

## Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals

Compiled by LOUISE BARRY

PART FOUR, 1819-1825

1819

¶ The treaty negotiated between Spain and the United States on February 22 defined the western limits of the nation. (Also, the United States gave up claim to what is now Texas, while Spain ceded Florida, and her right to the Oregon country.) The agreed-upon boundary ran up the Sabine river to the 94th meridian; north on its line to the Red river; westwardly upstream to the 100th meridian, north on its line to the Arkansas; up that river west to the Rocky mountains and the 106th meridian; then north to the 42d parallel; and west on its line to the Pacific ocean.

[U. S. Surveyor Joseph C. Brown, while marking the Santa Fe road in the summer of 1825, made the first calculation of the 100th meridian's position, but his measurements were inexact because the longitude assigned to Fort Osage—the beginning point of his task—was incorrect. (Brown was, apparently, about 10 miles west of "the Caches"—famed Santa Fe trail landmark, see 1822-1823—when, by his reckoning, he reached the 100th meridian. "The Caches" were about five miles west of present Dodge City; and Dodge City is on the 100th meridian. Brown, then, calculated the 100th degree of longitude to be about 15 miles west of its actual location.) Army engineers later corrected all points on Brown's survey from Fort Osage to about the 102d meridian, by the "addition of 23 minutes of longitude."]

Ref: Kansas State Historical Society's *Eighteenth Biennial Report* (Topeka, 1915), p. 121 (for Brown's field notes); 33d Cong., 2d Sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 78, v. 11 (Serial 768), p. 101 (Lt. G. K. Warren's statement); Kate L. Gregg, ed., *The Road to Santa Fe* . . . (Albuquerque, c1932), pp. 78, 79 (for G. C. Sibley's comment on Brown's work).

¶ On March 2 the act creating the Territory of Arkansas was signed by President Monroe. (Arkansas Post was the seat of government in 1819-1820, but in 1821 newly-founded Little Rock became the capital. By 1820 the population, exclusive of Indians, was over 14,000.)

Ref: D. T. Herndon's *The Highlights of Arkansas History* (c1922), pp. 27, 28, 30, 39.

¶ *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory during the Year 1819*, by Thomas Nuttall, published at Philadelphia in 1821, was one of the early-printed works of a traveler in the Arkansas-Oklahoma region.

Early in 1819 Nuttall, a botanist and ornithologist, ascended the Arkansas

LOUISE BARRY is a member of the staff of the Kansas State Historical Society.

river to Fort Smith (Ark.). From that post he journeyed overland to the Kiamichi-Red river country (in southeastern Oklahoma of today), and back, between May 16 and June 21. In July he continued up the Arkansas to the trading houses of "Mr. [Joseph] Bougie and Mr. Prior [Nathaniel Pryor]" near the mouth of the Verdigris. There he met and talked with Osage Indians, and made excursions in present east-central Oklahoma—including a canoe trip up the Grand river to the Osage salt works; and a hazardous overland trip (impeded by a malaria-type illness) to, and back from, the Cimarron river between August 11 and September 15. After recuperating at Fort Smith till mid-October, he went down-river to New Orleans.

Ref: Nuttall's *Journal* (as noted above); also published as Volume 13 in R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels* (Cleveland, 1904-1906). Nuttall had ascended the Missouri river with Wilson P. Hunt eight years earlier. See 1811. Under 1834 his journey with N. J. Wyeth's second expedition will be noted.

¶ The *Independence*, first steamboat to ascend the Missouri, arrived at Franklin (about 200 miles above St. Louis) on May 28, after seven "sailing days," but 13 en route; and continued 30 miles higher, to Chariton (Mo.) before turning back. The event was celebrated by citizens of the river settlements and at Franklin cannon salutes were fired. On June 5 the Missouri's pioneer steamboat returned to St. Louis, without mishap, after a 21-day absence.

Ref: St. Louis (Mo.) *Enquirer*, May 19 and June 9, 1819; *Missouri Gazette*, St. Louis, June 9, 1819; *Kansas Historical Collections (KHC)*, v. 9, p. 277.

¶ On June 9 the *Western Engineer* (a 75-foot, light-draught, stern-wheel steamboat, designed for use on the Missouri) arrived at St. Louis after a 35-day journey from Pittsburgh, Pa. On board were Maj. Stephen H. Long and the scientific members of the "Yellowstone expedition."

The *Western Engineer* started up the Missouri on June 22; took aboard Indian Agent Benjamin O'Fallon and his interpreter, John Dougherty, at St. Charles on the 27th; reached Franklin on July 13 (where Thomas Say and other scientists left the boat to travel by land to Fort Osage); continued upstream past Chariton (beyond which no steamboat had been); and arrived August 1 at Fort Osage, without serious difficulties or delays.

At the fort were Col. Talbot Chambers and 260 U. S. riflemen (recently arrived in five keelboats) awaiting supplies before continuing upstream; and Say's overland party (which had been there a week).

Ref: Thwaites, op. cit., v. 14, pp. 10-12; *Nebraska Historical Society Publications*, Lincoln, v. 20, pp. 18-28. Chambers and the riflemen had left St. Louis on June 14—See *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, Bismarck, v. 5, p. 226.

¶ About July 1 (lacking provisions, and with game scarce in the Cantonment Martin area) Lt. Col. Willoughby Morgan sent Captain Martin's riflemen upriver and Captain Magee's company down-

stream, to hunt and subsist as best they could off the land. Captain Riley's troops and "the music" remained at Cow Island. On Independence Day Morgan wrote Gen. T. A. Smith:

I salute you on the 4th of July. Our colours are flying; and [Capt. Bennet] Riley is preparing something to eat— We shall have a pig with savory tarts to grace the table.

On the 27th Morgan reported that his command was strung out for nearly 100 miles along the Missouri, with Capt. Wyly Martin's company 60 to 70 miles upstream, where Martin "is in just such a paradise as he wants. . . . He kills sometimes twenty deer a day besides bear. Besides he floats in honey."

Ref: *Kansas Historical Quarterly* (KHQ), v. 8, p. 118; "Napton Collection" (in Society's manuscript division).

¶ A "Yellowstone expedition" flotilla (three steamboats and several keelboats) carrying the Sixth U. S. infantry and supplies, left the St. Louis area early in July to go up the Missouri.

The steam craft experienced various difficulties and breakdowns. Below the Osage junction the *Thomas Jefferson* foundered (and became the first steamboat wreck on the Missouri); the *R. M. Johnson* (plagued with engine trouble) got no higher than a little below the mouth of the Kansas by mid-September; and had to remain over-winter. (See, 1819-1820 entry.) Only the expedition managed to carry supplies as far as Cantonment Martin; and she was more than 50 days en route. The Sixth infantry made most of the journey in keelboats, which were sent on in advance of the wayward steamboats.

Ref: "Napton Collection," loc. cit.; KHQ, v. 9, pp. 277, 278, 302, 309, 311; *St. Louis (Mo.) Enquirer*, July 21-October 30, 1819, issues; *Nebraska Historical Society Publications*, v. 20, pp. 23-30; Jacob H. Holt's "Narrative" (1874), as quoted in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, October 27, 1939 (or, see "Kansas City, Missouri, History Clippings," v. 5, pp. 82-84, in KHQ); *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, v. 5, pp. 224-226.

¶ On August 6 a company of 13 persons left Fort Osage for an over-land journey. As stated in the account of Maj. Stephen H. Long's expedition:

. . . to extend our examination between Fort Osage and the Konzas river, also between that river and the Platte, a party was detached from the steamboat [Western Engineer], with instructions to cross the Konzas at the Konza village; thence to traverse the country by the nearest route to the Platte, and to descend that river to the Missouri. The party consisted of Mr. [Thomas] Say [a zoologist], to whom the command was intrusted; Messrs. [Augustus E.] Jessup [a geologist], [Titian R.] Peale [a naturalist] and [Samuel] Seymour [landscape artist], Cadet [William H.] Swift, [John] Dougherty [interpreter and guide], and five soldiers. They were furnished with three pack-horses, and a supply of provisions for ten days. . . . they [were] accompanied by Maj. [Thomas] Biddle and his servant. . . .

Say and his companions crossed Johnson, Douglas, and Shawnee counties of today, and were, perhaps, near present Lecompton on

August 13 when they came down from higher land to make their first camp on the Kansas river (south side). Two days earlier they had reached "some elevated ridges" from which they could "trace the whole course" of what they took to be Wahrengeho, or Full creek [the Mill creek of today], but which was, instead, the Warrerusa [Wakarusa].

They had already coped with blowflies, rattlesnakes, high and coarse prairie grasses (which slowed their progress; wore out their clothing and moccasins), "excessive" heat, exposure, and fatigue. Dysentery and shortage of food were other problems as they traveled up the river valley. After searching on both sides of the Kansas they eventually located a trail leading up the north side. On the 19th they came to the Vermillion [in present Pottawatomie county], where, no other game being available, they "dined on the flesh of a black wolf."

Next day, they approached the 120-lodge Kansa village [two miles east of present Manhattan]. The chiefs and warriors "came rushing out on horseback, painted and decorated, and followed by great numbers on foot." After being escorted to a lodge, Say and his companions took part in a pipe-smoking ceremony and a talk; then feasted (on jerked buffalo meat and boiled corn) as guests of Ka-he-ga-wa-ta-ning-ga (Fool, or Little Chief), and other leaders. (Some 150 Kansa men afterwards left for Isle au Vache to council with Agent O'Fallon.)

During the four-day visit in the town, Thomas Say collected valuable data about the Kansa—their way of life, dress, customs, beliefs, etc. Leaving on the afternoon of August 24, the Say party traveled seven miles up the "Blue Earth" [Big Blue] river and camped beside a stream [McIntyre? creek] in present Pottawatomie county. A short time later about 140 mounted Pawnee Republic Indians descended on them, drove off the pack-horses, plundered their baggage and provisions, then departed leaving the white men humiliated but unharmed.

In the morning they retraced their way to the Kansa village. That evening the hospital Indians performed a "dog dance" to entertain them—a scene that artist Samuel Seymour portrayed in a sketch (which, as an illustration in the atlas volume [dated 1822] accompanying Edwin James' account of Long's expedition published in 1823, was, apparently, the first ever printed relating to what is now Kansas).

Abandoning the journey to the Platte, Say and his companions, on August 26, set out northeastwardly for Isle au Vache. They had



the aid and guidance of "Mr. Gunville" [Gonville], a French trader living with the Kansa. Arriving at Cantonment Martin, on August 29, they learned that the *Western Engineer* had left several days earlier. All the party (except Say and Jessup who were ill), continued northward overland to the mouth of Wolf river [in present Doniphan county], where, on September 1, they caught up with the steamboat.

Ref: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 14, pp. 181-211; *KHC*, v. 1-2, pp. 290-297. Samuel Seymour's sketch of the Kansa "dog dance" has been reproduced as the frontpiece in *KHC*, v. 1-2, and in *KHQ*, v. 15, facing p. 338 (cover of November, 1947, issue). The trader was probably Louis Gonville, though his brother Baptiste also lived among the Indians. See 37th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 58* (Serial 1122). An account (by Major Biddle?) of this journey appeared in the *Analectic Magazine*, Philadelphia, 1820, pp. 503-519.

¶ Between August 10 and 18 the *Western Engineer* steamed up the Missouri from Fort Osage to Cantonment Martin; with a brief excursion of about a mile up the Kansas river (and an overnight stay opposite its mouth) on August 12. This first steamboat on the upper Missouri, and on the Kansas, was an extraordinary-looking craft—calculated to impress the Indians. As one observer described her:

The bow of this vessel exhibits the form of a huge serpent, black and scaly, rising out of the water from under the boat, his head as high as the deck, darted forward, his mouth open, vomiting smoke, and apparently carrying the boat on his back. From under the boat, at its stern, issues a stream of foaming water, dashing violently along. All the machinery is hid. . . . to the eye of ignorance, the illusion is complete, that a monster of the deep carries her on his back, smoking with fatigue, and lashing the waves with violent exertion.

. . . Objects pleasing and terrifying are at once before . . . [the savage]:—artillery [three small brass field pieces, mounted on wheel carriages on the deck]; the flag of the republic; portraits of a white man and an Indian shaking hands; the calumet of peace; a sword [these last three were on a banner prepared by artist Samuel Seymour]; then the apparent monster with a painted vessel on his back, the sides gaping with port-holes, and bristling with guns. . . .

Ref: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 14, pp. 12, 172-175, *KHC*, v. 1-2, pp. 282, 283; St. Louis (Mo.) *Enquirer*, June 19, 1819, or *Niles' Weekly Register*, Philadelphia, v. 16 (July 24, 1819), p. 368 (for quote); *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, v. 5, p. 228.

¶ Near Cantonment Martin, on August 24, at a ceremonial meeting (preceded by the firing of a few rockets and shells from aboard the *Western Engineer*), about 150 Kansa chiefs and head men (and 11 Osage warriors) counceled with Indian Agent Benjamin O'Fallon, in the presence of military officers and a few civilians.

Runners had been sent to the Kansa to summon them for a council on Isle au Vache after O'Fallon learned, while at Fort Osage, that the "impudent Kansas" had "repeatedly plundered and insulted our traders and finally our Troops. . . ."

The "most distinguished" Indians who made the 90-mile journey

from the Big Blue-Kansas junction were: Na-he-da-ba (Long Neck), one of the principal chiefs; Ka-he-ga-wa-ta-ning-ga (Little Chief), second in rank; Shon-ga-ne-ga (formerly principal chief); Wa-ha-che-ra (Big Knife), a leader of war parties; and Wom-pa-wa-ra (White Plume), a man "rising rapidly in importance."

Of the council, Agent O'Fallon commented:

A proper and I doubt not, a lasting understanding was effected—They made the fairest promises—I believe they are about to Change—This nation is at war with most of their neighbouring Tribes of red Skins, which has produced much distress upon them, within the last two or three years—They begged me to aid them is giving peace to their Nation. . . .

Many of the Kansa, still at Isle au Vache the day following the meeting, watched the departure of the *Western Engineer* upriver. They "manifested some surprise at witnessing the operations of the steamboat."

Ref: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 14, pp. 176-178; KHC, v. 1-2, pp. 283, 284; *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 15, p. 562 (for O'Fallon quote).

¶ The *Expedition* (second steamboat on the Missouri's upper waters) arrived at Cantonment Martin on August 27 or 28; followed by troop-and-supply-loaded keelboats under command of Col. Talbot Chambers; and soon after by Col. Henry Atkinson, head of the Sixth U. S. infantry.

Cantonment Martin was virtually abandoned early in September when the Sixth infantry and rifle troops started upriver on the 5th and 6th in keelboats. A trader who stopped at Isle au Vache on the 14th reported only a subaltern and 30 men remained—awaiting the arrival of a boat to take the last of the *Expedition's* cargo. (The steamboat, empty, remained at Cow Island till the ice in the Missouri broke up in the spring of 1820.)

Ref: St. Louis (Mo.) *Enquirer*, September 29, October 30, and November 27, 1819; *Nebraska Historical Society Publications*, v. 20, pp. 28, 29; "Napton Collection," *loc. cit.*; Jacob H. Holt's "Narrative," in the *Kansas City, (Mo.) Times*, October 27, 1949 (or, see "Kansas City, Missouri History Clippings," v. 5, pp. 82-84, in KHI); *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, v. 5, p. 232.

¶ On September 17 the *Western Engineer* was anchored for the winter a little above the Missouri Fur Company post Fort Lisa [on the Missouri's right bank a few miles above present Omaha, Neb.].

(She had left Cantonment Martin on August 25 with Major Long's party aboard, escorted by the keelboat *General Smith* carrying Lt. Gabriel Field and 15 men. Camp on the 25th was at the mouth of Independence creek [Atchison county]. On September 1, at the mouth of Wolf river [in present Doniphan county], members of Say's overland party caught up with, and reboarded the steamboat.)

