] miles from Fort Duncan. [illegible] thousand inhabitants, and has a garrison of two hundred men.

17. "A little town is springing up just below Fort Duncan, which will probably become one of considerable commercial importance, as it is near that point where the roads from Monclova, Parras, [illegible], Santa Rosa, San Fernando, Nava, Presidio, &c., strike the Rio Grande del Norte. The soil between Fort McIntosh and Fort Duncan is excellent, but, in consequence of the frequent incursions of the Indians, not a single portion is under cultivation. The farmers turn their attention, on a grand scale, to the raising of sheep and goats—animals which the Indians never steal. Wild horses and game are abundant. Timber the same as below Fort McIntosh, with the addition of pecan. There are two remarkable mines of bituminous coal of superior quality on the Texas side of the river—specimens of which, brought down by Captain Love, have been tested. There are several rich silver mines on the Mexican side, some fifty or fifty miles back from Presidio de Rio Grande del Norte, which were worked to advantage by the Spaniards before their expulsion, in 1829, even after paying a handsome percentage of the nett proceeds to the Mexican Government and the owners of the land.—Nothing prevents their being worked now but the want of capital, and, perhaps, energy.

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"Texas and New Mexico are surrounded by tribes of Indians, who are a source of constant terror and annoyance to the inhabitants. Separating into small predatory bands, and always mounted, they overrun the country, devastating farms, destroying crops, driving off whole herds of cattle, and occasionally murdering the inhabitants, or carrying them into captivity.

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21. It is a well known fact to all who are acquainted with the organization of the U. S. Army, that there are now, or might be raised by the President, under existing laws, a larger body of soldiers, disposable for the protection of the Western frontiers, than those commanded by Major General Taylor, when he captured Monterey, or when he beat back General Santa Anna and his grand army of Mexicans at Buena Vista, and even a body larger than the troops commanded by Major General Scott when he entered and captured the city of Mexico. The organization of the United States army under existing laws, as appears by reference to the official army register, exclusive of General staff, engineers, topographical engineers and ordnance department, embraces fifteen regiments, including in the aggregate 12,316 officers and men.

22. Why is this force inadequate for the protection of the Western frontier? The answer to this enquiry is obtained by reference to the fact that the officers of the army are mostly comprised of cadets from the Military Academy at West Point, who are little inured to hardships and the fatigues attendant upon the performance of duty on the Western borders and who have penchants for and capacities to enjoy the snug quarters of the fortresses upon the Atlantic sea board rather than for the bivouac of the forest and the camp of the Prairie, while the rank and file are comprised of the most ignorant and debased of the foreign population imported from Europe and received into the ports of the U. States upon the Atlantic sea board, who desert from the army as soon as arrived at the stations on the Western borders, where they are required for duty; and any additional number of regiments added to the United States army, organized as those regiments now in the service, would leave the Western frontiers still unattended, and the army as it now is—but a skeleton force composed principally of officers.

23. As previously premised, a provision of law granting lands in small parcels from the public domain, free to actual settlers, would result in [illegible] in the necessity of troops for the restraint of the irregularities of the Indians upon the [illegible], and to defend the settlements of the whites against their incursions. But, in the present emergency, corps of volunteers are the only troops which could be relied upon for the protection of the frontier settlements and for the preservation of order and peace among the Indian tribes.

24. Therefore, let Congress provide by law for raising three regiments of volunteer cavalry, to be accepted by companies, to serve for one year, and to be organized into regiments by the President of the United States and to be assigned for duty on the Nebraska, Rio Grande del Norte, and Gila and Columbia Rivers, and there to be employed in the construction of roads, as well as in the subjugation of the savages; and at the conclusion of their term of service, let the officers and men be invested with their military equipments and one hundred and sixty acres of the public lands, and be domiciled in the Territories in which they have performed military services and constructed roads; and let there be free grants of public lands, in small parcels, authorized by law to actual occupants, and no military establishment will the Government at Washington be thereafter required to keep in [illegible], to restrain the irregularities of the Indians, and prevent their incursion upon the whites.