From mid-September, 1819, to June, 1820, "Engineer Cantonment" (some cabins on the Missouri's right bank—in the southeast corner of present Washington county, Neb.) was headquarters for most of the *Western Engineer's* passengers. Major Long, however, returned East for the winter.

Ref: Thwaites, op. cit., v. 14, pp. 221, 229, 230, 248; KHC, v. 1-2, p. 284.

¶ About September 18 a Kansa peace delegation—Chief He-roch-che (the Real War Eagle), and five warriors—escorted by John Dougherty (acting for Agent O'Fallon), made a hurried journey from "Engineer Cantonment" (Neb.) to the Platte river village of the Otoes, Missouris, and Iowas. (The six Kansa had arrived in the Fort Lisa area a day in advance of the *Western Engineer*, eager to achieve a peace with their enemies, but apprehensive of being killed before reaching their destination.) On the 19th(?) the Indians counceled, smoked the peace pipe, and ended a five-year war—the latest of many conflicts between these long-hostile tribes.

Ref: Thwaites, op. cit., v. 15, pp. 99-106.

¶ On October 4 at "Engineer Cantonment" Agent Benjamin O'Fallon held a council with about 100 Otoes, 70 Missouris, and 50 to 60 Iowas. On the 10th, at the same place, he counceled with some 70 Pawnees of the Grand, Loup, and Republican bands. (The last-named restored much of the property taken from the Say party in August near the Kansa village.)

Ref: *Ibid.*, v. 14, pp. 236-239, 244-247, v. 15, pp. 99-106.

¶ Early in October, some distance above the place called by Lewis and Clark "the Council Bluffs" [in present Washington co., Neb.] "Camp Missouri" was established by Col. Henry Atkinson and his troops (the Sixth infantry, and U. S. rifle corps—totaling over 1,100 men) who had arrived at the Bluffs in keelboats on September 29.

Atkinson (and Col. Talbot Chambers of the rifle regiment) started for St. Louis on November 3, leaving Lt. Col. Willoughby Morgan in command for the winter. After some of the barracks were completed in November, the post became officially Cantonment Missouri. [It was perhaps as much as eight miles above "Engineer Cantonment."]

Ref: *Nebraska History*, Lincoln, v. 37, pp. 121-133, 161, v. 38, pp. 229-236; "Napton Collection," loc. cit.; St. Louis (Mo.) *Enquirer*, October 30, and November 27, 1819; *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, v. 5, p. 228.

¶ These comments on activities of the "2000 warriors" of the Pawnee bands were in a letter written at the Council Bluffs (Neb.) on October 9:

. . . The frontiers of New Mexico, separated by some days' ride over open plains, presents them with constant objects of plunder. A month since

a war party returned from one of their excursions in that direction, bringing off about two hundred head of horses and mules, chiefly the latter. They had also killed three Spaniards. They have immense numbers of horses and mules. From four to six thousand may be seen at one view, covering the plains about their villages, all taken from the confines of Mexico.

Ref: St. Louis (Mo.) *Enquirer*, October 30, 1819.

¶ In a report on the Missouri river fur trade, Maj. Thomas Biddle wrote, on October 29 from "Camp Missouri":

Seres [Gabriel S.] and Francis [G.] Chouteau trade with the Kansas and Osage nations. They have a trading-house not far from the mouth of of the river Kansas, and their capital is about \$4,000.

These Chouteau cousins had begun trading with the Kansa, Osages, and Pawnees at least three years earlier (*see* 1816). On November 5, 1818, George C. Sibley wrote from Fort Osage (to William Clark): "A drove of pack horses passed this way a few days ago, on their way up the Kansas River. From whence I am told they are to carry goods to trade with the little Osages, they were ownd (or Controlled) by Sara [Seres] Chouteau I am informed." Apparently, then, Seres and Francis Chouteau's trading-house referred to above, was started a little later. Known as the "Four Houses" ("four log houses so arranged as to inclose a square court equal in size to the width of one of the houses"), it was the earliest trading house of record on the Kansas river; and (so far as known) the first 19th century fur depot in present Kansas. It was probably in use till about 1828. After the flood of 1826 destroyed the Chouteaus' Randolph Bluffs post on the Missouri (*see* 1821-1822), it is said Francis Chouteau took his family to the "Four Houses."

There seems to be no contemporaneous "evidence" on the location of the "Four Houses." Some writers have stated that the post was about twenty miles up the Kansas; that it was near, or on land within present Bonner Springs. A manuscript McCoy map of the 1830's (in KHI ms. division) contains the only tangible clue to the real(?) site. On it, at the mouth of the small stream—now Cedar creek—which enters the Kansas some two and a half miles east of present De Soto, Johnson county, is written "4 Houses." By land this is about 20 miles from the mouth of the Kansas, and on the south side of the river.

Ref: *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, v. 2, p. 202 (for Biddle); W. H. Miller's *The History of Kansas City* (1881), pp. 9, 10 ("Four Houses" description on p. 9); KHC, v. 8, p. 425, v. 9, p. 574; Superintendent of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, records in KHI, v. 2, p. 136 (for Sibley letter quotation); G. W. Harrington's *Historic Spots . . . of Wyandotte County* (1935), pp. 11, 12 (sums up material from various histories on the Bonner Springs "site"). *See*, under 1744, for an 18th century (French) fur post.

## 1819-1820

¶ Aboard the *R. M. Johnson* (anchored a little below the mouth of the Kansas with a broken piston head), a small crew remained throughout the winter. Jacob H. Holt (17-year-old cabin boy) later recalled they suffered severely for bread and salt, "living entirely on venison, turkey and honey, and a little corn . . . pounded in a mortar . . ." cooked as best they could.

Before Christmas, 1819, the Missouri was frozen over; and the break up of the ice did not begin till near the end of March, 1820. On March 1 snow stood "two feet deep in the timbered bottom below the mouth of the Kansas river." Earlier, visiting Indians (bound for Fort Osage with furs) had reported snow "very deep up the Kansas."

Early in April, the repaired *Johnson*, and the *Expedition* (from Cow Island), descended the Missouri.

Ref: Jacob H. Holt's "Narrative," as quoted in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Times*, October 27, 1940 (or, see "Kansas City, Missouri History Clippings," v. 5, pp. 82-84, in KHi); *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, v. 5, p. 232.

## 1820

¶ Indian Agent Benjamin O'Fallon, accompanied by John Dougherty, Thomas Say, Capt. Bennet Riley, three other officers, and a detachment of U. S. riflemen, left the Council Bluffs on April 20 for a trip to the Pawnee villages on the Loup Fork (and returned to "Engineer Cantonment" on May 6).

The Grand Pawnee chief, Long Hair, was at first uncivil, but "meeting a decisive tone" changed his conduct and gave O'Fallon's party a hospitable reception. The Pawnee Loups treated them "with all honor and distinction imaginable." Also very friendly were the Republican Pawnees who expressed "the greatest contrition" for robbing Say's expedition the previous autumn. It was reported that the Pawnees:

. . . lately had an engagement on the confines of Mexico with the Tetans [Tetans—Comanches] and Spaniards, and lost ninety-three warriors, killed or wounded.

Ref: Thwaites, op. cit., v. 15, pp. 140-165; *St. Louis (Mo.) Enquirer*, July 5, 1820.

¶ In June the "beautiful steamboat" *Western Engineer*, with Lt. James D. Graham in charge, descended the Missouri from "Engineer Cantonment," arriving at St. Louis (in four days running time) just over a year from the time she began her upriver journey.

Ref: Thwaites, op. cit., v. 15, p. 190; *The Missourian*, St. Charles, Mo., June 24, 1820; *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, v. 5, p. 232.

¶ Maj. Stephen H. Long's expedition (20 mounted men, with pack

animals) left "Engineer Cantonment" on June 6, headed toward the Rocky mountains.

Long had returned to the Council Bluffs on May 28, accompanied overland from St. Louis by Capt. John R. Bell and Dr. Edwin James (botanist, geologist, and surgeon) who were to join his expedition—which, under amended orders, was to explore up the Platte to its source and return East by way of the Arkansas and Red rivers.

In mid-June at the Pawnee villages on the Loup Fork, two Frenchmen (an interpreter-guide, and a hunter) were added to the party. There were 22 men, 34 horses and mules, and two dogs in the expedition as it continued up the Platte, and then up the south fork to the mountains.

Long and his men first saw the Rockies on June 30. By July 5 they were on the site of present Denver, Colo. On July 13, Dr. Edwin James, Zachariah Wilson, and Pvt. Joseph Verplank began the ascent of Pike's Peak (called "James's Peak" by Long), reaching the summit on the afternoon of the 14th—the first white men known to accomplish the feat. Moving southwest Long's expedition came to the Arkansas; ascended it as far as the Royal Gorge; then started downstream on July 19. Arriving on the 21st at a good ford of the river [present Rocky Ford?, Colo.], Long divided his force, sending Captain Bell with 11 men on down the Arkansas (see fourth entry following).

Long, with nine men, crossed the Arkansas and traveled almost due south to the Canadian. Mistaking it for the Red river, his party descended to the junction with the Arkansas [in present east-central Oklahoma] before discovering the error; then continued down the latter river to Fort Smith, arriving on September 13, a few days after Bell's detachment.

*An Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, compiled by Edwin James from the notes of Long, Say, and others in the party was published at Philadelphia in 1823. Neither Maj. Stephen H. Long or Dr. Edwin James crossed what is now Kansas, but their disparaging words affected pre-Kansas history by fostering the theory that most of the vast region between the Missouri and the Rockies was, as Long's map labeled it, a "Great American Desert."

Major Long's summary opinion of the trans-Missouri country was:

" . . . that it is almost wholly unfit for cultivation, and of course uninhabitable by a people depending upon agriculture for their subsistence. Although tracts of fertile land considerably extensive are occasionally to be met with, yet the scarcity of wood and water, almost uniformly prevalent, will prove an insuperable obstacle in the way of settling the country. . . . This region, however, . . . may prove of infinite importance to the United States, inasmuch as it is calculated to serve as a barrier to prevent too great an

extension of our population westward, and secure us against the machinations or incursions of an enemy. . . ."

Edwin James made even harsher comment:

"We have little apprehension of giving too unfavourable an account of this portion of the country. Though the soil is in some places fertile, the want of timber, of navigable streams, and of water for the necessities of life, render it an unfit residence for any but a nomad population. The traveller who shall at any time have traversed its desolate sands, will, we think, join us in the wish that this region may forever remain the unmolested haunt of the native hunter, the bison, and the jackall."

Ref.: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 14, pp. 13-15, 20, 147, 148, v. 15, pp. 188-315, v. 16, pp. 11-63, v. 17, pp. 147-149, 257, 258; H. M. Fuller and L. R. Hafen, eds., *The Journal of Captain John R. Bell* (Glendale, Calif., 1957), pp. 81-183.

¶ Around mid-June the Missouri rose "much higher than it was ever known before." Low-lying Cantonment Missouri was inundated. Col. Henry Atkinson, who had returned to the Council Bluffs on June 14 to reassume command, wrote on the 19th:

. . . We have pitched our Camp on the Bluff, and are engaged in bringing up the materials of the Cantonment to rebuild.

On the new site [about a mile southeast of present Fort Calhoun, Neb., and 16 miles above Omaha] more permanent quarters were built; and on October 15 the post was officially designated Cantonment Council Bluffs. In January, 1821, the name was changed to Fort Atkinson.

(Fort Atkinson was abandoned in June, 1827, following the establishment of Cantonment Leavenworth.)

Ref.: "Napton Collection," *loc. cit.*; *Nebraska History*, Lincoln, v. 37, pp. 132, 161, 162, v. 38, pp. 229-236, v. 40, pp. 59, 40; *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 15, p. 688.

¶ About May 19(?) Captain Craig headed the *Expedition* up the Missouri on a supply-carrying mission to the Fort Atkinson troops. The steamboat arrived at Fort Osage on June 10; presumably passed Cow Island (the high point of her 1819 trip) in the latter part of June; and reached the Council Bluffs on July 23. It was reported in August: "On account of the lowness of the water, and the loss of two anchors, it was not thought advisable for her to return [down-stream] the present season."

The *Expedition* was the second steamboat to navigate the Missouri above Isle au Vache (Cow Island).

Ref.: *Missouri Intelligencer*, Franklin, Mo., May 27, June 24, August 5, 1820.

¶ Dwight Mission for the Western Cherokees was founded in July by Presbyterian missionaries (sponsored by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions), near the mouth of Illinois creek [in present Pope county, Ark.]. (The missionary families arrived in May, 1821; and Dwight Mission was active thereafter at

that location till the removal of the Western Cherokees to the country west of the Territory of Arkansas in 1829.)

Ref: Jedidiah Morse's . . . Report . . . on Indian Affairs . . . (1822), p. 214; Herndon, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 37; Grant Foreman's *Indians and Pioneers* . . . (New Haven, 1930), pp. 92-94; *History of American Missions* . . . (Worcester, Spooner & Howland, 1840), pp. 87, 88, 102, 110, 182, 194, 195.

¶ In Capt. John R. Bell's mounted party (detached from Maj. S. H. Long's expedition on July 21 to proceed down the Arkansas river) were Thomas Say (zoologist), Lt. William H. Swift (topographer), Samuel Seymour (landscape painter), interpreters Julien and Bijeau, hunter Ledoux, five soldiers, 14 horses, two mules, and two dogs.

On July 30 this east-bound company crossed the present Colorado-Kansas line; and by August 4 had reached the vicinity of what is now Dodge City. The morning of August 8 they came to "Dumun's creek" [now Big Coon creek], so called, wrote Bell:

. . . from the circumstances of a gentleman of that name from St. Louis [*i. e.*, Jules de Mun], having on a time [between 1815-1817], lost a valuable horse there, that died.

Also on the 8th they forded a stream which they named "Vulture creek" [Pawnee river of today]; and next day crossed present Walnut creek (which Bijeau mistakenly told them was the Little Arkansas). Wrote Thomas Say of their travels rounding the Great Bend of the Arkansas on that hot August 9th (noon temperature 94° in the shade):

The soil of the afternoon journey was a deep fine white sand, which rendered the travelling very laborious . . . and affected the sight, by the great glare of light which it so freely reflected. The chief produce of these tracts of unmixed sand is the sunflower, often the dense and almost exclusive occupant.

[Say's was, so far as known, the earliest published reference to the sunflower in what is now Kansas. He wrote the six chapters describing the trip of Bell's party down the Arkansas, as published in 1823 in James' *Account of* . . . [Long's] Expedition. . . . Captain Bell's journal entry for the same date also referred to the present Kansas state flower: "Almost the whole distance travelled during the forenoon has been over a dry loose sandy soil, covered with a luxuriant growth of sun flowers, very disagreeable to travel thro' and fatiguing to the horses." But his journal (lost for many years) was not published till 1957.]

Proceeding downriver (toward Cow creek) on August 12 they met a party ("30 men and 5 squaws") of Ietans [Comanches] who had been attacked two nights earlier, while asleep, by a band of Otoes. (Three Comanches had been slain; they had six wounded; had lost 56 horses, as well as robes, moccasins, and other gear.) Bell prudently moved his men onward as soon as possible.



Describing the country between Cow creek and the Little Arkansas, Captain Bell wrote on August 14:

The timber on the river is [cottonwood] copse resembling much the lumbardy poplars, along the banks the sand is blown by the wind, or washed up by the freshes, into ridges & knobs covered with sun flowers & high plants.

Next day, arriving at the mouth of the Little Arkansas [where Wichita is today], he recorded in his journal:

. . . we discovered an old [Osage] Indian Village, or may more likely be, an Indian hunting camp for the winter season, as many of the cabins, were enclosed & covered with bark, in and about them was growing water mellons, pumpkins & corn. . . .

In succeeding days various problems arose. Their supply of food ran low. They were "lost"—to the extent that on August 16 they mistook the Ninescah [which joins the Arkansas more than 20 miles north of the present Kansas-Oklahoma line] for the Negracka [now the "Salt Fork" which enters the Arkansas some 40 miles south of the Kansas boundary]—but came to the latter stream on August 24. On the night of August 30 three of the five soldiers deserted, taking the three best horses, saddlebags containing clothes, the manuscripts of Say and Swift, and other valuables. But on September 1 Bell and his companions met friendly Osages of Clermont's band; by the 5th they were at Hugh Glenn's trading post (near the Verdigris-Arkansas junction); and on September 9 reached Fort Smith (four days in advance of Major Long's party).

Ref: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 14, pp. 16-18, v. 16, pp. 192-291; Fuller and Hafen, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-276.

¶ "The Osages . . . are continually removing from one village to another, quarreling and intermarrying . . ." wrote George C. Sibley in a report (from Fort Osage, October 1) which revealed the current situation, and some of the changes in that nation between 1814 and 1820.

In Missouri territory there remained but one Great Osage village (of about 1,200 population) 78 miles south of the fort, on the Little Osage [in present Vernon county, Mo.].

On the Neosho river 130 to 140 miles southwest of Fort Osage was the village of White Hair's band (of about 400) which had separated amicably from the Great Osages in Missouri some six to eight years earlier [about 1815?]. Also on the Neosho, from 120 to 140 miles southwest of Fort Osage, were three towns of Little Osages (including some 20 families of intermarried Missourians). They total about 1,000 persons. [These Neosho river towns were in Neosho and Labette counties of today.]

But the largest Osage group—Clermont's band—equaling half of all the nation, lived on the Verdigris [near present Claremore, Okla.], and did not trade at Fort Osage.

Ref: Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-208.

¶ The Kansa (as reported by G. C. Sibley on October 1) were living "about three hundred miles up the Kansas river, in one village. . . ." He estimated their population at around 800. About the same time Agent Benjamin O'Fallon stated, more specifically, that the Kansa were "on the northwest side of the [Kansas] river at the mouth of the Grand Saline. . . ." [*i. e.*, some six miles east of present Salina]. He estimated their number at about 1,750 souls.

For what reason the Kansa temporarily moved from their town near the Big Blue-Kansas junction has not been determined. One possible explanation: A flood on the Kansas, like that on the Missouri in the spring of 1820, may have inundated the low-lying Kansa town, and forced a move. They appeared securely established at the old village when visited by Say's party in August, 1819; and were evidently back at that location by the winter of 1821-1822 when Becknell stopped with them briefly. It remained their principal abode till about 1830.

Throughout the 1700's the Kansa appeared in records as a nation of one village; and this was still true in the early 1800's. About 1820, however, after respected Chief Shon-ga-ne-ga stepped down in favor of his less-influential son Ka-be-ga-wa-ta-ning-ga (the Fool Chief), the Kansa tended to divide into partisan groups, each headed by a prominent chief. Commenting on the Kansa in 1823, Prince Paul of Wuertemberg (who had conversations with the American Chief in July of that year) wrote:

"Like most of the American aborigines this tribe is divided into several bands. They join each other but rarely. Such unions occur when they go on the hunt, also when they gather in their great village. By this latter term one must not think of a very stable and constant habitat. They subordinate themselves under one single head only, when the greatest danger requires it. Among the whites Wa-kan-ze-re [the American Chief] is especially highly esteemed, because he was one of the first of his tribe who induced the Kansas . . . to accept a friendly attitude and enter into trade with the Europeans. . . ."

In the 1820's there were three known bands of Kansa: Fool Chief (with 700 to 800 followers); Hard Chief (with 500 to 600 persons); American Chief (with about 100 people). Also, Chief White Plume apparently lived apart from the bands mentioned.

Ref: *Ibid.*, pp. 203, 237; *South Dakota Historical Collections*, Pierre, v. 19, p. 313 (for quote); *KHC*, v. 1-2, p. 287.

¶ Union Mission (sponsored by the United Foreign Missionary Society) for Clermont's band of Osage Indians, had its beginning in mid-November when advance members of the missionary party reached the previously-selected site, on the west bank of the Grand (Neosho) river about 25 miles above its mouth [in present Mayes county, Okla.]. After the arrival of the rest of the missionaries

(from a temporary camp at Little Rock, Ark.) in mid-February, 1821, Union Mission began to function. The principal village of Clermont's band was about 28 miles to the west, on the Verdigris river [near present Claremore, Okla.]. (In January, 1833, the school at Union was discontinued; and in 1836 the mission was closed.)

Ref: Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-220; G. J. Garraghan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, New York (1938), v. 1, p. 187; W. W. Graves' *The First Protestant Osage Missions* . . . (Oswego, c1949), pp. 41-45, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Oklahoma City, v. 2, pp. 285-297; Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-104; *History of Indian Missions* . . . , pp. 170, 171, 241, 340.

## 1821

¶ Richard Graham (Indian agent in Illinois territory) was informed, in April, of his transfer to the Osage Nation, where he would "take charge of the Osages, and of the Delawares & Kickapoos who have removed to their neighborhood," and select an agency site in the Indian country. (The Osages had been without an agent since Pierre Chouteau's release in 1818. However, Paul Liguiste Chouteau, who lived among them, had continued to be their subagent. Neither Pierre Chouteau nor Graham maintained a residence among the Indians. They visited the Osages on occasion.)

Ref: *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 15, pp. 384, 715-717.

¶ On the Marais des Cygnes river, about 78 miles south of Fort Osage [and near present Papinsville, Mo.], a branch of the Fort Osage government factory for the Osages was constructed between July and October. This short-lived official trading post (the U. S. factory system was abolished in 1822) was some eight direct miles northeast of the Great Osage village.

Ref: Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 222, 223; *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 15, pp. 627, 628; Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

¶ Missouri's admission into the Union as a state was completed August 10 by proclamation of President Monroe. The population, as given in September, was 70,652.

Ref: *Historic Missouri* . . . (Columbia, Mo., c1939), pp. 12, 16.

¶ In August the Rev. Nathaniel B. Dodge and party of some 20 missionaries (mostly Presbyterians) under the auspices of the United Foreign Missionary Society, founded Harmony Mission for the Osage Indians on the Marais des Cygnes' left bank, about a mile and a half northwest of present Papinsville, Mo. The site (distant some eight or nine direct miles from the Great Osage village) was granted by the Indians to the missionaries at a council held on August 13. (Harmony Mission continued in operation till 1836.)

Ref: Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 222, 223; Garraghan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, v. 1, pp. 179, 180; *The Missionary Herald*, Boston, v. 18 (1822), pp. 30, 31, v. 19 (1823), p. 214; *History of American Missions* . . . , pp. 171, 229, 253, 265, 278, 340, 341; Graves, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-175.

€ During August the Santa Fe-bound expedition (11 men) of St. Louis merchant John McKnight and trader Thomas James journeyed by keelboat up the Arkansas from Fort Smith (Ark.) as far as present north-central Oklahoma.

The McKnight-James party had left St. Louis May 10 to descend the Mississippi to the Arkansas junction and ascend the latter stream. McKnight's mission was to find his brother Robert—a Spanish prisoner since the ill-fated 1812 expedition to New Mexico. James, who carried a Spanish passport, was on a trading venture, and had goods valued at \$10,000 aboard the boat.

Halted by low water some miles beyond the Cimarron's mouth, McKnight, James, and two others went cross-country to Clermont's village of Osages (two days' travel to the southeast) where James bought 23 horses. Returning to the Arkansas, they cached the heavier goods, loaded the pack animals and set out overland [from what is now Pawnee co., Okla.] for New Mexico.

Their route, by way of the Cimarron and the Canadian, took them across present western Oklahoma, and the Texas Panhandle (where they had a nearly-disastrous encounter with Comanches). On December 1 the McKnight-James party entered Santa Fe and found the people friendly. (See, also, 1822.)

Thomas James' reminiscences (of his experiences from 1809 to 1824) were published at Waterloo, Ill., in 1846 in a work entitled *Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans*. It was quickly withdrawn from circulation due to sharp criticism of the author's ill-natured characterizations of men prominent in the fur and Indian trade; and has long been an extremely rare item of Americana. The reprint edition, noted below, is scarce.

Ref: Thomas James' *Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans*, edited by W. B. Douglas (St. Louis, 1916).

€ Led by William Becknell, five men with goods-laden pack animals left Franklin, Mo., September 1 on a trading trip to the Comanche country. They stopped at Fort Osage; made slow progress for a time (due to illness among the party) as they headed for the Arkansas; reached it on the 24th [east of Walnut? creek]. Crossing the river, they followed up the south bank to the mountains, and on October 21 arrived at "the forks . . . and took the course of the left hand one" [Purgatoire? river]. Three weeks later, in New Mexico, they met some Spanish troops, and accompanied them, by way of San Miguel, to Santa Fe, where they were received "with apparent pleasure and joy." (Becknell's party arrived on November 16, two weeks ahead of the McKnight-James company. See preceding entry.)

According to Becknell, he and "Mr. McLaughlin" left San Miguel (about 50 miles southeast of Santa Fe) on December 13 "on our return home, in com-

pany with two other men who had arrived there a few days before, by a different route." After 17 days of travel [by way of the Cimarron desert] they came to the Arkansas [in present Ford? county]; then set a course "over the high land which separates the waters of [the Arkansas] and the Kaw rivers." They visited the Kansa [at their town near the Big Blue's mouth]; found them hospitable and bought corn. In 48 days from the time they left San Miguel [i. e., by the end of January, 1822], Becknell and his companions were back in Franklin, Mo. Their mid-winter journey had proved less difficult than anticipated. They brought back "specie, mules, asses & Spanish . . . blankets."

Ref: William Becknell's brief 1821-1822 journal as reprinted (from the *Missouri Intelligencer*, Franklin, Mo., April 22, 1823) in *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, St. Louis, v. 2, pp. 57-75; also, in *Missouri Historical Review*, Columbia, v. 4, pp. 71-81; G. C. Sibley letter (1825) in K. Gregg, *op. cit.*, pp. 214, 215.

¶ The Glenn-Fowler company (20 mounted men with pack horses), on a trading-trapping expedition to the Rocky mountains, left Hugh Glenn's trading house (near the Verdigris' mouth, in present east-central Oklahoma) on September 25.

Jacob Fowler (second in command), with his brother Robert and some others of the party, had reached Glenn's place earlier in the month. Kentuckian Fowler (reportedly well educated) is credited as author of the journal "Memorandum of the voyage by land from Fort Smith to the Rocky mountains" which recounted the party's experiences on the outward journey, and the return trip in 1822. The journal (labeled by historian H. M. Chittenden "the best example of poor spelling and punctuation in existence"), was edited by Elliott Coues, and published in 1898 (as noted below).

Traveling northward to Clermont's Osage village, the Glenn-Fowler party crossed the Verdigris and set a northwest course; then on October 4 turned west toward the Arkansas river. On October 9 they crossed the "White River" [now Walnut river] in the vicinity of present Arkansas City; by the 13th they were at the mouth of the Little Arkansas [where Wichita is today]. On October 19 they rounded the Great Bend. Jacob Fowler's journal entry for that day stated, in part:

We set out at the ushal time and at 8 miles West We pased a point of Red Rocks about 600 yds from the [Arkansas] River and at Eleven miles Crossed the paney River [i. e., it was Walnut creek they forded on the 19th—they crossed "Pawnee fork" on the 20th] . . . this is the Second Streem We Have Crossed Since pasing the little arkensaw—We found a good ford and Steered South 50 [degrees] West Six miles to the Bank of the [Arkansas] River—the land leavel as fare as the Eye Can see. Some Cottenwood on the Banks and Some Bushis. the Red Rock is evidently a volcanic production is porous like pomestone but heavier than common Sand stone. . . . [Fowler's "Red Rock" was, evidently, later-famed Pawnee Rock in what is now southwestern Barton county; and he seems to have been the first to record a mention of that Santa Fe trail landmark.]

About November 4 the expedition crossed the present Kansas-Colorado line. On the 13th, at Purgatoire river, one man was fatally wounded by a bear. The company halted in the present Pueblo, Colo., area. Fowler built a blockhouse; his comrades hunted and trapped; while Hugh Glenn, with four men, went on to Santa Fe. After Glenn secured permission from Mexican authorities to trap in the Rio Grande valley, the whole party moved to that region for the rest of the winter and early spring. (*See, also, 1822.*)

Ref: Elliott Coues, ed., *The Journal of Jacob Fowler* (New York, 1898); H. M. Chittenden's *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (New York, 1902), v. 2, p. 503.

¶ On September 27 the independence of Mexico from Spain (proclaimed in late February) became an established fact. (Formal acknowledgment of the independence of Mexico by the United States was made in December, 1822.)

Ref: Michel Chevalier's *Mexico Ancient and Modern*, trans. by Thomas Alpass (London, 1864), v. 2, pp. 58-63; S. A. MacCorkle's "American Policy of Recognition Towards Mexico" (*The Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science*, Baltimore, v. 51, no. 3, pp. 84-96).

¶ Sixteen chiefs and head men of the Pawnee, Kansa, Omaha, Otoe, and Missouri tribes who were escorted East in the late fall by Agent Benjamin O'Fallon arrived in Washington on November 29.

They were entertained at the White House by President Monroe; and Artist Charles Bird King painted several of the Indian visitors. It is believed that King's portrait of the Kansa chief White Plume (Mon-chonsia—also known as Nom-pa-wa-rah, or Wom-pa-wa-ra) was done at that time. *See cover of Spring, 1962, Kansas Historical Quarterly.*

Ref: Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 241-251; J. C. Ewers' article on Charles Bird King in the *Smithsonian Report* for 1953, pp. 463-473.

#### 1821-1822

¶ On the Missouri's right bank, less than a mile above the mouth of the Kansas river [in what is now Wyandotte county, and probably within present Kansas City, Kan.], Prince Paul of Wuertemberg stepped ashore on June 21, 1823, to visit the "little settlement of creoles and halfbreeds" and the "two large houses" of "Curtis and Woods." (*See, also, 1823 entry.*) Despite their proximity it appears these "large houses" were *separate* fur trade posts—the former an establishment of Cyrus Curtis and Michael Eley; and the latter operated by Andrew Woods (an acting partner in the Missouri Fur Company). Because so little is known about these early 1820's "houses" above (north of) the Kansas, the available information about them is dealt with at some length below. So far as known they were the second, and third, 19th century fur posts in present

Kansas, but it cannot be said with certainty the order of their founding.

ANDREW WOODS' *post*: The only known citation of the location of his place is Prince Paul's 1823 diary, noted above. But the letter-book of Thomas Hempstead (the Missouri Fur Company's acting partner at St. Louis, 1821-1823) contains references as early as June 27, 1821, which relate to Andrew Woods and to what Hempstead variously calls "Woods' establishment," "the lower house or establishment" [Fort Lisa being the *upper* house], "the Kansas Establishment," and "Fort Perkins, Kansas" [for Joseph Perkins, another partner in the Missouri Fur Company]. It seems likely the "house" may have been founded on "Kansas" soil in late 1820, by Woods. It operated presumably by virtue of licenses granted to the Missouri Fur Company (a one-year license to trade with the general tribes, of April 15, 1822, and a March, 1823, five-year license to trade with the Missouri river tribes. Woods' name is not on any lists of licenses granted).

An unidentified Frenchman, going upriver in 1822 in a boat bound for Fort Lisa, noted in May that on the lower Missouri his party met "Andrew Wood coming from the Riviere des Kans," and again, on June 8, that the boatmen stopped "at slough of the Isle de la Prairie" [Fire Prairie, below Fort Osage] "to get some corn which Mr. And. Wood had kept" [*i. e.*, planted?]. Other persons who may have spent some time at this post were Thomas Hempstead, and Charles Keemle. Whether Mrs. Andrew Woods (*see* 1823 entry relating to Prince Paul) came to "Kansas" before 1823 is unknown. Nor is it clear when the post was discontinued. It may have operated till some time in 1824. Andrew Woods' death occurred in Jackson county, Mo., on June 10, 1832. [Ref: St. Louis (Mo.) *Beacon*, July 5, 1832.]