25. The free grant of the public lands to actual settlers would not only effect the establishment of peace among the tribes of Indians, and afford a certain and reliable protection to the extremest settlements; but the measure would result in [illegible] civilization of the members of many Indian tribes. That the Indian race may be civilized, (but not while there are extensive forests in which to hunt, and vast Prairies to roam over,) has been demonstrated with the Stockbridge, Oneida, Onondaga, Tuscarora, and Seneca tribes, portions of whose members have remained in the State of New York, [illegible] civilization and adopting all of its forms, manners and customs. But, the primary result of the measure would be the bringing into use and cultivation a vast extent of exceedingly fertile but now unproductive lands, affording plenty, comfort and happiness to millions of the citizens of the Union who are now suffering homeless and houseless blight and misery.

Woodville Miss March 15th 1852

Hon. S. A Douglas Dear Sir

Some year or two since I wrote you a letter to which at the time you were kind enough to reply this however you have most likely forgotten. In that I stated I was a native of Illinois residing temporarily in this State I am now most likely a permanent resident here

The object of this communication is briefly told. Strongly attached to my native State I can but feel a deep interest in the success of any of her sons. Your course therefore in public life I have long watched with the greatest pleasure & what I may say you can perhaps excuse, Although a stranger to you personally I feel that you are far from being a stranger to me Your name here in this community & may say in the whole State & in Louisiana is every day becoming more familiarly associated with the next Presidential campaign & all men here are talking of S. A Douglas the little giant & so on. Now to come to the point I am residing in the family of Col. Geo H Gordon

a lawyer of eminence and politician of high standing in the State, he is my law preceptor and what is more to the purpose, he is a delegate to the Baltimore convention & my object is to secure his vote for the favorite son of my native State Illinois & this I think can be done. He is personally in favor of yourself but rather thinks the majority of the State favor Buchanan & tells me he rather expects on that account to vote for him on the first ballot after that if as he expects Cass & Buchanan lean somewhat in the rear he will vote for you. I think it will be no hard matter to secure his vote for you from the first & thought I would propose a plan for his making your acquaintance. He ~~rather~~ expects to leave here the 1st of May when he will visit Washington City & mingle with the celebrities awhile before the convention meets; & if you do not object I thought (as he thinks I know you personally) I would furnish him with a letter of introduction & leave you thus to manage matters yourself.

If this meets with your approbation please address me at your earliest convenience, if not, burn this & forgive one whose zeal you may think has run away with his discretion for I acknowledge I am somewhat anxious about the matter

One thing more I do hope you will not suspect me of any interested motive, for of all contemptible habits I despise that of holding on to the skirts of great men, for a gain I detest most of all — — I have occasionally taken the stump in favor of Democratic principles & expect to do so again, so much of myself.

Gordon is a State rights man of the deepest dye

Once more begging your pardon for what I fear you will deem at least my impertinence

I remain Yours very truly

Woodville Mississippi } H S Van Eaton

H. S. Van Eaton
Woodville
Miss

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New York March 15. 1852

My dear Judge.

Yours of the 11th did not reach me until this morning. You mistake the tone of Cobb's remarks if you suppose that he considered your Jackson Hall speech an "attack on him" - he considered it an attack on the Union party of Georgia and that you had by that speech got out of the good graces of the Union men - that is all. However your talk with him will do much good and I am not sorry that you attach sufficient importance to the matter to put it right - We

stated here again and again, that you had the inside track in the approaching race and that he had the highest personal esteem for you — that you were old friends &c. but that Jackson Hall Speech would always, so to speak — "Stick out" —

One thing, however, is certain he was rec^d and entertained handsomely by your friends — not one of the past generation called on him — he is a fine — glorious fellow and I hope and pray he will have Wash^n a Douglas man — for we should have him.

Did you receive the Cigars?

Always Yours

Edw^d C West.

Edwd. C. West
New York

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