Andrew Woods had become a partner in the reorganized Missouri Fur Company, of which Manuel Lisa was head, in 1819. His co-partners, by the September 1, 1820, agreement, were Thomas Hempstead, Joshua Pilcher, Joseph Perkins, Moses B. Carson, John B. Zenoni, Andrew Drips, and Robert Jones. [Ref: F. L. Billon's *Annals of St. Louis . . . from 1804 to 1821* . . . (St. Louis, 1888), p. 68; *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 3, pp. 391, 392.] Thomas Say, in January, 1820, at the Council Bluffs, noted the return of "Mr. Woods, of the Missouri Fur Company from a trading excursion" (to the Pawnee villages?) [Ref: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 14, p. 277.] Some 35 miles above the mouth of the Little Sioux river, on the Missouri's right bank, was a site (of pre-1820's date?) which Prince Paul called "Cotes a Wood" in 1823 [Ref: S. D. *Hist. Coll.*, v. 19, p. 415.]; and which was referred to in 1825 as "Woods' Hills" [Ref: N. D. *Hist. Quar.*, v. 4, pp. 12, 13, 50]. J. N. Nicollet, in 1839, wrote of it as "a beautiful site, formerly oc-

cupied by a Mr. Wood, an Indian trader; and it still bears his name." [Ref: 28th Cong., 2d Sess., H. Doc. 52 (Serial 464), pp. 33, 136.]

**CURTIS & ELEY'S post:** It could be that when Curtis and Eley were granted a one-year license on July 20, 1822 (to trade with the Osage, Kansa, Otoe, and Ponca Indians), their "large house" already stood on the Missouri's bank. Cyrus Curtis had been trading on the upper river five years or longer—see 1817. Michael Eley, (a native Virginian), had come to Fort Osage as assistant factor in July, 1815, and remained till June 30, 1820, it appears. Perhaps the partnership began soon afterwards. In 1823, Prince Paul (headed up the Missouri) noted in his diary on May 28: ". . . we met a large boat coming from the Kansas River. It belonged to a certain Mr. Curtis who has established himself as merchant at the mouth of that river." And on June 29 he wrote: "Near the fort [Osage] I met Mr. Curtis from the Kansas. He was in a boat. I delivered to him the letters from his trading company." The two-year license which "Curtis & Eley" obtained on September 17, 1823, is the last on record for the partnership. (However, the post was operating after the expiration date of the license.)

Following the Kansa treaty in August, 1825, the Indians were given an order for \$500 worth of goods from the Curtis and Eley trading house. (But it was the Chouteau post downriver that supplied the \$3,500 Kansa annuity goods later in the year.) In October, 1825 (see annals entry), the Atkinson-O'Fallon party on the keelboat *Antelope* stopped briefly at "Curtis & Eley's establishment." (Four days earlier they had met Curtis going upstream in a boat.) Upriver, at Fort Atkinson, on October 14, 1825, and again on December 28, James Kennerly (post sutler) mentioned Curtis in his diary. Jedediah Smith's (Ashley) party (see last 1825 entry) bought beef from "Ely and Curtis" in December(?), 1825. (Jim Beckwourth of that party, later had some recollections of "Messrs. Ely and Curtis.") Bvt. Maj. S. W. Kearny (who had mentioned "*Curtis & Ely's* Trading House" as being a mile above the mouth of the Kansas on his upriver journey in 1824), descended the Missouri in May, 1826, and on the sixth "halted for dinner at Mr. Ely's establishment." Kearny's is the last specific mention of the post that has been located. It does make clear that Curtis & Eley's "large house" survived the April, 1826, flood which engulfed Francis Chouteau's post some four miles downstream. Eley and Curtis had a store in Liberty, Mo., in the 1820's, and were operating a distillery there in 1826. Michael



Eley went to Santa Fe in 1827 (and died there in 1832). Cyrus Curtis died at Liberty, Mo., in 1844.

Ref: *South Dakota Historical Collections*, v. 19, pp. 251, 303, 309 (for Prince Paul references); the Thomas Hempstead letterbook is in the Coe Collection, Yale University, but all the notes from it (and the opportunity to use them) are courtesy of Dale L. Morgan, of the Bancroft Library, whose generous sharing of his own research efforts have added immeasurably to this, and other annals entries dealing with the fur trade; 18th Cong., 1st Sess., Ex. Doc. No. 7 (Serial 95)—for Missouri Fur Company licenses, 1822, 1823, also, the Curtis & Eley licenses, 1822, 1823; *The Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis, v. 16, pp. 16, 18 (for 1822 diary, and note on Eley); *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 13, p. 567 (for Eley at Fort Osage, 1816); Cogg, *op. cit.*, p. 34 (for Kansas treaty item); *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, v. 5, pp. 51, 52 (for Atkinson-O'Fallon); *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 6, pp. 82, 92 (for Kennedy diary); T. D. Bonner's *The Life and Adventures of James P. Beckwourth* (New York, 1856), pp. 31, 32; S. W. Kearny's ms. diary is in the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, but the items above, were supplied by Dale L. Morgan; *KHQ*, v. 26, p. 361; *History of Clay and Platte Counties, Missouri* (St. Louis, 1885), p. 100; other data on Curtis, Eley, and Woods from letters July, 1961, Dale L. Morgan to L. Barry.

¶ In 1821 (it is said) Francis G. Chouteau established a Missouri river fur depot about three miles below the mouth of the Kansas for the French Fur Company [i. e., the Berthold, Pratte & Chouteau partnership which late in 1826 became the American Fur Company's Western Department]. Apparently the first license for that company to operate below the Council Bluffs was granted on August 21, 1822—to Chouteau, Berthold, and Pratte, to trade with the Sac, Fox, Iowa, Kansas, Ponca, and Otoe Indians, on the Missouri.

The partners had received licenses on July 19 to trade on the Missouri above the Council Bluffs, and on the Platte; and on the same date Francis G. Chouteau obtained a two-year license to trade with the Kansas and Osage Indians on the Kansas river [where he maintained his "Four Houses" post—see 1819].

Various 19th century writers indicated that the 1821(?) depot was on the right (or Kansas City) bank of the river. (The 1878 reminiscences of John C. McCoy, the 1881 Jackson county history, and the 1881 Miller history of Kansas City, Mo., are three examples.) From the accounts of two persons who were on the scene in the 1820's it seems clear that the short-lived post (destroyed by flood in 1826) was on the left (or Randolph Bluffs) bank of the Missouri [near the Chouteau bridge of today].

(1) In the summer of 1823 Prince Paul of Wuerttemberg (see, also, under 1823) spent several days at the cabin of "Grand Louis" Bertholet and family on the left (Randolph Bluffs) side of the Missouri, about three miles below the mouth of the Kansas; and hunted on the Indians' land across the river, where Kansas City, Mo., now extends. The Bertholet cabin was, apparently, the fur depot Francis G. Chouteau had founded two(?) years earlier.

In 1825, and presumably in 1823, Louis Bertholet lived on Sec. 18, T. 50, R. 32, Clay co., Mo. [Ref: *History of Clay and Platte Counties* . . . , p. 113.]

(2) Frederick Chouteau (reminiscing in 1880) stated: "I came to Randolph, Clay county, Missouri, about two miles below Kansas City, on the opposite side of the Missouri river, in the fall of 1825, October or November. . . . My brothers, Francis and Cyprian, were trading there."

Bvt. Maj. S. W. Kearny (ascending the Missouri with Gen. Henry Atkinson and party) noted in his diary on October 12, 1824:

Started [from near Liberty, Mo.] at day break; morning cool, frosty & a heavy fog on the water. made 3½ to breakfast came up to Mr. Chouteaus Trading House to dinner, where we found the Kickapoos, & the Kansas were expected to-morrow made some purchases: In the afternoon passed the Kansas River & halted one mile above it, on the left Bank, opposite to Curtis & Ely's Trading House, having made 16 miles.

A year later (see October, 1825, entry) a journalist with Atkinson's party descending the Missouri made reference to "Chateau's place," but he, too, failed to state on which bank of the river it was located. If James P. ("Jim") Beckwourth's account of his own adventures in the winter of 1825-1826 (an account known to be partly fanciful) can be credited, he spent the early months of 1826 (till the ice on the Missouri broke up in the spring) "packing peltries" at "G. Choteau's trading-post" ["G." meaning Gesseau—Francis Gesseau Chouteau] for \$25 a month wages.

The Kansas City and Jackson county histories referred to above also say that Francis G. Chouteau brought his family to the fur depot the same year it was established. McCoy (an 1830 arrival in the Kansas City area) gave a different account. His statement: "Col. C[houteau] established a trading post on the south [right] bank of the river opposite the Randolph bluffs three miles below the city in 1821, and brought up his family and servants from St. Louis the next year[!], in barges occupying more than a month in the voyage." Apparently neither 1821 nor 1822 was correct since Prince Paul did not find the Chouteau family in the fur depot vicinity in the summer, or fall, of 1823. It would seem, then, that Mrs. Berenice Therese (Menard) Chouteau, and children, did not arrive before late 1823, or till 1824 (unless they were at the "Four Houses" post up the Kansas, which the Prince did not visit).

Ref: *The History of Jackson County, Missouri* . . . (Kansas City, Mo., 1881), pp. 102, 378; W. H. Miller's *The History of Kansas City* (Kansas City, 1881), pp. 9, 10; John C. McCoy's reminiscences in the *Kansas City (Mo.) Journal*, December 12, 1878 (or, see "Kansas Reminiscences Clippings," p. 113, in KHi); *South Dakota Historical Collections*, v. 23, pp. 300-318 (for Prince Paul), but also see 1823 annals entry; KHC, v. 8, p. 423 (for Frederick Chouteau); G. J. Garrahan's *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City* . . . (Chicago, 1920), pp. 14, 15; C. R. Barns, ed., *The Commonwealth of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1877), pp. 748, 749 (for items on Mrs. Bertholet and Mrs. Chouteau); 18th Cong., 1st Sess., Ex. Doc. No. 7 (Serial 93) for abstract of Indian licenses; S. W. Kearny's ms. diary is in the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, but the above quotation came to

this writer from Dale L. Morgan, of the Bancroft Library; Bonner, *op. cit.*, p. 32. Frederick Chouteau in a May 5, 1880, letter to W. W. Cose (in KHi res. division) stated that Mrs. Francis Chouteau had a child born in Kansas "over fifty years ago," and that "she came here 5 or 6 years before me" [before he came in 1828 as a trader].

## 1822

¶ In the spring White Hair and his band of Osages (who had lived on the Neosho river in present Kansas since about 1815) returned to the vicinity of the Great Osage village [in what is now Vernon county, Mo.] and set up a town within seven or eight miles of Harmony Mission. (They occupied it for a few months only. See autumn entry below.)

Ref: Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

¶ Andrew Henry and William H. Ashley (who had formed a fur trade partnership in the summer of 1821), outfitted a large company of young men (including Jedediah Smith, James Bridger, Mike Fink, Moses "Black" Harris, and John H. Weber) in March; obtained licenses to enter the Indian country; and in April started their first expedition up the Missouri. Henry with a part of the company set out by keelboat; and Daniel S. D. Moore (with whom Smith traveled) started out with another boat in May. The second one sank below Fort Osage, but Ashley outfitted a third boat, pick up his stranded men, and joined forces with his partner in October at the mouth of the Yellowstone river where Henry built a fort as operational base for the trappers. (Ashley returned to St. Louis in the late fall. See, also, 1823.)

Ref: Dale L. Morgan's *Jedediah Smith* . . . (Indianapolis and New York, c1955), pp. 23, 26-29; also a letter by Dale L. Morgan, of July 15, 1961, to L. Barry, supplying data not only for the above entry, but for several other entries in this chronology—information of much value, which would otherwise have been unavailable to this writer, and acknowledged here with gratitude; *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis, v. 11, p. 12; J. Cecil Alter's *James Bridger* . . . (Salt Lake City, c1925), pp. 4-8; D. M. Frost's *Notes on General Ashley* . . . (Worcester, 1945), p. 59.

¶ Father Charles De La Croix, the first (Catholic) missionary to visit the Osages of western Missouri, came on horseback from Florissant, Mo., in the spring. Between May 5 and 12, at the Chouteau trading post [near present Papinsville, Mo.] he baptized 20 Osages, mostly French half-breed children. The first name on the list under the May 5th date was Antoine Chouteau (born in 1817), whose father was trader and subagent Paul Liguette Chouteau. (See, also, under August.)

Ref: Garrahan's *The Jesuits of the Middle United States*, v. 1, pp. 178-182; also, his *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City*, pp. 23-25.

¶ Signed on May 6 was an act abolishing the United States trading houses for Indian tribes. Among the establishments to be discon-

tinued were the Fort Osage factory, and its branch on the Marais des Cygnes [in present Bates county, Mo.]. (The nonprofit government system had been in existence since 1796.)

Ref: *Laws of the United States of America* (Washington City, 1827), v. 7, pp. 53-55; *F. S. Cohen's Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (Washington, 1942), p. 10.

¶ Benjamin Cooper, his nephews Braxton and Stephen Cooper, and 12 other men left Franklin, Mo., early in May on a trading expedition to New Mexico. It is said their pack animals carried goods worth \$4,000 to \$5,000. They followed the Arkansas river to the mountains then turned southward to Taos. (On June 13, in present western Kansas, they met the east-bound Glenn-Fowler and McKnight-James party.)

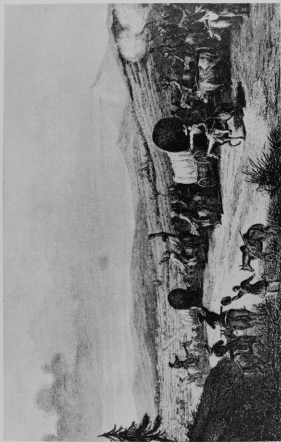
Cooper, part of his original company, and some from Becknell's, recrossed present Kansas in September; and by early October had reached home again. Their expedition had been a profitable venture.

Ref: Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies* . . . (New York, London, 1844), v. 1, p. 22; *Missouri Intelligencer*, Franklin, Mo., October 8, 1822 (reprinted in *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 4, pp. 67, 68); *Coues, op. cit.*, p. 154; *James' Three Years* . . . pp. 167, 168. "The Book of the Muleteers" published in the *Missouri Intelligencer*, Franklin, August 5 and 19, 1825 (and reprinted in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, Santa Fe, v. 17, pp. 289-293), may have described the above expedition.

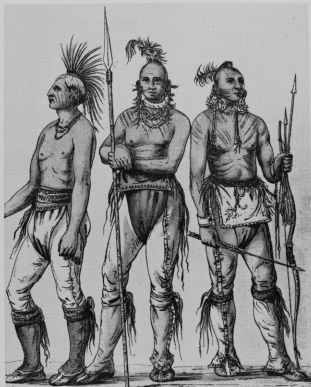
¶ Heading a mounted company of 21 men, with three loaded wagons (the first to be taken from Missouri overland to Santa Fe), William Becknell left Fort Osage about May 25 on his second trading expedition to New Mexico. Again his route varied to some extent from the soon-established road. Becknell's party crossed the Arkansas before reaching the Great Bend. It was probably in present Rice county that his company forded that river one June day, and camped on the right bank. During the night 28 horses strayed—frightened by buffalo. Eighteen were found, but two of the searchers met some "rascally Osages" who whipped them, took their horses, guns, and clothing. A third man was rescued by trader Auguste P. Chouteau who was at the Indians' camp.

While Becknell's company remained in the vicinity for six days (trying to recover the stolen animals), "Mr. Heath's company" came up and joined them. The combined parties continued up the Arkansas (along the south bank) for eight days [to present Ford county], then struck southwest across the Cimarron desert. They reached San Miguel (where some of Heath's company stopped) 22 days later. Becknell went on to Santa Fe.

Of his trip back to Missouri (probably in October), Becknell stated only that "we took a different course from that pursued on our way out which considerably shortened the route and arrived at Fort Osage in 48 days."



"Arrival of the Caravan at Santa Fe" (from Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies*, first published in 1844). The earliest extensive use of wheeled vehicles on the trail was in 1824, when 20 dearbarns, two road wagons, two carts, and one "small piece of cannon" were in the Santa Fe-bound trading caravan.



Three "distinguished and ambitious young men . . . of the best families in the Osage nation"—according to Artist George Catlin, who painted them in 1834.

"These portraits," he added, "set forth fairly the modes of dress and ornaments of the young men of the tribe, from the tops of their heads to the soles of their feet. The only dress they wear in warm weather is the breech-cloth, leggings, and moccasins of dressed skins, and garters worn immediately below the knee, ornamented profusely with beads and wampum."

Elsewhere, Catlin wrote: "The Osages may justly be said to be the tallest race of men in North America . . . few . . . of the men . . . are less than six feet in stature, and very many of them six and a half, and others seven feet."

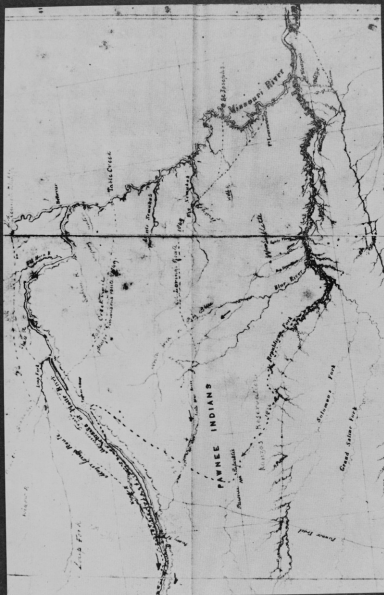


Duke Paul Wilhelm of Württemberg in 1844. As a prince in 1823, on his first journey to North America, he traveled up the Missouri in the summer of 1823 and returned in the fall.

A planned excursion up the Kansas, in June, was abandoned when the hordes of mosquitoes his party encountered a few miles upriver spoiled the outing. ("Photograph" reproduced, by permission, from the *New Mexico Historical Review*, Albuquerque, July, 1942.)

On verso—→

A section of the Fremont-Gibbs-Smith map, reproduced from Robert W. Baughman's *Kansas in Maps*. The dotted line following up the Kansas and Republican rivers, then looping northeast to the Platte, shows the route Jedediah Smith and fur trappers took in the winter of 1825-1826. (See last 1825 entry.)





William Becknell was, probably, the first to suggest publicly (in an April, 1823, newspaper) that "An excellent road may be made from Fort Osage to Santa Fe. Few places would require much labor to make them passable."

Ref: Becknell's brief 1822 journal (first published in the *Missouri Intelligencer*, Franklin, Mo., April 22, 1823) as reprinted in *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 2, pp. 65-67, and in *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 4, pp. 79-81; *Missouri Intelligencer*, Franklin, Mo., October 8, 1822, April 22, 1823; *James' Three Years* . . . , pp. 175, 176. *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 23 (November 23, 1822), p. 177, carried an item, from an unidentified source, on the party of traders under "col. Cooper" [i. e., William Becknell] which had "arrived [at Santa Fe] with three wagons loaded with goods, to the great astonishment of the people. In return for his goods, colonel Cooper [Becknell] brought back specie and mules. . . ."

¶ From Taos, N. M., on June 1 the Glenn-Fowler and McKnight-James companies (see 1821) started East together. With the latter group was Robert McKnight, reunited with his brother John after nine years in Spanish custody. The united force had over 140 horses and mules—83 belonged to the McKnight-James party.

About June 11 they entered present Kansas and struck the Arkansas (after crossing what is now the southeast corner of Colorado on a direct—and original—northeast course). They followed up the south bank. On the 13th they met Cooper's westbound party (traveling up the north side of the river). On the 18th and 19th they encountered large numbers of Pawnees (fortunately not war-minded). Also on June 19th, in the Great Bend area [present Barton county], the two companies (traveling separately since the 14th) took divergent routes.

THE MCKNIGHT-JAMES PARTY continued down the Arkansas (spending one day at an Osage camp [in present Reno? county] in which were Auguste P. Chouteau and other French traders), as far as the Little Arkansas. Crossing it, they traveled eastwardly; followed an Osage trail to the Neosho; forded that stream in present Neosho county. (On the way they met more Osages, for the most part friendly.) Three days east of the Neosho they crossed into Missouri, and camped in what is now Vernon county, Mo. While they slept, Osages stole 38 of Thomas James' best animals. Finding pursuit futile, the party proceeded to the Chouteau trading post [near present Papinsville, Mo.] six miles distant. The McKnights, James, and several others then traveled by canoe and pirogue down the Osage and Missouri to St. Louis; the rest went overland with the remaining horses and mules. The journey to eastern Missouri was concluded about mid-July.

THE HUGH GLENN-JACOB FOWLER COMPANY camped June 19 on the Arkansas in what is now western Rice county; left the river next day on a course "north 60 East." By a devious and circuitous route, which took them southward as far as present Butler county, and then northeastward across Chase, Lyon, Osage, Douglas, and Johnson counties of today, they entered Missouri, near present Kansas City, on July 5, and reached Fort Osage that night. Around the middle of July they were in St. Louis.

Ref: Coates, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-174; *James' Three Years* . . . , pp. 161-186.

¶ A large delegation of Western Cherokees (from Arkansas territory), and 150 of Clermont's band of Osages (from present Oklahoma), after counciling at Fort Smith, settled their tribal differences and signed a peace treaty on August 9. (Designed to end more than a decade of warfare between the two nations, the treaty was not entirely effective for Osage-Cherokee clashes were renewed in 1823 and continued in succeeding years.)

Ref: Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-139, 147-150.

¶ In August the Rev. Charles De La Croix, on his second visit to the Osages (of Missouri), spent some three weeks among them. He performed 12 baptisms on August 11, and one on the 16th. As in May, sponsors for some of the half-breed children who received the rite were traders Paul Ligneuste Chouteau and Pierre Melicour Papin. It is probable that Father De La Croix visited the Osage towns on the Neosho [in Neosho, and Labette? counties of today] at some time during August. (On the 31st he was a witness to the treaty noted below.)

Ref: Garraghan's *Jesuits* . . . , v. 1, pp. 178-182; *KHQ*, v. 8, p. 209; *KHC*, v. 16, p. 749.

¶ At the Fort Osage sub-factory on the Marais des Cygnes [in present Bates county, Mo.] on August 31, the Osages, by treaty, and in return for merchandise worth \$2,329.40 from the Fort Osage post, released the United States from its obligation (under the 1808 treaty) to maintain the trading establishment at Fort Osage. (Agent for winding up the post's affairs was Samuel Blunt; Paul Baillio, factor, handled the closing of the Marais des Cygnes branch.)

Ref: C. J. Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1904), v. 2, pp. 201, 202, 18th Cong. 2d Sess., *Ex. Doc. No. 61* (Serial 116).

¶ Early in September when most of the Great Osages of Missouri left to go on their fall hunt, the missionaries at Harmony [in present Bates county, Mo.] reported: "It is understood . . . they do not intend to return to their late residence but to establish themselves sixty or seventy miles from this station."

On September 26, in the journal of Union Mission [in Mayes county, Okla., of today], it was recorded:

Mr. August P. Chouteau with a party of Indians from White Hair's village called here. A boat of his had arrived at the mouth of Grand [or Neosho] River with goods to trade with the Indians. He intends to form an establishment on this river [about 15 miles] above this place and states that White Hair's people have left their town with the intention of moving to this [Grand or Neosho] river. [Auguste P. Chouteau took over the trading house (where Salina, Okla., is today) previously run by his associate—the half-breed Joseph Revoir (killed by Cherokees in June, 1821).]

And in the Union Mission journal of October 17 was the comment: "Last evening arrived a company of White Hair's Indians. This is the first visit from that part of the nation. It appears that they are in an unsettled state and have not selected a place for their new home."

(On August 20, 1823, when the Osages were assembled in present Bates county, Mo., to receive their annuities, the Harmony Mission journal stated: ". . . In his talk, the Agent [Richard Graham] requested them to decide whether they would live at Neosho [in present Kansas], or at the Osage river [in Missouri], that he might know where to build houses for his interpreter and blacksmith. They finally determined to remain at Neosho." After August, 1823, there were still some Osages left in Missouri, particularly in a Little Osage village about 14 miles from Harmony Mission.)

Ref: Graves, *op. cit.*, pp. 128, 179-182; Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 61, 142, 143.

€ In the autumn Missouri Fur Company peltries reportedly valued at \$24,000 were brought down the Missouri from the Yellowstone country. The scope of revived interest in the fur trade was indicated by a St. Louis newspaper's comment (in September):

Since the abolition of the United States' factories a great activity has prevailed in the operation of . . . [the fur] trade. Those formerly engaged in it have increased their capital and extended their enterprise; many new firms have engaged in it, and others are preparing to do so. It is computed that a thousand men, chiefly from this place, are now employed in this trade on the waters of the Missouri, and half that number on the Upper Mississippi. The Missouri fur company . . . alone employs upwards of 300 men. . . .

Ref: *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 23 (September 28, and November 16, 1822), pp. 53, 164; *Missouri Intelligencer*, Franklin, Mo., September 17, October 29, 1822; H. C. Dale's *The Ashley-Smith Explorations* . . . (Cleveland, 1918), p. 64.

#### 1822-1823

€ James Baird and Samuel Chambers (Spanish prisoners, along with Robert McKnight, from 1812 to 1821), and a company of traders left the St. Louis area in August, en route to New Mexico. (According to one 1822 report there were 20 men and 60 pack animals; another described it as a company of 50 persons; and in 1823 it was stated 40 men had made up the party.) Whatever their number, the adventurers made a late start out of Missouri, and experienced difficulties.

On the Arkansas, in present Ford county, they were caught in a blizzard; took shelter (on a large island, it is said); and were stranded for three months during a severe winter, when most of their animals perished. In the early spring of 1823 they dug deep pits in a slope on the north side of the river above their winter camp, secreted their merchandise, and proceeded to Taos where they obtained pack animals, came for their goods, then retraced the route

to New Mexico. (Baird and Chambers remained in the Southwest; but others in the party reached St. Louis in the summer and autumn.)

The excavations the Baird-Chambers party had made were known thereafter as "the Caches," and remained for years a noted landmark on the Santa Fe trail [about five miles west of present Dodge City]. In 1846 a woman traveler (Mrs. Susan Shelby Magoffin) wrote in her diary: ". . . 'the Caches' . . . are large holes dug in the ground somewhat the shape of a jug. . . . They are situated about a quarter of a mile from the River, on rather an elevated piece of ground, and within a hundred yards of the road, which runs at present between them and the river. They are quite as noted as any point on the road and few travellers pass without visiting them. . . ."

Ref: St. Louis (Mo.) Enquirer, September 2, 1822; Missouri Intelligencer, Franklin, September 3, 1822 (reprinted in *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 23, p. 177); Missouri Republican, St. Louis, August 27, November 8, 1823; *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis, v. 15, pp. 190, 191; Stella M. Drumm, ed., *Down the Santa Fe Trail . . . the Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin . . .* (New Haven, 1926), pp. 53, 54. Alphonse Wetmore in his *Gazetteer of the State of Missouri* (1837), p. 269, called the pits "Anderson's Caches on the Arkansas."

#### 1823

€ The keelboats *Yellow Stone Packet* and *The Rocky Mountains* carried the second large Ashley-Henry fur expedition up the Missouri along the present northeast Kansas boundary in April. (They had left St. Louis on March 10 with 70 or more persons aboard.) Led by William H. Ashley, the company on this trip included such young men as Thomas Fitzpatrick, William Sublette, Hugh Glass, and James Clyman.

On June 2, at the Arikara villages, in what is now South Dakota, the Indians defeated and routed Ashley's men in a treacherous surprise attack. In the battle 13 trappers or boatmen were killed, 11 were seriously wounded (two died later); and all of the party's horses were lost. From Fort Atkinson [Neb.] Col. Henry Leavenworth led a punitive expedition against the Arikaras in July and August. It ended, indecisively, in negotiations, and a peace treaty on August 11.

Ref: Morgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-77; *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis, v. 11, p. 12; J. E. Sander's *Bill Sublette Mountain Man* (Norman, Okla., c1959), pp. 34-45; L. R. Hafen and W. J. Ghent, *Broken Hand; the Life Story of Thomas Fitzpatrick* (Denver, 1931), pp. 18-30; C. L. Camp, ed., *James Clyman American Frontiersman . . .* (San Francisco, 1928), pp. 12-22; Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-126.

€ About 30 men were in the Santa Fe-bound expedition captained by Stephen Cooper which left Missouri in May. Joel P. Walker was another leader of this company. Each trader had one or two pack horses and an average of about \$200 in goods. On June 1 on the bank of the Little Arkansas [present Rice? county] Indians stampeded and ran off all but six of their horses. Cooper and five others went back to Missouri to buy more animals. When they returned to

their party they found some 1,500(?) Kansa (on a buffalo hunt) camped near by. Cooper took his company over the Cimarron desert route where they nearly succumbed to thirst; but finding water in time, they reached Santa Fe safely.

On their return to Missouri in November(?), it was reported they had brought back "400 Jacks and Jennets and mules, a quantity of beaver and a considerable sum in species. . . ."

Ref: *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 4, pp. 69, 70; *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 25, (December 13, 1823), p. 230; *History of Howard and Chariton Counties, Missouri* (St. Louis, 1880), pp. 153, 154; Gregg, *op. cit.*, pp. 251, 252; a Joel P. Walker narrative in the Bancroft Library is noted in *New Mexico Historical Review*, v. 14, p. 43n.

☛ John McKnight (of the 1822 McKnight-James expedition to New Mexico) was killed by Comanches in May, in the country south of the North Fork of the Canadian.

(The McKnight brothers, John and Robert, with Thomas James and some 20 others had taken a pack train up the North Fork in the early part of the year. While most of the company began to construct a trading "fort" in what is now Blaine county, Okla., McKnight and three others went to locate the Comanches. After leaving the Indians' camp alone he was slain.)

Ref. *James' Three Years . . .*, pp. 190-227; *Arkansas Gazette*, Little Rock, July 22, 1823; *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, July 30, 1823.

☛ Prince (later Duke) Paul Wilhelm of Wuerttemberg and his hired hand Louis Caillou spent the night of June 16 at the new town of Liberty, Mo. Next day, on horseback, they traveled "five miles on the slope of a chain of hills" to the cabin of "Grand Louis" Bertholet (and his family) on the Missouri's left bank, some three miles below the mouth of the Kansas—a site later known as Randolph Bluffs, Mo.

Prince Paul, 25, traveler and naturalist, had arrived at New Orleans in December, 1822. At St. Louis in May, 1823, he had obtained passage up the Missouri for himself and two employees on a keelboat of the "French Northwest Trading Company" [i. e., the Berthold, Pratte & Chouteau firm]. At Franklin on June 12 the Prince and Caillou had left the slow-moving boat (after arranging a mouth-of-the-Kansas rendezvous), and set out overland for that vicinity. They had proceeded mostly afoot, crossing the Missouri twice, and reaching Liberty, Mo., on the 16th.

"Grand Louis" Bertholet's cabin was Prince Paul's headquarters for several days. [This was, apparently, the fur depot which Francis G. Chouteau established about 1821. See 1821-1822.] On June 18 the Prince crossed the Missouri to hunt [in present Kansas City, Mo.]. Intense heat, nettles, and dense forest made the going difficult, and he brought back only one deer. Three days later, in company with Caillou, "Grand Louis," and a man named Roudeau, he went in a pirogue to the Kansas river. Before ascending it, he paid a visit to the "two large houses" of fur traders "Curtis and

Woods" [see 1821-1822 entry] which were "scarcely more than a half mile further up on the right bank of the Missouri" [in present Kansas City, Kan.]. Of this place Prince Paul wrote:

Neither of them [Cyrus Curtis; Andrew Woods] was at home but the wife of the latter was there. She was a creole, a daughter of old Mr. Chauvin . . . [of] St. Charles. The whole population of this little settlement consists of only a few persons, creoles and halfbreeds, whose occupation is the trade with the Kansas Indians, some hunting and agriculture. Here I also found a youth of sixteen years of age, whose mother . . . [Sacajawea], had accompanied the Messrs. Lewis and Clark, as an interpreter, to the Pacific Ocean, in 1804-1806. This Indian woman married the French interpreter, Toussaint Charbonneau. Charbonneau later served me in the capacity of interpreter, and Baptiste, his son, whom I mentioned above, joined me on my return, followed me to Europe and has since then been with me. I remained for dinner with Mrs. Woods and after the meal went to the Kansas again.

*Marie Louise Chauvin Woods, wife of Andrew Woods (and daughter of Francis and Helene Tayon Chauvin) was, perhaps, the first white woman to reside in present Kansas, and has the distinction of being the first white female "Kansas" resident whose name is known.*

The Prince and his party proceeded "eight English miles up stream" and "spent the night without food on a sandbar" of the Kansas river. Their next day's (June 22) hunt was hampered by insects. Wrote Prince Paul:

. . . we were swarmed about and covered by mosquitoes to such an extent that we could scarcely see and recognize each other at a distance of twenty paces.

But "Grand Louis" killed a large black bear, and "turtle eggs and bear meat afforded . . . a delicious noonday meal." Because of the mosquitoes the Prince gave up his plan to go further up the Kansas.

On June 24 Prince Paul and Caillou set out *down* the Missouri—their craft two small canoes tied together and a seat put across—to hunt for the slow-to-arrive fur company boat. They got as far as recently-abandoned "picturesque" Fort Osage that evening; and next morning met and boarded the upbound keelboat.

Reaching "Grand Louis" Bertholet's cabin again on July 4, the Prince learned that Kansa chief Wa-kan-ze-re (the American Chief) and his band were camped across the river [opposite Randolph Bluffs] waiting to meet him. He went over in a canoe and was the honored guest among the Indians. (In his diary Prince Paul made some notes on the Kansa, particularly of their appearance, clothing, and weapons.) Next day, the American Chief and several other Kansa repaid the visit, and there was an exchange of gifts.

The keelboat continued upstream on July 6. The Prince caught up with it and went aboard on the 7th. As they proceeded he noted such landmarks as the old Kansa "Village of the Twelve," "Ile a la vache" (Cow Island), and the "Village de vingt quatre" (Village of 24—the second old Kansa town). On July 18 they passed the mouth of Wolf river [in present Doniphan county]; and on that same date the Prince noted in his account:

The whole day long canoes with men of Mr. [William H.] Ashley's party had come down the stream. Most of them were wounded men, who had taken part in the fight with the Arikaras. . . .

Prince Paul's river journey ended above the Platte's mouth on July 29. During August he visited the Otoes, and then traveled overland to the Missouri Fur Company's post near the White river's mouth [in present South Dakota], where his host was Joshua Pilcher. He returned to the Council Bluffs (by boat) on September 9. On the 17th he left Fort Atkinson (accompanied by Capt. Bennet Riley, a few soldiers, and an interpreter) and journeyed overland to the Pawnee villages. During his three-day stay among the Grand Pawnees and the Pawnee Loups (on the Loup Fork of the Platte) he was given honored and preferential treatment. Returning to the fort on September 29 the Prince then continued (by boat) down the Missouri again on October 2. At the mouth of the Kansas, on the 9th, a stop of a few hours was made. (As noted above, Baptiste Charbonneau there joined Prince Paul and accompanied him to Europe.) They arrived at St. Louis on October 24.

Ref: *South Dakota Historical Collections*, v. 19 (1938), pp. [7]-471, contains Wm. G. Bek's translation from the German of *First Journey to North America in the Years 1822 to 1824*, by Duke Paul Wilhelm of Wuertemberg, originally published at Stuttgart in 1835. For notes on "Grand Louis" Bertholet, see Louis Houck's *Spanish Regime in Missouri* (Chicago, 1909), v. 2, pp. 381, 391 (note 31); C. B. Barns, ed., *The Commonwealth of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1877), pp. 15, 748, 749; and Garraghan's *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City*, pp. 18, 121. For trader Cyrus Curtis see 1821-1822 entry. Data on Mrs. Andrew Woods from the *Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis; and from *The Bulletin*, v. 16, p. 16, of that Society. See 1821-1822 entry for Frederick Chouteau's statement on his brothers' Randolph Bluffs fur post; also Garraghan, *Catholic Beginnings in Kansas City*, p. 14.

¶ Between September 3 and October 16 the western boundary of Missouri, from the mouth of the Kansas river southward, was surveyed by Joseph C. Brown, of St. Louis, for the federal government.

Ref: *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, August 13, 1823 (for item on survey party); the *Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis (which has Brown's field notes) supplied the inclusive dates.

¶ Returning from a raid against the Caddo Indians, some 200 Osages (led by Mad Buffalo, a son of Clermont) attacked a camp of Arkansas hunters on Blue Water river in present southern (Bryan county) Oklahoma, on November 17. During the battle five of the Arkansans (Curtis Welborn; men named Sloan, Lester, and Deterline, and a Negro, Ben) were killed; the camp was plundered; and 30 horses were taken.

In June, 1824, five Osages gave themselves up to Little Rock authorities. At trials held in November, Mad Buffalo and Little Eagle were convicted,

and sentenced to be hanged in December. (The other Osages were acquitted.) The executions were postponed; and on March 21, 1825, President Adams pardoned the two Indians. They were set free in May.

This incident particularly, plus other Indian depredations, focused attention on the need for military posts on the frontier. (See 1824.)

Ref: *Arkansas Gazette*, Little Rock, July 22, December 9, 16, 23, 1823, June 22, 1824; *Missouri Intelligencer*, Franklin, January 15, 29, November 13, 27, 1824, June 4, 1825; *Niles' Weekly Register* (December 4, 1824), v. 27, p. 219; Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-201.

¶ Missionaries Epaphras Chapman and William C. Requa of Union Mission [in present Mayes county, Okla.], in December began a new Osage mission station, Hopefield, about four miles higher up Grand (Neosho) river, and on the opposite side.

In the spring of 1824 they moved their families from Union to Hopefield. Among the difficulties which the missionaries survived were devastating flood losses in 1826 and Indian troubles in the same year.

Ref: Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 60; Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 245, 246; *History of American Missions* . . . , p. 171.

¶ Late in the year Auguste P. Chouteau (who had taken over the Osage trading post on Grand river [at present Salina, Okla.] in September, 1822) bought a post near the mouth of the Verdigris. A Union Mission report, dated December 10, stated:

Mr. Chouteau now owns the establishment formerly occupied by Messrs. Barber and Brand near the falls of the Verdigris, about four miles above its entrance into the Arkansas and 22 miles from this place.

Ref: Graves, *op. cit.*, p. 60. See, also, A. P. Chouteau's statement (1831) in 22d Cong., 1st Sess., Sen. Doc. 90 (Serial 213), p. 60.

¶ A man who called himself John Dunn Hunter had a book published at Philadelphia in 1823 under the title:

*Manners and Customs of Several Indian Tribes Located West of the Mississippi; to Which Is Prefixed the History of the Author's Life During a Residence of Several Years Among Them.*

As the more colorful title—*Memoirs of a Captivity Among the Indians of North America, From Childhood to the Age of Nineteen; with Anecdotes Descriptive of Their Manners and Customs*—of the London edition (also 1823) indicated, the writer claimed to have spent most of his first 20 years as an Indian captive—first among the Kickapoos; briefly with a Pawnee band; and for a span of years among the Kansa and Osages.

Hunter's popular work was accepted as factual in England; but in the United States the author was denounced as an imposter and his verisimilar autobiography was labeled fiction by such prominent men as William Clark ("It is not possible that he could have lived with the tribes he mentions, and gone through with the scenes he describes, without some knowledge of him,



and of his history, having reached me."); Pierre Chouteau ("... my acquaintance with the Osages has been since 1775 to this day [September 3, 1825], in the capacity of trader, agent, or otherwise, and ... during that period, there never was any white boy living or brought up by them. ..."); Baronet Vasquez ("... I have been engaged in trade with the Kansas tribe of Indians nineteen years, between the years 1796 and 1824, and ... during the whole of that time, there was no white man a prisoner, of any age or description among them; nor do I believe that such a circumstance has occurred for the last thirty years."); and by John Dunn, a Missouri legislator, who wrote he had "never known such a person as John Dunn Hunter" (contrary to Hunter's claim).

Ref: *North American Review*, Boston, v. 22 (January, 1826), pp. 105, 106 (for quotes—all from letters written in September, 1825). John Dunn Hunter was killed by Indians in 1827—see H. Yoakum's *History of Texas* ... (New York, 1856), v. 2, pp. 246-250.

## 1824

☛ Jedediah S. Smith "rediscovered" (or made the "effective discovery" of) the South Pass [in present Wyoming] in March, while he and a trapping party (including James Clyman and William Sublette) were seeking a way to the rich fur country beyond the Wind River mountains. (See 1812-1813 for an earlier discovery of the passageway.)

A hint of the future—that the South Pass would become the great emigrant route to Oregon and California—was to be found in a St. Louis newspaper item (reprinted widely) in the autumn of 1824:

We learn that his party [referring to Andrew Henry, partner of Smith's employer, William H. Ashley] have discovered a passage by which loaded wagons can at this time reach the navigable waters of the Columbia River. This route lies South of the one explored by Lewis and Clarke, and is inhabited by Indians friendly to us.

Ref: Morgan, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-92, 154, 155; *Arkansas Gazette*, Little Rock, November 16, 1824; or, see *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 27 (December 4, 1824), p. 224.

☛ In April Cantonment Gibson was established by Col. Matthew Arbuckle and five companies of the Seventh U. S. infantry in present east-central Oklahoma—on the east side of the Grand (or Neosho) river about two miles from the "three forks" (the Grand, and Verdigris junctions with the Arkansas).

(Fort Gibson, for many years an important post in the Indian territory, was discontinued in 1857 as a military establishment, and turned over to the Cherokee Nation; but during the Civil War it was reoccupied, and not permanently abandoned till 1890.)

In May, some 120 miles to the south, Cantonment Towson was established by Maj. Alexander Cummings and two companies of

the Seventh infantry near the present Oklahoma-Texas boundary, not far from the mouth of the Kiamichi river.

(Fort Towson was abandoned as a military post in 1854.)

Ref: Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 193, 195, 196, 204, 205; W. B. Morrison's *Military Posts and Camps in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1896), pp. 28-58.

¶ The largest Santa Fe-bound caravan of the year (83 persons), which left the Franklin, Mo., area in mid-May, had 156 horses and mules, but was notable for its extensive use of wheeled vehicles (20 dearborns, two road wagons, two carts, and one "small piece of cannon"). The trading goods carried was estimated to total \$30,000. In this company were Alexander Le Grand (the elected captain), Meredith M. Marmaduke (later governor of Missouri), Augustus Storrs (soon to be U. S. consul at Santa Fe), and "other gentlemen of intelligence."

Except for the loss of some stock (frightened by buffalo), the traders' journey was without particular incident. They left the Arkansas on June 28 to take the Cimarron desert route; and reached Santa Fe a month later—their total trip an estimated 931 miles.

Most of the company returned to Missouri in September. It was reported they brought back \$180,000 in gold and silver, and furs valued at \$10,000. M. M. Marmaduke (whose "Journal of a Tour to New Mexico" is a principal source of information on the expedition) made the homeward journey in 1825.

Ref: *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 6, pp. 1-10 (for Marmaduke's diary as reprinted from the *Missouri Intelligencer*, Franklin, September 2, 1825); *New Mexico Historical Review*, v. 29, p. 84; *Glimpses of the Past*, St. Louis, v. 5, pp. 70, 88-90; *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 27 (January 15, 1825), pp. 312-316 (for Storrs' statement).

¶ An act providing for the appointment of an agent for the Osage Indians west of the state of Missouri and Arkansas territory was signed on May 18 by President Monroe. Alexander McNair (ex-governor of Missouri) was appointed to the post on June 1. (Following McNair's death in the spring of 1826, John F. Hamtramck became Osage agent.)

Ref: *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America from . . . 1789 to . . . 1845* (Boston, 1854), v. 4, p. 25; Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 200; *KHQ*, v. 16, p. 2.

¶ MISSION NEOSHO—the first Indian mission and school in what is now Kansas—was started in mid-September by the Rev. Benton Pixley and his wife Lucia F. (Howell) Pixley, who came from Harmony. They had the use of a trader's log house located near a small Osage village on the Neosho's west bank [not far from present Shaw, Neosho county]. The site was some 60 miles west-southwest of Harmony Mission (*see* 1821), of which it was a branch; and about 110 miles north of Union Mission (*see* 1820). Before the end of the year the Pixleys opened a Protestant school for Osage children. Samuel B. Bright and his wife Charlotte

(Stocker) Bright were in charge of Mission Neosho's farm and household affairs during the early part of its existence.

Most of the near-by villagers soon moved to White Hair's town, about six miles distant, where other small Osage bands had also congregated, forming (as reported in 1828) a village of nearly 2,000 Indians (living in lodges or mud houses spread over four or five acres of land).

Because of the opposition of the Osages' traders and subagents, Mission Neosho was only modestly successful; and, following a controversy between Pixley and Agent John F. Hamtramck, the school and mission closed abruptly in the spring of 1829 after less than five years of operation.

(The Pixleys, who were married in August, 1812, eventually had a family of six children. A statement that some of them were born at Mission Neosho, while quite possibly correct, has not been verified. But see under 1827.)

Ref: Graves, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-196; *Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions . . . at the Nineteenth Annual Meeting . . .* (1828), pp. 94, 95; *History of American Missions . . .*, pp. 171, 194, 340, 341.

¶ A delegation of 26 Spaniards (sent by Bartolome Baca, the New Mexican governor) traveled from Santa Fe to the Council Bluffs [Neb.] in the summer, and, with the assistance of Agent Benjamin O'Fallon and Fort Atkinson authorities, concluded a peace treaty with their long-time enemies—the Pawnee Indians. O'Fallon, arriving at Franklin, Mo., the latter part of September, reported the Spaniards were "highly delighted" with the reception given them and had left the Council Bluffs September(?) 11 on the homeward journey. Their route across present Kansas is not known.

Ref: *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 27 (November 6, 1824), p. 151; see, also, *ibid.* v. 26 (June 19, 1824), pp. 252, 253; *The Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis, v. 16, pp. 20-29.

¶ On September 30, a Robidoux trading (and trapping?) party headed by Isidore? Robidoux left the Council Bluffs bound for Santa Fe. It appears that young Antoine Robidoux, on his first trip to the southwest, was in this company. Presumably these traders crossed some part of what is now western Kansas on their way to New Mexico. (See under September, 1825, for return of this party.)

Ref: *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 6, p. 75; W. S. Wallace's *Antoine Robidoux, 1794-1860 . . .* (Los Angeles, 1953), pp. 10, 52.

¶ In November Augustus Storrs, of Franklin, Mo. (replying to queries addressed to him by Missouri's U. S. Sen. Thomas H. Benton) supplied a variety of information on the "Trade Between Missouri & Mexico" which was presented by Benton to the second session of the 18th Congress on January 3, 1825.

According to Storrs, three companies, in addition the large May caravan of which he was a member, had gone from Missouri to Santa Fe in 1824—

in February, August, and November; and the last one (departing November 10) had taken \$18,000 in goods. [William Becknell, on his third trip to New Mexico was in the August (?) party.]

Ref: 18th Cong., 2d Sess., Sen. Doc. No. 7; also, published in *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 27 (January 15, 1825), pp. 312-316; for Becknell, see *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 4, p. 81.

## 1825

¶ On March 3 a bill authorizing the President "to cause to be marked out" a road from Missouri's frontier to the New Mexican boundary, was signed by President Monroe (shortly before he left office). The act provided the sum of \$10,000 to survey and mark the road; and \$20,000 to treat with the Indians for a right of way. President Adams, on March 16, appointed three Santa Fe road commissioners: Benjamin H. Reeves (of Howard county, Mo.); Pierre Menard (who resigned and was replaced by Thomas Mather of Kaskaskia, Ill.); and George C. Sibley (of Fort Osage, Mo.). See, also, under July.

Ref: *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America From . . . 1789, to . . . 1845* (Boston, 1854), v. 4, pp. 100, 101; K. Gregg, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7.

¶ The caravan of 105 New Mexico-bound traders, with 34 wagons and 240 horses and mules, which stopped at Fort Osage on May 16 carried "a much larger & better assortment of merchandise" than any previously taken over the Santa Fe trail. Augustus Storrs was elected captain; Robert McKnight, Elisha Stanley, Ira Emmons, and men named Thompson and Shackleford drew up the company's code of laws. A party of 33 persons (which included a Doctor Willard of St. Charles, Mo.) probably part of the caravan, was, by Willard's account, beyond the Missouri settlements on May 16; at the Arkansas on June 8; and had reached Taos (by way of the Cimarron desert route) early in July.

Ref: *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 28 (July 16, 1825), p. 309; K. Gregg, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 216, 254, 264; James O. Pattie's . . . *Personal Narrative* . . . (1831), pp. 255-300, for Doctor Willard; or, see Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 18, pp. 325-347.

¶ A company of some 40 Tennesseans crossed present Oklahoma (traveling west from Fort Smith, Ark.) in May, en route to Santa Fe. Each trader was mounted, and led one or more goods-carrying pack horses.

Ref: Foreman, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

¶ At St. Louis, the Osages (on June 2), and the Kansa (on June 3), signed treaties with the United States (William Clark acting for the government) which (as described by Thomas L. McKenney of the Indian affairs office in a November 30 report) extinguished Indian titles to three or four million acres of land in the state of Missouri and Arkansas territory, and to nearly 100,000,000 acres west

of Missouri and Arkansas. Reservations within the latter acreage were secured to the Osages and Kansa, he noted: ". . . to the first, a tract of fifty miles front, parallel to, and about twenty-five miles West of, the Western boundary of Missouri, and to the Kanzas a tract of thirty miles front, parallel also to the Western boundary of Missouri, and about fifty miles West of it; both running back to the Spanish line [see 1819]. A judicious arrangement as to space between those two reservations, and between the frontier of Missouri, has been effected. Thus, all the titles of Indians to lands within the limits of Missouri, except a few reservations, have been extinguished; and a country, represented to be fertile, and in all respects desirable, provided, and in sufficient extent, beyond the boundaries of Missouri and Arkansas, for the accommodation of all the tribes within the States, which, should they incline to occupy it, it is the policy of the Government to guarantee to them lasting and undisturbed possession. . . ."

The GREAT AND LITTLE OSAGES' reserve was described in the treaty of June 2 as follows: "Beginning at a point due east of White Hair's village [on the Neosho, in present Neosho county], and twenty-five miles west of the western boundary line of the State of Missouri, fronting on a north and south line, so as to leave ten miles north, and forty miles south, of the point of said beginning, and extending west, with the width of fifty miles, to the western boundary of the lands hereby ceded and relinquished. . . ." Their treaty also provided (1) for a government survey of the reserve; (2) payment of a \$7,000 tribal annuity for 20 years; (3) that the Osages would be furnished 600 head of cattle, 600 hogs, 1,000 domestic fowls, 10 yoke of oxen, six carts, some farming utensils; (4) that the government would support a blacksmith among them; (5) that a house for each of the four principal chiefs would be built at their respective villages. In addition to the tribal reserve, 640-acre tracts were specified for each of 42 Osage half-breeds (including Noel Mongrain's 10 children and four grandchildren; William Sherley "Old Bill" Williams' daughters Mary and Sarah; and James G. and Alexander Chouteau); 54 other tracts (of a mile square each) were reserved (these to be sold to provide funds for educating Osage children); two sections of land at Harmony Mission, and one at the Union establishment were also reserved.

The KANSA land cession was described in the treaty of June 3 as follows: "Beginning at the entrance of the Kanzas river into the Missouri river; from thence north to the northwest corner of the State of Missouri; from thence westwardly to the Nodewa [Nodaway] river, thirty miles from its entrance into the Missouri; from thence to the entrance of the Big Nemahaw river into the Missouri, and from that river to its source; from thence to the source of the Kanzas river, leaving the old village of the Pania [Pawnee] Republic to the west; from thence, on the ridge dividing the waters of the Kanzas river from those of the Arkansas, to the western boundary of the State line of Missouri, and with that line, thirty miles, to the place of beginning."

The KANSA reserve was briefly described: "From the cession aforesaid

. . . a tract of land, to begin twenty leagues up the Kansas river, and to include their village [east of present Manhattan] on that river; extending west thirty miles in width, through the lands ceded in the first article. . . . The treaty also provided (1) for a government survey of the reserve; (2) payment of a \$3,500 tribal annuity for 20 years; (3) that the Kansa would be furnished 300 head of cattle, 300 hogs, 500 domestic fowls, 3 yoke of oxen, two carts, farming implements; (4) that the government would support a blacksmith among them. In addition to the tribal reserve, 23 one-mile-square tracts were reserved for the Kansa half-breeds. These were to be located on the north side of the Kansas river "commencing at the [east] line of the Kansas reservation [not far west of present Topeka—North Topeka is on Tract No. 4], and extending down the Kansas river for quantity" [i.e., for 23 miles—to the vicinity of present Williamstown, Jefferson county]. The Kansa half-breeds included four children of trader Louis Gouville, and two of Baptiste Gouville. On the Big Blue river (of Missouri) 36 sections of land were reserved (these to be sold to provide funds for educating Kansa children). The United States was granted "the right to navigate freely all water-courses or navigable streams" in the Kansa reserve. [Currently (1961) the tribal council of the Kaw (Kansa) Indians is seeking to have the bureau of Indian affairs file suit to quiet title on the 23 half-breed sections of land allotted under the above 1825 treaty, claiming there is a cloud on the land titles. See news stories in the Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*, July 9, 1961, and Topeka *Daily Capital*, July 13, 1961.]

Ref: 19th Cong., 1st Sess., *House Ex. Doc. No. 1*, pp. 89-92 (Serial 131) for McKenney; Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 217-225.

¶ Headed for Missouri, and probably captained by Bailey Harde-man, a good-sized expedition of American and Mexican traders with "a great number of Mules, Asses, &c." (nearly 500, by report), set out from Santa Fe about June 1. They traveled towards the Canadian's headwaters; descended that river's left bank for some 300 miles; then set a course to the northeast; and reached the Arkansas river not far from present Wichita on July 12. As reported (to G. C. Sibley) by expedition members M. M. Marmaduke and James Moore, they met a large band of Osages "not far from the Mouth of the Little Arkansas, the 14th of July, by whom they were robbed of about 120 head of Animals, & some other property, and were otherwise illy Treated." (Osage Agent Alexander McNair later recovered some of the stolen stock.)

Ref: *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, August 15, 1825; *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 29 (September 24, 1825), p. 54, and v. 29 (October 22, 1825), p. 100; *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 4, p. 84 (for item on Harde-man as captain); K. Gregg, *op. cit.* (for quote from Sibley's journal, July 27, 1825, entry).

¶ Between July and October (in present North and South Dakota, or at the Council Bluffs, [Neb.]) the following Indian tribes (in peace treaties with the United States) agreed not to molest American citizens who traversed the Santa Fe road: the Sioux and Ogallalabs (July 5); the Cheyennes (July 6); the Crows (August

4); the Otoes and Missouris (September 26); the Pawnees (September 30); the Mahas (October 6).

Ref: Kappler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 230-261 *passim*.

❧ The Santa Fe road surveying-and-marking expedition (40 men; 57 horses and mules; seven baggage wagons) left Fort Osage on July 17. Heading the company were U. S. Commrs. Sibley, Reeves, and Mather (*see* March entry); their secretary Archibald Gamble; and surveyor Joseph C. Brown. Stephen Cooper was pilot and captain. The work party included such men as Benjamin Jones (one-time Astorian), Joseph R. Walker (later-famous mountain man), and Benjamin Majors (father of freighter-to-be Alexander Majors).

Reaching the Neosho on the morning of August 5 the expedition camped in a "Large & beautiful Grove of fine Timber" 160 miles from Fort Osage. Wrote George C. Sibley in his journal:

As we propose to Meet the Osage Chiefs in council Here, to negotiate a Treaty with them for the Road &c. I suggested the propriety of naming the place "Council Grove" which was agreed to, & Capt. Cooper directed to Select a Suitable Tree, & to record this name in Strong and durable characters—which was done. . . . From our camp, near the great Oak that is Marked, just at the eastern edge of the Grove, to the Crossing of the Nee Ozho the distance is 25 chains [550 yards].

Three days later about 50 Osages arrived with their interpreter William S. ("Old Bill") Williams. Next day a council was held; and on August 10 Chief White Hair (of the Great Osages), the Foolish Chief (of the Little Osages), and other leading men, signed a treaty giving the United States the right to mark the Santa Fe road through their land, and the free use of the road forever, in return for \$800 compensation.

Having hired Interpreter Williams for the rest of the journey, the commissioners sent him to the Kansa village (about 45 miles north—near present Manhattan) to summon the Kansa for a similar treaty council at a point farther west on the Santa Fe trail (where game was more plentiful). On "the Sora Kanzas Creek" (a small branch of present Turkey creek, about five miles southeast of McPherson) some 50 Kansa came and counceled with the commissioners on the 15th, and signed a right-of-way treaty on August 16, receiving \$800 in payment. For the Kansa, their great chief Shone-gee-ne-gare signed first; followed by his eldest son Ke-hea-bash-ee [another name for the Fool Chief, apparently]; then Hu-ra-soo-gee, the red eagle" [probably the same as He-roch-che (the Real War Eagle) of the September, 1819, entry]; and other leaders. White Plume was not present, but a warrior signed as his deputy.

On September 11 the expedition reached a point on the Arkansas calculated to be the 100th meridian [the U. S.-Mexican boundary—see 1819]; and camped till the 20th in a futile wait for permission to extend the survey into Mexico. It was then agreed that Sibley, Brown, Williams, and nine others would continue on to Taos and Santa Fe (to obtain authority for continuing the survey); and that Reeves, Mather, Gamble, and the rest of the party would return to Missouri—which they did, reaching Fort Osage on October 25.

Sibley's party crossed the Arkansas on September 25; left the river on the 27th at Chouteau's Island; and struck out across the sand hills for Taos, arriving there on October 30. (A month later Sibley moved on to Santa Fe.)

It was June 16, 1826, before official permission came for examination (but no marking) of the Santa Fe road in Mexican territory. As stated in the report later prepared: "He [Sibley; and Joseph C. Brown] accordingly commenced a Survey at San Fernando [in the valley of Taos] on the 24th. of August, Ran it through the Mexican Territory, and on the 16th of September, connected it with the former [1825] Survey at the line, on the Arkansas River." Subsequently (between May and July, 1827—see 1827 entry), Sibley made some corrections in the eastern section of the 1825 survey.

Comms. Mather, Reeves, and Sibley submitted their Santa Fe road report (written by Sibley) under date of October 27, 1827 (and Surveyor Brown's field notes also carried that date). The report (first printed in 1952, after 125 years had elapsed) presented a picture of the "Space between the Missouri River and the Rio Grande del Norte" which contrasted with Maj. Stephen Long's and Dr. Edwin James' "Great American Desert" descriptions (see 1820):

[It] . . . is occupied by an almost unbroken plain or Prairie. Taken as one great whole, this vast expanse . . . presents but little more variety of Surface, than the face of the Atlantic Ocean. Its features are generally proportioned to its great magnitude, except as to its Streams. Numerous Rivalets, Creeks & Small Rivers flow through it, the most of which are marked in their courses by narrow fringes of forest Trees, & thickets of underbrush. Prominent Ridges frequently occur, which . . . Relieve in Some degree, the dull monotony of the Scene. . . .

The Herbage of this Plain is in general Rich & luxuriant, consisting chiefly of Strong and Succulent Grasses, of many varieties; Some of which would doubtless prove valuable additions to the cultivated grasses of the United States. In the Season of flowers, a very large portion of this great plain presents one continual carpet of Soft verdure, enriched by flowers of every tint—these beauties afford pleasure for a time; but the traveller is apt Soon to lose the Relish for them, as he pursues his tedious way, under a cloudless Sky, and exposed to the unbroken Rays of a burning Sun, which, but for the brisk flow of air that usually prevails, would be Scarcely Supportable.

(In 1868 the Kansas legislature passed an act declaring the Santa



Fe road from the eastern to the western boundaries of Kansas, a state road.)

Ref: K. Gregg, *op. cit.*; Kansas State Historical Society's 18th Biennial Report, pp. 107-116 (for Santa Fe road data and map), and pp. 117-125 (for J. C. Brown's field notes); Kappeler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 246-250 (for Osage and Kansa treaties); *Special Laws of the State of Kansas* . . . 1868 (Lawrence, 1868), p. 83.

¶ With the errors and discrepancies that accompany an account written from memory, *The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie, of Kentucky* . . . (edited by Timothy Flint) was published at Cincinnati in 1831. In it, young Pattie described his 1825-1830 adventures in the West. His "Kansas" experiences were limited to the late summer of 1825 [not 1824, as in the *Narrative*—see explanation below]. But his account is particularly notable because it is one of the very few existing records of a journey to New Mexico in the 1820's from the Council Bluffs area; and to describe a route north of the Kansas river.

In July, 1825, at the Bernard Pratte & Co. trading post [six miles or so below Fort Atkinson], a large New Mexico-bound expedition (112 men; 300 mules and some horses) was outfitted, and placed in charge of Sylvester Pratte (Bernard's 26-year-old son) who arrived from St. Louis on July 26. At a rendezvous camp on the Platte river in early August, this company was augmented by Sylvester Pattie (a War of 1812 hero), his son James Ohio Pattie, and two other tyro traders (whose upper-Missouri trip had foundered for lack of an Indian trading license).

The expedition moved upstream on August 6, to the Pawnee Loup village. After five days there (during which Pratte bought 600 buffalo skins and some horses; and Sylvester Pattie ransomed a captive Indian child), the journey to the southwest, across the Plains, began on August 11.

The route cannot be determined with any accuracy from young Pattie's account. It would appear this expedition reached the Republican fork on the 19th; repelled an attack by Arikaras on the 22d (the Indians lost five warriors); encountered large herds of buffalo and wild horses on the 26th; reached, that evening, what Pattie referred to as "a fork of the Platte called Hyde Park" [a Republican tributary], in an area where there were "multitudes of prairie dogs"; attacked a Crow camp (after finding the arrow-riddled bodies of two white men) on August 31 (killing 30 Indians and losing one man); arrived at the Republican-Smoky Hill dividing ridge on September 9; had an encounter with a grizzly bear on the 11th (one man died of wounds received); came to a fork of "Smoke Hill river" on the 14th [they were probably in far-western Kansas of today at this time]; and after some fairly steady traveling, reached the Arkansas river [in present eastern Colorado] on September 22. A

little over a month later (October 26)—11 weeks after leaving the Loups' village—the large trading expedition arrived at Taos.

Ref: Thwaites, *op. cit.*, v. 18 (in which *Pattie's Narrative* is reprinted). To Dale L. Morgan, of the Bancroft Library, I am indebted for information (generously offered) that he has ascertained Pattie to be a year off in his dates—that Bernard Pratte & Co's. expedition went to New Mexico in 1825, not 1824. This is fully established by documents in the "Chouteau Collection," Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. In that perspective, a corroborative note is added by the James Kennerly diary entry of July 27, 1825, at Fort Atkinson: "... young Pratte & party arrived last night from St. Louis at Mr Cabannes" [J. P. Cabanne operated the trading post]. Kennerly's published diary (1823-1826) is in the *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 6, pp. 50-97 (for above quote see p. 78). George C. Sibley, at Taos, N. M., mentioned "Messrs. Pratt, Robidoux and others" as recent arrivals there under date of November 12, 1825—see K. Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 114, also, see p. 150.

¶ Indian traders who obtained licenses during 1825 which specifically entitled them to trade (for one year) *at the mouth of the Kansas river* were:

<i>License issued to</i>	<i>Date of license</i>
Joshua Pilcher, Lucien Fontenelle, )	
William Vanderburgh, Charles Bent, )	July 4
& Andrew Drips )	
Bernard Pratte & Co. [Pratte,	
Chouteau & Berthold]	July 5
Russel Farnham [associated with the	August 17
American Fur Company]	
Michel Robidoux	October 8

On December 5 Bernard Pratte & Co. was also licensed to trade at the "Kansas Village, on Kansas River."

Ref: 19th Cong., 1st Sess., *House Doc. 118* (Serial 136); 19th Cong., 2d Sess., *Sen. Doc. 58* (Serial 146). See *KHQ*, v. 18, pp. 150, 160, for an 1841 "Kansas" item on Michel Robidoux. An account of Russel Farnham is in *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, Portland, v. 24, pp. 338-344. He had been a witness to the Kansas treaty of June 3, 1825, at St. Louis.

¶ On August 30 (11 months after setting out for New Mexico—see September, 1824, entry) a Robidoux trading party returned to the Council Bluffs [Neb.]. But only two weeks later (September 14) it was reported: "Robidoux party started to day to Taos. . . ." Probably both Isidore and Antoine Robidoux were in this expedition, which made a fairly rapid journey (undoubtedly across present western Kansas). The company was in Taos in November.

Ref: *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 6, pp. 78, 80 (James Kennerly diary entries of August 30 and September 14, 1825); Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 52; Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

¶ While camped near the mouth of Walnut creek, at the Great Bend of the Arkansas on September 29, the east-bound party of U. S. (Santa Fe road) Commrs. Reeves and Mather met other travelers. Archibald Gamble (the commissioners' secretary) reported:

. . . a company of 20 adventurers, with a great many mules and horses

laden with merchandize, arrived from Missouri [they had left Fort Osage around September 14], bound for Santa Fee; and an hour afterwards a company of 81 persons, returning from Santa Fee, also arrived at . . . camp.

The west-bound company later took the "Mule Trace" through the mountains (from the upper Arkansas) and arrived at Taos on October 28 (by G. C. Sibley's report). Gamble, who joined the east-bound party (to get back to Missouri more quickly), learned from one trader that they had left New Mexico with \$18,568 in silver, \$182 in gold, 2,044 beaver furs (valued at \$10,220), 630 animals (416 mules; 25 jacks & jennets; 189 horses) valued at \$15,700. (The total figure: \$44,670.) However, before reaching Walnut creek, 100 head of the stock had stampeded and not been recovered.

Ref: Gamble's October 24, 1826, letter, in K. Gregg, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 112, 230, 256; *Missouri Republican*, St. Louis, October 24, 1825 (for accurate statistics), or, see, *Nebraska Historical Society Publications*, Lincoln, v. 20, p. 47.

¶ Gen. Henry Atkinson, Agent Benjamin O'Fallon, Capt. Bennet Riley, Lt. Samuel McRee, Lt. Jason Rogers, and 18 other persons were aboard the keelboat *Antelope* which left the Council Bluffs on October 7.

Atkinson and O'Fallon were en route to St. Louis after serving since May as U. S. commissioners on a treaty-making mission to the upper Missouri Indians. Their expedition (nine-keelboats, with a 476-man First, and Sixth infantry escort) had been active on the upper river from May 16 to September 19; and the commissioners had concluded 12 treaties between May and October 6—the last three being made at Fort Atkinson.

A journalist (name not established—quite possibly Lt. Samuel McRee) who recorded the expedition story, and the downriver trip of the *Antelope* in October, as well, included these comments relating to present Kansas.

[Under date of October 12, as the keelboat passed along the northeast Kansas boundary, in the Doniphan-Atchison county area of today] . . . proceeded at 9 o. c. at 11 saw a deer come into the water from the right bank, pursued it with the *Antelope*, came up with & succeeding in taking it after it was twice shot by Maj. O'Fallon, the deer had been driven into the water by a panther as appeared on examination the deer being wounded by the claw of the animal on the thighs & around the tail. Passed Cow Island at 5 & halted 2 miles below on the right [Kansas] bank for the night. Saw several Indians on the lower point of the Island & some 20 Horses.

*Thursday [October] 13th* Proceeded at ½ past 5 & ran till 8 & came to on the right bank for breakfast—proceeded at ½ past 8, saw a party . . . [of] Kansas on the right bank arrived at Curtis & Eley's establishment [see 1821-1822] at 12 o. c. Here we saw the [chief] white plume & several other Kansas Indians—proceeded at ½ past 12 passed the Kansas river [mouth] & arrived at Chateau's place [Francis Chouteau's Randolph Bluffs post—see 1821-1822] at one o. c. & halted for dinner. F. Chateau had gone with his Father [Pierre Chouteau, Sr.] across to the Osage river.

The *Antelope* and its passengers, after various other stops on the way downstream, reached St. Louis on October 20.

Ref: "Journal of the Atkinson-O'Fallon Expedition," in *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, v. 4, pp. [5]-56 (p. 52 for quote above).

¶ With goods valued at \$3,500, purchased from the Chouteaus' Randolph Bluffs, Mo., post, Subagent Baronet Vasquez made the first annuity payment to the Kansa Indians late in the year. According to Frederick Chouteau (reminiscing in 1880):

. . . [Vasquez] took the goods in my brothers' [Francis G. and Cyprian's] boat across the Missouri river and up to the yellow banks, just above where Wyandotte [Kansas City, Kan.] is. [They] . . . were landed on a sand-bar there.

Ref: *KHC*, v. 8, p. 423. (Baronet Vasquez had accompanied Capt. Z. M. Pike on the 1806 expedition as interpreter [see 1806]; and had traded with the Kansa since 1798 [see last 1823 entry].)

¶ At St. Louis on November 7 the Shawnee Indians of Missouri, in a treaty with the United States (William Clark acting for the government), agreed to cede their land claims in Missouri (in the Cape Girardeau area) for (1) a tract equal to 50 miles square, west of that state within the bounds of the recent Osage cession—a tract which would also be for the use of the Ohio Shawnees (subject to their agreement to move west); and (2) \$14,000 as payment for improvements on the lands given up.

The Missouri Shawnees were granted \$11,000 to settle indemnity claims against white men; and the United States agreed to maintain a blacksmith among them for five years. Another treaty article provided that if, on examination of the Osage-lands tract, the Shawnees were dissatisfied, then the government would ". . . assign to them an equal quantity of land, to be selected on the Kansas river, and laid off either south or north of that river, and west of the boundary of Missouri, not reserved or ceded to any other tribe."

The Indians chose a reserve which was bounded on the north by the Kansas river, bordered Missouri on the east for 23 miles, and extended west 120 miles. This tract (not fully described till the Shawnee-United States treaty of 1854) was estimated to contain 1,600,000 acres.

At the beginning of 1825 the Shawnees of Missouri were reported to number 1,383 persons. (At the same time, the Ohio Shawnees were estimated at 800.) The movement of these first immigrant Indians into present Kansas began late in 1825; continued in 1826 (with accessions from Ohio, also); and extended as late as 1833 for the last of the Shawnee bands.

Ref: Kappeler, *op. cit.*, v. 2, pp. 262-264; *KHC*, v. 8, p. 78, v. 9, pp. 162, 163; 18th Cong., 2d Sess., *Ex. Papers No. 64-3* (Serial 116), or *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, v. 2, p. 544, or *Niles' Weekly Register*, v. 27 (February 15, 1825), p. 264 (for population figures, 1825); *History of American Missions* . . . p. 540; 23d Cong., 1st Sess., *Sen. Doc. 512*, v. 3 (Serial 246), pp. 408, 409, 634, 635, 649, 650.

¶ As reported by Gen. Henry Atkinson and Agent Benjamin O'Fall-

lon (on November 23) the Grand Pawnees (estimated at 5,500 souls; 1,100 warriors) and the Pawnee Loups (3,500 in all; 700 warriors) were living on the Platte. The Republican Pawnees (1,250 persons; 250 warriors) were situated *on the Republican fork of the Kansas river*.

The return (for something like a decade, as indicated below) of the Republican Pawnees to the Kansas tributary named for them deserves attention (which it has not previously had) for its probable connection with one, or the other, of the two known Pawnee Republican village sites on the Republican river [*i. e.*, the Republic county, Kan., and the Webster county, Neb., sites—see comment under 1806]. These Indians dared to move southward in the 1820's because their chief (Iskatappe) had made peace with the Kansa.

When Pike visited the Republican Pawnees in 1806 their town was on the Republican river (where they had lived for some time—see 1793 for notes on their 18th century homes). When Sibley visited the Pawnees in 1811, the Republican band had moved northward and was sharing a new and uncompleted village on the Platte's Loup Fork with the Grand Pawnees. (The latter, by Robert Stuart's 1813 comment, had removed from the main Platte about 1809; and by Sibley's statement the former had left the Republican about the same year.) Between 1811 and 1820, when O'Fallon (in May) and Long (in June) visited the Pawnee villages on the Platte's Loup Fork, the Republican band had left the Grand Pawnees' town, but their village was only a few miles distant. However, three years later (September, 1823) when Prince Paul of Wuertemberg visited the Grand and Loup Pawnees (on the Loup Fork), he made only passing reference to the existence of the Republican Pawnees—and the inference is that they had already left that area (between 1820 and 1823) and were probably on the Republican where O'Fallon reported them to be in 1825 (as noted above). And, in fact, on September 24, 1823, Louis Vasquez was licensed to trade with the Pawnees on "Republican Fork."

When, in a letter of August 27, 1824, Agent O'Fallon advised Indian traders on locations, he stipulated: ". . . For the convenience of the Panis Loups and Panis Republics all trade and intercourse will (for one year from the date of this) be confined to their two Dirt Villages one on the Loup fork of the River Platte & and the other on the Republican fork of the Kansas River. . . ."

Jedediah Smith's (Ashley) party, en route to the mountains in the winter of 1825-1826, spent some time with the Republican Pawnees in early 1826 at their village *on the Republican river* 50 miles south of the Platte. (See last 1825 annals entry for comment on Smith's journey and the "Fremont-Gibbs-Smith" map which traces his route and *shows the location of the Republican Pawnees' village at that time*. Also, see a segment of this map, facing p. 521.)

In a February, 1829, report on Indian affairs (by the secretary of war), it was stated of the Pawnees:

There are four great bands of this tribe: the Pawnee Republicans, living on the Republican fork of the Kansas, the Pawnee Loups, living on the Loup fork of the Platte, the Grand Pawnees, living on the main branch of the Platte, and the Pawnee Piques [the Wichitas and related tribes], living in Texas. . . .

Two years later a superintendency of Indian affairs, St. Louis report (November 28, 1831) referred to "the Grand Panis, Loup and Republican Panis.—At their present Dirt villages, two on the Loup fork of the Platte, and one on the Republican fork of the Kansas."

Apparently before the Pawnee-United States treaty of October 9, 1833, the Republican Pawnees again moved northward (though a trading license issued on April 15, 1834, still mentioned the locations noted above under 1831). In late 1834 the Rev. John Dunbar, missionary, wrote that the Grand Pawnees were on the south side of the Platte; the "Tapage and a part of the Republican band" were in a village on the north side of the Loup Fork, 30 miles above its mouth; and the other part of the Republican band was in a "little village four miles above the Tapage on the same stream." Above them three miles was the Pawnee Loups' town.

Ref: 19th Cong., 1st Sess., House Doc. 117 (Serial 136), pp. 7, 8 (for 1825 report); *The Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, St. Louis, v. 16, p. 25 (for item on the Republican Pawnee-Kansas peace treaty); for Sibley, see under 1811; K. A. Spaulding, ed., *On the Oregon Trail* . . . (c1953), pp. 155-157 (for Robert Stuart); for O'Fallon and Long in 1820, see 1820 entries; for Prince Paul, see under 1823; 18th Cong. 2d Sess., House Ex. Doc. 54 (Serial 115) for Vasquez; O'Fallon's 1824 directive quoted by courtesy of Dale L. Morgan, who helpfully supplied this item from the Bancroft Library's filmed copy of O'Fallon's letterbook, 1822-1829; 20th Cong., 2d Sess., Sen. Doc. 72 (Serial 181), p. 103 (for 1829 report); 22d Cong., 1st Sess., Sen. Doc. 90 (Serial 213), p. 63 (for 1831 report); 23d Cong., 2d Sess., House Ex. Doc. 97 (Serial 273) (for 1834 license to "Soulette and Campbell"); *KHC*, v. 11, p. 328 (for Dunbar); W. R. Wedel's *An Introduction to Kansas Archeology* . . . (Washington, 1959), pp. 58-60 (for some comment on Pawnee Republic village sites).

¶ Jedediah Smith (William H. Ashley's partner) led the company of about 60 Ashley-Smith men (with 160 horses and pack-mules; an outfit worth \$20,000) which left St. Louis on November 1 for the Rocky mountains. Making this trip were such experienced hands as Jim Beckwourth (who later told a partially fanciful version of this journey), Louis Vasquez, Moses ("Black") Harris, Hiram Scott, and A. G. Boone; as well as novice Robert Campbell.

They crossed the Kansas near its mouth; bought beef at the Curtis & Eley post; proceeded up the north bank of the Kansas (camping for a time at, or near, the Kansa village, according to Beckwourth); and reached the Smoky Hill-Republican junction on January 1, 1826 (as Robert Campbell recalled it, in 1870). The slow (two months') journey from St. Louis to the present Fort Riley site was

probably due to shortage of food, and severe weather. According to Campbell they ". . . wintered all along the Republican Fork, and suffered very much for want of provisions." A third of their mules died, and Smith sent back to St. Louis for others. (From Beckwourth's account, he and "Black" Harris had this mission.) Up on the Republican they came to the dirt village of the Republican Pawnees (*see* preceding entry); found the absent Indians' cached corn; paid the Pawnees (on their return from a hunt) for what they took; and remained in the Indian town, apparently, till some time in March. Jedediah Smith and Robert Campbell were guests in Chief Iskatappe's lodge.

Leaving the Republican river, above the Indian village (which Campbell later said was 50 miles from the Platte), Smith's company crossed to the Platte in two days of travel. Early in April William H. Ashley, coming up that river with supplies, overtook them at Grand Island. The expedition continued up the north side of the Platte to the forks, then on to South Pass via the North Platte and the Sweetwater.

(A "lost" map by Jedediah Smith, which over a century ago was available to mapmaker George Gibbs, included a showing of his 1825-1826 journey up the Kansas-Republican-Platte rivers. Gibbs, using a "Fremont" printed map of 1845, copied thereon some data from Smith's map, including the route of 1825-1826 taken by the Smith-Ashley party to the Rockies, and the location of the Pawnee Republic village. A segment of the "Fremont-Gibbs-Smith" map showing the "Kansas" section is reproduced facing p. 521.)

Ref: Robert Campbell's 1870 dictation in the Bancroft Library, made available for use and quoting by courtesy of Dale L. Morgan (of the Bancroft Library) to whom a special debt of gratitude is due for the opportunity to include this "new" chapter of Kansas-Republican river history in the *Annals*; Dale L. Morgan and Carl I. Wheat, *Jedediah Smith and his Maps of the American West* (San Francisco, 1954), pp. 56, 57, and the "Fremont-Gibbs-Smith" map (folded, in back pocket); Dale L. Morgan's *Jedediah Smith* . . . , pp. 175, 331, 408; Bonner, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-32. Campbell made no reference in his recollections to passing the Kansa village, but the Kansa played a part in Beckwourth's account.

*(Part Five Will Appear in the Spring, 1962, Issue.)*